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THE BEHDETITE:

A STUDY OF HORUS THE BEHDETITE

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For my mother Mary K. Shonkwiler
and in memory of my father Harvey E. Shonkwiler
and William J. Murnane.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ÄbAb	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
ANOR	Analecta Orientalia
APAW	Abhandlungen der (Königlich) Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>Archéo-Nil</i>	<i>Archéo-Nil, Revue de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Intituts, Abteilung Kairo
BÄBA	Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
Bd'É	Bibliothèque d'Étude
<i>Belegstellen</i>	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, ed., <i>Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache: Die Belegstellen</i> , 5 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig: Akademie-Verlag and J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1937-1953).
<i>BEM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum</i>
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BIAE	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>

BSAE	British School of Archaeology in Egypt
<i>BSÉG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Égyptologique de Genève</i>
<i>BSFÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
<i>Cd'É</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CEDAE	Centre et d'Études de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte
CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
<i>CRIPEL</i>	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
<i>CT</i>	A. de Buck, <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , 7 vols., OIP 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Press, 1935-61)
<i>Dendara</i>	<i>Le temple de Dendara</i> , 12 vols. (Cairo: IFAO, 1934-2007); Vols. 1-5 by Émile Chassinat; vols. 6-9 by François Daumas; vols. 10-12 by Sylvie Cauville.
<i>Edfou</i>	É. Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , 15 vols., vol. 1 with M. de Rochemonteix, vol. 15 by Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle, MMAF 10-11, 20-31, 40 (Paris and Cairo: Ernest Leroux and IFAO, 1892-1985)
EDFUB	Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu Begleitheft
EEF	Egypt Exploration Fund
EES	Egypt Exploration Society
EM	Excavation Memoire, Egypt Exploration Fund/Society
EU	Egyptologische Uitgaven
EXSAQ	Excavations at Saqqara
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GOF	Göttinger Orientforschungen
HÄB	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge

- HO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- IFAO L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
- LÄS Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
- LD C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 12 vols., Roman numerals stand for I-VI Abteilungen (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897-1913; reprint Geneva: Éditions de Belles-lettres, 1973)
- LD Text C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegyten und Aethiopien: Text*, 5 vols., edited by Eduard Naville, Ludwig Borchardt and Kurt Sethe (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1897-1913)
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
- Kmt *Kmt, A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*
- KRI K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 8 vols. (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1968-90)
- LÄ Lexikon der Ägyptologie
- LÄGG *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 7 vols., ed. Christian Leitz, et al., OLA 110-6 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002)
- LÄS Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
- LAPO Litteratures anciennes du Proche-Orient
- MÄS Münchner ägyptologische Studien
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
- MELCHAT Moyen égyptien, le langage et la culture des hiéroglyphes, analyse et traduction
- Memnonia *Memnonia, Association pour la Sauvegard du Ramesseum*
- MENES MENES, Studien zur Kultur und Sprache der ägyptischen Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches

- MH* Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, 8 vols. OIP 8-9, 23, 51, 83-84, 93-94
(Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago Press, 1930-70)
- MIFAO Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire
- MMAF Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire
- MMAF Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers
- NAWG Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1,
Philologisch-historische Klasse
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications
- OIMP Oriental Institute Museum Publications
- OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
- OLP* *Orientalia Loveniensia Periodica*
- OLZ* *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
- OMRO* *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*
n.s.
- Or* *Orientalia*, n.s.
- PdÄ Probleme der Ägyptologie
- PMMA Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
- PMMAR Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition,
Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series
- PTT Private Tombs at Thebes
- PYE Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt
- Pyr.* K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: J. C.
Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1908-22)
- RAPH Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire
- Rd'É* *Revue d'Égyptologie*
- RecTrav* *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et
assyriennes*

- SAGA Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
- SAK *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur*
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
- SASAE Supplément aux *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
- Serapis* *Serapis, The American Journal of Egyptology*
- TAVO Tübinger Atlas der Vorderen Orients
- TIN Temples Immergés de la Nubie
- TT Theban Tomb
- TTS Theban Tomb Series
- UGAÄ Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens
- Urk.* *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.* Edited by Georg Steindorff, Kurt Sethe and Heinrich Schäfer. I: Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, 4 parts, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1933). II: Kurt Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, 3 parts (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904). III: Heinrich Schäfer, *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*, 2 parts (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905). IV: Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, parts 1-16 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1906-09); Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, parts 17-22 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955-61). V: Hermann Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, 3 parts (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1915-17). VI: Siegfried Schott, *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*, 2 parts (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929-39). VII: Kurt Sethe, *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*, 1 part (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1935). VIII: Kurt Sethe, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, 1 part (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957).
- UZK Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts
- VA* *Varia Aegyptiaca*
- WAW Writings from the Ancient World
- Wb.* *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 5 vols. ed. A. Erman and H. Grapow (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926-63)
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

YES

Yale Egyptological Studies

ZÄS

Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of Horus the Behdetite based on material dating prior to the construction of the god's famous temple at Edfu during the Ptolemaic Period. Although much of the earlier temple of the god has been destroyed, there is still a wealth of material pertaining to Horus the Behdetite, due to his association with the rituals of kingship and his frequent appearance in temples as a hovering falcon and sun disk. Several private monuments of cult personnel from Edfu exist from the Middle and New Kingdoms and the Late Period. The god also appears in ritual and other temple scenes and some private monuments outside of Edfu and is mentioned in hymns in Theban tombs. Most of this material has been studied in part but there has been no major comprehensive study of the early material pertaining to Horus the Behdetite. The major study of the god that deals largely with the early material is a journal article by Alan H. Gardiner from the 1940s: "Horus the Behdetite," *JEA* 30 (1944): 23-60. Most of this article concerns the question as to whether Horus the Behdetite was a god originally from Upper or Lower Egypt. The article also dealt with the origins and meaning of the winged sun disk, which is usually identified as the Behdetite. Much material was unknown or overlooked by Gardiner and some of his interpretations must be revised. Although the Behdetite is only a specific manifestation of Horus, the god is important, because of his intimate association with the king. The god protects the king as a hovering falcon or sun disk, is depicted purifying and crowning the king and symbolically binding the Two Lands on his behalf. The Behdetite in the form of the winged sun disk increasingly becomes symbolic of the rebirth of the king and the powers of kingship and later of non-royalty. Many aspects of the god are found later in the texts and scenes of the Ptolemaic temple but some are not.

Chapters 2-4 concern the three most common forms in which the god appears: the falcon, sun disk, in all its manifestations, and the falcon-headed man. Each chapter examines the origins and early history of each form and the contexts in which they appear. Chapter 3 on the sun disk also examines the theological and ideological symbology of the god in the form of the winged sun disk and sun disk with two uraei: . Chapter 5 examines the evidence for the cult of the god at the two cities named Behdet: Edfu and Tell el-Balamun. Chapter 6 concerns Horus, Lord of Mesen with whom the Behdetite is identified in the Old Kingdom as well as the rituals and myths of the harpooning god at Edfu. Chapter 7 looks at evidence for the worship or cult of Horus the Behdetite outside of the cities named Behdet. Chapter 8 takes a closer examination of the Behdetite's relationship with the king.

Gardiner and other scholars of his era hotly debated the origin of Horus the Behdetite. Most scholars now believe that the question as to whether the Behdetite was originally from Upper or Lower Egypt is unanswerable or, even, irrelevant. The question may not be answerable, however Horus the Behdetite's identification with one or both of the parts of Egypt appears to be an important part of his identity. These associations with Upper and Lower Egypt are noted in several places in the dissertation. The final conclusion is that the Behdetite is identified with both parts of the country at a very early date and can appear associated with either Upper or Lower Egypt depending on the context. This double identification is likely inherent in the form of the winged sun disk. The identification with the Two Lands also influences the Behdetite's identification with the king. Identification of the god and king is also noted in several places and interpreted in Chapter 8. The god first appears in the rituals of the *Sed* festival and is likely involved with the enthronement of the king. His name "Behdetite" connects him

with the place of the throne. In a scene from the Middle Kingdom he appears as the winged sun disk above the king, who sits on the double-throne of the *Sed* festival, while the Behdetite receives the breathe of life from the gods. The scene indicates that the king on the double-throne is acting in the capacity of the Behdetite. As Horus there is already a certain identity of the king with the Behdetite but it is the fact that the Behdetite is the solar Horus that leads to a triple identification of Horus the Behdetite, the king and Re in royal names. The key to understanding this triple identification is the Royal *Ka*.

The close connection of the Behdetite with kingship limited the spread of his cult outside Edfu. To the people of Edfu he was just "Horus." Changing decorum following the Amarna Period, a close association of the cult with Thebes and an identification of the god with Amun-Re, as well as the god's transition to a funerary god of the king during the Ramesside Period all contributed to an expansion of devotion to the god, at least in Upper Egypt. These changes allowed the Behdetite, specifically in the form of the winged sun disk, to represent rebirth for non-royalty in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The deity Horus the Behdetite (*Hr Bhd.ty*) is the most commonly depicted deity in all of the history of Ancient Egypt. He appears above nearly every temple doorway and many stelae in the form of the winged sun disk and appears as a falcon or sun disk above the king in a large percentage of temple scenes. He is most famous for the large and well-preserved Ptolemaic Period temple dedicated to him at Edfu in Upper Egypt. A large number of scholarly works are dedicated to the study of this temple, its texts and the theology of the Behdetite based on these texts.¹ Several studies deal with earlier material but not in its entirety. The most important of these are Alan H. Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 30 (1944): 23-60 and the unpublished dissertation of Pascal Vernus, "Edfou, du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie: Études philologiques, sociologiques et historiques d'un corpus documentaire de l'Égypte pharaonique," (Paris: Sorbonne University, 1987).² The former

¹ Some of the more important are Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, 2 vols., Bd'É 20 (Cairo: IFAO, 1949); H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," *JEA* 21 (1935): 26-36; idem, *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974); Aylward M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II.C: The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies; A Sacred Drama," *JEA* 28 (1942): 32-38 with follow up articles in *JEA* 29 (1943): 2-36 and *JEA* 30 (1944): 5-22 and 79-80; Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu*, Studies in Oriental Religions 10 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985); Sylvie Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, Bd'É 102 (Cairo: IFAO, 1987); Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich: Artemis, 1984) and several other articles and books by the same author.

² Other important secondary sources are Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1930); Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophische-historische Klasse Denkschriften 59, nos. 1-2 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917); Eberhard Otto, "Behedeti," *LÄ* I,

is now quite dated and is primarily concerned with the original home city of the god. It is also a short article with a limited scope. Vernus' study is limited to the private monuments of the Middle Kingdom to the early 18th Dynasty. It provides important information on cult personnel but is not focused on the temple or its god. There has never been a full-length study dedicated to the material concerning the god prior to the Greco-Roman Period. The reason for this is, in part, likely due to the destruction of the earlier temple as the result of the construction of the Ptolemaic temple. Several blocks from the earlier temple have been recovered and many published and part of the New Kingdom pylon remains but there are still many questions about the earlier temple left unanswered. Even more questions on the theology practiced in the early temple remain. Although the winged disk and hovering falcon identified with the god are found nearly everywhere, the texts accompanying these images often provide little information. Many studies of the god rely on the material of the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Dendera and sometimes project this material back in time.³ There is a tendency in some early studies to conflate the specific form of Horus the Behdetite with the unspecific Horus found in many early myths.⁴ Although we do not have as much material on the early history of the god Horus the Behdetite as we do for a god like Amun of Thebes or even Ptah of Memphis I believe there is

col. 683; Dieter Wildung, "Flügelsonne," *LÄ* II, cols. 277-279; Winfried Barta, "Horus von Edfu," *LÄ* III, cols. 33-36; Pascal Vernus, "Tell Edfu," *LÄ* VI, cols. 323-331; Wolfhart Westendorf, "Die Flügelsonne aus Ägypten," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 19 (1986): 21-26; Gawdat Gabra and Adel Farid, "Neue Materialien zu königlichen Baudenkmalern in Edfu," *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 181-186; Gawdat Gabra, "The Site of Hager Edfu as the New Kingdom Cemetery of Edfu," *Cd'É* 52 (1977): 207-22 and Yehia Eid and Martin von Falck, "The History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu: Remarks on Re-used Blocks Discovered in the Temple Court," *BEM* 3 (2006): 65-70.

³ Cf. Junker, *Onurislegende*, pp. 18-23.

⁴ Cf. Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 70-78, §§ 85-94, pp. 126-127, § 154; Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," pp. 24-25, 45-46.

still much that *can* be said about this deity before the building of the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu. This material also, I believe, deserves to be studied as a whole. Although the Behdetite is only a specific manifestation of the god Horus, he holds a special place in regards to the king and Egypt. He appears as the protector of the person of the king in the forms of the hovering falcon and the sun disk from his first appearance in the 3rd Dynasty until the end of Pharaonic history. His form of the winged sun disk is unique for this god and highly symbolic representing the union of Horus and the sun god, the union of the “Two Lands” of Egypt, the border between the worlds of humanity and the gods and becomes a symbol of rebirth for kings and later for non-royalty. The god appears in many scenes and rituals of kingship, including the rites of the *Sed* festival and coronation, the “Union of the Two Lands,” purification and crowning of the king. The city and cult of the god was one of the most important of southern Upper Egypt with close ties to the priesthood and other officials in Thebes. During the Ramesside Period Horus the Behdetite was important enough that the priests at Thebes identified him with Amun-Re.

The primary source material for the study of Horus the Behdetite before the Greco-Roman Period is varied and scattered in many publications. Material from the cult at Edfu has been collected, for much of the period, in the dissertation of Vernus and much of the rest can be found in a small number of articles and excavation reports. For the hovering falcon, winged sun disk, scenes of the god in other forms and texts mentioning the Behdetite one must consult a vast number of publications documenting temple and tomb scenes, scarabs, seal impressions and papyri dating from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander. Although the focus of this study is the material spanning these periods, the texts and scenes from the Ptolemaic temple cannot be ignored. There is clearly some material carved in the temple that originated in earlier

periods. Some later material can also shed light upon the earlier material. However, an attempt has been made to start from the earlier material and work forward rather than the reverse, although sometimes this may not be possible.

The first three chapters concern the three most common forms in which the god appears: the falcon (Chapter 2), the sun disk (Chapter 3) and the falcon-headed man (Chapter 4). The reason for this choice of topics is, in part, practical. The topic of this dissertation was originally to be a study of the hovering falcons, vultures and sun disks that protect the king. This topic proved impracticable. The vast amount of material for the falcon and sun disk was already analyzed by this author and at hand for a study of the Behdetite. Much of the information about Horus the Behdetite is to be found in his forms of a falcon and sun disk. Much of this material has not been fully utilized in studies of the god. Focusing upon these three forms allows for an art historical analysis of each, although not dealing with style but, rather, iconography and patterns of use.⁵ At the same time it allows for discussion of the main epithets of the Behdetite, which often first appear with hovering falcons and sun disks. The sun disk, which includes the winged sun disk but also sun disks without wings, had an important role in representing important concepts of Horus the Behdetite and his relationship to the king and other gods. The falcon-headed man is the form in which the god interacts directly with the king and in pairings

⁵ The Behdetite also appears in the form of a griffon and as fully human before the Greco-Roman Period but these cases are rare and not of great importance for understanding the god. Cases in which the god appears in these forms are briefly mentioned in Chapters 2 and 6; see also Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums*, ÄgAb 25 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), vol. 1, p. 16 and *MH V*, pl. 251; Henri Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Seboua*, Les Temples immergés de la Nubie 5 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1912), pp. 29-34; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), pp. 72-73, fig. 17; Norman De Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pl. 4, register 2.

with other deities such as purification and binding of the plants that symbolize the two parts of Egypt. These pairings of gods played a major role in the early debate of whether the Behdetite was originally from Upper or Lower Egypt, as there were cities named Behdet in both Upper and Lower Egypt. Most scholars now believe that it is impossible to know the original cult site and many believe that the name “Behdet,” which refers to the place of the throne, is a mythical construct. Both opinions are quite likely true, however, we will examine this topic in a number of places, because, I believe, the Behdetite’s identification with the “Two Lands” of Egypt was an important part of his identity. Chapter 5 deals with these two cities named “Behdet” where they are at and what we know about the cult of the god in each location. Beginning in the Old Kingdom Horus the Behdetite is identified as *nb Msn* “Lord of Mesen.” This title derives from another form of Horus, who is a harpooning god and seems to be primarily a god of the Nile Delta. Horus the Behdetite clearly takes on this god’s role of a harpooner against Seth in mythical tales at Edfu Temple. There is also some dispute over the origins of Horus Lord of Mesen. We will examine the history of this god and the early evidence of the Behdetite as a harpooning god in Chapter 6 including a review of the myths of Horus found at Edfu, which are believed to date before the Ptolemaic Period. Chapter 7 examines the cult of Horus the Behdetite beyond the cities named Behdet looking at both royal/temple and private monuments. Chapter 8 takes a closer look at the special relationship between Horus the Behdetite and the king. Topics of concern throughout are the Behdetite as a solar god, his relationship to the Two Lands of Egypt and to the king and kingship.

CHAPTER 2

THE FALCON

2.I: Introduction

The Behdetite appears first as a falcon and the falcon appears to be his basic form.¹ Many other gods took the form of the falcon and many of these predate the Behdetite and not all of them were identified as Horus. There were also multiple forms of Horus. Some, like Horus Son of Isis, were identified with the great national myths of Horus. Local manifestations of Horus could be identified with these myths, as well, but they could also have unique characteristics. For Horus the Behdetite the hovering, flying falcon that protected the king appears to have been a characteristic unique to that form of Horus.² As Horus he is closely identified with the king and kingship but the Behdetite, more than other form of Horus, is closely identified with the two geographical portions of Egypt both as a falcon and in his other forms. The Behdetite also is recognized as a sun god in falcon form, though this was made more explicit in his sun disk forms. In this case he may have taken over this role from earlier concepts of Horus. He would share the role of the solar falcon or solar Horus with (Re-)Horakhty, with whom he is closely identified at a later time. Here we will examine the Behdetite's appearance

¹ The wings of the winged sun disk when they become identifiable are identical to Egyptian depictions of falcon wings and the beetle-form can be fitted with falcon wings, as well. The Behdetite also appears with a human body but the head of a falcon; he appears as a sphinx (griffon) with a falcon head. The only common form of the god in which he appears without falcon body parts is the sun disk with two uraei and other sun disks without wings (one or zero uraei); he is described as a lion in some texts but is not depicted as a lion before the Greco-Roman Period and he appears in the same period as a human headed sphinx (see below).

² Although we will see that the vulture goddess, probably to be identified with either Nekhbet, as in later times, or as the sky goddess Nut, is the first deity in bird form that hovers above the king.

in falcon form, the contexts in which he appears as a falcon and the epithets he bears in falcon form.

Note: Hovering birds and winged sun disks are found in three general formal poses, to which I will occasionally refer. For simplicity's sake I shall call these poses 1, 2 and 3. Pose 1 is the most commonly used pose for hovering birds and is often used with winged sun disks from the New Kingdom onwards: one wing is held horizontally while the other is held vertically or nearly so; it is often angled slightly backwards: .³ Pose 2 (Fig. 2): both wings are held more closely together; this is basically the pose of birds protecting each side of cartouches but is also found with hovering birds: .⁴ Pose 3: the wings are held to each side of the bird's body or the sun disk: .⁵ This is the most common pose for winged sun disks. Falcons occur less often in this pose than hovering winged disks and hovering vultures.⁶

2.II: The Falcon in Egyptian Thought: A Brief Survey

The Ancient Egyptians saw in the falcon something noble and divine. Cults of falcon gods were spread throughout the country.⁷ Many of these, but not all, were at some point identified with the god Horus, whose name probably means "The Distant One (in the sky)," or

³ See Fig. 1.

⁴ See Fig. 2.

⁵ There are variations with the wings raised or lowered but these will not concern us here.

⁶ One might interpret the falcon pectoral to be in this pose, however.

⁷ See Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 2, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft* (E. V.) 1924, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), pp. 3-4; Hartwig Altenmüller, "Falke," *LÄ* II, col. 94; Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2003), pp. 200-211.

“The One on High,” or perhaps, as Gilula has proposed, “He Who is Above.”⁸ The falcon is used as a determinative for the word “god” in the 4th Dynasty⁹ and in the Pyramid Texts.¹⁰ Perhaps naturally, the falcon became a sky and solar god and was identified with kingship. Falcons are masters of flight and have been aptly described as “blade-winged sentinels standing guard in places where distances are measured by the horizon.”¹¹ The Egyptians seem to have been impressed with the falcon’s vision and speed of attack and used these aspects to describe the king and gods. The larger species of falcons are built for speed, because they feed primarily on other birds. The Peregrine Falcon is the largest and swiftest falcon in Africa and one of the models for the “Horus Falcon.”¹² It has been clocked with an airspeed indicator at 100 kilometers per hour in a level chase and 135-145 kilometers per hour in a dive.¹³ During the dive of a falcon on prey, called a stoop, the bird pulls its wings close to its body but not against the body as when perched. This stoop is clearly portrayed in a falcon figurine found at Hierakonpolis with objects datable to the early Naqada II period.¹⁴ This speed of attack inspired the authors of a hymn, which describes Amun-Re as *bik ntry pd dnḥ.wy ḥ3ḥ it ph sw m km n 3.t*,

⁸ Mordechai Gilula, “An Egyptian Etymology of the Name of Horus?,” *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 259-265; see also Richard H. Wilkinson, “The Horus Name and the Form and Significance of the Serekh in the Royal Egyptian Titulary,” *JSSEA* 15 (1985), p. 99.

⁹ A falcon on a standard is the *ntr*-portion in the word *hr.t-ntr* in an inscription in a tomb at Giza; see *Urk.* I, p. 12, line 6; Altenmüller, “Falke,” cols. 94 and 96, n. 5.

¹⁰ See Altenmüller, “Falke,” cols. 94 and 96, n. 5.

¹¹ Pete Dunne, David Sibley and Clay Sutton, *Hawks in Flight: The Flight Identification of North American Migrant Raptors* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 76.

¹² Patrick F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1986), p. 48.

¹³ The airspeed indicator was attached to a peregrine; the birds have been clocked at even higher speeds using hand-held speedometers, see Peter Steyn, *Birds of Prey of Southern Africa: Their Identification & Life Histories* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982), p. 209.

¹⁴ See Stan Hendrickx, Renée Friedman and Merel Eyckerman, “Early Falcons,” in *Vorspann oder formative Phase? Ägypten und der Vordere Orient 3500-2700 v. Chr.*, ed. Ludwig D. Morenz and Robert Kuhn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), pp. 130-131, fig. 3.

“Divine Falcon with spread wings, who swoops down and seizes the one who attacks him in an instant.”¹⁵ The troops of Taharqa are described as being as fast as falcons in one text: *ny-sw.t ds(=f) wd3=f r bi3 r m33 nfr.w mš‘=f [iw.t=]sn mi iw(.t) t3w mi drty.w hwyw dnḥ.wy m dnḥ.w[=sn]* “The king (him)self set out to (Camp) Bia¹⁶ in order to observe the good qualities of his soldiers and their [coming] was like the coming of the wind, like falcons¹⁷ who fly¹⁸ with their wings.”¹⁹ Horus is said to be “acute of vision,” *spd ḥr*.²⁰ Amun-Re promises to make Thutmose III appear as *nb dm3.t iṯ m dgg.t=f r mrr=f*, “lord of the wing who seizes what he

¹⁵ Jan Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 344*, OMRO 28 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948), pl. III, line 3; idem, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1992), pp. 223-224; Alan H. Gardiner, “Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus,” *ZÄS* 42 (1905): p. 25, pl. III, line 3, pl. IX.

¹⁶ On *bi3* here, see Hartwig Altenmüller and Ahmed M. Moussa, “Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dachschrstrasse,” *SAK* 9 (1981), pp. 70-71, textual note s.

¹⁷ I prefer “falcon” over “kite” here; although *drty* is probably derived from a word for “kite” (*dr.t*) a type of bird of prey, some species of which are very similar to falcons, the word came to be another term for “falcon.” This is likely due to Horus’ mother Isis’ and her sister Nephthys’ identification as kites. The -y ending of *drty* suggests that it is derived from a nisbe adjective; Horus as son of Isis may have come to be called “He of the Kite”; see Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven: Uitgeveru Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997), P. 1244. The army is more likely being identified with falcons rather than kites; the closest parallels are texts that describe the king as a falcon attacking his foes or Horus doing the same, whereas kites usually have feminine connotations in the same manner as vultures are usually identified with goddesses.

¹⁸ Literally “who strike wings with (their) wings.” For *hwi dnḥ* meaning “to fly,” see *Wb.* V, p. 578, no. 3 and Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturegeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), p. 1008 (*dnḥ*).

¹⁹ Altenmüller and Mousse, “Taharkastele,” pp. 64-66, fig. 2, lines 8-9; Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, n.s. 6 (Paris: Institut de France, 1986), p. 77, n. 156.

²⁰ *CT* II, p. 254; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, *Spells 1-354* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1973-78) p. 130. See also Rami van der Molen, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of the Egyptian Coffin Texts*, PÅ 15 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), 346; and *Wb.* III, p. 125, no. 8.

sees according to his desire.”²¹ The violence of the falcon’s attack and the rending of its prey fit the bellicose attitude of Egyptians towards their enemies. Horus is *bik nšd sbi.w m ‘n.wt=f 3m.n š3.t=f hfty.w=f*, “the falcon who tears rebels to pieces with his talons after his claw has grasped his enemies,”²² *qn nšd ‘g3.wt srq hfty.w=f m dndn*, “the victorious, who rends (with) talons and slays his enemies in anger,”²³ *bik sš ‘g3.(w)t . . .wnš ‘g3.wt m nt.t sbi.w=f*, “the falcon who extends the talons . . . who releases his claws into the hide of his enemies.”²⁴ The king in his attack on his enemies is often described as a falcon pursuing small birds: *iw=i m-s3=sn mi bik ntry gmh.n=f hp.wt hr qrr.t* “I was behind them (enemies) like a divine falcon after he has spotted small birds at (lit. upon) a (nest) hole,”²⁵ *in(w) wr.w=sn m sqr-‘nh mi Hr hq3.n=f t3.wy wr.w=sn ‘rf(.w) m hf=f mi bik hpt.n=f šf.w* “and their chiefs were brought away as prisoners just as Horus (did) when he ruled the Two Lands; their chiefs being enclosed in his fist like a falcon when he has seized small birds.”²⁶ As protector of the king and Egypt, the Behdetite may have been one of the most bellicose falcon-gods of all.

²¹ *Urk.* IV, p. 617, lines 8-9.

²² *Edfou* II, p. 20, nos. 66-67.

²³ *Edfou* I, p. 270, lines 13-14.

²⁴ *Urk.* VIII, p. 20, no. 21h.

²⁵ *MH* I, pl. 23, lines 44-46; *KRI* V, p. 17, lines 7-8. The word *qrr.t*, written *q3r.t* (see *Wb.* V, p. 62.4-6) here, is interesting from an ornithological stand point; there are very few trees in Egypt available for birds that nest in tree cavities, thus there are no breeding woodpeckers in Egypt, however, kingfishers (Family *Alcedinidae*) and Sand Martins (*Riparia riparia*), called Bank Swallows in North America, nest in holes dug out of the banks of the Nile and of canals. Since the same word is used for holes in the earth and the caverns of the Underworld, the nest hole of a bird such as a kingfisher, or martin is certainly intended here.

²⁶ *KRI* II, p. 153, lines 10-11; Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, p. 76; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, vol. 2, *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p. 30.

The falcon appears frequently in the art of the Predynastic Period.²⁷ In most cases the bird is in a sitting position without legs or feet depicted.²⁸ Most interesting are several figurines with holes, which appear to be meant for mounting.²⁹ These figurines are similar to falcons that appear on standards of the king, which first appear on the palettes and mace heads of the Naqada III Period to the Early 1st Dynasty.³⁰ These images of falcons somewhat resemble images of the mummified falcon god Horus of Nekhen and are named *‘hm*, *šnb.ty* or *gmḥsw* in later texts:

.³¹ The falcon-god at Hierakonpolis was a favored cult of the kings of the Early Dynastic and of later kings.

²⁷ Jean Capart, *Les débuts de l'art en Égypte* (Brussels: Vromant, 1904), p. 77, fig. 43 (no. 48: an ivory pin), p. 88, fig. 57 (slate palette), pp. 183-184, fig. 136 (figurines of various materials). See now Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, "Early Falcons," pp. 129-149

²⁸ Capart, *Les débuts de l'art*, pp. 183-184, fig. 136; Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, "Early Falcons," pp. 135-139, figs. 9-13.

²⁹ Capart, *Les débuts de l'art*, fig. 136; Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, "Early Falcons," pp. 135-136, figs. 9-11; Elise J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press and Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum, 1960), p. 75, pl. 6, no. 8; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt: Illustrated by over 1000 Objects in University College, London*, BSAE 31 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1920), pl. 9, nos. 6-7, 36.

³⁰ Capart, *Les débuts de l'art*, p. 229, fig. 160, p. 230, fig. 161, p. 234, fig. 165, p. 237, fig. 168, p. 241, fig. 171; Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, "Early Falcons," pp. 136-138; W. B. Emery, *Archaic Egypt: Culture and Civilization in Egypt Five Thousand Years Ago* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1961), p. 45, fig. 5, pl. 1; Whitney Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 94, fig. 28, p. 120, fig. 33, p. 144, fig. 37, p. 162, fig. 38; C. Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, Propylaen Kunstgeschichte 15 (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1975), pl. 2a; W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 111, fig. 25, p. 112, fig. 27, p. 115, fig. 31, pl. 29a.

³¹ Capart, *Les débuts de l'art*, p. 183; cf. J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I: Plates of Discoveries in 1898*, BSAE 4 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900), pl. 46, nos. 7 and 11; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 178-179, 1021, 1100.

The association of kingship with the falcon-god Horus dates to the Early Dynastic Period (“Dynasty 0”), when the king’s “Horus” name first appears.³² However several falcon figurines from the Naqada II Period have been discovered in the elite “royal” cemetery in the wadi at HK6 at Hierakonpolis and may point to an early association of kingship with the falcon in that city.³³ King Sekhen (Ka) was the first king to place the Horus falcon upon the palace façade or *serekh* (𓆎).³⁴ Both the box above the palace façade, which surrounds the name, and the falcon above it may act as protection of the king’s name³⁵ but the king is as closely identified with the falcon as he is with his name. This can be seen in the Horus name of Hor-Aha, in which the falcon on the *serekh* grasps the shield and mace of the word *ḥ3*.³⁶ Similarly in later times deities present life to the nose of the falcon of the Horus name meaning they give life to the king.³⁷

³² Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed., MÄS 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 7, 36-37.

³³ See Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, “Early Falcons,” pp. 130-132; cf. pp. 139-141.

³⁴ See von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, pp. 7, 37 and 39; Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, “Early Falcons,” p. 142; Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano, “Chronology and Local Traditions: The Representation of Power and the Royal Name in the Late Predynastic Period,” *Archéonil* 13 (2003), pp. 113-120. Early depictions of the *serekh* show it with a curved top, which may mimic the boat that a falcon sits upon above the name of “Scorpion” on a vase discussed below, however Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman, “Early Falcons,” pp. 144-146 interpret this curve as a representation of a throw-stick.

³⁵ See John Baines, “Trône et dieu: aspects du symbolisme royal et divin des temps archaïques,” *BSFE* 118 (June 1990), p. 15.

³⁶ See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, vol. 2, EM 21 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1901), pl. 3.1-2, 4-5, 7, pl. 3A.5-6; see also, Toby A. H. Wilkinson, “What a King is This: Narmer and the Concept of the Ruler,” *JEA* 86 (2000), p. 26.

³⁷ Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires and Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999), p. 62, figs. 146, 149, 151, 164, 172, 303A, C-G, 304-305; compare fig. 209 from Medinet Habu with the name of Hor-aha.

2.III: Predecessor(s) to the Behdetite as Hovering Falcon?

One of the finds from the “main deposit” of the temple of Horus at Hierakonpolis was a limestone vase with a series of falcons perched upon a sickle shaped object each “hovering” above a scorpion.³⁸ The scorpion is, perhaps, the name of the king of the “Scorpion mace-head” also found in the same deposit.³⁹ The falcon on the sickle-shaped object is nearly identical to later renderings of the name of the god Nemty (formerly read as “Anty”).⁴⁰ Some depictions of this god indicate that the sickle-shaped object on which the falcon stands is a boat.⁴¹ However, Hendrickx, Friedman and Eyckerman interpret similar depictions as a throw-stick.⁴² Due to the location in which the vase was found, the falcon has been identified as Horus of Nekhen/Hierakonpolis.⁴³ On the Narmer Mace-head a bird hovers over the King, who sits in a kiosk and some scholars believed the bird to be a falcon, since the piece was dedicated in the temple of Horus of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), and due to the similar long curved beak of the falcon of Narmer’s Horus name found on the same mace-head.⁴⁴ However, the bird is likely a vulture based on the line separating the neck from the head, which is clearly meant to indicate the nearly featherless head of a vulture. The body structure of this bird is very similar to the two

³⁸ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 19.1.

³⁹ Cf. von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁰ See Kurt Sethe and Alan H. Gardener, “Zur Vokalisation des Dualis in Ägyptischen: Der Name von Gebelên und der Name des Gottes Antaios,” *ZÄS* 47 (1910), p. 51; cf. Alan H. Gardener, T. Eric Peet and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1 (London: E. E. S. and Oxford University Press, 1952), pl. 42, no. 119. On the name see Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 1215; R. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, p. 204.

⁴¹ Eberhard Otto, “Anti,” *LÄ* I, col. 318; R. Wilkinson, *Complete Gods*, p. 204.

⁴² “Early Falcons,” pp. 144-146, fig. 17.

⁴³ Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 2, p. 4.

⁴⁴ For example, Elise J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 114-115; Samuel A. B. Mercer, *Horus: Royal God of Egypt* (Grafton, Massachusetts: Society of Oriental Research, 1942), p. 146, fig. 81.

vultures depicted on the Battlefield Palette, as well, along with the same long neck, curved beak and short squared tail. Another vulture appears on an ivory cylinder above the catfish of Narmer's name; the catfish, with human arms and hands, grasps a long club so as to strike a group of bound prisoners. A falcon stands in front of the vulture with an *ankh* grasped in its talons, which it hangs down towards the head of the catfish.⁴⁵ With these objects we have hovering birds above the two main focuses of protection: the body/image and the name of the king. On the Narmer Palette on the recto side a falcon appears above a single barbed harpoon above a boat.⁴⁶ In front of this falcon and boat is the sign of a door and a bird; this likely forms an inscription reading '3 wr Hr msnw "The great door of Horus the Harpooner."⁴⁷ The association of a falcon-god with harpooning will be discussed in a later chapter. It is interesting that hovering falcons are not depicted as flying until the Old Kingdom.⁴⁸ They either perch on a boat or other object or they sit without support, as on the Narmer cylinder seal.⁴⁹ Falcons sometimes are found in Early Dynastic Period material sitting above the name of the king without a *serekh*, and Barta suggests that the falcon in these cases is hovering in protection over the name.⁵⁰ A falcon appears on an ivory label of Aha from Naqada in a small boat with a high

⁴⁵ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, p. 7, pl. 15.7; a better drawing can be found in John Baines, "Origins of Egyptian Kingship," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O'Conner and David P. Silverman, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 151, fig. 3.6.

⁴⁶ Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 29.

⁴⁷ Werner Kaiser, "Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit III. Die Reichseinigung," *ZÄS* 91 (1964), p. 90; Béatrix Midant-Reynes, *The Prehistory of Egypt: From the First Egyptians to the First Pharaohs*, trans. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 246..

⁴⁸ That is except for the falcons from the Naqada II Period shown in a stoop that was discussed above.

⁴⁹ Cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty I*, EM 18 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), pl. 17, nos. 26, 29.

⁵⁰ Winfried Barta, "„Falke des Palastes“ als ältester Königstitel," *MDAIK* 24 (1969), pp. 51-52, n. 8 (of p. 51); see examples in Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 19; P. Lacau and J.-Ph.

sternpost, which in turn hovers above a larger boat with an elaborate bow.⁵¹ On an ivory comb of King Djet a falcon rests in a boat with a similar bow.⁵² The boat is likely the sun bark, due to the structure at its bow that resembles the “solar mat” of later depictions,⁵³ and the fact that it “moves” from left to right, which in Egyptian art is the same as from east to west like the sun.⁵⁴ The boat on the comb of Djet, however, rides on a pair of wings shown frontally. Below is the falcon and *serekh* of the king’s Horus name. W. von Bissing believed that he could see the traces of a sun disk between the wings.⁵⁵ However, a close examination by Engelbach revealed no evidence of a sun disk.⁵⁶ Many interpret the wings as representing the sky itself,⁵⁷ and deriving from the falcon.⁵⁸ The wings are supported on either side by a *w3s* or *ḏ‘m* scepter.

Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés: Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 18.4 (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), pl. 11, nos. 59-60; Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, ÄGAB 8 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pl. 42, no. 146, pl. 50, no. 187.

⁵¹ See Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 50, fig. 10.

⁵² W. Flinders Petrie, et al., *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, BSAE 37 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Bernard Quaritch, 1925), p. 4, pls. 2.6, 12.5; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 85, and fig. 28.2.

⁵³ Steve Vinson, personal communication 2/25/09.

⁵⁴ See Wolfhart Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, MÄS 10 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1966), pp. 23-24.

⁵⁵ “Die älteste Darstellung der geflügelten Sonnenscheib,” *ZÄS* 64 (1929), p. 112; idem., “Noch einmal die älteste geflügelte Sonnenscheib,” *ZÄS* 66 (1931), pp. 69-70.

⁵⁶ R. Engelbach, “An Alleged Winged Sun-disk of the First Dynasty,” *ZÄS* 65 (1930), pp. 115-116.

⁵⁷ Heinrich Schäfer, *Ägyptische und heutige Kunst und Weltgebäude der alten Ägypter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1928), pp. 113-115; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), p. 47; cf. Westendorf, “Flügelsonne,” pp. 22-23. Goedicke sees the wings as being symbolic of the separation of this world and that of the gods, or the immanent world and the transcendent world; “Unity and Diversity in the Oldest Religion of Ancient Egypt,” in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Hans Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), pp. 205-206.

⁵⁸ Hermann Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), pp. 42-43; Dietrich Wildung, “Flügelsonne,” in *LÄ* II, col. 277; Goedicke, “Unity and Diversity,” p. 205.

Schäfer notes a similarity to an inscription of Sahure of the 5th Dynasty in which the same scepters support the sky sign (*p.t*), which suggests the wings should be interpreted as the sky.⁵⁹ Although there is no sun disk between the wings, their frontal arrangement is suggestive of the winged sun disk. If the falcon in the boat can be interpreted as the sun, the entire construction, wings, falcon and boat, could be equivalent to the winged sun disk or a forerunner of the same. The boat and falcon could be equivalent to the sun god within the solar bark, which later is identified with the sun disk. However, there is much debate concerning the wings as to whether they derive from the falcon or are those of a vulture.⁶⁰ The wings of the winged sun disk do not seem to be directly identified with the sky itself until the Late Period.⁶¹ The falcon in the boat is identical in form to the falcon below it perched on the *serekh*.⁶² Since the falcon of the king's name is "Horus" it is assumed that the falcon in the boat is also named Horus being a heavenly

⁵⁹ Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, pp. 113-114, figs. 39-40; Rudolf Anthes, "Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B. C.," *JNES* 18 (1959), p. 189; Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," p. 47.

⁶⁰ Anthes, "Egyptian Theology," pp. 188-189, commenting on the wings of the winged sun disk makes the strange comment that "we cannot tell whether these wings were genuinely those of a falcon or of a beetle," which is odd since the wings of the sun disk have feathers and are shaped like those of birds and nothing like a beetle's wings. It is true that Apy/Horus the Behdetite and the sun god have an alternate form as a scarab beetle, but the sun disk is never shown with beetle wings, although the scarab beetle sometimes is shown with bird, i. e. falcon wings; for a scarab beetle with bird wings see T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli, Italy: White Star, 2000), p. 191 (Carter number 116, Jd'É 60722), p. 197 (Carter number 271C, D, Jd'É 62348), p. 198 (Carter number 240BIS, Jd'É 61496), p. 218 (Carter number 256QQQ, Jd'É 61887), pp. 230-231 (with falcon tail, Carter number 267D, Jd'É 61884), p. 231 (Carter number 267A, Jd'É 61886), p. 234 (Carter number 267N, Jd'É 61890); compare with scarabs with more insect-like wings: pp. 188-189, 192-193 (with falcon tail, legs and talons, Carter number 54K, Jd'É 62627), pp. 224-225 (Carter number 261M, Jd'É 61948).

⁶¹ Anthes, "Egyptian Theology," p. 189; stars are depicted on the wings of a sun disk on a coffin of the 30th Dynasty now in New York, see J. J. Clère, "Fragments d'une nouvelle représentation égyptienne du monde," *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 31, fig. 1=Westendorf, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, pl. 27, no. 53 and Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, p. 86, fig. 2 and p. 118, fig. 46.

⁶² Anthes, "Egyptian Theology," p. 171.

counterpart of the king, who is the “Horus on the Palace-façade.”⁶³ Arguments have been made that the wings cannot be that of a falcon if they are interpreted as the sky, since the sky is feminine in Egyptian thought and Horus, as well as the early words for wing (*nd*, *dnh*) are masculine. Horus in the Pyramid Texts is identified as *nb p.t* and *hnty p.t* and is thus the ruler of the sky and not the sky itself.⁶⁴ However, if the heavenly Horus is a god of the cosmos, whose eyes are the sun and moon, it would not be difficult to imagine the sky as also being a part of the god; the gender of the sky would not be problematic, since the eyes are also feminine. Anthes points out that one *could* argue that, “since the Egyptians regarded the sun as a falcon flying in heaven, the idea that his wings represented the sky was incidental and naturally accepted in spite of any logical objections.”⁶⁵ However, he also correctly notes that Horus does not seem to be conceived as a flying falcon “in the early period.”⁶⁶ Anthes and others have argued that the wings on the comb of Djed are those of a vulture.⁶⁷ The argument is based on certain lines in the Pyramid Texts in which Nut covers her son like a mother bird: *Wsir N. pšš.n=s mw.t=k Nw.t hr=k* “Osiris N., she, (namely) your mother Nut, has spread (herself) over you.”⁶⁸ *Pyr.* § 1629a, *Nw.t hr.t(i) hr s3=s* “Nut has fallen over her son,” which parallels *Pyr.* § 1611b, *is nr.t i.hr.t(i) hr s3=s* “See, the vulture has fallen over her son.” *Pyr.* § 1370b, *di=sn sw m-hnw dnh.w=s* “as they place him within her wings,” refers to the heavenly *sm3.t*-cow, which is elsewhere

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 171 and 187.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 189; cf. *Wb.* I, p. 207.6 and V, p. 577.6-7.

⁶⁵ “Egyptian Theology,” p. 189.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-188, 190.

⁶⁷ “Egyptian Theology,” p. 190.

⁶⁸ *Pyr.* § 825a.

identified as a vulture.⁶⁹ Some later evidence might support Anthes' interpretation. The vulture found on the breasts of some coffins and shabtis from the New Kingdom is sometimes identified as the sky goddess Nut.⁷⁰ A pectoral from the tomb of Tutankhamun depicts a vulture that is named Nut.⁷¹ Westendorf sees the wings as those of the sun bark itself. He supports this interpretation by the name of a celestial bark in the Pyramid Texts: *i.p3=s hnn=s*, "It-flies-and-alights."⁷² He sees the wings as deriving from either the sky goddess, i. e. a vulture, or from the falcon, the form of the sun god himself.⁷³ It cannot be determined from the representation on the comb whether the wings are intended to be those of a falcon or of a vulture. If the image on the Djnet comb were a forerunner of the winged sun disk the wings would probably be those of a

⁶⁹ Anthes, "Egyptian Theology," p. 190; cf. Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 2, (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1934-62), p. 124 (commentary to *Pyr.* § 388c); idem, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 3 (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1934-62), pp. 351-352 (commentary to *Pyr.* § 729a-b).

⁷⁰ Even those vultures on coffins and shabtis not directly identified as Nut probably are Nut, since they appear in the same location as images of the goddess, who is usually provided with wings. See Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, CGC 21 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1909), pl. 7 (CG 61005); coffin used for Amenhotep I); the name of Nut is difficult to see in Daressy's photo; a clear photo can be found in Francesco Tiradritti, ed., *The Treasures of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo and Vercelli, Italy: American University in Cairo Press and White Star S.r.l., 1999), p. 294. Cf. Daressy, *Cercueils*, pls. 12, 26, 36, 39, 42, 45, 47, 49-50, 53-54 and 57. A vulture is called Nut on a shabti of the Vizier Ptahmose; see Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan and Lawrence M. Berman, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), p. 310, fig. X.7; also photographed in Tiradritti, ed., *Treasures*, p. 157; cf. Kozloff, Bryan and Berman, *Dazzling Sun*, pp. 312 and 314 (winged Nut on coffin of Henut-wedjebu).

⁷¹ See James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 236 (Carter no. 261P3, Jd'É 61943).

⁷² Westendorf, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, p. 23; idem., "Die Flügelsonne aus Ägypten," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 19 (1986), p. 23; *Pyr.* § 494b; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 97.

⁷³ Westendorf, "Flügelsonne," p. 23.

falcon since the winged sun disk is so closely linked with the falcon in later times.⁷⁴ However, as we will see, a true winged sun disk does not appear until the 4th Dynasty, so the question as to the identity of the type of wings on the Djet comb must remain open.⁷⁵

Although falcons in the Early Dynastic Period sometimes hover above the name of the king and despite the similarity of the image on the Djet comb to the winged sun disk, these falcons cannot be specifically linked to the Behdetite. They are more likely to be identified with a sun or cosmic god, possibly worshipped throughout Egypt, which probably bore the name of Horus.⁷⁶ The falcon god worshipped in Behdet may have been identified with this god in the Early Dynastic Period but there is no evidence for this. More likely Hierakonpolis, ancient Nekhen, either became the main cult center of the solar Horus or the falcon god of Nekhen became identified with Horus.⁷⁷ Either case would not be surprising given the town's early large

⁷⁴ Depictions of the wings of sun disks in Egyptian art beginning in the reign of Pepy I show that their internal structure is identical with those of falcons and different from vultures; earlier depictions do not show internal details of the wing. Cf. Regina Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs*, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 55, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 10 (Vienna: Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 1990), p. 50; Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," p. 49; Schäfer, *Weltgebäude*, p. 116.

⁷⁵ George Andrew Reisner and William Stevenson Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops: A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), fig. 29a, pl. 11a.

⁷⁶ The identification of Horus as a sun god is based in part on assumption by many scholars that the god on the Djet comb and other early objects is named "Horus," although the name is never written as a label beside the god, and upon later references in the Pyramid Texts that seem to identify Horus as a solar and cosmic god.

⁷⁷ Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," pl. 4; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, pp. 83-85; Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 286-287; Mercer, *Horus*, p. 137.

size and importance to the early rulers of Upper Egypt and Egypt as a whole.⁷⁸ Although the cult of Horus of Nekhen remained important through the New Kingdom, beginning in the Old Kingdom another god, (Horus) the Behdetite, starts to gain importance and takes Horus of Nekhen's place as protector of the king.⁷⁹

2.IV: The Behdetite as Horus and as the Hovering Falcon

Junker identified Horus the Behdetite as an old war and royal god and believed, for this reason, that he was originally a deity of purely human form.⁸⁰ However, he supplies no evidence for this⁸¹ and I see no reason why a war-god or royal-god must be of purely human form. In fact, it was probably the falcon's territorial behavior and violent hunting skills that led to its adoption as symbol of the king. The Behdetite appears in fully human form only three times before the Greco-roman Period and one of these is a copy of the other. The Behdetite appears in human form on the doorjambs of the west face of the first pylon at both the Ramesseum and the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu with other important Theban gods.⁸² This grouping of gods, in which all or most of the gods appear in completely human form, is typical of depictions of

⁷⁸ Cf. Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, p. 83; T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 310.

⁷⁹ Hierakonpolis remained an important center during the Old Kingdom but declined thereafter; see Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, p. 86. There is some correspondence in the appearance of the Behdetite with the growth of Edfu. This growth of Edfu is apparent from the 4th Dynasty but there is a 3rd Dynasty presence at Edfu found in a small step pyramid, which has recently been excavated by the Oriental Institute's Tell Edfu Project (see 5.II.i). This corresponds with the first evidence for the existence of the Behdetite found in the time of Djoser and discussed below.

⁸⁰ Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, KAWW Phil.-hist. Klasse Denkschriften 59, nos. 1-2 (Vienna: Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), p. 18: "er selbst galt als ein Kampf- und Königsgott, wie er oben geschildert wurde; dabei ist es wahrscheinlich, daß dieser Gott einem alten, rein menschlich gedachten Lokalgott von Edfu angeglichen ist."

⁸¹ I have not found any evidence myself.

⁸² See Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums*, ÄgAb 25 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), vol. 1, p. 16 and *MHV*, pl. 251.

Enneads during the New Kingdom.⁸³ On the south wall of the sanctuary (A) 2nd register of Hibis Temple is a human figure kneeling, which is swathed and has short hair (looking similar to Ptah).⁸⁴ He is called *Hr Bhd.t(y) hry S.t-wr.t* “Horus the Behdetite, who (has authority) over the Great-Place⁸⁵ (Edfu).”⁸⁶ He is pictured with other forms of Horus the Behdetite, which may represent cult statues but we know little else about this manifestation of the god.⁸⁷ A god depicted in human form in the bark shrine of the small temple at Medinet Habu from the 18th Dynasty as depicted by Lepsius bears the name of *Bhd.t(y)*,⁸⁸ however a recent examination of the relief by the Epigraphic Survey has shown that the text does not read *Bhd.t(y)* at all.⁸⁹ Based on this late and not very significant evidence, it seems unlikely that the Behdetite was originally conceived as human in form. We first encounter a falcon-god named “the Behdetite” in the 3rd Dynasty in the reign of Djoser, or Netjerykhet. At this king’s funerary complex at Saqqara are two sets of three underground limestone panels with raised relief. One set is under the Step Pyramid, and the other is below the “south tomb.”⁹⁰ Much of Djoser’s funerary complex was

⁸³ Cf. *LD III*, pls. 34d, 75d, 125a, 222d, 246e.

⁸⁴ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khāargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pl. 4.

⁸⁵ Or “Seat.”

⁸⁶ Cf. Eugene Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1988), p. 25; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 948; *Edfou I*, p. 232, line 11.

⁸⁷ See Chapter 7.IV.iii.2.1.

⁸⁸ *LD III*, pl. 37b; cf. *LD III Text*, p. 159, n. 3, no. 7; *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 253 and 255, no. 44 and vol. 7, p. 650, cf. vol. 3, p. 212.

⁸⁹ The text actually reads *Hr dpy(?) tḥnw* “Horus the Glittering Crocodile.” I thank Dr. J. Brett McClain for a copy of the drawing of this scene and the collation and commentary of Dr. Harold Hays; this scene will be published in *Medinet Habu*, vol. 10, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, Part 2, forthcoming.

⁹⁰ Cecil M. Firth, J. E. Quibell and J. P. Lauer, *The Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 14 (Cairo: IFAO and Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1935), pls. 15-17, 40-42; Florence Dunn

dedicated to the eternal renewal of his kingship through the *Sed* festival, including a stone double throne and dais and the lunette-shaped markers that the king ran around during this festival and which symbolized his taking possession of Egypt. The subject of the panels is also the creation of Djoser as king anew.⁹¹ The panels, found in north-south running corridors, should be understood as a unit running in sequence from the northernmost panel under the pyramid to the southernmost panel under the south tomb. The panels follow a path that corresponds with a path above ground that runs beside the stone lunettes in the great court.⁹² In the first panel the king is said to be ‘*h*’ (*m*) *Pr-wr* (?)⁹³ *Bḥd.t(y)* “Standing (in) the *Pr-wr*-shrine (?) of the Behdetite.”⁹⁴ The word *Bḥd.t(y)*⁹⁵ is followed by a sitting falcon. Many read the sitting falcon as “Horus,”⁹⁶ but its

Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex,” *JARCE* 32 (1995), pp. 1-42, figs. 2a-b, 12, 14, 16-17, 23-24.

⁹¹ Friedman, “Relief Panels,” p. 18.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ The reading is a bit uncertain as only  is written. One might read *itr.t* (*šm’.t*); cf. *Wb.* I, p. 147, no. 15; Gardiner points out that *itr.t* is more properly understood as a row of shrines and not a word for a singular shrine as we have here but there do seem to be cases where the word is used for a single shrine; see Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 26; *idem*, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. Rev. (Oxford and London: Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum and Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 494 (O 19); cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 123-124.

⁹⁴ Friedman, “Relief Panels,” pp. 18-20, fig. 12; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 32, pl. 3.4; Firth, Quibell and Lauer, *Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, pl. 17.

⁹⁵ The word in the Old Kingdom is not written with the *-y* (see Eberhard Otto, “Behedeti,” *LÄ* I, col. 683) but is almost certainly a *nisbe*-adjective since the hovering falcon almost always appears without the sitting falcon and is not called “Horus of Behdet” but is called “the Behdetite.” The *nisbe* ending *-i/-y* of feminine adjectives is almost never written in Old Egyptian; see Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, *Analecta Orientalia* 34 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1955), § 342, p. 146. The *nisbe*-ending appears in the Middle Kingdom but through most of Egyptian history it is more common for it not to be written; cf. Battiscombe Gunn, “A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu,” *ASAE* 29 (1929), p. 6; R. Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfû,” *ASAE* 22 (1922), pp. 114-115, 118-119, 121-122.

⁹⁶ Friedman, “Relief Panels,” pp. 18-20; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 32.

position behind the word *Bḥd.t(y)* may mean that it is merely a determinative for a falcon-god.⁹⁷ However, by the reign of Neuserre of the 5th Dynasty the falcon appears before the word *Bḥd.t(y)*.⁹⁸ Before the Greco-Roman Period the word *Hr* preceding the name *Bḥd.ty* is usually written with  or  but in at least one Middle Kingdom text it is written with .⁹⁹ Junker claims that a mummified falcon wearing two tall feathers ()¹⁰⁰ was the form of the Behdetite's cult image "in alter Zeit" but bases this completely on texts and images from the Ptolemaic Period temple at Edfu.¹⁰¹ The Behdetite is not otherwise depicted as mummified until the Greco-Roman Period,¹⁰² although we will see below that the god as a hovering falcon is sometimes equipped with a crown of two feathers. The name *Bḥd.ty* "the Behdetite" and the name of the city *Bḥd.t* likely derive from the word *bḥdw* "throne" and Friedman suggests the

⁹⁷ Cf. Otto, "Behedeti," col. 683, who contends that the god is not identified with Horus until the Middle Kingdom; an error, as we shall see.

⁹⁸ See F. W. Freiherrn von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Neuserre (Rathures)*, vol. 2, *Die kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pl. 19 (45b); idem, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* 32.1 (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922), p. 107. The name is also rendered in this way during the early 6th Dynasty; see Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 1, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.)* 1924, 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 76, n. 1; *Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 3, *Schriftstücke der VI. Dynastie aus Elephantine: Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind Ostraka* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), pl. 5 (Berlin Papyrus 10523, Ac, 3); Mahmoud El-Khadragy, "The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum," *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 216, fig. 6, line 2.

⁹⁹ G. Daressy, "Monuments d'Edfou datant du Moyen Empire," *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 237.

¹⁰⁰ Junker's falcon is without the sun disk.

¹⁰¹ See *Onurislegende*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰² See below.

occurrence of the god and its shrine here in the reliefs of Djoser signals the subject of the panels as enthronement.¹⁰³

The sign used for the shrine on the Djoser panel shows the “horned” shrine of Upper Egypt (𓆎),¹⁰⁴ so, at least here, Behdet is considered to be in southern Egypt and probably is Edfu.¹⁰⁵ The following three panels show the king running the race around the lunettes.¹⁰⁶ In the final two panels the king is shown at the national shrines of Lower and of Upper Egypt wearing the respective crowns of each indicating he has been re-crowned as king of both halves of the country.¹⁰⁷ The panel for Lower Egypt states that the king is ‘*h*’ (m) *Pr-nw/Pr-nzr* (?)¹⁰⁸ *Hm(y)*, “Standing in the *Per-nu/Per-nezer*-shrine (? 𓆎) of He of Khem//Letopolis.”¹⁰⁹ This god also takes a falcon determinative: 𓆏. The panels are placed in false doors; three of the panels’

¹⁰³ *Wb.* I, p. 470.3-4; Friedman, “Relief Panels,” pp. 18, 20. Although the word *bḥdw* is not attested until the 19th Dynasty, there is really no other likely etymology for *Bḥd.t/Bḥd.ty*, cf. Gábor Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vol. 2, *b-, p-, f-*, HO I:48.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 285-286.

¹⁰⁴ The form of the shrine appears to have been inspired by the elephant; see Günter Dreyer, *Umm El-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse*, AVDAIK 86 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), pp. 120-122, nos. 61-69.

¹⁰⁵ A small number of towns in Upper Egypt besides Edfu may have been named “Behdet” but Edfu was by far the most prominent; cf. Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 2 (Cairo: La Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1925), pp. 27-28. Even Gardiner, who believed Horus the Behdetite was originally a god of the Delta, identifies the location of this shrine of the Behdetite as being in Edfu; see “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 32.

¹⁰⁶ See Friedman, “Relief Panels,” pp. 22-36, for the significance of these panels.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰⁸ The same difficulties found with interpreting the Upper Egyptian shrine are encountered here as only 𓆎 is written, which can be read as *Pr-nw*, *Pr-nzr*, *itr.t* and *itr.t (mḥ.t)*; see Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 495 (O 20); *Wb.* I, p. 147, no. 16.

¹⁰⁹ Or “the Khemite”; 𓆏 follows the word *Hm(y)* and the group is possibly to be read as *Hr Hm* “Horus of Khem” as the god is identified as *Hr ḥnty Hm* in the Pyramid Texts; see Friedman, “Relief Panels,” pp. 36 and 38, fig. 23; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 32, pl. 3.3; *Pyr.* § 810b.

inscriptions imply that these are doors to shrines.¹¹⁰ Friedman has shown that these relief panels likely represent statues of the king standing in shrines that correspond to shrines above ground at the south end and west side of the *Sed* festival court.¹¹¹ Similarly, six shrines from the valley temple of Sneferu at Dahshur had statues of the king in niches rendered in high relief.¹¹² On each of Djoser's panels above and behind the king is a flying falcon. In four of the panels the falcon is in pose 1 framing the top right corner of the scene. In the northernmost panel under the south tomb the falcon also fills the right corner, but is in pose 2. This bird's higher, more horizontal, wing is angled down and in the space above the wing the falcon is identified as *Bḥd.t(y)* "The Behdetite."¹¹³ The falcon's position above and slightly behind the king shows that he is in a protective pose.¹¹⁴ In four of the panels the falcon holds a *shen*-ring; in the north and south panels under the "south tomb" the falcon holds an *ankh*.¹¹⁵ These are the basic "gifts" to the king held in the claws of hovering falcons (and vultures) throughout the rest of Pharaonic history. The *shen*-ring is probably a bit more commonly held than the *ankh*. In the New Kingdom, especially the Ramesside Period, hovering birds often have additional "gifts" extending from their talons such as *w3s*-signs¹¹⁶ and *Sed* festival signs (double thrones).¹¹⁷ Also

¹¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 11, 18-19, 36-39, figs. 12, 23-24.

¹¹¹ Ibid, pp. 26-35, figs. 19-21, cf. fig. 13 on p. 21.

¹¹² Ibid, pp. 34-35, fig. 21; cf. Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. 2, bk. 1, *The Valley Temple: The Temple Reliefs* (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1961), p. 2, fig. 1 and p. 111, fig. 119.

¹¹³ Friedman, "Relief Panels," fig. 17, p. 30; Firth, Quibell and Lauer, *Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, pl. 42.

¹¹⁴ See Randy L. Shonkwiler, "Sheltering Wings: Birds as Symbols of Protection in Ancient Egypt," in *Between Heaven & Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, OIMP 35 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2012), pp. 49-57.

¹¹⁵ See Friedman, "Relief Panels," p. 3, figs. 2a-b.

¹¹⁶ They are often found in multiple numbers with *djed*-pillars and *ankhs*.

in the Ramesside Period hovering birds often hold one or more *hw*-fans, which is a more direct statement of the birds' protective nature.¹¹⁸

The subject of the reliefs on the pillars standing before the shrines of Sneferu also concern the *Sed* festival¹¹⁹ and on the pillars and walls of the shrines are hovering falcons and vultures¹²⁰ but they are, unfortunately, very fragmented. A broken text from this monument can be restored as *[ntr] ʿ3 s3b [šw.t]* “the Great [God] of Multicolored [Plumage],”¹²¹ which must belong to a hovering falcon, since no fragments of winged disks have been found here. These same titles are given to a falcon dating to Userkaf identified as the “Behdetite” and to many others thereafter.¹²² The epithet *s3b šw.t* probably identifies the falcon as a solar god.¹²³

¹¹⁷ Cf. Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1, part 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pls. 39, 42, 45, 107, 128; *MH* II, pls. 68, 70, 72-75, 90-91, 99, 111, 116, 123, 124B.

¹¹⁸ Cf. *MH* II, pls. 94, 109, 111, 114, 117, 123. During the Greco-Roman Period hovering falcons and vultures holding *hw*-fans (↔) become almost standard; cf. *Edfou* XIII, pls. 456, 468-469, 473, 501, 532; *Edfou* XIV, pls. 560, 609, 612, 617, 620, 622-623, 646, 651-652; *Dendara* I, pl. 85; *Dendara* II, pls. 109, 117, 121, 135, 150, 156, 166; *Dendara* III, pls. 169, 176-177, 180, 183, 190, 211, 226, 233, 236, 240, 244-245; Hermann Junker, *Philä*, vol. 1, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften-Sonderband (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1958), fig. 2, p. 9, fig. 4, p. 26, fig. 13, p. 202, fig. 115; Hermann Junker and Erich Winter, *Philä*, vol. 2, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften-Sonderband (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1965), pp. 212, 256, no. 969, p. 306, no. 984.

¹¹⁹ Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu*, vol. 2, bk. 1, p. 60, fig. 35, p. 66, fig. 43, p. 71, fig. 48, p. 76, fig. 55, p. 80, fig. 63, p. 86, fig. 63, p. 88, fig. 72, p. 99, fig. 96, p. 108, fig. 111.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 71, fig. 48, p. 72, fig. 49, p. 74, fig. 51, p. 86, fig. 63, p. 87, fig. 69, p. 111, fig. 119, p. 117, fig. 127, p. 149, figs. 205-208, p. 151, figs. 212-217, p. 152, figs. 218-220, p. 153, figs. 221-224, p. 154, figs. 225, 227-228, p. 164, fig. 265, pl. 31A-B.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164, fig. 261.

¹²² See Metropolitan Museum, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 318-321, figs. 121, 123, no. 103; cf. J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission archéologique de Saqqarah*, vol. 1, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti*, Bd'É 51 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), pp. 69-70, fig. 29, pl. 26B, no. 14 (Teti); C. M. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 7 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,

A block found at Lisht that is believed to come from the funerary complex of Khufu has a hovering falcon with a broken inscription that Goedicke translates “. . . the shrine of Upper and Lower Egypt (and?) the house of the Great God (?) in the horizon.”¹²⁴ The inscription should read *[hnty] itr.ty ntr ʿ3 pr m 3h.t* “[He who is) Foremost] of the Two Shrine Rows (of Upper and Lower Egypt),¹²⁵ the Great God, Who Comes Forth¹²⁶ from the Horizon.” Although the *pr*-sign lacks the walking legs determinative, the word is certainly a perfect active participle of the verb *pri* “to come forth,” as attested in many later inscriptions associated with hovering falcons and sun disks.¹²⁷ Goedicke’s interpretation of the rest of the inscription is, essentially, correct.

Although the text has , substituting  for the usual ,¹²⁸ this rendering of *itr.ty* is found in an inscription from the monuments of Sahure at Abu Sir written ; the last two signs represent the so called “Schlangensteine” associated with the two national shrines or shrine

1926), pl. 56, no. 2; G. Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 2, *Le temple* (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1938), pls. 50-51.

¹²³ See J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso.*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1992), pp. 111-113.

¹²⁴ Hans Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, PMMA 20 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), pp. 14-15.

¹²⁵ The sign for the divine booth (Gardiner O 21: ) has replaced the expected sign for the Lower Egyptian shrine (Gardiner O 20: ) but this substitution is attested according to *Wb.* I, p. 148, no. 1.

¹²⁶ The participle is perfect active, which indicates a completed action but, as the action here is identified with the sun, it is understood as a daily repeated action and Egyptologist usually use the present tense in translation.

¹²⁷ The epithet is found with the hovering falcon of Userkaf mentioned above, with a falcon hovering above Sahure in a relief from his funerary complex (the word *3h.t* is lost to damage) and three times in the White Chapel of Senwosret I. For the Sahure relief, see Tarek El Awady, “Sahure: Ein glanzvolles Königsleben,” in *Sahure: Tod und Leben eines grossen Pharaos; eine Ausstellung der Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt am Main 24. Jun ibis 28. November 2010* (Frankfurt am Main and Munich: Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung and Hirmer, 2010), p. 203, figs. 162-163; for the White Chapel reliefs, see Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1956-69), vol. 1, p. 146, vol. 2, pls. 13 (scene 4), 20 (scene 17) and 35 (scene 18’).

¹²⁸ Cf. *Wb.* I, p. 148.

rows.¹²⁹ A fragment of relief from the mortuary temple of Khufu at Giza preserves the ends of feathers, the tips of which are demarcated with curved lines.¹³⁰ This feature is found on the tail feathers on a falcon dating to Userkaf and on the tail feathers and secondary feathers of the wings of many falcons thereafter (for the identification of a falcon's flight feathers see Fig. 1).¹³¹ When we have preserved paint on these feathers (first in the 11th Dynasty) the tips are painted red.¹³² This coloration is not a natural feature of falcon plumage and likely indicates the solar nature of the god in falcon form. No relief carvings from the walls of Menkaure's temples seem to be preserved, however, among the many statues of the king found by Reisner at Giza was the bottom half of a seated statue, which is now in Boston.¹³³ On each side of the throne above the Horus and *ny-sw.t-bi.ty*-name, or prenomen, of the king are two falcons in sunken relief in pose 1. The birds face each other and the tips of their horizontal wings meet, thus framing the entire

¹²⁹ Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks*, p. 15; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 7, WVDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pl. 67 (top), p. 127; for the Schlangensteine see Hermann Kees, "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern," *ZÄS* 57 (1922): pp. 120-136; Dieter Wildung, "Schlangensteine," *LÄ* V, cols. 655-656; cf. Zahi Hawass, "A Fragmentary Monument of Djoser from Saqqara," *JEA* 80 (1994), pp. 46-47, 49, 51-52, figs. 1-2, pls. 6.2-4-7.

¹³⁰ Selim Hassan, *The Great Pyramid of Khufu and its Mortuary Chapel; with Names and Titles of Vols. I-X of the Excavations of Giza*, Excavations at Giza 10 (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1960), pl. 5A.

¹³¹ Metropolitan Museum, *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 319, fig. 121.

¹³² Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 2, *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars*, AVDAIK 11 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), p. 39, pl. 46, nos. 2087 and 2130, p. 37, pl. 46, no. 341 (incorrectly identified as a vulture by Arnold on p. 37), p. 39, pl. 47, no. 2133; Charles K. Wilkinson and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 7 (Deir El-Bahari 18th Dynasty); Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 3, *The Osiris Complex*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1938), pl. 7.

¹³³ George A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 111, pl. 47b-c, no. 19.

arrangement creating, so to speak, a circle of protection. This is the earliest preserved case in which multiple hovering birds are used in one scene.

The falcon of Userkaf referenced above comes from a block reused in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht.¹³⁴ The falcon hovers above the names of Userkaf in pose 1. A horizontal inscription above the bird reads *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ[.t]* “The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon.” Running vertically directly below the end of the horizontal inscription and behind the wing is another line of text that reads *nṯr nfr nb ḥʿ.w* “the Perfect God,¹³⁵ Lord of Crowns.”¹³⁶ These last titles are usually those of the king but they are completely separated from the names of the king by the falcon’s wing and the name of Nekhbet shown below.¹³⁷ I know of no case in which the epithets of the king are placed behind the wing of a hovering falcon (or vulture) and are completely separated from the king’s name or figure. Yet cases in which inscriptions belonging to hovering birds appear vertically behind the wing and which are usually the continuation of a horizontal line of

¹³⁴ Metropolitan Museum, *Age of the Pyramids*, pp. 318-319, 321, figs. 121 and 123.

¹³⁵ “Perfect God” is a conventional translation. The king, who usually bears this title, is perfect in the sense of “complete,” having come fully into his powers. We will discuss this term in relation to both the king and the Behdetite more fully in Chapter 8; for now see Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel: «Nofretari Pour Qui Se Lève Le Dieu-Soleil»*, vol. 1, *Étude archéologique et épigraphique, essai d’interprétation*, Centre de Documentation et d’Étude sur l’Ancienne Égypte, Mémoires 1 (Cairo: Ministère de la Culture, 1968), pp. 131-132, n. 42; Hans Stock, *Nṯr nfr=der gute Gott?*, Vorträge der orientalistischen Tagung in Marburg, Ägyptologie 1950 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1951); Victor Loret, “Correspondance de Victor Loret publiée par Gustave Lefebvre,” *Kêmi* 13 (1954), pp. 8-13, §§ 33-36.

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 319, fig. 121.

¹³⁷ Ibid; cf. Nigel C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, WAW 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p. 83.

text are well attested.¹³⁸ However, the most important reason to interpret these titles as belonging to the falcon and not the king is the fact that the king is already called *ntr nfr* in the titles before his Horus name.¹³⁹ It seems likely that this line is a continuation of the epithets of the falcon.¹⁴⁰ The commentary for this piece in the volume in which the block is published notes that some hieroglyphs including the *serekh* of the Horus name are incomplete and links this to the placement of these titles.¹⁴¹ However the completeness of the reliefs and the planning for the arrangement of the signs and figures in the scene are two different processes performed at different times. The arrangement of the figures and signs appears normal. It seems unlikely that the planners for the scene would have forgotten to leave room for epithets of the king and forgot that they had already used *ntr nfr*.¹⁴² If this line is meant for the king, there must be an intentional ambiguity in which the king is identified with the Behdetite. The epithet *ntr nfr* is also found as an epithet of a winged sun disk at Wadi Maghara in Sinai dating to Neuserre,

¹³⁸ See Borchardt, *Ša³hu-Re*, vol. 2, pl. 8; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, vol. 2, pl. 46; Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pls. 43, 47, 53, 138; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 4, 33, 46, 128, 141, 171, 193, 199.

¹³⁹ His full titulary in the scene is *ntr nfr nb ir.t ḥ.t Hr Iri-M3'.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-k3=f* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual, the Horus Irimaat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkaef.”

¹⁴⁰ This is evidently Strudwick’s conclusion based on his translation of the texts; see *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, p. 83.

¹⁴¹ Metropolitan Museum, *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 318.

¹⁴² *Ntr nfr* can appear before different names of the king on the same monument in separate lines of text, such as on offering tables, but does not appear in the same line of text, which is what would be required here; cf. Henri Gauthier, *Le Livre des Rois d’Égypte: Recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d’un index alphabétique*, vol. 1, *Des origines à la fin de la XII^e Dynastie*, MIFAO 17 (Cairo: IFAO, 1907), p. 274, no. XXXIV, A-B, p. 291, no. XXX, A-B.

which will be discussed below.¹⁴³ There is another inscription from Wadi Maghara of Pepy I¹⁴⁴ and a rock inscription in Hatnub of Merenre,¹⁴⁵ in which the same epithet appears below the name (*Bḥd.ty*) of a hovering falcon. It has been suggested that the epithet in both cases is that of the falcon.¹⁴⁶ However, the epithet appears in front of the face of the king in both inscriptions and is in the opposite orientation of the name *Bḥd.t(y)* in the Hatnub inscription, although intentional ambiguity as to which “person,” i. e. god/falcon and/or king, the epithet belonged to is a possibility. Something interesting is that in the scene of Merenre and in another Hatnub inscription of Khufu¹⁴⁷ the name *Bḥd.t(y)* is oriented with the falcons on the *serekh* of the kings’ Horus names and not with the hovering falcons above the images of the kings. Although it is not unusual for the name of the god to be in opposite orientation from a hovering falcon or sun disk, there might be a double identification of god and king here. It is somewhat similar to a scene of the king shown enthroned twice on the *Sed* festival double-throne with the winged disk above receiving life as though it were the king, which we will discuss below. On the sarcophagus lid of Tutankhamun the Behdetite is unambiguously identified as *ntr nfr*.¹⁴⁸ The god is also called *ntr nfr* on the stela of Saese a barber (*ḥ’qw*) of the temple of the Behdetite at Edfu during the 18th

¹⁴³ Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London: EES, 1952), pl. 6, no. 10 (=LD II, pl. 152a); cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 4, p. 429.

¹⁴⁴ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 8, no. 16.

¹⁴⁵ Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felsenschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers*, UGAA 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pl. 5, inscription 6 (=LD II, pl. 116a).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 4, p. 429 (nos. 16-17). Sethe in *Urk.* I, p. 91, line 11 accepts the Sinai inscription as belonging to the falcon and in *Urk.* I, p. 256, lines 16-17 with misgivings interprets the inscription as belonging to the falcon (“dazu gehörig?” i.e. the name of the falcon above).

¹⁴⁷ Anthes, *Hatnub*, pl. 4, no. 1.

¹⁴⁸ See M. Eaton-Krause, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1993), pp. 26-27, pls. 1, 19-20; for a translation and transliteration of the text, see below II.2.8.

Dynasty.¹⁴⁹ *Ntr nfr* is also applied to Osiris in the Middle Kingdom and to several gods in the New Kingdom and Late Period.¹⁵⁰ There is a rock inscription at Buhen, which may also identify Horus the Behdetite as “the Perfect God.” Smith dated the inscription to the Early Dynastic Period but the writing appears too developed for this period and it is unlikely that there was an Egyptian settlement there at this time.¹⁵¹ The word *Hr* is written with a falcon standing on a upward curved line, which is found in the Early Dynastic Period but also resembles the writing of the name of the god *Nmty* in the Pyramid Texts: , which from later inscriptions we know represents the god in a boat.¹⁵² This form is also found on a stela depicting Horus the Behdetite dating to the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁵³ Furthermore, the Buhen inscription also mentions “Isis, the Goddess” (*3s.t ntr.t*), which is also found on the same stela and Baines suggests this date for the Buhen inscription, as well.¹⁵⁴ One of the epithets of Horus the Behdetite in this inscription could be read as either *ntr '3* or as *ntr nfr* as the second sign could be interpreted as either  or as . Both Smith and Baines dismissed the latter possibility believing that it “is almost never used of deities,”¹⁵⁵ however, in light of the epithet’s application to the Behdetite in a number of other contexts this reading cannot be dismissed. The epithet *nb h'w* is given to Horus in the Coffin Texts¹⁵⁶ and to Horus the Behdetite in the Buhen rock inscription,¹⁵⁷ and in

¹⁴⁹ See G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 16 (1894), p. 43.

¹⁵⁰ See *LÄGG*, vol. 4, pp. 428-429.

¹⁵¹ See H. S. Smith, “The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,” *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 58-61, fig. 11.5, pl. 26.1; cf. John Baines, “‘Greatest God’ or Category of Gods?” *GM* 67 (1983), p. 25.

¹⁵² See Baines, “‘Greatest God,’” p. 25 and see Chapter 7.II.ii.

¹⁵³ See E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in the British Museum*, vol. 6 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1922, pl. 28; cf. Baines, “‘Greatest God,’” p. 25.

¹⁵⁴ Baines, “‘Greatest’ God,” p. 26.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24, textual note b; cf. H. S. Smith, “Rock Inscriptions,” p. 60, n. 1.

¹⁵⁶ *CT* VI, 336j; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 712.

the Temple of Edfu.¹⁵⁸ The epithet is used for several other deities in the New Kingdom and Late Period.¹⁵⁹

A badly damaged block from the valley temple of Unis shows the tail and part of the wings and talons of a falcon in pose 1; the end of an inscription reads *[ḥnty] i[t]r.t šm'y.t* “[Foremost] of the Upper Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row.”¹⁶⁰ The same title is found with hovering falcons of Pepy II.¹⁶¹ The material is admittedly fragmentary but no inscription from the Old Kingdom identifies the Behdetite as “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row” alone; although we have seen an association with both shrines or shrine rows in a single inscription. This exclusive association with Upper Egypt appears to contradict the frequent association of the Behdetite with Lower Egypt in later material.

A block from the pyramid temple of Teti preserves a hovering falcon with the inscription *[Bḥ]d[.ty nb] Msn ntr '3 s3b šw.t ḥnty [itr.t (?) . .]* “The [Beh]de[tite, Lord of] Mesen, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Foremost [of the . . . (?) Shrine (Row?) . .].”¹⁶² The word *Msn* has a city determinative indicating a place name and not the word *msnw* “harpooner.” A winged sun disk and a falcon dating to Pepy I also bear the epithet *nb Msn*.¹⁶³ The epithet is always

¹⁵⁷ Baines, “Greatest God,” p. 24.

¹⁵⁸ *Edfou I*, p. 426, line 17; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 712.

¹⁵⁹ *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 712.

¹⁶⁰ Just the bottom of the Upper Egyptian plant is visible but enough to distinguish it from that of Lower Egypt; see Audran Labrousse and Ahmed M. Moussa, *Le temple d'accueil du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Bd'É 111 (Cairo: IFAO, 1996) p. 81, fig. 68, pl. 12 (doc. 31).

¹⁶¹ See below.

¹⁶² J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah*, vol. 1, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti*, Bd'É 51 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), p. 69, fig. 29, pl. 26B (block no. 14).

¹⁶³ See Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, SASAE 22 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1957), pp. 14-17, fig. 2, pl. 2; Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin,

subordinate to the name *Bhd.ty* when they appear in the same line of inscriptions. The falcon dating to Pepy I is interesting in that it appears above the king's mother Ipuet I marking the first appearance of a falcon (or any hovering bird or sun disk) directly above someone other than the king or his names.¹⁶⁴ A falcon in pose 1 is also found above Queen Udjebten, wife of Pepy II, as she performs rituals before goddesses in her funerary complex.¹⁶⁵ In later periods the vulture appears more often above royal women than the falcon or sun disk.¹⁶⁶ Hovering falcons, as well as vultures and sun disks generally are not found above princes; however, in 1944 the Egyptian Antiquities Service discovered the sarcophagus of a Prince Ptahshepses in the valley temple of

1968), pp. 40-41, fig. 8; Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 7.2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), pl. 56, no. 2.

¹⁶⁴ It is identified as *[Bh]d.t(y) nṯr '3 s3b šw.t [nb] Msr*; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, pl. 56, no. 2.

¹⁶⁵ See Gustave Jéquier, *La pyramide d'Oudjebten*, Fouilles Saqq. 9 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1928), pp. 15-16, fig. 9; Jéquier mentions a vulture hovering above the queen in the presence of her female attendants, but figure 9 clearly shows a falcon.

¹⁶⁶ *LD III*, pl. 199e (Ahmes-Nefertari), pl. 208a (three princesses of Ramesses III), pls. 273g, h, 274a (26th Dyn. God's Wife Ankhesneferibre); Christiane Ziegler, ed., *Queens of Egypt from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco and Paris: Grimaldi Forum Monaco and Somogy Art Publisher, 2008), p. 183 (25th Dyn. God's Wife Shepenwepet II), p. 204, fig. 73 (Queen Neferukakashta, wife of Piye). With some exceptions, in scenes in which Hatshepsut and Thutmose III appear together there is often a falcon over Thutmose and a vulture over Hatshepsut: Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 105 left; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 9, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I: The Inner Sanctuaries with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 136 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pls. 34-37, 72-79. Exceptions: Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 3, *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 16 (London: EEF, 1896-1897), pl. 82 (vulture above Thutmose III and vulture over what was an image of Hatshepsut); idem., *The Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 5, *The Upper Court and Sanctuary*, EM 27 (London: EEF, 1904-1905), pl. 143 (falcons above both sovereigns); Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I*, pl. 63 (falcon originally above Hatshepsut and vulture above Thutmose III).

Unis. On the badly deteriorated mummy of the prince was a golden belt, or girdle.¹⁶⁷ On the lock, or buckle, of the belt in inlays Ptahshepses is portrayed seated on each side holding a staff and wearing a uraeus. His titles form a vertical column in the center: *iry-p't s3 ny-sw.t*.

Between the titles and each figure of the prince is his name, also in a vertical column, and above each of his names is a falcon in pose 1. The falcons fly towards each figure of the prince bearing *shen*-rings. The prince was possibly the son of Pepy II.¹⁶⁸ Ptahshepses' uraeus points to a special status, as well. Perhaps he received these special honors because he pre-deceased his father.

A wood plaque found at the funerary complex of Pepy II at Saqqara depicts two falcons flanking the cartouche of the king in a rare early example of a motif common in the temples of the New Kingdom and later.¹⁶⁹ Both falcons wear the Double Crown and hold *shen*-rings in their talons with one raised to the side of the cartouche in offering. They are both identified as *Bhd.t(y)*. On the west wall of the antechamber of the pyramid temple of Pepy II a falcon in pose 1 appears above the king and is identified as *[Bhd.ty . . .(?)] s3b šw.t hnty itr.t šm'y.t* “[The Behdetite, . . .] of Multicolored Plumage, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row.”¹⁷⁰ On the south wall of the sanctuary Pepy appears seated before an offering table facing left/east wearing the *Nemes*. A similar scene appeared on the north wall of the sanctuary but is

¹⁶⁷ See Guy Brunton, “The Burial of Prince Ptah-shepses at Saqqara,” *ASAE* 47 (1947), pp. 125-126; Ahmed Yousef Moustafa, “Reparation and Restoration of Antiques: The Golden Belt of Prince Ptah-shepses,” *ASAE* 54 (1956), pp. 149-151, pl. 3; Milada Vilímková and Moh. H. Abdul-Rahman, *Altägyptische Goldschmiedekunst* (Prague: Artia, 1969), p. 21, figs. 7-8.

¹⁶⁸ Aidan Dodson and Dyan Hilton, *The Complete Royal Families of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), pp. 74, 78.

¹⁶⁹ Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3, *Les approches du temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17.3 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1940), p. 40, fig. 28.

¹⁷⁰ Idem, *Pepi II*, vol. 2, pls. 50-51. On the opposite east wall there are only small fragments of a hovering bird and it was the vulture of Nekhbet; see *ibid*, pl. 59, cf. pl. 58.

poorly preserved.¹⁷¹ Above the king is a falcon in pose 1 that is called [Bḥd.ty . . .(?) s3b] šw.t ḥnty [i]tr.[t] šm'y.t.¹⁷² What is interesting about this falcon is that it wears a crown of two tall straight plumes, with a pair of bull's horns (Fig. 3). The king himself wears this crown in a smiting scene from the vestibule.¹⁷³ Sneferu wears this crown in a smiting scene in Sinai and on fragmentary scenes from Dahshur, with the addition of curled ram's horns.¹⁷⁴ Two straight feathers (the šw.ty-crown) are worn by the falcon-god Sopdu at an early period: .¹⁷⁵ A golden falcon found at Hierakonpolis representing Horus of Nekhen and dating to the New Kingdom was fitted with a pair of straight feathers.¹⁷⁶ The gods Min, Montu and Amun also wore this crown.¹⁷⁷ In the Coffin Texts and later the twin feathers are identified with twin uraei and the eyes of the sun god.¹⁷⁸ It is likely that it is the identification of the two plumes with uraei that led to their association with royal women of the 18th Dynasty, who frequently wear a crown with two

¹⁷¹ Ibid, pl. 81.

¹⁷² Ibid., pls. 61, 63. There does not appear to have been room for the Lower Egyptian shrine behind that of Upper Egypt according to the reconstruction on pl. 61. None of the inscription belonging to the falcon on the opposite wall survived (pl. 81).

¹⁷³ Ibid, pl. 36 (south wall).

¹⁷⁴ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 2, no. 5; Fakhry, *Monuments of Sneferu*, vol. 2, pp. 80-81, 127, figs. 63-64, 138, pls. 18B, 19A, cf. p. 102, figs. 99-100.

¹⁷⁵ Hermann Junker, "Pḥr nfr," *ZÄS* 75 (1939), p. 70, no. 36 (early 4th Dyn.); *Pyr.* § 148d, 201d and 480d.

¹⁷⁶ Quibell dated the statue to the 6th Dynasty based on the discovery of the copper statues of Pepy I: *Hierakonpolis I*, p. 11, pls. 51-53; it is now dated to the New Kingdom by some, which corresponds with the date of other images of this god with double feathers; see Ursula Rößler-Köhler, "Horus von Hierakonpolis," *LÄ* III, cols. 37 and 39, n. 12.

¹⁷⁷ In *Pyr.* § 1948 a falcon on a standard with two feathers appears as a determinative to the name of Min; see Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas 14 (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1986), p. 127.

¹⁷⁸ *CT* IV, 203c-206c; Troy, *Queenship*, pp. 127-128; H. M. Stewart, "Some Pre-Amarna Sun-Hymns," *JEA* 46 (1960), pp. 88-89, fig. 2; *Edfou* IV, p. 89, lines 10-11; VIII, p. 103, lines 8-11.

tall straight feathers.¹⁷⁹ In the early 12th Dynasty Senwosret I had a similar scene to that of Pepy II carved on the west wall of the entrance chapel to his pyramid.¹⁸⁰ The king sat before an offering table wearing the *Nemes*, and the falcon above wore the same crown as the falcons of Pepy II. Senwosret I's pyramid complex was much influenced by the pyramid complexes of the 6th Dynasty, and the king may have used the scene from Pepy II's temple as a model.¹⁸¹

Hovering falcons are not found wearing this crown after this. In fact, though the falcons of kings' Horus names often wear crowns and sometimes falcons guarding cartouches do so,¹⁸² hovering falcons almost never do so before the Greco-Roman Period.¹⁸³ During the New Kingdom falcons protecting cartouches and sacred objects (*djed*-pillars, Abydos fetish, etc.) are sometimes found with sun disks upon their heads with a single uraeus or none.¹⁸⁴ Falcons

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Troy, *Queenship*, pp. 126-129.

¹⁸⁰ Dieter Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, vol. 1, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, PMMA 22 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), pls. 49 and 56.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁸² Falcons of the Horus name: Borchardt, *Ša³ḥu-Reʿ*, vol. 1, p. 34, fig. 28, p. 44, figs. 44-45, p. 45-46, fig. 48, p. 52, fig. 58, pls. 9-11; J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), p. 84, fig. 108; Al. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), pl. 34, fig. 139, pl. 38, fig. 129, pl. 41, fig. 125 (107), pl. 51, fig. 104 (125) Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 36, 39, 42, 53-54, 73, 76, 78, 105, 108, 123-124, 129, 133, 142-143, 154-155, 160; *Edfou XII*, pls. 326, 330, 338, 371. Falcons protecting cartouches: Jéquier, *Pepi II*, vol. 3, p. 40, fig. 28; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 327, no. 152.

¹⁸³ Even in the Late Period it is a rare occurrence; see Serge Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna*, vol. 2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1963), p. 157, no. 74 (two curved feathers, sun disk, curled ram's horns); *LD V*, 56 (Meroitic; Naga Temple; Double Crown).

¹⁸⁴ Edward K. Werner, "Montu and the 'Falcon Ships' of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JARCE* 23 (1986), p. 110, fig. 2, p. 111, fig. 3, p. 113, fig. 6, p. 114, fig. 7, p. 116, figs. 10-11, p. 119, figs. 16-17, p. 123; Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon and Jean Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, *Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: IFAO, 1998), pl. 209; *LD III*, pl. 186; Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rēʿ, Rēʿ-Ḥarakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pl. 45. Louis A. Christophe, "Le pylône 'ramesside' d'Edfou," *ASAE* 55 (1958), pl. 5B; William J. Murnane and

decorating crowns also appear with sun disks on their heads.¹⁸⁵ Only very rarely in the Greco-Roman Period does a hovering falcon bear a sun disk on its head.¹⁸⁶

As noted above, during the reign of Mentuhotep II falcons with preserved paint show that the tips of the tail feathers and the secondary feathers of the wings are painted red.¹⁸⁷ Red is not found in nature on the feather tips of any falcon, which points to the divine nature of hovering falcons. Another unusual painted feature of falcons first attested at this time is the outlining of the tips of the primary feathers, i. e. the pointed flight feathers at the end of the wing (see Fig. 1).¹⁸⁸ The line is usually done in red and we often find the space between the feathers painted

Frank J. Yurco, "Once Again the Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu," in *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, ed. Renée Friedman and Barbara Adams, Egyptian Studies Association Publication 2 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992), pp. 341-342, figs. 3 and 6; *MH* II, pls. 111 and 114. Protective falcons on coffins of the later periods often have sun disks upon their heads; see Andrzej Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (sarcophages)*, CGC 18.2 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1996), pl. 11, no. 1; P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, vol. 10, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk* 3 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1918), pls. 1-2 and 10.

¹⁸⁵ See *LD* III, 33i (falcon on top of wig in a protective pose); *MH* IV, pl. 238A.

¹⁸⁶ Henri Gauthier, *Le Temple de Kalabchah*, Temples Immergés de la Nubie 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1911), pls. 31 and 107A-B. In a few unusual cases very tiny falcons are shown hovering behind the head of the king with sun disks on their heads; the small size and unusual position is probably due to the tall crowns that the king wears: *Edfou* XII, pl. 430; *Dendara* II, pl. 121; Hermann Junker, *Philä*, vol. 1, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1958), fig. 3 (small hovering falcon in a protective pose like the vulture in the word *mki*: ). Falcons shown on the king's clothing at Dendera bear sun disks: Sylvie Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis* (Cairo: IFAO, 1999), pls. 50-51 and 67 (on the latter plate identified as *Bhd.t(y) ntr* '3).

¹⁸⁷ Arnold, *Mentuhotep*, vol. 2, p. 39, pl. 46, nos. 2087 and 2130, p. 37, pl. 47, no. 341 (incorrectly identified as a vulture) and p. 39, pl. 47, no. 2133; see also the color photo in Elisa Fiore Marochetti, *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep at Gebelein (CGT 7003/1-277)*, trans. Kenneth Hurry, CHANE 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pl. 57 (CGT 7003/274).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 40, pl. 47, no. 4936 (see under no. 2185 on p. 40).

white or red.¹⁸⁹ Winged sun disks also show these features at this time period¹⁹⁰ and hovering vultures by the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁹¹ These painted features of hovering birds and sun disks likely have divine solar implications. Another interesting characteristic of the hovering falcons of Mentuhotep II is their orientation. Throughout Egyptian history the most common orientation of a single hovering bird is facing the same direction as the king (or other royal or divine person) whom it protects and being positioned above and slightly behind him.¹⁹² In the reliefs of Mentuhotep II falcons are positioned in front of the king and are oriented facing him.¹⁹³ The bird carries an *ankh* in these scenes and in this arrangement the sign of life is offered more

¹⁸⁹ See, for example, Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 3, *The Osiris Complex*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1938), pl. 7.

¹⁹⁰ White paint is found between the tips of the primary feathers of a winged disk from the 11th Dynasty temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari; see Edouard Naville, H. R. Hall and E. R. Ayrton, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 1, EM 28 (London: EEF, 1907), pl. 17E and Edouard Naville and Somers Clarke, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 2, EM 30 (London: EEF, 1910), pl. 18; in a scene from the tomb of Antefoker at Thebes Senwosret I sits in a kiosk and the wingtip feathers of what is certainly a winged sun disk are outlined; see Norman De Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I and of his Wife*, TTS 2 (London: EES, 1920), pl. 16.

¹⁹¹ A vulture pectoral of the Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties 13-17) in Boston has places for inlays between the tips of its primary feathers; see Rita E. Freed, Lawrence M. Berman and Denise M. Doxey, *MFA Highlights: Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2003), p. 146. The earliest preserved examples of vultures with primary tips outlined and white paint between the tips that I have been able to find date to the reign of Thutmose IV; see Mohamed Aly, Fouad Abdel-Hamid and M. Dewachter, *Le Temple d'Amada*, vol. 4, *Dessins-index, tables de concordances* (Cairo: Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte, 1967), pl. C6; P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire (34001-34064)*, vol. 1, CGC 45 (Cairo: IFAO, 1905), pp. 44-45, pl. 14, no. 34.023; Annelies and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb: Theben Nr. 78*, AVDAIK 35 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1980), pl. 6b.

¹⁹² Note the early exception of the falcons on the belt of Prince Ptahshepses mentioned above.

¹⁹³ Naville and Clarke, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 2, pls. 11-12 and 20; G. Daressy, "Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Dendérah," *ASAE* 17 (1917), pls. 1 and 3; Labib Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *MDAIK* 19 (1963), p. 22, fig. 6 and p. 24, fig. 7.

directly to the king's face (probably representing the "breath of life"). One also is given the impression of action as the bird rushes life to the king. A similar arrangement is found in Book of the Dead papyri and (especially) on Third Intermediate Period coffins as winged *udjat*-eyes are shown flying towards Osiris with life and protection.¹⁹⁴ One occasionally finds this orientation with falcons in later periods.¹⁹⁵

The so-called White Chapel of Senwosret I, the dismantled blocks of which were found within the Third Pylon at Karnak, allows us to see the nearly complete decorative plan of a small temple or shrine for the first time and how hovering falcons (and vultures) were used in this plan.¹⁹⁶ Inscriptions in the chapel tell us that it was created for the king's first *Sed* festival.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Edouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden*, vol. 1, *Text und Vignetten* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1886), pl. 136 (A.g.)=Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Carol Andrews, rev. ed. (1972; London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1985), p. 35; É. Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (sarcophages)*, CGC 18.1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1909), p. 30, fig. 27, pl. 2; Andrzej Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (sarcophages)*, CGC 18.2 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1996), p. 55, fig. 35 (*udjat*-eye forming the body of Wadjet as a vulture), p. 128, fig. 105, cf. p. 118, fig. 100 (vulture flying towards Osiris with *shen*-ring) and pl. 4, no. 2 (falcons protecting/offering *udjat*-eyes facing figures of Osiris); idem, *The Second Find of Deir el-Bahari (Coffins)*, CGC 85 (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, 1999), p. 11, fig. 17, p. 38, fig. 56, p. 43, fig. 62, p. 54, fig. 76 (flying towards Re-Horakhty), pl. 26, no. 1, pl. 31, no. 1. In the tomb of Nefersekeru, which dates to the time of Ramesses II, a winged sun disk in pose 1 has been provided with bird legs and talons and flies towards Osiris holding out an *ankh* and *w3s*-sign; see Erika Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT 296)*, Theben 2 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), pp. 120-121, pl. 28; a winged sun disk in pose 1 flies toward Osiris in the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos; see Henri Frankfort, A. De Buck and Battiscombe Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2, EM 39 (London: EES, 1933), pl. 73.

¹⁹⁵ Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1969), pl. 18; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis I*, BSAE 15 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1909), pl. 8, no. 1.

¹⁹⁶ For the discovery and reconstruction of the edifice, see Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de

Originally the chapel may have had a double throne, which the king would have used during the festival or, if the actual ceremonies were held in Memphis, statues of the king may have occupied the throne for a local commemoration of the festival.¹⁹⁸ Probably during the reign of Amenemhat III the chapel was converted to a bark shrine.¹⁹⁹ The chapel is nearly square (6.80 m x 6.45 m) with sixteen monolithic pillars that support a roof with a cavetto cornice. It is built upon a platform base approached on each end by a shallow staircase with a central ramp.²⁰⁰ The original location of the chapel is uncertain, though it may have sat along the southern processional way at Karnak.²⁰¹ What is more certain is the original orientation of the chapel. On the external face on the lower walls on two sides are listed the nomes of Egypt with those of northern Egypt on one side of the chapel and those of southern Egypt on the opposite side.²⁰² Also, on the east and west facades the king is shown wearing the White Crown on the pillars on the same side as the nomes of Upper Egypt and the Red Crown on the pillars on the same side as the nomes of Lower Egypt.²⁰³

Generally, this monument shows regular patterns for the choice of motif, i. e. falcon or vulture. This is evident especially on the two inner rows of pillars where, generally, falcons are always on the north and south faces and vultures are always on the east and west faces and all are in pose 1. It is also seen on the north and south faces of the easternmost and westernmost row of

l'Égypte, 1956), pp. 1-5 and Elizabeth Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 15.

¹⁹⁷ Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 40.

¹⁹⁸ Blyth, *Karnak*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid, p. 15.

²⁰² Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 3, vol. 1, pp. 214-217, 220-230 (Upper Egypt); vol. 2, pl. 42, vol. 1, pp. 217-219, 231-237 (Lower Egypt).

²⁰³ Ibid, vol. 2, pls. 12, 27.

pillars where falcons are on the outside half and vultures on the inside half of the scene (in pose 2) with a sun disk with two uraei at top between the two birds. The choice of motif does not seem to be based on anything within a scene. For the most part, geography does not seem to be a factor in the choice of the bird. However, an exception may be found with the western internal row of pillars. One would expect that the western faces of this row of pillars would all have falcons, since the corresponding east faces of the eastern internal row all have falcons. However, the west faces of the two southern pillars (scenes 5 and 11)²⁰⁴ of the western row have vultures, whereas those of the two northern pillars (scenes 6 and 12) have falcons.²⁰⁵ The two faces of the pillars flanking each side of the western entrance (scenes 3 and 4) also break the pattern found on the other north and south faces of the easternmost and westernmost rows of pillars. Instead of the combination of a falcon and a vulture with a sun disk in between, there is a single vulture (pose 3) in the scene (3) on the south and a single falcon (pose 1) in the scene (4) on the north.²⁰⁶ Lacau and Chevrier view Horus the Behdetite as a god of Lower Egypt and interpret the use of the falcon in these scenes on the north half of the row to be placed as a counter part to the vultures of Nekhbet of Upper Egypt in the corresponding scenes on the south half of the row.²⁰⁷ The falcon is called both *Bhd.ty* and *nb Msn* in two of the scenes under discussion (4 and 12). Falcons bear both titles six more times on the north half of the monument and twice on the south half.²⁰⁸ Mesen is generally recognized as a town originally found in Lower Egypt, although Edfu

²⁰⁴ The numbers of the scenes are those of Lacau and Chevrier.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 14, 17.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pl. 13.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 71, section 162 and p. 80, section 192, p. 222, section 629; cf. p. 60, section 122.

²⁰⁸ North half: scenes 10, 20, 30, 6', 8', 12'; South half: scenes 27, 9'; see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 13, 16-17, 21, 25-26, 29-32; vol. 1, p. 146.

bore this name, as well.²⁰⁹ Also, in the list of nomes on the monument a city in Lower Egypt named *Bḥd.t* is named for the first time.²¹⁰ However, in two of the scenes in question (4 and 6) the falcon bears the title *ḥnty itr.t šm'γ.t* “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.”²¹¹ In one scene (19) the falcon is *ḥnty itr.t(y) šm'γ.t mḥy.t* “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian Shrine Rows.”²¹² Yet no falcon bears the title “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row” alone.²¹³ Throughout Egyptian history clear cut cases in which a falcon is positioned based on geographic concepts is rare but when they do occur the falcon usually takes the position identified with Lower Egypt in opposition to a vulture, which is usually identified as Nekhbet, who represents Upper Egypt.²¹⁴ It is surprising that Wadjet does not appear anywhere on this monument given the monument’s association with the *Sed* festival, especially since she appears in Senwosret I’s earlier temple at Karnak as a hovering vulture with a cobra head and neck.²¹⁵ The Greco-Roman Period temples at Dendera frequently show the hovering falcon on

²⁰⁹ Pascal Vernus, “Mesen,” *LÄ* IV, cols. 108-109.

²¹⁰ However note that there is no mention of a falcon-god or of Horus from this town; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 42.

²¹¹ Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 13-14.

²¹² *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pl. 24; vol. 1, p. 146, § 410.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 145-146, § 410.

²¹⁴ See Ricardo A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, *The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: EES, 1998), pl. 33; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite éthiopienne*, vol. 2, Bd’É 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), pl. 70 (top); Norman De Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pls. 13 and 28. On the jambs of the inner end of the passageway through the First Pylon at Medinet Habu (*MH* IV, pl. 247) a scene on the south jamb (pl. 247 B) has a vulture identified as Nekhbet, whereas the opposing scene on the north jamb (pl. 247 G) has a falcon (identified as the Behdetite); however in the scenes above these there is a falcon on the south side (pl. 247 A) and an unnamed vulture on the north side (pl. 247 F).

²¹⁵ This is the earliest preserved case in which Wadjet appears as a hovering vulture; See Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 17 (Paris: Institut de France, 1998), a drawing on pl. 19a of a

walls as representative of Lower Egypt opposite of Nekhbet as a hovering vulture representing Upper Egypt.²¹⁶ Wadjet appears relatively rarely as a hovering vulture at Dendera.²¹⁷

Most commonly it is Nekhbet and Wadjet that are used in geographic opposition as hovering vultures the latter often with a cobra's head; or they appear as the two uraei of the sun disk wearing their respective crowns. This is especially common at east-west facing doorways but is found in some other contexts, as well²¹⁸ In temple decoration, especially in temples with a

pillar from the Middle Kingdom temple of Karnak shows two vultures (pose 2) flanking a sun disk. The vulture at left is Nekhbet and that at right is Wadjet. This is the earliest preserved case of Wadjet as a hovering bird. However, in the photo on plate 20a Wadjet appears to have a snake's head, whereas in the drawing she has a vulture head. The snake head is confirmed by drawings in Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostri I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 144 and Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, vol. 2, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs I: Reversals* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), p. 94, fig. 97.

²¹⁶ Although, because of the unusual orientation of these temples, this often means Nekhbet is on the north side and the Behdetite in on the south (the crowns of the king and other geographic markers also conform to this unusual pattern): Sylvie Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, compare pls. 18-19 to pls. 20-21, and 54 and 55; idem, *Dendara: Le Temple d'Isis* (Cairo: IFAO, 2007), pls. 104 and 122; *Dendara I*, pl. 46; *Dendara III*, pls. 180, 190 and 226 (middle reg.). There can also be mixed geographical iconography; on the internal side of the door on the east wall of room N in the scene of the bottom register of the north jamb the king wears the White Crown with a falcon hovering above, whereas on the opposite, south side he wears the Red Crown with a vulture (not named) above: *Dendara IV*, pl. 250. On the temples' orientation see Sylvie Cauville, "Une règle de la «grammaire» du temple," *BIFAO* 83 (1983), pp. 51-53.

²¹⁷ *Dendara III*, pl. 180, p. 68, lines 16-17. She does appear frequently as a cobra-headed vulture in frieze elements: *Dendara III*, pl. 114, p. 45; *Dendara IV*, pls. 278, 280, 283 and 285.

²¹⁸ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 5, *The Upper Court and Sanctuary*, EM 27 (London: EEF, 1904-1905), pl. 137; Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 179; R. A. Schwaller De Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, trans. André Vanden Broeck (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), pls. 132 and 136 (northern heraldic pillar) and pl. 134 (southern heraldic pillar); Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 29; idem, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 4, *The Second Hypostyle Hall*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1958), pls. 12, 15 and 24; *MH IV*, pl. 244 B, C, H and M, compare pls. 87 and 89, 37 and 39; Leclant, *XXV^e Dynastie*, pl. 62; Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 39.

north-south axis, east is usually associated with Upper Egypt and west with Lower Egypt.²¹⁹ The placement of hovering birds and uraei crowns can sometimes be in contradiction of what is expected.²²⁰ An interesting case is found with the large head-smiting scenes on the eastern face of the first pylon of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The scene on the north tower has the expected orientations.²²¹ Above the king on the left/south side is a vulture (pose 1) identified as Nekhbet and on the right/north side is a falcon identified as the Behdetite (pose 1), while between them is a sun disk with two uraei. The left/south uraeus bears the White Crown and the right/north uraeus the Red Crown.²²² However, on the south tower the falcon and the uraeus wearing the Red Crown are on the left/south, whereas the Nekhbet vulture and uraeus wearing the White Crown are on the right/north.²²³ Note that although the actual geographic placement is now not what is expected, the grouping of Lower Egypt (falcon and Red Crown)

²¹⁹ See Dieter Kurth, “Himmelsrichtungen,” *LÄ II*, col. 1215, n. 16; O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, Brown Egyptological Studies 6 (Providence and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1969), p. 5; Françoise Labrique, *Stylistique et théologie à Edfou: Le rituel d’offrande de la campagne; étude de la composition*, OLA 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 1992), pp. 173-174, 185-186; Christian E. Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu,” *BSEG* 14 (1990), p. 67; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 1, *The Festival of Opet in the Colonnade Hall with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 112 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1994), p. 14, n. p; idem, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 2, *The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall, with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 116 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1998), p. 17, n. a. Some examples of this: Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pls. 30 and 37; *MH II*, pl. 4.

²²⁰ Henri Chevrier and Étienne Drioton, *Le temple reposoir de Sêti II à Karnak* (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1940), pl. 9 (Wadjet vulture on east wall), pl. 10 (Nekhbet vulture on west wall); *MH II*, pl. 114 (Nekhbet vulture on west, Wadjet vulture on east); Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court with Translations of Texts*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pl. 53 (Nekhbet vulture on north, Wadjet vulture on south).

²²¹ *MH II*, pl. 102.

²²² The king, facing south, wears the Red Crown.

²²³ *MH II*, pl. 101; the king wears the Double Crown.

and of Upper Egypt (Nekhbet vulture and White Crown) has remained. The overall decorative scheme may have called for the two falcons to be on the outer edge of the two scenes or to be behind the king. The most common arrangement of hovering birds and sun disks is alternation.²²⁴ This can involve only the two vultures, i. e. Nekhbet and Wadjet,²²⁵ vulture and falcon,²²⁶ or combinations of vulture, falcon and sun disk.²²⁷ In smaller temples or temple rooms with parallel walls the hovering motif (as well as the whole scene) complements that of the opposite section of wall such that a falcon in pose 1 in a scene on one wall is complimented in the corresponding scene on the opposite wall by another falcon in pose 1 (though usually with changes of minor details). The 18th Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu in many cases uses alternation of falcon and vulture on the same wall, which is complemented on the opposite wall, but also uses geographic opposition with the vultures on south walls identified as Nekhbet and cobra-headed vultures identified as Wadjet on the opposite north walls (both are in pose 1).²²⁸

²²⁴ Cf. Andrea-Claudia Binkowski, “Geier und Falke über dem König: Zu einem Motiv im Dekor ägyptischer Tempelreliefs,” in *Begegnungen Antike Kulturen im Niltal: Festgabe für Erika Endsfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter Friedrich Reineke, Steffen Wenig von Schülern und Mitarbeitern*, ed. Caris-Beatrice Arnst, Ingelore Hafemann and Angelike Lohwasser (Leipzig: Helmar Wodtke und Katharina Stegbauer, 2001), p. 86.

²²⁵ An example is found in the temple of Amenhotep III at El Kab; see J. J. Tylor and Somers Clarke, *Wall Drawings & Monuments of El Kab*, vol. 3, *The Temple of Amenhetep III* (London: EEF and Bernard Quaritch, 1898), pls. 2-3, 5-8, 10-13..

²²⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 1, pls. 7, 61, 63, 65 and 67.

²²⁷ Nicholas Grimal and François Larché, “Karnak, 1994-1997,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003): pls. 1-2.

²²⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 1, pls. 5, 8-9, 37, 39, 73, 75, 77, 79, 87, 89. On the pillars of the ambulatory court decorated by Thutmose III falcons appear on the internal faces of the pillars, whereas the faces parallel with the outer walls on the north side have Wadjet cobra-headed vultures and those on the south side have Nekhbet vultures; the outer faces of the pillars were left uncarved and were later decorated by Ramesses III; see Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu X, The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 2, (Chicago: Oriental Institute, forthcoming).

In some situations the presence of falcon or vulture appears to be based on the gender of the person being protected with a falcon over a male and a vulture over a female. During the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in scenes where the two appear together a vulture most often appears above the head of Hatshepsut and a falcon appears above Thutmose III,²²⁹ although there are some exceptions.²³⁰ During the 18th Dynasty in scenes with both a king and queen, in which only one hovering motif is present, either over the king or over both king and queen, there is a preference for the vulture.²³¹ There are more clear-cut examples in later periods. In several scenes from Edfu Temple the king and queen are shown together, with the queen standing behind the king and there is a falcon above the king and a vulture above the queen.²³² On the façade of the Meroitic Lion Temple at Naga the king is depicted on the left half of the pylon with a hovering falcon and the queen on the right with a hovering vulture.²³³ Quite often,

²²⁹ Naville, *Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 105 left; Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I*, pls. 34-37, 72-79.

²³⁰ See Naville, *Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 3, pl. 82 (vulture above Thutmose III and vulture over what was an image of Hatshepsut); idem, *Temple of Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 5, pl. 143 (falcons above both sovereigns); Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 1, pl. 63 (falcon originally above Hatshepsut and vulture above Thutmose III).

²³¹ Naville, *Deir El Bahari*, vol. 5, pls. 141, 145; Edouard Naville, H. R. Hall and E. R. Ayrton, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 1, EM 28 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1907), pl. 28; Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I*, pls. 86-87; Giorgini, Robichon and Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, pl. 37; Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pls. 24, 41-42, 47-49; an exception with falcon: Karol Myśliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period*, Iconography of Religions 16.5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985), pl. 1.1. It should also be noted that from the New Kingdom on a queen can have a protective falcon at the back of a crown, or wig, such as Queen Tiy is shown wearing in the tomb of Userhat (TT 41); see Howard Carter, "Report of Work Done in Upper Egypt (1902-1903)," *ASAE* 4 (1903), pp. 177-178, pl. 2; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, fig. 90 on p. 127.

²³² *Edfou* II, pls. 13 (two cases) and 31c; *Edfou* X, pls. 165 (no. 17) and 173 (no. 14).

²³³ J. W. Crowfoot and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Island of Meroë and Meroitic Inscriptions, part I.-Sôba to Dangêl*, ASE 19 (London: EEF, 1911), p. 55, pl. 17; *LD* V, pl. 56.

however, the reasoning behind the choice of hovering bird or sun disk is not obvious and can only be determined by a detailed study of the entire scene and its relation to other scenes.²³⁴

Apart from stylistic changes, after the Middle Kingdom there are very few new developments with the hovering falcon beyond those mentioned above. Unusual is a falcon on a Greco-Roman Period stela hovering above the Buchis bull.²³⁵ Instead of being identified as “the Behdetite,” this bird is identified as “Montu-Horakhty.” This is a rare case in which a hovering falcon is identified as any god other than the Behdetite. The only other examples that I am aware of are those involving Isis as a bird of prey hovering over the mummy of Osiris. Originally Isis and her sister Nephthys were identified as kites, some species of which look similar to falcons but lack the distinctive facial patterns of falcons. Over time there appears to have been some confusion or reinterpretation such that the goddesses could be portrayed as falcons.²³⁶ Falcons

²³⁴ Such studies as have been undertaken by Benoît Lurson, “L’étude du décor des temples pharaoniques par dissociation: L’exemple de six scènes rituelles du temple reposoir de Séthi II à Karnak,” in *L’animal dans les civilisations orientales*, Acta Orientalia Belgica 14, ed. C. Cannuyer, et al. (Brussels: La Société Belge d’Études Orientales, 2001), pp. 235-255; idem, “La conception du décor d’un temple au début du règne de Ramsès II: Analyse du deuxième registre de la moitié sud du mur ouest de la Grande Salle Hypostyle de Karnak,” *JEA* 91 (2005): 107-124; and by Amy Calvert, “Quantifying Regalia: A Contextual Study into the Variations and Significance of Egyptian Royal Costume Using Relational Databases and Advanced Statistical Analyses,” in *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, ed. Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper, CHANE 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 49-64.

²³⁵ Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, vol. 3, *The Plates*, EM 41 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pl. 40.

²³⁶ Isis appears as a falcon hovering over Osiris’ mummy in the temple of Sety I at Abydos; see Eberhard Otto, *Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon*, trans. Kate Bosse Griffiths (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), pl. 17, cf. pl. 20. An inscription dating to the 25th Dynasty shows two birds of prey hovering over the “Abydos fetish” (see Leclant, *XXIV^e Dynastie*, vol. 1, p. 291, fig. 35). The bird at left has the *s.t*-throne of Isis upon its head, while the head of the other bird is broken away but both birds have the word *dr.ty* next to them. *Dr.ty* means “the Two Kites” and refers to Isis and Nephthys (who must be the other bird). Later *dr.ty* became a word for a falcon and was especially used for Horus the Behdetite but in this case it

protecting cartouches and sacred emblems are sometimes identified as goddesses in the later periods.²³⁷

2.V: The Behdetite as Falcon in Other Contexts

2.V.i: Protective Falcons and the Non-Royal Dead

Falcons with sun disks on their heads and spread wings appear on the breasts of coffins of non-royalty in the 21st and, especially, the 22nd Dynasties.²³⁸ However these may be images of Re-Horakhty-Atum since offering formulas in the name of that god are often found associated with these falcons.²³⁹ Sometimes the sun disk on the head can take the form of the sun disk with

probably is a *nisbe* adjective meaning “He of the Kite” and refers to Horus as the son of Isis (the kite); see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1244.

²³⁷ P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altentümer in Leiden*, vol. 7, *Die Denkmäler der säitischen, griechisch-römischen, und koptischen Zeit* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915), pl. 12 (Isis and Nephthys protecting *djed*-pillar=Osiris; though they might be kites but see following work); idem, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altentümer in Leiden*, vol. 11, *Mumiensärge des Neuen Reiches 4* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), pl. 15 (Isis and Nephthys as falcons protecting Abydos fetish); Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 12, no. 3 (falcons identified as Neith protecting cartouche of the deified Amenhotep I).

²³⁸ Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 14, no. 1; idem, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, Theben 5 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1988), color plate B., pls. 8B and 11A; Emily Teeter and Janet H. Johnson, ed. *The Life of Meresamun: A Temple Singer in Ancient Egypt*, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 29 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pp. 20-21; John H. Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, Shire Egyptology 11 (Aylesbury, England: Shire Publications, 1989), p. 49, figs. 37-38, p. 51; idem, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), p. 231, fig. 170, p. 232, fig. 171; P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, vol. 10, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk 3* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1918), pls. 1-2, no. 16; idem, *Mumiensärge des Neuen Reiches 4*, pls. 1-2, no. 17, pl. 13, no. 21, pl. 15, no. 24.

²³⁹ Taylor, *Coffins*, p. 49, fig. 37; idem, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 232, fig. 171; Boeser, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk 3*, pls. 1-2, no. 16; idem, *Mumiensärge des Neuen Reiches 4*, pl. 1, no. 17.

two uraei,²⁴⁰ which might indicate an extended identification of these falcons with the Behdetite.²⁴¹ Some coffins of private persons in the 21st and 22nd Dynasties have protective falcons at the interior head of the coffin.²⁴² The falcons are not named but bear sun disks with two uraei upon their heads.²⁴³ There is a parallel with winged disks²⁴⁴ and, more commonly, the sun disk with two uraei²⁴⁵ appearing in the same location.²⁴⁶ In a sense, these falcons and sun disks can be interpreted as “hovering” over the deceased in protection, although there is usually an image of a deity, deified king or personified *djed*-pillar on the internal bottom of the coffin above which the bird or disk could also be considered to be hovering. More often one finds the human-headed *ba*-bird at the head of the coffin.²⁴⁷ In some cases a *ba*-bird is described as

²⁴⁰ For the identity of the sun disk with two uraei and no wings with the Behdetite, see below, section II.2.2.

²⁴¹ See, for example, Boeser, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk* 3, pls. 1-2, no. 16.

²⁴² Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 11, no. 1 (with inscription: ‘*q r dw3.t pr{.t} (r) p.t* “He who enters the Underworld and who comes forth (to) the sky”’), pl. 13, no. 1.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, pl. 3, no. 2; with an unusual shape below the disk, which perhaps represented rays.

²⁴⁵ Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, trans. France Gleizal, Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg 4 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1951), pl. 58, no. 10; Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, color plate C.; Erik Hornung and Betsy M. Bryan, ed., *Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt* (Washington and Copenhagen: National Gallery of Art and United Exhibits Group, 2002), p. 161, no. 73; Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, ed., *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*, trans. Jane Glover, et al. (Milan and Turin: Electa Spa and Istituto Bancario San Paolo, 1988), p. 219, fig. 304; cf. a 25th or early 26th Dynasty coffin with a sun disk with two uraei at the interior head identified as “the Behdetite,” in Taylor, *Coffins*, p. 57, fig. 44; Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV, Iconography of Religions XVI*, 10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), pl. 47, no. 1.

²⁴⁶ Or the sun disks appear close to it; some of the sun disks appear on the internal bottom of the coffin but at the head.

²⁴⁷ Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, p. 25; Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir El-Bahari*, pl. 3, no. 1, pl. 6, no. 2, pl. 16, no. 1, pl. 18, no. 2, pl. 19, no. 2, pl. 20, no. 2, pl. 22, no. 1, pl. 23, no. 1; idem, *The Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 17, no. 1; idem, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pls. 22A-B-21A; Taylor, *Coffins*, pp. 43-44, fig. 34.

*pr{.t}*²⁴⁸ *m 3h.t* “He Who Comes Forth from the Horizon,”²⁴⁹ which may identify it and the deceased with the Behdetite in his identity as the rising “reborn” sun.²⁵⁰ The bodily form of the *ba*-bird is usually that of a falcon²⁵¹ but they sometimes take the forms of other birds.²⁵² In a Coffin Text the deceased can take the mixed form of the sun god, as a “human-falcon,” to emerge from the horizon: *dbh.n=i hprw m bik rmt šm(=i) m rmt pr=i m 3h.t* “It is so that I might set out as a human and that I might come forth from the horizon that I have requested the form of a human-falcon.”²⁵³ However, the spell here concerns making the deceased into an *akh*

²⁴⁸ The deceased, Khonsuhotep, is a male, so the *t* is likely superfluous; although we may have the exclamatory use of the stative: *pr.t(i)* “May you come forth . . .”

²⁴⁹ E. Gubel, et al., *Egypte onomwonden: Egyptische oudheden van het museum Vleeshuis* (Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen en Pandora, 1995), pl. 21 (also called “the great god”); Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, p. 25, pl. 47, no. 8 (ÆIN 1069); a couple of other *ba*-birds are just called *pri*; see Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 6, no. 2; Taylor, *Coffins*, p. 44, fig. 34.

²⁵⁰ Cf. R. T. Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), pl. 17 (*ba*-bird at head of coffin with sun disk with two uraei on its head).

²⁵¹ This is based on the long, usually, rectangle-shaped tail, the separation of the wing tips from the body (for sitting birds), and the long internal body of the wing (where the flight feathers attach), which curves up at the end and there is often a square, rectangular or wedge-shaped patch or group of feathers (the carpal) at the end of the body of the wing that distinguishes Egyptian depictions of falcons from vultures; see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, 1, p. 28, D.a.; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Stelae, etc.*, vol. 11 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1987), pls. 26.2, 70, 86, 94.2; Donadoni Roveri, ed., *Religious Beliefs*, p. 195, fig. 268, p. 213, fig. 293. Compare a typical falcon in flight in Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1.1, *The Wall Reliefs*, William J. Murnane, ed. OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 70; and Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 13, scene 4, pl. XXX; for sitting falcons pl. X.

²⁵² The *ba* of Ani shows the short flared tail typical of depictions of vultures in flight; see Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, rev. ed., Carol Andrews, ed. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1985), pp. 87, 90, cf. the *ba* of Khary p. 91 and the vulture p. 116, and see Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 71; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. XXIX. The Book of the Dead of Nakht depicts his *ba* with the distinctive tail of a Northern Pintail duck (*Anas acuta*), Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 89. In at least one case a person’s *ba* is depicted with the crest of a Northern Lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*), see Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, p. 103, P.e.

²⁵³ CT II, 229b-230a (Spell 149).

(*ḥpr m bik rmt s3ḥ.t s m ḥr.t-nṯr* “Becoming a human-falcon; causing a man to be an *akh* in the necropolis”).²⁵⁴ In Coffin Text 312 the deceased is transformed into a falcon after being

“invested” (*sḥ*) with the *ba* of Horus:

iw=i ḥḥ.kwi m bik nṯry sḥ.n wi Ḥr m b3=f r it=i ḥr.t=f n Wsir r dw3.t

I have appeared as a divine falcon after Horus invested me with his *ba* in order that I might take his affairs to Osiris and to the Underworld.²⁵⁵

The transformation is made complete by the *Nemes* headdress, which gives the power of flight to the realm of the gods.²⁵⁶ This spell may provide the background for the development of the *rishi* coffin type in the 17th Dynasty used for both royalty and non-royalty.²⁵⁷ These anthropoid coffins were provided with falcon wings²⁵⁸ and the *Nemes* headdress.²⁵⁹ Despite the connection of the *ba* with the falcon, falcons rarely, if ever, hover above deceased non-royalty in the same

²⁵⁴ CT II, 226b-c (Spell 149).

²⁵⁵ CT IV, 76h-77a; cf. De Buck, “Book of the Dead Spell 78,” pp. 93-94 and Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 230.

²⁵⁶ See Katja Goebis, “Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*,” *ZÄS* 122 (1995), pp. 158-159; note, however, that the messenger is already a falcon before receiving the *nms*, but the *nms* does give this falcon his wings and ability to fly and serves to identify the king/deceased as a falcon; see, also Andrey O. Bolshakov, “Royal Portraiture and ‘Horus Name,’” in *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998*, Christiane Ziegler, ed. (Paris: La documentation Française and Musée du Louvre, 1999), p. 322.

²⁵⁷ See Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, pp. 223-224; Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), pp. 204-205.

²⁵⁸ The small group of feathers, which I interpret as the carpal (see Fig. 1) at the end of the body of the wing and base of the primary feathers takes the shape of those of falcons.

²⁵⁹ Cf. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 224, fig. 164; Ikram and Dodson, *The Mummy*, p. 205, figs. 258-260; P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, vol. 3, *Die Denkmäler der Zeit zwischen dem Alten und Mittleren Reich und des Mittleren Reiches 2: Grabgegenstände, Statuen, Gefäße und verschiedenartige kleinere Gegenstände mit einem Supplement zu den Monumenten des Alten Reiches* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1910), pl. 9.

manner that they do over the king (poses 1-3). The *ba*-bird,²⁶⁰ winged *udjat*-eye²⁶¹ or, more rarely, a vulture²⁶² or winged cobra²⁶³ are found hovering over non-royal deceased individuals in the same manner as birds hover over the king. On one 21st Dynasty coffin falcons are twice shown hovering over Osiris; one of these is named the Behdetite and the other is unnamed.²⁶⁴ The deceased is possibly to be identified with these images of Osiris, although this is not directly stated.²⁶⁵ Overall, the hovering falcon is more restricted in use by non-royalty than the winged

²⁶⁰ See Andrzej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, OBO 86 (Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), pl. 5b; Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 87 and 90; Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pls. 28 (Ch. 17, D.a.), 101 (Ch. 89, C.e.) and 104 (Ch. 92, P.e.); C. Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, p. 42, no. 39; Ahmed Fakhry, *The Egyptian Deserts: Bahria Oasis*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Government Press, 1942), p. 70, fig. 30, p. 87, fig. 46, pl. 31A-B.

²⁶¹ Niwiński, *Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 8, fig. 14, p. 15, fig. 23, p. 31, fig. 43, p. 65, fig. 97, p. 101, fig. 137, pl. 3, no. 1, pl. 4, no. 2, pl. 10, no. 2, pl. 18, no. 2, pl. 24, no. 2, pl. 28, no. 2, pl. 30, no. 1.

²⁶² Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 116; Ahmed Fakhry, *The Egyptian Deserts: Siwa Oasis; Its History and Antiquities* (Cairo: Government Press, 1944), p. 146, fig. 26.

²⁶³ Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 77, fig. 63; idem, *Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, pl. 42b; idem, *Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, pl. 4, no. 1.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 10, fig. 15 (unnamed but called “Lord of the *Duat*,” with Isis and Nephthys below as mourning women), p. 13, fig. 19B and pl. 7, no. 2 (named “The Behdetite”).

²⁶⁵ Like deceased non-royalty, Osiris is most often protected by winged (and wingless) *udjat*-eyes and vultures and winged uraei; see ibid, p. 17, fig. 26 (wingless *udjat*-eyes), p. 43, fig. 62 (winged *udjat*-eye), p. 38, fig. 56 (winged *udjat*-eye), pl. 7, no. 1 (winged *udjat*-eye) and no. 2 (winged and wingless *udjat*-eyes along with falcon), pl. 10, no. 1 (winged *udjat*-eye), pl. 19, no. 1 (winged *udjat*-eye), pl. 26, no. 1 (winged *udjat*-eye); idem, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari*, p. 55, fig. (vulture with *udjat*-eye body), p. 118, fig. 100 (vulture), p. 128, fig. 105 (winged *udjat*-eye), pl. 2, nos. 1-2 (large vulture on breast above two images of Osiris with two winged cobras plus the scene with a vulture in fig. 105), pl. 4, no. 1 center (winged cobra), pl. 8, no. 1 (winged cobras above Osiris in form of ram); idem, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, pl. 21B (cobra-headed vulture), pl. 24A (winged cobra); Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, p. 35 (winged *udjat*-eye); Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, et al., *Sen-nefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986), pp. 8-9 (vulture on ceiling above image of Osiris on wall). In the tomb of Nefertari in the Valley of the Queens a vulture appears above a doorway leading from Chamber E to Chamber G and when standing before this doorway the vulture appears to hover over images of Osiris and Atum back-to-back on the opposite wall of

disk or the other sun disk-forms of the Behdetite and more than the goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet in their vulture and uraeus forms. Whether this is due to stricter decorum or religious and artistic preference is not completely clear.

2.V.ii: Protective Falcons on Crowns

First in the Old Kingdom, but more commonly during the New Kingdom and Late Period, small falcons and vultures were sometimes attached to the back or top of crowns worn by kings and, rarely, by queens.²⁶⁶ No actual crowns with these designs have survived but they were probably part of actual headgear. They might have been intended as a means of placing the physical protection of the god upon the person of the king/queen and acted as a visual representation of this protection for the public. Given their evident protective nature and the parallel use of vultures, it is tempting to identify the falcons with the Behdetite but without names it is difficult to be certain; they could just represent “Horus” in general. The same difficulty arises with the famous statue of Khaefre from Giza (CG 14). The statue depicts the king sitting and wearing the *Nemes*-headdress, with a small falcon spreading its wings around the king’s head.²⁶⁷ An analogous statuette of King Neferefre was found at Abusir by a

Chamber G; see the photo in John K. McDonald, *House of Eternity: The Tomb of Nefertari* (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum, 1996), pp. 66-67.

²⁶⁶ See Emma Brunner-Traut, “Ein Königskopf der Spätzeit mit dem „Blauen Helm“ in Tübingen,” *ZÄS* 97 (1971), pp. 21-22, figs. 1-9, pls. 2-4; Karol Myśliwiec, “Quelques remarques sur les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III,” in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 2, Bd’É 97.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), p. 159, fig. 5c, pl. 6a-b; Andrey O. Bolshakov, “Royal Portraiture and ‘Horus Name,’” in *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et 4 avril 1998*, ed. Christiane Ziegler, Louvre conférences et colloques (Paris: La Documentation française and Musée du Louvre, 1999), pp. 319, 330, fig. 1, no. 10; François Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), pl. 94bis.

²⁶⁷ Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, vol. 1, CGC 9 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911), pp. 14-16, pl. 4, no. 14; Bolshakov, “Royal Portraiture,” pp. 313-314, 330, fig. 1, no. 2. A fragment of another such statue now in Boston (MFA 27.1466)

Czechoslovakian expedition, and similar statues are known from the 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties.²⁶⁸ None of these falcons is identified by name.

2.V.iii: Falcon-form Cult Images of the Behdetite

Although Junker believed that the early cult image of Horus the Behdetite took the form of a mummified falcon with two tall plumes on its head,²⁶⁹ there is little evidence to support this. One private monument from the Middle Kingdom depicts the god as a mummified falcon but without feathers. A hovering falcon of Pepy II and copied by Senwosret I wears two tall feathers but with bull's horns and the falcon is not mummified. In addition, these are not cult images. We do not have evidence of what the cult image of Horus the Behdetite may have looked like until very late. In one scene at Hibis Horus the Behdetite is twice shown as a sitting falcon with an erect phallus.²⁷⁰ In the first case,²⁷¹ the falcon has an arm and flail behind its back like the gods Min and Amun-Re-Kamutef and stands upon a box with two crossed crocodiles. He is called *Hr Bhd.t(y) imy wi3=f šps* "Horus the Behdetite, Who is in his Noble Bark." The second falcon lacks the arm and flail and stands upon a single crocodile resting on a mat and with a *Maat*-feather on its head. This falcon is named *Hr Bhd.t(y) nb p.t* "Horus the Behdetite, Lord of

excavated at the pyramid temple of Khufu may belong to this king, or also belong to Khaefre; see Bolshakov, pp. 314, 330, fig. 1, no. 3, and Elke Blumenthal, "Den Falken im Nacken: Statuentypen und göttliches Königtum zur Pyramidenzeit," *ZÄS* 130 (2003), p. 3.

²⁶⁸ M. Verner, "Les sculptures de Réneferéf découvertes à Abousir," *BIFAO* 85 (1985), pl. 47; Thutmose III: Claude Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1975), fig. 177; Sety I: Wilfried Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao: Viertausend Jahre Menschenbild in der Skulptur des alten Ägypten* (Vienna: Kunsthistorischen Museum, 1992), pp. 285-286, no. 106; Ramesses II: Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1957), no. 365; Ramesses VI: Vandersleyen, fig. 207a-b; Bolshakov, "Royal Portraiture," pp. 318, 331, fig. 1, nos. 11-13.

²⁶⁹ *Onurislegende*, p. 18.

²⁷⁰ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 4 (2nd register).

²⁷¹ That is, the first facing the king, who is offering *nw*-vases.

the Sky.” Both falcons wear a combination of the Red Crown, two tall plumes (the *šw.ty*-crown), curling rams’ horns and a small sun disk. A third falcon with the same crown but without the erect phallus sits upon a standard with a *Maat*-feather behind the second falcon. It is called *Hr Bhd.t(y) nb pr* “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Temple.”²⁷² Horus the Behdetite is depicted several times at Dendera as an ithyphallic falcon with similar crowns and often above crocodiles as at Hibis. Texts associated with these images often boast of the virility of the god.²⁷³ Many of the images of the god in this form at Dendera appear to represent cult statues²⁷⁴ and the representations of those at Hibis are suggestive of this, as well.²⁷⁵ One interesting feature

²⁷² Behind this falcon is the Behdetite in fully human form, and again as a griffon or falcon-headed sphinx, which will be discussed below.

²⁷³ *Dendara II*, pl. 109, p. 81, lines 13-14: *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t bik n nbw s3 3s.t iwʿ mnḥ pr m Wr.t s3 smsw n Wnn-nfr* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Falcon of Gold, Son of Isis, Potent Heir, who came forth from the Great One, Eldest Son of Wenennefer.” *Dendara IV*, pl. 250 (south wall of “Throne-of-Re” room with small lion in front and protective vulture behind and standing on box shaped object with two impaled crocodiles within), p. 20, lines 3-5: *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t gmḥsw wr dsr sšt3 bik ntry t3y ntr.w št3.t šps(t) hr ḥw.t=f dr.ty wr pḥty m Ns.t-Rʿ nʿš sm3 ḥfty.w=f* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Great *Gmḥsw*-falcon, He of Exalted Form, Divine Falcon, most virile of the Gods, the Noble Vulture is protecting him, *Dr.ty*-falcon, Great of Strength in Throne-of-Re (Edfu), Powerful One who slays his enemies.” *Dendara IV*, pl. 260 (north wall of “Throne-of-Re” room; like the scene on south wall), p. 30, lines 15-17: *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t bik n nbw [. . .] nb mḥt3 it ḥd.t ḥnm n.t ny-sw.t nḥw n ntr(.w) rmt nb nrw wr psd.t ntr šps n(n) ky hr ḥw=f nb mḥny.t qm3 st.wt wbn m šww mi Rʿ* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Falcon of Gold, [. . .], Lord of the Phallus, who seizes the White Crown united with the Red Crown, the King who protects the gods and people, Lord of Fear, Great One of the Ennead, Noble God, there is no other except for him, Lord of the Uraeus, who creates sunrays, which shine with radiance like Re.” Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, HÄB 5 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1978), p. 142, fig. 84 (uncertain location at Dendera; with small lion in front, above rectangular shape with single crocodile below): *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky.” See, also, Sylvie Cauville, “Le panthéon d’Edfou à Dendera,” *BIFAO* 88 (1988), pp. 16-19, fig. 2.

²⁷⁴ Cauville, “Le pantheon d’Edfou,” p. 20; idem, “Les statues cultuelles de Dendera d’après les inscriptions pariétales,” *BIFAO* 87 (1987), pp. 96-97, 112-113. *Dendara IV*, p. 20, lines 5-6 seems to be a description of the ithyphallic falcon statue in that scene (pl. 250).

²⁷⁵ One wonders, though, if the Behdetite is ithyphallic at Dendera, because he is husband (mate) of Hathor and father of Harsomtus, the two main deities of Dendera.

of these ithyphallic falcons at Dendera is that their phalluses end with heads in the form of lions or snakes.²⁷⁶

2.V.iv: Falcons on Standards

The Behdetite appears as a falcon perched upon a standard in several *Sed* festival double-throne scenes. The earliest is probably a scene dating to Amenemhat I but, unfortunately, the standard that was likely the Behdetite is broken away and missing.²⁷⁷ A standard on the right topped by the Seth animal and provided with arms and hands places year-signs and a *shen*-ring in the hands of the king wearing the Red Crown. In all later scenes Seth is placed on the side of the king wearing the White Crown. On a lintel of Senwosret III,²⁷⁸ the king, shown twice, sits on the double-throne in a chapel below a winged sun disk. He wears the Red Crown at left and the White Crown at right. At left a falcon stands upon a standard that has been provided with arms and hands. The falcon is identified as *Bḥd.t(y)*. One arm of the standard extends a year-sign to the king wearing the Red Crown. The other hand of the standard holds a milk jug (?) with another milk jug hanging from the elbow. The jug hanging from the elbow sits upon the head of a *Heh*-figure, which represents “millions.” Below are three *shen*-signs and the signs for “100,000,” “10,000” and “1000.” The general meaning being that the king has thousands upon

²⁷⁶ *Dendara* II, pl. 109 (a lion head according to *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 254, i); the phallus heads in *Dendara* IV, pls. 250 and 260 look like snakes according to the drawings on these plates but Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. 2, pl. 76, which is the same scene as *Dendara* IV, pl. 250, shows a lion head (this drawing is more detailed than that in *Dendara* IV).

²⁷⁷ See W. K. Simpson, “Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I-II,” *JARCE* 2 (1963), pl. 8; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), p. 57, fig. 5.

²⁷⁸ See H. O. Willems, “A Second Look at the Reconstruction of Two Festival Gates From the Middle Kingdom,” *JSSEA* 14 (1984), pp. 103-104, pl. 4; K. Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years*, trans. R. H. Boothroyd, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1957), pls. 102-104; Eugene Cruz-Uribe, “*Sḥ* ‘3 *pḥty* ‘Seth, God of Power and Might,” *JARCE* 45 (2009), p. 211, fig. 3, nos. 3 and 4.

tens of thousands upon hundreds of thousands upon millions of years for eternity to rule. On the other side the scene is nearly the same, except the Seth animal, named *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite,” appears upon the standard handing the year-sign to the king in the White Crown. A line of text behind both standards reads *gd-md.w di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh w3s nb hr(=i) smn gn.wt* “Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given all life and dominion from me and the establishment of annals.’” At the top left of the lintel another falcon appears on a standard with a *t*-loaf shaped top. This falcon is named *Nhn(y)* “The Nekhenite” or “He of Hierakonpolis.” On the top right of the lintel on an identical standard is the heron-god of Djebaut, *Db’w.t(y)* “He of Djebaut,” a town near Buto in the Delta.²⁷⁹ What is most interesting about these two birds is that they have been provided with human arms and hands and extend the sign of life to the name of the winged disk, i.e. “The Behdetite.” Yet the accompanying inscription states *di=f ‘nh n H’-k3.w-R* “As he gives life to Khakaure (Senwosret III).”²⁸⁰ The act of extending life to the Horus-falcon of the king’s name is well attested in the Middle Kingdom²⁸¹ and here there appears to be a certain identification of the king with the Behdetite in the form of the winged disk reinforced by the accompanying inscription.²⁸² We will see other examples in the following section of a certain amount of identification of the king with the Behdetite in sun disk form. King Amenemhat Sobekhotep of the 13th Dynasty at Medamud made a *Sed* festival double-throne scene nearly identical to that of

²⁷⁹ See Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), pp. 31 and 51.

²⁸⁰ Although the *di=f ‘nh* appears to follow the cartouche, the *n* before the cartouche makes the reading clear; plus “Khakaure as he gives life” makes no sense here.

²⁸¹ See Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, pp. 71, 380-382, nos. 303A-G, 304-305.

²⁸² Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 51. The phrase *di=f ‘nh n N.* is repeated in scenes of other gods in the columns below but with these scenes at the top of the column there seems to be an intentional link between the text and the action of the gods.

Senwosret III.²⁸³ Two very similar scenes now only in fragments were carved in a temple of Amenhotep I at Thebes.²⁸⁴ A *Sed* festival double-throne scene of Amenhotep III is found at Luxor Temple, on the north wall of room XIII (*PM* II, plan XXXII), but in this scene there are falcons on each standard.²⁸⁵ The king wears the Red Crown at left/west and the White Crown at right/east. Unfortunately, the names of both falcons were destroyed during the Amarna Period²⁸⁶ though the title *nb p.t* “Lord of the Sky” appears above the head of each bird.²⁸⁷ It is not impossible that both falcons represent the Behdetite, or another form of Horus, and Seth. Seth and Horus can appear together as a pair of falcons and Seth was worshipped in falcon-form in the oases.²⁸⁸ The Behdetite can also be paired with another form of Horus.²⁸⁹ In the small

²⁸³ Willems, “Two Festival Gates From the Middle Kingdom,” p. 103.

²⁸⁴ See H. E. Winlock, “A Restoration of the Reliefs From the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I,” *JEA* 4 (1917), pp. 11-15, pl. 4. One difference is that the standards of the falcon-god of Nekhen and the heron-god of Djebaut have arms and hands that grasp tall *was*-scepters and from the head of these scepters extend an *ankh*, *djed*-pillar and *was*-sign to the name of the winged disk.

²⁸⁵ Chic. Or. Inst. Photos 9194-9195; Al. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), pl. 71, fig. 203 (177); *PM* II, pp. 327-328, no. 155 (4), plan XXXII.

²⁸⁶ The names were probably restored in plaster but this has completely fallen away.

²⁸⁷ See Chic. Or. Inst. Photos 9194-5; the *nb*-basket is destroyed above the bird at left/west but the reading is certain; Gayet’s publication incorrectly shows *nb t3.wy* above the bird at right/east side.

²⁸⁸ See Cruz-Uribe, “Seth, God of Power,” pp. 209-210, no. 1; Olaf E. Kaper, “The Statue of Penbast: On the Cult of Seth in the Dakhleh Oasis,” in *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. Jacobus van Dijk, Egyptological Memoirs 1 (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), p. 235. On a fragment of relief of King Unis, mentioned above, a hovering falcon with a broken horizontal inscription that reads [*hnty*] *it[r.t šm’y.t* “[Foremost] of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row” has a line of vertical text behind it that appears to say *hnty Sw* “Foremost of Su,” which is an epithet of Seth (see Labrousse and Moussa, *Le temple d’accueil du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, p. 81, fig. 68, pl. 12 and n. 36 on p. 81 for references). It is not impossible that this is a continuation of the hovering falcon’s epithets, however there is no attested hovering falcon identified as Seth. More likely a figure of Seth, now lost, stood to the left of the vertical inscription with the falcon above the king; this was likely a crowning scene since Seth would have stood behind the king (based on the orientation of the falcon) and there

chapel of Osiris-Ptah-Nebankh south of the temple of Mut at Karnak on an east wall above a door the Behdetite appears as a falcon on a standard (provided with arms and hands) to the left/north of a cartouche of Taharqa.²⁹⁰ On the right/south is the heron-god of Djebaut on a standard. Both standards sit on top of a shrine: . The standard of the Behdetite extends an *ankh* to the duck of the title *s3 R'* above the king's cartouche; it holds a *was*-scepter and an *ankh* in its other hand. The standard of the heron-god holds in each hand a year-sign on top of a tadpole (*hfn* "100,000") and *shen* ring. A winged disk is centered above the king's name. It is interesting that the heron-god, a god of the north, is upon the south side. In the double-throne scenes of Senwosret III, Amenemhat Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I the heron-god also appears on the same side as Seth and the king wearing the White Crown, whereas Horus of Nekhen, a southern god, appears on the side of the Behdetite and the king wearing the Red Crown. In the latter cases the placement of the heron-god and Horus of Nekhen may be to balance the opposite orientation of the northern and southern representatives below, the Behdetite and Seth respectively.²⁹¹ This was possibly intended to emphasize the unity of the country. In the Taharqa relief the absence of Seth is likely due to the apparent proscription of the god during the 25th Dynasty.²⁹² The Behdetite takes his more common position as representative of the north by being placed on that side but what is hard to understand is why the heron-god, a deity only

was likely a figure of Horus in front of the king (compare the scenes in the Catalogue discussed below).

²⁸⁹ See, for example, W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl. 7, no. 16a, which will be discussed below under crowning scenes.

²⁹⁰ See J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite éthiopienne*, Bd'É 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), p. 112, § 31, pl. 69A; *PM* II, p. 278, no. 2 (Room I.), plan XXVIII (2).

²⁹¹ We do not know the original orientation of these reliefs.

²⁹² See Georges Soukiassian, "Une étape de la proscription de Seth," *GM* 44 (1981), pp. 59-68.

otherwise associated with the Delta, takes the southern position. One would expect a god like Horus of Nekhen or Thoth here. This situation highlights the complexity of the orientation of religious iconography in ancient Egypt.

2.VI: Conclusions

The Behdetite first appears in Egyptian art as a falcon, both as a sitting falcon and as a hovering flying falcon. There is no reason to assume he was conceived originally as anything other than a falcon. As to when he was identified as Horus is problematic. From the beginning he can be called just “the Behdetite.” He was at least identified with Horus by the 5th Dynasty when we find the nome of Edfu named *Wts.t-Hr*.²⁹³ It is even possible that he was just originally called Horus and was given the epithet *Bhd.ty* at a later date.²⁹⁴ “Behdet” appears to be a sacred term for Edfu, whereas its secular name was Djeba.²⁹⁵ The hovering falcon that protected the king is his most characteristic form as a falcon. In fact, it is safe to say that any falcon hovering above the image of a king or his names is Horus the Behdetite unless directly identified as another deity. The epithets *s3b šw.t* and *pr m 3h.t* found at an early period and the colors of the falcon’s plumage indicate that the Behdetite in his falcon form is a solar deity just as he is in sun disk form.

Hovering falcons are not often used in geographical symbolism, whereas this is more common with falcons on standards. In cases where a falcon identified as the Behdetite does

²⁹³ This meant something like “Throne of Horus” (*Wb.* I, p. 384, no. 10) or “Raising Up Horus”; for *Wts.t-Hr* attested in the 5th Dynasty See Hermann Kees, “Zu den Gaulisten im Sonnenheiligtum Neuserre,” *ZÄS* 81 (1956), p. 35 and fig. 1 on p. 36; Henry G. Fischer, “Varia Aegyptiaca,” *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 48-49.

²⁹⁴ We will see in Chapter 5.II.ii that most people at Edfu just referred to the god as “Horus.”

²⁹⁵ Pascal Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” *LÄ* VI, col. 323.

serve as a geographic symbol it often takes the position of Lower Egypt but we have seen by the god's epithets that he can be identified with Upper Egypt alone or with Upper and Lower Egypt combined, as well. As a hovering falcon the Behdetite appears opposite Nekhbet the goddess of Upper Egypt. Since Wadjet, the goddess of Lower Egypt, did not take a vulture form before the Middle Kingdom Horus the Behdetite had to take the position of Lower Egypt until this time, although he could still take the Lower Egyptian position at later dates. Horus the Behdetite as a falcon on a standard was placed opposite Seth of Ombos a city in Upper Egypt. Seth does not seem to have had a cult site in the Delta until the time of the Hyksos at the earliest and the Ramesside Period at the latest.²⁹⁶ The fact that the Behdetite had cult cities in both Upper and Lower Egypt and that he was Horus, who represents the king and is ruler of the "Two Lands" explains how he could represent both parts of the country. However, the evidence presented here cannot tell us whether the Behdetite was originally an Upper Egyptian or a Lower Egyptian god.

²⁹⁶ See H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, PÄ 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 117-118; cf. Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 349, n. 6.

CHAPTER 3

THE SUN DISK

3.I: Introduction

The winged sun disk is perhaps the most familiar and most distinctive form taken by the Behdetite. However the god also appears as a sun disk without wings with one or more uraeus serpents and in rare cases without wings or uraei. The god can also take the form of a scarab beetle, often with falcon wings, which in Egyptian thought is nearly identical with the sun disk, so we will discuss this form in this chapter, as well. The sun disk forms of Horus the Behdetite, especially the winged sun disk, appear in several contexts that reveal or suggest some of the theological concepts surrounding the god. It is sometimes necessary to examine material from the Greco-Roman Period to “flesh out” or clarify these concepts and to follow trends.

Note: the same terms used for the position of the wings for hovering falcons used in the previous chapter also apply to the discussion of the wings of the winged sun disk. “Winged sun disk” and “winged disk” are terms for the same form. The sun disk without wings but with two uraeus serpents to each side is a common form of the Behdetite; since I will refer to this form frequently I use the term “sun disk with two uraei” and when I use this term it refers only to this form and never to a winged sun disk, although the latter may have two uraei.

3.II: The Winged Sun Disk

3.II.i: Origins and Early History

The winged sun disk appeared in Egyptian art before it was directly identified as the Behdetite. However, these early images also do not bear the name of any other god. This creates some ambiguity as to the identity of the winged disk. The problems in interpreting the

image on the comb of King Djjet with the winged sun disk have been discussed above. The earliest certain winged sun disk is found inlaid on the end of a curtain box of Queen Hetepheres wife of Sneferu and mother of Khufu (Fig. 4).¹ It sits directly on top of the cartouche of Sneferu. The right wing extends over the king's Horus name, while the protection formula, *s3 'nh h3(=f) d.t* "the protection of life is around/behind (him) forever," is under the left wing. There are no uraei on the sun disk and there is no name identifying the winged disk. This winged disk appears above the king's name just as do many hovering birds and later winged disks. The presence of the protection formula also suggests that the winged disk's purpose here is that of protection. At the valley temple of Sahure at Abusir Borchardt found a scene of the king's ship of state called *Ntry b3 (S3hw-R)*, "Divine is the *Ba* (of Sahure)."² Along the top of the sail of this ship on the left side (right side is lost) is a falcon at left in pose 1 (Fig. 5). To the right of the falcon's horizontal wing is written *Bhd.t(y)*, and right of this is a winged sun disk in pose 3. The word *Bhd.t(y)* is oriented with the falcon. To the right of the sun disk's right wing is *ntr '3 s3b šw.t*, "The Great God of Multicolored Plumage." The fact that *Bhd.t(y)* is oriented with the falcon, and not the winged sun disk, has generally been interpreted to mean that the falcon is "The Behdetite," and that the winged sun disk is not named "The Behdetite" at this point in time.³ A

¹ George Andrew Reisner and William Stevenson Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, vol. 2, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops: A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955), fig. 29a, pl. 11a.

² Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša³hu-Re'*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 7*, WDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), p. 23, pl. 9.

³ Alan H. Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," *JEA* 30 (1944), pp. 48-49; Regina Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs*, Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 55, Beiträge der Ägyptologie 10 (Vienna: Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie, 1990), p. 54.

winged sun disk does not appear with the name of *Bḥd.ty* until the reign of Pepy I of the 6th Dynasty.⁴ However, it is safer to say that Sahure's falcon is, indeed, "the Behdetite," but that we cannot be completely sure if the winged disk is also called by this name. However, there are several reasons not to exclude the identification of this winged disk with the Behdetite and at least one good reason to identify it with that god. In later times it is quite common to depict the hovering sun disk without a name, and this is true of hovering falcons and vultures, as well.⁵ In fact, a falcon hovering over Khufu in a rock inscription from Sinai is also without a name.⁶ As to the orientation of the name *Bḥd.ty*, there are cases in the Old Kingdom in which the name *Bḥd.ty* is in reverse orientation from the figure of a hovering falcon. Inscriptions of Khufu and Merenre at Hatnub show the name of the hovering falcon in reverse orientation from the image of the bird and this mirrors the orientations of the figure of the king and his Horus name below.⁷ Winged disks with the name *Bḥd.ty* in reverse orientation at the end of each wing are known

⁴ Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, EM 45 (London: EES, 1952), pl. 8, no. 16; Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, p. 54.

⁵ LD II, 123e; III, 8a, 29a-b, 35d, 46a, 68, 71c, 121a (at right), 122b, 126b, 131f, 140a, 142l, 147a (left)-b, 150b, 151a, 159b-c, 167, 175d, 181, 191a, 204d, 206a, 207d, 208c, 209c-d, 210a; A. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), pl. 43, fig. 127; Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1, part 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pls. 45, 50, 68, 73, 82; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1969), pls. 15-16, 25, 28, 30, 31, 40; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 4, *Tafeln*, CGC 20001-20780 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902), pl. 16, no. 20188, pl. 47, no. 20601, pl. 51, no. 20678, pl. 53, no. 20702.

⁶ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pls. 2-3.

⁷ See Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers*, UGAA 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pl. 4, no. 1 (Khufu) and pl. 5, no. 6. There may be a mutual identification of the king and the Behdetite in these scenes, which will be discussed in Chapter 8.

from the New Kingdom.⁸ Although these examples are of different context (the falcons) or date (the winged disks), they at least show that the reversal of the name of the Behdetite is not unprecedented.⁹ In addition, our total number of extant winged sun disks, which appear without names prior to the named examples of Pepy I is very small.¹⁰ However, the fact that the winged disk is called “the Great God of Multicolored Plumage,” which is given to the Behdetite as a falcon from the previous reign¹¹ and the fact that the latter title (*s3b šw.t*) is not given to any other god before the New Kingdom suggests that the winged sun disk of Sahure is, indeed, the Behdetite. We also know that the Behdetite was considered to be a solar god from the 4th Dynasty as a hovering falcon bears the epithet *pr m 3h.t*.¹² It cannot be ruled out that the name *Bhd.t(y)* here serves to identify both the falcon and winged disk.¹³ The epithet of the Behdetite in the form of a falcon *pr m 3h.t* “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon”¹⁴ suggests that the Behdetite as a hovering falcon is, also, the equivalent of the sun disk.

⁸ See Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), p. 325, no. 147, p. 330, no. 162; *LD III*, pl. 50b; Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 105; *KRI VI*, p. 20, line 12.

⁹ The context of Sahure’s winged disk is a bit unprecedented (on a sail); there are no similar scenes with which to compare it.

¹⁰ They consist of that of Sneferu from the tomb of Hetepheres, one of Neuserre in Sinai (Gardiner, Peet and Černý, pl. 6, no. 10), and a few of Sahure.

¹¹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 318-321, figs. 121, 123, no. 103 (see above).

¹² See Hans Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, PMMA 20 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), pp. 14-15.

¹³ Such is the opinion of Elke Blumenthal, “Den Falken im Nacken: Statuentypen und göttliches Königtum zur Pyramidenzeit,” *ZÄS* 130 (2003), p. 15.

¹⁴ This is applied to hovering falcons in the time of Khufu and Userkaf; see the previous note and Goedicke, *Re-Used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I*, p. 14.

A winged sun disk of Neuserre found in a rock inscription of Sinai is the earliest winged sun disk with uraei,¹⁵ although the sun disk with two uraei and no wings appears under Sahure (see below). This winged disk is identified as *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* “The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands.”¹⁶ The epithets are placed to each side of the wings just like countless inscriptions of winged sun disks afterwards but are read from the inside (closest to the wing) out. Both the winged disk and the titles are separated from the scene of the king below by a border/column divider. Gardiner used this winged disk’s epithets to support his theory that “from the very beginning the Winged Disk represented the king’s actual person, though only as immanent in the visible sun, this again being imaged as equipped with wings proclaiming its identity with the falcon Horus.”¹⁷ Berlev objects that the sun (meaning the winged disk) is usually *ntr ʿ3 nb p.t* “the Great God, Lord of the Sky,” whereas the king is called *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* “the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands” and thus the sun god is lord of the sky, while the king is lord on earth and, thus, the epithets/titles found with this winged disk must belong to the king pictured below.¹⁸ In general this is true, however we have seen the possibility that a falcon identified as “the Behdetite” is also called “the Perfect God” and the Behdetite as a winged disk bears this epithet on the sarcophagus lid of Tutankhamun and elsewhere.¹⁹ The title *nb t3.wy* “Lord of the Two Lands” is used for the Behdetite in relief inscriptions of Amenemhat I (falcon-headed

¹⁵ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 6, no. 10; Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, p. 54.

¹⁶ Cf. Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 6, no. 10; *Urk.* I, p. 54, line 6.

¹⁷ “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 49-50.

¹⁸ Oleg Berlev, “Two Kings-Two Suns: On the Worldview of the Ancient Egyptians,” in *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, ed. Stephen Quirke (Berlin: Achet, 2003), pp. 23-26.

¹⁹ Other gods hold the epithet, as well; see *LÄGG*, vol. 4, pp. 428-429.

man)²⁰ and Senwosret I (hovering falcon).²¹ It is also a title of Horus in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts.²² If the winged disk here can be identified as the Behdetite, and I think that likely, the god is already identified with Horus at this time.²³ Berlev's contention that the epithets found with the Neuserre inscription belong solely to the king pictured below is problematic. Besides the fact that these inscriptions are separate from the figure of the king, inscriptions located at the end of the wings of winged disks throughout Pharaonic history almost exclusively refer to the winged disk; the epithets of the Neuserre winged disk are also found at the end of *each* wing just like most other inscriptions of winged disks. Nevertheless, the titles themselves as well as the absence of the god's name are unusual.²⁴ The king bears the same titles in the scene below and there may be a mutual identification of king and winged disk as Gardiner has proposed. However, this identification may not be with the winged disk alone but with the god that it represents, i. e. the Behdetite. This is supported by the titles of the falcon of Userkaf, if interpreted correctly, and by the *Heb Sed* double-throne scenes of Senwosret III, Amenemhat Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I, in which life is extended to the name of the winged disk (*Bḥd.ty*)

²⁰ See William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), p. 172, fig. 103; MMA 1907, accession number 08.200.5. The relief can be seen on the museum's website at <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000423?rpp=20&pg=4&ft-Egyptian&whatReliefs&pos=73>.

²¹ Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 15. He bears this title many times at Edfu Temple; see *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 777.

²² *Pyr.* § 1258b; *CTI*, 305b; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 777.

²³ See F. W. von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 2, *Die kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pl. 19 and see above section II.1.3 and Chapter III.

²⁴ The orientation of the hieroglyphs is also unusual being read going away from each wing. Although there are later, New Kingdom, examples in which the names and titles of winged disks are in this orientation; see Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 325, no. 147, p. 330, no. 162.

at the end of each wing as if to the king shown twice on the double throne below.²⁵ This parallels scenes from the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom, in which deities extend life to the falcon of the Horus name, the duck in the “Son of Re” title and even the *sw.t*-plant and bee of the *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* title and the *ntr*-sign in *ntr nfr*.²⁶ It is the same as giving life directly to the royal name or to the image of the king, because the king is the embodiment of Horus, the “Son of Re,” the “Perfect God” or “He of the *Sw.t*-plant and Bee.” The king in the double throne scenes is the embodiment of the Behdetite in that context and the king may be the embodiment of the winged disk/the Behdetite in the Neuserre inscription. The king in the Neuserre scene is smiting the heads of enemies and the king is frequently identified as *Hr tm3*- “Horus the Strong-Armed” in head-smiting scenes.²⁷ So the king is already shown as an embodiment of Horus in the scene.

²⁵ H. O. Willems, “A Second Look at the Reconstruction of the Two Festival Gates from the Middle Kingdom,” *JSSEA* 14 (1984), pl. 4; Kurt Lange and M. Hirmer, *Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years*, trans. R. H. Boothroyd, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Phaidon Press, 1957), pls. 102-104; Herbert E. Winlock, “A Restoration of the Reliefs from the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I,” *JEA* 4 (1917), pl. 4 and Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 51, pl. 4.

²⁶ See Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, pp. 71-73, p. 325, nos. 146-147, p. 326, nos. 149-150, p. 327, no. 151, p. 330, nos. 163-164, p. 332, no. 172, p. 380, nos. 303A-C, p. 381, nos. 303A-G, 304, p. 382, no. 305.

²⁷ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 2, no. 7 (actually in scene to right), pl. 8, no. 16; Emma Swan Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies: A Comparative Study*, MÄS 44 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1986), figs. 15, 20, 45-47, 49, 55-56, 59, 65, 72 (unfortunately the author does not discuss the term in her text). In a smiting scene of Mentuhotep II from Dendera the king is called *Hr d3i h3s.wt* “Horus who subdues the foreign lands”; see *ibid*, fig. 25; Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), fig. 6, pl. 5. On the east face of the south tower of the high gate at Medinet Habu Ramesses III in a smiting scene is called *Hr wsr phty nb hpš* “Horus powerful of strength, lord of the strong arm”; see *MH* VIII, pl. 598; Hall, *Pharaoh Smites*, fig. 70. In the funerary monument of Sahure at Abu Sir the king was shown as a griffon (?) trampling enemies and is called *Hr tm3*-; see Borchartd, *Ša³hu-Re*, vol. 2, pl. 8; Thutmose IV is also given this name on the wood panels of a throne where he is depicted as a sphinx trampling his enemies; see Howard Carter and Percy E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, Mr. Theodore M. Davis’ Excavations: Bibân El Molûk 1 (Westminster:

The context in which the king might embody (Horus) the Behdetite would be the king as protector and enthroned ruler over both halves of Egypt.²⁸

3.II.ii: The Behdetite as Winged Disk in Egyptian Art and Ideology

Several pillars from the funerary monument of Queen Meretites, wife of Pepy I, found at Saqqara are decorated with winged disks, which appear above the name and titles of the king and are identified as “The Behdetite.”²⁹ A rock inscription at Maghara in Sinai of Pepy I shows a winged sun disk above a scene of the king smiting an enemy. A scene to the right of this depicts the king running the *Sed* festival “race,” with a falcon in pose 1 above. Both the sun disk and the falcon are identified as *Bḥd.t(y)*.³⁰ A block from the lintel of a *ka*-chapel of Pepy I found at Bubastis depicts a winged sun disk above a scene of the king with Bastet and Hathor. It is identified as “The Behdetite,” and *nb Msn* “Lord of Mesen” at the end of each wing.³¹ During the Greco-Roman Period the epithet *nb Msn* is quite often found associated with one side or wing

Archibald Constable and Co., 1904), pls. 6-7 (1A and 2A); Peter F. Dorman, Prudence Oliver Harper and Holly Pittman, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Egypt and the Ancient Near East* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1987), p. 53, no. 35.

²⁸ See, also, Chapter 8 on the identification of the king with the Behdetite.

²⁹ J. Leclant and G. Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1995-1996,” *Or* 66 (1997), p. 269, pl. 18, fig. 24; Catherine Berger-El-Naggar, “Cultes de reines et cultes privés dans le cimetière de la famille royale de Pépy I^{er},” in *Des Néferkarê aux Montouhotep: Travaux archéologiques en cours sur la fin de la VI^e dynastie et la Première Période Intermédiaire*, ed. Laure Pantalacci and Catherine Berger-El-Naggar, *Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée* 40 (Lyon: Maison de l’Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2005), p. 29, fig. 20.

³⁰ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 8, no. 16; Audran Labrousse and Patrice Cornon, *Regards sur une pyramide* (Paris: Éditions Dis Voirs pour la Fondation Électricité de France, 1991), p. 39.

³¹ On the left side *Bḥd.ty* has been broken away but is certain; see Habachi, *Tell Basta*, pp. 14-17, fig. 2, pl. 2; Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), pp. 40-41, fig. 8; Richard Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägypten von der 0. bis 11. Dynastie: Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz*, vol. 2, *Abbildungen*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 35, fig. 4.8.

of a winged sun disk and this side is associated with Lower Egypt. It appears on the north or west side often with the epithet “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row,” either taking the place of the name *Bḥd.ty* at the beginning of the inscription or following it at some point, whereas only *Bḥd.ty* appears on the opposite side and often with the epithet “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.”³² Three winged sun disks dating to the reign of Hatshepsut include the epithet *nb Msn* in the inscription of the north wing: one at Deir El-Bahari,³³ another at Medinet Habu³⁴ and the third on the west façade of the Chapelle Rouge.³⁵ However, at Medinet Habu in the king’s chamber decorated by Thutmose III a winged disk has the epithet on the south side.³⁶ There seems to be no consistent use of *nb Msn* to indicate a Lower Egyptian

³² Hermann Junker, *Philä*, vol. 1, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 73.1 (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1947), p. 202, fig. 115; Hermann Junker and Erich Winter, *Philä*, vol. 2, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Vienna: Hermann Böhlau, 1965), p. 64, no. 937 and p. 66, no. 938; Sydney H. Aufrère, *Le propylène d’Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak*, MIFAO 117 (Cairo: IFAO, 2000), p. 303, figs. 49-50; É. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d’Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), pl. 11; *Edfou I*, p. 18, line 1; *Dendara VIII*, pls. 1302 and 1309; *Dendara IX*, pl. 1418; Pierre du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, MIFAO 121 (Cairo: IFAO, 2002), pp. 53 and 101, no. 52, and pp. 63, 65 and 307, no. 68; Sylvie Cauville, *Dendara: Le temple d’Isis* (Cairo: IFAO, 2007), p. 71, pls. 68, 191 and 198, cf. pl. 147 a sun disk with two uraei identified as *Bḥd.t(y)* on an east wall, 3rd register, 4th tableau, compare with pl. 160 a sun disk with two uraei on the opposite west wall, 3rd register, 4th tableau.

³³ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 94; *PM II*, p. 351, no. 33.

³⁴ Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 9, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I: The Inner Sanctuaries with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 136 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pls. 8 and 81 (sanctuary of ithyphallic Amun).

³⁵ Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d’Hatshepsout*, vol. 1, *Fac-similés et photographies des scènes* (Paris: CULTURESFRANCE, 2006), pp. 131, 144-145: on the west side of a winged disk the text reads [*Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 (?) s3b] šw.t nb p.t nb Msn di=f ‘nh w3s*, however on the east side the inscription reads *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 s3b šw.t nb p.t [.]*. The large break has enough room for *nb Msn* and the rest of the same inscription that is found on the west side.

³⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I*, pls. 9 and 91.

side with winged sun disks before the Ptolemaic Period.³⁷ This holds true for the Behdetite in other forms, as well. The remains of the New Kingdom pylon at Edfu preserve a few falcons protecting the cartouches of Ramesses III. Two on the north interior wall of the passageway through the gate conform to the expected geographic pattern.³⁸ The falcon on the west side (left) is called *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn* and that on the east side (right) is only *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t*.³⁹ However, on the interior face of the pylon door both the falcon on the north side and that on the south side are *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t nb p.t nb Msn*.⁴⁰ Of course, when the uraeus on one side of a winged disk wears the Red Crown and that on the other side wears the White Crown the winged disk can be interpreted as representing a united Egypt. One can also interpret the winged disk that appears centered over the double-throne scene of the *Sed* festival with the king wearing the crown of the north on one side and that of the south on the other as representing the two halves of Egypt.⁴¹ The identification is especially strong in the cases of Senwosret III, Amenemhat Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I in which life is extended to the name of the winged

³⁷ Cf. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pl. 7: a sun disk with two uraei is *Bḥd.t(y) nb Msn* on its south side and *Bḥd.t(y) s3b šw.t* on its north side. See, also, Luc Gabolde, “La «Cour de Fêtes» de Thoutmosis II à Karnak,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 9 (1993), p. 47, pl. 16: a winged sun disk on a lintel of Amenhotep III which has both *Bḥd.t(y)* and *nb Msn* beside each wing with the king performing the “race” ritual below wearing the White Crown on the left and the Red Crown on the right.

³⁸ Louis A. Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’ d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 6, pl. 5B.

³⁹ The remains of the inscription of the falcon above the one mentioned on the west side is also *[nb] Msn*; *ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁴¹ The earliest preserved example dates from the reign of Pepy I; see Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 2, *Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 1542-1808*, CGC 1295-1808 (Cairo: Organisme Général des Imprimeries Gouvernementales, 1964), pp. 170-172, pl. 98, no. 1747 vs.

disk as if to the king suggesting that the two (winged disk and king) are one and they rule both parts of Egypt.⁴²

Up to the 18th Dynasty winged sun disks always appeared in pose 3, with the wings to either side of the sun disk: . Beginning with the reign of Hatshepsut winged sun disks can also be found in pose 1: .⁴³ This allowed the winged sun disk to be used in spaces in which the hovering falcons and vultures were used, especially over the head of the king.⁴⁴ Although the winged disk in pose 3 () is commonly found above scenes of the king with the gods,⁴⁵ relatively rarely is it positioned with the sun disk directly over the king's head.⁴⁶ The use of the winged disk in pose 1 allowed the protection of the god to be focused upon the figure of the king. Use of pose 1 with winged disks is still somewhat rare before the Greco-Roman Period.⁴⁷ More

⁴² Cf. Willems, "Two Festival Gates," pl. 4; Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, pls. 102-104; Winlock, "Reliefs from the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I," pl. 4 and Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," p. 51, pl. 4.

⁴³ Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 3, *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 16 (London: EEF, 1896-1897), pl. 63; idem., *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pls. 104-105.

⁴⁴ Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 3, pl. 63; idem, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pls. 104-105 (though above the Hathor cow, the figure of the suckling Hatshepsut is directly below the winged disk); Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite éthiopienne*, Bd'É 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), vol. 2, pl. 14; LD IV, pls. 42b, 71a and 79d.

⁴⁵ LD III, pls. 29b-c, 45e, 46a, 57a, 65a, 66a, 68, 72, 81g-h, 134a, 172g, 174a, 196a, 197a-c, 222g.

⁴⁶ Some exceptions: LD III, 29a, 122a, 124d (left), 178a-b; John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1985), p. 263, fig. 154; Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rē', Rē'-Harakhti, Ptah and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pls. 30 and 37.

⁴⁷ Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 3, pl. 63; idem, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pls. 104-105; Sety I uses this pose to frame each side of scenes with sacred barks; see Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 1, *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of

commonly a sun disk with a single horizontal wing (especially in the early 18th Dynasty: ☉) or the sun disk with two uraei (from the late 18th Dynasty on) is used directly above the king. The latter will be discussed further below. The first evidence for the former, a sun disk with a single wing, comes from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari. Among the fragmented blocks from the sanctuary of that temple there was one with a sun disk with a single pendant uraeus (head now lost) and the base of a wing on the right but none on the left.⁴⁸ We do not meet the single winged disk again until the reign of Amenhotep I where we find it directly over the king's head.⁴⁹ It was used frequently into the reign of Thutmose III.⁵⁰ It appears occasionally in later

Chicago Press, 1933), pls. 19, 22, 27, 30; Leclant, *XXV^e Dynastie*, pl. 14. The winged disk in pose 1 sometimes replaces the winged *udjat*-eye flying towards Osiris; see Henri Frankfort, A. De Buck and Battiscombe Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, EM 39 (London: EES, 1933), pl. 73; Erika Feucht, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru (TT 296)*, Theben 2 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985), pl. 28. A winged disk appears over the head of Horemheb in an inscription at Abahuda with both wings drooped down evenly to each side of the sun disk, which allows for more columns of text and focuses the protection of the winged disk on the king alone, who appears between Horus and Seth; see *LD III*, pl. 122a.

⁴⁸ Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 2, *Die Wandreliefs*, AVDAIK 11 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), pls. 45 and 57b (no. 2120); and see now Claire Derriks, "Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage: Une mutation de forme du disque solaire," in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, ed. Wouter Claes, Herman de Meulenaere and Stan Hendrickx, OLA 191 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2009), pp. 284-285.

⁴⁹ See Catherine Graindorge and Philippe Martinez, "Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis I^{er} et les premières liturgies amoniennes," *BSFÉ* 115 (June 1989), p. 40, fig. 3; Nicolas Grimal and François Larché, "Karnak, 1994-1997," *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003), pls. 1-2; Derriks, "Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage," pp. 285-286, 289. Unlike those of later kings, the tails of the uraei on the single winged disks of Amenhotep I extend out from the side of the sun disk opposite the wing.

⁵⁰ Ricardo A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel el-Silsilah*, vol. 1, *The Shrines*, ASE 31 (London: EES, 1963), pl. 54; Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 1, pls. 4-5, 18-19, 26-27, 32-33, 117-118; *LD III*, pls. 35d, 49b, 50b, 53, 55b, 58; Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pls. 42-43; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 2, *The Temple of Kumma*, ASE 38 (London: EES, 1998), pl. 19; Derriks, "Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage," pp. 286-293.

periods.⁵¹ The single wing is usually in the horizontal position but on a model boat of Amenhotep II the single wing is vertical (𓆎) behind an image of the king in the form of a sphinx trampling enemies.⁵² An inscription of Nectanebo II in a temple in the Wadi Hammamat depicts a single winged disk in the same position behind an image of that king as a sphinx.⁵³

Winged sun disks first appear on stelae with the development of the round-topped stela during the 11th Dynasty.⁵⁴ Up to the end of the first half of the 12th Dynasty winged disks appear only on royal stelae and those of the highest officials but in the second half of the 12th Dynasty they also appear on those of lower officials.⁵⁵ On private stelae of the Middle Kingdom images or names of the gods or names of the king always appear below the winged disk either in the lunette⁵⁶ or in the main body of the text⁵⁷ and images of the deceased and his/her family are

⁵¹ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, TIN 17 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1913), pl. 46, p. 62, fig. 29 (above Ptah); LD IV, pl. 3d (Alexander); Derriks, "Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage," p. 294.

⁵² Edward K. Werner, "Montu and the 'Falcon Ships,' of the Eighteenth Dynasty," *JARCE* 23 (1986), p. 113, fig. 5 (CG 4944).

⁵³ LD III, pl. 287f.

⁵⁴ Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, p. 55; idem, "Round-Topped Stelae from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period: Some Remarks on the Decoration of the Lunettes," in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale de Egittologia: Atti*, vol. 1 (Turin: Societa Italiana per il Gas, 1992), p. 285.

⁵⁵ Hölzl, "Round-Topped Stelae," p. 288.

⁵⁶ See Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, pls. 40-42 (nos. 20538 and 20539); cf. Hölzl, *Giebelfelddekoration*, p.59, pl. 10.

⁵⁷ Ibid, pl. 51 (no. 20678); William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, PYE 5 (New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1974), pl. 61 (ANOC 42.2-BM 574); idem *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, PYE 6 (New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University and University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1995), pp. 45-46, fig. 73, c 16 (note name of Anubis in *h̄tp-di-ny-sw.t* formula a single line of text that separates winged disk from images of the deceased and family). This type of separation can also be found in the New

separated from the winged disk. Beginning in the early 18th Dynasty a sun disk with a single wing is found on the stelae of private persons.⁵⁸ The wing is placed on the left with the disk centered at the top. To the right can be found, most often, an *udjat*-eye⁵⁹ or lines of text.⁶⁰ It was originally thought that this type of stela was limited to the 18th Dynasty between the reigns of Amenhoteps I and III, and the majority do date from this time,⁶¹ but several are now known to date to the Ramesside Period⁶² and they are even found into the Late Period.⁶³ The wing appears above a wide variety of gods, as well as above deceased kings and queens and sometimes above kings that were living at the time the stela was made.⁶⁴ On the rock cut stela of Merymose at

Kingdom; see Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, CGC 34000-34189 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1909), pls. 4 (no. 34003), 5 (34005), 22 (34029).

⁵⁸ See Ludlow Bull, "Two Egyptian Stelae of the XVIII Dynasty," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 2.1 (Nov. 1929), pp. 76-77, 80-81; Doha M. Mostafa, "À propos d'une particularité dans la décoration des tympanes des steles cintrées du Nouvel Empire," *GM* 133 (1993), pp. 85-96, figs. 1-10; Hölzl, "Round-Topped Stelae," p. 287; Lacau, *Stèles*, pls. 25 (no. 34040), 35 (no. 34058), 36 (nos. 34060-34061), 37 (nos. 34062-34063), 38 (nos. 34064-34065), 39 (no. 34077), 43 (nos. 34089-34090), 58 (no. 34140), 62 (no. 34170).

⁵⁹ Lacau, *Stèles*, pls. 35 (34058), 36 (34060-34061), 37 (34062), 38 (34064-34065), 58 (34140), 62 (34170).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. 37 (34063), 39 (34077), 43 (34089-34090); Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 320, fig. 123.

⁶¹ Bull, "Two Egyptian Stelae," p. 76; Mostafa, "À propos d'une particularité dans la décoration des tympanes," p. 85.

⁶² Wilfried Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst; 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, vol. 1, Kataloge des Oö. Landesmuseums, neue Folge 22.1 (Linz: Oö. Landesmuseums Linz, 1989), p. 262, no. 433, p. 276, no. 452; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. 1, *The New Kingdom* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976), pls. 24, no. 1, pl. 25; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 10 (London: British Museum Press, 1982), pl. 81, no. 1248; *idem.*, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 12 (London: British Museum Press, 1993), pls. 36.2-37, no. 814.

⁶³ H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs, and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. 3, *The Late Period* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1983), p. 10, pl. 16, no. 26.

⁶⁴ Bull, "Two Egyptian Stelae," p. 76; Mostafa, "À propos d'une particularité dans la décoration des tympanes," p. 89. On a 20th Dynasty coffin the single-winged disk appears above images of Isis and Nephthys; see Otto Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*

Tombos in Nubia the wing appears over the names of Amenhotep III (see Fig. 6).⁶⁵ The owners of these stelae appear to the right under the *udjat*-eye if present and are usually depicted offering to the deity or royal figure. Though these one-winged sun disks can appear above the king or other royal person when they are present on the stela, the sun disk is not over his/her head but at the top center of the stela just as a sun disk with two wings would be placed.⁶⁶ The purpose of this single-winged sun disk does not seem to be intended for saving space, although it does provide room for more text if the *udjat*-eye is not present.⁶⁷ In these cases the lack of a second wing seems to be exclusionary. It was not appropriate, due to concepts of decorum,⁶⁸ to depict non-royalty under a winged sun disk. Apparently the *udjat*-eye was appropriate to appear over ordinary humans. People could wear *udjat*-eyes as amulets of protection, so they could also be shown, literally, under its protection on a stela.⁶⁹ What is interesting is that the *udjat*-eye at this

égyptiens. Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg 4 (Copenhagen: Fondation Ny Carlsberg, 1951), p. 15, pls. 26 and 31, no. 6 (coffin of Sesekh-neferu).

⁶⁵ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 320, fig. 123.

⁶⁶ Though see the inscription of Senenmut from Sinai in which Neferure is placed directly under the sun disk offering to Hathor, who is under the single wing, while Senenmut stands behind the princess: Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 58.

⁶⁷ A couple of stelae dedicated to the Great Sphinx, which in the New Kingdom was identified as the god Horemakhet, depict the single-winged disk above the sphinx without the image of the dedicator to the right. The use of the single wing in these cases does seem to be for saving space, since the length of the sphinx leaves less room for a figure at right (the dedicator is shown in a lower register) and in one case the height of the sphinx's crown leaves no room for a wing at right; see Selim Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations*, Excavations at Giza 8 (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), p. 234, fig. 172, p. 244, fig. 181.

⁶⁸ See John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *JARCE* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23.

⁶⁹ Bull, "Two Egyptian Stelae," p. 76; Mostafa, "À propos d'une particularité dans la décoration des tympanes," p. 86.

time could be interpreted as a representation of the “eye” of the sun god and was thus a representation of the sun disk.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Originally the *udjat*-eye was identified with the moon; it was the “healthy” (*wḏ3.t*) eye of Horus, because it had been restored to health after Seth plucked it out and its restoration became identified with the phases of the moon. By the New Kingdom the *udjat*-eye could also be identified with the sun. In Book of the Dead chapter 167 it is the *udjat*-eye that has taken the part of the angry eye of the sun god, whom Thoth pacifies; see Claudia Müller-Winkler, “Udjatauge,” *LÄ* VI, col. 824; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1952), pp. 472-473, 854-855; R. Anthes, “Das Sonnenauge in den Pyramidentexten,” *ZÄS* 86 (1961), pp. 4-5. Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophische-historische Klasse Denkschriften 59, nos. 1-2 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), pp. 136-140, see esp. p. 139; idem, *Gîza*, vol. 2, *Die Maßstabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1934), p. 51; Joachim Spiegel, *Die Erzählung vom Streite des Horus und Seth in Pap. Beatty I als Literaturwerk*, *LÄS* 9 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1937), pp. 56 and 135; Edouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden*, vol. 1, *Text und Vignetten* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1886), pl. 186; Thomas George Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Words*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1974), p. 162 and n. 170; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 12 (London: British Museum Press, 1993), p. 16, pl. 46.1, no. 266; cf. Horst Beinlich and Mohamed Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun mit Konkordanz der Nummernsysteme des ‘Journal d’Entrée’ des Ägyptischen Museums Kairo, der Handlist to Howard Carter’s Catalogue of Objects in Tut‘ankhamūn’s Tomb und der Ausstellungs-Nummer des Ägyptischen Museums Kairo* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1989), p. 91, no. 256rrr; T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli, Italy and New York: White Star and MetroBooks, 2000), pp. 220-221 (Carter no. 256rrr, Jd’E 61951), 246-247 (Carter no. 25600, Jd’E 62372); Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), p. 38, fig. 46 bottom). The thesis of J. Gwyn Griffiths, “Remarks on the Mythology of the Eye of Horus,” *Cd’É* 33, no. 66 (1958), pp. 182-193 that the *wḏ3.t*-eye was the uninjured eye is contradicted in *CT* VII 377b-378c where the *wḏ3.t*-eye is put into connection with the healing of its injury, as pointed out by Müller-Winkler, “Udjatauge,” col. 824; cf. Coffin Text Spell 1094. the *wḏ3.t*-eye continued to be identified with the moon into the Late Period, as well: *ms p3 hibw ‘nh ḏd-md.w ii.n ḏḥwty in.n=f wḏ3.t shn=f sy r ḥ3.t ir=s ḥns.n=f t3.wy r mh dbḥ.w=s ḥwn=f sw r wp i’ḥ dr.n=f nšny=s qbb.n=f tk3=s* “Bringing the Living Ibis: Recitation: It is so that it might alight upon the brow of he who made it that Thoth came as he brought the *wḏ3.t*-eye, after he traversed the Two Lands in order to provide its parts, that he might make it young in order to divide the moon (i.e. the months?) after he drove off its anger and after he cooled its fire”: *Edfou* II, p. 16, lines 1-2; see also Siegfried Schott, “Falke, Geier und Ibis als Krönungsboten,” *ZÄS* 95 (1968), pp. 63-64.

Although single-winged sun disks still appear on stelae in the Ramesside Period, in this time we first find images of non-royalty in the lunette offering to and/or worshipping the gods with the (double-) winged disk directly above.⁷¹ By the Third Intermediate Period this had become common.⁷² In the Greco-Roman Period the deceased can appear standing directly below the disk of the winged disk⁷³ or their mummy can be shown laid on a bier below the winged disk in the lunette.⁷⁴ As noted above, the winged sun disk can appear at the internal head of the coffins of non-royalty in the 21st and 22nd Dynasties.⁷⁵ It is also during this time that winged sun disks appear on the breasts of non-royal coffins and cartonnage mummy cases.⁷⁶ Winged sun

⁷¹ See M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 9 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970), pls. 25, 28 and 49, no. 1; idem, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 12, pls. 39, no. 1 and 71, no. 2.

⁷² Idem, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 11 (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), pls. 4, no. 1, 6, nos. 1-2, 8, nos. 1-2, 10, nos. 1-2, 14, nos. 1-2, 16, no. 1, 18, no. 1, 20, no. 1, 22, nos. 1-2, 24, no. 1, 62, nos. 1-2; cf. pls. 26, nos. 1-2, 28, no. 1, 30, nos. 1-2, 32, no. 1, 34, 36, nos. 1-2, 38, nos. 1-2, 40, nos. 1-2, 42, no. 1, 46, no. 2, 48, no. 2, 50, no. 2, 52, nos. 1-2, 54, 58, nos. 1-2, 60, nos. 1-3, 64, nos. 1-2, 68 where a decorative border separates the deceased and the gods from the winged disk. In some cases the offering formula with divine names is found in this border area: pls. 38, no. 2, 40, no. 2, 42, no. 2, 44, no. 1, 46, no. 1, 50, no. 1, 56, no. 2. Cf. Hölzl, "Round-Topped Stelae," p. 288.

⁷³ See Aly Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), pls. 12c, 14a, 17a, 19b and d, 34c, 38a, 42a-c, 46a, 54c.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 3a, 20b, 25, 26c, 38d, 39c, 41a and d, 45, 46c (with *ba*-bird hovering over mummy), 48d, 51, 54a, 57, 62, 63b, 65a-b. Cf. Donadoni Roveri and Anna Maria, ed., *Egyptian Civilization: Religious Beliefs*, trans. Jane Glover, et al. (Milan: Electa, 1988), p. 234, fig. 324 (Roman Period painted stela with winged disk in pose 1 above the back of the *ba*-bird of the deceased). Winged disks are shown above the deceased in the Tigrane Tomb in Alexandria; see Marjorie Susan Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 151, fig. 132, p. 153, fig. 133 and p. 155, fig. 135.

⁷⁵ Andrzej Niwiński, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (sarcophages)*, CGC 6029-6068 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1996), pl. 3, no. 2. The sun disk with two uraei was more common in this context.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pl. 8, no. 1, pl. 10, no. 1; John Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins*, Shire Egyptology 11 (Aylesbury: England: Shire Publications, 1989), p. 49, fig. 38; idem, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), p. 231, fig. 170; P. A. A. Boeser,

disks continue to be found on coffins and mummy cases throughout the Greco-Roman Period⁷⁷ and they often appear on the head of the image of the deceased on the coffin, cartonnage mask or mummy-cover.⁷⁸ In the Late Period and in the Greco-Roman Period, the winged disk appears above doorways of the tombs and false doors of non-royalty.⁷⁹ A common type of stela of the

Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, vol. 8, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk 1* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), pl. 5, no. 4, pls. 7 and 9, no. 6; idem, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, vol. 10, *Mummiekisten van het Nieuwe Rijk 3* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1918), pls. 1-2, no. 16; idem, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altentümer in Leiden*, vol. 11, *Mumiensärge des Neuen Reiches 4* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1920), pls. 1-2, no. 17; Andrzej Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*, Theben 5 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1988), pl. 14A-B.

⁷⁷ Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 30, fig. 14, p. 89, fig. 52, p. 242, fig. 171; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, pls. 87-88, 91, p. 38, no. 19; Beatrix Gressler-Lohr, Matthias Seidel and Dietrich Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung ägyptischer Kunst*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Karl M. Lipp, 1976), pp. 150-151, no. 94 (Gl. 34); Seipel, *Ägypten*, vol. 1, pp. 348-349, no. 522 (linen mummy-cover); Marc Étienne, ed., *Les Portes du Ciel: Visions du monde dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions and Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2009), pp. 148-149, no. 114; Francesco Tiradritti, ed. *The Treasures of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo and Vercelli, Italy: American University in Cairo Press and White Star, 1999), p. 386 (on top of head of mummy mask); Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries A.D.), with a Catalogue of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, SAOC 56 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1995), pl. 28 (underside of foot case); Eleni Vassilika and Janine Bourriau, *Egyptian Art*, Fitzwilliam Museum Handbooks (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 134-135, no. 63.

⁷⁸ Seipel, *Ägypten*, pp. 348-349, no. 522 (linen mummy-cover); Étienne, ed., *Portes du Ciel*, pp. 148-149, no. 114 (on head of mummy portrait); Tiradritti, ed. *Treasures of the Egyptian Museum*, p. 386 (head of funerary mask); Werner Forman and Stephen Quirke, *Hieroglyphs & the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), p. 166 (head of mummy mask).

⁷⁹ Étienne, ed., *Les Portes du Ciel*, pp. 226-227, nos. 174-175 (false doors), cf. no. 176 (with sun disk with two uraei); Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Alexandria*, p. 92, fig. 76, p. 124, fig. 102, p. 130, fig. 107; Ahmed Fakhry, *The Egyptian Deserts: Siwa Oasis; Its History and Antiquities* (Cairo: Government Press, 1944), pp. 161-162, pl. 32B (barely visible!); idem, *The Egyptian Deserts: Bahria Oasis*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Government Press, 1942-50), p. 50, fig. 7, p. 54, fig. 12, p. 55, fig. 13, p. 60, fig. 19, p. 63, fig. 23, p. 74, fig. 33, p. 81, fig. 37, p. 83, figs. 40-43, pls. 13A, 14A, 15A-B, 16A (false door), 17B, 18B, 23A, 26, 29A-B, 30B, cf. p. 70, fig. 30 (on wall above embalming scene), p. 84, fig. 44 (on ceiling).

Greco-Roman Period takes the form of the façade of a temple or shrine sometimes with a winged disk decorating the doorway and the deceased sometimes appears at the door.⁸⁰ The use of the winged disk in non-royal funerary art attests to the full integration of deceased non-royalty into the world of the gods.⁸¹

The "Legend of the Winged Disk" in Edfu Temple tells a story of how Horus the Behdetite, in the form of the winged disk, attacked and defeated the enemies of the sun god Re-Horakhty, after which the sun god ordered Thoth to place the winged disk in every temple:

(d)d.in R'-Hr-3ḥty n Dḥwty i.ir n=k 'py pn m s.t nb(.t) sndm.n=i im m s.wt n nṯr.w m Šm'w m s.wt n nṯr.w m T3-Mḥw . . . ir 'py nt(y) ḥr n3 g3y.wt n nṯr.w nṯr.wt nb(.w) nw t3.wy šḥmw.w=sn mit(t) Hr Bḥd.t(y) pw "Then Re-Horakhty said to Thoth, 'You shall⁸² make⁸³ this Winged Disk in every place that I have rested; in the places of the gods of Upper Egypt and in the places of the gods of Lower Egypt.' . . . As for the Winged Disk which is upon the shrines of all the gods and goddesses of the Two Lands (and upon) their chapels likewise, it is Horus the Behdetite."⁸⁴ This appears to be an origin myth to explain the presence of the winged disk above the doorways of

⁸⁰ See Stefan Schmidt, *Grabreliefs im Griechisch-römischen Museum von Alexandria*, ADAIK 17 (Berlin: Achet Verlag Dr. N. Düring, 2003), pl. 23, no. 71, cf. pl. 22, no. 69; coffin cupboards could take the form of a temple or shrine with a winged disk; see Joachim Willeitner, "Tomb and Burial Customs after Alexander the Great," in Regina Schulz and Matthias Seidel, ed., *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs* (Köln: Könemann, 1998), p. 319, fig. 60; Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), p. 275, fig. 396.

⁸¹ Cf. Étienne, *Les Portes du Ciel*, p. 226.

⁸² Literally "Make for yourself."

⁸³ $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$; for this form of the imperative see Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken* (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2008), vol. 2, p. 753, § 156.

⁸⁴ *Edfou* VI, p. 129, lines 8-9, 11; H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," *JEA* 21 (1935), p. 35; Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," p. 46.

temples.⁸⁵ Our earliest evidence for a winged disk above a doorway is on a lintel of Pepy I found at Bubastis.⁸⁶ Sun disks with two uraei probably appeared on architraves above doorways of the temple of Sahure at Abu Sir.⁸⁷ Doorways are liminal places in Egyptian temples and tombs; they are a barrier between the welcome and the unwelcome (the hostile),⁸⁸ the pure and the impure, the sacred and the profane.⁸⁹ It does seem likely that the winged disk was placed above doors as a protective device that may have worked like an “evil eye” talisman. In a sense it is also a marker of sacred space and time and this meaning can be extended to its use on stelae and temple scenes in which multiple gods, royalty and/or the sacred dead appear below. Its use above doorways and at the top of stelae (with very rare exceptions⁹⁰) seems to differentiate the winged disk from the Behdetite in falcon form. This difference may be due to a religious preference but is just as likely due to the requirements of the space where it is located (lintels, cornices, stela lunettes).⁹¹

In all contexts discussed above in which the winged disk appears, on stelae, in temple scenes, above doorways, on coffins, etc. and in all periods the winged disk is either named the Behdetite or has no name. With a few exceptions discussed below, in these common forms of use it is never called the name of any other god and it thus seems likely that the unnamed

⁸⁵ Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 46.

⁸⁶ Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 40-41, fig. 8; Bussmann, *Provinztempel*, vol. 2, p. 35, fig. 4.8.

⁸⁷ See Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša³ħu-Re^c*, vol. 1, *Der Bau* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1910), pls. 6 and 8, cf. p. 35 and fig. 29.

⁸⁸ This would also apply to the doors of homes and the magic protection of rooms.

⁸⁹ See Hellmut Brunner, “Tür und Tor,” in *LÄ* VI, cols. 781-782 (section D), cf. 782-784 (sections E-G).

⁹⁰ A falcon in pose 3 is found in the lunette of the stela of the lady Thenetenaset now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (22.3.33); see Richard A. Fazzini, *Egypt Dynasty XXII-XXV*, *Iconography of Religions*, section XVI, 10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), p. 36, pl. 45, no. 2.

⁹¹ The falcon would require space for body, head and tail.

examples of the winged disk are also to be identified as the Behdetite. This is also true of the following form of sun disk: the sun disk with two uraei, which is found in the same contexts as the winged disk although its identity in its early history, like the winged disk, is not absolutely certain. It is unlikely that these unnamed sun disks are merely the physical sun disk in the sky just as the hovering falcon is not just a falcon. The context requires a divine being.⁹² There are only a few exceptions of which I am aware of a winged disk identified as a god other than the Behdetite. One is found on a private stela from the time of Amenhotep III.⁹³ Below each wing of the sun disk is the inscription *Hr nḏ-it=f* “Horus Who-Protects-his-Father.”⁹⁴ Significantly, the winged disk appears above a kiosk with a double scene of Osiris enthroned within and with the owner of the stela, the vizier Ptahmose, praising him to each side. A prayer or hymn to Osiris is below the scene.⁹⁵ It was evidently deemed appropriate in this context to connect the winged disk’s identification of Horus (the Behdetite) with Horus of the Osiris myth.⁹⁶ Occasionally in the Greco-Roman Period winged disks can be identified as “Lord of Mesen”⁹⁷

⁹² Sometimes these unnamed sun disks, just like unnamed hovering falcons and vultures, are associated with inscriptions such as “As he gives all life, etc.”; cf. Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1969), pls. 3, 15-16, 25, 28, 30-31, 40; E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 5 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914), pl. 12; Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 72; *MH VIII*, pls. 643, 647, 649, 658.

⁹³ Alexandre Varille, “Une stèle du vizir Ptahmes contemporain d’Aménophis III (N^o 88 du Musée de Lyon),” *BIFAO* 30 (1931), p. 499 and see plate at end of volume.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-504.

⁹⁶ I have been unable to find a case in which the Behdetite is directly referred to by this name (i.e. *Hr-nḏ-it=f*); cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 268-269.

⁹⁷ See Sylvie Cauville, *Dendara: Le temple d’Isis* (Cairo: IFAO, 2007), pl. 118 (bottom), pl. 120 (top; see p. 125, line 12); the sun disk with two uraei can also appear as *nb Msn*; see *ibid.*, pl. 160 (bottom) and *Edfou XIII*, pl.451 (probable although only the *nb*-basket is extant).

or, rarely, “Apy”⁹⁸ without reference to the Behdetite. A fragmentary block from Bubastis shows a winged disk⁹⁹ with arms between which is the inscription *Hr nb mk(.t)* “Horus Lord of Protection.”¹⁰⁰ At Bubastis this is usually a title of Horus Hekenu (*hknw*).¹⁰¹ Given that the space below the inscription is lost and the fact that the arms of winged disks usually “embrace” what is between them in protection, this inscription probably belongs to whatever figure is below.¹⁰² To the left of the winged disk’s wing is what is likely to be the back, wings and tail of a seated falcon followed by the word *3h.t* “horizon.” Below the word “horizon” is a bordered column of text beginning with *ntr ʿ3* “the Great God.” The text next to the wing surely reads “Horakhty.” Lines of text to the side of the wings of winged disks, which are read going towards the wing, usually belong to the winged disk but these also usually have a border divider. It would not be totally surprising to have a winged disk identified with Horakhty, since the Behdetite is sometimes identified with Re-Horakhty beginning in the New Kingdom and there is a strong syncretism of the two gods at Edfu Temple.¹⁰³ However, without a border it is uncertain if the name of the god belongs to the winged disk or to the inscriptions below (and a lost figure of the god). On the center of the ceiling of Osirian chapel east, number 3 of the temple of Hathor

⁹⁸ See *Edfou XI*, pl. 232.

⁹⁹ The actual sun disk is missing either having been worn away or unfinished.

¹⁰⁰ Edouard Naville, *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, EM 8 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1891), pl. 44; Leitz, ed., *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 652 (Bellegstellen 5).

¹⁰¹ *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 652 (Bellegstellen 4-5, 9); Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, SASAE 22 (Cairo: IFAO, 1957), p. 137, fig. 34; *LD IV*, pl. 63c.

¹⁰² It may be the king who is being identified with the god (Horus Lord of Protection/Horus Heqenu), because to the right and left are sitting falcons with the uraei of Nekhbet and Wadjet behind them in protection. These falcons are likely those found on the *serekh* of the king’s Horus Name broken away below.

¹⁰³ See below section II.2.4.

at Dendera are winged disks and winged scarab beetles alternating with vultures.¹⁰⁴ The vultures take their usual identifications as Nekhbet and Wadjet but at least one of the winged disks¹⁰⁵ and all of the scarabs are named Osiris. Given the usual protective nature of Horus the Behdetite, it is surprising that the winged disks are not identified with the Behdetite here; Horus is, along with his mother Isis, the main protector of Osiris. However, the texts associated with the winged disk and on the ceiling identify Osiris as Re (the Sun), the moon and the constellation Orion.¹⁰⁶ It is evident that the winged disk and winged beetles are identified with Osiris here not only because of the context of an Osirian chapel but also because Osiris is identified with the heavenly bodies of the sky and is identified as united with the sun god.¹⁰⁷ We will examine below cases in which the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei may have a double identification of the Behdetite with other solar gods.

3.III: The Sun Disk with Two Uraei: ☉

3.III.i: Origins and Early History

Like the winged disk the earliest sun disks with two uraei lack names but this continues into the New Kingdom. The sun disk with two uraei first appears on some of the columns and architraves of Sahure's valley temple. Those on the columns hover above the falcon of the

¹⁰⁴ *Dendara X*, pls. 93, 115, 122 and 144.

¹⁰⁵ The beginning of the text for one of the winged disks is destroyed at the beginning (*Dendara X*, p. 262, line 11); a winged disk on the ceiling above the door is *nb Msn ntr '3 s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* on its east side and *Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* on its west side (see pl. 93 and p. 193, lines 4-5).

¹⁰⁶ *Dendara X*, p. 193, line 9, p. 261, lines 12 and 14 (winged disk) and p. 262, lines 1, 5 and 9; Sylvie Cauville, *Le temple de Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes*, vol. 1, *Transcriptions et traductions*, Bd'É 117 (Cairo: IFAO, 1997), pp. 100, 140-141.

¹⁰⁷ Another portion of text from this scene identifies Osiris as the "Ba of Re" (*Dendara X*, p. 262, line 13).

king's Horus name.¹⁰⁸ The sun disks on the architraves are centered over the entryway according to the reconstructions of Borchardt. The king's titulary beginning with his Horus name extends to either side of the sun disk.¹⁰⁹ In at least one case one of the uraei of an architrave sun disk is identified as Wadjet.¹¹⁰ This uraeus is on the right and north side of the sun disk but the name and titles of the uraeus on the left/south side are broken away. Borchardt has reconstructed the name of the uraeus on the south as Nekhbet.¹¹¹ The reconstruction seems logical, especially since Nekhbet, as the White Crown, is identified as a cobra in Pyramid Text Spell 468 where she is placed in parallel with Wadjet as the Red Crown:

*h3 N. pn š't=k pw ir.t Hr wd3.t ḥḏ.t wt.t imy.t Nḥb . . . h3 N. ḥtm ṯw m ir.t Hr dšr.t wr.t
b3w š3.t wnn i.nd=s ṯw N. pn mi nd=s Hr*

Ho you N., the healthy Eye of Horus is the terror of you, the White Crown, the cobra who is in Nekheb (El Kab). . . Ho you N., provide yourself with the Eye of Horus, the Red Crown, great of *bau*-power and many natured, that it might protect you, (namely) this N., as it protects Horus.¹¹²

These two goddesses are paired in later examples of the sun disk with two uraei and winged disks with double uraei being identified by name or by wearing their respective crowns; the White or the *Atef* crowns for Nekhbet and the Red Crown for Wadjet. What is likely a sun disk with two uraei (left side of sun disk is broken away) is found with a hovering falcon to its right on a block from the pyramid of Queen Ipuet at Saqqara.¹¹³ The sun disk with two uraei is not

¹⁰⁸ Borchardt, *Ša³ḥu-Re^c*, vol. 1, pp. 34-35, fig. 28, pl. 11; Werner Kaiser, ed., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin: Brüder Hartmann, 1967), p. 8, no. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Borchardt, *Ša³ḥu-Re^c*, vol. 1, p. 35, fig. 29.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 8, p. 46.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Pyr.* § 900a-b and 901a-c; cf. Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 157.

¹¹³ Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 7 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), pl. 56, no. 2.

attested again until the early 11th Dynasty,¹¹⁴ when it appears on a relief of Wahankh Intef II now in the British Museum (*EA* 1819).¹¹⁵ The sun disk appears above and slightly in front of the king and appears to be at top center of the scene as winged disks are often placed (the right side of the scene is broken away).¹¹⁶ This sun disk is also without name. A lintel from Lisht is thought by some to date to the period of a coregency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I.¹¹⁷ Senwosret I is depicted in the center twice, back to back below a winged sun disk, offering *nw*-vases to Amenemhat I to either side. Amenemhat offers life and dominion (*w3s*) in return to Senwosret. The image of Amenemhat on the right is lost but the figure on the left has a sun disk with two uraei above him. The problem with accepting this piece as dating from a coregency is that the mutual offering scene suggests that Amenemhat is deified/deceased.¹¹⁸ This would be the earliest instance that a sun disk (or bird) hovers over a god or deified person. The sun disk with two uraei appears in scenes on the north and south faces of the eastern and western most pillars of the White Chapel of Senwosret I between a falcon and a vulture (both in pose 2).¹¹⁹ The uraei

¹¹⁴ A sun disk with two uraei that appears with the *wh*-emblem, which is mentioned in texts of the Old Kingdom and pictured with the two uraei to each side of the sun disk in the Middle Kingdom will be treated as a special case below.

¹¹⁵ See Nigel and Helen Strudwick, *Thebes in Egypt: A Guide to the Tombs and Temples of Ancient Luxor* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 23; Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), p. 74, fig. 47.

¹¹⁶ The sun disk is slightly lower than the top of the king's White Crown.

¹¹⁷ See J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), p. 96, fig. 111; Marianne Eaton-Krause, "Zur Koregenz Amenemhets I. und Sesostris I.," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 112 (1980), p. 42, fig. 1.

¹¹⁸ Claude Obsomer, *Sésostris I^{er}: Étude chronologique et historique du règne* (Brussels: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne, 1995), pp. 93-94. The possibility that Amenemhat I is deceased in this scene is actually recognized by William J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 4-5.

¹¹⁹ Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 14, fig. 2, vol. 2, pls. 15-16, 25, 28, 30-31, 40 (scenes 7-10, 3'-4', 7'-10', 27'-28').

are long and pendent with the phrase *di 'nh* “He who gives life” between them.¹²⁰ The phrase must represent the gift of life from the sun disk, although it is unnamed, meaning that the sun disk is definitely a god.¹²¹ The sun disk with two uraei appears on two pectorals from the 12th Dynasty. One pectoral bears the name of Amenemhat III and has images of the king suckling from the Hathor cow.¹²² A sun disk with two uraei appears in the center; two *ankh* signs extend from either side of the disk and on top of the disk is a crown of the type  with the addition of a small pair of bull’s horns and at the tips of the curled horns are *wadj*/papyrus plant-signs and two more uraei to each side of the feathers. This is a very rare occurrence of the sun disk with two uraei bearing a crown. The winged sun disk in the Greco-Roman Period often “wears” the Double Crown upon two curled ram’s horns,¹²³ but the only cases besides this, in which a sun disk with two uraei wears a crown is with the *wh*-emblem, which will be discussed below, and an example from a much later period and even a different culture, although one greatly influenced by Egyptian religion and culture: a Meroitic gold signet ring has a sun disk with two uraei with a  type crown and there is the head of a falcon within the sun disk.¹²⁴ The crown recalls the two straight feathers and bull’s horns worn by the hovering falcons of Pepy II at Saqqara and

¹²⁰ Or “(He) who gives life.”

¹²¹ Similarly, a sun disk with two uraei appears on the side of the throne of a seated statue of Sobekhotep III now in the British Museum and the sun disk is again without name but has an inscription to each side saying *di 'nh w3s* “He who gives life and dominion.” His throne name, written *Shm-R' (S)w3d-t3.wy* is on the back of the throne; see E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 5 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914), pl. 12.

¹²² See Claude Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15 (Berlin: Propyläen, 1975), pl. 396a.

¹²³ *Edfou* I, pl. 39; *Edfou* III, pl. 75; *Dendara* VII, pl. 636; *Dendara* IX, pl. 876.

¹²⁴ See Nancy Thomas, Gerry D. Scott, III and Bruce G. Trigger, *The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1995), p. 240, no. 125A.

Senwosret I at Lisht. The other sun disk with two uraei, which appears on a pectoral is between two *udjat*-eyes and above the emblem of the goddess Bat, which is flanked by the Seth animal and a falcon-headed griffon.¹²⁵ This may be the earliest example, more common in the New Kingdom and Late Period, in which the sun disk with two uraei¹²⁶ appears above sacred emblems.¹²⁷

None of the sun disks with two uraei prior to the New Kingdom are identified by name. However, there is reason to interpret the sun disk with two uraei as another form of the Behdetite in the Old Kingdom. The winged sun disk appears with two uraei in the reign of Neuserre, whose reign is separated from that of Sahure by about 38 years.¹²⁸ The sun disks with two uraei on the columns of Sahure hover over the king's name just like the first winged sun disk of Sneferu.¹²⁹ I have pointed out above that there is reason to identify the winged sun disk in the time of Sahure as the Behdetite. When the sun disk with two uraei is named from the New Kingdom onwards, it is almost exclusively named *Bḥd.ty*. Only in the names of kings during the

¹²⁵ It is thought to date to the reign of Senwosret II or Senwosret III; see Stephen Spurr, Nicholas Reeves and Stephen Quirke, *Egyptian Art at Eton College: Selections from the Myers Museum* (Windsor and New York: Eton College and Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), p. 16, no. 8.

¹²⁶ The winged sun disk can also be found in this context at a later date.

¹²⁷ It most frequently appears above *djed*-pillars; see Henri Frankfort, A. De Buck and Battiscombe Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, vol. 2, EM 39 (London: EES, 1933), pl. 73; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 10 (London: British Museum Publications, 1982), pl. 52, no. 161; Christiane Ziegler, Marie-France Aubert and Josette Grandazzi, *Louvre guide du visiteur: Les antiquités égyptiennes*, vol. 1, *Égypte pharaonique* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1997), p. 152. The winged sun disk: LD IV, pl. 86; Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 5, *The Upper Court and Sanctuary*, EM 27 (London: EEF, 1904-1905), pl. 150 (Late Period sanctuary).

¹²⁸ Chronology based on Jurgen von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.*, MÄS 46 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997), p. 188.

¹²⁹ The difference being the winged disk of Sneferu is above the king's birth name and the sun disk with two uraei is over Sahure's Horus name.

New Kingdom and later can the sun disk with two uraei, as well as the winged sun disk, be *read* as “Re” (but it never is labeled “Re”) and we will see that even then these sun disks can be identified with the Behdetite.¹³⁰ If the reconstruction of the identification of the two uraei of Sahure’s sun disks as Nekhbet and Wadjet is correct, it supports an identification of the sun disk as the Behdetite, since these goddesses are identified with the uraei of the Behdetite in the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹³¹ Gardiner accepted these early sun disks with two uraei as equivalent to the winged disk based on the fact that sun disks with two uraei in the New Kingdom can have the name of the Behdetite to each side of the disk in the same manner that the winged disk had the name at the end of each wing.¹³² He also believed that both the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei were symbols of a unity of the king, Horus (in the form of the Behdetite) and Re.¹³³ Gardiner built his theory on an idea of Sethe that the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei (the latter termed an “abbreviated form” of the winged disk by Sethe)¹³⁴ represented a “coat of arms” (Wappen)¹³⁵ of the united Two Lands of Egypt as represented by the two wings and two uraei.¹³⁶ We have noted above how the Behdetite as winged disk can represent the king as ruler over the two halves of Egypt in the double-throne scene; the identity of the winged disk of Neuserre in Sinai as “Lord of the Two Lands” at the end of each wing, if

¹³⁰ I know of only one exception and this is used in the identity of the king with Re, also. This will be further discussed below in section II.ii.3.2.

¹³¹ See below.

¹³² “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 50.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 51.

¹³⁴ Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1930), p. 129, § 157.

¹³⁵ Ibid, p. 128, § 156.

¹³⁶ Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 46-52; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 127-132, §§ 155-160.

interpreted correctly, also speaks for the two wings as representative of the Two Lands.¹³⁷ The identification is more direct in the Temple of Edfu where Horus the Behdetite is identified as *ꜥy šps ḥw t3.wy m dm3.ty=f(y)* “Noble Winged Disk¹³⁸ who protects the Two Lands with his two wings,”¹³⁹ or it is said of him *pd.n dm3.ty=f(y) b3.ty* “as his two wings spanned the Two Bushes (Egypt).”¹⁴⁰ Horus the Behdetite is frequently said to “divide the Two Lands with his two wings,” although here he is usually described as a falcon (*ḥm*): *Hr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥm šps wp t3.wy m dnḥ.wy=f(y)* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Noble Falcon who divided the Two Lands with his wings.”¹⁴¹ The two uraei of these sun disks can be identified as Nekhbet and Wadjet by the presence of the White and Red Crowns from the Middle Kingdom on and are identified by name beginning in the 18th Dynasty.¹⁴² Although other gods and goddesses can be identified as uraei and Shu and Tefnut can be identified as the eyes of Atum and thus as twin uraei,¹⁴³ the two deities that are almost always paired as two uraei in early texts are Nekhbet

¹³⁷ Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 48.

¹³⁸ *Apy* can also be a falcon-winged scarab but here the word has a winged disk determinative.

¹³⁹ *Edfou* I, p. 146, line 4. Sety I is described as *bik nṯry šḥn ḥr ḥr.t kpy.n=f idb.wy m dḥn.wy=f(y)* “divine falcon, who hovers in the sky (lit. who alights upon the sky), he having covered the Two Banks with his two wings”; *KRI* I, p. 39, line 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Edfou* III, p. 169, line 6. The last word, which *Wb.* I, p. 442, nos. 5-6 reads as *bi3.wy*, refers to the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 305; A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*, EU 8 (Leiden: Netherlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), pp. 303, 308, n. 23.

¹⁴¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 103, line 8; it appears to be a set phrase always with *ḥm*; cf. *Edfou* III, p. 163, line 13 (also called *Apy*); *Edfou* IV, p. 46, line 10; IV, p. 210, line 9; IV, p. 229, line 16; IV, p. 313, line 2; *Edfou* VIII, p. 37, line 5.

¹⁴² See also Section 3.VIII below.

¹⁴³ *Pyr.* § 804a; Constant De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd ed., ed. Gaber Aly Hussein (Luxor: Gaber Aly Hussein, n.d.), p. 115; Adolf Erman, *Hymnen an*

and Wadjet although often they are just identified as the crowns of the Two Lands.¹⁴⁴ A group of hymns, which are dated on paleographic grounds to the Second Intermediate Period, identify the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt with the Eye of Horus and uraei.¹⁴⁵ Thus the Red Crown is *ir.t Hr sšm.t=f* “the Eye of Horus, his guiding-uraeus.”¹⁴⁶ The latter term is most often applied to Nekhbet at Edfu.¹⁴⁷ Another hymn is to the uraeus-goddess of the *Atef* crown, who can be identified as Nekhbet, because she frequently wears this crown. She is identified as the Eye of Horus and the Upper Egyptian Great-of-Magic.¹⁴⁸ In Hymn C of these hymns they are *ir.t šm'ȳ.t* “Upper Egyptian Uraeus”¹⁴⁹ and *ir.t mhy.t* “Lower Egyptian Uraeus.”¹⁵⁰ Given these early textual sources and the fact that the uraei of the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei in the New Kingdom and Late Period are almost exclusively identified with Nekhbet and Wadjet,¹⁵¹ it seems likely that the twin uraei of earlier sun disks can be identified with the “Two Lands” of Egypt. As to the identity of the god represented by the early, unnamed, sun disks with two uraei, there are several gods who are said to bear two uraei. Montu is often depicted with a sun disk

das Diadem der Pharaonen aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff, APAW Year 1911 (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), pp. 42-43 (12, 6); Jean Leclant, “Une statuette d’Amon-Rê-Montou au nom de la Divine Adoratrice Chepenoupet,” in *Mélanges Maspero I: Orient ancien*, MIFAO 66.4 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), p. 78. For other goddesses identified as uraei, see Karl Martin, “Uräus,” in *LÄ* VI, cols. 865-866. Isis and Nephthys may be identified as the two eyes and two uraei in Pyramid Text Spell 535; see Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 203.

¹⁴⁴ *Pyr.* § 900a-b and 901a-c; cf. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 157; cf. *Pyr.* § 1624b-c.

¹⁴⁵ Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, for the date of the papyrus, see pp. 3 and 6.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25 (4, 3).

¹⁴⁷ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 928.

¹⁴⁸ Erman, “Diadem,” pp. 47-48 (15, 2; 17, 2).

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 34 (7, 3); Nekhbet is also referred to as *H'(t)-wr.t nb.t Nhn q3.t nbi m-hnw k3r=s d.t (?) Hr mrr=f* “Great-One-of-Appearance (with cobra determinative), lady of Nekhen, high of flame in her chapel, *djet*-cobra (?) of Horus, whom he loves”; *ibid.*, p. 35 (9, 4).

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 34 (7, 4).

¹⁵¹ See below Section II.2.9.

with two uraeus serpents on his head and is identified in texts as having two uraei.¹⁵² In the chapel of Osiris-heqa-djet at Karnak Montu is called lord of the White and Red Crowns,¹⁵³ which associates him with Nekhbet and Wadjet as representatives of the Two Lands and their crowns. However, though he bears a sun disk with two uraeus serpents, he is never identified in the form of a sun disk. Also, the uraei of his sun disk are always shown on the same side of the disk. In one of the Coffin Texts Min, Horus and Atum are identified as bearers of twin uraei, which were originally Atum's.¹⁵⁴ Although both Min and Atum could both be identified as sun gods,¹⁵⁵ no hovering sun disk is ever identified with them. Min was identified with Re as early as the Middle Kingdom but no sun disk seems to have been identified as Min.¹⁵⁶ Of course we have already encountered Horus in association with the twin uraei: they are his eyes.¹⁵⁷ Since the king from the earliest historical records is identified as Horus the association of the patron goddesses of the "Two Lands" of Egypt with the god Horus is natural.¹⁵⁸ In a type of scene found in New Kingdom temples, a deity offers two uraei to the king. The uraei wear the White and Red Crowns and are said to be the uraei of Horus: *šsp n=k w3d.ty Hr h' =sn hr tp=k* "Take for

¹⁵² See Leclant, "Une statuette d'Amon-Rê-Montou," pp. 77-78, figs. 1 and 4, pls. 1-2, 6-7.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 78.

¹⁵⁴ *CT IV*, 202/203c-206/207a.

¹⁵⁵ For Min's identification as Re, see Henri Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, RAPH 2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1931), pp. 181-182; cf. Rolf Gundlach, "Min," *LÄ IV*, cols. 136-137; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 461-467.

¹⁵⁶ See Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, pp. 181-182; cf. Gundlach, "Min," cols. 136-137; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 461-467.

¹⁵⁷ In *CT IV*, 80g a messenger sent by Horus to Osiris, who has been given the bodily form of a falcon and provided with Horus' *ba* states, after receiving the *Nemes*-headdress, *ink šhtp sw m nfr=f nb i'r.ty* "I am one who pacifies himself with his (own) perfection, lord of the two uraei."

¹⁵⁸ It is perhaps impossible to know if the king obtained the uraeus from Horus or vice versa; cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 845-846.

yourself the two uraei of Horus that they may appear upon your head.”¹⁵⁹ The king took a name called *nb.ty*, which originally meant “He of the Two Ladies” referring to these two goddesses.¹⁶⁰ The Two Ladies protect the king and his kingdom during his life and in funerary texts and in the royal monuments of the Old Kingdom Nekhbet and Wadjet are his “mothers” and/or wet nurses.¹⁶¹ Although the king is rarely shown wearing two uraei on his head,¹⁶² from the Middle Kingdom onward two uraei are found at the end of the king’s sporran or apron.¹⁶³ The living king is also described in texts as bearing two uraei. It is said of Amenhotep III [*hr-nb hr*] *rd.t*

¹⁵⁹ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), p. 34, pl. 59A, line 1; cf. Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 3, *The Osiris Complex*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1938), pl. 36: *šsp n=k ‘nh ntr pn nfr Hr h’(w) m W3s.t Šm’.s Mhw.s mn(.w) hr tp=k* “Take for yourself the life of this Perfect God; Horus has appeared in Thebes. She of Upper Egypt and She of Lower Egypt are firm upon your head.” Here the terms *Šm’.s* and *Mhw.s* take the White and Red Crowns respectively for determinatives but the offerings are two uraei wearing the crowns.

¹⁶⁰ Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed., MÄS 49 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 14-15.

¹⁶¹ See Borchardt, *Ša³hu-Re’*, vol. 1, p. 20, fig. 15 and vol. 2, pl. 18 (Nekhbet nursing the king); cf. *Pyr.* §§ 910a-b, 911a-c: *irh Ppy mw.t=f n hm Ppy mw.t=f hđ.t sšp.t wmt.t hry.t-ib Nhb nb.t Pr-Wr . . . tms.t dšr.t nb.t idb.w Dp mw.t n.t Ppy i.ky di mnd=t n Ppy pn snq N. pn im=f* “Pepy knows his mother. This Pepy has not forgotten his mother, the White Crown, bright and stout, which is in Nekheb, lady of the *Per-Wer*-shrine. . . . O Ruddy One, O Red Crown, O lady of the banks of Dep, O mother of this Pepy, said I (sic), give your breast to this Pepy, so that this Pepy may suck from it”; *CT I*, 47c-48c: *twt Hr hđ.t=f m tp=f iw ms.n sw 3s.t iw šd.n sw (N)hb.t iw 3t.n sw 3ty.t Hr* “You are Horus (with) his White Crown on his head. Isis gave birth to him. (Ne)khbet suckled him. The wet nurse of Horus nursed him”; *CT IV*, 5a-b: *iw rd Ddw n N. pn r sw3d=f (N)hb.t r mn’.t=f ir.n{=t} n=f W3dy.t wr.t r d3.t=f r sh.wt-htp.w* “Djedu is given to this N. in order to make him flourish (with) (Ne)khbet as his nurse, while Wadjet has acted for him in order to ferry him to the Fields of Offerings.”

¹⁶² Two uraei are most often found in the 25th Dynasty; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 846.

¹⁶³ See Lacau and Chevrier, *Sesostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 2-3, 13-21, 23-27, 29-30, 32-37, 39-41; *LD III*, pls. 1, 7 b, e, 8 b, 17 b-e, 18, 20 c, 21, 28 1a-1b, 29 a, c, 33 b-d, 34 c, 53 c, e-f, 36 c-d, 46 b, 47 b, 48 b, 50 a, 51 a-b, 56 a, 58, 66 b-c, 67 a, 68, 74 a, 80 c, 83 c, 84 a-b, 123 a, 124 d, 125 b, 127 b, 131 f, 134 a-b, 136 c, 139 b, 143 c, 147 a-b, 148 a-c, 151 a, c, 160-161, 181, 182 d, g, 184 a, 189 d, 191 f, 195 a, 197 b; during the Ramesside Period a sporran with several uraei is also found; see *ibid.*, pls. 125 a, 127 a, 153, 159 b-c, 190 b. The position of the uraei might serve as protection of the king’s virility; cf. Karl Martin, “Uräus,” in *LÄ VI*, col. 866.

i3w n w3d.ty=f(y) “[Everyone is] giving adoration to his two uraei.”¹⁶⁴ Ramesses III is *R' psd.t-pd.wt imi n=n p3 t3w n dd=k b3k=n n w3d.ty=k* “Re of the Nine-Bows (who say) ‘Give to us the air of your giving that we may work for your two uraei,’”¹⁶⁵ *šsp.n=f hkr.w nb.wy nb.ty Šm'.s Mhw.s iry=sn s.t=sn hr tp=f* “and he (Ramesses III) has received the adornments of the Two Lords and of the Two Ladies; She of Upper Egypt and She of Lower Egypt they shall take their place upon his head.”¹⁶⁶ By extension, Osiris as “King of the Dead” also bears twin uraei; he is *h3q imnt.t q3 šw.ty ph.n=f hr.t sns(y).n w3d.ty m h3.t=f* “Ruler of the West, lofty of twin plumes after he reached the sky, whom the two uraei on his brow have revered.”¹⁶⁷ Horus/the king is likely the original lord of the twin uraei (as Nekhbet and Wadjet), although Horus only appears as a sun disk in the form of “the Behdetite.” However, we must also consider Re. Re by his nature is the sun disk, since his name, *R'*, means “sun.”¹⁶⁸ In the Pyramid and Coffin Texts Re is sometimes described with a uraeus or crown that can be identified as Wadjet or Nekhbet

¹⁶⁴ *Urk.* IV, p. 1921, line 2.

¹⁶⁵ *KRI* V, p. 9, lines 7-8.

¹⁶⁶ *KRI* V, p. 38, lines 11-12. The terms *Šm'.s* and *Mhw.s* are usually terms for the respective crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt but here they take a uraeus cobra as determinative; of course throughout the “Hymns to the Diadems” these two crowns are identified as uraei; see Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, pp. 25, 28, 34-38, 47-54.

¹⁶⁷ See Auguste Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville* (Paris: L'Imprimerie nationale, 1880; Wiesbaden: LTR-Verlag, 1982), p. 413, no. 1122, cols. 9-10; T. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 205; cf. a hymn to Osiris in the tomb of Nefersekeru (TT 296) where Osiris is: *h' m 3tf smn w3d.ty m h3.t=f* “(he) who appears in the *Atef* Crown, on whose brow have been fixed the two uraei”; see Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, pp. 76-77, text 101, line 3 (translation by Jan Assmann; see also T. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 208).

¹⁶⁸ *Wb.* II, p. 401, no. 5; cf. James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, WAW 23 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 7 and 14, n. 15.

but never appears with the two together.¹⁶⁹ In one of the Coffin Texts Re is said to have multiple uraei:

ir n=i w3.t m ḥ3.t wi3=f sšp m itn=f 3ḥw m b3=f tsy=i m ḥ3t i'r.wt=f

Make a path for me in the bow of his (Re's) bark! Light is in his disk; power is in his *ba*. Let me rise up in front of his uraei.¹⁷⁰

In a hymn to Re from the Book of the Dead Re is said to have two uraei: *wbn=k bi3[=k] m p.t w3ḏ.ty mn.t(i) m wp.t=k* “May you shine; may [you] become distant in the sky (with) the two uraei abiding on your brow.”¹⁷¹ Both the winged sun disk (4th Dyn.) and the sun disk with two uraei (5th Dyn.) first appear in periods in which the worship of Re is of great importance. During the New Kingdom the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei are used to render the “Re” element in the names of kings (see Section 3.IV.ii). However, these cases, which we will examine in more detail below, are relatively rare when you eliminate the uses of royal names in repetitive decorative frieze elements and there is almost no other context in which these sun disks are used to mean “Re.”¹⁷² As already pointed out, though the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei are used in names to write “Re,” they are never labeled “Re” but these very examples can be labeled “The Behdetite.” Although sun disks labeled as “the Behdetite” first appear in the same timeframe as the use of these sun disks to write “Re,” the latter must be compared with the hundreds, perhaps thousands, of cases in which the winged disk and sun disk

¹⁶⁹ See Section 3.VIII below for examples.

¹⁷⁰ *CT VII*, 267a-d.

¹⁷¹ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 15, lines 14-15 (Chap. 15 A. II); cf. T. G. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 18 (Allen's translation of *w3ḏ.ty* as “twin Utos,” i.e. “Wadjets,” is possible, since the uraei on a sun disk can both be identified as this goddess (see below) but at this time the word can also just mean “uraeus”).

¹⁷² I know of only one exception to this and it also relates to the king; see Section 3.IV.ii. There are also isolated instances in which winged disks are identified with other solar gods, which we examined above, but their very rarity excludes them from consideration in the identity of early, unnamed, examples of the sun disk with two uraei (and the winged disk).

with two uraei are named “the Behdetite.”¹⁷³ Also, Re is most often depicted as a falcon-headed man with a sun disk with a single uraeus on his head.¹⁷⁴ It thus seems unlikely that the unnamed

¹⁷³ For example, in the 20th Dynasty monuments at Medinet Habu there are 229 sun disks with two uraei named “The Behdetite” (plate numbers below); 83 are unnamed (counting repetitive frieze elements of rooms and sun disks above cartouches on columns singly by room/column, there are an additional 14 cases of unnamed sun disks with two uraei); there are only two cases of sun disks with two uraei that are used to render the “Re” element of names: *MH* II, pl. 114 (at left; rebus writing of “Ramesses” with sun disk with two uraei over child and two *s*-signs below-at right a bare sun disk is used instead); and *MH* III, pls. 174-176 (frieze of Room 5; sun disk with two uraei in “Usermaatre.” There are 14 cases in which damage below the sun disk with two uraei makes the presence or absence of a name uncertain. There are 48 winged disks named “The Behdetite” and 45 that are unnamed; there are no cases in which the winged disk is used to write “Re.” Sun disks with two uraei named *Bhd.ty* (for plates or plate sections with more than one example the number of cases is in parentheses): *MH* I, pls. 22, 29, 31, 35, 42, 43; II, 62, 93, 96, 98, 113, 120B, 122 A-B; III, 172 (2), 176B, 178, 180 (2); IV, 218A, 223, 227A, 237A, 238B, 240B, 241C, F, 245A, E-F, 247 C, H; V, 252 (2-upper scenes of portal jambs), 253A, 256 (6), 260A (3), 261A-B, 262B (2), 263 A (2), B (2), 264A (3), B (2), 265B (2), 266A, 267A-B, 268B (3), 269A (2), B, 270A, B (3), 271A-B, 272B (2), 273C, 274B-C, 275A (2), B-C, 276E, 279A, B (2), C, 281A, B (2), C, 282A (2), B, C (2), 283B, 284A-B, 285A, 287B, 288B, 294B, 298, 306A, 308A, B (2), 309B, 310C-F, 311A, B (2), 312B, 319B, 321B, 323, 326, 327, 332, 335, 338D, 341B, 342B, 345A, 346A (probable), B (2); VI, 366, 367, 371, 372, 373A-C, 374B-C, 375B, D, 376A, C-D, 387B, 420A (2), 428A, 430B, 432, 434A, C-D, G, 435D, C, 437A, 443B-C, 444B, 449, 450C-D, 464, 472A-B, 475, 481A; VII, 495, 503, 512A-B, 513B, 515, 516, 526, 533, 534A, 536A-B, 537A, 539B, 541A, 542A-B, 543, 549A, 550, 551, 552A-B, 553A-B, 555A, 557, 559, 562A, 563A-B, 564, 566B, 570A-B, 571A-B, F, 573B-C, 579B, D, 583B, F, 585C-D, F; VIII, 597, 603, 618E-F, 619B, F, 621, 623A, E, 627 (2), 649, 650. Sun disks with two uraei without name: *MH* I, pls. 24; II 101, 102, 105, 111 (2); III, 176A; IV, 238A, 239A-B, 240A, 242E, 244 (lintel); V, 252 (bottom scenes of portal jambs), 256 (2), 260B, 261A, B (2), 262A, 263A, 264B, 265A (2), 266A-B, 267A, 268A, 269A-B, 270A (2), 271B, 273B, 292B, 309A, 312A, 313B, 318A; VI, 369, 423B, 426A, 433, 439 A, D, 442A, 444C, 460, 467A, C, 468A-B, 480C; VII, 571C, E, 572B, 574A-D, 575D, 576B-C, E, 577C (damage but no room for name), D, 578A, 579C, 580C, 581A, C-D, F, 582A-C, E-F, 583D, 584B-C, 585E, 586B; VIII, 594, 605, 636, 637, 657, 658. Unnamed in frieze and column decoration: *MH* IV, 238A; V, 255, 335-336, 349, 351; VI, 335-336, 349, 351, 406A-D, 407A-D; VII, 495; VIII, 593, 596, 597. Sun disks with two uraei with extensive damage where name would be: *MH* VII, pls. 521, 572C-D, 575A-B, 577B, 578B-D, 580D, 584A, 586A, C; VIII, 619E. Winged disk named *Bhd.ty*. *MH* II, pls. 107-108, 111, 128A-B; IV, 229 (above bark of Khonsu), 236B (2); V, 319C, 321A, 338B, C, E; VI, 379 (8; above Osirid-figure columns; 1 example shown on plate), 380 (8; same as previous), 404B, 405A-B; VII, 495, 511A-B, 514A, 528A-B, 587A-B; VIII, 617 (2), 620, 625, 626, 634-635, 658. Winged disks with no name: *MH* II, pls. 64 (on sunshade), 96 (sunshade), 115, 124B (sunshade); IV, 197 (sunshade), 229 (above bark of Amun), 231 (4; 1 on sunshade);

sun disks with two uraei of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as well as the winged disks of the early Old Kingdom can be identified as Re, at least alone. They might jointly be identified as Re and as the Behdetite, or as these two plus the king, as Gardiner proposes. This is a plausible meaning for this use of these sun disks in the particular context (royal names) and time in which they appear (New Kingdom).¹⁷⁵

There is one earlier use of a sun disk with two uraei, which might be used in an identification of the king and Re; this is the *wh*-emblem: . A document from the funerary temple of Neferirkare describes the sacred *wh*-emblem as an open papyrus flower with a sun disk and two uraei.¹⁷⁶ In the same document two of these *wh*-emblems have names.¹⁷⁷ One is *I'-n-R'* “He-who-rises-up-to-Re” and the other is named *Twt-n-R'* “He-who-unites-with-Re.”¹⁷⁸ The *wh* or *ukh* was associated with the cult of Hathor at Cusae and, based on several personal names of

V, 319A, 321C; VI, 396D, 402A-B, 403A-B, 409, 415A, 431B (2), 432-433, 462, 466B; VII, 493 (5), 494 (5), 519A; VIII, 592 (2), 593, 596-597, 634, 643, 657.

¹⁷⁴ Winfried Barta, “Re,” *LÄ* V, col. 158.

¹⁷⁵ The New Kingdom witnessed the greatest emphasis of the identification of the king as the sun god on earth since the 5th and 6th Dynasties and saw the revival of the concept of the king being the literal bodily son of the sun god as seen in the texts of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III claiming direct insemination of their mothers by Amun-Re himself.

¹⁷⁶ Paule Posener-Kriéger and Jean Louis de Cenival, ed., *The Abu Sir Papyri*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 5 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1968), pl. 14A; Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (les papyrus d'Abousir): Traduction et commentaire*, Bd'É 65 (Cairo: IFAO, 1976), pp. 65-66 (textual note i), 76-77. The text does not actually say that the papyrus bloom is surmounted by the sun disk, and it does not say that the uraei flank the sun disk as Posener-Kriéger says in *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, p. 65, but it is likely given the later example from the Middle Kingdom mentioned below.

¹⁷⁷ Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival, *Abu Sir Papyri*, pl. 13; Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, pp. 61, 66 and 74.

¹⁷⁸ Peter Behrens in (“Uch,” *LÄ* VI, col. 820) translates the names as “Re ist aufgestiegen” and “Re hat (sich) versammelt,” however the association of the emblem with the funerary cult of the king and its later association with the king’s cartouche suggests that it is the king’s rising and joining with Re that is the purpose of the *ukh*; see Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, pp. 74-76 and see below.

the Old and Middle Kingdoms, could be understood as a deity in its own right.¹⁷⁹ However the *wh*-emblem is not always provided with the sun disk and uraei¹⁸⁰ and the earliest example with the sun disk and uraei is found in the name of the Middle Kingdom official Ukhhotep in the tomb of his son Sebni at Meir.¹⁸¹ This shows the red sun disk on top of the papyrus bloom with the uraei to each side just like the sun disk with two uraei. Two tall feathers, which seem to be an essential element of the *wh*, are on top of the sun disk.¹⁸² Since the sun disks with two uraei of Sahure are found in a structure intended for the king's resurrection as Re,¹⁸³ it is tempting to link them to the sun disk of the *wh*. The *wh* with sun disk and two uraei in these cases could thus represent both the king and Re or the king as Re. In the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom a staff identified as a *wh* includes a cartouche upon the papyrus bloom and a sun disk with twin

¹⁷⁹ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 1, *The Tomb-Chapel of Ukhhotep's Son Senbi*, ASE 22 (London: EEF, 1914), pp. 2-4; Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, p. 66; Paul Barguet, "La déesse Khensout," *BIFAO* 49 (1950), p. 5, n. 7.

¹⁸⁰ One rendering of the emblem in the sun temple of Neuserre at Abu Sir does not seem to have had either sun disk or uraei, although it is damaged; see Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherrn von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 50, pl. 32, no. 501.

¹⁸¹ See Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 1, pp. 2-4, fig. 2, pls. 9 and 31, no. 3 (cf. no. 4).

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4, fig. 2, pls. 9 and 31, nos. 3-4. These feathers are usually straight but can also curve out at the top; see *ibid.*, p. 3, pl. 31, no. 4.

¹⁸³ Cf. *Pyr.* § 461a: *pry(=i) rf N. r p.t hr=k R'* "N. will ascend to the sky with you O Re." Though there is no Pyramid Text that describes the king as uniting with Re, there are several that describe the king as the sun; *Pyr.* § 698d: *N. pw ir.t tw nt R' sdr.t iwr.t ms.t r' nb* "This N. is that Eye of Re, which spends the night, is conceived and is born every day," *Pyr.* § 703a, 704b and 705a: *i R' . . . psd=k m N. psd N. im=k . . . N. pw ir.t=k tw tp.t wp.t Hw.t-Hr* "O Re . . . as you shine in N., (so) N. shines in you. . . . This N. is this eye of yours, which is upon the horns of Hathor." In the story of Sinuhe Amenemhat I is said to have risen to the sky to unite with the sun god in the form of the sun disk: *hsb.t m'b3 3bd hmt 3h.t hrw sfh 'r ntr r 3h.t=f ny-sw.t-bi.ty Shtp-ib-R' shr=f r p.t hnm m itn h' ntr 3bh(w) m ir sw* "Regnal year 30, month 3 of Akhet, day 7: It is to his horizon that the god ascends (namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre. It is to the sky that he flies up uniting with the sun disk; the flesh of the god has joined with the one who made him"; for the text see Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories I*, BIAE 2 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), p. 3 (R5-8).

uraei and two feathers on top of the cartouche. The earliest examples clearly show the uraei attached to the sun disk above¹⁸⁴ however in the reign of Hatshepsut and later the uraei are connected to the cartouche.¹⁸⁵ We will see below that two uraei are often attached to kings' cartouches, which, as *shen*-rings, could be identified with the sun disk in their own right. Note that the sun disk of the *wh* itself is not named but is a component of the *wh*, which bears the names given above. Also, the *wh* is not identified as Re but its names suggest that it was involved in the king's elevation to and union with Re. The sun disk with two uraei's presence as a component of the *wh* may point to a certain significance of this sun disk for the king. In support of Gardiner's theory, we have seen that there are several cases in which there is some identification of the king with the Behdetite; the king's identity with Horus and his status as "Son of Re" and as the representative of the sun god on earth are, also, well known. Still, one wonders, if the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei were *in origin* meant to be representations of a union of the king, Horus (the Behdetite) and Re, then why are they so often simply identified as *Bhd.ty*?

3.III.ii: The Behdetite and the Sun Disk with Two Uraei in the New Kingdom and Late Period

A sun disk with two uraei upon a pyramidion of Hatshepsut bears for the first time the name "The Behdetite" to each side.¹⁸⁶ A sun disk with two uraei appears at Semna in Nubia over

¹⁸⁴ Senwosret I: Paul Barguet, "Un groupe d'enseignes en rapport avec les noms du roi," *Rd'É* 8 (1951), p. 11; Thutmose II: Bernard Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh année 1926: Sondage au temple funéraire de Thotmès II (Hat ankh shesep)*, FIFAO 4.4 (Cairo: IFAO, 1952), pl. 6, nos. 1-2, pl. 8, no. 3 and pl. 10, no. 1=Posener-Kriéger, *Néferirkarê-Kakaï*, p. 75, fig. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Burgos and Larché, *Chapelle Rouge*, p. 60, bloc 104, p. 113, bloc 291; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 37-38, 65, 151-152.

¹⁸⁶ C. Kuentz, *Obélisques*, CGC 1308-1315 and 17001-17036 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1932), pls. 7-9; Gardiner, "Horus the Behdetite," p. 50. The sun disk with two uraei appears several times unnamed above sacred barks in the Chapelle Rouge; see

the throne name of Thutmose III.¹⁸⁷ This sun disk is also identified on both sides as *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr* ‘3 “The Behdetite, the Great God.” Use of the sun disk with two uraei becomes more common during the reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁸⁸ The sun disk with two uraei, though uncommon, seems to have been an acceptable representation of the sun god during the Amarna Period, at least early in Akhenaten’s reign. It appears upon the head of the king in the form of a sphinx in the tomb of Ramose in a scene done in the Amarna art style.¹⁸⁹ It also appears on two gold rings; one above the king as a child holding a feather and the other above the king and queen represented as Shu and Tefnut.¹⁹⁰ None of these sun disks in Amarna Period art bear names nor can they be read as a god’s name as part of an inscription,¹⁹¹ so it is not completely certain if they were interpreted as images of Aten, Atum, Re(-Horakhty), the Behdetite or another solar deity or represent the king as the sun god on earth. The name of the Behdetite was attacked during the Amarna Period,

Burgos and Larché, *Chapelle Rouge*, p. 165, bloc 260, p. 180, bloc 267, pp. 222-223, blocs 31 and 282, p. 247, bloc 99, p. 248, bloc 18.

¹⁸⁷ Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pl. 49. See also *LD III*, pls. 59d (above Thutmose III at Dosheh) and 65d-e (above Amenhotep II); Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes*, PMMAR 2 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1922), pl. 35 (above name of Thutmose III on *ka*-standard); idem, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, PMMA 5, vol. 1 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), pl. 21 (above name of Amenhotep II).

¹⁸⁸ Michela Giorgini, Clément Robichon and Jean Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, *Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: IFAO, 1998), pls. 35, 42-43, 56; *LD III*, pl. 84a.

¹⁸⁹ See Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p. 91, fig. 12; N. De Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, Mond Excavations at Thebes 1 (London: EES, 1941), pls. 33 and 53.

¹⁹⁰ See Edna R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), p. 176, no. 87; Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz and Sue H. D’Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), p. 234, no. 98.

¹⁹¹ One sun disk with two uraei depicted in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes is used to render the word “Re” in an inscription during the reign but the king is still identified as “Amenhotep” in this scene; see below and Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pls. 8-9.

while the names of Re and Re-Horakhty were spared.¹⁹² In the tomb of Ramose all forms of the sun disk including the sun disk with two uraei and the winged disk were left undamaged although the name *Bḥd.t(y)* of the winged disk in the tomb appears to have been attacked.¹⁹³ The use of both the winged disk and the sun disk with two uraei to write “Re” in kings’ names was well established at this time and in Akhenaten’s ideology “Re” and “Re-Horakhty” are just names of the Aten.¹⁹⁴ The sun disk with two uraei that appears on one of the rings is above the king and queen, who represent Shu and Tefnut. On the other ring the king can also be identified with Shu by the feather he holds.¹⁹⁵ On the former ring the sun disk might represent the father of Shu and Tefnut,¹⁹⁶ which in myth is the solar god Atum.¹⁹⁷ Here, though, it is not certain if the Aten has taken Atum’s place, although this is not unlikely. The reliefs in the tomb of Ramose all precede the execration of the gods and the rings are un-provenanced and cannot be securely dated within the reign, so a double identity of the sun disk with two uraei with the Behdetite in (early) Amarna art cannot be excluded, although it seems unlikely.¹⁹⁸ Most interesting is a

¹⁹² Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, vol. 1, p. 16, pls. 10-11A, p. 22, pls. 16-17 (name *Bḥd.ty* attacked and restored; Davies, *Ramose*, pls. 6-7 (name of Re-Horakhty and Re in name of Amun-Re spared).

¹⁹³ See Davies, *Ramose*, pls. 29, 51; in the photo of pl. 51 the carving of the name of the Behdetite to each side of the wings appears to be lower than the rest of the inscription and the city determinative of the name at right has obvious damage, which suggests that the inscriptions of the name were attacked, then shaved down and restored.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. the names of the Aten: (older form) *‘nh Hr-3ḥty ḥ’ m 3ḥ.t m rn=f Šw nty m ltn*; (later form) *‘nh R’ ḥq3-3ḥty ḥ’ m 3ḥ.t m rn=f it-R’ ii m ltn*; see von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, pp. 144-145.

¹⁹⁵ Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, p. 176, no. 87; Freed, Markowitz and D’Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, p. 234, no. 98.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 234.

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Herman te Velde, “Schu,” in *LÄ V*, cols. 735-736.

¹⁹⁸ Just as at the beginning of his reign in the tomb of Kheruef a sun disk with two uraei forms the word “Re” in *ti.t R* “Image of Re” but is labeled on each side *Bḥd.t(y)*; see Epigraphic

recent find of the University of Chicago Edfu expedition. A fragmentary block likely belonging to a construction of a king named Djehuty, probably of the 13th Dynasty, found in the foundation of the first court of Edfu temple mentions Re, who is said to be the “second” or “companion of” Aten.¹⁹⁹ The name of the Aten has a seated god and a sun disk with rays in the form of small circles as determinatives. It seems that the Aten was viewed as a god at Edfu in the Second Intermediate Period but unfortunately this is all we know at present. The sun disk with two uraei sees its greatest use in the Ramesside Period, where it is often the most frequently used of the hovering motifs found above the head of the king in temple reliefs.²⁰⁰ It continues to be the dominantly used motif in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods.²⁰¹ The preference for this motif is, in part, due to its smaller size than the sun disk with wings and hovering birds. This is especially true in the Greco-Roman Period when the king is frequently depicted wearing tall and complex crowns.²⁰²

Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pl. 8. Also, see below.

¹⁹⁹ This information comes from a paper by Janelle Wade and Jonathan Winnerman presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in Cincinnati in April, 2013 and personal communication from Jonathan Winnerman.

²⁰⁰ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pls. 4, 6, 10, 15, 18-23, 26-27, 29, 30, 33; idem, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rē', Rē'-Harakhti, Ptaḥ, and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pls. 3-4, 9, 12-15, 17-19, 22-23; idem., *Abydos*, vol. 3, pls. 3, 5, 13-14, 17, 19-26; idem, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 4, *The Second Hypostyle Hall*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1958), pls. 21, 23-24, 26-27, 31-32, 43, 45, 47; *MH I*, pls. 24, 31, 35, 43; *MH II*, pls. 101-102; *MH V*, pls. 256, 260-282; *MH VI*, pls. 366-367, 369, 371-376, 406-407; *MH VII*, pls. 512B, 513A-B, 520-521, 526, 536A, 537, 551-552, 557, 559, 562A, 563A-B, 566B, 571-586; *MH VIII*, pls. 603, 605, 614, 618-619.

²⁰¹ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pls. 61-62; *Edfou I*, pls. 11-13b; *Edfou III*, pl. 57; *Edfou X*, pls. 131-136; *Dendara I*, pls. 46, 51, 54, 62-63, 68.

²⁰² Although sun disks with two uraei and hovering birds occasionally appear when the king wears a tall crown, more often they are absent; cf. *Edfou I*, pls. 15-17 on the outer north,

The sun disk with two uraei frequently appears above images of deified kings in the Ramesside Period including Thutmose III,²⁰³ Amenhotep I,²⁰⁴ Amenhotep III,²⁰⁵ Ramesses I,²⁰⁶ Sety I,²⁰⁷ Sethnakht²⁰⁸ and Ramesses III.²⁰⁹ Most interesting is a scene from the tomb of Paser (TT 106) showing a small statue of Sety I with a sun disk with two uraei hovering over its head.²¹⁰ The scene is one of daily life but the sun disk is not shown attached in any way to the statue. The sun disk with two uraei also appears above Ramesses VI in scenes of the Underworld in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.²¹¹ A *Sed* festival double-throne scene from Kom el-Qala depicts Merenptah on each throne wearing the Blue Crown with twin plumes to

east and west walls of the sanctuary where the king wears tall crowns in every scene and in only one case is there a hovering motif (sun disk with 2 uraei); see also *Edfou X*, pls. 113-119.

²⁰³ L. Loat, *Gurob*, BSAE 11 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904), p. 7, pl. 15, nos. 2-3 and pl. 16, no. 2.

²⁰⁴ Seipel, *Ägypten*, p. 272, no. 445; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. 1, *The New Kingdom* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976), pl. 38, no. 3; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 9 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970), pl. 16.1, no. 317. Cf. Jaroslav Černý, *Egyptian Stelae from the Banks Collection* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1958), no. 11 (sun disk without uraei or wings) and Norman De Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, vol. 1, PMMA 9 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933), pl. 51 (sun disk with one uraeus identified as “the Behdetite” and dating to the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten).

²⁰⁵ J. Vandier D’Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournat-Mourrai*, MIFAO 87 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), pls. 19-20.1.

²⁰⁶ *LD III*, pl. 151.

²⁰⁷ Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, PdÄ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pl. 84.

²⁰⁸ Ramadan El-Sayed, “Stèles des particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIII^e à la XX^e Dynastie,” *BIFAO* 79 (1979), pl. 46 (Jd’É 20395).

²⁰⁹ *MH VIII*, pl. 597.

²¹⁰ See Eva Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben 17 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), p. 138, fig. 161; Paser lived during the reign of Ramesses II; see *ibid.*, p. 137.

²¹¹ See Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, trans. David Warburton (New York: Timkin, 1990), p. 112, pl. 77 and p. 160, pl. 160.

each side and the sun disk with two uraei on top of the crown.²¹² He also has the ram horn of Amun-Re curled around his ear as a mark of divinity and as possessor of the Royal *Ka*.²¹³ Perhaps the sun disk with two uraei here is also a mark of divinity indicating that the king is the Behdetite in analogy with the double-throne scenes in which the name of the winged disk is offered life as if to the king below. The sun disk with two uraei hovering above the image of Amenemhat I mentioned above may be a forerunner of this use of the sun disk. The sun disk with two uraei was also used above the head of the deified man Pahor during the Greco-Roman Period.²¹⁴ During the Ramesside Period hovering birds and sun disks start to appear directly over the heads of gods more often and the sun disk with two uraei is the most commonly used of these motifs.²¹⁵ The sun disk with two uraei is, perhaps, used in these contexts as a sign of

²¹² W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, BSAE 17 (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1907), pl. 21; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), pp. 72-73, fig. 17; cf. *KRI* IV, p. 53, line 14 and p. 54, line 1.

²¹³ For the ram horn as a mark of divinity and possessor of the Royal *Ka*, see Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*," *JNES* 44 (1985), pp. 268-270 and cf. figs. 4-5 on pp. 266-267.

²¹⁴ Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Dendûr*, TIN 1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1911), pls. 26, 40.2, 68, 70.2, 81; Alan Rowe, "Newly-Identified Monuments in the Egyptian Museum Showing the Deification of the Dead together with Brief Details of Similar Objects Elsewhere," *ASAE* 40.1 (1940), p. 24, figs. 4-6; cf. p. 25, fig. 7 where the consort of Petesi has a uraeus above her head.

²¹⁵ Gods appear under the winged disk earlier but generally not directly under the sun disk; with the one winged sun disk the god sometimes appears under the sun disk but this is due to the structure of the scene; cf. Ricardo A. Caminos and T. G. H. James, *Gebel Es-Silsilah*, vol. 1, *The Shrines*, ASE 31 (London: EES, 1963), pl. 54; cf. Hassan, *Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, p. 234, fig. 172. Hovering falcons appear above Horemakhet, the Great Sphinx, on a couple of 18th Dynasty stelae; see *ibid*, pp. 84-85, figs. 67-68. Another early case of a hovering motif above a god is found in the tomb of Sennefer of the 18th Dynasty in which a vulture appears on the ceiling above an image of Osiris on the adjacent wall; see Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, et al., *Sen-nefer: Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1986), pp. 8-9. Ramesside sun disks with two uraei over gods: Andrea-Christina Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh: Analyse der architektonischen und ikonographischen Konzeption in*

divinity or of indwelling divine power (in statues and other images). Piankoff in commenting upon two stelae representing Amenhotep III and Thutmose IV as the Great Sphinx of Giza noted the headdresses of the sphinxes, that of Amenhotep III being topped by the sun disk with two uraei and that of Thutmose IV with an *Atef*, and suggested that they represent the “shadow of Re” mentioned in the “Dream Stela” of Thutmose IV,²¹⁶ *ist šsp n Ḥpri wr ʿ3 ḥtp(.w)*²¹⁷ *m s.t tn wr b3w dsr(.w) šfy.t šwy.t Rʿ ḥn.t(i) ḥr=f*, “Now the statue of the very great Khepri was resting in this place, great of *bau*, sacred of respect, the shadow of Re was alighting upon it.”²¹⁸ The shadow of a god could also fall upon a king and endow him with the special characteristics of

Rahmen des politischen und legitimatorischen Programmes der Nachamarnazeit, vol. 2, *Architektonische Pläne und Umzeichnung*, ÄAT 47 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), fig. 6 (above Khnum); Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and Ch. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel: «Nofretari Pour Qui Se Lève Le Dieu-soleil»*, vol. 2, CEDAE Mémoires 2 (Cairo: Ministère de la Culture and CEDAE, 1968), pls. 43-44 (above Anukis); LD III, pl. 138o (above falcon called “Horus, lord of [. . .]”); cf. Bernard Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines de Deir El Médineh à décoration monochrome*, MIFAO 86 (Cairo: IFAO, 1952), pl. 2 (top) a sun disk with two uraei behind Ptah-Soker-Osiris in a boat. Some Ramesside cases in which other hovering motifs appear above gods: Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pl. 46, no. 1 (one winged disk above Ptah; not a case of exclusion, because the person offering is Ramesses II); Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, pl. 2 (bottom: the winged disk in pose 1 above the cow-goddess Mehweret); Henri Wild, *La tombe de Néfer-hotep (I) et Neb-néfer à Deir El Médineh (no. 6) et autres documents les concernant*, vol. 2, MIFAO 103 (Cairo: IFAO, 1979), pl. 20 (winged disk in pose 1 above falcon called “Horus son of [Isis]”); Paul Barguet, *Le temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d’exégèse*, RAPH 21 (Cairo: IFAO, 1962), pl. 39D (falcon above Amun-Re as ram-headed sphinx).

²¹⁶ Alexandre Piankoff, “Two Reliefs in the Louvre Representing the Gîzah Sphinx,” *JEA* 18 (1932), pp. 157-158; for the stelae, see Uvo Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1912), pp. 107-108, figs. 158-159.

²¹⁷ *Šsp* was given a feminine “t” in error, so the stative *ḥtp* is given the third person feminine ending “ti” in error, as well; see Christiane M. Zivie, *Giza au Deuxième Millénaire*, Bd’É 70 (Cairo: IFAO, 1976), pp. 140-141, notes ff and gg.

²¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 128, 130; *Urk. IV*, p. 1542, lines 5-7; Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 146; Beate George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1970), p. 90.

that god.²¹⁹ Bell has shown that a sunshade behind or over the back of an image of a king indicates that the king is imbued with a god's shadow.²²⁰ Bell, however, notes the appearance of a sun disk with two uraei above Thutmose IV "like a halo" on a panel of the king's chariot, in which a sunshade appears behind the king and Montu.²²¹ He suggests that such sun disks indicate that the king is a cult image of the sun god.²²² Indeed, the king is often described as an "image" of the sun god using words that are also used for cult images, especially those used in processions.²²³ We should also note the red quartzite statue of Amenhotep III found in the Luxor cachette. The color of the stone and the Double Crown worn by the image identifies the king with Re-Atum.²²⁴ The king is identified on the statue as *itn tḥn n t3.w nb.w* "Dazzling Sun Disk of all lands."²²⁵ Above the crown of the king is a winged sun disk with two low hanging uraei.²²⁶ Due to the height of the statue the sun disk would appear to merge with the crown of the statue to anyone viewing it from the front. Wildung and others have noted hovering sun disks moving closer to the head of the king in temple reliefs in the Ramesside Period and in sculpture the sun

²¹⁹ See George, *Schatten als Seele*, pp. 90, 112; Lanny Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, vol. 1, Bd'É 97 (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), pp. 33-34; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 2: The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 116 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1998), p. 49, pl. 196B, line 2; N. -C. Grimal, *Études sur la propagande royale égyptienne I: La stele triomphale de Pi('ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086-47089*, MIFAO 105 (Cairo: IFAO, 1981), pp. 71, 75, n. 206, and n. 10 on p. 11.

²²⁰ "Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," pp. 31-41.

²²¹ Ibid, p. 34, pl. 2.

²²² Ibid, p. 37 and n. 158 on p. 54.

²²³ See Erik Hornung, "Der Mensch als »Bild Gottes« in Ägypten," in Oswald Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich: Kösel-Verlag, 1967), pp. 134-137.

²²⁴ See Mohammed El-Saghir, *Das Statuenversteck im Luxortempel*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 6 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), pp. 21-27, figs. 45-59; Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan and Lawrence M. Berman, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), pp. 132-135, figs. V.14-15.

²²⁵ See El-Saghir, *Statuenversteck*, p. 22, figs. 47-48.

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 22, fig. 46 and p. 27, fig. 57.

disk is often placed directly on the head like a deity.²²⁷ In reliefs of the temples of Nubia the sun disk is shown directly upon the head of the deified Ramesses II, although not all of these bear two uraei.²²⁸ The use of the winged sun disk upon the heads of mummies and images of deceased private persons in the Greco-Roman Period may have the same significance, namely representing the transformation of the deceased into a god.²²⁹

3.IV: The Sun Disks of the Behdetite and the Name of the King

3.IV.i: Cartouches with Two Uraei as a Form of the Sun Disk with Two Uraei?

Beginning in the Middle Kingdom two uraeus serpents often appear on either side of the cartouches of the king, which give the cartouche the appearance of the sun disk with two uraei. The earliest examples from the Middle Kingdom appear on some unusual media. A necklace inscribed on a statue of Queen Neferet bears a cartouche with two uraei of Senwosret II, *H^c-hpr-R^c*; the uraeus on the viewer's right wears the White Crown and that on the left wears the Red Crown.²³⁰ Some scarab seals have the same name of the king in a cartouche with two uraei.²³¹

²²⁷ Dietrich Wildung, "Ramses, die große Sonne Ägyptens," *ZÄS* 99 (1972), pp. 37-38; idem, "Göttlichkeitsstufen des Pharaos," *OLZ* 68 (1973), cols. 552-553 (4.1.2); Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 65; cf. *LD* III, pls. 160, 165-166, 195a, 208e; Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary II-III* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957), pl. 368.

²²⁸ Wildung, "Ramses," col. 552; cf. Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *ADAIK* 5 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1969), figs. 5, 7, 10, pls. 2a, 3-4; cf. *LD* III, pls. 184b, 191h; cf. pl. 215.

²²⁹ We will look at this topic again in 3.IX.

²³⁰ See Robert S. Bianchi, *Splendors of Ancient Egypt from the Cairo Museum* (London: Booth-Clibborn Editions, 1996), p. 73 and Cyril Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pl. 24.

²³¹ H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum*, vol. 1, *Royal Scarabs* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1913), p. 12, no. 114 (both uraei in Red Crown), p. 13, no. 134 (White Crown? left, Red Crown right); W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London*, *BSAE* 29 (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1917), pl. 13, no. 12.5.4. Petrie, *ibid*, pl. 10, no. 7.9.2, illustrates a scarab seal that has a cartouche with uraei that

A gold shell from Rikka bears the cartouche of Senwosret III, $H^c-k3.w-R^c$, with uraei (no crowns).²³² One side of a naiform steatite pendant bears the cartouche of Amenemhat III, $Ny-M3^c.t-R^c$, with two uraei, each of which wear the Red Crown.²³³ Through the 18th Dynasty cartouches with twin uraei are mostly found on scarabs and other small items with, usually, the throne name containing the name of Re.²³⁴ They are also found on many personal items of the king.²³⁵ Some private monuments depict officials worshipping the king's cartouche with uraei.²³⁶

face in towards the cartouche; he identified it with the 8th Dynasty king Nikare but the name in the cartouche is written with a circle (“Re”), an *r*-sign, the *k3*-sign and two straight lines that may be *n*-signs. This matches the names of no kings or other royalty that I could find.

²³² Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pl. 79.

²³³ Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, vol. 2, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part I: Reversals* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), pp. 33-34, fig. 34.

²³⁴ Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 49, no. 466 (Thutmose I); Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 11, no. 11.7.2 (Intef V: $Nwb-hpr-R^c$), pl. 28, no. 74 (Thutmose III: $Mn-hpr-R^c$), pl. 30, nos. 18.7.18 and 38 (Amenhotep II: $3-hpr.w-R^c$), no. 18.8.9 (Thutmose IV: $Mn-hpr.w-R^c$), pl. 37, nos. 18.12.1-2 (Tutankhamun: $Nb-hpr.w-R^c$), pl. 38, no. 18.14.27 (Horemheb: $Dsr-hpr-R^c stp-n-R^c$); Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 43, no. 405 and p. 44, no. 410 (Amenhotep I: $Dsr-k3-R^c$, p. 49, nos. 465-466 (Thutmose I: $3-hpr-k3-R^c$), p. 57, no. 545 (2 cartouches with uraeus pendant from each of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut: $M3^c.t-k3-R^c$), p. 58, no. 550 (plaque inscribed on one side with throne name of Hatshepsut and on the other side with that of Thutmose III), p. 90, nos. 923 and 925, p. 91, nos. 927 and 932 (actually with 3 sets of uraei), p. 94, no. 969, p. 102, no. 1047, p. 105, no. 1067, p. 120, no. 1226, p. 155, no. 1578 (Thutmose III), p. 156, no. 1596, p. 164, no. 1664 (Amenhotep II), p. 168, no. 1700 (Thutmose IV), p. 184, nos. 1838-1840, p. 188, no. 1877, p. 190, no. 1891 (Amenhotep III: $Nb-M3^c.t-R^c$); cf. B. Bruyère, et al. *Tell Edfou 1937*, Fouilles Franco-Polonaises, Rapports 1 (Cairo and Warsaw: IFAO and Joseph Piłsudski University, 1937), P. 104, pl. 26, no. 9 (sculptor's model with the name of Hatshepsut, $M3^c.t-k3-R^c$, found at Edfu).

²³⁵ Howard Carter and Percy E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, Mr. Theodore M. Davis' Excavations: Bibân El Molûk 1 (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1904), pl. 1 (tapestry with the cartouche of Amenhotep II); Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 51-52B (collar with a counterpoise given to the king by Kheruef); several items from the tomb of Tutankhamun; see James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 218 (Carter Number 256QQQ, Jd'É 61887: on small counterpoise of scarab pectoral), pp. 222-223 (Carter Number 2611, Jd'É 61945: pectoral with uraeus in Red Crown on throne name at left and uraeus in White Crown on birth name at right), pp. 228-229 (Carter Number 267K, Jd'É 61899: pectoral with scarab pushing cartouche with throne name and two uraei with sun disks on heads), p. 287 (Carter Number 44, Jd'É 61476: gilded wooden casket), p. 293 (Carter Number 21, Jd'É 61467: painted box), p. 301 (Carter Number 403B, Jd'É

On some scarabs of the 18th Dynasty cartouches are given wings transforming them into winged sun disks.²³⁷ On one scarab of Thutmose III the cartouche has been equipped with the head, tail, legs and wings of a falcon,²³⁸ while another has these features plus two uraei making it a true mixture of falcon and winged sun disk.²³⁹ These characteristics suggest that the cartouches with double uraei are, at least in part, identified with Horus the Behdetite. Cartouches with uraei decorate the borders of the “window-of-appearances” in a scene of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and Nefertiti done in the “Amarna style” in the tomb of Ramose.²⁴⁰ Here it is the king’s birth name, before it was changed to “Akhenaten,” *Imn-ḥtp nṯr-ḥq3-W3s.t*. The birth names of Tutankhamun and Amenhotep III and IV are found in cartouches with uraei;²⁴¹ although they do not contain the name of Re, they do contain the name of Amun, who was identified with Re at

62021: blue faience headrest); M. Eaton-Krause and E. Graefe, *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1985), pl. 9 (Carter Number 108, Jd’É 61481: on interior door of shrine); G. M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Tutankhamun’s Wardrobe: Garments from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Rotterdam: Barjesten van Waalwijk Doom, 1999), p. 35, fig. 3.2, p. 83, fig. 5.3 (Carter Number 101P, Jd’É 62639: panel from tunic with vulture; and Carter Number 367J, Jd’É 62626: “Syrian” tunic collar); André Wiese and Andreas Brodbeck, ed., *Tutankhamun: The Golden Beyond; Tomb Treasures from the Valley of the Kings*, trans. Nigel Stephenson and Ingrid Nina Bell (Bonn: Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, 2004), p. 340, no. 86 (Carter Number 403, Jd’É 61446: on gold foil covering knob of wooden case), p. 345, no. 87 (Carter Number 32, Jd’É 61445: on gold foil covering knob of wooden case). For a concordance of Carter and Journal d’Étré numbers, see Beinlich and Saleh, *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun*, pp. 238-273.

²³⁶ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 295, fig. 27 and p. 314, no. 101.

²³⁷ See Ibid, p. 345, fig. 214 (cartouche of Thutmose I; also equipped with legs and talons=Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 50, no. 474) and fig. 215 (cartouche of Hatshepsut with the words “God’s Wife who lives”); Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 149, no. 1515 (cartouche of Thutmose III with wings and two uraei).

²³⁸ Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 81, no. 814.

²³⁹ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 345, fig. 216 (mistakenly labeled “Thutmose IV”); see description on p. 255).

²⁴⁰ See Aldred, *Akhenaten*, p. 91, fig. 12.

²⁴¹ See Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 51-52B and see the references in note 235 for objects of Tutankhamun with the birth name with uraei.

this time. A block from Hermopolis shows Horemheb's cartouches with uraei in a row and is likely part of a frieze decoration;²⁴² during the Ramesside Period cartouches with uraei are frequently found on the friezes and column bases of temples. The cartouches usually are topped by sun disks and, often, two plumes but the uraei are attached to the cartouche;²⁴³ when the intent was for the uraei to be a part of the sun disk the bodies of the uraei clearly attach to the top of the sun disk, which is often slightly separate from the cartouche.²⁴⁴ The intent seems to be a change in emphasis from identification with the sun disk to being under its protection.

²⁴² Günther Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten*, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 4 (Hildesheim: Gebrüder Gerstenberg, 1959), pl. 60 (nn). Horemheb's name does not have the name of Re but does have that of Horus and the name is followed by the epithet *mry Imn*.

²⁴³ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 39; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 43; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 3, pls. 42 and 45; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pl. 41; Blackman, *Derr*, pls. 38-39; Günther Roeder, *Der Felsentempel von Bet El-Wali*, Temples Immergés de la Nubie 21 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1938), pl. 57; G. A. Gaballa and M. Maher Taha, *Le Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 1, *La façade [A-E]*, Collection Documentaire 1 (Cairo: Ministère de la Culture and Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2001), pl. p. 84, pl. 72; LD III, pl. 185b; Brigitte Dominicus, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben*, vol. 2, *Die Dekoration und Ausstattung des Tempels*, BABA 15 (Cairo and Mainz am Rhein: Schweizerisches Institut für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde and Philipp von Zabern, 2004), p. 46, fig. 24, pls. 19, 24, 53, cf. p. 57, fig. 28 and pl. 31 (frieze cartouches with single uraeus); *MH IV*, pl. 246; *MH V*, pls. 335-337 and 276A. Other contexts: *LD III*, pl. 122e; Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pls. 7 and 11 (on sun-shade); idem, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pl. 19 (between *Sed*-festival signs offered by Osiris); *MH II*, pl. 118D-F (at base of Osirid statue provided with arms grasping enemies by their hair).

²⁴⁴ Blackman, *Derr*, pl. 25; *MH II*, pl. 60A, *MH III*, pl. 180A; *MH V*, pls. 255, 349 and 351; *MH VI*, pl. 495; cf. Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 2, pls. 115-116 (sun disk hovering above king with cartouche between uraei). Cartouches with uraei continued to decorate friezes and columns of temples in the Greco-Roman Period; see *Edfou I*, pl. 31b; *Edfou III*, pl. 75; Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Bêgeh*, TIN 18 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1915), pls. 21 and 24. They are found in some other contexts in the Greco-Roman Period, as well; cf. *Edfou XII*, pl. 380 (decorating sunshades held by priests over sacred bark).

It is interesting that two uraei are attached to a cartouche, which can be identified by itself as a sun disk. The protective ring that the cartouche forms is a *shen*-ring.²⁴⁵ The *shen*-ring itself can be identified as the sun disk. This identification with the sun probably dates to at least the Middle Kingdom and lasts into the Late Period.²⁴⁶ On a pectoral of Queen Mereret found at Dahshur a vulture holds two shen-rings with red centers like the color of the sun; another *shen*-ring from her jewelry also has a red center.²⁴⁷ Falcons stand on *shen*-rings with red centers on two pectorals of Princess Sit-Hathor-yunet found at Lahun.²⁴⁸ *Shen*-rings with red centers are fairly standard for objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁴⁹ A pectoral of Tutankhamun depicts the god Heh with a *shen*-ring on his head with a red center.²⁵⁰ The ring is the “Re” element in a cryptic writing of the king’s name “Nebkheperure.”²⁵¹ Heh in Egyptian myth lifts up the sun in

²⁴⁵ Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. rev. (Oxford and London: Griffith Institute Ashmolean Museum and Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 74; Andrey O. Bolshakov, *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, ÄAT 37 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), p. 180; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, pp. 19-20.

²⁴⁶ Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, p. 180.

²⁴⁷ Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pls. 41 and 44

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 37-38; Dorman, Harper and Pittman, *Egypt and the Ancient Near East*, pp. 38-39, no. 22.

²⁴⁹ See Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, pls. 92, 96, 102-106 and James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 86 (Carter no. 254, Jd’É 60670), p. 94 (Carter no. 255, Jd’É 60671), pp. 108-109 (Carter no. 266, Jd’É 60689-60690), pp. 200-203 and 206-209 (Carter nos. 256NNN, 256Z, 256UUU, Jd’É 61875, 61899, 61891), p. 219 (Carter no. 256PPP, Jd’É 61892), pp. 228-229 (Carter no. 267K, Jd’É 61899), pp. 230-233 (Carter no. 267D, Jd’É 61884), pp. 232-233 (Carter nos. 256B2 and 267I, Jd’É 61903 and 61894), pp. 236-239 (Carter nos. 261P3 and 261O, Jd’É 61943 and 61946), p. 241 (Carter no. 269A1, Jd’É 61969).

²⁵⁰ James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 216-217 (Carter no. 2671, Jd’É 61885).

²⁵¹ Werner Formen and Stephen Quirke, *Hieroglyphs & the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), p. 32.

the morning and helps support the sky.²⁵² A hymn in the Temple of Hibis identifies Amun-Re as *Bḥd.t(y) psḡ m 3ḥ.t ḥr ˙wy n Ḥ[h] Ḥ[h.t]* “Behdetite who shines in the horizon upon the arms of He[h] and He[h.t].”²⁵³ Frequently Heh is shown raising the sun disk with two uraei²⁵⁴ but often the cartouche of the king replaces the sun disk.²⁵⁵ Similarly, the *kheper*-beetle can be portrayed pushing the sun disk with two uraei²⁵⁶ or pushing a cartouche.²⁵⁷ The *shen*-ring is in many ways a visual complement to the verb *šni*, “encircle,” “surround,” which is employed to describe the daily revolution of the sun.²⁵⁸ *Mnš*, a word for “cartouche” attested in the New Kingdom, may

²⁵² H. Altenmüller, “Heh (*Hḥ*),” *LA* II, cols. 1082-1083; Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, ADAIK 7 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970), pp. 20, 44-45.

²⁵³ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 32, 2nd register, line 25; Eugene Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1988), p. 129.

²⁵⁴ *LD* III, pl. 249a-b; James, *Tutankhamen*, p. 296 (Carter no. 87, Jd’É 62029); R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*, trans. André Vanden Broeck (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), pls. 277 and 300; Georges Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, CGC 61001-61004 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1909), pl. 50 (CG 61031; small figure of Heh above image of Nut); Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 29; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 17; Blackman, *Dendûr*, pls. 34-35.

²⁵⁵ See Jocelyne Berlandini, “Amenhotep III et le concept de *Heh*,” BSEG 17 (1993), pp. 11-28; Dorman, Harper and Pittman, *Egypt and the Ancient Near East*, pp. 38-39, no. 22; Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pls. 21 and 24; H. G. Fischer, “The Gallatin Egyptian Collection,” *BMMA n.s.* 25, no. 7 (March 1967), p. 260, no. 8; James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 215 (Carter no. 256000, Jd’É 61900); Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 105 (above door); *MH* IV, pl. 244B-C; *MH* V, pl. 251.

²⁵⁶ See, for example, James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 214 (Carter no. 267G, Jd’É 61896); Henri Stierlin and Christiane Ziegler, *Tanis: Trésors des Pharaons* (Fribourg, Switzerland: Seuil, 1987), p. 187, fig. 102.

²⁵⁷ James, *Tutankhamen*, pp. 224-225 (Carter no. 261M, Jd’É 61948) and pp. 228-229 (Carter no. 267K, Jd’É 61899); Stierlin and Ziegler, *Tanis*, pp. 52-53, figs. 23-24, p. 56, fig. 25, pp. 62-63, figs. 28-29, p. 181, fig. 98; cf. pectorals on which the scarab pushes a cartouche or name box with the name between the uraei of a winged disk: pp. 58-58, figs. 26-27 and p. 107, fig. 60.

²⁵⁸ Bolshakov, *Man and his Double*, p. 180; *Wb.* IV, p. 489.4.

also derive from a word meaning “to encircle.”²⁵⁹ An interesting text from Papyrus Anastasi II praises Merenptah as *swḥ.t iqr.t s3 Ḥpri ms twt n k3 lwnw p3 bik ‘q m p3 mnš* “Excellent egg, son of Khepri, child and image²⁶⁰ of the Bull of Heliopolis, the falcon, which has entered the cartouche.”²⁶¹ This praise of the living king brings to mind the description of the death of Amenemhat I in the Story of Sinuhe: *‘r nṯr r 3ḥ.t=f ny-sw.t-bi.ty Šḥtp-ib-R‘ šḥr=f r p.t (ḥr) ḥnm m itn ḥ‘ nṯr 3bḥ(.w) m ir sw* “It is to his horizon that the god arises, (namely) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre. It is to the sky that he flies uniting with the sun disk; the flesh of the God has joined with he who made him.”²⁶² Royal sarcophagi of the New Kingdom took the form of a cartouche.²⁶³ There is an obvious protective purpose in this shape but one cannot help but wonder if there was also an implied union with the sun god. A text that describes the king’s cultic role as priest of the sun god states *iw rn ny-sw.t N. m p.t mi R* “The name of King N. is in

²⁵⁹ *Wb.* II, p. 89, no. 2; see Gábor Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vol. 3, *m-*, HO I, 43.3 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 325.

²⁶⁰ Most translations seem to interpret *ms twt* as *mstyw/mstw* “descendant”; see Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brown Egyptological Studies 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 44; John L. Foster, *Hymns, Prayers, and Songs: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Lyric Poetry*, ed. Susan Tower Hollis, WAW 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), p. 140, no. 63, however, there are a child and a falcon on standard determinatives following the *s* and there are two *t*-loaf signs in the following word (one before and one after the quail chick); there is a writing of the masculine word *mstyw* with two *t*-loafs but this is late according to *Wb.* II, p. 151, no. 10.

²⁶¹ Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, BIAE 7 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937), p. 14, lines 10-11.

²⁶² Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*, p. 3 (R5-8); cf. William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 55.

²⁶³ Richard H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), pp. 194-195, fig. 2.

the sky like Re.”²⁶⁴ Ramesses II is said to be *q3 rn ph.n=f hr(.t) mi R’* “Exalted of name, it (his name) having reached the sky like Re.”²⁶⁵ Egyptians and foreigners during the New Kingdom are often shown worshipping the cartouches of the king (with or without uraei) as they would the actual sun.²⁶⁶ We sometimes find the cartouches of the king worshipped as the rising sun by baboons²⁶⁷ or the king’s name within a sun disk in the solar bark.²⁶⁸ Frequently during the New Kingdom the king is described as the sun/Re or the sun disk of Egypt and foreign lands. Amun-Re is said to have appointed Amenhotep III *m R’ n psd.t-pd.wt* “as Re of the Nine-Bows,”²⁶⁹ and *m R’ n idb.wy* “as Re of the Two Banks (Egypt).”²⁷⁰ Sety I is *šw n rhy.t* “Sun of the common folk.”²⁷¹ Ramesses II is *R’ n t3 šhd n=sn itn t̄hn n rhy.t ‘nh=sn m m33 st.wt=f* “Re of the land who illuminates for them (the people), Dazzling Sun Disk of the common folk at the sight of whose rays they live.”²⁷² Merenptah is *R’ n Km.t itn psd.t-pd.wt* “Re of Egypt, sun disk of the

²⁶⁴ Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnehymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, ADAIK 7 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970), pp. 19, 22 and 36.

²⁶⁵ *KRI* II, p. 236, lines 10-12.

²⁶⁶ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, pp. 20-21, pp. 287-325, nos. 1-145, pp. 340-342, nos. 196-202.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 337, nos. 186-187; Ali Radwan, “Der Königsname: Epigraphisches zum göttlichen Königtum im Alten Ägypten,” *SAK* 2 (1975), p. 231, no. 47; Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 127, no. 1294.

²⁶⁸ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 346, no. 223, p. 348, no. 229; Radwan, “Königsname,” p. 232, nos. 49-50.

²⁶⁹ *Urk.* IV, p. 1652, line 8.

²⁷⁰ *Urk.* IV, p. 1656, line 4. In another text Amenhotep III is *ntr nfr mity R’ šhd t3.wy mi 3h.ty nb st.wt m hr mi itn h’w n=f nb.wt* “The Perfect God, the equal of Re, who illuminates the Two Lands like the Horizon-Dweller, Lord of Rays to the sight like the sun disk, to whom everyone jubilates” *Urk.* IV, p. 1670, lines 7-8; Bengt Birkstam, “Reflections on the Association Between the Sun-God and Divine Kingship in the 18th Dynasty,” in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh*, BOREAS 13 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1984), p. 35, no. 5.

²⁷¹ *KRI* I, p. 240, line 14.

²⁷² *KRI* II, p. 236, line 2.

Nine-Bows.”²⁷³ Gardiner has interpreted the meaning of the cartouche as representing the phrase frequently used to describe the extent of the king’s authority as all “which the sun disk encircles.”²⁷⁴ The addition of twin uraei would seem to emphasize this view of the king as the sun god for the people on earth. It is interesting that two uraei are used just like the sun disk of the Behdetite. It might be argued that two uraei are more esthetically pleasing than a single uraeus by creating a balance.²⁷⁵ However, as we have seen, twin uraei on a sun disk are primarily associated with the Behdetite. Cartouches with two uraei are not directly identified as the Behdetite but since the cartouche as a *shen*-ring can be viewed as the sun in its own right, the addition of twin uraei may give it this extended identification. With the cartouche with two uraei we may have a symbol, per Gardiner’s interpretation, of a union of Re, Horus (the Behdetite) and the king represented by, respectively, the cartouche/*shen*-ring/sun disk (Re/”Sun”), the twin uraei with sun disk (Horus the Behdetite) and royal name (king). But note that royal women in the Ramesside Period can have cartouches provided with two uraei.²⁷⁶ The royal women here are likely being identified as embodying the “Eye of Re,” i. e. Hathor. Beginning in the New Kingdom, decorative Hathor heads are often equipped with twin uraei.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ *KRI* IV, p. 89, line 8.

²⁷⁴ *Grammar*, p. 74.

²⁷⁵ However, see Dominicus, *Totentempel des Merenptah*, vol. 2, p. 57, fig. 28 and pl. 31 for a rare case in which cartouches with a single uraeus are used in a frieze.

²⁷⁶ See Christiane Desrouches-Noblecourt, “À propos des piliers héraldiques de Karnak: Une suggestion,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 11 (2003), p. 390, fig. 3; Kent R. Weeks, ed. *The Treasures of the Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Temples of the Theban West Bank in Luxor* (Cairo and Vercelli, Italy: American University in Cairo Press and White Star S.r.l., 2001), p. 289 (Nefertari in her tomb); Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 10, p. 17, pls. 30-31, no. 481 (Isis, daughter of Ramesses VI and God’s Adorer).

²⁷⁷ Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 126, no. 1286 (18th Dyn.); Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel*, p. 133, fig. 158; Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, PMMAR 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927), pl. 37 (with White Crown on right uraeus and Red Crown

3.IV.ii: The Winged Disk and Sun Disk with Two Uraei as “Re” in Royal Names

A more clear case of this may be found when the sun disk with two uraei and the winged sun disk are used in a special writing of royal names of the New Kingdom and later. These forms of the sun disk are used to write the word “Re” in royal names that contain the name of this god. One of, if not the, earliest example is on a scarab with the name of Senwosret I whose throne name *Hpr-k3-R* includes a winged sun disk.²⁷⁸ The date is uncertain for this piece, because it may be from a postmortem cult of the king.²⁷⁹ On some scarabs of Ahmose a sun disk with two uraei is used for “Re” in *Nb-ph.ty-R*.²⁸⁰ A winged sun disk used in this manner in the name of Thutmose II (*(ʿ3)*²⁸¹ *-hpr-n-R*) was carved on an ebony shrine found at Deir El-Bahari.²⁸² Hatshepsut used a winged disk to write her throne name *M3.t-k3-R* on a wall in the Hathor shrine at Deir El-Bahari.²⁸³ Above the doorway to this shrine is a sun disk with two uraei within a pair of *ka*-arms.²⁸⁴ This forms a rebus of *M3.t-k3-R* with the uraei standing for “Maat.” No cartouche surrounds the name and this is true for many examples of names using the

on left uraeus); Bernard Bruyère, *La tombe N° 1 de Sen-nedjem à Deir El Médineh*, MIFAO 88 (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), p. 2, fig. 1; *Dendara III*, pls. 180 and 183; *Dendara IV*, pl. 265; *Dendara VI*, pls. 452, 462, 469, 485, 504; Cauville, *Porte d’Isis*, pls. 44-45; idem, *Le temple d’Isis*, pls. 68-71, 128-129, 169, 228, 240, 263-264, 284-286; É. Chassinat, *Le mammisi d’Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), pl. 8.

²⁷⁸ Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 9, no. 86.

²⁷⁹ Hall, *ibid*, gives a date from the 12th to the 17th Dynasties.

²⁸⁰ See Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, pl. 23, nos. 18.1.4 and 6.

²⁸¹ This part of the name was not carved.

²⁸² Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 2, *The Ebony Shrine, Northern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 14 (London: EEF, 1894-95), pls. 26 and 29.

²⁸³ Idem, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 106. The uraeus on the north side wears the Red Crown and that on the south side the White Crown.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pl. 103.

sun disk with two uraei and the winged disk (cf. Fig. 7).²⁸⁵ In the Ramesside Period the sun disk with two uraei is often used in names without cartouches in frieze decoration.²⁸⁶ In the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak a sun disk with two uraei used in the name *Mn-M3ˁ.t-Rˁ* without a cartouche hovers above Sety I, who is in the *ished*-tree.²⁸⁷ In a scene in the Cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos Merenptah uses the sun disk with two uraei hovering over his head in his throne name *B3-n-Rˁ Mry-Imn* without a cartouche.²⁸⁸ Ramesses IV was fond of using the sun disk with two uraei hovering over his head to render his throne name *Hq3-M3ˁ.t-Rˁ stp-n-Imn* without cartouche at Khonsu Temple at Karnak (Fig. 7).²⁸⁹ The absence of the cartouche is, perhaps, meant to indicate no separation of the king and Re but also the Behdetite (see below). Also, it may indicate a level of divinity in the king, whose names no longer need the protection of the cartouche.²⁹⁰ The names of deified forms of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II can appear without

²⁸⁵ See Herbert Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III: Baugeschichtliche Untersuchung*, BABA 3.1 (Cairo: Herbert Ricke, 1939), pl. 1b; Radwan, "Königsname," p. 225, nos. 30-31, p. 226, nos. 33-34; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 329, no. 158, p. 330, no. 162, p. 374, no. 283; *LD III*, pl. 72; Margaret A. Murray, J. Grafton Milne and W. E. Crum, *The Osireion at Abydos*, BSAE 9 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904), pl. 3; Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 73, no. 271; Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pl. 58; Ch. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylone de Ramses II à Louxor*, Collection Scientifique 46 (Cairo: CEDAE, 1971), pls. 21 and 26.

²⁸⁶ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 42; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 3, pl. 28; *MH III*, pls. 174-76; *LD III*, pl. 222e.

²⁸⁷ Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 192.

²⁸⁸ Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 73.

²⁸⁹ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 365, no. 266, p. 367, no. 269; Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997), pls. 11-12; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 5591.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 65; Wildung, "Göttlichkeitsstufen," col. 556 (5.3).

cartouches.²⁹¹ It must be noted that in the Ramesside Period rebus writings using the bare sun disk without cartouches also occur in frieze inscriptions.²⁹² Perhaps the intent is a more direct identification with Re; though these writings are basically the normal writing of the name but without a cartouche. Clearly in the Ramesside Period the winged sun disk and sun disk with two uraei are being identified with Re, however they are still, primarily, forms of the Behdetite. I know of only one case outside the writing of the king's name in which one of these forms of the sun disk is used to write "Re." In the tomb of Kheruef in a scene of Amenhotep IV offering to Atum and Re-Horakhty (see Fig. 8) the king is called *ti.t R'* and "Re" is written with the sun disk with two uraei, however this sun disk is also named *Bhd.t(y)* to each side.²⁹³ Note that the phrase here concerns the king, i. e. he is an image of Re but this image is in the form of the sun disk with two uraei, which is also a form of the Behdetite. The winged disk and sun disk with two uraei when used within a cartouche for the word "Re" is never labeled with the name *Bhd.ty* or "Re" or any other god due to principles of (artistic) decorum. However, with winged disks, which have the wings outside the cartouche it was possible to add the name *Bhd.ty* beside or below the wings. At Deir el-Bahari a winged disk that is part of Hatshepsut's name that is within a cartouche is labeled *Bhd.t(y)* below the wings.²⁹⁴ Interestingly, the god's name is followed on each side by the epithets of the king: *ntr nfr nb ir(.t) h.t* "The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual." The epithets go with the cartouche, which is provided with uraei but their presence following the

²⁹¹ See, for example, Giorgini, Robichon and Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, pls. 260-261; *LD III*, pl. 191f; cf. Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, ADAIK 5 (Glückstadt: J. Augustin, 1969), p. 7.

²⁹² *LD III*, pls. 179b and 238c; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 346, nos. 220 and 222, p. 347, no. 224=*MH VIII*, pls. 617-618.

²⁹³ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 8-9. The phrase appears above the cartouche of the king's throne name *Nfr-hpr-R' w'-n-R'*, which is within *k3*-arms.

²⁹⁴ Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 106.

god's name also seems to suggest a certain identity of the king with the Behdetite.²⁹⁵ There are also several instances where a winged disk is used in a name without a cartouche and the winged disk is labeled *Bḥd.ty*.²⁹⁶ The use of the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei in the king's names must have a special significance to the king, which we will explore in Chapter 8.

3.IV.iii: The Sun Disks of the Behdetite as *Ny-sw.t-bi.ty*

During the Greco-Roman Period the sun disk with two uraei is used almost universally to write *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in the titulary of the king.²⁹⁷ The origins of this use *may* go back to the reign of Amenhotep III whose throne name is preceded by a sun disk with two uraei in a rock inscription at Kanais.²⁹⁸ More certain are two moulds and a scarab

²⁹⁵ In fact, the hieroglyphs on the left side are oriented with those of the cartouche but this means those at right are not; on both sides they are oriented with the word "Behdetite." Of course, this is due to necessity, but combined with the cartouche forming the sun disk this may have reinforced the notion of the unity of king and god.

²⁹⁶ Cf.; Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 144, fig. 165 (Thutmose IV); *LD III*, pl. 72 (Amenhotep III); Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina: n. 50001-n. 50262*, Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Serie seconda-Collezioni 1 (Turin: Edizioni d'Arte Fratelli Pozzo, 1972), p. 285, no. 50055 (Sety I); *KRI VI*, p. 20, line 12 (Ramesses IV); Margaret A. Murray, Grafton Milne and W. E. Crum, *The Osireion at Abydos*, BSAE 9 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904), pl. 3 (Merenptah); Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 73, no. 271 (Sethnakht); Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 330, no. 162 (Ramesses IV). The uraei of a rendering of the name *Wsr-m3* "t-R'-mry-lmn of Ramesses II from Abu Simbel that uses a sun disk with two uraei for "Re" are identified as "Nekhbet" and "Wadjet"; see Madeleine Peters-Destéact, *Abou Simbel, à la gloire de Ramsès* (Paris: Éditions du Rocher, 2003), p. 267, fig. 132 and p. 268, fig. 133a.

²⁹⁷ *Wb.* II, p. 331, no. 14; *Belegstellen II*, p. 184 (331, 14).

²⁹⁸ *LD Text IV*, p. 83; the editors of the *Wörterbuch in Belegstellen II*, p. 184 (331, 14) seem to believe this is the case, since they write "vgl. auch" before the reference to this inscription; however a couple of their other early examples are questionable. In *Belegstellen II*, p. 483 (331, 13) they give an example of an inscription of Thutmose I that reads *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* (traditional writing with *sw.t*-plant and bee) *nb ir.t ḥ.t . . . s3 R' . . .* The reading of *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* here seems uncertain, since it precedes "Son Of Re" and since the traditional writing of the word is found in the same line. In *Belegstellen II*, pp. 184, 489-490 (331, 13) reference is made to "Abydos Sethos saal n <49>," which appears to be the same inscription in Calverley and

found at Qantir that mention the *Sed* festivals of Ramesses II using the winged disk (the two moulds) and the sun disk with two uraei (the scarab) to render *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* before the king's throne name *Wsr-M3'.t-R' stp-n-R'*.²⁹⁹ Another mould and another scarab use the winged disk (the mould) and sun disk with two uraei (scarab) for *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* before the names of two divine statues of Ramesses II.³⁰⁰ The scarab uses *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* before the name "Ramesses," which was the king's birth name; the figure of Re in the name has a sun disk on its head (without uraei) so the sun disk with two uraei must read *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* here and not "Re."³⁰¹ One might thus interpret the sun disk with two uraei that appears before both of Ramesses II's names on several colossal statues as *ny-sw.t-bi.ty*.³⁰² Given the identification of the two uraei with the Two Lands and the likely association of the two wings of the winged disk, also, with the two halves of Egypt, these sun disks are natural symbols for the title *ny-sw.t-bi.ty*, which in turn reinforces their identification with the king. A text from Edfu Temple may identify the Behdetite

Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 38a (actually the lunette to the chapel of Amun-Re; that of Sety I is destroyed), which shows a winged sun disk above a rebus of *Mn-M3'.t-R'* composed of figures of the goddess Maat and of Re and an obelisk, which stands for *Mn*. The winged disk does not seem to be a part of the inscription (it is large and extends over the whole lunette) and is probably just protective.

²⁹⁹ *KRI* II, p. 386, line 5 (mould mentioning the "repetition" of the king's *Sed* festival, i.e. his 2nd or 3rd), p. 395, line 13 (mould mentioning his 6th *Sed* festival) and p. 396, line 4 (scarab mentioning 8th *Sed* festival); see, also, Mahmud Hamza, "Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantîr (Faqu's District), (Season, May 21st-July 7th, 1928)," *ASAE* 30 (1930), p. 60, fig. 15, nos. 5-6.

³⁰⁰ *KRI* II, p. 451, line 5 and p. 455, line 11; Hamza, "Excavations," p. 60, fig. 15, no. 1; Jean Yoyotte, "À propos des scarabées attribués à Ramsès VIII," *Kémi* 10 (1949), pp. 86-88, nos. 10 and 14 on p. 87.

³⁰¹ I. e. the image of Re is not a determinative for the word "Re" with the sun disk with two uraei being the writing of the word "Re."

³⁰² *Belegstellen* II, p. 184 (133, 14)=Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives*, vol. 1 (1835-45; repr., Geneva: Éditions de Belles-lettres, 1973-74), p. 285; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 374, no. 284; Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, pl. 12a; Gaballa and Taha, *Grand Temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 1, pls. 13, 48 (top left), 78 (top), 89, 91 (bottom).

with the sun disk with two uraei before the king's name, although it follows an identification of the god as a falcon: *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t b3 h3h ms.w pr m R' bik ntry hq3 m srh h3ty nhb.t nt ny.w-sw.t* "Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, the *Ba* quick of birth, who comes forth from/as (?) Re, Divine Falcon, who rules from the throne (*serekh*), who is at the head of the titulary of the kings."³⁰³

3.V: The Winged Disk and Sun Disk with Two Uraei as Apy

In the previous section the word *py* has appeared in some quoted texts as the name of the winged disk. A Ramesside text praising the king identifies him as the Behdetite, who is also called *Apy* "The Flyer": *i3w n=k Bhd.t(y) t3.wy 'py n h3mm* "Praise to you Behdetite of the Two Lands, *Apy*³⁰⁴ of flame/burning (?)."³⁰⁵ In texts of the Greco-Roman Period "Apy" is the name of the winged sun disk (and sun disk with two uraei) but the word can also be written with or take a determinative of a scarab beetle, usually, with falcon wings (³⁰⁶). The name *Apy* is used in texts from the end of the New Kingdom through the Greco-Roman Period for the

³⁰³ *Edfou I*, p. 291, line 13; Mohiy E. A. Ibrahim, *The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu*, BIAE 16 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975), p. 54, pl. 19, line 121.

³⁰⁴ The word is actually written with the *p3*-bird, which caused some doubt in Kitchen's translation: "Winged Disc(?)"; see *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Translations*, vol. 4, *Merenptah & the Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2003), p. 71; however the same writing is found in a text from Philae Temple; see *LÄGG*, vol. 2, p. 93 (no. 82) and Silvio Curto, *Nubia: storia di una civiltà favolosa* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1965), p. 165, fig. 58 (text behind Khonsu). The use of the *p3*-sign here is perhaps due to the fact that the sign is a flying bird; the word takes two wings as determinatives.

³⁰⁵ *KRI IV*, p. 89, lines 9-10. The last word is curious. It is written , which is not found in the dictionaries; it is, perhaps, a confusion of two words for flame and burning: *h3w.t* "flame," see Leonard H. Lesko, ed., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Providence, RI: B. C. Scribe Publications, 2002), p. 285, and *3m/3mw* "to burn," (*Wb.* I, p. 10, nos. 2-4). The sun disk with rays determinative suggests that the word refers to the burning heat of the sun.

³⁰⁶ François Dumas, et al., ed., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, vol. 2 (Montpellier: Publications de la recherche-Université de Montpellier and Institut d'Égyptologie Université Paul-Valéry, 1988), p. 390, no. 27/743n.

Behdetite and other solar and celestial gods and goddesses, especially Amun-Re,³⁰⁷ when they take the form of the winged disk or winged beetle. Horus the Behdetite is by far the god most commonly identified with Apy in Greco-Roman texts.³⁰⁸ Apy, the Winged Sun Disk/Sun Disk with Two Uraei/Beetle, in some texts seems to be a deity in his own right. The Ramesside text quoted above only shows two wings for a determinative, so it is uncertain if Apy is interpreted here as winged disk or winged beetle. Surprisingly, probably the earliest attestation of the word is used not in a text concerning the Behdetite or any (male) solar god but rather for Isis in the temple of Sety I at Abydos. In an offering scene Isis with wings on her arms stands behind Osiris.³⁰⁹ Isis states *mk wi ḥ3=k m 'py(.t)'/py ḥr ḥm=k* “Look, I am behind you (in protection) as the (female?) Winged Sun Disk over Your Majesty.” The word for the winged disk is written with the winged disk alone (𓂏). The *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* interprets this word as *'py.t* “Female Winged Sun Disk.”³¹⁰ This epithet is used for several goddesses in the Greco-Roman Period, including Isis.³¹¹ This identification probably arose from the identification of most major goddesses as the “Eye of Re” in the Late Period. However, the sentence perhaps makes more sense if *m* is understood in the sense of “in

³⁰⁷ It is interesting that Amun-Re can be identified as Apy in texts but that there is no winged disk in Egyptian art that is identified as Amun-Re.

³⁰⁸ Compare the sources in *LÄGG*, vol. 2, pp. 93-98. There may be some bias for the Behdetite, since most sources come from Edfu or the home of his consort in Dendera but many of the attestations of other gods as Apy also come from these temples. Also there are only a few cases of the major gods being identified as Apy in well preserved temples like Kom Ombo and Esna; for example, Sobek-Re at Kom Ombo (De Morgan, et al., *Kom Ombos*, vol. 1, p. 367, no. 491), Khnum-Re at Esna (*Esna IV*, p. 431, line 2).

³⁰⁹ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 13 (lower right). Both deities are identified as *ḥry/.t-ib Ḥw.t Mn-m3'.t-R'*.

³¹⁰ Vol. 2, p. 98.

³¹¹ For sources see *ibid.*

the manner of.”³¹² The word  might be read as ‘py and the sentence could read “Look I am behind you (in protection) in the same manner that the Winged Sun Disk is above Your Majesty (in protection).” This removes the problem of Isis being behind Osiris and being above him as a winged disk at the same time.³¹³ All other texts mentioning Apy predating the Greco-Roman Period use either a bird or a winged beetle as determinative.

3.VI: Other Sun Disk Forms of the Behdetite

3.VI.i: Sun Disks with a Single Uraeus

A sun disk with a single uraeus and identified as the Behdetite is found in scenes in the tombs of officials from the time of Amenhotep III and IV (𓂏).³¹⁴ Unusually, these sun disks hover in front of the king with the uraeus of the sun disk and that on the head of the king meeting nose to nose.³¹⁵ Another sun disk with a single uraeus and identified as “The Behdetite, lord of

³¹² See *Wb.* II, p. 1, no. 25: “in der Eigenschaft als . . . , in der Art wie . . . ,” and see the *Belegstellen* for this entry.

³¹³ Although this is not impossible, since the Behdetite can appear in the same scene in multiple forms: falcon, sun disk and falcon headed man.

³¹⁴ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 24-26, 41-42; *LD III*, pls. 76b, 77c (Khaemhet TT 57); Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, PTT 1 (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), pl. 30 (Surer TT 48); Aldred, *Akhenaten*, p. 90, fig. 11 (Ramose TT 46, with Amenhotep IV). A sun disk of this type hovers over the deified Amenhotep I in the tomb of Neferhotep; see Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, vol. 1, PMMA 9 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933), pl. 51.

³¹⁵ In a scene at Luxor Temple a sun disk with a single uraeus appears above Sety I but the uraeus is not above the king’s face; see Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 2, *The Facade, Portals, Upper Register Scenes, Columns, Marginalia, and Statuary in the Colonnade Hall, with Translations of Texts, Commentary and Glossary*, OIP 116 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1998), pl. 154B-C. In a couple of scenes from temples in Nubia Ramesses II appears with hovering sun disks with a single uraeus, which is not over the king’s face; these look like sun disks with two uraei that are missing one uraeus and seem to be cases of poor planning in laying out the scenes; see Blackman, *Derr*, pl. 23, no. 1, cf. pl. 39 (only one *ankh* due to lack of space); Fouad Abdel Hamid, S. Donadoni and Ch. Leblanc, *Grand Temple d’Abou Simbel*, vol. 2, *Les salles du tresor sud* (Cairo: CEDAE, 1975), pl. 32, cf. pls. 13, 28-29, 31, 35-36 (only one *ankh* due to lack of space), pl. 27 (*ankh* missing arm due to lack of space).

the sky” hovers above the head of the deified Amenhotep I in the tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes, who was an official at the end of the Amarna Period.³¹⁶ From the reign of Amenemhat I onward a small sun disk with a single uraeus hovers over the back of the falcon of kings’ Horus names.³¹⁷ The sun disk is usually not named but some at the late temple at Kom Ombo are named “The Behdetite.”³¹⁸ A block of relief from Medamud depicts a sun disk with one uraeus hovering behind King Sobekemsaf of the 17th Dynasty.³¹⁹ A New Kingdom stela from Giza shows a sun disk with a single uraeus hovering over the Great Sphinx.³²⁰ In a scene at Hibis Temple in Kharga Oasis a sun disk with a single uraeus hovers before Osiris and has been provided with arms in order to extend *ankh*- and *was*-signs to the god’s face.³²¹ The identity of sun disks with a single uraeus and no name is a bit less certain than winged sun disks and sun disks with two uraei. The name of Re can take a sun disk with a single uraeus as determinative.³²² Re and Re-Horakhty also appear as falcons or falcon-headed men with a sun disk on their head with a single uraeus.³²³ However, it seems likely that all of these sun disks,

³¹⁶ See Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. 51, see pp. 19-23 for the time of Neferhotep’s service.

³¹⁷ See J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), p. 94, fig. 108; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 382, no. 305; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, pls. 2 and 9; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 36, 54, 68, 73, 105, 194 and 215; *Edfou XI*, pl. 316.

³¹⁸ *LD IV*, pl. 50a; J. De Morgan, et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique*, vol. 2, *Haut Égypte: Kom Ombos I* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1895), p. 72. The sun disks hover over the back of Horoeris.

³¹⁹ F. Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1929)*, IFAO 7.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1930), p. 96, fig. 86, pl. 10.

³²⁰ Hassan, *Great Sphinx*, p. 247, fig. 188.

³²¹ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 63.

³²² *Wb. II*, p. 401.

³²³ Cf. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 327, no. 151, p. 363, no. 262 (Amun-Re-Horakhty); Stephen Quirke, *The Cult of Ra: Sun-Worship in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 9, fig. 1, p. 24, fig. 4, cf. p. 162, fig. 90 (falcon of Re-Horakhty within name

given their hovering protective nature, are to be identified with the Behdetite, since even those cases in which these sun disks can be read as “Re” (i.e. in royal names) are, for the most part,³²⁴ not hovering.³²⁵ This is also suggested by the fact that the uraeus of the sun disk wears, either the White,³²⁶ *Atef*,³²⁷ Red³²⁸ or Double Crown,³²⁹ which identifies it with Nekhbet or Wadjet the uraei of Horus, the Behdetite and the king.

3.VI.ii: Sun Disks without Uraei

Very rarely a hovering sun disk appears without uraei. In two scenes at the Temple of Derr Ramesses II is shown with a bare sun disk hovering above him.³³⁰ One is unnamed but the other is “the Behdetite.”³³¹ In another scene from the same temple Ramesses II is shown offering to his deified self, who has a bare sun disk over his head.³³² Bare sun disks occasionally appear hovering above images of other deified/deceased kings in the Ramesside Period and later.³³³ Bare sun disks without names appear before and after the time of Ramesses II. A block

of the Aten from Amarna with uraeus centered on disk); Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 12, pls. 46-47 (1.266: Re-Horakhty).

³²⁴ The only exceptions to this are cases in which a sun disk with two uraei or winged disk are part of a name without cartouche and are hovering above the king or are at the top of a stela.

³²⁵ This appears to have been the same conclusion of Gardiner; see “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 50-51.

³²⁶ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pls. 11 and 40; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 76; *MHI*, pl. 18; *MH II*, pl. 62; *MH III*, pls. 119 and 122B-C.

³²⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 53.

³²⁸ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, pl. 40; *MH II*, pls. 62 and 109; *MH V*, pls. 253B, 321A and 338E.

³²⁹ *MH V*, pl. 319A.

³³⁰ Blackman, *Derr*, pl. 45, nos. 1-2.

³³¹ *Ibid*; no. 1 is “the Behdetite.”

³³² *Ibid*, pl. 60 (a vulture hovers above the sun disk).

³³³ Jaroslav Černý, *Egyptian Stelae in the Banks Collection* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1958), no. 11 (Amenhotep I); Félix Guilment, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, MIFAO 15 (Cairo:

from a monument of Sahure found at Saqqara shows a bare sun disk with a vulture (pose 1) to the viewer's left and a damaged bird to the right (pose 1).³³⁴ A pillar of Senwosret I from the relatively scant remains of the Middle Kingdom Temple of Karnak has a bare sun disk with Nekhbet below left as a vulture and Wadjet below right as a cobra-headed vulture.³³⁵ Two scenes on the lid of the painted box of Tutankhamun that show the king hunting wild animals show a bare sun disk above the king with vultures to each side.³³⁶ These scenes parallel scenes of the king attacking foreign enemies on the sides of the box, in which sun disks with two uraei stand in the place of the bare sun disks of the lid.³³⁷ A bare sun disk hovers over Philip Arrhidaeus in the bark shrine at Karnak built in his name.³³⁸ Nekhbet appears as a vulture to the left and Wadjet as a cobra-headed vulture to the right; their names are written directly to either side of the sun disk leaving no room for uraei. Given the identification of Nekhbet and Wadjet with the uraei of the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei, their vulture forms here may be, in a sense, stand-ins for their uraeus forms. In the relief of Senwosret I Wadjet appears for the first time as a hovering vulture and this arrangement seems like an experiment of replacing the uraei

IFAO, 1907), pl. 67; cf. Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et la tombe d'Osorkon II à Tanis*, vol. 1, *La Necropole Royal de Tanis 1* (Paris: Jourde et Allard, 1947), pl. 35; and see below.

³³⁴ See J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, EXSAQ 4 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1912), pl. 89; Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, p. 105, fig. 107. Fischer calls the bird on the right a vulture but the length of the top of the head suggests it is a falcon.

³³⁵ See Gabolde, *Grand Château d'Amon*, pl. 20a; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 144, fig. 31; Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, p. 94, fig. 97.

³³⁶ Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell and Co., 1923), pls. 50-51.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, pls. 52-53.

³³⁸ Georges Foucart, "Études thébaines: La Belle Fête de la Vallée," *BIFAO* 24 (1924), pl. 10.

with two vultures.³³⁹ It thus appears likely that the bare sun disks flanked by Nekhbet and Wadjet as vultures are the Behdetite.³⁴⁰ Although it is not absolutely certain that all the bare sun disks mentioned here are the Behdetite, given the similar use of the sun disk with two uraei above deified kings, the identification of at least one bare sun disk as the Behdetite, and the hovering nature of these disks, it seems likely.³⁴¹

3.VII: Arms, Hands, Rays, etc.

The winged sun disk is sometimes equipped with arms and hands. The earliest case is found on a stela of Thutmose IV made in honor of Amenhotep II in a temple dedicated to the Great Sphinx.³⁴² The arms and hands embrace the cartouche of the king. Hassan suggests that the winged disk of Thutmose IV was a forerunner of depictions of the Aten at Amarna, especially since the hands embrace and support the cartouche in the same manner that the Aten

³³⁹ However, Wadjet here retains part of her original cobra form. She is rarely shown in complete vulture form before the Ramesside Period being depicted with a vulture body but with the head and neck of a cobra. In Pyramid Text Spell 508 (*Pyr.* § 1118a-1119b), the same spell in which they are both identified as uraei, Nekhbet and Wadjet are both identified as vultures but they always revert to their original forms when placed on *nb*-baskets in the *nb.ty*-title of the king.

³⁴⁰ This is less certain with the earlier sun disk of Sahure; the unidentified bird might be Wadjet but she does not otherwise appear in this form before the relief of Senwosret I. Still, no other god is identified with a hovering sun disk before the New Kingdom and those are special cases: the use of the sun disk with two uraei in the names of kings without cartouches above the king's head to render the word "Re," which, I argue above, are still to be identified with the Behdetite, and the other case is the Aten from Amarna.

³⁴¹ On the cornice of the façade of the 1st hypostyle hall at Edfu Horus the Behdetite is depicted as the new born sun rising between figures of Isis and Nephthys in the form of a sun disk without uraei (see *Edfou* III, pl. 54, p. 54, line 12 where he is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t*). According to the text of Isis he is called Apy in this form: *'h '3.t=k m 'py ntry Bhd.t(y) pw nb h3y.t* "Fly to your temple as the Divine Apy (☉). It is the Behdetite, the Lord of the Sky!"

³⁴² Selim Hassan, "A Representation of the Solar Disk with Human Hands and Arms and the Form of Horus of Behdet, as Seen on the Stela of Amenhetep II in the Mud-brick Temple at Giza," *ASAE* 38 (1938), pp. 53-62, pl.9; idem, *Great Sphinx*, pp. 79-82, pl. 39; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 329, no. 160. The winged disk is identified as "The Behdetite, the great god, Lord of the Sky, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon."

embraces and supports the cartouches of Akhenaten.³⁴³ This is certainly plausible, although the Aten does not have human arms. All other cases postdate the Amarna Period. A similar case to the winged disk of Thutmose IV is a winged disk with arms and hands that embraces the cartouche of Ramesses II on the stela of Ptahemwia now in the British Museum.³⁴⁴ The pyramidion of Huy from his tomb at Memphis depicts winged disks with arms and hands embracing bark cabins and shrines in which are the gods Re-Horakhty, Atum and Sokar.³⁴⁵ A lintel of Merenptah from a temple in Memphis shows a winged sun disk with arms and hands holding *ankh*-signs that begin a chain of *ankh*- and *was*-signs that flank the king's names directly below the sun disk.³⁴⁶ Winged disks with arms and hands occasionally appear above kings and gods extending life and other gifts into the Late Period.³⁴⁷ On the coffin of Hor of the 25th Dynasty a winged disk with arms and hands appears above the mummy of Hor and extends an

³⁴³ Hassan, "A Representation of the Solar Disk," pp. 54-56; idem, *Great Sphinx*, pp. 80-81.

³⁴⁴ T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, vol. 9 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970), pl. 25, no. 167, pp. 29-30; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 329, no. 161.

³⁴⁵ The time period is that of Ramesses II; Karol Myśliwiec, "Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis," *SAK* 6 (1978), pp. 148-149, 151, figs. 6-8; Erik Hornung and Betsy Bryan, ed., *The Quest for Immortality: Treasures of Ancient Egypt* (New York: National Gallery of Art, 2002), pp. 196-198, no. 98.

³⁴⁶ Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. 21.

³⁴⁷ See Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, pl. 2 (bottom); Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 6 and Angelika Lohwasser, *The Kushite Cemetery of Sanam: A Non-Royal Burial Ground of the Nubia Capital, c. 800-600 BC* (London: Golden House, 2010), color pl. 25. On the frieze of the outer southern wall of Hibis temple a winged disk with arms and hands holds an *ankh* . It is at the beginning of a cryptic text and, according to Drioton, is part of the phrase 'nh Imn-R' itn=f pr m 'nh w3s m dw3y.t "Live Amun-Re; it is his sun disk, which comes forth in life and dominion at dawn"; see Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 50; E. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale," *ASAE* 40 (1940), pp. 341-343 and see Cruz-Urbe's comment on Drioton's translation in *Hibis*, vol. 1, p. 155. A sun disk with a single uraeus and equipped with arms extending life to Osiris from the same temple and a winged disk with arms dating to Nectanebo II have been mentioned above; Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 44A; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 652 (*Belegstellen* V).

ankh to his face representing the giving of the “breath of life.”³⁴⁸ In the Ramesside Period the Behdetite in the form of the winged disk was conceived as giving *t3w ndm* “sweet air” to the petitioner.³⁴⁹ On a Greco-Roman Period stela with the text of the “Book of Traversing Eternity” the winged disk at top is identified as *Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 s3b šw.t rdi t3w r hn.t nty im* “The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, who gives³⁵⁰ breath to the face of the dead (lit. “One who is there”).”³⁵¹ On a stela of the Third Intermediate Period official Montuemhat a winged disk with arms and hands appears above an offering table with the sign  above a .³⁵² The two vases represent the purification of incense (*sntr*) and libation (*qbh*) necessary before any ritual offering.³⁵³ Nearly identical arrangements of winged disks with arms, vases and offering tables are found on the cellae of the chapels of the God’s Wives Amenirdis, Nitocris and Shepenwepet II at Medinet Habu.³⁵⁴ On most depictions of winged disks with arms the king, a god or private person seems to benefit from the gifts and protection of the sun disk but in these cases it is the sun disk that receives the benefit of the offerings. Although the Aten of Amarna is

³⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 30, fig. 14.

³⁴⁹ *KRI* III, p. 463, line 3 (naophorus statue of Yuyu); cf. *KRI* VII, p. 26, line 3 (block-statue of Didia).

³⁵⁰ Although this is a perfect active participle, the context requires a present tense translation, because the action is understood as repeated. Just as the Behdetite comes forth from the horizon every day, he gives breath to the dead every day.

³⁵¹ Walter Wreszinski, “Das Buch von Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit nach einer Stele im Vatikan,” *ZÄS* 45 (1908), p. 111, pl. 5. The sun disk contains a scarab beetle and wavy rays stream down from the disk.

³⁵² Montuemhat to the right of the offering table worships Re-Horakhty on the left side of the table; see Jean Leclant, *Montouemhat: Quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la Ville*, Bd’É 35 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), pl. 8.

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 42.

³⁵⁴ Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 5, *Post-Ramesside Remains*, OIP 66 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pl. 16A-C. Back-to-back offering scenes to Anubis and Hathor are below the offering table in the chapels of Nitocris and Shepenwepet II; see *ibid*, p. 22.

a different deity than the god of the hovering sun disk, i. e. the Behdetite, there are some similarities with the winged disk besides the embrace and support of the king's names as mentioned by Hassan. The Aten appears directly above the head of the king and the king's names.³⁵⁵ The Aten appears centered in scenes showing members of the royal family much like the winged disk at the tops of stelae.³⁵⁶ In such scenes the spread and extension of the rays of the Aten to the members of the family can serve the purpose of the wings of the winged disk in extending over or overshadowing gods and royalty (sometimes to the exclusion of non-royalty). It also appears above scenes of temples, which might parallel the use of the winged disk over doorways and upon ceilings of temples.³⁵⁷ However, the Aten appears directly over offering tables even in the presence of the king, which is not found with the winged disk until the Third Intermediate Period.³⁵⁸ Until the Third Intermediate Period the Behdetite receives offerings only in the form of a falcon headed man. Of course the Aten bears a single uraeus like the Behdetite can in private monuments with depictions of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV but it is shown frontally upon the Aten. Images of hovering falcons and sun disks, as well as vultures, were generally not attacked during the Amarna Period with only the names of the deities being assaulted. Also, as previously stated, the sun disk with two uraei was used to a limited extent in

³⁵⁵ See Cyril Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: Brooklyn Museum of Art and Viking Press, 1973), p. 24, fig. 8, p. 35, figs. 17-18, p. 62, fig. 38, p. 69, fig. 45, p. 97, no. 11; *LD III*, pls. 97e, 99b, 100b, 101, 103, 105f, 107b.

³⁵⁶ Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 11, fig. 2, p. 102, no. 16, p. 132, fig. 52; *LD III*, pl. 109.

³⁵⁷ *LD III*, pls. 102, 105a.

³⁵⁸ Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, p. 10, fig. 1, p. 56, fig. 33, p. 57, fig. 34, p. 58, fig. 35, p. 78, fig. 47, p. 99, no. 13; *LD III*, pls. 91h, 100c, 106b, 110a-b.

the art of the Amarna Period, as was the falcon, though not hovering.³⁵⁹ It is likely that this was due to the close association of the sun disk with two uraei and the falcon with both kingship and the sun god.

Although the exact manner of portraying the sun disk during the Amarna Period³⁶⁰ disappeared shortly after the death of Akhenaten, the idea of the gift of life and other benefits as coming down via the rays of the sun seems to have survived. Horemheb at Gebel el-Silsilah portrays *ankh* and *was*-signs as coming off the bottom of hovering sun disks at angles like sunrays.³⁶¹ Leblanc suggests that the *ankh*-, *was*- and other signs hanging from the necks of uraei are equivalent to the rays holding *ankhs* of the Aten at Amarna.³⁶² At the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos on a wall decorated by Merenptah sun disks with two uraei appear above the Abydos “fetish” and a djed-pillar.³⁶³ The *ankh*- and *was*-signs coming from the neck of the uraei form an inscription leading directly to the cartouches of Merenptah: *‘nh w3s n* “Life and dominion to (titles and name of Merenptah).” The gifts of the uraei (life, dominion, etc.) sometimes extend down and completely flank the sides of the name(s) of the king.³⁶⁴ *Ankh*- and *was*-signs from a sun disk with two uraei form a chain on either side of a rock cut figure of the deified Ramesses II

³⁵⁹ This policy lasted at least into the early period of the new art style; see Aldred, *Akhenaten*, p. 91, fig. 12.

³⁶⁰ I.e. with streaming rays that end in hands and a frontal uraeus.

³⁶¹ *LD* III, pls. 121a, 122b; in one case *ankhs*, *was*-signs and other signs (too damaged to tell what kind) form a long chain much like a sunray; Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 2, fig. 10.

³⁶² Christian Leblanc, “Les remplois de blocs décorés de la XVIII^{ème} Dynastie dans le secteur sud du Ramesseum,” *Memnonia* 7 (1996), p. 108, n. 14.

³⁶³ Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 73.

³⁶⁴ *MH* IV, pl. 244; *MH* VIII, pl. 627; Guilman, *Ramsès IX*, pl. 93; Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et la tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis*, La Nécropole Royal de Tanis 3 (Paris: Centre national de la Recherche scientifique, 1960), pl. 30; cf. the winged disk of Merenptah with arms and hands holding *ankh*-signs which begin a chain of *ankh*- and *was*-signs to each side of the king’s names referenced above.

at Derr.³⁶⁵ The effect is much like the water that takes the form of *ankhs* and other signs streaming to each side of the king in scenes of purification.³⁶⁶ Wildung interprets the *ankh*- and *was*-signs from the sun disk at Derr as representing the elevation of the king's status to that of a god.³⁶⁷ A rock inscription of Sety I in the Wadi Hammamat shows a sun disk with two uraei with wavy lines representing rays streaming off the bottom of the disk.³⁶⁸ After the New Kingdom it is quite common on private stelae for winged sun disks and sun disks with two uraei to have rays in the form of dots³⁶⁹ or like flowers.³⁷⁰ Some Third Intermediate Period coffins

³⁶⁵ LD III, pl. 184b; Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, pl. 7b.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 198; Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 33; idem, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and First Hypostyle Hall with Translations of Texts, and a Glossary of Volumes 1 and 2*, OIP 103 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 176; Leclant, *XXV^e Dynastie*, pl. 50A; and see II.8 and Catalogue section A.

³⁶⁷ Dietrich Wildung, "Ramses, die große Sonne Ägyptens," *ZÄS* 99 (1972), p. 38: Über der plastischen Doppelkrone sitzt an der Kapellenrückwand in Relief die Sonnenscheibe, von deren Uräen Ketten aus 'nh- und w3s-Zeichen herabhängen. Die Schutzfunktion des Horus von Behedet umfängt den „Menschen“ Ramses, nicht mehr nur die entpersönlichte Institution Königtum. Emporgehoben durch das von der Sonnenscheibe gespendete Leben gelangt Ramses aus der passiven Rolle des Beschenkten in die active Stellung des Teilhabers an göttlichen Funktionen: Aus dem Schutzsymbol über der Königsfigur ist ein Bestandteil der königlichen Insignien geworden."

³⁶⁸ See J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1912), pl. 23.

³⁶⁹ Often beads are added to the bottom between the uraei with the result that the space between the uraei looks like the sporan or apron worn by the king; see Hölzl, "Round-Topped Stelae," p. 288; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 11 (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), pls. 64 (nos. 8456 and 36504), 86 (no. 8463), 88 (no. 8465), 90 (no. 8481), 92 (no. 54343) and 94 (no. 35625); Werner Kaiser, ed., *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin: Brüder Hartmann, 1967), no. 932; Donadoni Roveri, ed., *Religious Beliefs*, p. 244, fig. 310; Sydney Aufrère, *Les collections égyptiennes de Toulouse conservées au Musée Georges-Labit*, Les Cahiers du Musée Georges-Labit 1 (Toulouse: Musée Georges-Labit, 1996), pp. 18-19.

³⁷⁰ Compare the flower petal-like rays coming from the sun disk of Re-Horakhty on the Stela of Tanetperet (Louvre, N 3663; see the color photo in Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel, ed. *Egypt: The World of the Pharaohs*. Köln: Könemann, 1998, p. 432, fig. 23) with the faience necklace of jasmine blossoms in Florence Dunn Friedman, ed., *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), p. 123, no. 104 (top left), and compare

have at the internal head of the coffin a sun disk with two uraei with rays streaming from the sun disk.³⁷¹ Winged disks in friezes of late temples often have flower-like rays,³⁷² but winged disks or sun disks with two uraei, which hover above a king or god with rays are rare.³⁷³

3.VIII: The Uraei of the Sun Disks of the Behdetite

Since two uraei are an essential element of the sun disk with two uraei and are frequently found on the winged sun disk, a discussion of both the goddesses they represent and of their iconography is warranted. I have presented above some of the reasons to identify these uraei as Nekhbet and Wadjet. As also noted above, Borchardt reconstructs an architrave from the funerary temple of Sahure with a sun disk with two uraei identifying the uraei as Nekhbet and Wadjet.³⁷⁴ Only the inscription for Wadjet remains; a cobra on a basket extends a *was*-scepter and *shen*-ring towards a Horus falcon standing opposite and is followed by the inscription, *W3dy.t nb(.t) pr nw* “Wadjet, Lady of the *Per-Nu*-shrine,” which runs toward the uraeus of the sun disk.³⁷⁵ Borchardt restores Nekhbet on the opposite side. The reconstruction is plausible, if not one hundred percent certain, because of Wadjet’s position on the north side of the architrave.

the shapes of the rays from the other stelae in this note. Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, CGC 22001-22208 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1905), pls. 7 (no. 22018), 16 (no. 22053) and 20 (no. 22067); Donadoni Roveri, *Religious Beliefs*, p. 225, fig. 311 (actually a mix of dots and flower-like shapes); Aly Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt*, Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992), pl. 41a and d. Cf. Aufrère, *Les collections égyptiennes de Toulouse*, pp. 24-25 (Late Period coffin with scene of sun disk with two uraei above mummy).

³⁷¹ With dots and dashes: Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, pl. 58, pp. 26-31, no. 10 (æin 1522); Donadoni Roveri, *Religious Beliefs*, p. 219, fig. 304 (Turin coffin no. 2220); Hornung and Bryan, *Quest for Immortality*, p. 161, no. 73.

³⁷² *Edfou* III, pls. 55, 57-59, 62; *Edfou* X, pl. 108; *Dendara* IV, pls. 301-302; *Dendara* VIII, pls. 692, 696; Cauville, *Le temple d’Isis*, pls. 240, 284-285.

³⁷³ Blackman, *Dendûr*, pl. 81 (above Pahor with flower-shaped rays).

³⁷⁴ *Ša³hu-Re^c*, vol. 1, pl. 8.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46; cf. pl. 8.

Nevertheless, direct identification of the uraei of both the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei before the New Kingdom is very rare and even during the New Kingdom is uncommon.³⁷⁶

In the Greco-Roman Period the uraei of winged disks on stelae are more frequently directly identified and are almost always Nekhbet and Wadjet.³⁷⁷ In a footnote to an article on reused 18th Dynasty blocks in the Ramesseum, Christian Leblanc suggests that the uraeus of the solar disk, including the twin uraei of the Behdetite,³⁷⁸ represents the *ka* of the sun god and is to be identified as Maat.³⁷⁹ Maat sometimes is identified with the uraeus on the king's brow.³⁸⁰

However, the only case in which the twin uraei of the winged disk/sun disk with two uraei are identified with Maat is in the rebus writing of Hatshepsut's name Maat-ka-Re over the doorway of the Hathor shrine at Deir El-Bahari.³⁸¹ The uraei here may possibly still retain their usual identification with Nekhbet and Wadjet as "Nekhbet/Wadjet-Maat" (and, probably –Hathor).³⁸²

Two vultures to either side of the same door have *udjat*-eyes for bodies identifying them as the "Eye of Re" and, thus, Hathor.³⁸³ However, the vulture on the north side of the door has a cobra-head, which almost certainly identifies it as Wadjet, whereas the bird on the south side has a vulture-head indicating that it is Nekhbet. When the uraei wear crowns they are usually the

³⁷⁶ See Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak*, pls. 338 and 340 (scarab stela of Amenhotep III by the sacred lake at Karnak); *MH* II, pl. 101.

³⁷⁷ Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 11, pls. 68-69 (no. 8464), 70-71, 73 (no. 8462), 80-81 (no. 8467), 82-83 (no. 8468), 92.1 and 93.1 (no. 8477); Kamal, *Stèles*, p. 72, pls. 25 (no. 22077), 54 (no. 22181), 56 (no. 22182), 59 (no. 22186).

³⁷⁸ Leblanc identifies sun god as Re/Behdety: "en l'occurrence, Rê/Behedety"; see "Les remplois de blocs décorés de la XVIII^{ème} Dynastie," n. 14 and fig. 2, on p. 108.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ *KRI* I, p. 299, lines 5-6; III, p. 9, line 4. Isis (*KRI* II, p. 553, lines 7-8) and Tefnut (*KRI* V, p. 288, lines 8-9) are also identified with the king's uraeus.

³⁸¹ Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 103.

³⁸² Hathor is often identified with Maat; see François Daumas, "Hathor," *L'Ä II*, col. 1029.

³⁸³ See Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 103.

White and Red Crowns, which Nekhbet and Wadjet, respectively, embody.³⁸⁴ The *Atef* Crown (𓄿) is also frequently worn but it is closely associated with Nekhbet.³⁸⁵ Isis and Nephthys often take on the forms (vulture and cobra), crowns and other iconography of Nekhbet and Wadjet in funerary contexts.³⁸⁶ However, to my knowledge, these goddesses do not appear to have ever been identified with the uraei of a winged disk or sun disk with two uraei.³⁸⁷ The earliest crowns on uraei do not appear on the winged disk's uraei or on those of a (true) sun disk with two uraei

³⁸⁴ See Adolf Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenischeff*, Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Year 1911 (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), pp. 13-14, 22-29, 50; André Barucq and François Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne*, LAPO 10 (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1980), pp. 56-63.

³⁸⁵ This form of the crown is really just the White Crown with feathers to each side; see Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, pp. 47-49; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 67-68; it is the crown she often wears when in human form and she sometimes wears it in vulture and cobra form: Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 38 (vulture and cobra); idem, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 36 (human), pl. 44 (vulture and cobra), 45 (vulture); Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, pl. 14 (no. 34023: vulture); *MH IV*, pl. 235 (human); Christiane Ziegler, ed., *The Pharaohs* (Milan and New York: Bompiani Arte and Rizzoli International, 2002), p. 186, no. 6 (human).

³⁸⁶ Isis is shown as a vulture in the *Atef* Crown and Nephthys as a winged cobra in the Red Crown flanking the king in the form of Osiris on a pectoral of Tutankhamun; see James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 238-239 (Carter no. 2160, Jd'É 61946); they are probably to be identified with the vulture and cobra on the head of the golden mask and several shabtis of the king, as well as on the shabtis of other kings; see Edna R. Russmann, "Vulture and Cobra at the King's Brow," in *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, ed. Elizabeth Goring, Nicholas Reeves and John Ruffle (London and Edinburgh: Kegan Paul and National Museums of Scotland, 1997), pp. 266-284, figs. 1-6. The two goddesses appear in human form in the tomb of Khabekhnet at Deir El Medina with Isis on a *nb*-basket upon the plant of Upper Egypt and Nephthys on a *nb*-basket upon the plant of Lower Egypt at each end of a mummification scene of a sacred fish; see Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines*, pls. 11-12. In general on the goddesses' identification with Nekhbet and Wadjet see Maria Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 11 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1968), pp. 113-115.

³⁸⁷ Though see James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 222-223 (Carter no. 2611, Jd'É 61945) in which a uraeus in the White Crown (here actually blue in color) is attached to the cartouche of the king's birth name with Isis standing behind as a winged goddess and a uraeus in the Red Crown is attached to the king's throne name with Nephthys as a winged goddess behind; the uraei are to each side of a *djed*-pillar---the uraei might also be images of Isis and Nephthys.

but on the twin uraei of the cartouches of Senwosret II. In two cases one uraeus wears the White Crown and the other the Red Crown.³⁸⁸ However, on another cartouche of Senwosret II both uraei wear the Red Crown.³⁸⁹ A cartouche of Amenemhat III also shows both uraei wearing the Red Crown.³⁹⁰ When we first find crowns on the uraei of a winged disk under Amenemhat III they again both wear the Red Crown.³⁹¹ There appears to have been a cult of twin uraei (*w3d.ty*) in Buto, which may go back to the Old Kingdom.³⁹² A line from Papyrus Berlin 3055 states, *šsp.n=k šw.ty=k ḥd.t=k m ir.t Hr* “and you have seized your Two-feathers Crown and your White Crown as the Eye of Horus.”³⁹³ Since the Two-Feathers Crown (*šw.ty*) can be identified with twin uraei and since this crown is juxtaposed with the White Crown, the former has been interpreted as signifying the twin uraei of Lower Egypt.³⁹⁴ The two uraei of a winged disk on a stela of Alexander II found in Buto lack crowns but both are named “Wadjet.”³⁹⁵ A spell from the Coffin Texts makes mention of the “Two Ladies of Dep.”³⁹⁶ After the Middle Kingdom,

³⁸⁸ Bianchi, *Splendors of Ancient Egypt*, p. 73; Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 13, no. 134.

³⁸⁹ Hall, *Scarabs*, p. 12, no. 114.

³⁹⁰ Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, pp. 33-34, fig. 34.

³⁹¹ Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. 31, no. 100.

³⁹² An inscription of Neferirkare mentions making a monument for a “southern Wadjet” (*W3dy.t rsy.t*): *Urk.* I, p. 249, line 8 and see P. Kaplony, “Eine Spätzeit-Inschrift in Zürich,” in *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, *Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung* 8 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974), p. 122, cf. n. 17; Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 124.

³⁹³ Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 1, *Rituale für den Kultus des Amon und für den Kultus der Mut* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901), col. 4, line 1; cf. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 127.

³⁹⁴ See Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 127.

³⁹⁵ Kamal, *Stèles*, pl. 56 (no. 22182). The uraei on the winged disk of the Satrap Stela are also both identified as Wadjet; cf. *Urk.* II, p. 11, line 11.

³⁹⁶ *CT VI*, 55d.

cases in which both uraei wear the Red Crown are comparatively rare.³⁹⁷ Cases in which both uraei wear the White Crown,³⁹⁸ the *Atef* Crown³⁹⁹ or the Double Crown⁴⁰⁰ are fairly common. One might assume that two uraei wearing the Red Crown are both Wadjet and, perhaps, Nekhbet has been duplicated when two uraei wear the White Crown or the *Atef*. The Ramesside papyrus *Chester Beatty IX* mentions the existence of a “northern and eastern Nekhbet.”⁴⁰¹ However, in the first court of the 20th Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu on the pilasters of the colonnade Wadjet is shown as winged cobras wearing both the *Atef*⁴⁰² and the White Crown.⁴⁰³ Nekhbet

³⁹⁷ J. Cl. Goyon and H. El-Achirie, *Le Ramesseum*, vol. 6, *La Salle des Litanies*, Collection Scientifique (Cairo: CEDAE, 1974), pl. 28; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 295, no. 27 (cartouche Thutmose III); Goyon and El-Achirie, *Ramesseum*, vol. 6, pl. 28; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak*, pl. 65 (cartouches with uraei in Red Crowns alternating with cartouches having uraei with White Crowns).

³⁹⁸ LD III, pl. 119g; Jürgen Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna*, vol. 1, *Die Reliefs und Inschriften*, AVDAIK 20 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 30; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, *Ramses III's Temple within the Enclosure of Amon, Part I*, OIP 25 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 50; MH V, pl. 273B; MH VI, pls. 406C, 437A; MH VII, pl. 573; MH VIII, pl. 635; Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak*, pl. 68 (cartouche); Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 330, no. 162; Ronald J. Leprohon, *Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Stelae II: The New Kingdom to the Coptic Period*, CAA III, 3 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991), p. 66 (no. 04.1763).

³⁹⁹ Osing, *Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna*, pl. 22; MH VI, pls. 406A, 430B; MH VIII, pls. 623A and E, 634; Epigraphic Survey, *Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, pls. 7 and 52; Kamal, *Stèles*, pl. 16 (no. 22051). The *Atef*, since it is associated primarily with Nekhbet, can be found on the head of one uraeus while the other wears the Red Crown; see Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 11, pls. 68 (no. 8464), 80 (no. 8467), 82 (no. 8468), 88 (no. 8465), 92 (no. 8477).

⁴⁰⁰ LD III, pl. 119h; MH VI, pls. 406B and 407A-B; MH VIII, pl. 647; Kamal, *Stèles*, pl. 70 (no. 22200). Combinations of the Double Crown with either the Red or White Crown also occur; see MH IV, 245F (Red); MH V, pls. 282A (Red), 282C (one with Red, one with White); MH VII, pl. 537 (Red); Lacau, *Stèles do Nouvel Empire*, pl. 70 (White).

⁴⁰¹ Vs. B. 10, 9; see Joris Frans Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, OMRO 51 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 151-152, cf. p. 29; Matthieu Heerma van Voss, “Nekhbet,” *LÄ* IV, col. 367; cf. E. Otto, “Die Lehre von den beiden Ländern Ägyptens in der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte,” in A. M. Blackman, et al. *Studia Aegyptiaca I*, ANOR 17 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1938), pp. 20-21.

⁴⁰² MH V, pls. 349D and 351D.

⁴⁰³ *Ibid*, pl. 349B.

was probably wearing the Red Crown on one pilaster but her image has been destroyed.⁴⁰⁴ The goddesses on these opposing pilasters both wear the same crown⁴⁰⁵ and the same may be true of unnamed uraei of sun disks wearing matching crowns.⁴⁰⁶ In one of the Coffin Texts the White Crown is even associated with Pe and Wadjet: *Hd.t nb.t P n W3dy.t* “O White Crown, lady of Pe for/belonging to (?) Wadjet.”⁴⁰⁷ Nevertheless, when one uraeus wears the White Crown and the other the Red Crown it seems likely that we are dealing with Nekhbet and Wadjet respectively unless they are specifically identified otherwise. As noted above, the placement of the White and Red Crowns can sometimes be based on geographic orientation. However, a general survey of the position of the White Crown verses the Red Crown on the uraei of sun disks in the better-preserved temples of the Ramesside Period indicates that geography is not the most important factor. Many factors must be taken into consideration in determining why the crowns appear where they do in a scene but overall there seems to be a preference in having the White Crown on the same side as the king is facing. At the temple of Sety I at Abydos⁴⁰⁸ the White Crown appears 120 times on the side which the king is facing,⁴⁰⁹ whereas only 41 Red Crowns are on the side that the king faces.⁴¹⁰ At the temple of Ramesses III within the enclosure of the temple of

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, pl. 351A

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. *ibid*, pls. 349 and 351.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. Eugène Grébaut, “Des deux yeux du disque solaire,” *RecTrav* 1 (1879), p. 114.

⁴⁰⁷ *CT* VII, 208j.

⁴⁰⁸ Here I refer only to the parts of the temple published by Calverley and Broome.

⁴⁰⁹ All volume numbers refer to Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*: vol. 1, pls. 4, 6, 13, 17-19, 21-23, 27, 29-30, 33; vol. 2, pls. 3, 9, 12, 14-15, 17, 19, 22-23, 27, 29, 35-36; vol. 3, pls. 3, 5, 8, 13-15, 19-23, 25-26, 55; vol. 4, pls. 12, 23-24, 26-27, 32, 33B, 37, 43, 45B, 47, 67, 70, 74-76, 78.

⁴¹⁰ Vol. 1, pls. 10, 18-19, 22, 26; vol. 2, pls. 3-4, 9, 13-15, 17-18, 22; vol. 3, pls. 3, 5, 14, 17, 24; vol. 4, pls. 24, 26-27, 31, 45B, 47, 76, 78.

Amun at Karnak the ratio is 41 White Crowns to 2 Red Crowns.⁴¹¹ At the same king's temple at Medinet Habu the ratio is 141 White Crowns⁴¹² to 14 Red Crowns.⁴¹³ There also seems to be a general preference for the White Crown on the single uraeus of the sun disk, which appears behind the falcon of the Horus Name.⁴¹⁴ Red Crowns appear on these uraei most often in tandem with the uraeus of another sun disk wearing the White Crown.⁴¹⁵ This preference for the Upper Egyptian crown is, perhaps, a product of the apparent priority given to Upper Egypt as in the placement of the Nekhbet vulture before the cobra of Wadjet in the *nb.ty*/Two Ladies title and of the *sw.t*-plant of Upper Egypt before the bee of Lower Egypt in the *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* title.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹¹ All plate references refer to Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, *Ramses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, OIP 25 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936) and idem, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 2, *Ramses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part 2; and Ramses III's Temple in the Precinct of Mut*, OIP 35 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); White Crown: vol. 1, pls. 4-5, 12B, 42B, 44C, D, 45D, 48C-D, 49, 52C, 53A, D, 54A-D, 61-62, 67, 69-70A, 74B-C; vol. 2, pls. 97, 99, 101C-D, 103D, 105C-E, 107A, D-E. Red Crown: vol. 1, pl. 49; vol. 2, pl. 90.

⁴¹² *MH I*, pls. 31, 43; *MH II*, pls. 62, 73, 93, 96, 98, 101-102, 113, 120; *MH III*, pls. 172, 180; *MH IV*, pls. 218A, 237A, 238B, 239B, 240B, 241F, 245A, E; *MH V*, pls. 256, 260A, 261A-B, 262A-B, 263A-B, 264A-B, 265B, 266B, 267A-B, 268B, 269A-B, 270B, 271B, 272B, 273B-C, 274A-C, 275A, 279A-C, 281B-C, 282A-C, 284A-B, 288B, 308A-B, 309B, 310C-F, 311A, 318A, 319B, 321B, 332, 335, 341; *MH VI*, pls. 366-367, 371-373A-C, 374B-C, 375B, D, 376A, C-D, 437A, 443B-C, 444B; *MH VII*, PLS. 512B, 513B, 520-521, 526, 536A, 551-552, 557, 559, 562A, 563A-B, 566B, 571, 573; *MH VIII*, pls. 603, 605, 614, 618-619, 621, 626, 649.

⁴¹³ *MH I*, pl. 24; *MH IV*, pl. 223; *MH V*, pls. 256, 260A, 266A, 270A, 271A, 275C, 323, 327, 342B; *MH VI*, pls. 435C, 481A.

⁴¹⁴ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 3, pl. 53; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pl. 11; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 76; *LD III*, pl. 207d; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, pls. 5, 26A, 38E and K; *MH I*, pl. 18; *MH II*, pls. 111, 114, 119 and 122B-C; *MH IV*, pls. 239A and 244; *MH V*, pls. 319C, 338B-C; *MH VI*, pls. 389A, 402A-B, 403A-B, 409, 417B; *MH VIII*, pls. 597, 602 and 625; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 329, no. 156; Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pls. 53, 91, 94 and 98; idem, *Khonsu*, vol. 2, pls. 121A, 127, 129, 135B, 136B, 137B and 138B.

⁴¹⁵ Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pl. 40; *MH II*, pl. 62; *MH V*, pls. 319A, 338E; cf. pls. 252 and 253B.

⁴¹⁶ Cf. Heinrich Schäfer, "Die Vereinigung der beiden Länder": Ursprung, Gehalt und Form eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes im Wandel der Geschichte," *MDIAK* 12 (1943), p. 74.

The twin uraei of a cartouche of Hatshepsut found at Edfu have sun disks on their heads.⁴¹⁷ The same can be found on the uraei of cartouches of Amenhotep III.⁴¹⁸ The uraei of winged disks and sun disks with two uraei with sun disks on their heads first appear in the late 18th Dynasty⁴¹⁹ but are more common in the Ramesside,⁴²⁰ Late and Greco-Roman Periods.⁴²¹ During the Ramesside Period the uraei of cartouches, and of sun disks within or just above royal names frequently appear with sun disks on their heads.⁴²² The sun disks on the heads of the uraei probably identify them as the eyes of the sun god and with the fire and light of the sun disk. In the Pyramid Texts the two goddesses Nekhbet and Wadjet are identified as the eyes of Horus.⁴²³ As the “healthy Eye of Horus” (*wḏ3.t*), Nekhbet was the left eye and was identified with the moon, the phases of which were identified with the wounding then healing of Horus’ eye, which

⁴¹⁷ Bruyère, *Tell Edfou 1937*, p. 104, pl. 26.

⁴¹⁸ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 51-52B; Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 66, no. 211.

⁴¹⁹ Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 329, no. 157 (Thutmose IV); Philippe Durey, et al., *Les réserves de Pharaon: L’Égypte dans les collections du Musée des Beaux-arts de Lyon; 15 Décembre 1988* (Lyon: Musée des Beaux-arts de Lyon, 1988), p. 59 (stela of Ptahmose, reign of Amenhotep III).

⁴²⁰ Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel*, pls. 51-52, 91-92, 107-111.

⁴²¹ They are common on stelae: Kamal, *Stèles*, pls. 1 (no. 22001), 4 (no. 22007), 5 (no. 22010), 47 (no. 22152), 67 (no. 22194), 70 (no. 22199), 71 (no. 22205); Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 11, pls 40 (no. 8475), 46 (no. 8460); Mond and Myers, *Bucheum*, vol. 3, pls. 39 (no. 6) and 41 (no. 9); they are less common in temple relief: *Dendara I*, pls. 49, 51, 58; du Bourguet, *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*, p. 308, pls. 71-72, p. 333, pl. 128; *LD IV*, pls. 26 and 45a.

⁴²² Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 3, pls. 28, 42, 45; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 4, pls. 41 and 52; Goyon and El-Achirie, *Ramesseum*, vol. 6, pl. 27; Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 12, 41, 65 (uraei of *wḥ*-emblem), 137-143; *MH VIII*, pls. 592-593, 596-597, 611 and 613; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 327, no. 151; *LD III*, pls. 183a-b, 185b; this is occasionally found in the Greco-Roman Period; see Serge Sauneron, *Le Temple d’Esna*, vol. 3 (Cairo: IFAO, 1968), pp. ix, 306 and 326.

⁴²³ See *Pyr.* § 900a-b and 901a-c quoted above.

was injured by Seth.⁴²⁴ Wadjet who was probably the original uraeus-goddess of Horus and of the king is presumed to be the right eye of Horus and the sun, although this is not directly stated in the Pyramid Texts.⁴²⁵ As the eyes of the sun god uraei also represent the heat and flame of the sun. In Book of the Dead chapter 17 a gloss identifies Wadjet as the Eye of Re: *ink W3dyt nb.t imyw (n) ḥ.t . . . [W3dyt] nb.t imyw (n) ḥ.t ir.t R' pw* “I am Wadjet, Lady of the consuming flame.”⁴²⁶ . . . (Who is)[Wadjet] Lady of the consuming flame? She is the Eye of Re.”⁴²⁷ In a text from the daily cult ritual of the New Kingdom Wadjet is *ir.t R' nb.(t) t3.wy ḥq3.t m iw nsrsr wr.t nb.t nšni* “Eye of Re, Lady of the Two Lands, Ruler in the Island⁴²⁸ of Fire, Great One, Lady of

⁴²⁴ Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzen und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 4 (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1934-1962), p. 173; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 508.

⁴²⁵ During the Greco-Roman Period there is a reversal in that Wadjet becomes identified with the moon as the left eye of Re or Horus, while Nekhbet comes to be identified as the right eye; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 32-33 and 236; Constant de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 2nd ed., ed. Gaber Aly Hussein (Luxor: Gaber Aly Hussein, n.d.), p. 343; *Edfou I*, p. 155, lines 3-4 and p. 305, line 10; *Edfou IV*, p. 162, line 4, p. 167, line 6, and p. 166, line 14.

⁴²⁶ *Wb.* III, p. 218.12.

⁴²⁷ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 73, 74.

⁴²⁸ Written with  (Gardiner sign list N-36), which is sometimes written in place of the oval sign for “island”  (N-18); see *Wb.* I, p. 47. The variant of this text has  (N-16), but the land sign is also substituted for the island sign, which is often written as  (N-17); see Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 112, Hannig-Lexica 5 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), pp. 133-134, and R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, *Spells 1-354* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1973), p. 220, n. 1 to Spell 296. The following word, *nsrsr*, especially supports the reading of *iw*; see *Wb.* II, p. 336.8. Cf. *Edfou I*, p. 129, lines 13-14 where Wadjet is *ir.t R' nb.(t) t3.wy ḥq3.t m iw nsrsr ḥq3.t '3.t nb.(t) nšni* “Eye of Re, Lady of the Two Lands, Ruler in the Island of Fire, the Great Flame, Lady of Rage,” and *Edfou I*, p. 432, line 12 *ir.t R' ḥnw.t t3.wy ḥq3.t m iw nsrsr* “Eye of Re, Mistress of the Two Lands, Ruler in the Island of Fire.” See, also, Hermann Kees, “Die Feuerinsel in den Sargtexten und im Totenbuch,” *ZÄS* 78 (1942), p. 42.

Rage.”⁴²⁹ Several passages in the Coffin Texts identify the Eye of Horus or Wadjet with the sun or the light and flame of the sun.⁴³⁰

ink ir.t Hr ht.t pr.t m nrw nb.t š‘.t ‘3.t šřř.f.t hpr.t m ns i3hw

I am the fiery Eye of Horus, which came forth frightfully; Lady of Slaughter, great of awe, who came into being in the flame of sunlight.⁴³¹

ink Hr s3 Wsir msw n 3st ntry.t ny-sw.t m 3h-bi.t hr=i ts(.w) m bik ntry iw qm3.n(=i) ir.t[=i] m ns spd hr=i sm3 3h.t=i m 3h.t=f iw ir.n=i ir.t d.t ‘nh.t

I am Horus, son of Osiris, born of the divine Isis, a king in Chemmis, my face being formed as (that of) a divine falcon. I have created [my] eye in flame, I being alert,⁴³² my sacred eye uniting with his sacred eye. I have made my eye a living cobra.⁴³³

Wadjet is the “Ruler in the Island of Fire,”⁴³⁴ which is the place from which the sun first rose to the sky and where it is re-born everyday; it is also where the enemies of the sun god are destroyed by fire.⁴³⁵ As the “solar child,” Horus is born in the Island of Fire after being conceived by flame.⁴³⁶ During the New Kingdom Nekhbet also came to be identified as the eye

⁴²⁹ Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte d’après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti I^{er} à Abydos*, Annales du Musée Guimet 14 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902), pp. 185-186, cf. n. 1 on p. 185.

⁴³⁰ In addition to the texts cited below, see CT III, 343b-d, h; IV, 46f-g; VII, 166f-g.

⁴³¹ CT IV, 98b-e.

⁴³² Literally, “my face being sharp.”

⁴³³ CT IV, 91e-k. The word *d.t* takes a rearing cobra (uraeus) as a determinative already in the Pyramid Texts (*Pyr.* § 697e, Neith; *Wb.* V, p. 503);  perhaps represents the cobra without its hood opened; cf.  and the name of Wadjet, who is the rearing cobra *i‘r.t*. See, also, Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98, Hannig-Lexica 4 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), p. 1484.

⁴³⁴ Moret, *Le rituel du culte*, pp. 185-186 (no. 52), cf. p. 184 (no. 51); *Edfou* I, p. 129, lines 13-14; and I, p. 432, line 12 and see above.

⁴³⁵ Kees, “Feuerinsel,” pp. 42-44; Reinhard Grieshammer, “Flammeninsel (*jw nsrsr*),” *LÄ* II, col. 258; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 194.

⁴³⁶ See Jac. van Dijk, “The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus,” *JEOL* 26 (1979-80), pp. 11-15; Peter F. Dorman, “Creation on the Potter’s Wheel at the Eastern Horizon of Heaven,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, SAOC 58 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1999), p. 90; cf. R. O. Faulkner, “The Pregnancy of Isis,” *JEA* 54 (1968), pp. 40-44.

of the sun god. On a ram statue of Thutmose III in Elephantine Nekhbet is *Hd.t (Nhn) ir.t R' nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w* “The White One (of Nekhen), Eye of Re, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods.”⁴³⁷ Both uraeus goddesses came to be identified as the Eye of Re in the same period that the sun disk forms of the Behdetite are used to write “Re” in the names of the king. However, already in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts “Eye of Horus” and “Eye of Re/Atum” often seem interchangeable.⁴³⁸ The flame of the uraei would be conceived as part of the protective power of the Behdetite. This is suggested in a text of Ramesses II: *hr.t-tp=i hr shr n=i hft.yw[=i] di=s hh=s m nsr.t m hr n hrwy.w=i tw=i mi R' m h'=f tp dw3y.t st.wt=i wbd.n=s(n) h'.w n sbi.w*, “My uraeus overthrows my enemies for me when she puts her blast of fire into the faces of my foes. I am like Re when he appears at dawn. My rays, they burned the bodies of the

⁴³⁷ Heinrich Schäfer and Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2, *Inschriften des Neuen Reichs* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 84 (19557). Note also the vulture with an *udjat*-eye body on the south side of the door to the Hathor shrine at Deir El-Bahari opposite of a cobra-headed vulture with *udjat*-eye body on the north side; see Naville, *Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, pl. 103.

⁴³⁸ Cf. Eberhard Otto, “Augensagen,” *LÄ* I, cols. 563-564. In Pyramid Text Spell 523 the Eye of Re and the Eye of Horus are brought together like the sun and moon in the sky: *gd-md.w snht n=k p.t i3hw i.šw=k rk ir p.t ir.t R' is 'h'=k rk ir ir.t tw i3byt nt Hr sgm.t md.w ntr.w im=s* “Recitation: May the sky make the sunlight strong for you; may you ascend to the sky as the Eye of Re; may you stand at that left Eye of Horus, through which the speech of the gods is heard” (*Pyr.* § 1231a-d). In Coffin Text Spell 607 the eyes of Horus come from the creator-god Atum and are the barks of the sun god: *ir.t=k wnmy.t Mskt.t ir.t=k i3by.t M'nd.t ir.ty=k Hr pr.t m Itmw Šw pw hn' Tfnwt* “Your right eye is the Night-bark; your left eye is the Day-bark. Your two eyes O Horus, which came forth from Atum; they are Shu and Tefnut” (*CT* VI, 220q-r); see also Hermann Kees, “Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel,” *ZÄS* 57 (1922), p. 108. The Day and Night-barks are, of course, the “vehicles” by which the sun god travels the cosmos. The sun disk can itself be shown riding in the solar bark but some texts seem to identify the sun disk as a bark. In the Coffin Texts the deceased can take a seat in the sun disk: *wsh s.t=k m-hnw itn* “Spacious is your seat within the sun disk” (*CT* I, 209c; cf. *CT* VII, 207g-h); the same wording is used for the divine bark: *wsh s.t/ns.t m-hnw wi3* “Spacious is your seat within the bark” (*CT* I, 258g).

rebels.”⁴³⁹ Wadjet in a text from Edfu is described as *wd.t nf=s r nsr.t sbi=f*“(she) who emits her fiery breath in order to burn up his (*i.e.* Horus the Behdetite’s) enemies.”⁴⁴⁰

3.IX: The Winged Beetle

In Egyptian thought the winged sun disk and the winged beetle are nearly interchangeable. Horus the Behdetite as Apy can be depicted as winged sun disk, sun disk with two uraei or a scarab beetle, which usually has falcon wings. Therefore I have included discussion of the winged beetle in this chapter.

3.IX.i: Apy as Winged Beetle

On the naos of Nectanebo I at Edfu Horus the Behdetite is *ḥnty Wts.t-Ḥr d3i p.t r nb m Ḥr-3ḥty šm šm-pḥty ‘py wr ḥnty k3r nb* “Foremost of Throne-of-Horus (Edfu), who crosses the sky every day as Horakhty, powerful one of mighty strength,⁴⁴¹ Great Winged Beetle (),⁴⁴² Foremost of every Shrine.”⁴⁴³ Like Apy as winged disk, in Greco-Roman Period texts the Behdetite is the god most frequently identified with Apy in the form of a winged beetle.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁹ *KRI* II, pp. 86, line 8-87, line 5; see, also Assmann, *Solar Religion*, p. 52.

⁴⁴⁰ *Edfou* I, p. 155, line 5.

⁴⁴¹ For this epithet see Jean-Claude Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples (d’après les textes égyptiens de l’époque gréco-romaine): Les soixante d’Edfou et les soixante-dix-sept dieux de Pharbaethos*, Bd’É 93 (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 312-313, vol. 2, p. 172.

⁴⁴² Note: I capitalize Winged Sun Disk whenever it is called Apy in a text; any general reference to a winged sun disk is not capitalized. If the word “Apy” takes a scarab beetle determinative:  , I, generally, translate it as “Winged Beetle.” When neither a winged disk determinative nor a winged scarab beetle determinative is present I translate as “Winged Sun Disk,” because this is the older and primary form of Apy. There are also cases, including one quoted below, in which “Apy” takes a sun disk with two uraei as determinative and I translate “Apy” as “Sun Disk with Two Uraei.” In some cases the determinative or writing of the word “Apy” is different than the image of the god depicted, such as a sun disk in the text but a winged beetle as image. In such cases I translate the word as “Apy” but place the hieroglyph of the determinative in parentheses

⁴⁴³ *Edfou* I, p. 10, line 3 (montant droit).

⁴⁴⁴ See *LÄGG*, vol. 2, pp. 93-95.

However, earlier material, as little as there is, identifies Apy as winged beetle as often with Amun-Re or as a somewhat independent deity likened to Khepri/Kheprer as it does with the Behdetite. The material is relevant, though, in showing how the Behdetite as Apy could be viewed as a winged beetle. The earliest text, which uses a winged beetle as a determinative for “Apy” dates to the First Persian Period and is found at Hibis Temple. The text identifies Apy as one of the *bas* of Amun-Re: *twt ꜥpy wr ḥnty Nw.t* “You (Amun-Re) are the Great Winged Beetle (Apy), pre-eminent in the sky/Nut.”⁴⁴⁵ An earlier version of this text is found in the sacred lake edifice of Taharqa at Karnak but, unfortunately, the portion of the text mentioning Apy is not preserved.⁴⁴⁶ The winged beetle is also mentioned in the texts of a healing statue dating to the Second Persian Period: *Wsir ḥr mw ir(.t) Ḥr m-ꜥ=f ꜥpy wr pšš(.w) ḥr=f* “Osiris is upon the water. The Eye of Horus is with him; the Great Winged Beetle (Apy) is spread out above him.”⁴⁴⁷ The sun god in the form of a scarab beetle was known as *Ḥpri* or *Ḥpr* from the time of the Pyramid Texts.⁴⁴⁸ This was the sun god at dawn as he “came into being” (*ḥpr*) again for those in this world.⁴⁴⁹ Since the Behdetite as both falcon and sun disk was identified as “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon,” which likely refers to the sun rising at dawn, it seems natural that a certain identification of the Behdetite and the solar beetle Khepri/Kheprer would occur.⁴⁵⁰ This is seen in a winged disk in the Amduat identified as Kheprer “in his form of the God of Multicolored Plumage,” and in the Book of Nut, in which a winged disk identified as “The Great

⁴⁴⁵ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31, col. 19; cf. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 122.

⁴⁴⁶ See Parker, Leclant and Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa*, pl. 28A, cf. p. 74.

⁴⁴⁷ E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Ḥer-le-Sauveur*, Bd’É 23 (Cairo: IFAO, 1956), p. 47; see p. xi for the date of the statue.

⁴⁴⁸ For the sources see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 715, no. 39 and p. 719, nos. 4, 6-14, cf. no. 28.

⁴⁴⁹ See Jan Assmann, “Chepre,” in *LÄ I*, cols. 934-935.

⁴⁵⁰ This epithet is found more often with winged disks from the New Kingdom onward.

God in Behdet” enters Nut’s mouth but emerges as a winged beetle (both to be more extensively discussed below). There is some textual material that links Apy as winged beetle with Khepri/Kheprer. In Papyrus Berlin 3049 IV, line 5 (21-24 Dyn.) Amun-Re is identified as Apy; although the word Apy takes a bird determinative (𐀀) it is put in parallel with Khepri: *rs=k m ḥtp lmn-R‘ {n} (‘)py*⁴⁵¹ *nṯry n‘i=f m 3ḥ.t Ḥpri nhp=f m dw3w* “May you awake in peace, O Amun-Re, Divine Apy when he sails from the horizon; Khepri when he rises early in the morning.”⁴⁵² A text from a magical healing statue reads *s3 Hr m Ḥpr šps ‘py wr m Nw.t* “The protection of Horus is the Noble Kheprer,⁴⁵³ the Great Apy⁴⁵⁴ in the sky/Nut.”⁴⁵⁵ The use of winged disk and winged beetle are nearly interchangeable in texts of the Greco-Roman Period, probably because they represent different interpretations of the same being, namely, the sun god

⁴⁵¹ There is an *n*-sign written instead of an ‘ but it is unlikely that the word can be read as anything but “Apy” given the context and the presence of *-py*. Assmann’s translation of “Sperber(?)” for *šnb.ty* is possible but requires two corrections to the text as opposed to one and the linking of Apy with Khepri/Kheprer in the other textual examples I give below support the restoration of “Apy” here; see *LÄGG*, vol. 2, p. 97 and Assmann’s translation in *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), p. 285, line 75. Note that “Sperber,” or “sparrow hawk” is an incorrect translation of *šnb.ty*; a “sparrow hawk” is an accipiter, such as the Eurasian Sparrowhawk (*Accipiter nisus*) but *šnb.ty* is a falcon; the determinatives used for the word have the characteristic cheek patch of falcons: 𐀀, 𐀁; see William S. Clark, *A Field Guide to the Raptors of Europe, North Africa and the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pls. 22-23, pp. 126-136, 318-321. Note, also, that the term “Sparrowhawk” is a now obsolete term formerly used in North America for the American Kestrel, which is a type of small falcon; see Chandler S. Robbins, Bertel Bruun and Herbert S. Zim, *A Guide to Field Identification: Birds of North America* (New York: Golden Press, 1966), pp. 78-79. This term grew out of popular usage and not due to any physical similarity or evolutionary relation to actual sparrowhawks.

⁴⁵² Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2, *Hymnen an verschiedene Götter: Zusatzkapitel zum Totenbuch* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1905), pl. 13 (IV, line 5).

⁴⁵³ Cf. the frequent epithet *‘py-šps*; see *LÄGG*, vol. 2, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁵⁴ It has a single wing as determinative.

⁴⁵⁵ Adolf Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behaque) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, OMRO 33 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), pp. 29, 56 and 95.

at dawn. This can be seen in the texts of a winged disk from Dendera, which beside its wing on the east side is called ‘*py* with a winged disk determinative⁴⁵⁶ but beside its wing on the west side is called ‘*py* with a winged beetle determinative.⁴⁵⁷ In a version of the text describing ‘*py* as one of the *bas* of Amun-Re found at Philae the name ‘*py* takes a winged beetle as a determinative but the text is associated with a winged sun disk (which is also identified as “The Behdetite”).⁴⁵⁸ The reason(s) for the choice between winged beetle and sun disk as the determinative for ‘*py* is not completely clear. Both can represent the sun at dawn, though the winged disk is also frequently interpreted as the sun during the course of the day and at dusk and sometimes in the Underworld.⁴⁵⁹ The early material is too sparse to say whether the term ‘*py* originally denoted the winged disk alone or both winged disk and winged beetle. P. Berlin 3049 IV, 5 does show that, early on, “Apy” was viewed as being similar to the sun god in the form of a beetle, i. e. Khepri/Kheprer. This was the sun god at dawn and the nearly constant epithet of the Behdetite in the form of the winged disk (‘*py*): *pr m 3ḥ.t* “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon” may have facilitated this identification.

3.IX.ii: The Behdetite as Beetle in Egyptian Art and Theology

Visual material directly identifying the Behdetite as a winged beetle before the Ptolemaic Period is as sparse as the textual material and comes from the same source. On the ceiling of the Nectanebo naos at Edfu are carved two scarab beetles with falcon wings pushing sun disks with

⁴⁵⁶ *Dendara VIII*, p. 19, line 5.

⁴⁵⁷ *Dendara VIII*, p. 19, line 6.

⁴⁵⁸ See Junker and Winter, *Philä*, vol. 2, pp. 426-427, lines 10-17, especially line 14.

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. the scene of the winged disk above the Morning-bark and Evening-bark discussed below; here the winged disk is the form of the sun at dawn and at dusk and probably through the course of the day.

their front legs and holding *shen*-rings with their hind legs.⁴⁶⁰ The first winged beetle has a ram's head. Both of these winged beetles are named "The Behdetite."⁴⁶¹ Some earlier winged beetles could possibly be interpreted as the Behdetite. A couple of items from the tomb of Tutankhamun are possibilities. The central element to the king's corselet shows a scarab-beetle with insect wings but with a falcon tail and talons grasping *ankhs*. A uraeus hangs from each wing of the beetle with one wearing the White Crown and the other the Red Crown.⁴⁶² A pectoral from the same tomb shows a scarab beetle with falcon wings pushing a boat with an *udjat*-eye topped by a moon crescent and disk.⁴⁶³ This scarab also has a falcon tail and talons, which grasp *shen*-rings with the Upper Egyptian plant at left and the Lower Egyptian plant at right. Uraei hang from each wing wearing sun disks upon their heads. Neither scarab is named. The twin uraei are suggestive of the Behdetite but the funerary context could equally suggest the king's identification with Khepri/Kheperer; in either case the newborn sun god. The same can be said of a scarab beetle on the ceiling of the king's chapel at the temple of Sety I at Abydos.⁴⁶⁴ This scarab has falcon wings with two pendent uraei. The winged beetle is unnamed, however, here

⁴⁶⁰ See the illustration in Sylvie Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, Bd'É 102 (Cairo: IFAO, 1987), vol. 1, p. 219, fig. 61.

⁴⁶¹ However they are not called "Apy." See *Edfou* I, p. 11, lines 8 and 12; the first is (at left) *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t ḥnty Nḏm-ḥḥ* "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost in Sweet-of-Life (Edfu)"; and (at right) *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb Msn ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t ḥnty 'ḥ'.t-ḥḥ* "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of Mesen, Foremost the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost in Ahat-ankh." The other beetle is called at the end of each wing *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t nb Msn pr m 3ḥ.t di ḥḥ* "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon and who gives life." A falcon accompanies the beetles with a sun disk on its head that is also identified as the Behdetite and Nekhbet in vulture form and Wadjet as a cobra-headed vulture.

⁴⁶² See James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 188-189 (Carter number 54K, Jd'É 62627).

⁴⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 230-231 (Carter no. 267D, Jd'É 61884).

⁴⁶⁴ Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 45.

we find the winged scarab with two uraei in a context, on a ceiling, common for the Behdetite as winged disk and not attested for Khepri. This suggests, strongly, I believe, that the falcon-winged scarab with two uraei is here the Behdetite.⁴⁶⁵

3.X: The Winged Disk and Sun Disk with Two Uraei as Forms of the Supreme Sun God

In addition to the use of the sun disks of the Behdetite to render the “Re” portion of royal names, during the New Kingdom and later the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei are used in some contexts that appear to identify them as the sun disk of one of the great solar gods, who are increasingly syncretised as a single supreme sun god.⁴⁶⁶ Two such cases have been mentioned briefly above. One of these is found in images of the god Heh, who in myth supports and raises the sky and sun disk, representing the sun god, and who frequently bears the sun disk with two uraei upon his head.⁴⁶⁷ The other is the scarab beetle, representing the god Khepri, who pushes the sun disk through the sky.⁴⁶⁸ Beginning in the 18th Dynasty the sun disk with two uraei frequently takes the place of the bare sun disk as the form of the sun disk pushed by Khepri.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ The only case in which falcon-winged scarabs on the center of a temple ceiling are identified as a god other than the Behdetite that I am aware of is those on the Osirian chapel at Dendera, mentioned above, which are identified as Osiris.

⁴⁶⁶ As we will see in a later chapter, the Behdetite is brought into this syncretization in the textual record, as well.

⁴⁶⁷ Altenmüller, “Heh,” cols. 1082-1083; Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, pp. 20, 44-45; Heh with sun disk with two uraei: *LD III*, pl. 249a-b; James, *Tutankhamen*, p. 296 (Carter no. 87, Jd’É 62029); Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak*, pls. 277 and 300; Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales*, pl. 50 (CG 61031; small figure of Heh above image of Nut); Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 1, pl. 29; idem, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pl. 17; Blackman, *Dendûr*, pls. 34-35.

⁴⁶⁸ An electrum winged-scarab with inlaid stones grasps a bare sun disk in a rendering of the name of Senwosret II *H’-hpr-R’*; see Andrews, *Egyptian Jewellery*, p. 130, fig. 113a.

⁴⁶⁹ James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 214 (Carter no. 267G, Jd’É 61896); the motif is found frequently in the Third Intermediate Period in both royal and non-royal art; Stierlin and Ziegler, ed., *Tanis*, p. 187, pl. 102; Andrews, *Egyptian Jewellery*, p. 10, fig. 5; Niwiński, *Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 10, fig. 15, p. 11, fig. 18, p. 23, fig. 31, p. 27, fig. 35, p. 41, fig. 60, pl. 1, no. 2,

The winged disk can also be the form of the sun that the beetle pushes.⁴⁷⁰ In the fourth hour of the Amduat Kheprer does not push a sun disk, rather he *is* the winged sun disk.⁴⁷¹ The god is said to come forth from the heads of a snake called *Mnmn*.⁴⁷² He is described as *Ḥpr̄ ḥtp=f m ḥprw=f n ntr s3b šw.t* “Kheprer, as he rests in his form⁴⁷³ of the God of Multicolored Plumage.”⁴⁷⁴ Note that Khepri is stated to take the form of another god, “the God of Multicolored Plumage.” The “God of Multicolored Plumage” who takes the form of the winged disk throughout Egyptian history is the Behdetite.⁴⁷⁵ In the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos on the roof of the sarcophagus chamber is an image of the sky-goddess Nut with a single-winged sun disk at her mouth.⁴⁷⁶ The same scene is found in the tomb of Ramesses IV.⁴⁷⁷ The scene with its texts is referred to as the “Book of Nut.” A more detailed demotic version of the texts

pl. 5, no. 1, pl. 6, no. 2, pl. 9, no. 1, pl. 27, nos. 1-2, pl. 32, no. 1; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, pl. 37; Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, p. 228, fig. 168; Ikram and Dodson, *Mummy*, p. 174, figs. 207-208.

⁴⁷⁰ James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 224-225 (Carter no. 261M, Jd'É 61948); Stierlin and Ziegler, *Tanis*, pp. 58-59, pls. 26-27, p. 107, pl. 60, p. 181, pl. 98.

⁴⁷¹ See Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, 2 vols., ÄGAB 7 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), vol. 1, p. 74, nos. 325-326 and see plate for fourth hour, vol. 2, p. 89; idem, *Text zum Amduat*, vol. 2, *Langfassung, 4. bis 8. Stunde*, AH 14 (Basel and Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel and Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Genève, 1992), p. 382; idem, *Die Unterweltbücher der Ägypter* (Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler, 1997), P. 101, and fig. 4 on pp. 94-95.

⁴⁷² Hornung, *Das Amduat*, vol. 1, p. 74, no. 325.

⁴⁷³ For the writing of *ḥpr* here with a bird (duck or quail chick), the *ḥ* with papyrus role and plural strokes, compare *Wb.* III, p. 266 and Hornung's translation in *Das Amduat*, vol. 2, p. 89.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 74, no. 326.

⁴⁷⁵ That Khepri is taking the specific form of the Behdetite is also the opinion of Hornung; see *Unterweltbücher*, pp. 101 and 499, n. 32.

⁴⁷⁶ Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 81; O. Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, *The Early Decans*, Brown Egyptological Studies 3 (Providence, Rhode Island and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1960), pls. 30-32.

⁴⁷⁷ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pls. 34-35, 49 (Bb).

accompanying the image of Nut is found in Papyrus Carlsberg I.⁴⁷⁸ The text accompanying the scene with the winged disk states ‘q ḥm n ntr pn m r3=s m-ḥnw dw3.t wb3 m-ḥt sqdd=f m-ḥnw=s ‘q nn sb3.w (?)⁴⁷⁹ m-ḥt=f pr(r)=sn m-ḥt=f ḥpp=sn r dmi.w=sn “It is into her mouth that the Majesty of this God enters within the Netherworld, which is navigable⁴⁸⁰ when he sails in it. After him these stars enter (and) after him they come forth. It is to their places that they hurry.”⁴⁸¹ A winged scarab beetle is shown near the goddesses’ thighs.⁴⁸² The Ramesside texts do not identify the scarab-beetle but the text of P. Carlsberg identifies it as Khepri.⁴⁸³ P. Carlsberg also identifies the god of the sun disk entering Nut’s mouth as Re although the earlier texts do not identify it directly by name.⁴⁸⁴ However another portion of text near the winged disk in these scenes states sw pr ḥm n ntr pn ḥr t3 gr ḥpr m t3 Šm’w ‘3 pḥ.ty=fy gr mi sp tpy n p3w.t=f sw ḥpr m ntr ‘3 m Bḥd.t sqdd ḥm n ntr r dr.w bi3 n p.t ‘wy=s(y) ‘q=f. . . (?)=s⁴⁸⁵ m grḥ

⁴⁷⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 36-42.

⁴⁷⁹ Written *sqd.w* but with three star determinatives.

⁴⁸⁰ Cf. Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, Hannig-Lexika 5, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 112 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), p. 646 “befahrbar machen (*Gewässer*).”

⁴⁸¹ The text in the tomb of Ramesses IV has ‘q=sn before ḥpp=sn. The latter verb is somewhat problematic in that ḥp “to hurry” is a bi-consonant word (*Wb.* III, p. 68, nos. 7-9). Both the Sety I and Ramesses IV texts show two p’s; there may be some confusion with the word ḥpi/ḥpp “to hold back” (*Wb.* III, p. 70, no. 12), which the context of the text excludes as a translation here. With ‘q before ḥpp the latter verb would be circumstantial: “It is while hurrying to their places that they enter” as Neugebauer and Parker have translated the text (p. 61) Cf. Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, p. 73; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 60-61, pls. 30, 34-35, 49.

⁴⁸² Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 81; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pls. 31, 34-35.

⁴⁸³ Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 46, pl. 44.

⁴⁸⁴ I.e. there is no label with a name beside the winged disk; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 60.

⁴⁸⁵ An uncertain word here; Sety I shows an arm above an eye, while Ramesses IV shows just an eye; P. Carlsberg is damaged at this portion of the text; see *ibid.*, pl. 49 (Aa).

sqdd=f m snk(kw) nn sb3.w m-ht=f “The Majesty of this God goes forth⁴⁸⁶ on earth again;⁴⁸⁷ he who came into being in Upper Egypt is great in his strength again, like the first occasion of his primeval time. He comes into being as the Great God in Behdet. It is to the boundaries of the firmament of the sky, (that is) her arms,⁴⁸⁸ that the Majesty of this God sails. It is in the night⁴⁸⁹ that he enters her . . . (?); it is in the darkness that he sails (with) these stars accompanying him.”⁴⁹⁰ Later depictions of Nut also frequently show the single-winged disk at her mouth.⁴⁹¹ The body of the sky-goddess Nut is here the Netherworld and is the place where the sun god and the dead are transformed for rebirth.⁴⁹² At Edfu the Behdetite is often described as the sun god appearing at the thighs of Nut. The baboons (*bnty.w*) that greet the sun are *b3.w i3bt.t hf(3) n Bhd.t(y) di=f tp=f m (i)h.ty n Nw.t b3.w imn.t šsp k3=f m htp ‘q=f n r3 dr h3wy* “The *Bas* of the East who acclaim to the Behdetite when he shows his head at the thighs of Nut; the *Bas* of the West who receive his *ka* in peace when he enters into the mouth (at) the beginning of the

⁴⁸⁶ For *sw* used before a *sdm=f* in archaistic texts, see Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 424 (§ 115A).

⁴⁸⁷ Literally “also” but Neugebauer and Parker’s translation as “again” makes more sense given the context of the sun emerging at daybreak; see *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 62.

⁴⁸⁸ Ramesses IV has only “the boundaries of her arms,” see *ibid*, pl. 49 (Aa).

⁴⁸⁹ Following the text of Ramesses IV; Sety I has *wnw.t* “hour” followed by , which looks like it should be read as *‘qw grh* “(the hour of) entering the night,” but which Neugebauer and Parker translate as “(hour of) middle night” without comment (*Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, p. 62).

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 62, pls. 48-49.

⁴⁹¹ Niwiński, *Second Find of Deir el-Bahari*, p. 99, fig. 133; O. Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs*, Brown Egyptological Studies 6 (Providence, Rhode Island and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1969), pls. 38A, 39, 42.

⁴⁹² See Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pp. 27, 72-73; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 1, pp. 41-42.

evening.”⁴⁹³ Horus the Behdetite is ‘*py špsy wbn=f m Nnw d3.n=f hr(.t) m Hr-3h.ty . . . di=f sw m gb.t imyt(w) ih.ty=s m ‘py wr n ktm wts=f s(w) r hr.t hr ‘.wy sn.ty n Bhd.t*’ “The Noble Winged Beetle (𐚖) when he appears in the *Nun* after he has crossed the sky as Horakhty . . . as he reveals himself in the sky-goddess between her thighs as the Great Winged Disk (𐚖) of gold, as he raises himself to the sky upon the arms of the two sisters of Behdet.”⁴⁹⁴ The Behdetite as the winged sun disk has been syncretised with the supreme solar god (Re/Khepri).⁴⁹⁵ We cannot tell if the sun god maintains the form of the winged disk in the Netherworld in the Ramesside depictions but an image of Nut in the temple at Philae shows the winged disk twice on her body⁴⁹⁶ and a Late Period sarcophagus shows three sun disks with two uraei on Nut’s body with winged disks at both her mouth and vagina,⁴⁹⁷ which suggest the movement of the sun god through the goddess. Stars are shown in a line between the sun disks with two uraei on the body of Nut as if following the sun disk just as is mentioned in the texts. Another winged disk on this sarcophagus has stars on its wings suggesting identification of the wings with the sky. The god of the Ramesside Nut-image is not directly identified as the Behdetite but is called “the Great God in Behdet.” This epithet is mostly used for Osiris and Khonsu in the texts from the temple in Edfu rather than for the Behdetite or any other sun god, although we do find the similar epithet *ntr ‘3 hry-ib Bhd.t* “Great God in Behdet,” with a different preposition, used for the Behdetite

⁴⁹³ *Edfou I*, p. 286, lines 14-15; Mohiy E. A. Ibrahim, *The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu*, BIAE 16 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1975), p. 38, pl. 9.

⁴⁹⁴ *Edfou IV*, p. 2, lines 4, 11-3, line 1; Constat De Wit, “Inscriptions dédicatoire du temple d’Edfou,” *Cd’É* 36, nos. 71-72 (1961), p. 60.

⁴⁹⁵ Hornung, in commenting on the winged disk identified as Khepri in the Amduat, states “Nach den Beischriften zum Nut-Bild im Osireion von Abydos verwandelt sich der Sonnengott morgens in die Gestalt des Horus von Edfu, das heißt in den geflügelten *Skarabäus*”; *Unterweltsbücher*, pp. 101 and 499, n. 32

⁴⁹⁶ *LD IV*, pl. 35b.

⁴⁹⁷ See Forman and Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife*, pp. 136-137.

and Re-Horakhty,⁴⁹⁸ and *ntr* ‘3 n *Bhd.t* “Great God of Behdet” used for the Behdetite, Amun-Re, Re-Horakhty and other gods.⁴⁹⁹ Of course P. Carlsberg identifies the god as Re. Re as well as Re-Horus, Re-Horakhty, Khepri and Amun-Re were all worshipped at Edfu. However, the forms of these gods worshipped at Edfu are strongly identified with the Behdetite. Horus the Behdetite is *R^c wr shd t3.wy* “Re the Great,⁵⁰⁰ who illuminates the Two Lands,”⁵⁰¹ *R^c ds=f hnty s.t wr.t* “Re himself, Foremost of the Great Throne,”⁵⁰² *R^c-Hr-3h.ty wbn m hr.t it it.w hpr m h3.t pr m nhb wr* “Re-Horakhty, who shines in the sky, Father of the Fathers, who came into being at the beginning, who came forth from the Great Lotus,”⁵⁰³ *‘py špsy hw itr.ty Itmw m irw=f R^c wr m tit=f Nb-(r)-dr m hprw=f tp* “The Noble Winged Disk, who protects the Two Shrines/Shrine Rows, Atum in his form, Re the Great in his image, the Lord-of-All in his first appearance.”⁵⁰⁴ It is said of Horus the Behdetite that *s.t=f dsr(.t) m-hnty hw.t-ntr=f m irw=f m R^c hry ntr.w* “His holy throne is within his temple with his form of Re,⁵⁰⁵ who is over the gods,”⁵⁰⁶ and *sdq=f m W3s.t htp(w) hr srh m rn=f n lmn wr* “His image in Thebes rests upon the throne in his name of Amun the Great.”⁵⁰⁷ The form of Re worshipped in the chapel called “Throne of Re” at both Edfu and Dendera is closely identified with Horus the Behdetite and is identified as *R^c-Hr hnty*

⁴⁹⁸ *Edfou* I, p. 287, lines 11-12 (and see below).

⁴⁹⁹ See *LÄGG*, vol. 4, p. 406; *Edfou* I, p. 14, no. 4; *Edfou* I, p. 514, line 16 (Horus the Behdetite); Chassinat, *Mammisi d’Edfou*, p. 131, line 19 (Amun-Re); *Edfou* VI, p. 129, line 5 (Re-Horakhty).

⁵⁰⁰ Or “the Ancient”; see Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VII*, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I: Übersetzungen 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), p. 138, n. 1.

⁵⁰¹ *Edfou* VII, p. 49, lines 6-7.

⁵⁰² *Edfou* VII, p. 139, line 6.

⁵⁰³ *Edfou* VII, p. 79, lines 1-2.

⁵⁰⁴ *Edfou* VII, p. 81, lines 4-5.

⁵⁰⁵ Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 45 emends the name to “Re(-Horus).”

⁵⁰⁶ *Edfou* VIII, p. 25, line 15.

⁵⁰⁷ *Edfou* VII, p. 24, lines 12-13.

Bḥd.t “Re-Horus, Foremost of Behdet.”⁵⁰⁸ He is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty psd m ḥr.t ‘py sšp ḥdd.wt Bḥd.t(y) wr ini ḥr.t m ‘nd R‘-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty ntr ‘3 ḥry-ib Bḥd.t* “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who shines in the sky, the Winged Disk, who beams rays, the Great Behdetite, who brings the light of the sky,⁵⁰⁹ Re-Horakhty the Great God in Behdet.”⁵¹⁰

The identification of the Behdetite with the (supreme) sun god is also attested textually in the Ramesside Period in several hymns. In a hymn from the tomb of Paser, vizier of Sety I, Amun-Re-Atum-Horakhty is *bik ntry s3b šw.t Bḥd.ty šhry dw.t nb(.wt)* “Divine Falcon of Multicolored Plumage, the Behdetite, who drives off all evil,”⁵¹¹ and *nb ntr.w Imn-Itmw m W3s.t bik ntry s3b šw.t Bḥd.ty ‘š3 inw* “Lord of the Gods, Amun-Atum in Thebes, Divine Falcon of Multicolored Plumage, Behdetite abounding in color.”⁵¹² In another hymn to Amun-Re-Horakhty the god is *b3 i3bt.t Ḥr imnt.t Bḥd.ty nb ḥr šn nb itn* “Eastern *Ba*, Western Horus, Behdetite, Lord over all that the sun disk encircles.”⁵¹³ As the “Great God in Behdet” in the texts

⁵⁰⁸ *Edfou* I, p. 286, line 17; Ibrahim, *Throne of Re*, p. 39; at Edfu the god worshipped in the “Throne of Re” is indicated on the exterior lintel of the door: *r ḥn.t n nb t3.wy ‘nh Ḥr Bḥd.ty ntr ‘3 nb Msn ‘py wr s3b šw.t wb3-nḥpw m nn.t mḥ t3 m nqr-nbw* “For the nose of the Lord of the Two Lands: Live Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of Mesen, the Great Winged Beetle (scarab det.) of Multicolored Plumage, who opens the dung ball in the sky and fills the land with gold-dust”; *Edfou* I, p. 281, lines 10-11; and see Adolphe Gutbub, “Hathor *ḥnt ‘lwn.t*, Rê Hor *ḥnt Bḥd.t*, Amon *ḥnt W3s.t*,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, Bd’É 32 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), p. 327.

⁵⁰⁹ Literally, “who brings the sky with light.”

⁵¹⁰ *Edfou* I, p. 287, lines 11-12; Ibrahim, *Throne of Re*, p. 39, pl. 9, no. 62 and see n. 5 on p. 39 (the text is placed with Renenutet in *Edfou* I but belongs with Re-Horus).

⁵¹¹ *KRI* I, p. 286, lines 5-6. Cf. Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben 1 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1983), pp. 26-27, text 20, lines 1-2, p. 29, text 21, line 3, p. 33, text 24, line 2, pp. 158-159, text 114, line 3, p. 185, text 146, line 2, p. 368, text 262, lines 3-4 (H).

⁵¹² *KRI* I, p. 296, lines 7-10.

⁵¹³ Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 122, text 86, line 1.

from the Book of Nut, the sun god is specifically being identified with the form of the sun god worshipped at Edfu, who is identified with Horus the Behdetite.

Claire Derricks has recently noted the use of single-winged sun disks above the king in scenes from the New Kingdom in which the ritual action can be interpreted as representing the transformation of the king into a divine being in structures associated with the *Sed* festival.⁵¹⁴ She notes that the single-winged sun disk at the mouth of Nut represents the coming metamorphosis of the sun god, and thus the king, into Osiris and new life.⁵¹⁵ On the astronomical ceiling at Dendera the single-winged disk at the mouth of Nut is identified with both the sun at dawn and at dusk. It is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t hpr=f m hpr ntr(y) tp dw3.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky as he transforms into a divine beetle in the morning”⁵¹⁶ and *'py šps šhd=f m wh3 spr=f M3nw m Itmw* “The Noble Winged Sun Disk () as he sets in the evening and he reaches the Western Mountain as Atum.”⁵¹⁷ The images of Nut at Dendera were related to the festival of the New Year during which the statue of Hathor was

⁵¹⁴ “Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage: Une mutation de forme du disque solaire,” in *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme*, ed. Wouter Claes, Herman de Meulenaere and Stan Hendrickx, OLA 191 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2009), pp. 289-292, 296.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 293-294, 296.

⁵¹⁶ Karl Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegypticarum*, vol. 1, *Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmäler* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883), pp. 12-13; O. Neugebauer and Richard A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs* (Providence and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1969), pl. 42; cf. Derricks, “Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage,” p. 294.

⁵¹⁷ Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, vol. 1, p. 12; Neugebauer and Parker, *Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3, pl. 42, Derricks, “Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage,” p. 294 (Derricks is incorrect in placing this text on the east side; both texts are at the west end of the ceiling, the first text is on the south side and the second on the north side).

revivified by exposure to the light of the sun.⁵¹⁸ The sign  was used to write the word *pri* “to come forth” in the phrases/epithets *pr m 3h.t* “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon” and *pr m 3s.t* “He who Comes Forth from Isis” representing the birth of Horus the Behdetite as sun god and son of Osiris.⁵¹⁹ Thus Derriks interprets the Behdetite and the single winged sun disk in particular as representative of transformation and rebirth.

A type of scene often found in royal tombs of the Ramesside Period and later depicts the Day-bark and the Night-bark prow to prow with a winged sun disk centered above the two prows.⁵²⁰ The scene represents the transition between day and night with the winged sun disk representing both the sun at dawn and at sunset.⁵²¹ The winged disk of these scenes in the cenotaph of Sety I and the tombs of Ramesses VI and Shoshenq III are all identified as the Behdetite.⁵²² In a hymn from the tomb of Paser a line following the identification of the sun god with the Behdetite may make reference to the image from this type of scene: *iw (m)skt.t hr imnty=k m'nd.t hr i3b.ty=k* “The Night-bark is upon your (the sun god’s) right and the Day-bark is upon your left.”⁵²³ A child is often depicted on the bow of the solar bark but sometimes he is depicted within the sun disk.⁵²⁴ This child represents the sun god, the solar child, *sg.ty*, just

⁵¹⁸ Derricks, “Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage,” p. 294.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid, p. 295; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, pp. 49, 51.

⁵²⁰ In general see Elizabeth Thomas, “Solar Barks Prow to Prow,” *JEA* 42 (1956), pp. 65-79.

⁵²¹ Ibid, p. 66, n. 4, p. 72. For the deceased identified with the solar child, transfer from one boat to the other represents justification and transformation; see Jan Assmann, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*, trans. Anthony Alcock (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1995), pp. 49-50 and n. 63.

⁵²² Cf. Teeter, *Presentation of Maat*, pls. 18-19, 21.

⁵²³ *KRI* I, p. 286, lines 6-7.

⁵²⁴ Such is the case in the tombs of Ramesses IX at Thebes (KV 6) and Shoshenq III at Tanis; see Guilmant, *Le tombeau de Ramsès IX*, pl. 93; Pierre Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis*, La Nécropole royale de Tanis 3 (Paris: Centre National de la

before his rebirth at dawn.⁵²⁵ Over time Horus became identified with the solar child. In Coffin Text Spell 61 the deceased is identified with both Re and Horus and is possibly identified with the solar child on the prow of the sun bark:

R' m rn=f Hr m irw=f . . . hms=k hr psḥ n mfk3.t r-ḥ3.t wi3 n R' twt wbn=k mi wbn R' psd=k mi Ḥwt-Hr

Re is his (the deceased's) name, Horus is his form . . . as you⁵²⁶ sit upon the (solar) mat (?)⁵²⁷ of turquoise at the prow of the bark of Re. Fair is your rising like the rising of Re when you shine like Hathor.⁵²⁸

Recherche Scientifique, 1960), pl. 30; Teeter, *Presentation of Maat*, pls. 20-21, cf. pls. 18-19. On the Ptolemaic Period coffin of Kephase the two Meret goddesses are depicted standing in the two barks raising up the child to the sun disk of a winged disk; a cartouche below the child identifies him as “Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners”; see Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils*, p. 39, pl. 88, no. 19 (ÆIN 298).

⁵²⁵ Erik Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, vol. 2, AH 2 (Basel and Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel and Centre d'études orientales de l'Université de Genève, 1975), p. 117, n. 170 and p. 120, n. 195; John Coleman Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity: Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), pp. 143, 318-319; K. Jansen-Winkeln, “Die Stele London BM 1224,” *SAK* 17 (1990), pp. 218-219, n. 3; Dorman, “Creation on the Potter's Wheel,” p. 90; van Dijk, “Birth of Horus,” pp. 12-13. In the tomb of Petosiris Re is called *rr ḥnt iw nsrsr* “the nursling in the Island of Fire,” see Gustave Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, vol. 2, *Les texts* (Cairo: IFAO, 1923), p. 55. See, also, Kurt Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis: Eine Untersuchung und Wesen des ägyptischen Götterkönigs* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften and Walter de Gruyter, 1929), pp. 49-50; Kees, *Götterglaube*, pp. 343-244; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 547. In the tomb of Ramesses VI on the ceiling of Corridor C the creator god is shown spinning the potter's wheel, which is painted red with the figure of the solar child painted in yellow within; the potter's wheel is also identified with the sun disk in Coffin Text Spell 882 (CT VII, 93a-k): *ink ihḥ.w hr rmn.wy Wr ii.n=i š3s=i p.t nmi=i n ihḥ.w R' sšd . . . [mḥ].n=i rd=i r ns wpš m i3b.t sd.t nḥpw wb3 itn . . . iry=i pr m nw pn* “I am the morning glow on the shoulders of the Great One; it is traversing the sky, crossing over to the twilight of Re who glistens, that I have come. . . I having [hastened] toward the fire that gleams in the east, the flame of the potter's wheel when the disk is spun . . . that I might create the one who has gone forth at this time of day”; see Dorman, “Potter's Wheel,” p. 92 and fig. 8.4 on p. 89.

⁵²⁶ On the change of person see Faulkner, *Coffin Texts*, vol. 1, p. 57, n. 6 to Spell 61.

⁵²⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 57, n. 9 to Spell 61; cf. *Wb.* I, p. 553, no. 5.

⁵²⁸ CT I, 259g-260a, 260f-261b. In Book of the Dead chapter 15B II Re is *Itmw-Hr-ḥty ntr ntry ḥpr ds=f p3wty ḥpr m ḥ3.t wi3* “Atum-Horakhty, divine god who created himself,

In the New Kingdom⁵²⁹ Ebers Papyrus an injured person⁵³⁰ is identified with Horus, but also with the newborn sun god:

*wh' sp sn in 3st wh'(w) Hr in 3st m dw.t iry.t r=f in sn=f Stḥ m sm3=f it=f Wsir i 3st Wr.t-ḥk3w
wh'=t wi sfḥ=t wi m-ḥ.t nb.t bin.t . . .⁵³¹ mi wh'=t mi sfḥ=t m-ḥ s3=t Hr ḥr-ntt 'q.n=i m ḥ.t
pr.n=i m mw nn h3=i r i3bt.t nt hrw pn ḡd.n=i ḥy.kwi ḥ3.kwi*

“Be released! Be released!” said Isis, as Horus was released by Isis from the evil done against him by his brother Seth in his killing of his father Osiris. O Isis, Great-of-Magic, may you release me, may you free me from anything evil . . . like your releasing, like your freeing of⁵³² your son Horus, because I have entered the fire and I have ascended from the water. I will not go down in the east of this day after I said (that) I am in the condition of a child, I am young.⁵³³

The entering into fire here is likely a reference to the sun god entering the Island of Fire where he is reborn and his enemies destroyed,⁵³⁴ whereas the ascending from the water is a reference to the sun rising from the primeval waters.⁵³⁵ In the tomb of Neferabu at Deir el-Medina the name of Re-Horakhty is pictured within the disk of a winged sun disk.⁵³⁶ In Egyptian religious texts the sun god can be identical with the sun disk but also the sun disk can be a separate part of the sun god sometimes being viewed as his body⁵³⁷ but is usually identified as his eye.⁵³⁸ The sun

Primeval-god who came into being at the bow of the bark,” Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 1, pl. 19, lines 3-8.

⁵²⁹ The papyrus is dated to the early New Kingdom according to Ursula Rößler-Köhler, “Papyrus Ebers,” *LÄ* IV, col. 704.

⁵³⁰ The text concerns a magical spell “for releasing any bandage” (*r3 n wh' wt nb*); see Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 47, line 17.

⁵³¹ I have omitted an enumeration of evil forces.

⁵³² Literally “from” but this makes no sense in the context.

⁵³³ Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 47, line 17 to p. 48, line 1, and p. 48, lines 2-5; van Dijk, “Birth of Horus,” p. 11, § 2.

⁵³⁴ See Reinhard Grieshammer, “Flammeninsel,” *LÄ* II, cols. 258-259.

⁵³⁵ Van Dijk, “Birth of Horus,” p. 11, § 3.

⁵³⁶ J. Vandier, *Tombes de Deir El-Médineh: La tombe de Nefer-abou*, MIFAO 69 (Cairo: IFAO, 1935), pls. 12-13.

⁵³⁷ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 59. W. Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” in *Recueil d'études à Vilmos Wessetzky à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire*, Laszlo Kakosy, ed., *Studia*

disk was the place of transformation likened to an egg: *i R' imyw swḥ.t=f wbn/psd m itn=f* “O Re who is in his egg, who shines in his disk.”⁵³⁹ In Book of the Dead chapter 125 it is Horus who is said to be *imy itn=f* “(He) who is in his sun disk.”⁵⁴⁰ The concept of the sun god being within his own disk probably revolves around the idea of the sun god being self-created; *itn*, though masculine, takes on the role of the womb of the sky goddess.⁵⁴¹ It was probably natural, given Horus’ identification with the sun god who is transformed within the sun disk, that the winged disk, a sun disk identified with Horus, would be used to represent the place of transformation of the sun god. But, again, the winged disk does not lose its identification with the Behdetite. In two of the later depictions of the solar child within the winged disk, in the tomb of Shoshenq III and on the Ptolemaic Period coffin of Kephase, the winged disk is directly identified as the Behdetite.⁵⁴² At Edfu in a scene that concerns the first hour of the day a child is shown within a sun disk in the Morning-bark, who is identified as “Re-Behdetite, Lord of the Sky.”⁵⁴³ The accompanying text reads:

n'y ḥm ntr pn špsy Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t m (m)skt.t ḥn' R' ir.n=f ḥprw=f m 'py n nbw iw=f m sfi 'ḥ(.w) m-ḥnw=f

Aegyptiaca 1 (Budapest: Universität Lorand Eotvos, 1974), p. 394. In the religious texts of the New Kingdom the sun god also appears in disk form in the underworld but, usually, without wings; Assmann, *Solar Religion*, p. 69.

⁵³⁸ See Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” p. 391; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, pp. 59, 729, 733-734; and see below.

⁵³⁹ *CT* IV, p. 292b-c.

⁵⁴⁰ Naville, *Todtenbuch*, vol. 2, p. 313, Aa.

⁵⁴¹ See Westendorf, “Horizont und Sonnenscheibe,” p. 391; cf. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, p. 20. See also Jan Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik I*, MÄS 19 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1969), pp. 40-41. The sun disk is also a “womb” when called an egg as in the text quoted above.

⁵⁴² Montet, *Chéchanq III*, pl. 30; Koefoed-Petersen, *Catologue des sarcophages et cercueils*, pl. 88.

⁵⁴³ *Edfou IX*, pl. 70; *Edfou III*, p. 214, line 17, no. 5; Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), p. 134, fig. 48.

It is in the Morning-bark with Re that the majesty of this noble god Horus the Behdetite, the Great God and Lord of the Sky, sails, after he took his form of Apy (det. )⁵⁴⁴ of gold, while he was a child positioned⁵⁴⁵ within it.⁵⁴⁶

The scene and text are interesting in that the sun disk is identified in the text as the Sun Disk with Two Uraei (Apy) but the sun disk in the scene lacks uraei.⁵⁴⁷ Also, in the text Horus the Behdetite is “with” Re but the scene shows the sun god as a child who is “Re-Behdetite.” In another text from Edfu Horus the Behdetite is called *pr m 3ḥ.t tit n R' sḥm n imy itn=f wbn m ḥr.t r' nb* “(He) who Comes Forth from the Horizon, *Tit*-image of Re, Image-of-Power of He who is in his Sun Disk, who shines in the sky everyday.”⁵⁴⁸ Here the Behdetite as “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon” and he “who shines (or rises) in the sky everyday” is probably to be understood as the sun disk in which Re dwells.

3.XI: The Behdetite and the Sacred Dead

The Behdetite, long the protector of the living king is the protector of the deceased or, better, resurrected king in a text from the sarcophagus lid of Tutankhamen: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) ntr nfr nb p.t wnn m '3 p3wty ḥr=k 'wy=i ḥr ḥ3.t=k m 'nh w3s s3 ḏd(.t) nb ḥ3=k Wsir ny-sw.t Nb-ḥprw-R' m3'-ḥrw=k ḥn' k3=k Wsir Tw.t-'nh-Imn Ḥq3-lwnw-šm'y* “Recitation by the Behdetite, the Perfect God, Lord of the Sky, who exists as the Great One, the Primeval Being above you: ‘My arms are upon your corpse with all life, dominion, protection and stability around you O Osiris King Nebkheperure, you being justified together with your *ka* O Osiris

⁵⁴⁴ This is also the translation of “Apy” used by Kurth here; *ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ Literally “stood.”

⁵⁴⁶ *Edfou III*, p. 214, lines 8-9; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 134.

⁵⁴⁷ The text continues with a hymn to Re that dates to the New Kingdom, in which Re is identified as having two uraei; see Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, p. 239, line 15; other versions mention seven uraei (the portion of the hymn mentioning two uraei is not included in the Edfu text of the first hour but two uraei are mentioned in the second hour; see Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 135-136).

⁵⁴⁸ *Edfou I*, p. 390, line 6.

Tutankhamun Heqaiunushemay.”⁵⁴⁹ Most interesting is a portion of text from the stela that Sety I made at Abydos to honor his father Ramesses I: *tw=i mi bik hr ms wi šw.w(t)=i hr=f m-‘ p3y nd.n=i d.t=f mi Bhd.t(y) m sšmw=f m i3.t nt Bhd.t diw=f sw hr t3 hr hnm it=i qi=f pw pd hr s3tw ir.t=i hr gmh irw.w ntr(y) hr hhy d.t ntr ‘3* “I am like a falcon over he who bore me⁵⁵⁰ (with) my wings over him in flight, I having protected his body like the Behdetite in his image in the (sacred) mound of Behdet. He shall place himself over the land uniting with my father. It is his form, which is spread over the earth. My eye catches sight of his divine forms seeking the body of the Great God.”⁵⁵¹ The text implies that Horus the Behdetite spreads over the deceased Ramesses I and unites with him. Could the images of deified kings with the sun disk with two uraei from the Ramesside Period represent the deceased king as united with the Behdetite?⁵⁵² Already in the Ramesside Period the Behdetite, probably in his form as a solar god, is said to act beneficially for the non-royal dead. We have noted above how in this period the Behdetite was said to give “sweet air” to the dead. In a text from the pyramidion of Huy, Mayor of Memphis under Ramesses II, the Behdetite, identified with Re-Horakhty, ensures eternal life: *i.nd-hr=k sp sn hrd n dw3y.t Bhd.t(y) d3 p.t r‘ nb wb3=f dw3.t htp=f hr h3.t Wsir Imn-htp ‘nh=f mi ‘nh h3b3.s r tr=s(n) Wsir imy-r3 pr Hwyt m3‘-hrw* “Hail to you! Hail to you O Child of the Dawn, Behdetite, who crosses the sky everyday when he opens up the Netherworld! May he rest upon the corpse of the Osiris Amenhotep that he might live like the stars live at their (proper) time;

⁵⁴⁹ M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1993), pp. 26-27, pls. 1, 19-20.

⁵⁵⁰ The use of *ms* to refer to a male parent is somewhat unusual but it is frequently used for the sun god that “gives birth to” the king as evident in the name Ramesses; Sety may be identifying his father with the sun god here.

⁵⁵¹ *KRI I*, p. 114, lines 1-4.

⁵⁵² On this topic, see Chapter 8.III.

(even) the Osiris, the Steward Huy, justified.”⁵⁵³ In a 20th Dynasty funerary prayer the Behdetite can make the dead divine: [3ḥ]=k wsr=k m3^c-ḥrw=k Wsir sš wr P3-R^c-(ḥr)-wnmy=f šsp tw dw3.t ḥ3p=s d.t=k Bḥd.t(y) di=f ntry b3=k “May you be [glorious], may you be powerful, may you be justified O Osiris, Great Scribe Pare(her)wenemyef! May the Underworld receive you and may it hide your body! The Behdetite, may he cause your *ba* to be divine!”⁵⁵⁴ The mentioning of resting upon the corpse and making the *ba* divine is reminiscent of the Greco-Roman Period ritual of *ḥnm itn* “uniting with the sun disk,”⁵⁵⁵ in which the *ba* of a god is said to take the form of the winged disk (or a falcon)⁵⁵⁶ and “alight” (*ḥni*) upon the images of the gods, thereby enlivening them:

b3 n Itmw psd(.w) m wd3.t m irw=f šps n ‘py . . . ‘q=f ‘ry.t m mk(.t) n wd3.t=f ir=f s.t=f ḥnt ḥw.t-nww=f sns=f smn=f sndm(.w) ḥr ns.t=f

The *Ba* of Atum is shining in the sky in his august form of the Winged Sun Disk. . . . as he enters the (sacred) dwelling in the protection of his *Udjat*-eye, he making his place in his Mansion-of-the-Child and uniting with his image seated upon his throne.⁵⁵⁷

ii.n b3=f ‘nh m p.t ḥr sḥn sšm=f r^c nb ‘q=f ‘3y.t=f m ‘py ntry w3d.ty=f(y) m gs-dp=f

⁵⁵³ Karol Myśliwiec, “Zwei Pyramidia der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis,” *SAK* 6 (1978), pp. 149, 152, pl. 39a; *KRI* III, p. 171, line 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Jocelyn Berlandini, “Varia memphitica VI: La stèle de Parâherounemyef,” *BIFAO* 85 (1985), p. 44, pls. 10-12.

⁵⁵⁵ See Louis V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, SAOC 34 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1968), pp. 39-48; Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, David Lorton, trans. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), pp. 322-324; idem, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, David Lorton, trans. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), pp. 40-47.

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. *Edfou VIII*, p. 111, line 4; Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, p. 199; François Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), p. 100, lines 5-7; idem, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, Annales de l’Université de Lyon, 3rd ser., 32 (Paris: Société d’Édition «les belles lettres», 1958), p. 361.

⁵⁵⁷ François Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara* (Cairo: IFAO, 1959), p. 143, line 17, p. 144, lines 1-2.

Alighting upon his image every day, his Living *Ba* has come out of the sky and he enters his shrine as the divine Winged Sun Disk (with) his two uraei as his protection.⁵⁵⁸

Like the stars following the winged disk in the Book of Nut, the *bas* of the gods follow the *ba* of the Behdetite (winged disk or falcon) to the temple to alight on their images:

*hf=f hw.t-ntr=f hws.ti r mnḥ nḥr.n=s ḥr.t ḥr b3=f wp.n=f r3=f mdw=f n ntr.w nty
b3(.w)=sn m-ḥt ḥm=f my=n šm[=n] ‘q=n M33-Hr šsp=n Sp3.wt-ntr.w ib.w=sn ṛ‘d‘d ṛ (?)⁵⁵⁹ dsr
pw sndm=n im=s s.t=n n šḥn ḏr-b3ḥ . . ii=sn dmd(.w) r Ns.t-ntr.w ib(.w)=sn ḥnm(.w) m thḥw.t
m33=sn sḏd=sn ḥntš ḥm.w=sn sns=sn smn(.w)=sn m sp*

. . . and he (Horus the Behdetite) looked upon his temple built (in) a most excellent (manner) and it resembled the sky, which bears his *ba*. . . . and he opened his mouth and spoke to the gods, whose *bas* were following His Majesty: ‘Come, let [us] go and enter He-who-Sees-Horus (Edfu Temple), that we may take possession of Nomes-of-the-Gods (Edfu Temple) our hearts being joyful (?). It is a sacred (place), in which we may sit (comfortably),⁵⁶⁰our place of alighting since the beginning.’ . . . So they come together to Throne-of-the-Gods (Edfu) (with) their hearts full of joy (and) when they see their images Their Majesties rejoice and they unite with their images in a moment.⁵⁶¹

The identity of the physical sun or sun disk as the *ba* of the sun god has a long history, which dates back, at least, to the Coffin Texts.⁵⁶² In a text from the sacred lake edifice of King Taharqa (25th Dyn.) at Karnak, Apy, the Winged Sun Disk/Winged Beetle,⁵⁶³ is identified as one of the

⁵⁵⁸ É. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d’Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), pp. 4-5.

⁵⁵⁹ The word is written with a 𓆎 with a *t*-loaf below. Kurth translates the phrase as “nach dem unsere Herzen verlangen” in *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 123. The only word that I can find, which includes a phonetic value used for the sign 𓆎 and which comes anywhere close to “verlangen” “to wish (for), desire,” although not very close, is ‘d‘d “to rejoice.”

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 879-880.

⁵⁶¹ *Edfou III*, p. 85, lines 2, 4-7; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 123.

⁵⁶² In Coffin Text VII, 267a-268a sunlight is a power (*3ḥw*) that comes from the sun disk, which is a *b3*: *ir n=i w3.t m ḥ3.t wi3=f sšp m itn=f 3ḥw m b3=f* “Make a path for me in the bow of his (Re’s) bark. Light is in his sun disk; power is in his *ba*.”

⁵⁶³ In versions of this text at Philae and Hibis the word “Apy,” the Winged Sun Disk, is written in the god’s alternate form as a winged scarab; however, the Philae text is associated with an image of a winged sun disk on a ceiling; see the bibliography for these texts in the following note.

ten *bas* of Amun-Re.⁵⁶⁴ At Edfu it is said of the Behdetite that ‘*py b3=f r 3h.t nt p.t*’ “The Winged Sun Disk is his *ba* in the horizon of the sky.”⁵⁶⁵ The Winged Sun Disk is *b3 i3bt.t wbn=f m nwn šḡd m3.w=f ndb* “Eastern *Ba* when he rises from the Primeval Waters as his rays illuminate the whole earth.”⁵⁶⁶ Horus the Behdetite is the *b3 n R‘ sšp ḡḡ.wt šn n p.t ḡr ḡnh.w=f* “*Ba* of Re who shines rays of light, the circuit of the sky being under his wings.”⁵⁶⁷ The Behdetite is also identified as a *ba* within the sun disk. He is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty wbn m 3h.t b3 špsy psḡ m itn=f* “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who rises in the horizon; Noble *Ba*, who shines in his disk.”⁵⁶⁸ From the New Kingdom onward non-royalty believed that their *bas* could join the gods as stars in the sky and alight upon their corpses just as the gods alight on their images: *p3y b3=t r ḡr.t m-‘b nṯr.w ḡn=f ḡr ḡ3.t=t m igr.t* “May your *ba* fly up to the sky in the company of

⁵⁶⁴ See Richard A. Parker, Jean Leclant and Jean-Claude Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), p. 74, pl. 28 A. This portion of the text is better preserved in a parallel version from Dendera dated to the Ptolemaic Period; see Hermann Junker and Erich Winter, *Philä*, vol. 2, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1965), pp. 426-427; there is also a version preserved at Hibis Temple in Khargeh Oasis and dating to the Persian Period; see Norman De Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), pl. 31, col. 19; Eugene Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1988), p. 122. Mark Smith has published a demotic version of this text in “A New Version of a Well-known Egyptian Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): pp. 115-149, which has been updated in idem, “O. Hess = O. Naville = O. BM 50601: An Elusive Text Relocated,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, SAOC 58 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1999), pp. 397-404.

⁵⁶⁵ *Edfou* VII, p. 106, line 11; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VII*, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I Übersetzungen 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), p. 188.

⁵⁶⁶ *Edfou* VIII, p. 152, lines 15-16; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VIII*, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I Übersetzungen 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 276.

⁵⁶⁷ *Edfou* I, p. 472, line 9.

⁵⁶⁸ *Edfou* II, p. 38, line 1.

the gods! May it alight upon your corpse in the necropolis!”⁵⁶⁹ Jan Assmann has recognized the development of a “New Solar Theology” occurring in the New Kingdom shortly before the Amarna Period.⁵⁷⁰ In this new theology all life, all existence and all reality was a creation of the sun god through the agency of his light, such that even the breath of life was beamed by sunlight to the embryo in its mother’s womb.⁵⁷¹ The “alighting” of the winged disk (or falcon) in the Greco-Roman Period texts should be understood as metaphor for the contact of light with the god’s image: *b3=f m šww wbn m hr.t*, “His *ba* is the light that shines in the sky.”⁵⁷² The Ramesside texts concerning the Behdetite quoted above are not that different from some passages in royal funerary texts of the New Kingdom, in which the sun god gives life to the king and other dwellers in the beyond:

iwt n=k R‘ hpt=f tw ir=f šnw hr ti.t=k šps.yt h3y=f hr=k di=f n=k špw šd i3mw=f qrr.tyw

May Re come to you so that he might embrace you, he lowering himself upon your illustrious image, he shining upon you and giving you light, his radiance illuminating the cavern dwellers.⁵⁷³

mtn w(i) ‘q(=i) snk(k)w wbn=i m kkw sm3w ‘p=i m3=i pn wrdw-ib m wbn=f pn n š3 imn di=i m33 tw.wt=f itn=i šd.n=i kkw m ‘.t=f dsr.t m3.wt=i di.(w) b3.w=sn imy.w=f

See, I (the sun god) enter into the darkness and I shine in the utter darkness; I pass through that I might see this Weary-of-Heart (Osiris) in that apparition of his, mysterious and hidden; I cause his images to see my sun disk, after I illumined the darkness in his sacred chamber. My rays render their *bas* to those that are in him.⁵⁷⁴

⁵⁶⁹ For the text see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead: The Egyptian Hieroglyphic Text Edited from Numerous Papyri*, vol. 3, *Chapters CLIII-CXC and Appendices*, Books on Egypt and Chaldaea 30 (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910), p. 161, lines 14-15; Žabkar, *Study of the Ba Concept*, p. 133, n. 48, cf. pp. 14-15, 38, 39-48.

⁵⁷⁰ *Search for God*, pp. 201-208.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁵⁷² *Edfou III*, p. 87, line 12.

⁵⁷³ Jan Assmann, “Die Inschriften auf dem äußern Sarkophagdeckel des Merenptah,” *MDAIK* 28 (1972), pp. 52-53 (lines 55-58), fig. 1 (line 13); *idem.*, *Death and Salvation*, p. 167.

⁵⁷⁴ A. Pinakoff, “Le Livre des Quererts,” *BIFAO* 42 (1944), p. 35, pls. 44-45.

The memorial text for Ramesses I and the Ramesside private texts quoted above render in textual form what is likely rendered visually in Late Period depictions of winged disks and sun disks with two uraei hovering over the mummy and often depicted with rays streaming down upon the deceased. It is interesting that the Behdetite, who appears to be primarily responsible for the protection of the living king, is taking the role of the sun god for private persons shortly after he took a funerary role for the king. The texts of Huy and Pareherwenemyef also derive from Memphis, which is the first evidence of private devotion for Horus the Behdetite outside of southern Upper Egypt and Nubia (and the latter likely derives from expedition/military members from Edfu). This might be viewed as a so-called “democratization” of funerary beliefs. However, Horus the Behdetite and his form of the winged sun disk in particular may already have had some appeal as a god of the dead. The god appears as the protector of the king during ritual and battle in temple scenes but these scenes were meant to be eternal. The same is true of the appearance of the god in scenes of the *Sed* festival. The gods often promise the king “millions of *Sed* festivals” or similar.⁵⁷⁵ As the god that “Comes Forth from the Horizon,” an expression used for Re in the Pyramid Texts⁵⁷⁶ but much more frequently associated with Horus the Behdetite, the god was identified with the sun at dawn and thus with rebirth. The king’s identification with the Behdetite on the *Heb Sed* double-throne also represents a new birth of the ruler as king of Egypt. The winged disks above the entrances to temples were protective in nature but also may represent a passage from the world of man to that of the gods. The fact that the Behdetite was a god of protection would also make him a desirable funerary god, although,

⁵⁷⁵ See *Belegstellen* III, pp. 15 (59, 6), 16 (60, 5, 7-8).

⁵⁷⁶ *Pyr.* §§ 621b, 1802a-b; cf. Book of the Dead Spell 130.

this would have restrictions due to decorum, since he was the special protector of the king. Thus it is in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods, times of increased personal piety and the loosening of the strictures of decorum when people outside of Edfu mention the Behdetite in funerary texts and the winged sun disk begins to appear on private coffins and directly above non-royalty on stelae.

3.XII: Conclusions

Like the hovering falcon, the winged sun disk appears to be protective in nature with its first appearance hovering above the name of King Sneferu with the protection formula. The winged disk of Sahure is the “Great God of Multicolored Plumage” just like a hovering falcon of Userkaf. There seems little reason to interpret early winged sun disks as any god but the Behdetite. The early sun disks with two uraei are also found in nearly every context that we find hovering falcons and winged disks and are also likely to be images of the Behdetite. The titles *s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* found with hovering falcons in the Old Kingdom also point to Horus the Behdetite as being a solar god. What is not certain is if the god was a solar deity from the beginning. These titles and the sun disk forms of the god first appear during the 4th to 6th Dynasties, which is the time of the rise and flourishing of the cult of Re. Gardiner’s theory of a union of Horus, Re and the king to explain the creation of the winged sun disk is attractive but it raises the question of why there would be a need to create a union of Horus and Re when Re-Horakhty already existed? Perhaps, since Re-Horakhty had already become one of the great deities of the country, the rulers and theologians wanted a form of Horus with more intimate connections with kingship over the Two Lands of Egypt. The Behdetite first appears in association with the *Sed* festival at the Step Pyramid as representative of Upper Egypt and bears

the title “Foremost of the Shrine Rows of Upper and Lower Egypt,” that is the conclaves of the gods of both parts of Egypt, at the same festival, in the 4th Dynasty. He is the god of the double-throne of the *Sed* festival where we find the clearest expression of identification of the king with the god. Enthronement is at the very core of the Behdetite’s name. But the sun god Re reigned supreme during the Old Kingdom and never really relinquished this position except to Amun, who became identified as Amun-Re. The Behdetite may have been converted to a solar god as a reflection of the importance of Re. However, he may have inherited this aspect from earlier concepts of Horus such as is seen in the comb of Djed. The identification of Horus the Behdetite with Amun-Re in Thebes in the Ramesside Period almost certainly expanded his popularity, at least among the elite of Upper Egypt. With the winged sun disk the protective aspect of the Behdetite was extended to the gods. Its use was restricted at first to the king and gods but slowly the god’s protection was extended to non-royalty, although these were likely understood as the sacred dead. Increasingly the winged disk, still often identified as the Behdetite, came to be viewed as the physical form of the sun god. The solar character of the Behdetite, especially as “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon,” the re-born sun of the day, and his protective nature combined with the winged disk’s symbology as existing on the border between the worlds of humanity and of the gods also likely facilitated his transformation into a funerary god.

CHAPTER 4
FALCON-HEADED MAN

4.I: Introduction

The form of Horus the Behdetite with a human body and the face of a falcon with a longhaired wig is the form in which the god appears when receiving offerings, when in processions and in other interactions with deities and when he interacts directly with the king. Other forms of Horus, plus Re and other falcon gods can take the same exact form. The god appears in this form opposite Seth or Thoth, or rarely another god, in scenes of purification, “Uniting the Two Lands” (*sm3-t3.wy*) and crowning of the king. In these scenes he is often identified with one of the two parts of Egypt, Upper or Lower Egypt. These scenes, especially the “Uniting of the Two Lands” played a significant role in the debate over the origins of the Behdetite and will be a main focus here.

4.II: Early History of the Form

The oldest preserved image of the Behdetite in this form comes from the funerary monument of Sahure at Abu Sir.¹ The Behdetite holds a *was*-scepter and *ankh* and is part of a procession of gods. A goddess wearing a vulture headdress with a uraeus headpiece follows him, while above her head is a fragment of inscription, which preserves two Lower Egyptian-type shrines. The goddess is thus almost certainly Wadjet.² Another falcon-headed god follows

¹ Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa³ħu-Re^c*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 7, WVDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), p. 38, pl. 21.

² The vulture headdress with uraeus head piece distinguishes Wadjet from Nekhbet who has a vulture head piece during the Old Kingdom; see Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*, vol. 2, *The Valley Temple I: The Temple Reliefs* (Cairo: General Organization for Government Printing Offices, 1961), p. 146, fig. 199; Lana Troy, *Patterns of*

Wadjet but his name is lost, as is that of a third falcon-headed god in a procession below with Thoth. These may be the *b3.w* of Buto. In another scene of processions of gods Seth appears with Asiatic prisoners and the text describing the scene mentions bringing all the foreign lands of east and west.³ Sethe⁴ and Kees⁵ both identify a god in a procession above leading a Libyan prisoner as the Behdetite, however both the name and head of this god is lost.⁶ Sethe claims this god “sicher keinen Menschenkopf hatte,”⁷ but there is nothing visible in the plate that would allow any interpretation of the head. The interpretation of this god as Horus the Behdetite appears to be based only on the fact that he has a Libyan prisoner. Falcon-headed gods appear in processions of gods associated with Lower Egypt in other Old Kingdom monuments but these also do not preserve their names.⁸ The next preserved occurrence of a falcon-headed god

Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14 (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1986), pp. 117, 119-120, figs. 82, 84; Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), p. 23; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 5, WVDOG 7 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1907), pl. 16; idem, *Ša³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, pl. 18.

³ Borchardt, *Ša³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, pl. 5; Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 1, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.) 1923, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), p. 26.

⁴ See Borchardt, *Ša³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, p. 83.

⁵ *Horus und Seth*, p. 26.

⁶ Kees (ibid) does suggest that it could instead be the Libyan Horus; see F. W. Freiherrn von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 2, *Die kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pl. 16.

⁷ In Borchardt, *Ša³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, p. 83, cf. pl. 5.

⁸ Borchardt, *Ne-woser-Re*, p. 93, fig. 71 (in association with a Lower Egyptian shrine and followed by a crocodile-headed god); Audran Labrousse and Ahmed M. Moussa, *La chaussée du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Bd'É 134 (Cairo: IFAO, 2002), p. 183, fig. 135 (with a jackal-headed god and Bastet).

identified as the Behdetite is on a lintel block of Mentuhotep II from Karnak.⁹ The king sits enthroned facing right with the Behdetite and Wadjet before him and with Seth and Nekhbet behind him.¹⁰ The next, certain, appearance of the god in this form comes from a loose block from Lisht, on which the god is shown extending an *ankh* to the falcon of the Horus name of Amenemhat I.¹¹ From the same reign comes a scene on a lintel from Lisht and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹² The scene shows the king facing right holding a flail and the *mks*-document holder with Anubis and Wadjet standing before him and the Behdetite and Nekhbet behind him. The Behdetite holds out an *ankh* towards the king and the accompanying text reads *Bḥd.t(y) nb t3.wy di=f 'nh nb* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Two Lands,¹³ as he gives all life.” The god appears on the east face of a pillar from the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun at Karnak.¹⁴ The god, shown embracing Senwosret I, is called *Bḥd.t(y) nb lwn.t* “The Behdetite,

⁹ See Catalogue F-1; Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 9 (1963), p. 35, fig. 14; Richard Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis 11. Dynastie: Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 38, fig. 4.21; Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 17 (Paris: Institut de France, 1998), p. 112, § 180.

¹⁰ Again the god is only identified as *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t*.

¹¹ MMA accession number 08-200-6; see Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), p. 380, no. 303A.

¹² Catalogue F-3; MMA 1907, accession number 08-200-5. The relief can be seen on the museum’s website at <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000423?rpp=20&pg=4&ft-Egyptian&whatReliefs&pos=73>; see also Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

¹³ Anubis, who is just called *tp ḏw=f* “He who is Upon his Mountain,” also is *nb t3.wy*, while Wadjet is *nb.t t3.wy*. This scene is F-3 of the catalogue; see below.

¹⁴ Gabolde, «Grand Château d’Amon», p. 93 (§ 134), pls. 28c and 29; for the orientation of the pillar, see *ibid.*, p. 89, § 130.

Lord of Dendera.”¹⁵ On the other three sides of this pillar the gods Amun-kamutef, Atum and Ptah-South-of-his-Wall embrace the king.¹⁶ Thus the Behdetite is numbered among the important gods of the country.¹⁷ A stela from Edfu (Jd’É 49566) that dates to the end of the Second Intermediate Period and carved in a rather crude local style shows a falcon-headed god on a pedestal with a sun disk upon his head.¹⁸ He is identified as *Hr Bhd.ty ntr ʿ3 n niw.t=f wḥm ʿnh* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God of his City, who repeats life.”¹⁹ “Hathor, Lady of Dendera” accompanies the Behdetite.²⁰ Horus the Behdetite as a falcon-headed man is rarely portrayed with a sun disk on his head before the Greco-Roman Period and even then he is more often portrayed with the Double Crown²¹ or bare headed. Since the god stands upon a pedestal, the image on the stela probably represents a statue.²² Another Second Intermediate Period stela from Edfu belonging to the scribe Nakhthoru depicts Horus the Behdetite at right wearing the Double Crown and holding a *was*-scepter and *ankh*.²³ At left is Isis, called “Isis the Goddess,” who has a sun disk on her head. The word “Horus” of the god is written . This is similar to the writing of Horus the Behdetite’s name in a rock inscription at Buhen,²⁴ which Baines dates to

¹⁵ The Behdetite’s association with Dendera will be examined in Chapter 7.IV.vi.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 90-92, §§ 131-133, pls. 28-29.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 92.

¹⁸ See Jaroslav Černý, “Stela of Emḥab from Tell Edfu,” *MDAIK* 24 (1969), p. 87, pl. 12; for the date of the stela see pp. 91-92.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 87, pl. 12.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Sometimes the *šw.ty* or “Two Feathers” Crown and a pair of ram horns are added to the Double Crown during the Greco-Roman Period; cf. *LD IV*, pls. 51b and 54a.

²² See Černý, “Stela of Emḥab,” p. 87.

²³ E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 6 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1922), pl. 28.

²⁴ H. S. Smith, “The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,” *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 58-61, 81, fig. 11.5, pl. 26.1.

the same period.²⁵ The writing of *Hr* as  depicts the god in his bark and, as Baines suggests, likely represents Horus as the sun god.²⁶ On a pillar in the Festival Hall (*Akhmenu*) of Thutmose III at Karnak the king receives the breath of life from a falcon-headed god, who appears to be named *Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t Bhd.t(y) ntr* '3 "Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky, the Behdetite, the Great God."²⁷ However, this may have been re-carved incorrectly following the Amarna Period. A similar arrangement of text and figures is on another pillar of the same complex.²⁸ Mut offers life to the nose of the king. Above the goddess is a column of text reading *mry Imn-R' nb p.t hq3 W3s.t* "(Thutmose III), the beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Sky, Ruler of Thebes." Just above Mut's head, where "The Behdetite, the Great God, as he gives all life" is located on the other pillar, is *Mw.t nb.t p.t di=s 'nh nb* "Mut, Lady of the Sky, as she gives all life." It is quite likely that the words *nb p.t* on the pillar with the Behdetite were carved in place of the word *mry*, which is located in the same place on the pillar with Mut.

²⁵ John Baines, "'Greatest God' or Category of Gods?" *GM* 67 (1983), p. 24, fig. 1.

²⁶ "'Greatest God,'" p. 25. Stan Hendrickx, Renée Friedman and Merel Eyckerman, "Early Falcons," in *Vorspann oder formative Phase? Ägypten und Vordere Orient 3500-2700 v. Chr.*, ed. Ludwig D. Morenz and Robert Kuhn (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), pp. 144-146 interpret similar curve-shaped objects mounted by falcons from the Pre- and Early Dynastic as throw-sticks but the writings of Horus the Behdetite with the curved-shaped object are closer in date to the writing of the name of the god Nemty, which is known to be a boat; see H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, CGC 20001-20780, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902), pp. 231 (20206), 268 (20245), 269 (20247).

²⁷ See Jean-François Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes; Relevés épigraphiques* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000), pl. 27 left (pillar 3e, south face).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 65 left (pillar 13e, south face).

4.III: The Behdetite in Paired Scenes

The Behdetite appears most frequently as a falcon-headed man in three specific scene types paired with another god, who is usually Seth or Thoth. These are (1) purification of the king, in which two gods stand to either side of the king pouring water over his head (the water often taking the form of *ankhs* and sometimes other signs),²⁹ (2) crowning/coronation scenes, in which two or more gods are shown on each side of the king with their hands extending to his crown, which is usually the Double Crown and (3) the *sm3-t3.wy* or “Union of the Two Lands,” in which two gods bind the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt together around the *sm3*-sign:  (see Figs. 9-11).³⁰ The scenes are often part of a sequence shown on temple walls, more frequently in the Greco-Roman Period temples, in which the king is portrayed leaving the palace, being purified, crowned and led before the main deity of the temple.³¹ The *sm3-t3.wy*-scene is sometimes shown in New Kingdom temples in this sequence or it can appear alone but have associations with coronation.³² Horus on rare occasions appears in the scene in which two deities lead the king before the main god of the temple. More often Atum and Re-Horakhty or

²⁹ See Brigitte Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult,” PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 1968, pp. 90-174; Alan Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” *JEA* 36 (1950), pp. 3-12; Aylward M. Blackman, “Purification (Egyptian),” in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 10, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922), pp. 477-478; Siegfried Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel (Berlin P 13242)*, Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. philologisch-historische Klasse 1957, no. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957).

³⁰ On *sm3-t3.wy* in general, see Heinrich Schäfer, “Die ‘Vereinigung der beiden Länder’: Ursprung, Gehalt und Form eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes im Wandel der Geschichte,” *MDAIK* 12 (1943), pp. 73-95; Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, “‘Vereinigung der beider Länder,’” *LÄ* VI, cols. 974-976; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 69-70, 134-138, 226-276.

³¹ See Gardiner, “Baptism,” p. 7, pl. 2; Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 90.

³² See Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 261, 293-296. In the Greco-Roman Period the two gods pulling and binding the plants of the Two Lands are replaced by an image of a child-god (Harsomptus or Ihy) standing upon the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif.

Montu carries out this task. Although the Behdetite frequently appears in purification, crowning and *sm3-t3.wy* scenes, quite often other forms of Horus are found in his place. Some of this material has been used in the debate over the origins of the Behdetite, so it is worthwhile to examine it in some detail. There are quite a number of these scenes that have survived from the Old Kingdom through the Late Period, especially purification scenes,³³ with many details that may be significant as to whether the Behdetite (or, less specifically, Horus) is originally and/or primarily a deity of Upper or Lower Egypt. Due to the large amount of material, I have created a catalogue of these scenes (see Appendix II), in which is identified the location of the scene, the king/period, the position and identity of the deities, translations of their names, titles and speeches and identification of other elements in the scene that may have geographic significance (position of the flowers of the *sm3-t3.wy* motif, crowns on uraei of sun disks in the scene, etc.). The catalogue is extensive but not comprehensive.³⁴ Scenes in which only the legs of the gods and king are preserved have been eliminated. The king usually faces Horus³⁵ in all of these types of scenes but there are enough exceptions to make this an unreliable indication of the identity of

³³ Although, surprisingly, the earliest surviving purification scene dates to the early New Kingdom; see A-1 of the catalogue.

³⁴ I have included scenes in which at least one of the gods is identifiable and, if this single identifiable god is not Horus, the other unidentifiable god likely is Horus. I only include scenes that are published with photos or drawings, those in Oriental Institute photos or, in rare cases, where there is no photo or drawing but there is a published description of the scene including information on the position of the gods. I did not have access to Berlin photos. Some excluded scenes due to damage or lack of full publication can be found in the following references: *PM* II², p. 11 (29), p. 39 (145, VI), p. 308 (28, II.7), p. 333 (200, II.2) and scenes in Alexandre Varille, *Karnak I*, IFAO 19 (Cairo: IFAO, 1943), pl. 87, no. 58 and Richard A. Parker, Jean Leclant and Jean-Claude Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*, Brown Egyptological Studies 8, Claude Crozier-Brelot, trans. (Providence and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1979), pl. 7B.

³⁵ I use the name “Horus” when speaking in general terms about the god in these scenes.

Horus.³⁶ I have included scenes with forms of Horus other than the Behdetite to compare their occurrence with scenes in which the Behdetite appears. Purification scenes are marked A- plus a number, crowning scenes B-, *sm3-t3.wy* scenes C-, scenes that are a combination of two of the previous three scenes are marked D-; I have also included scenes of deities leading the king before the temple god which include Horus as E- and some miscellaneous scenes pairing Horus with another god under F-. The crowning and *sm3-t3.wy* scenes usually have specific elements that identify the two gods with a particular portion of Egypt (Upper or Lower Egypt) but the purification scene can have these elements, too, although it may only be their geographic position or the position of the gods in relation to the position of other deities (Nekhbet and Wadjet) in adjacent crowning scenes.

In purification scenes Horus' partner is almost always Thoth. Seth only appears three times and two of these are from the reign of Sety I,³⁷ whose family held a special devotion for Seth.³⁸ The other case is from the reign of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.³⁹ I have included in the catalogue one purification scene, in which Horus and Thoth do not purify the king but, rather, they are shown to each side of a temple doorway pouring water that was meant to magically purify anything that passed through the door (A-41). A frequent formula found in the texts of

³⁶ Contra the statements of some scholars concerning purification scenes such as Altenmüller-Kesting, "Reinigungsriten," p. 92 and Parker, Leclant and Goyon, *Edifice of Taharqa*, p. 13 in reference to pl. 7B. See catalogue entries A-7, A-9, A-12, A-17, A-18, B-9, B-21, C-3, C-5, C-10, C-14, E-2, E-3 and F-3.

³⁷ A-8 and A-10.

³⁸ Cf. Gardiner, "Baptism," p. 8; the family devotion to Seth is seen in the "400 Year Stela" dedicated to Seth; see Hans Goedicke, "The '400-Year Stela' Reconsidered," BES 3 (1981), pp. 25-42 and K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes and Comments*, vol. 2, *Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 169-172, §§ 267-271.

³⁹ A-20.

Horus and Thoth in these scenes is *'bw=k 'bw Hr ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Stḥ ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Dḥwty ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Dwn-ḥn.wy ts-phr* “Your (the king’s) purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa.”⁴⁰ Geb usually takes the place of Seth in late texts and in one New Kingdom text from Abydos.⁴¹ Surprisingly, in a papyrus from the early Roman Empire (P. Berlin 13242) with a ritual text for the purification of the king Seth still appears in the formula.⁴² The same formula is found in the Opening of the Mouth ritual⁴³ and a similar formula is found in the Pyramid Texts: *sntr=k sntr Hr sntr=k sntr Stš sntr=k sntr Dḥwty sntr=k sntr Dwn-ḥn.wy* “Your censuring (or ‘purification’) is the censuring of Horus; your censuring is the censuring of Seth; your censuring is the censuring of Thoth; your censuring is the censuring of Dunanwy.”⁴⁴ Otto, followed by Gardiner, proposed that these four gods represented the four cardinal directions with two pairs of gods: Horus and Seth representing a north-south axis respectively and Dunanwy and Thoth representing an east-west axis, since Dunanwy is a god of the 18th Upper Egyptian nome on the east bank of the Nile and Thoth is the god of Hermopolis Magna on the west bank.⁴⁵ Later, in his study of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, Otto suggested that the geographical identifications

⁴⁰ See A-9, A-16, A-22, A-26 (a late text substituting Geb for Seth). Frequently the two gods shown (Horus and Thoth or Seth) only mention the two gods not present or mention themselves and one of the non-depicted gods but not their companion; in both cases making a completion of all four gods in text and/or images; see A-21, A-29, A-30, A-40.

⁴¹ A-11, A-40.

⁴² See Schott, *Reinigung Pharaos*, p. 49, pl. 9 (1, 4 and 1, 7). Perhaps it was considered important to keep the original form of the ritual in actual performance for it to remain effective.

⁴³ See Eberhard Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*, ÄgAb 3 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 4-5; vol. 2, p. 37.

⁴⁴ *Pyr.* § 27a-e; Gardiner, “Baptism,” p. 9; Eberhard Otto, “Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth,” *Or* 7 (1938), p. 71; Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 60.

⁴⁵ Otto, “Thot als Stellvertreter,” p. 71; Gardiner, “Baptism,” pp. 9-10.

were secondary and that originally the four gods represented the powers of the king through their animal representations found on royal standards when the king walks in procession, namely two falcons, the Seth animal and the ibis.⁴⁶ Pyramid Text Spell 217 supports the linking of these gods with the four cardinal directions. The spell concerns the resurrected king's ascension to join the sun god in the sky. Seth and Nephthys are to proclaim the news to the gods of Upper Egypt, Thoth to those of the west, Dunanwy to those of the east. Horus is not mentioned in the text but his parents Osiris and Isis are to proclaim the news to the gods of Lower Egypt.

Gardiner suggests that Osiris (and Isis) appear instead of Horus in order to provide a conjugal pair to Seth and Nephthys.⁴⁷ The reason only two gods were represented in the purification scenes, according to Gardiner, is because the gods would have had to be stacked with two gods on different levels as is found in tomb scenes of priests purifying the deceased and this would not be a desirable mode of depiction of major deities.⁴⁸ The reason that Thoth is usually depicted instead of Seth is to be explained by the desire to have a member of each axis: north-south represented by Horus and east-west by Thoth.⁴⁹ Altenmüller-Kesting in her study of purification rites disputes the idea that there were originally four gods responsible for the purification of the living king. She points out that in the earliest scenes the formula with four gods, using the third person, was not used but instead the speech of the gods used the first person: *'bw=k 'bw=i 'bw=i 'bw=k* "Your purification is my purification and my purification is your purification."⁵⁰ There

⁴⁶ *Mundöffnungsritual*, p. 40; cf. Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), fig. 6.4 on p. 198.

⁴⁷ Gardiner, "Baptism," p. 9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11, cf. fig. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Altenmüller-Kesting, "Reinigungsriten," pp. 93-95; cf. A-5 (Amenhotep II), A-6-7 (Amenhotep III).

are also scenes in which gods are shown at different levels in a scene and, as in several crowning and other scenes, two pairs of gods can be shown to either side of the king.⁵¹ She notes *Pyr.* §§ 519b and 1247c in which Horus and Thoth help scrub the king clean.⁵² The formula with four gods is an infiltration of the funerary and offering cults into the ritual of purifying the king before entering the temple, according to Altenmüller-Kesting.⁵³ Be that as it may, the formula with four gods was used frequently from the 19th Dynasty onward.⁵⁴ The appearance of Seth in purification rites is not completely out of order. In Pyramid Text Spell 455 the saliva of Horus and Seth purifies each god from the injuries inflicted by the other and purifies the resurrected king.⁵⁵

One of the reasons Horus represents the north, according to Gardiner, is that he is sometimes called “the Behdetite” and “it was by reason of his connection with the town of Behdet in the far north⁵⁶ that he obtained his right to be official representative of that region.”⁵⁷ The Behdetite does appear frequently as the form of Horus in these scenes and is found in our earliest preserved purification scenes. However in one of the earliest scenes, from Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge at Karnak the Behdetite is placed on the same side as Nekhbet, while Thoth is

⁵¹ Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 93-94; cf. B-6-8, B-10-20, C-3.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 94.

⁵⁴ Although, the first person formula continued to be used, as well; see A-8, A-31-32, A-34-36.

⁵⁵ Interestingly, this text speaks of removing evil to the ground by purification: *w’b N. pn im=f sfh dw.t irt=f ir t3* “. . . by which this N. is purified and the evil that was on him is removed to the ground” (*Pyr.* § 850a).

⁵⁶ That is modern Tell el-Balamun.

⁵⁷ “Baptism,” p. 11 and referencing a main thesis of his article “Horus the Behdetite” in *JEA* 30.

with Wadjet.⁵⁸ Horus also takes many other names without reference to the Behdetite. He can be called just *Hr* “Horus,”⁵⁹ *Hr s3 3s.t* “Horus Son of Isis,”⁶⁰ and *Hr nḏ it=f* “Horus Who Protects his Father.”⁶¹ A summary of the geographic relationship of the deities involved for each type of scene will be found below.

Crowning scenes are attested as far back as the Old Kingdom but the material is fragmentary. The earliest that I’m aware of comes from the reign of Unis on fragmentary blocks from the king’s pyramid temple at Saqqara.⁶² The blocks only preserve the ears and one hand of Seth supporting the back of the king’s crown, as well as portions of his titles *[nb] Sw [. . .] nb [t3] Šm‘w* “[Lord of] Su [. . .], Lord of Upper Egypt.” The next attested scene is found on a wood panel from the funerary complex of Pepy II at Saqqara.⁶³ Horus stands to the left of the king and Seth to the right; the king faces Horus. Seth is called *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite” or “He of Ombos.” Unfortunately the beginning and end of Horus’ name/epithet is lost; there is only the word *imy* “(He) Who Dwells in” and a word that must be a geographic name, which ends in *t*. The first crowning scene in which Horus’ identity is preserved is from fragmentary reliefs of Intef V (17th Dyn.) from Coptos.⁶⁴ However, it is unusual in that there are two Horuses; at right is *Bḥd.t(y)* “The Behdetite” and at left is *Hr Šnw ḥnty Hw.t-ny-sw.t* “Horus *Shenu*, Foremost of the Mansion of the King.” The meaning of “*Shenu*” is uncertain.⁶⁵ The name “Mansion of the

⁵⁸ A-2.

⁵⁹ A-4, A-8, A-11, A-23.

⁶⁰ A-12, A-16-17, A-39-40.

⁶¹ A-9.

⁶² B-1.

⁶³ B-2.

⁶⁴ The reliefs are now in the Petrie Collection at University College London (UC 14492 and 14784); B-3.

⁶⁵ Cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 292.

King” is the sacred name of a city in the 18th Upper Egyptian nome.⁶⁶ This is the only case that I am aware of in which two forms of Horus oppose each other in any of the scene types studied here.⁶⁷ Interestingly, the 18th Upper Egyptian nome was also the home of Dunanwy, whom we met in the texts from purification scenes. Why this form of Horus takes the place of Seth is unknown. Horus *Shenu* is not mentioned in a text again until the Greco-Roman Period at Edfu where he is also identified as *hnty Šns* “Foremost of Shenes,”⁶⁸ which was located near Memphis and Heliopolis.⁶⁹ Seth is clearly the original partner of Horus in crowning scenes. Thoth does not stand in the place of Seth until the 19th Dynasty and, perhaps significantly, under Sety I at Abydos.⁷⁰ However, Thoth also appears in place of Seth in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak in a relief of his successor Ramesses II.⁷¹ Seth does not completely disappear from crowning

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 835; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 4 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1927), p. 86; Wolfgang Helck, “Gau,” *LÄ* II, col. 391. A *Hr hnty Hw.t-ny-sw.t* is mentioned in a text from Edfu (*Edfou* VI, p. 234, line 3).

⁶⁷ I believe that the naming of a figure of Seth at Wadi es-Sebua as “Horus” (C-6) is either an error of the sculptors of the scene or, more likely, an error of the publication. I’m also excluding two scenes in which Horus is opposite Re-Horakhty (E-2-3), because they are scenes in which two gods lead the king to the chief god of the temple and Re-Horakhty appears in this scene type more often than Horus the Behdetite.

⁶⁸ The sign  is now read as *Šns* from *šn-s(w)* meaning something like “encircle it (a fish)”; see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 866 and E. Bresciani, et al., *Saqqara*, vol. 1, *Tomba di Boccari: La galleria di Padineit, Visir di Nectanebo I* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1980), p. 31. Earlier scholars read the sign as *Inw* or *yn(w)*; for these readings and discussion of the city’s location see Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1935), pp. 78-79; Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 136-137, 144; Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1,  To-Mehou: *La Basse Égypte* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957), pp. 45-46.

⁶⁹ *Edfou* VII, p. 20, line 10 and see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, p. 78 and Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, pp. 136-138 and see the map on pp. 132-133.

⁷⁰ B-7.

⁷¹ B-8.

scenes until the 25th Dynasty when he began to be viewed with disfavor.⁷² He last appears in a crowning scene during the reign of Herihor at the temple of Khonsu at Karnak.⁷³ Although usually the representative of Upper Egypt, here he is paired with Wadjet on the north and is stating to the king “Let me affix for you the Red Crown upon your head” (opposite Horus Son of Isis and Nekhbet on the south side) but he retains the title “Lord of Upper Egypt.” Again, though the Behdetite is the earliest known and the most frequently appearing form of Horus, we find *Hr* “Horus,”⁷⁴ *Hr s3 3s.t* “Horus Son of Isis”⁷⁵ and we have *Hr M‘h3* “Horus of Maha” at Abu Simbel, who was a local, Nubian, form of Horus.⁷⁶

The *sm3-t3.wy* motif (𓄎𓄏) first appears on a vase inscribed with the name of the 1st Dynasty King Hor Adjib with the lung-sign and the heraldic plants to either side.⁷⁷ It next appears on two vases of 2nd Dynasty King Khasekhem with a vulture grasping the heraldic plants in its talons and offering them to the falcon of the king’s Horus name.⁷⁸ The motif appears in the 4th Dynasty on the sides of thrones of royal statues.⁷⁹ The earliest scenes in which the respective plants of Upper and Lower Egypt are shown being bound around the *sm3*-sign, i.e. the *sm3-t3.wy* scene, date to the 5th and 6th Dynasties and portray the act being performed by fecundity

⁷² Herman te Velde, “Seth,” *LÄ* V, col. 910.

⁷³ B-10.

⁷⁴ B-7.

⁷⁵ B-10 and B-21.

⁷⁶ B-9.

⁷⁷ Schäfer, “Vereinigung der beiden Länder,” p. 75, fig. 2. The plant of Lower Egypt is to the right of the lung-sign; the plant of Upper Egypt was certainly on the other side but is broken away.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 76, figs. 3-4; J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I: Plates of Discoveries in 1898*, BSAE 4 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900), pls. 37-38.

⁷⁹ Cf. Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), p. 253, no. 56.

figures.⁸⁰ The earliest *sm3-t3.wy* scene involving Horus and another god dates to the reign of Mentuhotep II.⁸¹ The scene comes from a chapel of the king at Dendera now in the Cairo Museum. It appears below a scene of the king grasping the plants of the two halves of Egypt and raising a mace as if to smite them. Unfortunately, the *sm3-t3.wy* scene is badly damaged and the identity of the gods is not completely certain. A falcon-headed god appears on the right but his name is lost and the identity of the plant he holds (Upper or Lower Egyptian) is uncertain. He is, presumably, Horus or a form of Horus but it cannot be said which. On the left the entire figure of the god, his name and plant are destroyed. Most scholars assume the god on this side to be Seth⁸² but it has also been suggested that it is another form of Horus.⁸³ Although possible, the latter identification seems unlikely. Horus does not appear twice in any other *sm3-t3.wy* scene and only appears twice in one other case of the scene types studied here.⁸⁴ A goddess appears on this side, who is identified as *Mr.t t3 Mḥw{t}* “Meret of Lower Egypt.”⁸⁵ Another Meret-goddess appears on the same side as the falcon-headed god, who is likely Meret of Upper Egypt but the

⁸⁰ See Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 88-89, 226, figs. 51-51; Schäfer, “Die Vereinigung der beiden Länder,” p. 84, fig. 19.

⁸¹ C-1. Georges Daressy, “Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Dendérah,” *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 229, pl. 1; Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp,” pp. 22-23, fig. 6; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 230, fig. 129; Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 1, p. 8; Schäfer, “Vereinigung der beiden Länder,” p. 85, fig. 21.

⁸² Kees, *Horus und Seth*, p. 8; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 230 (with reservations: “Seth?”).

⁸³ Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp,” pp. 22-23; cf. Kees, *Horus und Seth*, pp. 11-12; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos*, BSAE 38 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl. 7, no. 16a (=B-3).

⁸⁴ B-3 (time of Intef V). I exclude Re-Horakhty in E-2 and E-3 where he appears with Horus leading the king into the temple, since he regularly occurs in this type of scene and Horus does so only rarely. Re-Horakhty is also the chief god of the temple where these two scenes occur.

⁸⁵ The *t* is probably superfluous; unless one were to read it as “Meret, she of Lower Egypt” but there is no example of this in the dictionaries.

name of the region is lost. The *sm3-t3.wy* scene next appears in the reign of Senwosret I.⁸⁶ Ten statues depicting the king on a throne were found at Senwosret I's mortuary temple at Lisht. On each side of these thrones are scenes of the *sm3-t3.wy* performed by either fecundity figures representing Upper and Lower Egypt⁸⁷ or by Seth and a falcon-headed god "Horus."⁸⁸ The statues with fecundity figures appear to have faced north with the fecundity figure representing Lower Egypt on the north side by the king's legs, whereas the statues with Seth and Horus faced south with Seth in the southern position by the king's legs.⁸⁹ In each scene the king's cartouche sits on top of the *sm3*-sign with the birth name, *Sn-wsr.t*, on the statue's right and the throne name, *Hpr-k3-R*, on the statue's left side.⁹⁰ On one statue Horus and Seth both wear the Double Crown on both sides of the throne⁹¹ but in all other scenes they are without crowns.⁹² In every scene Seth holds the plant of Upper Egypt and Horus holds that of Lower Egypt.⁹³ The "Horus"

⁸⁶ C-2. The main publication is J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pp. 30-38, figs. 23, 28-37. Blocks reused by Amenhotep I at Karnak depict a *sm3-t3.wy*-scene of Senwosret I, in which the king sits on a throne while Horus and Seth are said to be performing the rite below but no detailed description, photo or drawing of this scene has been published to my knowledge; see Henri Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1953-1954," *ASAE* 53 (1955), p. 41; Gun Björkman, *Kings at Karnak: A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom*, BOREAS 2 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1971), p. 128, no. 3:C; Gabolde, *Grand Château d'Amon*, p. 120, § 189a.

⁸⁷ Identified as such by the plant on their heads and/or the plant that they hold. Some of the figures are identified as *Hw*, *Si3*, *Npr* or *H'py*.

⁸⁸ For simplicity's sake, when referring to the falcon-headed god in general terms I will use the term "Horus" although the god is often not specifically named as such. Gautier and Jéquier, *Licht*, pp. 30-38.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 38. Cf. figs. 23-24 on pp. 30-31.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 33-37, figs. 28-37.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 35, fig. 33.

⁹² *Ibid*, pp. 36-37, figs. 34-37.

⁹³ *Ibid*, pp. 35-37, figs. 33-37.

in the scenes is named *Bḥd.t(y)* “The Behdetite” in both scenes of one statue,⁹⁴ *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky” (in two scenes),⁹⁵ *Bḥd.t(y) ḥnty itr.t šm‘y.t* “The Behdetite, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row,”⁹⁶ *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row,”⁹⁷ *ntr ‘3 nb p.t* “The Great God, Lord of the Sky” (in two scenes),⁹⁸ *ntr ‘3 nb Msn* “The Great God, Lord of Mesen,”⁹⁹ and *ntr ‘3 s3b šw.t* “The Great God of Multicolored Plumage,”¹⁰⁰ Seth is named *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite” (in three scenes),¹⁰¹ *Nbw.t(y) nb Sw* “The Ombite, Lord of Su,”¹⁰² *Nbw.t(y) nb t3 Šm‘w* “The Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt,”¹⁰³ *Wr-ḥk3w imy Nbw.t* “Great-of-Magic, Who Dwells in Ombos,”¹⁰⁴ *nb t3 Šm‘w* “The Lord of Upper Egypt,”¹⁰⁵ *nb Sw ḥnty itr.t šm‘y.t* “The Lord of Su, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row,”¹⁰⁶ *imy Nbw.t* “He who Dwells in Ombos,”¹⁰⁷ and *nb Sw* “The Lord of Su.”¹⁰⁸ All the titles of Horus in these scenes are well attested for the Behdetite, although there was a “Horus Lord of Mesen” worshipped independently from the Behdetite in the New Kingdom at Qantara in the northeast Delta and likely before this.¹⁰⁹ It is

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 35, fig. 33.

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 34 (right) and p. 37, fig. 37 (right).

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 34 (left).

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 36 (left).

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 35 (right) and p. 37, fig. 36 (right).

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 35 (left).

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 37 (left).

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 35, fig. 33 (left and right) and p. 36, fig. 35 (left).

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 36, fig. 34 (right).

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 37 (left).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 34 (left).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 35 (right).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 36 (left).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 36 (right).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 37 (right).

¹⁰⁹ Serge Sauneron, “Le prétendu «Pyramidion» du jardin des stèles à Ismaïlia,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Études historiques et géographiques de l’Isthme de Suez* 5 (1953-1954), pp. 45-

notable that the Behdetite can be designated as “Foremost of the Shrine Row of Upper Egypt” even though he clearly represents Lower Egypt. As in B-10, in scene C-10 of the 20th Dynasty Seth retains his title of “Lord of Upper Egypt” even though he represents Lower Egypt.¹¹⁰ Seth seems the logical partner to Horus in the *sm3-t3.wy* scene, which involves the north and south of Egypt but Thoth appears in the third earliest scene though this dates only to the early 19th Dynasty.¹¹¹ This is, again, at Abydos but Thoth continues to appear in these scenes from then onward. Seth appears as late as the reign of Ramesses IV.¹¹² Forms of Horus appearing without reference to the Behdetite include *Hr* “Horus,”¹¹³ *Hr ntr ʿ3 nb Msn* “Horus, the Great God, Lord of Mesen”¹¹⁴ and *Hr s3 3s.t* “Horus Son of Isis.”¹¹⁵ In a scene from the temple of Sety I at Abydos Horus is identified as *Hr Bhd.t(y)* “Horus the Behdetite” but another text of the scene states *wnn Hr s3 3s.t [hr] sm3 Šmʿw hnʿ Mhw hr ns.t s3=f Mn-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ d.t* “It is under the throne of his son Menmaatre forever that Horus Son of Isis shall be uniting Upper Egypt with Lower Egypt.”¹¹⁶ The identification of the Behdetite with Horus Son of Isis here may be due to the king’s identification with Osiris in this temple but the Behdetite is identified with Horus Son of Isis as early as the Middle Kingdom.¹¹⁷ In one 19th Dynasty example from Abydos Horus’

58; W. M. Flinders Petrie and F. Ll. Griffith, *Tanis II, Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, EM 4 (London: Trübner & Co., 1888), pp. 104-105, pl. 51; *KRI* II, p. 402, line 12-p. 403, line 4. Cf. C-5.

¹¹⁰ He holds the Lower Egyptian plant and stands on the north side of the scene.

¹¹¹ C-3.

¹¹² C-9-10.

¹¹³ C-4.

¹¹⁴ C-5.

¹¹⁵ C-15.

¹¹⁶ C-3; see Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pls. 30 and 37.

¹¹⁷ See R. Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfu,” *ASAE* 22 (1922), p. 115.

partner is neither Seth nor Thoth but Wepwawat.¹¹⁸ Wepwawat probably appears here for local reasons that are not fully understood.¹¹⁹ The close link of the *sm3-t3.wy* with accession and coronation is found in the speech of Horus in this scene: *sm3(=i) t3.wy hr=k rd.wy Hr nb ‘h iw n=k iwnty.w sty šm‘w.w n Hnt-ḥn-nfr iw ḥm=k mn(.w) hr-tp srḥ mi rwḏ Itmw m lwnw* “Let me unite the Two Lands under you (at) the feet of Horus Lord of the Palace as the Nubian bowmen and the Upper Egyptians of Khenthennefer come to you. Your Majesty is established upon the *serekh*-throne just as Atum is (enduring) in Heliopolis.” John Baines comments on this scene: “The most significant features are the statements that the king is on the *srḥ* and that he takes possession of the two lands. Being on the *srḥ* is the consequence of accession and of adopting the Horus name, as the wordplay with ‘Horus lord of the palace’ implies, while ‘taking possession’ is a legal phrase for accession or inheritance. *zm3-t3wj* and accession are thus explicitly linked; coronation is a more usual form of the same idea.”¹²⁰ A similar link between *sm3-t3.wy* and coronation is found in the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), which dates to the 19th Dynasty.¹²¹ In this scene Horus and Seth bind the plants of the Two Lands together, while steadying the crown of the deified Amenhotep I, which is a gesture of coronation.¹²² The phrase

¹¹⁸ C-4.

¹¹⁹ Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 262.

¹²⁰ *Fecundity Figures*, p. 261.

¹²¹ D-2; Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, PMMAR 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927), pl. 37 and Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 262-263, fig. 154.

¹²² Cf. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 263. Horus holds the plant of Upper Egypt and Seth that of Lower Egypt. The scene has a curious feature in that a cobra appears on an *nb*-basket supported by the plant of Upper Egypt (on the side of Horus), while a vulture appears on an *nb*-basket supported by the plant of Lower Egypt (on Seth’s side). Although Nekhbet and Wadjet, at this time, can each appear as cobra or vulture, when they both appear in a scene with one as cobra and the other as vulture Wadjet is usually the former and Nekhbet the latter. However, the respective plants in this scene would seem to reverse this identification.

used for a king's year of accession was *rnp.t sm3-t3.wy* "Year of Uniting the Two Lands,"¹²³ which underscores the relationship of *sm3-t3.wy* to coronation. It was symbolic of world order necessary for kingship.¹²⁴

As stated above, Horus appears less often in the scene type in which two deities lead the king before the chief deity of the temple. The Behdetite appears four times as the form of Horus in these scenes: E-1 (Chapelle Rouge of Hatshepsut), E-3 (Amada, Amenhotep II), E-5 (Karnak East, Taharqa) and E-6 (Karnak North, Taharqa). The scenes from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Taharqa are part of a series in which the Behdetite also takes part in the purification and/or crowning scenes.¹²⁵ Other forms of Horus found are *Hr nb Mi'm* "Horus, Lord of Miam" (a Nubian form of Horus, at Amada),¹²⁶ *Hr Hnty-h.ty nb Km-wr* "Horus Khentykhety, Lord of Kemwer"¹²⁷ and *Hr nd-it=f* "Horus Who-Protects-his-Father."¹²⁸ Horus' partner is Thoth except for at Amada, twice, where his partner is Re-Horakhty,¹²⁹ and Hibis, where it is Khnum.¹³⁰

A number of factors can be used to determine whether the Behdetite, or other form of Horus, represents Upper or Lower Egypt in a scene, some of which are more reliable than others.

¹²³ Ibid, p. 138.

¹²⁴ Cf. ibid, pp. 138, 251-252; fecundity figures used in the scene would represent prosperity that is a prerequisite of world order.

¹²⁵ A-2, A-33, B-20 (cf. A-31-32, A-34-37, B-11-18, B-20).

¹²⁶ E-2; reign of Thutmose III.

¹²⁷ E-4; reign of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.

¹²⁸ E-7; reign of Darius I at Hibis.

¹²⁹ E-2-3. One could consider Re-Horakhty as a second form of Horus in the scenes. In each scene the king faces Re-Horakhty as is the custom with Horus. Although the reason for this may be due to Re-Horakhty being a more exalted god than Horus (Horus Lord of Miam in E-2 and Horus the Behdetite in E-3), which might explain B-9 where the king faces Seth instead of Horus of Maha (a more localized form of Horus than the Behdetite by this time). However, it cannot explain the various times in which the king faces Seth or Thoth when they are partnered with a less localized form of Horus (Horus the Behdetite, Horus Son of Isis, etc.).

¹³⁰ E-7.

In some scenes it is impossible to be certain which area the gods represent. One of the most reliable factors is the plant either held by a god or on the same side as the god in the *sm3-t3.wy* scene. Due to damage or inadequate publication, in some *sm3-t3.wy* scenes the type of plant cannot be determined. For the Behdetite, in scenes where the plant is identifiable, he is shown holding the Lower Egyptian plant the earliest on the statues of Senwosret I at Lisht (C-2; on 6 statue scenes with the name *Bhd.ty* but, based on the titles, is probably the same god in all 10 scenes; opposite Seth in all scenes). He also holds the Lower Egyptian plant in C-3 (Sety I; opposite Thoth) and C-14 (Atlanersa; opposite Thoth). He first holds the Upper Egyptian plant under Ramesses III (C-7-8; opposite Thoth). He also holds it in C-10 (Ramesses IV; opposite Seth) and, likely, C-12 (Shebitka; only the plant of Thoth, Lower Egyptian, survives). In all other cases with different forms of Horus the god is associated with the Lower Egyptian plant: C-5 (“Horus the Great God, Lord of Mesen”; Ramesses II; opposite Thoth) and C-15 (“Horus Son of Isis”; Darius I). In C-9 Horus’ name is lost but he is probably the Behdetite, because this is a companion scene to C-10 found directly opposite of that scene in the corridor surrounding the sanctuary of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant here (opposite Seth).

In most crowning scenes Horus and Seth/Thoth are both shown supporting the king’s Double Crown and are not specifically identified with a particular crown (White or Red) but could be by holding a particular crown (as in some Greco-Roman Period scenes)¹³¹ or by their texts mentioning one crown to the exclusion of the other as in B-10.

¹³¹ See *Edfou IX*, pls. 35c and 40h.

Another reliable indication of Horus' geographic association is when Nekhbet and Wadjet appear in the same scene with one on the same side as Horus and the other with Seth/Thoth. The goddesses usually appear in human form but they can also appear in animal form (as noted). The Behdetite appears with Wadjet in scenes A-41 (Wadjet as Cobra and Nekhbet as vulture with Thoth; Nectanebo II), B-6 (Amenhotep III; opposite Seth and Nekhbet), B-17-20 (Taharqa; opposite Thoth and Nekhbet), C-3 (Sety I; opposite Thoth and Nekhbet), F-1 (Mentuhotep II; opposite Seth and Nekhbet). The Behdetite appears with Nekhbet in scenes A-2 (Hatshepsut; opposite Thoth and Wadjet), B-8 (Ramesses II; opposite Thoth and Wadjet), B-11-16 (Taharqa; opposite Thoth and Wadjet) and F-3 (Amenemhat I; opposite Anubis and Wadjet). In scene B-7 *Hr* "Horus" is shown with Wadjet (Sety I; opposite Thoth and Nekhbet) and in F-2, in which the name of Horus is lost (Mentuhotep II; opposite Seth and Nekhbet). The only example of another form of Horus appearing in the same scene with Nekhbet is limited to Horus Son of Isis in B-10 (Herihor; opposite Seth and Wadjet).

A similar factor to the preceding is when Nekhbet and Wadjet appear in an adjacent scene that is part of a series (purification, crowning, leading the king before the god). Most often a crowning scene with Nekhbet and Wadjet follows a purification scene with Horus and Thoth. These cases all date to the reign of Taharqa and Horus and Thoth appear in both the purification scenes and in the crowning scenes with Nekhbet and Wadjet, so the information is somewhat redundant. The only purification scene from the reign of Taharqa in which the Behdetite appears in the same position as Wadjet¹³² in a following crowning scene is A-31 (crowning scene B-

¹³² The Behdetite appears with her in the scene.

17).¹³³ There is a scene from the same monument in which the Behdetite and Thoth lead the king before Amun (E-5) with Horus in the same position as Wadjet in the preceding crowning scene (B-19). Those scenes that show the Behdetite in the same position in purification scenes as Nekhbet¹³⁴ in crowning scenes from the reign of the same king are all from the Taharqa's colonnade built in front of the temple of Montu at North Karnak: A-32-33 (B-12-13), A-35-36 (B-14-15) and, probably, A-37 (B-16). In Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge the Behdetite and Thoth lead the king before Amun-Re (E-1) with the Behdetite in the same position as Nekhbet in the preceding purification scene (A-2).¹³⁵

Certain titles of the Behdetite and Seth directly associate them with Upper or Lower Egypt. Seth is often identified as *nb t3 šm'w* "Lord of Upper Egypt"; see scenes A-8, A-10, A-21, B-1, B-10, C-2, C-9 and C-10. The title obviously associates Seth with Upper Egypt, however he can bear the title in scenes where he is in a Lower Egyptian context. In B-10 Seth is "Lord of Upper Egypt" but he is placed with Wadjet on the north¹³⁶ and his text states that he is affixing the Red Crown upon the king's head. In C-10 he holds the plant of Lower Egypt on the north side. Seth and the Behdetite can also be identified as *hnty itr.t šm'γ.t* "Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row." The Behdetite holds the title in A-13 (Ramesses II), A-41 (Nectanebo II) and C-2 (Senwosret I). Seth bears the title in C-2 as well. Yet in C-2 the Behdetite holds the plant of Lower Egypt and is on the north. The Behdetite also holds the title of *hnty itr.t mhy.t* "Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row" in C-2 (Senwosret I). The

¹³³ This scene comes from the colonnade in front of the temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty at east Karnak. There were undoubtedly more purification scenes that have not survived.

¹³⁴ The Behdetite also appears in the scene with her.

¹³⁵ The Behdetite again appears in the scene with Nekhbet.

¹³⁶ The geographic position of the images of the gods will be examined below. In general, the geographic position is unreliable, except when combined with other factors.

title/epithet *nb Msn* often identified with the Behdetite but also the epithet of an independent form of Horus in the Delta is usually associated with Lower Egypt.¹³⁷ The Lower Egyptian connection is often clear in the Greco-Roman Period when associated with the north wing of a winged sun disk, as discussed above, which bears this title and *ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* while the inscription of the south wing reads *Bḥd.ty* and *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t*. However, in many contexts the geographic identification of *Msn* is not clear, since Edfu was identified as *Msn* from the Old Kingdom onwards. In C-10 the Behdetite is *nb Msn* but holds the Upper Egyptian plant and stands on the south side.

Sometimes the geographic position of the gods clearly conforms to expected Upper Egyptian (south) and Lower Egyptian (north) orientations. Such is the case with the scenes on the statues of Senwosret I (C-2) in which Horus stands on the north side holding the Lower Egyptian plant or the scenes of Taharqa's colonnade in front of the temple of Montu at Karnak (B-11-16) where the Behdetite is shown with Nekhbet on the south side of scenes, while Thoth appears with Wadjet on the north side. But physical geographic orientation can be complex and not always clear. The west, in ancient Egyptian thought, is usually identified with Lower Egypt and the east with Upper Egypt.¹³⁸ Some scenes may follow this tendency. For example, in C-5 "Horus, the Great God, Lord of Mesen" stands on the west side and holds the Lower Egyptian plant. In B-6 and B-17-20 the Behdetite is grouped with Wadjet on the west, while in B-8 he is grouped with Nekhbet on the east. However, in C-3 Horus the Behdetite holds the Lower

¹³⁷ Scenes in which the Behdetite is called *nb Msn* are A-7 (Amenhotep III), A-34-35 (Taharqa), B-6 (Amenhotep III), B-18 (Taharqa), C-2 (Senwosret I), C-5 (Ramesses II) and C-10 (Ramesses IV).

¹³⁸ See Christian E. Loeben, "Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu," *BSEG* 14 (1990) p. 67; Dieter Kurth, "Himmelsrichtungen," *LÄ* II, col. 1215, n. 16.

Egyptian plant and is grouped with Wadjet on the east, in C-7 he holds the Upper Egyptian plant on the west, in B-7 Horus (*Hr*) is grouped with Wadjet on the east. The positions of the gods in a scene may even be related to the positions of the gods in another scene on a different wall.

Scenes C-9 and C-10 both date to the reign of Ramesses IV. C-9 is found on the west wall of the corridor that surrounds the sanctuary in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, whereas C-10 is on the east wall of the same corridor directly opposite from C-9.¹³⁹ In C-9 we find “Horus” (name lost) on the north holding the Lower Egyptian plant and Seth on the south holding the Upper Egyptian plant. In C-10 we find just the opposite with Horus the Behdetite on the south holding the Upper Egyptian plant and Seth on the north holding the Lower Egyptian plant. One gets the impression that the positions of the gods in both scenes are intended to balance each other. Something that may support the theory that these scenes are meant to balance each other out is the fact that the king faces Horus in C-9 and Seth in C-10. Thus geographical position in a scene is only reliable when compared with other factors in the scene or on the same wall and, often an opposing wall.

Some other factors that might be considered when determining the regional affiliation of Horus are, in scenes that are parts of doorways, the crown worn by the king on the jambs to each side. For example in C-8, a scene from a lintel of a doorway at Medinet Habu, the Behdetite is shown on the south side with the Upper Egyptian plant and Thoth on the north with the Lower Egyptian plant. Below on the south jamb the king wears the White Crown and he wears the Red Crown on the north jamb. In F-5, which is a double offering scene on a door lintel at Hibis, the king offers to the Behdetite and Isis in the west side scene wearing the White Crown and to Anubis and Nephthys on the east side wearing the Red Crown, so the Behdetite may here be

¹³⁹ That is, with the sanctuary in between.

viewed as an Upper Egyptian god. The opposite might be the case in another doorway from Hibis (A-41), where the Behdetite is shown on the west internal jamb pouring waters of purification, while Thoth does the same on the east internal jamb (symbolically or magically purifying anyone who passes through the door). On the external jambs the king is shown in the Red Crown on the west jamb and in the White Crown on the east jamb.¹⁴⁰

The crowns of uraei of sun disks and cartouches are not always reliable indicators of the orientations of a scene but when multiple and consistent examples are found on a wall or, especially, on scenes of a doorway they are more trustworthy. Such is likely the case in A-11 from Sety I's temple at Abydos. Horus (*Hr*) is shown in a scene at the top of the north jamb of a door purifying the king, while Thoth is shown doing the same in the corresponding scene on the south jamb. There are sun disks with two uraei in each scene and one at the top of the doorway; all three have the White Crown on the south and two have the Red Crown on the north with the third being lost to damage. On the lintel Nekhbet appears on the south and Wadjet on the north, as well. So Horus here likely represents Lower Egypt.

Other divine beings, besides Nekhbet and Wadjet, are specifically identified with Upper or Lower Egypt, namely, the *Meret*-goddesses, fecundity figures and the *Bas* of Buto and Nekhen. Their placement on the same side as Horus and/or his partner is generally reliable in defining the geographical associations of the gods. The position of the *Meret*-goddess of Lower Egypt opposite the figure of Horus in C-1 from the Dendera monument of Mentuhotep II strongly suggests Horus' identification with Upper Egypt in this scene despite the loss of his

¹⁴⁰ Horus the Behdetite is "Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row" and on the lintel above him a vulture named Nekhbet and the Upper Egyptian plant appear on the right of the king's names corresponding to the Behdetite's position and opposite a cobra identified as Wadjet and the plant of Lower Egypt.

partner and the identification of the *Meret*-goddess on his side, since the *Meret*-goddesses always appear as a pair with one representing Upper Egypt and the other Lower Egypt. The Behdetite can be confidently associated with Lower Egypt in C-13, a bronze statue plinth now in the British Museum, even though we do not know the original location and placement of the object, because he appears on the same side as the *Meret*-goddess and fecundity figures representing Lower Egypt and the *Bas* of Buto. Whereas, on Thoth's side are the *Meret*-goddess and fecundity figures of Upper Egypt and the *Bas* of Nekhen.

Clearly a multiple and reliable set of factors are best for determining the geographic association of Horus in these scenes but even then the results are not always clear. Nekhbet, the titular goddess of Upper Egypt, might even be identified with the north as there is a text that mentions a "Northern Nekhbet of the east."¹⁴¹ Seth does not take a clear connection with Lower Egypt in a scene until the Ramesside Period (B-10, C-10, D-1)¹⁴² after a cult of Seth was established in the Delta at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁴³ Even in some of those cases (B-10 and C-10) he is called "Lord of Upper Egypt." However, there is a good possibility that he is the deity now lost in the Dendera relief of Mentuhotep II (C-1) and would be placed with the *Meret*-goddess of Lower Egypt. We have also seen Seth taking the position before the

¹⁴¹ See Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 3, *Chester Beatty Gift* (London: British Museum, 1935), vol. 1, p. 109, vol. 2, pl. 60, line 7 (=P. Chester Beatty IX, vs. B 10, 9); Joris Frans Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, OMRO 51 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 151-152, no. 360.

¹⁴² In C-10 and D-1 he holds the plant of Lower Egypt, in B-10, from the time of Herihor, he is placed on the north side with Wadjet and is said to be affixing the Red Crown.

¹⁴³ Cf. Goedicke, "The '400-Year Stela' Reconsidered," p. 30 and Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, vol. 2, pp. 171-172, § 270.

king in the Red Crown in a double-throne *Sed* festival scene of Amenemhat I.¹⁴⁴ So, although primarily a god of Upper Egypt, Seth could on rare occasions take the part of representative of Lower Egypt from the time of the Middle Kingdom. Thoth first takes a clear Lower Egyptian association in the reign of Hatshepsut (A-2)¹⁴⁵ but this became common only from the beginning of the Ramesside Period, as well.¹⁴⁶ There was probably a cult of Thoth in the 15th Lower Egyptian nome since the Old Kingdom as the nome insignia took the form of an Ibis.¹⁴⁷ From at least the Ramesside Period Thoth was worshipped here as *Dḥwty wp-rḥ.wy* “Thoth Who-Separates-the-Two-Combatants” and the chief town (Tell el-Baqliha) became known as “The-House-of-Thoth-Who-Separates-the-Two-Combatants.”¹⁴⁸ The name derives from the myth of the conflict of Horus and Seth (the “Two Combatants”), in which Thoth was the god who was supposed to judge between them.¹⁴⁹ Thoth bears this title in several purification scenes of the

¹⁴⁴ See above and William Kelly Simpson, “Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty: I-II,” *JARCE* 2 (1963), pl. 8; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), p. 57, fig. 5.

¹⁴⁵ He is placed with Wadjet opposite the Behdetite and Nekhbet.

¹⁴⁶ C-7-8 (holds plant of Lower Egypt in both and is on north side and same side as king wearing the Red Crown in the latter scene), B-8 (is placed with Wadjet opposite Horus the Behdetite and Nekhbet), B-11-16 (placed with Wadjet on the north side in each scene; time of Taharqa), A-32-37 (same position as Wadjet in adjacent scenes=same monument as B-11-16).

¹⁴⁷ Dieter Kurth, “Thot,” *LÄ* VI, col. 510; Wolfgang Helck, “Gauē,” *LÄ* II, col. 400; idem, “Gauzeichen,” *LÄ* II, cols. 423-425; Alain-Pierre Zivie, *Hermopolis et le Nome de l’Ibis: Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte*, vol. 1, *Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*, Bd’É 66 (Cairo: IFAO, 1975), pp. 36-44; Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), p. 217.

¹⁴⁸ Helck, “Gauē,” col. 400; Zivie, *Hermopolis*, pp. viii, 69, 75; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven: Peeters en Department Oosterse Studies, 1997), p. 221.

¹⁴⁹ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 221 and 589.

Late Period.¹⁵⁰ The title does not seem to be strictly associated with Lower Egypt, however, as it appears in cases where Thoth is identified with both Upper Egypt¹⁵¹ and Lower Egypt.¹⁵²

In the following scenes Horus has strong associations with Lower Egypt (the name of Horus and the king/period is in parentheses with “Horus,” i.e. in quotation marks,¹⁵³ meaning that the name of the god is lost or not given; the factors associating the god with Lower Egypt are in footnotes with contradictions noted): A-11 (Horus; Sety I),¹⁵⁴ A-31 (The Behdetite; Taharqa),¹⁵⁵ B-6 (The Behdetite; Amenhotep III),¹⁵⁶ B-7 (Horus; Sety I),¹⁵⁷ B-17-20 (The Behdetite; Taharqa),¹⁵⁸ C-2 (The Behdetite/The Great God, Lord of Mesen/Lord of the Sky/He of Multicolored Plumage; Senwosret I),¹⁵⁹ C-3 (Horus the Behdetite; is also called Horus Son of Isis; Sety I),¹⁶⁰ C-5 (Horus the Great God, Lord of Mesen; Ramesses II),¹⁶¹ C-9 (Horus [damage following *Hr*]; Ramesses IV),¹⁶² C-13 (The Behdetite; late 26th Dyn.),¹⁶³ C-14 (The Behdetite;

¹⁵⁰ A-41 is the earliest (Nectanebo II). All the rest come from the Greco-Roman Period.

¹⁵¹ A-41; É. Drioton, G. Posener, J. Vandier and Jean-Claude Grenier, *Tôd: Les inscriptions du temple ptolémaïque et romain I; La salle hypostyle, textes nos. 1-172*, IFAO 18.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1980), p. 3, line 7; *Edfou V*, p. 36, line 17; J. De Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments de l'Égypte antique*, vol. 2, *Haute Égypte: Kom Ombos I* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1895), p. 139, no. 179.

¹⁵² *Edfou IV*, p. 52, line 4; *Edfou VI*, p. 244, line 3; É. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), pl. 21, p. 85, line 1; *Dendara XII*, p. 207, line 13, pls. 105, 130 bottom; *LD IV*, pl. 71a.

¹⁵³ Without quotation marks the name Horus means the god's name is given as *Hr*.

¹⁵⁴ Horus stands on the north side and the uraei of three sun disks are consistent with the Red Crown on the north and the White Crown on the south.

¹⁵⁵ Horus is on the west, which is the same as Horus and Wadjet in an adjacent scene.

¹⁵⁶ Horus is on the same side as Wadjet in the scene. He is also called “Lord of Mesen.”

¹⁵⁷ Horus is with Wadjet in the scene.

¹⁵⁸ Horus is on the west side with Wadjet in all scenes of a single monument.

¹⁵⁹ Horus is on the north side and holds the plant of Lower Egypt in each scene.

¹⁶⁰ Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant and is with Wadjet.

¹⁶¹ Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant and his text mentions Lower Egypt.

¹⁶² Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant. Note that this is a companion scene to C-10 where the orientation is opposite.

Atlanersa),¹⁶⁴ C-15 (Horus Son of Isis; Darius I),¹⁶⁵ E-5 (The Behdetite; Taharqa),¹⁶⁶ F-1 (The Behdetite; Mentuhotep II),¹⁶⁷ F-2 (“Horus”; Mentuhotep II),¹⁶⁸ F-4 (The Behdetite; Senwosret III).¹⁶⁹

Scenes in which Horus is strongly associated with Upper Egypt are A-2 (The Behdetite; Hatshepsut),¹⁷⁰ A-13 (Horus the Behdetite; Ramesses II),¹⁷¹ A-32-37 (The Behdetite; Taharqa),¹⁷² B-8 (Horus the Behdetite; Ramesses II),¹⁷³ B-10 (Horus Son of Isis; Herihor),¹⁷⁴ B-11-16 (The Behdetite; Taharqa),¹⁷⁵ C-8 (The Behdetite; Ramesses III),¹⁷⁶ D-1 (The Behdetite; Sety I),¹⁷⁷ D-2 (“Horus”; Ramesses II),¹⁷⁸ E-1 (The Behdetite; Hatshepsut),¹⁷⁹ E-2 (Horus Lord

¹⁶³ Horus is on the same side as the *Meret*-goddess and fecundity figures of Lower Egypt and the *Bas* of Buto.

¹⁶⁴ Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant and is on the north side.

¹⁶⁵ Horus holds the Lower Egyptian plant and is on the same side as a Lower Egyptian fecundity figure.

¹⁶⁶ Horus stands in the same place, west side, as Wadjet in an adjacent scene.

¹⁶⁷ Horus is on the same side as Wadjet in the scene.

¹⁶⁸ Horus is with Wadjet on the west side.

¹⁶⁹ Horus appears with the king, who wears the Red Crown, is “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, while Seth appears with the king, who wears the White Crown, and appears in the same scene as Nekhbet (Horus probably appears with Wadjet but her name and most of her figure is lost). Note, however, that Horus (the Behdetite) is “Foremost of Edfu (*Db3.t*).”

¹⁷⁰ Horus appears with Nekhbet.

¹⁷¹ Based on Shorter's translation, the Behdetite is *hn̄ty itr.t šm'y.t* "Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row."

¹⁷² Horus appears on the south side in each scene and in adjacent scenes Nekhbet also appears on the south side on the same monument.

¹⁷³ Horus is with Nekhbet on the east side.

¹⁷⁴ Horus is on the south side with Nekhbet and his text mentions affixing the White Crown.

¹⁷⁵ Horus is on the south side in each scene from the same monument with Nekhbet.

¹⁷⁶ Horus is on the south side holding the Upper Egyptian plant and the king wears the White Crown on the south door jamb below and the Red Crown on the north jamb.

¹⁷⁷ Horus is on the south side and holds the plant of Upper Egypt.

of Miam; Thutmose III),¹⁸⁰ F-3 (the Behdetite; Amenemhat I),¹⁸¹ F-5 (The Behdetite; Darius I).¹⁸² One should probably add C-1 (Mentuhotep II) where “Horus” (name lost) appears opposite a lost deity and the *Meret*-goddess of Lower Egypt, since cases of two forms of Horus appearing in these scenes is so rare.

In general, we see Horus, most often the Behdetite, predominantly identified with Lower Egypt before the New Kingdom, although, it is a small sample. During the New Kingdom and Late Period (21st-31st Dynasties) identifications with Upper and Lower Egypt are about even. No better illustration of this is found than the colonnades of Taharqa at north and east Karnak. At the colonnade of the temple of Montu the Behdetite is always associated with Upper Egypt but in scenes from Taharqa’s colonnade before the eastern temple at Karnak the Behdetite is always associated with Lower Egypt. If the Horus in all of the scenes from C-2 that are not directly identified as “the Behdetite” are accepted as being identified with this god based on their titles,¹⁸³ other forms of Horus do not appear in the types of scenes studied here until the New Kingdom (in scenes that have been preserved).

¹⁷⁸ Horus holds the Upper Egyptian plant, while a cobra on an *nb*-basket sits upon the Upper Egyptian plant on the same side (a vulture, *sic*, sits on a *nb*-basket on the Lower Egyptian plant on the side of Seth).

¹⁷⁹ Horus appears on the east, which is the same side as Horus and Nekhbet in an adjacent scene.

¹⁸⁰ Horus appears on the same side as a vulture identified as Nekhbet, which is upon an *nb*-basket supported by the plant of Upper Egypt (opposite a cobra identified as Wadjet on a basket supported by the Lower Egyptian plant).

¹⁸¹ Horus is on the same side as Nekhbet and opposite Wadjet, who is with Anubis.

¹⁸² Horus appears in same scene at left as the king wearing the White Crown, whereas the king wears the Red Crown in the companion scene to the right (with Anubis).

¹⁸³ The only difficult case is the god identified as the “the Great God, Lord of Mesen,” since there probably was a cult of this god in the Delta at this time and separate from the Behdetite. However, since the epithet *nb Msn* is preceded by *ntr* ‘3, I believe this god to also be the Behdetite.

This pattern might support Gardiner’s contention that the Lower Egyptian Behdet at Tell el-Balamun is an older cult site of Horus the Behdetite than Edfu. The shift to a more dominant association with Upper Egypt in the later periods could be explained by the rise in importance of Edfu or, rather, the cult of the Behdetite in that city. But is this a correct interpretation? Are these associations specifically connected to (Horus) the Behdetite or Horus in general? We have seen that in purification rites from the Pyramid Texts and other early sources the god is simply identified as “Horus.” In the formula that mentions the four gods of purification, so common in Ramesside (as well as in Greco-Roman) purification scenes, he is also just “Horus.” In another spell from the Pyramid Texts the purification of Horus takes place in the Delta: *pr Ḥr m 3ḥ-bit ḥꜥ P n Ḥr wꜥb=f im ii Ḥr wꜥb(.w) nd[=f it=f . . .]* “Horus has come forth from Chemmis. Pe attends Horus as he is pure therein. Horus has come pure that [he] might protect [his father . . .].”¹⁸⁴ A later papyrus (Berlin P. 13242) preserves the memory of this in identifying the living pharaoh with Horus in Chemmis: *[wꜥb sw] Pr-‘3 m mw wr pr m 3bw ḥpr [m Nwn/qrr.t (?) wꜥb]=f sw m ir.t Ḥr wꜥb=f sw m ḡ.t=s ḡs=s swꜥb s(w) 3s.t mi swꜥb=s s3=s Ḥr m-ḥnw 3ḥ-bit . . . Pr-‘3 ḥḥ wḡ3 snb Ḥr m-ḥnw 3ḥ-bit* “It is with the great water that comes forth from Elephantine, which came into being [in the *Nun*/cavern (?)] that Pharaoh [purifies himself] and he [purifies] himself with the Eye of Horus and he purifies himself with it itself,¹⁸⁵ while Isis causes him to be pure just as she causes her son Horus to be pure in Chemmis. . . . Pharaoh, l.p.h., is Horus in Chemmis.”¹⁸⁶ *Pyr.* § 1703c identifies the resurrected king with Horus and he is said to be born

¹⁸⁴ *Pyr.* §§§ 2190a-2191a. Cf. *Pyr.* § 1247a-c, where the king is purified with the help of Horus and Thoth in a marsh: *wꜥb.n N. m š i3rw wꜥb.n Rꜥ im=f Ḥr sin s3 n N. ḡḥwty sin rd.wy N.* “It is in the lake of rushes, wherein Re was purified that N. has been purified. Horus, rub the back of N. Thoth, rub the feet of N.” *Pyr.* §§ 519a-b is similar.

¹⁸⁵ Literally, “with its own body.”

¹⁸⁶ Schott, *Reinigung Pharaos*, p. 51, pl. 10, col. 2, lines 1-2.

in Chemmis: *ms.n tw mw.t=k 3s.t m 3h-bi.t* “It is in Chemmis that your mother Isis has born you.” We find a similar passage in the Coffin Texts: *m3 Wsir N. pn iwrw ms m Hr iw'w irw n=tn N. pn nb psd.t rhy.t m33 n N. pn s3 3s.t iwr(w)=f m P ms(w)=f m 3h-bi.t* “Regard this Osiris N., who was conceived and born as Horus the heir; this N. having been created for you,¹⁸⁷ (as) Lord of the Ennead. O people, look on this N., the Son of Isis as he has been conceived in Pe and born in Chemmis.”¹⁸⁸ The name of Chemmis, *3h-bi.t*, means “Papyrus-thicket-of-the-King-of-Lower-Egypt.”¹⁸⁹ A place name of Chemmis in Lower Egypt is attested since the 6th Dynasty in the autobiography of an official named Nekhebu, who carried out works for Pepy I there.¹⁹⁰ In Nekhebu’s account it is more fully named *3h-bi.t nt Hr* “Chemmis-of-Horus.”¹⁹¹ In the time of Herodotus Chemmis was located on an island near Buto in the west Delta.¹⁹² So, there is an early and extensive connection of the Horus of myth, i.e. the son of Osiris and Isis, with Lower Egypt. Horus’ association with Lower Egypt is hinted at in Pyramid Text Spell 217, in which three of the four gods of purification and of the cardinal directions appear, Seth, Thoth and Dunanwy. Seth and Nephthys are to proclaim the resurrected king’s arrival before the sun god to the gods of Upper Egypt, whereas the parents of Horus, Osiris and Isis, are to proclaim

¹⁸⁷ The 2nd person plural pronoun likely refers to the Ennead; see Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 1 (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1973), p. 215, n. 5 to Spell 286.

¹⁸⁸ *CT IV*, 37c-h.

¹⁸⁹ Hartwig Altenmüller, “Chemmis B.,” *LÄ I*, col. 921; Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 99-182*, *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire Romain* 43 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), p. 142 (Ch. 156).

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*; and see Dows Dunham, “The Biographical Inscription of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo,” *JEA* 24 (1938), pp. 1-2, pl. 2.

¹⁹¹ Dunham, “Nekhebu,” p. 2.

¹⁹² Altenmüller, “Chemmis B.,” col. 921; Herodotus II, 156.

the news to the gods of Lower Egypt. It seems likely, as Gardiner proposes,¹⁹³ that Osiris and Isis replace Horus in order to have a conjugal pair parallel to Seth and Nephthys.¹⁹⁴ Pyramid Text 695 also associates the two gods with the north and the south: *gd-md(.w) hms hr hndw R^c hsr.n(=i) Hr m rs(w).t p.t hsr.n(=i) S[tš m mh.t p.t . .]* “Recitation: ‘Sit upon the throne of Re (for) I have expelled Horus from the south of the sky and I have expelled S[eth from the north of the sky . .].”¹⁹⁵ The expelling of the two gods suggests that their presence in that location is a violation and, thus, Horus belongs in the north and Seth in the south. In the *sm3-t3.wy* scenes of Senwosret I at Lisht the Behdetite is always associated with Lower Egypt, although in one scene he is “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.” However in one of the scenes in which the fecundity figures of Upper and Lower Egypt take the place of the two gods, the fecundity figure of Upper Egypt states *di.n n=k Stš s.wt=f t3 Šm’w* “It is to you that Seth has given his *s.t*-thrones of Upper Egypt,” while that of Lower Egypt states *di.n n=k Hr ns.wt=f t3 Mhw* “It is to you that Horus has given his *ns.t*-thrones of Lower Egypt.”¹⁹⁶ Here again no particular form of Horus is mentioned. In scene C-3 from the temple of Sety I at Abydos Horus the Behdetite with Wadjet at his side pulls on the plant of Lower Egypt but a column of text behind Horus reads *wnn Hr s3 3s.t [hr] sm3 Šm’w hn^c Mhw hr ns.t s3=f Mn-M3^c.t-R^c d.t* “It is under the throne of his son

¹⁹³ “Baptism of Pharaoh,” p. 9.

¹⁹⁴ See *Pyr.* §§ 153a and 155a.

¹⁹⁵ *Pyr.* § 2158a-b; Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 1, *Le tombeau royal*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17.1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1936), pl. 12, line 1041; cf. Claude Carrier, *Textes des Pyramides de l’Égypte ancienne*, vol. 3, *Textes de la pyramide de Pépy II*, MELCHAT 14 (Paris: Cybele, 2010), pp. 1606-1607; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 303-304, and n. 2 on p. 304; James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, WAW 23 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p. 284 (N 458).

¹⁹⁶ Gautier and Jéquier, *Licht*, p. 33, fig. 28 (left).

Menmaat, forever, that Horus son of Isis is joining Upper Egypt with Lower Egypt.” One wonders if the act of uniting the Two Lands is based on a tradition of the Horus of myth, the Son of Isis and Osiris, rather than the location of particular cult sites of Horus and Seth. Gardiner makes much of Seth’s hometown of *Nbw.t* “Ombos,” which appears frequently among his epithets when he appears in scenes with the Behdetite.¹⁹⁷ Since Ombos is known to be located, exclusively, in Upper Egypt, Behdet here, according to Gardiner, must be in Lower Egypt.¹⁹⁸ In Pyramid Text Spell 222 there is a clear association of Seth “who dwells in Ombos” (*imy Nbw.t*) with Upper Egypt and of Horus with the north, i.e. Lower Egypt, but there is no mention of Behdet:

*htm.ti n=k tw m wr-ḥk3w Stš imy Nbw.t nb t3 Šm'w n fh.ti n=k n i.3b.ti n=k m tw irk
b3.ti šhm.ti r ntr.w Šm'w . . . htm.t(i) n=k tw m Hr hwn.ti n hm fh.ti n=k n hm i.3b.ti n=k m tw
irk b3.ti šhm.ti r ntr.w mḥty.w*

Provide yourself with the Great of Magic, Seth who dwells in Ombos, Lord of Upper Egypt. Nothing is lost to you,¹⁹⁹ nothing has ceased (?) for you. Behold, you are more *ba* and more powerful than the gods of Upper Egypt. . . . Equip yourself as Horus, you being young. Nothing is lost to you, nothing has ceased (?) for you. Behold, you are more *ba* and more powerful than the northern gods.²⁰⁰

In Pyramid Text Spell 601 Seth of Ombos is put in parallel with Horus of *Db'.t*, which was likely near Buto.²⁰¹ The so-called Shabaka Stone, or Memphite Theology, deals directly with the division of the Two Lands between Horus and Seth.²⁰² Although long held to be a text of the

¹⁹⁷ For example, on one of the statues of Senwosret I at Lisht (C-2) “The Behdetite” is opposite of “The Ombite” in both scenes.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 25.

¹⁹⁹ A *sdm.ti* passive; see Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, vol. 1, pp. 207-208, § 462.

²⁰⁰ *Pyr.* §§ 204a-c and 206a-c; cf. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 50.

²⁰¹ *Pyr.* § 1667d and *Pyr.* § 1668a; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 6 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1929), p. 127.

²⁰² See Kurt Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterien Spielen*, UGAA 10 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pp. 1-80; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient*

Old Kingdom due to its archaic language, it is now thought to be a product of the New Kingdom or later.²⁰³ It may, none-the-less, contain older material.²⁰⁴ In the text Geb partitions Egypt, giving Horus Lower Egypt and Seth Upper Egypt:

[. . .] i' b n=f psd.t wp.n=f Hr hn' Stš hw.n=f šnt=sn²⁰⁵ di=f Stš m ny-sw.t m t3 Šm'w dr b(w)
(m)s=f im m Sw sw Gb di=f Hr m bi.ty m t3 Mhw dr bw mh it=f im m Psš.t-t3.wy sw Hr 'h'(w)
hr 3.t Stš 'h'(w) hr 3.t htp=sn t3.wy m Šns t3š t3.wy pw

[And so, Geb commanded (?)] the Ennead to assemble for him and he judged between Horus and Seth after he prevented²⁰⁶ them from fighting, he appointing Seth as King of Upper Egypt in the land of Upper Egypt in the place in which he was born in Su. And so, Geb appointed Horus King of Lower Egypt in the land of Lower Egypt in the place in which his father had drowned in Division-of-the-Two-Lands. And so, Horus stood on (one) side and Seth stood on the (other) side and they were appeased (over) the Two Lands in Shenes. It is the border of the Two Lands.²⁰⁷

Here the geographical division is not based on the cities of Ombos and Behdet but on Seth's birthplace at Su in Upper Egypt and "Division-of-the-Two-Lands," believed to be near Memphis,²⁰⁸ where Osiris drowned. Horus' association with the north is based on the Osiris myth rather than on a cult place. Later Geb is said to have regretted his decision and awarded the entire kingdom to Horus:

dw hr ib n Gb twt psš.t Hr n psš.t Stš sw Gb rd(w) iw'w.t=f n Hr s3 pw n s3=f wp h.t=f . . . 'h'
Hr tp t3 sw dmd(w) t3 pn m3t(w) m rn wr T3-tnn Rsy-inb=f nb d.t rd.n Wr.t(y)-hk3w m tp=f sw

Egyptian Literature, vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 51-57.

²⁰³ Boyo G. Ockinga makes a good argument for dating the text to the Ramesside/post Amarna period; see his "The Memphite Theology-its Purpose and Date," in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, Alexandra Woods, Ann McFarlane and Susanne Binder, ed., SASAE 38.2 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2010), pp. 99-117.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 111.

²⁰⁵ Read šnt "to quarrel."

²⁰⁶ *Wb.* III, p. 245, no. 13: "verhindern," cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 23 "verhüten."

²⁰⁷ Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 23.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 25, textual note i.

*Hr pw ḥ'w m ny-sw.t-bi.ty sm3 t3.wy m Inb m b(w) sm3 t3.wy im ḥpr.n dw š(m)²⁰⁹ w3d r rw.ty
 Ḥw.t-Pth Hr Stš pw ḥtp.wy sm3.wy sns=sn tm šnt.t=sn m bw [nb sp]r=sn sm3(..wy) m Ḥw.t-
 Pth Mḥ3.t-t3.wy f3.t t3 Šm'w Mḥw im=s*

It (seemed) bad to the mind of Geb that the share of Horus was the same as the share of Seth. And so, Geb gave his inheritance to Horus. He is the son of his son, his firstborn.²¹⁰ . . . Horus stood over the land. And so, this land was united being proclaimed in the great name of Ta-tjenen, South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Eternity and the two Great-of-Magic grew from his (Horus') head. And so, it was Horus who appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt and who united the Two Lands in (the Nome of) the Wall (Memphis) in the place in which the Two Lands were united and it happened that the Reed and Papyrus were placed on the double door of the Mansion of Ptah.²¹¹ That means Horus and Seth were appeased and united as they fraternized so as not to quarrel in [any] place in which they might be, they being united in the Mansion of Ptah Balance-of-the-Two-Lands, in which the land(s) of Upper and Lower Egypt were weighed.²¹²

Another New Kingdom text, called by most scholars “The Contendings of Horus and Seth,” is a literary tale describing the violent and, at times, comical conflict between the two gods over the inheritance of Osiris.²¹³ No division of the Two Lands is mentioned in this text; Horus is in the end awarded the kingship over Egypt, while Seth is pacified by being placed in the sky as the guardian of the sun god. A violent conflict between Horus and Seth resulting in the loss of Horus' eye and Seth's testicles is mentioned several times in the Pyramid Texts,²¹⁴ and the awarding of the inheritance of Osiris to Horus by Geb is also found.²¹⁵ In the mythical tales from Edfu Temple, the “Legend of the Winged Disk” and the “Triumph of Horus over his

²⁰⁹ Written *šn'* and taking the place of the usual *sw.t* for the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt; see Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 35, textual note a.

²¹⁰ Ibid, p. 27.

²¹¹ Literally “and the placing of Reed and Papyrus on the double door of the Mansion of Ptah occurred.”

²¹² Ibid, p. 32.

²¹³ See Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, BIAE 1 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), pp. 37-60; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 3, *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 214-223; William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 91-103.

²¹⁴ *Pyr.* §§ 142, 418, 535, 594, 679, 946-947.

²¹⁵ *Pyr.* §§ 1219d, 1489.

Enemies,” Seth is the enemy, not only of Horus, but of the sun god and of Egypt and is destroyed.²¹⁶ In the first story Horus the Behdetite is the main actor. In the second tale the god shown in the reliefs is either Horus the Behdetite or Horus, Lord of Mesen but in the dramatic text Horus is identified as the son of Osiris and Isis.²¹⁷ In the dramatic text Seth is identified as the “Lower Egyptian Bull” (*k3 mhy*).²¹⁸ Influenced by these stories of conflict between the two gods, their associations with the two separate sections of Egypt and certain historical features of the 2nd Dynasty (discussed below), Gardiner and other scholars of his era theorized a war between a kingdom that worshipped Seth and one that worshipped Horus, with the latter ultimately triumphing.²¹⁹ Kees²²⁰ and Frankfort pointed out the faulty logic of these historical reconstructions.²²¹ Frankfort viewed the Horus and Seth myth as a product of the Egyptian predilection to view the world in dualistic terms.²²² With the founding of the state by Menes the natural geographic division of the Nile Valley and the Delta came to be viewed as a double

²¹⁶ See H. W. Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” *JEA* 21 (1935), pp. 26-36; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II.C: The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies,” *JEA* 28 (1942), pp. 32-38, idem, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II.C: The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies (continued),” *JEA* 29 (1943), pp. 2-36 and idem, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II.C: The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies (concluded),” *JEA* 30 (1944), pp. 5-22 and H. W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974).

²¹⁷ Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II,” p. 33.

²¹⁸ Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (continued),” p. 5.

²¹⁹ Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 59; see also Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1930), passim, but especially pp. 70-78, §§ 85-93; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources: A Study in Ancient Mythology* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), p. 73, cf. pp. 119-124

²²⁰ Hermann Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1956), pp. 426-429.

²²¹ Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), p. 17 and n. 6 on p. 349.

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

kingdom and each required its patron gods. The king embodied Horus and Seth as “an equilibrium of opposites.”²²³ Hermann te Velde has emphasized the cosmological aspects of the myth with the “portions” of the two gods representing the known world; the separation of the two gods is thus “not a matter of politics or religious history.”²²⁴ Nevertheless, something did occur historically that might have had some influence in the development of this myth.²²⁵ Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what happened. Since before the 1st Dynasty kings’ names had been placed in a *serekh* with the falcon of Horus placed on top,²²⁶ but in the mid-2nd Dynasty King Peribsen’s *serekh* is topped by the Seth-animal. The reason(s) for this change are unclear. The king’s name is not attested in contemporary inscriptions outside Upper Egypt and he moved his tomb from the 2nd Dynasty royal cemetery at Saqqara to the 1st Dynasty royal cemetery at Abydos, although there is evidence that he had a funerary cult at the former site.²²⁷ Peribsen may have lost control of Lower Egypt or he may himself have been a usurper.²²⁸ However, a cult of Peribsen is attested in the 4th Dynasty, which shows that Peribsen was not viewed as a “Sethian” schismatic or heretic.²²⁹ The last king of the 2nd Dynasty, Khasekhem, at some point in his reign also added the Seth-animal to the top of his cartouche but beside the

²²³ Ibid, p. 21.

²²⁴ *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, PdÄ 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 59-63.

²²⁵ As te Velde points out, “Naturally a religious phenomenon is not purely religious; it also has a social aspect, a historical aspect, etc. Yet no full understanding of religious matters is attained by resolving them into something else”: *Seth*, p. 74.

²²⁶ See Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 53, fig. 2.3.

²²⁷ Ibid, p. 89.

²²⁸ A sealing from his tomb at Abydos mentions tribute from a town named Setjet, which has been identified with Sethroë in the northeast Delta and was in later times a cult site of Seth; see *ibid*, pp. 89-90.

²²⁹ H. te Velde, *Seth*, p. 73.

Horus falcon and changed his name to Khasekhemwy “The-Two-Powers-Have-Appeared.” He also added the epithet *nb.wy htp(.wy) im=f* “The Two Lords are at Peace in Him.”²³⁰ The “Two Lords” are, of course, Horus and Seth. Early in his reign Khasekhem dedicated several objects to the temple of Horus at Nekhen or Hierakonpolis. Among these are two vases with an inscription showing the vulture-goddess Nekhbet offering the *sm3-t3.wy*-sign to the Horus falcon on Khasekhem’s *serekh*, which wears the White Crown.²³¹ The vulture stands on a *shen*-ring with the word *bš* “rebel” within. The accompanying inscription describes the scene as “the year of fighting the northern enemy.”²³² The bases of two statues of the king are inscribed with slain enemies, which are called “northern rebels.”²³³ If these inscriptions commemorate actual historical events,²³⁴ Khasekhem may have had to suppress a major revolt in the Delta or, even, had to re-conquer the north. This may be the reason for changing his name to the dual form in order to demonstrate that peace and harmony had returned to the country, however with little in hard evidence this is only speculation.²³⁵ Prior to the formation of the Pharaonic state archaeological evidence shows that an Upper Egyptian material culture (called by scholars “Naqada”) replaced a Lower Egyptian material culture (called “Ma’adi”) and, although there is no evidence of wide spread destruction in the Delta, this was probably not a completely peaceful

²³⁰ T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 91; for the writing of the name, see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed., MÄS 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 44-45.

²³¹ Ibid; and see Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pl. 36.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 92; Liam McNamara, “Statue of King Khasekhem,” in *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization*, Emily Teeter, ed., OIMP 33 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011), pp. 224-225.

²³⁴ Cf. *KRI V*, p. 35, line 4, no. 5; *V*, p. 109, lines 6-7, nos. 1 and 11; *V*, p. 110, lines 14-15, nos. 1 and 11 where Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt are listed among the defeated enemies of Ramesses III.

²³⁵ T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, pp. 91-92.

change.²³⁶ However, there is no evidence of a conflict between followers of Horus verses followers of Seth. As the god of chaos, Seth upon the pharaoh's *serekh* may have been a metaphor for internal conflict and the end of conflict may have been expressed as "the Two Lords are at peace" as in Khasekhemwy's epithet but, in reality, we just do not know.²³⁷ The reconciliation of Horus and Seth seems to have been the most important part of the myth in royal ideology and is embodied in the concept of kingship. This concept dates to the 1st Dynasty as seen in the title of queens in this period of "She who sees Horus and Seth" in reference to the king.²³⁸ In texts of the New Kingdom the king is likened to Horus as a ruler and to Seth as one who is powerful, especially in battle.²³⁹ A stone vessel from the Egyptian temple at Byblos with Khasekhemwy's name shows an interesting feature in that the Seth-animal on Khasekhemwy's

²³⁶ A good summary is Barry J. Kemp, "Unification and Urbanization of Ancient Egypt," in Jack M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), pp. 680-687.

²³⁷ Cf. te Velde, *Seth*, p. 73.

²³⁸ T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 203; te Velde, *Seth*, p. 71. Cf. *Pyr.* §§ 141b-142b where the resurrected king is likened to Horus and Seth; 144a-b: *m33 w(i) m3.n=k ir(w).w ms.wt it.w=sn i.rhw r3=sn lhm.w-sk.w m3=k im(y)w 'h Hr pw hn' Stš psg=k hr n Hr n=f i.dr=k nkn ir=k i.'h=k hr(wy) Stš i.dr=k iy=f. . . ms=k Hr n Wsir b3 n=k r=f shm n=k ir=f iwr=k Stš n Gb b3 n=k ir=f shm n=k ir=f* "Look at me, (for) you have seen the descendants of their fathers, who know their words, the Imperishable Stars. You shall see (in me) those who are in the palace; they are Horus and Seth. May you spit on the face of Horus for him that you may remove the wound that is against him. May you catch the testicles of Seth that you may remove his mutilation. . . . You shall be born, O Horus, for Osiris and the *ba* that belongs to you is greater than his and the power that belongs to you is greater than his; you shall be conceived, O Seth, for Geb and the *ba* that belongs to you is greater than his and the power that belongs to you is greater than his." The mention of Osiris and Geb in the last portion translated links the text to the judgment of Horus and Seth. Cf. Claude Carrier, *Textes des Pyramides de l'Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1, *Textes des pyramides d'Ounas et de Têti*, MELCHAT 12 (Paris: Cybele, 2009), pp. 68-71; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 31-31 (W 148); Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 42.

²³⁹ Cf. te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 71-72; Nicolas-Christophe Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, n.s. 6 (Paris: Institut de France, 1986), pp. 81-91.

serekh seems to be wearing the Red Crown.²⁴⁰ The Red Crown actually first appears at Naqada, ancient Ombos, from a late Naqada I context (c. 3600 B.C.E.), the actual cult site of Seth in historical times.²⁴¹ This evidence may point to the artificiality of the concept of two separate historical kingdoms of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.

4.IV: Conclusions

An important aspect of the falcon headed man, as well as the forms of the god discussed in previous chapters, is their role in presenting Horus the Behdetite as representative of one or more sections of the kingdom of Egypt. Unconventionally, rather than making a summary of the form that is the subject of this chapter, since I have done so in the main text, I would rather like to summarize this main theme here. Since the Behdetite as a falcon headed man in, especially, the *sm3-t3.wy* scene is perhaps the key component in the theories of Gardiner and others, this seems like a fitting place for this discussion.

The associations of Horus and Seth with the two geographical portions of Egypt clearly are mythological and probably date to an early period. Neither the Behdetite nor Behdet appears in any of this early material. In fact, they do not appear in the Pyramid Texts or in the Coffin Texts although several other forms of Horus and cult sites of that god *do* appear. At present, there is no evidence that either Tell el-Balamun or Edfu (as Behdet) even existed in the Early Dynastic Period.²⁴² The only mythical stories involving the Behdetite are found in the

²⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 92; P. Montet, “Notes et documents pour servir à l’histoire des relations entre l’ancienne Égypte et la Syrie II: Nouvelles traces des Égyptiens à Byblos,” *Kēmi* 1 (1928), p. 84.

²⁴¹ T. Wilkinson, *Early Dynastic Egypt*, p. 48; John Baines, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship,” in D. O’Connor and D. Silverman, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, PdÄ (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 149, fig. 3.1.

²⁴² Some Predynastic tombs have been found at Edfu (see Pascal Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” *LÄ* VI, col. 325) but that does not mean there was a major settlement here named Behdet of people

Greco-Roman Period temple at Edfu. Blackman and Fairman believed that some of the material in these myths dated to the New Kingdom.²⁴³ However, the treatment of Seth seems more at home after the defamation of his character from a god of chaos to a god of evil during the Late Period.²⁴⁴ If there was an original cult site of Horus, the best candidate is Nekhen/Hierakonpolis based on the number and quality of Early Dynastic royal objects deposited in that god's temple.²⁴⁵ If Horus' association with Lower Egypt is not because of Behdet being originally a Lower Egyptian city, then what is the reason for this association? It may have more to do with Seth's cult sites than those of Horus. Seth's earliest and most important cult sites were Ombos and Su in Upper Egypt. Horus may have represented the north by default, as suggested by Frankfort.²⁴⁶ Moreover, Seth is *nb t3 šm'w* "Lord of Upper Egypt" and *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t* "Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row" but he never bears the epithet *ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* "Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row" or *ḥnty itr.ty* "Foremost of the Two Shrine Rows (of Upper and Lower Egypt)" or any other epithet that connects him with Lower Egypt.²⁴⁷ Identification by default may also be the reason why the Behdetite sometimes appears as a

who worshipped Horus. There is evidence that Edfu was of some importance during the 3rd Dynasty, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.II.i.

²⁴³ "Myth of Horus at Edfu-II," pp. 33-34. This subject is investigated in more depth in 6.III.ii.

²⁴⁴ Although, Seth is punished by being slaughtered as a bull for sacrifice for the murder of Osiris in Pyramid Texts Spell 580 and 581 (*Pyr.* § 1556a), but a passage of Spell 535 comes closest to the later myth: *fḥ.n=k Ḥr m šṯ=f i.ss=f m ḥt Stš ndr sn i.dr tp.w=sn stp ḥpš.w=sn bsk=k sn šd=k ḥ3ty.w=sn b'b'=k m snf=sn ip ib.w=sn m rn=k n Inpw ip-ib.w* "It is so that he may catch the followers of Seth that you have released Horus from his breast-bands. Seize them! Remove their heads! Cut off their limbs!! May you disembowel them; may you remove their hearts; may you drink of their blood! Make a reckoning of their hearts in this your name of Anubis-Who-Reckons-Hearts" (*Pyr.* §§ 1285c-1287a).

²⁴⁵ Cf. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, pls. 2, 19-20, 26A-C, 29, 36-41.

²⁴⁶ *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 349, n. 6.

²⁴⁷ Cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 790-792; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, pp. 770-771.

hovering falcon representing Lower Egypt opposite of Nekhbet, who appears as a hovering vulture representing Upper Egypt. In early monuments Wadjet does not take the form of a hovering vulture (or vulture with cobra head), so in a case where it was desired to have hovering birds representing Upper and Lower Egypt, the falcon would have to stand for Lower Egypt, because of Nekhbet's strong identification with Upper Egypt. The same would hold true in later monuments where Wadjet does not appear as a hovering bird (though this form is attested elsewhere), such as the White Chapel of Senwosret I (or several rooms at Dendera Temple).²⁴⁸

The Behdetite is first attested as an Upper Egyptian god and evidence from the Old Kingdom identifies him as "Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row" but the material is badly fragmented. The place of the original cult site of the god is a legitimate question and will be explored in the next chapter but wherever his original cult place was located, from an early time²⁴⁹ the Behdetite was identified with both Upper and Lower Egypt. He can appear throughout Egyptian history as a god representing both parts of the country. A factor explaining

²⁴⁸ The Greco-Roman Period temples at Dendera frequently show the hovering falcon on walls as representative of Lower Egypt opposite of Nekhbet as a hovering vulture representing Upper Egypt. Although, because of the unusual orientation of these temples, this often means Nekhbet is on the north side and the Behdetite in on the south (the crowns of the king and other geographic markers also conform to this unusual pattern): Sylvie Cauville, *La Porte d'Isis*, compare pls. 18-19 to pls. 20-21, and 54 and 55; idem, *Dendara: Le Temple d'Isis* (Cairo: IFAO, 2007), pls. 104 and 122; *Dendara I*, pl. 46; *Dendara III*, pls. 180, 190 and 226 (middle reg.). There can also be mixed geographical iconography; on the internal side of the door on the east wall of room N in the scene of the bottom register of the north jamb the king wears the White Crown with a falcon hovering above, whereas on the opposite, south side he wears the Red Crown with a vulture (not named) above: *Dendara IV*, pl. 250. On the temples' orientation see Sylvie Cauville, "Une règle de la «grammaire» du temple," *BIFAO* 83 (1983), pp. 51-53. Wadjet appears relatively rarely as a hovering vulture at Dendera; *Dendara III*, pl. 180, p. 68, lines 16-17. She does appear frequently as a cobra-headed vulture in frieze elements: *Dendara III*, pl. 114, p. 45; *Dendara IV*, pls. 278, 280, 283 and 285.

²⁴⁹ At least from the 4th Dynasty the Behdetite is associated with both of the conclave of gods of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

why the Behdetite appears more often than other forms of Horus in scenes where he is the counterpart of another god, especially in scenes of intimate contact with the king, such as purification, *sm3-t3.wy* and crowning scenes, is his status as protector of the king's person. This dates to the god's first appearance in the time of Djoser at the Step Pyramid where the Behdetite hovers over the king as a protective falcon. From the first appearance of the god in the historical record he is connected with the *Sed* festival and by the 4th Dynasty he is identified as the preeminent god of both of the rows of national shrines at this festival. This likely derives from the Behdetite's status as a form of Horus from both a city (Behdet: "Throne-place") and a nome (Utjeset-Hor: "Throne-of-Horus") identified with thrones or enthronement. The culmination of the *Sed* festival is the enthronement of the king upon a double-throne and we find, from at least the Middle Kingdom, the king identified with the Behdetite in the *Sed* festival as seen in the double-throne scenes of Senwosret III, Amenemhat Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I. The identification of the king with the Behdetite seems to occur most often with the forms of the Behdetite as a solar god. We will explore the identification of the king with the Behdetite further in another chapter. However, it was the Behdetite's close association with the king and with the two sections of Egypt that resulted in the frequent use of his images in different forms, either in tandem or opposite another "national" deity (Seth, Nekhbet, Wadjet, etc.) as protective and decorative elements in royal/religious art.

CHAPTER 5

THE BEHDETS

5.I: Introduction

The Behdetite, of course, takes his name from a city or cities named Behdet, which itself takes its name from a word for a type of throne named a *bhdw* (𓇑).¹ Known from the early days of Egyptology as the god of Edfu, study of inscriptions and reliefs of the Old Kingdom and later periods revealed a connection of Horus the Behdetite with Lower Egypt and the discovery of another “Behdet” in the Delta. During the early 20th Century a major controversy developed among some of the field’s most prominent scholars as to which Behdet was the original home of Horus the Behdetite. In comments concerning a depiction of Horus the Behdetite among Lower Egyptian deities in a relief from the temple of Sahure, Kurt Sethe first suggested that the Behdet of Lower Egypt was the original cult center of the Behdetite.² Sethe proposed the modern city of Damanhur, the name of which derives from *Dmi-n-Hr* “City-of-Horus,” as the location of ancient Behdet.³ Depictions of Horus the Behdetite taking the Lower Egyptian position opposite Seth of Ombos in Upper Egypt supported Sethe’s theory in the minds of some scholars. Many scholars commented in favor or in opposition to this theory but Hermann Kees emerged as the main opponent of the idea that the original Behdet was in Lower Egypt.⁴ In his book *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Sethe expanded on his contention that Lower

¹ See Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 2, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.) 1924, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 71; Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), p. 43.

² See Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša³hu-Re*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*, Ausgrabungen der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 7, WVDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pl. 5; p. 83, cf. pl. 21, p. 101.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Horus und Seth*, vol. 2, pp. 71-78.

Egypt was the original home of Horus.⁵ Sethe took the various mythological tales of Egypt's gods and constructed an elaborate "history" of the Predynastic Period, in which the cult of nearly every important god in Egypt saw a period when its home city ruled the country or part of it. From the stories of the rivalry of Horus and Seth, Sethe proposed a history of a conflict of Lower Egypt ruled from Behdet against Upper Egypt ruled from Ombos the city of Seth. The followers of Horus in Lower Egypt overcame the kingdom of Seth in Upper Egypt and a new capital was established at Heliopolis.⁶ The most influential advocate for a Lower Egyptian origin for Horus the Behdetite was Alan H. Gardiner.⁷ However, Gardiner argued that Lower Egyptian Behdet was in the area of Tell el-Balamun, which was known as Semabehdet (*Sm3-Bḥd.t*) during the New Kingdom.⁸ Gardiner was a very accomplished and influential scholar and his advocacy for a Lower Egyptian origin for Horus the Behdetite convinced a large number of Egyptologists, such that even recently some will state that the cult of the Behdetite was introduced to Edfu from the north.⁹ Not all scholars were convinced by Gardiner's argument however, including

⁵ *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes vol. 18, no. 4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1930), pp. 70-72 (§§ 85-86), 87-88 (§§ 104-105), 122-133 (§§ 148-162).

⁶ See the citations of the previous note.

⁷ "Horus the Behdetite," pp. 23-60.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-46.

⁹ Cf. Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1956), p. 222, § 629; Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B, vol. 19 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978), p. 80; Barbara Watterson, *The House of Horus at Edfu: Ritual in an Ancient Egyptian Temple* (Brimcombe Port Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus, 1998), p. 45; Edmund S. Meltzer, "Horus," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 120 (Edfu is named Djeba and Mesen but Behdet is in Lower Egypt, though he then says Edfu was also called Behdet); Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2003), p. 203 (Behdet is a Delta site).

Frankfort, and Kees held on to his opposition.¹⁰ Problematic is the tendency to conflate the specific form Horus the Behdetite with the unspecific Horus of many myths. In the minds of many scholars today this controversy is futile. Few accept the use of mythical stories to reconstruct earlier history. The verdict of Pascal Vernus clearly states this view: “pour savoir si originellement *Bhdt* se situe en Haute ou en Basse Égypte est vain; comme pour *Mesen*, il s’agit d’une désignation mythologique susceptible d’actualisation multiple; en l’occurrence, l’application à T.E.¹¹ du terme procède de l’idéologie monarchique et manifeste la présence du roi à une ancienne frontière de son royaume.”¹² The ideology of monarchy and the tendency towards duality in Egyptian thought could have led to the simultaneous creation of a cult of the Behdetite in both Upper and Lower Egypt or the creation of one quickly followed by the creation of the other to fill the void. Multiple cities named Behdet did actually exist, however and it is the purpose of this section to investigate the cities of that name in which there was a cult of Horus the Behdetite. This chapter will examine the evidence for the cult of the Behdetite in the cities named Behdet but it would not be complete without a fresh assessment of this controversy of origins no matter how futile it may be.

¹⁰ See Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near East Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 26, 349, n. 6; Hermann Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), pp. 426-429.

¹¹ Tell Edfu.

¹² “Tell Edfu,” in *LÄ VI*, n. 3 on cols. 326-327. Cf. the comments of Herman te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie 6* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 74-75.

5.II: Behdet of Upper Egypt: Edfu

5.II.i: Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period

As noted previously, the earliest attestation of the Behdetite comes from an inscribed panel from the Step Pyramid of Djoser.¹³ This panel depicts the god with a chapel in the traditional form of the Upper Egyptian shrine. The god likely had a specific cult site during the 3rd Dynasty due to the fact that the god's name takes a city-sign determinative (⊗),¹⁴ which indicates that he is named after a city. There were two major towns in Upper Egypt named Behdet. Edfu was one but there was another near Abydos at the site of Naga El-Meshayikh.¹⁵ The ancient name of the latter was more fully *Bḥd.t i3bt.t* "Eastern Behdet."¹⁶ Although there is evidence that it existed during the Old Kingdom and its chief god Onuris was identified with various forms of Horus, there is no evidence that Horus the Behdetite was worshipped there.¹⁷ This negates the assumption that every town named Behdet must have a cult dedicated to Horus the Behdetite.¹⁸ Besides these facts, Edfu is the obvious location for the earliest cult site in Upper Egypt. No evidence of a cult of the Behdetite dating to the 3rd Dynasty has yet been uncovered at Edfu but there is evidence of royal interest in the site that dates to the early 4th

¹³ See Chapter 2.IV.

¹⁴ See Florence Dunn Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex," *JARCE* 32 (1995), p. 19, fig. 12.

¹⁵ See Farouk Gomaà, "Mescheich," in *LÄ* IV, col. 107; Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 36-38; Hermann Kees, "Die Laufbahn des Hohenpriesters Onhurmes von Thinis," *ZÄS* 73 (1937), pp. 77-90.

¹⁶ See previous note.

¹⁷ The god is not mentioned in any offering formulas or any other texts. See Wolfgang Schenkel, "Onuris," *LÄ* IV, cols. 573-574 and see the bibliography in *PM* V, pp. 28-29.

¹⁸ Cf. Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1925), p. 27.

Dynasty, if not the late 3rd Dynasty, in the form of a small step pyramid at south Edfu (El Ghenimiya).¹⁹ The Behdetite's name is not directly attested at Edfu until the 6th Dynasty but the site is associated with Horus in the 5th Dynasty under Neuserre. In a procession of nome figures in that king's sun temple is one with the name *Wts.t-Hr* "Throne-of-Horus" or "Raising-up-Horus" following the nome figure *T3-Sti* of Elephantine.²⁰ The town was also named Djeba (*Db3*) from at least the early 12th Dynasty.²¹ Vernus understands the name "Djeba" to be the civil name of Edfu, whereas "Behdet" is a sacred or religious name for the city.²² In Greco-Roman times the toponym "Behdet" could refer to the sacred places of the city of Edfu including the necropolises, Edfu Temple in its entirety or Room M within the temple.²³ Horus the

¹⁹ See Mark Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1997), p. 96; Nabil M. A. Swelim, *Some Problems on the History of the Third Dynasty*, Archaeological Society of Alexandria Archaeological & Historical Studies 7 (Alexandria: Archaeological Society of Alexandria, 1983), pp. 100-101. The pyramid has been cleared by a team from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and publication is forthcoming; see for now Gregory Marouard and Hratch Papazian, "The Edfu Pyramid Project: Recent Investigation at the Last Provincial Step Pyramid," *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 213 (2012), pp. 3-9 and Nadine Moeller, "Tell Edfu," in *The Oriental Institute 2010-2011 Annual Report* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011), pp. 119-120, fig. 13.

²⁰ See Hermann Kees, "Zu den Gaulisten im Sonnenheiligtum Neuserre," *ZÄS* 81 (1956), p. 35 and fig. 1 on p. 36; Henry G. Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 48-49.

²¹ An inscription from the Wadi Hammamat dated to year 38 of Senwosret I mentions a "Local Prince (*h3ty-ʿ*) of Djeba Isi," who was likely named after the deified Old Kingdom nomarch of Edfu named Isi; see J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1912), p. 65, no. 87 and n. 13; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 6 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte, 1929), pp. 126-127. The name is also found on part of a door jamb of Sobekhotep III found at Edfu; see Gawdat Gabra and Adel Farid, "Neue Materialien zu königlichen Baudenkmalern in Edfu," *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 182-183, fig. 2; and on a late Middle Kingdom stela made by the "Local Prince of Djeba Ipu"; see G. Daressy, "Monuments d'Edfou datant du Moyen Empire," *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 238.

²² See "Tell Edfu," *LÄ* VI, col. 323.

²³ Dieter Kurth, "Zur Lage von Behedet, dem heiligen Bezirk von Edfu," *GM* 142 (1994), p. 94; cf. Arno Egberts, "Praxis und System: Die Beziehungen zwischen Liturgie und Tempeldekoration am Beispiel des Festes von Behedet," in *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*

Behdetite is not named in the contemporary monuments of Edfu's earliest known nomarch Isi, who served from the reign of King Isesi to that of Teti.²⁴ Isi, who likely was not originally from Edfu,²⁵ does not mention Horus the Behdetite on any of his preserved monuments but he did name one of his daughters Sathor (*S3.t-Hr*)²⁶ and another N(y)sahor (*N(y)-s3-Hr*).²⁷ Horus the Behdetite is first mentioned in a private monument under one of Isi's successors, possibly his son,²⁸ named Qar (also called Pepynefer and Meryrenefer), who served as nomarch under Merenre and possibly Pepy II.²⁹ In a line of text from his offering niche from Edfu Qar is said to be *im3h hr Hr Bhd.t(y)* "a venerated one in the presence of Horus the Behdetite."³⁰ Qar was an "Overseer of Prophets" (*imy-r3 hm.w-ntr*), a title held by governors in the Middle Kingdom, and a "Lector Priest" (*hry-hb*) most likely of Horus of Edfu but his inscriptions do not specify the god.³¹ Texts from the tomb of the "Seal-bearer of the God" Sabni,³² whose tomb dates to the

Hamburg, 1.-5. Juni 1994: Systeme und Programme der ägyptischen Tempeldekoration, Dieter Kurth, ed., ÄAT 33 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), p. 15; idem, "The Pylons of Edfu," in *Egyptian Religion the Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, vol. 2, Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors and Harco Willems, eds., OLA 85 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1998), p. 800.

²⁴ Maurice Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," *BIFAO* 37 (1937-38), p. 159; idem, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)*, FIFAO 10.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1935), p. 22.

²⁵ Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé," p. 123.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 96; idem, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 25.

²⁷ Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé," p. 94; idem, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 23.

²⁸ See Raymond Weill, "Le nomarque d'Edfou *Isi* de l'Ancien Empire, et le dieu *Isi* au Moyen Empire," *Rd'É* 4 (1940), pp. 215-217; Farouk Gomaà, *Ägypten während der Ersten Zwischenzeit*, TAVO B27 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1980), p. 17, however see Eva Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches*, HÄB 1 (Hildesheim: Gebr. Gerstenberg, 1976), p. 113, n. 2, who thinks this would have made Qar too old.

²⁹ Mahmoud El-Khadragy, "The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum," *SAK* 30 (2002), p. 228.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 216, fig. 6, line 2 (= *Urk.* I, p. 253, line 2).

³¹ Ibid, pp. 206, 209, 211 (line 3 of architrave text), 213-214 (C 1).

time of Pepy I,³³ do not mention Horus the Behdetite, however his wife Ankhiet was a *hm(.t)-ntr*-priestess or prophetess of Hathor and he named his sons *Hr* and *Hr-nḥ.t*.³⁴ A badly damaged stela found at Edfu that likely dates to the 6th Dynasty also mentions a *hm(.t)-ntr Hw.t-Hr*.³⁵ This evidence likely points to a cult of Hathor at Edfu during the Old Kingdom but it is uncertain if the goddess was the consort of Horus the Behdetite at this time given the universal spread of devotion for this goddess in Egypt. However, we will see in Chapter 7 that there is some circumstantial evidence from Dendera that may link these deities in the Old Kingdom. The last nomarch of the Old Kingdom at Edfu named Khuu or Khuwi bore the title of *imy-r3 hm.w-ntr* “Overseer of Prophets.”³⁶ The inscription does not give the identification of the god/temple but it presumably refers to the main temple of the city, which should be that of Horus the Behdetite (on the titles, see below). Khuwi, an official of the First Intermediate Period at Edfu, is called *im3ḥ hr Wsir hr Hr Bḥd.t(y)* “a venerated one in the presence of Osiris and in the presence of Horus the Behdetite.”³⁷ During the turmoil of the First Intermediate Period Ankhtifi explains his move against Edfu as motivated by the will of Horus: *i[w] in.n [w(i)] Hr r Wts.t-Hr n ‘nh wḏ3 s(nb) r grg s(y) [ir].n(=i) (sy) ḥr wn Hr ḥr mr.t grg s(y) ḥr in=f w(i) r=s r grg s(y)* “Horus brought

³² “Seal-bearer of the God” (*htm.ty ntr*) was an official at the disposal of the king, the vizir and those responsible for the construction of royal edifices, thus the “god” refers to the king; cf. see Irena Wojciechowska-Kolinska, “Les inscriptions hiératiques sur la poterie provenant de la tombe de *S3bnj*,” in *Tell-Edfou soixante ans après: Actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire-15 octobre 1996*, Fouilles franco-polonaises 4 (Cairo: IFAO, 1999), p. 113, n. 30.

³³ See Wojciechowska-Kolinska, “Les inscriptions hiératiques,” pp. 112-114.

³⁴ B. Bruyère, et al., *Tell Edfou 1937*, Fouilles franco-polonaises 1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1937), pp. 27-29.

³⁵ Gawdat Gabra, “Zwei Stelenfragmente aus Edfu,” *GM* 75 (1984), p. 7 and fig. 1.

³⁶ Maurice Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932)*, IFAO 9.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1933), p. 2, fig. 1; Gomaà, *Ersten Zwischenzeit*, pp. 18-19.

³⁷ See Bruyère, et al., *Tell Edfou 1937*, pp. 39-40, 103 (no. 8); Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, “Le stèle de Khou-oui,” *ASAE* 37 (1937), pp. 116-117 and 120 (for the date).

[me] to Utjeset-Hor for life, prosperity and health in order to set it in order and I [did] (it). For³⁸ Horus wished it to be set in order,³⁹ because he brought me to it to set it in order.”⁴⁰ Vandier interprets the “Horus” of the inscription as referring to Horus of Edfu rather than the king, which he supports with a nearly contemporary inscription of the official Neheri at Hatnub, in which Thoth orders Neheri to set the provinces in order: *ḥn.n Dḥwty pḥwy=f r gr[g] sp3.w(t)=f nb.(w)t* “(I was a man) . . . whom Thoth commanded his success⁴¹ so as to set in order all his nomes.”⁴²

5.II.ii: Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period

The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period provide much more material on Edfu and the cult of Horus the Behdetite in that city. Among royal monuments are two sphinxes of Mentuhotep VII, in which he is described as “beloved of Horus the Behdetite,” and which

³⁸ See Gustave Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, Bd'É 12 (Cairo: IFAO, 1940), p. 270, § 571; Jacques Vandier, *Mo'alla: La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep*, Bd'É 18 (Cairo: IFAO, 1950), p. 166.

³⁹ *Wn Ḥr ḥr mr.t* here is the equivalent of *iw Ḥr ḥr mr.t* when following the proclitic particle *ḥr*, see Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 166 and cf. Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. (Oxford and London: Griffith Institute and Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 250, § 326.

⁴⁰ Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pp. 163-164 (inscription no. 2, lines 1-2); cf. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 85.

⁴¹ Literally “(good) end”; see Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 164 and cf. p. 171, no. 3, line 1 and p. 185, no. 5, line 2; Wolfgang Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben: Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens*, ÄgAb 12 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), pp. 46 and 47; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Hannig-Lexica 4, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), p. 468.

⁴² Vandier, *Mo'alla*, p. 164; Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers*, UGAA 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pp. 57-58, no. 25, lines 9-10.

likely come from the temple of that god at Edfu.⁴³ Among several blocks found near the Ptolemaic pylon of the temple of Edfu was a part of a door jamb with the name of 13th Dynasty king Sekhemre-swadjetawy Sobekhotep III: [. . .] *Sḫm-Rꜥ-sw3ḏ-t3.wy 'nh ḏ.t ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Hr Bḥd.t(y) m Ḏb3 ir.t [n=f . . .]* “[. . .] Sekhemre-swadjetawy, who lives forever, he having made as his monument for his father Horus the Behdetite in Edfu the making [for him of . . .].”⁴⁴ From the same location was found a fragment of a lintel with the wing tip of a winged disk and the name of a “[Son] of Re Senwosret.”⁴⁵ Due to the style of its relief this piece is believed to be the work of Seneferibre Senwosret IV of the 13th Dynasty.⁴⁶ According to texts from the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, a king named Menibre built a structure called a *m3rw*, which was a sort of place of courtly pleasure and devotion of the gods.⁴⁷ Menibre is an obscure king, who lived either in the late Middle Kingdom (13th Dyn.) or Second Intermediate Period.⁴⁸ In Greco-Roman times this structure, which was still in use, was a resting place for divine statues during

⁴³ Henri Gauthier, “Deux sphinx du Moyen Empire originaires d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 31 (1931), pp. 1-6; W. V. Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, British Museum Occasional Papers 28 (London: British Museum, 1981), pp. 30-31, nos. 51-52; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, ÄF 23 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1964), p. 288, no. 3.

⁴⁴ Gawdat Gabra and Adel Farid, “Neue Materialien zu königlichen Baudenkmalern in Edfu,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981), p. 182, and fig. 2 on p. 183.

⁴⁵ A line connects the tips of the primary feathers and *Bḥd(.ty) nṯr '3 di 'nh ḏ.t* “The Behdetite, the Great God, who gives life forever” is carved beside the wing; see *ibid.*, pp. 181-182, fig. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

⁴⁷ See Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 324; Rainer Hannig, “Lusthaus,” *LÄ* III, col. 1102.

⁴⁸ See Émile Chassinat, “Le *Mar* du roi Menibré, à Edfou,” *BIFAO* 30 (1931), pp. 300-301; Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, vol. 2, Bd’É 20.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), p. 582; D. Meeks, *Le Grand Texte des Donations au temple d’Edfou*, vol. 1, Bd’É 59 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), p. 95 (n. 135, nos. 1-2). Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed., MÄS 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 112-113 places him in the 14th Dynasty.

several festivals and it might have served this purpose in earlier times.⁴⁹ It is likely buried under the modern city of Edfu. Other texts from Edfu mention a *maru* that was named *K3-ḥsi.t* that was located near the landing area for sacred barks.⁵⁰ Meeks suggests that this is the same *maru* built by Menibre.⁵¹ We will examine in a later chapter if this and other *maru*-structures at Edfu and Dendera have implications for dating the festival of the “Bonne Reunion.”

Several block fragments have recently been found under the pavement of the Ptolemaic court (H) of Edfu Temple. Among these is part of a scene of a king wearing the Red Crown and receiving life from a lost deity.⁵² Texts from this block and others identify the king as *Dḥwty Šḥm-Rꜥ-smn-t3.wy*.⁵³ Once thought to be a king of the 17th Dynasty, he is now believed to belong to the end of the 13th Dynasty.⁵⁴ A block that likely dates to Djehuty claims he rebuilt the temple in sandstone.⁵⁵ Although this sandstone appears to have been of poor quality, which may indicate limited resources.⁵⁶ Most interesting is a block from the same structure mentioning the Aten with a seated god determinative. Part of a stela found at Edfu depicts a queen named

⁴⁹ Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 581-582.

⁵⁰ See *Edfou V*, p. 34, lines 5-6; É. Chassinat, “Le temple d’Horus Beḥouditi à Dendérah,” *Revue de l’Égypte ancienne* 1 (1927), p. 299.

⁵¹ Meeks, *Texte des Donations*, vol. 1, pp. 94-95.

⁵² M. von Falck, S. Klie and A. Schulz, “Neufunde ergänzen Königsnamen eines Herrschers der 2. Zwischenzeit,” *GM* 87 (1985), pp. 17, 20, fig. 2.III; Yehia Eid and Martin von Falck, “The History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu: Remarks on Re-used Blocks Discovered in the Temple Court,” *BEM* 3 (2006), pp. 65.

⁵³ Falck, Klie and Schulz, “Neufunde,” pp. 15-17, 20, figs. 2.I-III; Eid and von Falck, “Remarks on Re-used Blocks,” pp. 65-66, 69, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ See C. Geisen, “Zur zeitlichen Einordnung des Königs Djehuti an das Ende der 13. Dynastie,” *SAK* 32 (2004), pp. 149-157; C. Vandersleyen, “Rahotep, Sébekemsaf I^{er} et Djéhouy, rois de la 13^e Dynastie,” *Rd’É* 44 (1993), p. 189; cf. von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 126, n. 1.

⁵⁵ Paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in April 2013 by Janelle Wade and Jonathan Winnerman on the Edfu block yard, which is part of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago’s Edfu expedition.

⁵⁶ See previous note.

Sobekemsaf.⁵⁷ She appears with her sister Neferen and a brother; the stela is likely a monument of her father, whose name is lost but who bore the titles *ḥ3ty-‘imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* “Mayor and Overseer of Prophets,” which identifies him as the governor of Edfu.⁵⁸ She is believed to be the wife of 17th Dynasty king Nubkheperre Intef V.⁵⁹ Probably the same king, called “Intef-the-Victorious” (*Ini-it=f-nḥ.t*), on a stela of Hornakht, is said to be “beloved” of Horus the Behdetite and Isis, who are both depicted on the stela.⁶⁰

Quite a few private monuments, mostly stelae, dating to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period have been found at Edfu.⁶¹ Many of the persons named in these monuments were priests of the temple of Horus the Behdetite,⁶² including “prophets” (*ḥm-ntr*),⁶³ “lector-

⁵⁷ R. Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfū,” *ASAE* 22 (1922), p. 116 and pl. 1.6 (opposite p. 168).

⁵⁸ P. Vernus, “Edfou, du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie: Études philologiques, sociologiques et historiques d’un corpus documentaire de l’Égypte pharaonique” (PhD diss., Paris Sorbonne University, 1987), pp. 230, 837-839.

⁵⁹ See von Beckerath, *Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, p. 171; P. Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 325; idem, “Edfou,” pp. 233-235.

⁶⁰ Horus appears wearing the Double Crown holding a *w3s*-scepter and *ankh* at right and Isis appears at left with a sun disk on her head and holding a scepter and *ankh*; see E. A. Wallis Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, & c., in the British Museum*, vol. 6 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1922), pl. 28 (no. 1645); Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 2nd ed., *Kleine ägyptische Texte* 5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 77, no. 112. Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 423, views this stela as a royal monument made for Hornakht by order of the king.

⁶¹ The chief study of this material is Vernus, “Edfou.” The corpus runs from the early 12th Dynasty to the early 18th Dynasty, but most material comes from the 13th and 17th Dynasties.

⁶² Some specify that they are priests of Horus the Behdetite, while others do not name the god they served. The latter likely served in the main temple of the city, which should have been that of Horus the Behdetite. Other gods were worshipped in the city but their cults were likely associated with that of Horus.

⁶³ The title is literally “servant of the god”; the Greeks incorrectly translated the title as “prophet,” which for brevity’s sake we will use here; cf. Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 57. See Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), pp. 30, 33; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des*

priests” (*hry-ḥb.t*),⁶⁴ “pure-priests” (*w‘b*)⁶⁵ and other positions.⁶⁶ As was frequent in Egyptian history, these religious posts were often passed down from father to son or to another family member.⁶⁷ The governors of Edfu and elsewhere during most of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period held the titles *ḥ3ty-‘ imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* “Mayor and Overseer of Prophets.”⁶⁸ Vernus doubts that the governors had any real function as prophets in the temple⁶⁹ but notes that they likely had administrative control over the temple and its property.⁷⁰ The family of the governor Hori produced at least four governors during the 13th Dynasty between

Mittleren Reiches im Museum Kairo, vol. 1, *Text zu No. 20001-20399*, CGC 20001-20780 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902), p. 342, no. 20329.

⁶⁴ Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes*, CGC 23001-23256 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1909), p. 11, pl. 8; Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” p. 118.

⁶⁵ R. Engelbach, “Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921,” *ASAE* 21 (1921), pp. 65-67; idem, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” p. 118; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pp. 30, 33 and 34 (Ptahhotep was a *w‘b wr* and Seneb-[.] was a *w‘b ‘3*); Ahmed Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes*, p. 11, pl. 8.

⁶⁶ A Hori and his son Horemkhaef were *hry-ḥw.t*, with the latter adding *n Hr Bḥd.(t)y*, which is an otherwise unattested title; see R. Engelbach, “Two Steles of the Late Middle Kingdom from Tell Edfū,” *ASAE* 23 (1923), p. 185. Djehuty was *imy-r3 šnt* (written *šnty*) *n Hr Bḥd.ty* “Overseer of police of Horus the Behdetite”; see H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum Kairo*, vol. 2, *Text zu No. 20400-20780*, CGC 20001-20780 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1908), p. 262. Sobekhhenu was *sm3‘ ḥtp.w-ntr r pr Hr Bḥd.ty* “One who directs god’s offerings in the house (i.e. the temple) of Horus the Behdetite”; see Marcel Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw,” *BMSAES* 12 (2009), P. 34, and fig. 2 on p. 74.

⁶⁷ See below and also see Pascal Vernus, “Les inscriptions d’Edfou du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie,” *L’Information Historique* 1 (1988), p. 18.

⁶⁸ Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 837-839; cf. Detlef Franke, “The Career of Khnumhotep III. of Beni Hasan and the So-called ‘Decline of the Nomarchs,’” in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. Stephen Quirke (New Malden, England: Sia Publishing, 1991), pp. 52-53.

⁶⁹ “Edfou,” p. 894.

⁷⁰ Unlike in the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom, the governors no longer were in charge of the military in the province as there was a separate military official stationed in the city; see *ibid.*, p. 846.

the reigns of Sobekhotep IV and Dedumose⁷¹ and had ties of marriage with the royal families of the 13th and 17th Dynasties and with the clergy of the temple of Edfu.⁷²

An important family of prophets (*ḥm.w-ntr*) during the 13th Dynasty was that of Seneb. According to texts from a statue of his son Horemmehib, Seneb was a prophet and may be the same Seneb who held the title “Great Pure Priest” (*w'b ʿ3*) on a stela mentioning his father-in-law.⁷³ Seneb and Horemmehib married women, who held the title of “Royal Ornament” (*ḥkr.t-ny-sw.t*), which would have linked them to the royal court.⁷⁴ A stela of Horemmehib lists additional administrative and religious titles and duties that he performed: *iry-p'.t ḥ3ty-ʿ (ḥtmw)-bi.ty {n} smr-w'.ty ḥr(y)-(s)št3 ntt-wn ḥsy n ntr=f niw.ty w'b ʿ.wy ḥr dbḥ.t-ḥtp.w inn ntr r šbw=f drp ḥr m mrr.wt=f sḥtp ntr=f r'-nb rd m3' ḥtp-ntr n ntr.w imyw Bḥd.t* “The Hereditary Noble, Mayor, Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Master of Secrets of what exists, praised one of his local god, pure of hands when bearing the requisite offerings, he who brings the god to his meal, who feeds Horus with what he loves, who satisfies his god

⁷¹ Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 97, 101 places Sobekhotep IV as the 24th king of the 13th Dynasty, while Dedumose is placed as the 37th king of that dynasty. The dating of the monuments of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period follows Vernus’ dissertation and are based on artistic styles and a few dated monuments. The material may be due for another assessment by an art historian, which I am not. Note that the 13th Dynasty extends from the end of the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period. The latter period began after the reign of Merneferre Ay (c. 1695-1685 B.C.E.), who is the last king of the 13th Dynasty with inscribed monuments in both Upper and Lower Egypt (he is placed as the 27th king of the dynasty by von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 99); see Janine Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC),” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 185; Wolfram Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society* (London: Duckworth, 2006), p. 74.

⁷² Most important was the marriage of the governor Horerkhuitef to the *s3.t ny-sw.t Sbk-nḥ.t* “King’s Daughter Sobeknakht”; see Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 841-842. See, also, *ibid*, pp. 842-853; Dominique Farout, “Trois nouveaux monuments de la famille des gouverneurs d’Edfou à la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire,” *Rd’É* 58 (2007), pp. 44-50.

⁷³ Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 895.

⁷⁴ The father of Seneb's wife was a general; see *ibid*, pp. 895-897 and cf. pp. 201-202.

everyday, who causes the presenting of the divine offerings to the gods who are in Behdet.”⁷⁵

Horemehib’s son Auib (*3w-ib*) would also hold the office of prophet; another son, Senires, was a lector priest and several others held administrative posts in the city.⁷⁶ The prophets Mereri and Inwa appear to have lived in the time period between the reign of Sobekhotep IV and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period but they do not appear to be related to the families of the prophets discussed above.⁷⁷

The earliest lector priest that we know of from Edfu is one Sobekhenu, who probably dates to the time of Senwosret I.⁷⁸ He was *hry-ḥb sš-md3.t-nṯr imy-r3 niw.t mi qd=s sm3’ ḥtp.w-nṯr r pr Hr Bḥd.ty imy-r3 ḥ3.wt m pr s’ḥ=f im3ḥy sš sp3.t Sbk-ḥnw* “Lector Priest, Scribe of Divine Scripture, Overseer of the Entire City, One who Directs God’s Offerings to the House of Horus the Behdetite, Overseer of the Offering Tables in the House of His Dignitary, the venerated one, the District Scribe Sobekhenu.”⁷⁹ Sobekhenu thus held civic and religious posts in both the temple of Horus and in the tomb-shrine dedicated to the deified nomarch Isi, who is the “dignitary,” or “saint,” mentioned in the text, which was found on a stela in this tomb-shrine.⁸⁰ Those who served as lector priests during the rest of the 12th Dynasty are unknown.

⁷⁵ See Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, p. 131; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 201-202.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 896-897.

⁷⁷ Ibid, pp. 105-107, 122; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pp. 33, no. 11.

⁷⁸ See Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties,” p. 35.

⁷⁹ Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 29; Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties,” pp. 34-36 and fig. 2 on p. 74.

⁸⁰ See Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties,” pp. 34-35. This accumulation of civil and religious offices reflects a period before the central government had created distinct cadres of officials within the temples and local administration and is somewhat typical of the early 12th Dynasty; see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 902; Gae Callender, “The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c. 2055-1650 BC),” in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 174; cf. Claude Vandersleyen, *L’Égypte et la*

The next lector priest that we do know of is a man named Nebit, who also held the title of *imy-r3 šnt* “Police Chief.”⁸¹ Nebit served around the time of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV; after him there is a great gap until the middle of the 13th Dynasty.⁸² A prominent family of lector priests of the mid-13th Dynasty is that of Neferhotep, who lived a little more than a generation after the reign of Sobekhotep IV.⁸³ His son Horinheret⁸⁴ also served as lector priest, as did his son Hori, in turn. One of Hori’s sons, Sobekhotep, also served as lector priest.⁸⁵ Two more lector priests are known from the later 13th Dynasty. One is Senires, who was the son of the prophet Horemehib.⁸⁶ If a single person held the position of lector priest at this time,⁸⁷ it is possible that Senires succeeded Hori’s son Sobekhotep.⁸⁸ A lector priest named Hormeni dates to the end of the 13th Dynasty.⁸⁹ He is mentioned on a stela dedicated by his “brother” the scribe Reniiqer, which was dedicated in the temple at El Kab. Several priests from El Kab were named Hormeni at this time and Vernus suggests that this man may have originated from there and been sent to succeed Senires.⁹⁰ A *sš hry-ḥb Hr-mni* “Scribe and Lector Priest Hormeni” composed the text

vallée du Nil, vol. 2, *De la fin de l’Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), pp. 68-69; cf. Franke, “Career of Khnumhotep,” pp. 52-54, 65.

⁸¹ Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), pp. 28-29; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 902-903; on the title, see Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, *Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, Hannig-Lexica 5, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 112 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), p. 234.

⁸² Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 903.

⁸³ This is based on the date of his grandson’s service; *ibid*, pp. 904-905.

⁸⁴ He was also called Horiny for short.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 905.

⁸⁷ There are no indications of a hierarchy during this time, so the temple may have been small enough to have only one; see below.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

⁸⁹ He is mentioned on a stela of the “Assistant of the Son of the House Horinhere(t),” who dates from this time; *ibid*, pp. 238-241, 906.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 906.

of the stela of the “Chief Inspector of Prophets of Horus of Nekhen” Horemkhauef found at his tomb at Hierakonpolis.⁹¹ Hayes suggests that this Hormeni is identical to the Hormeni found in the stela from Edfu.⁹² However, Vernus suggests identification with a *sš iqr hry-ḥb tpy n Hr Nḥn* “excellent Scribe and Chief Lector Priest of Horus of Nekhen” named Hormeni, who is mentioned in the tomb of his brother Sobeknacht at El Kab and evidently not the same Hormeni mentioned on the stela from Edfu and on the stela of Reniiqer from El Kab.⁹³ The documentation is silent in regard to lector priests of all but the very end of the 17th Dynasty.⁹⁴

Two particular categories of high-ranking “pure priests” (*wʿb*) are known from the Middle Kingdom/First Intermediate Period material from Edfu. One is *wʿb ʿ3* “Great Pure Priest” and the other is *wʿb ʿq* “Pure Priest who Enters.” “Great Pure Priest” during the Middle Kingdom was the priest that carried out the daily cult, whereas “Pure Priest who Enters” indicated a priest with the right to enter the holy-of-holies.⁹⁵ Only two “Great Pure Priests” are known from the era. Seneb, who most likely is the same prophet of that name,⁹⁶ and Netjerisi son of Sesi, who is mentioned on a stela of his brother, who was also a member of the clergy of

⁹¹ See William C. Hayes, “Horemkhaʿuef of Nekhen and His Trip to It-towe,” *JEA* 33 (1947), pp. 3-8, pl. 2; for the reading of the sign for *sš*, see Pascal Vernus, “Le prêtre-ritualiste *Hr-mni*, redacteur de la stèle de *Hr-m-ḥʿw.f.*,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1986), pp. 587-588.

⁹² Hayes, “Horemkhaʿuef,” p. 9, n. 6.

⁹³ “*Hr-mni*,” p. 590.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* We will examine the lector priests of the end of the 17th Dynasty below.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 914-916. The title *wʿb* alone could both indicate a simple, low ranked, pure priest but could also be used as an abbreviation for one of the other higher ranked titles. In some cases *wʿb* combined with other titles, such as *hry-ḥb* can indicate a presumptive successor; see *ibid.*, p. 914.

⁹⁶ He is mentioned on a stela dedicated by him to his half-brother Iuef-seneb. The same stela has a dedication by the woman Sobekneferu, who on another monument is the wife of the prophet Seneb, to her brother Renefresy, son of the general Montuhotep. Stylistically, the stela should date close to the reign of Sobekhotep IV; *ibid.*, p. 916.

Horus but whose name is lost.⁹⁷ The Pure Priest who Enters Khuy is mentioned on a stela of the Pure Priest Horaa that has the date of year 8 of Sobekhotep IV.⁹⁸ Khuy's son Horhotep was also a Pure Priest who Enters.⁹⁹ A stela of the Pure Priest who Enters Mesu identifies him as the son of the Pure Priest who Enters Horhotep, who is, in turn, the son of a Pure Priest who Enters Irer.¹⁰⁰ Grandsons were often named after their grandfathers in Egypt and it is not unlikely that Horhotep son of Irer is the grandson of Horhotep son of Khuy.¹⁰¹ From a stela of the early 17th Dynasty we have the Pure Priest who Enters Hornakht, son of the Pure Priest who Enters Hornakht.¹⁰² The second Hornakht was rewarded with a slave, named Neferbat, by the Theban king. Hornakht was not a soldier so the slave was not a reward for military service; this reward instead shows the close connections of the Theban court with the important families of Edfu.¹⁰³ Another *w'b 'q* of the middle to late 17th Dynasty was Horherkhuitef son of Ramose. Horherkhuitef tells us that he was *w'b '.wy hr shd (?) ntr=f rh s.t rd=f hrw nmt.t hnty s.t m hw.t-*

⁹⁷ Based on the style and epigraphy of the stela, Netjerisi would date between the reign of Sobekhotep IV and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period; see *ibid*, pp. 122-124, 916.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 80, 917-918.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 116, 918; Engelbach, "Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt," p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 918-919; Engelbach, "Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt," pp. 65-66.

¹⁰¹ The chronology fits for a couple of generations between Sobekhotep IV and Dedumose; see Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 918-919.

¹⁰² Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, pp. 90-91 (20499); Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 253-258, 919.

¹⁰³ Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 919-920.

ntr “Pure of hands when revealing (?)¹⁰⁴ his god, one who knows the (proper) place of his foot, easy of gait, pre-eminent of place in the temple.”¹⁰⁵

Among other temple titles of the period is *hry h3w.t* “Superior of the Altar” held by a man named Hori and his son Horemkhaef in the first half of the 17th Dynasty.¹⁰⁶ A scarab of unknown providence and dating to the 12th or 13th Dynasty names the “Scribe of the Temple of Horus Netjerisiwer.” Since his name includes the local “saint” of Edfu Isi, Netjerisiwer must have been an official of the temple of Horus the Behdetite at Edfu.¹⁰⁷ A *shabti* that dates to the 13th Dynasty belonged to the *’fty n htp(.w)-ntr n Hr (Bhd).ty Rhw-’nh* “Brewer of Divine Offerings of Horus the (Behd)tite Rehuankh.”¹⁰⁸ A man named Userhat who lived during the late 13th Dynasty and is the father of two officials named Hori, whom we will meet in the next paragraph, was a *h3w n Hr* “Measurer (of grain) of Horus.”¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ Engelbach renders the sign after the *s* as  (“Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt,” p. 66); Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 267, 920 translates “rénérère,” by which, I assume, he interprets the sign as an *ankh*; in the photo plate of Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” pl. 1.3 the sign looks more like  than any other sign.

¹⁰⁵ Engelbach, “Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt,” p. 66; idem, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” pl. 1.3; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 267, 920. Several simple pure-priests are known from the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. These are Werptahhotep and Horaa, who lived during the reign of Sobekhotep IV, Auibhor, who lived after this king but before the Second Intermediate Period, Netjerisi, who was probably related to the prophet Horemehib and lived near the end of the 13th Dynasty and another Auibhor, whose son participated in the campaigns of Kamose; see *ibid.*, pp. 926-929.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 934. Horemkhaef married Sobekneferu, daughter of the prophet Horemehib, which is another example of the concentration of important offices in the same family reinforcing the position of the local aristocracy; see *ibid.*, pp. 896, 934.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 942.

¹⁰⁸ The name of Horus is written as , which Vernus, *ibid.*, pp. 42-43 restores as *Hr (Bhd).ty*. Hans Wolfgang Müller, *Ägyptische Kunstwerke, Kleinfunde und Glas in der Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern*, MÄS 5 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1964), p. 63 (A97) suggests “Anti (?)”

¹⁰⁹ See Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 214; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 36 shows only the *Hr* of the inscription as surviving.

We know of three men of the Middle Kingdom that held the title *msnw* “harpooner.” One of these was Ibi, who lived a little over a generation after King Sobekhotep IV.¹¹⁰ From the end of the 13th Dynasty are two brothers, who are both named Hori. One, presumably the elder, was *imy-r3 msnw.w* “Overseer of Harpooners,” while the other was just a *msnw*.¹¹¹ A wife of the elder Hori includes the name of “Horus the Harpooner” in her name Udjahormesenu (*Wd3-Hr-msnw*) as does another wife, or the wife of his son, named Neferhormesenu (*Nfr-Hr-msnw*).¹¹² These names might suggest that the women’s fathers were harpooners but without knowing the fathers’ names and occupations we can only say that their families had some devotion to Horus the Harpooner. Most scholars today believe that the term *msnw* is derived from the name of a reed float used in the hunting of Hippopotami and which is represented by the determinative for the word: . If true, *Msnw* would, perhaps, be more accurately translated as “hunter/harpooner (equipped) with a *mesen*-float,”¹¹³ however, as we will see in the following chapter, the word for the float may actually be derived from a word for the harpoon. Here we are mostly concerned with what function a “harpooner” performed. Harpooners, in the Greco-Roman Period spelled *msnty.w*, take part in the Myth(s) of Horus found in the texts of the temple of Edfu, in which they help the god slay Seth and his followers, who go into the water and transform into hippopotami and crocodiles.¹¹⁴ There were priests at Edfu in the Late Period

¹¹⁰ Governors of Edfu at this time did not hold the title “Overseer of Prophets,” see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 932.

¹¹¹ Ibid, pp. 931-932; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 36, pl. 15.1; idem, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé,” pp. 111-112.

¹¹² Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 36.

¹¹³ See Maurice Alliot, “Les plus vieilles traditions du temple d’Edfou,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, Bd’É 32 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), pp. 298-299.

¹¹⁴ See *Edfou VI*, p. 112, line 8-p. 113, line 2; H. W. Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” *JEA* 21 (1935), p. 29.

called *msnty* but we do not know a lot about their duties. The *msnty*-priests are shown with other priests in processions on the inner stairs of the temple carrying various standards and small shrines with divine images.¹¹⁵ The *Wörterbuch*¹¹⁶ recognizes *iry-ḥ3t msnty.w* “Prow-man of the Harpooners” as a priestly title. This person is mentioned in a scene of the king offering the nomes of Egypt to Horus at Edfu. Of the nome of Edfu it is stated *Hr Bḥd.t(y) m R' [. .] m ḥprw=f dsr m-ḥnw*¹¹⁷ *n Bḥd.t iry-ḥ3t msnty.w ḥr ir(.t) n=f ḥ.t* “Horus the Behdetite as Re [is there (?)] in his sacred form within Behdet. The Prow-man of the Harpooners¹¹⁸ is performing rituals for him.”¹¹⁹ Ritual scenes at Edfu and Dendera show the king harpooning a small crocodile or hippopotamus.¹²⁰ The king is described as *ntr nfr qn pr-' i3wty m'r-sp.w msnty qn ḥr sm3 ḥnty.w ḥf' ḥm.t r ḥt ḥnty tnr wr pḥty mi s3 3s.t nb qn* “The Perfect God, valiant and

¹¹⁵ *Edfou* I, p. 538, line 15; pl. 37a bottom (standard with the Apis bull); I, p. 539, line 13; pl. 37a bottom (standard with cow called *ḥm.t sn(.t)* “Second Cow,” the previous priest’s standard is “First Cow”); I, p. 542, line 14; pl. 37d top (standard with a falcon on a shrine:  but wearing the Double Crown, within *ka*-arms and named “Living Royal *Ka*”); I, p. 543, line 5; pl. 37d bottom (standard with , or similar, and named ); I, p. 544, line 1; pl. 37d bottom (standard with falcon head unnamed); *Edfou* VIII, p. 97, line 1; pl. 193 (standard with falcon head named *Hr-shm-[hr-p3-sgmḥ]* “Horus-Powerful-of-[Face-of-the-*Segemeh*-spear]”; see Dieter Kurth, *Edfou VIII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I: Übersetzungen 1* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), p. 172 and the sources in n. 6).

¹¹⁶ II, p. 145.13; *Edfou* II, p. 145, no. 13.

¹¹⁷ The 2nd edition of *Edfou* I, p. 337, line 11, n. j has corrected  to . However, though the sculptor may have carved a  instead of a , it makes more sense to take the group as *m-ḥnw n* rather than *P-n-(Bḥd.t)*, since *P-n* plus a god’s name is found meaning “*P*-throne-of-(god’s name)” but there is evidently no known example of “*P*-throne-of-Behdet”; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 341; Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), p. 98.

¹¹⁸ Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, p. 98, translates “Lotse am Bug (des Schiffes) und Die Harpunierer”; the *iry-ḥ3t* “prow-man” in the hippopotamus hunt was the man in the bow of the boat who threw the harpoon and was, thus, himself a harpooner in this context; the term could also be translated as “pilot (of a boat)”; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 92-93.

¹¹⁹ *Edfou* I, p. 337, lines 10-11; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, p. 98.

¹²⁰ The titles of the rituals are *sm3 mg* “Slaying the crocodile” (*Dendara* IV, p. 24, line 4; *Edfou* IV, p. 211, line 8) and *sty r db* “casting (the harpoon) at the hippopotamus” (*Edfou* IV, p. 213, line 6); Cf. *Edfou* IX, pl. 40b; *Edfou* X, pls. 441-442; *Dendara* IV, pls. 255, 260.

mighty harpooner, successful of deeds, valiant harpooner in slaying the crocodiles, who grasps the harpoon in order to drive away the crocodile, invincible, great of strength like the son of Isis, lord of valor”¹²¹ and *ntr nfr qn m sty h3-tpy iwty wh n sp=f* “The Perfect God, valiant in casting (the harpoon), first of a thousand, one who does not miss at his time.”¹²² In a scene at Edfu of the ritual of “Casting at the Hippopotamus” the king recites to Horus the Behdetite *m.n=k h3b ndr=i n=k hfty.w ntt.n=i s(n) hr tb.ty=k s'q=i hm.t(=i) m [nt.t=f (?)] rd.n(=i) htm (m) qs dr.t w'(t) 'q m hm.t m msq=f dr.t sn.t 'q m nw.t* “Take for yourself the hippopotamus, while I seize for you the enemies; I having bound them under your sandals as I cause my harpoon to enter into [their hides (?)]; I having placed the harpoon (in his¹²³) bones. The first hand puts¹²⁴ the harpoon in his hide and the second hand plays out¹²⁵ the rope.”¹²⁶ According to texts from Edfu the killing of the hippopotamus by Horus was carried out according to a book called “Repulsing the Hippopotamus” (*md3.t n dr h3b*)¹²⁷ and this book may have been used in actual rituals. From other texts at Edfu we know that an annual sacred drama was held enacting Horus’ triumph over Seth.¹²⁸ This drama culminated on Melchir 21st with a ceremonial slaying and devouring of a

¹²¹ *Dendara IV*, p. 12, line 17-p. 13, line 2; cf. S. Cauville, *Dendara IV: Traduction*, OLA 101 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2001), pp. 52-53.

¹²² *Edfou II*, p. 45, line 4.

¹²³ I. e. Seth’s/the hippopotamus’.

¹²⁴ Literally “enters with.”

¹²⁵ Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 499.

¹²⁶ *Edfou II*, p. 45, lines 4-6; *Edfou IX*, pl. 40b; cf. Almuth Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 1, *Katalog*, European University Studies Series 38, Archaeology 22 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), Dok. 228, a.1.

¹²⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 114, lines 2-3.

¹²⁸ See A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies: A Sacred Drama,” *JEA* 28 (1942), pp. 32-38; idem, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Continued),” *JEA* 29 (1943), pp. 2-36; idem, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu: II. C. The Triumph of Horus over His Enemies a Sacred Drama (Concluded),” *JEA* 30 (1944), pp. 5-22; idem, “Additions and Corrections to A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, ‘The Myth of Horus at Edfu-

Hr msnw “Horus the Harpooner.”¹³⁴ According to the Palermo stone, there was a feast in the 1st Dynasty called “Harpooning the Hippopotamus.”¹³⁵ Hippopotami and, to a lesser extent, hippopotamus hunting were frequent subjects of Predynastic art.¹³⁶ Of those objects that depict hippopotamus hunting,¹³⁷ it is impossible to tell if the persons shown represent rulers or if the hunt has any religious significance.¹³⁸ However, it is not unlikely that the slaying of hippopotami was considered a duty for early chieftains along the Nile to prevent the animals from feeding on crops and/or to prove their own prowess.¹³⁹ It is unlikely that they hunted alone as depicted in the Den seal impression; what we have in the seal impression is the king as superhuman.¹⁴⁰ It served propaganda and religious purposes to depict the king this way. The purpose was to create awe of his power among the people and to ward off evil forces (the control of chaos). The motif of the king harpooning the hippopotamus continued to be used in royal art, especially funerary art, as a means to control chaos throughout Pharaonic history.¹⁴¹ The hunting

¹³⁴ See T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, *Horae Soederblomianae* 3 (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1953), p. 17, fig. 7; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 53 a., cf. b.; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, vol. 2, EM 21 (London: EEF, 1901), p. 25, pl. 7, nos. 5-6.

¹³⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 29.

¹³⁶ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 17-18; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Doks. 1-52.

¹³⁷ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Doks. 9 a., c., and d., 21, 23 b., 25 a.-c.; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 18, fig. 8.

¹³⁸ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 19.

¹³⁹ Cf. Ulrich Hartung, “Hippopotamus Hunters and Bureaucrats: Elite Burials at Cemetery U at Abydos,” in *Recent Discoveries and Latest Researches in Egyptology: Proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, Naples, June 18th-20th 2008*, ed. Francesco Raffaele, Massimiliano Nuzzolo and Ilaria Incordino (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 110-112.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴¹ A scene of the hunt is found in the pyramid temple of Pepy II; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 20, fig. 9 and Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3, *Les approches du temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17.3 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,

the hippopotamus scene was adapted for the same purpose in private tombs in the Old Kingdom through the New Kingdom.¹⁴² In the Coffin Texts the deceased joins the gods in harpooning the hippopotamus to protect the divine bark: . . . *wšḥ ns.t=k m-ḥnw wi3 ḥms=k m dp.t-ntr ḥ3'=k db m Š-n-ḥ3 ntr nb m msnw=k* “ . . . and your seat is spacious within the bark, as you sit in the boat of the god and you harpoon the hippopotamus in the Winding-waterway. Every god is your harpooner.”¹⁴³ A god identified as “Horus the Harpooner” is attested in the Early Dynastic Period and Horus the Behdetite is identified with this god as “Horus Lord of Mesen” by the 6th Dynasty (see Chapter 6).¹⁴⁴

An interesting bit of information from the private monuments of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period from Edfu is how popular were theophoric names that include the name “Horus.” Nearly every family has members with names incorporating *Hr*.¹⁴⁵ Many

1940), pl. 32. A statue of Tutankhamun found in his tomb depicts the king on a small boat with harpoon and rope in hand; see T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli, Italy and New York: White Star S.R.L. and MetroBooks, 2000), pp. 178-179 (Carter No. 275C, Jd'É 60709).

¹⁴² During the Old Kingdom the tomb owner's servants are depicted harpooning the hippopotamus but in the New Kingdom the tomb owner himself carries out the task; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 5-15.

¹⁴³ CT I, 258g-259c.

¹⁴⁴ J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission Archéologique de Saqqarah*, vol. 1, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti*, Bd'É 51 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), p. 69, fig. 29, pl. 26B (block no. 14; See Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta*, SASAE 22 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1957), pp. 14-17, fig. 2, pl. 2; Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), pp. 40-41, fig. 8; Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 7.2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), pl. 56, no. 2.

¹⁴⁵ Most are listed in Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” pp. 131-133; names published after this article are found in idem, “Two Steles of the Late Middle Kingdom,” pp. 183-185; Alliot, *Tell Edfou* (1933), pp. 30-38; idem, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé,” pp. 150-151; Charles Kuentz, “Deux stèles d'Edfou,” *BIFAO* 21 (1923), p. 109; Hans Wolfgang Müller, “Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition,” *MDAIK* 4 (1933), p. 189 and pl. 35.1; Battiscomb Gunn, “A Middle Kingdom Stela from Edfu,” *ASAE* 29 (1929), pp. 6-7.

families had multiple members with theophoric names with “Horus” but maybe none so much as that of the Overseer of Harpooners Hori (*Hri*), whom we met above. His father was named Userhat (*Wsr-ḥ3t*) but his mother was named Herethor (*Hr.t-Hr*); and they named two of their sons Hori!¹⁴⁶ As noted above, Hori the Overseer of Harpooners’ wife was named Udjahormesenu (*Wd3-Hr-msnw*) another wife (or a wife of one of his sons) was named Neferhormesenu (*Nfr-Hr-msnw*). He had one son named Hori, another son named Ihori (*I-Hri*) and another named Deduhor (*Ddw-Hr*). Among his daughters was a Horq[. (?)] (*Hr-ql . (?)*) and a Mer(yt)hor (*Mr(y.t)-Hr*).¹⁴⁷ He also had a daughter named Iiset (*I-3s.t*), which translates as “Oh Isis.”¹⁴⁸ It seems that, in general, the local population of Edfu in the Middle Kingdom thought of Horus the Behdetite as just “Horus” judging from the names they gave their children. There are only two theophoric names that specify Horus the Behdetite/Horus of Edfu. One of these is the *wʿb* or Pure Priest Horbehdetymesu (*Hr-Bḥd.ty-msw*)¹⁴⁹ and the other is a man named Horembehdet (*Hr-m-Bḥd.t*).¹⁵⁰

The Behdetite’s identification as Horus led to the establishment in Edfu of cults dedicated to the parents of Horus and the first evidence is found in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period material. In several offering formulas the god “Osiris, who Dwells in

¹⁴⁶ Giving ones children the same name seems to have been common during this era; the Commander of the Ruler’s Crew Renseneb, who lived in El Kab during the 16th Dynasty named two of his sons Neferhotep, two more Sobeknakht and also named five daughters Sobeknakht(!); see W. Vivian Davies, “Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data,” in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties: Current Research, Future Prospects*, ed. Marcel Marée, OLA 192 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 2010), p. 229.

¹⁴⁷ See Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 36, pl. 15.1; idem, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé,” pp. 111-112; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 214, 931-932.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Engelbach, “Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt,” pp. 65-66.

¹⁵⁰ Gunn, “A Middle Kingdom Stela,” pp. 6-7.

Behdet” (*Wsir hry-ib Bhd.t*) is invoked.¹⁵¹ In one case the god is called “Khentyimentyu Lord of Abydos, who Dwells in Behdet” (*Hnty-imnty.w nb 3bdw hry-ib Bhd.t*).¹⁵² Likely evidence for a cult of Isis at Edfu is found on the above-mentioned stela of Hornakht of the 17th Dynasty, on which she is depicted with Horus the Behdetite and bears a sun disk on her head.¹⁵³ Several women from the Middle Kingdom at Edfu were named Isis or included her name in their own.¹⁵⁴ We have seen that Sabni’s wife Ankhiet of the 6th Dynasty was a priestess of Hathor and that there was another priestess of the goddess in Edfu during the same dynasty.¹⁵⁵ They likely served in a cult of the goddess at Edfu, however it is uncertain if Hathor was already considered the consort of Horus the Behdetite at that time.¹⁵⁶ An offering table found at Saqqara of an official named Menankhpepy of the 6th Dynasty claims to be an *im3hw hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t lwn.t hr Hr m lwn.t* “a venerated one in the presence of Hathor Lady of Dendera and in the presence of Horus in Dendera.”¹⁵⁷ Horus the Behdetite is a likely candidate for the identity of the “Horus in Dendera” but it might be Horakhty, since he appears on the shrine of Mentuhotep II at Dendera and is called “Lord of Dendera” (but see Chapter 7.IV.vi).¹⁵⁸ Horus the Behdetite is not directly

¹⁵¹ See Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pp. 31, 34 and 38; R. Engelbach, “Notes of Inspection, April 1921,” *ASAE* 21 (1921), p. 118; Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes*, p. 11, pl. 8.

¹⁵² Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 29.

¹⁵³ See Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 6, pl. 28.

¹⁵⁴ See Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, p. 241; Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, p. 262; Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, pp. 111-112.

¹⁵⁵ Brutère, et al., *Tell Edfou 1937*, p. 27.

¹⁵⁶ However, see Chapter 7.IV.vi.

¹⁵⁷ Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), p. 27, fig. 6.

¹⁵⁸ One cannot assume that the Horus here is Somtus (*Sm3-t3.wy*), because this god was not identified as Horus until much later; see *ibid*, p. 28 and Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), pp. 24 and 26, figs. 7-8 and pls. 6 and 8.

associated with Dendera until the late 11th and early 12th Dynasties.¹⁵⁹ Direct association of the Behdetite and Hathor *at Edfu* is first found in the 18th Dynasty,¹⁶⁰ however indirect evidence in the form of personal names comes from the Middle Kingdom. The name “Hathor” is rarely found in the theophoric names of the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period material from Edfu,¹⁶¹ however many who lived in Edfu in this period included the name *Nbw.t* “The Golden One” in their own names, which is a term that designated Hathor and some bore the name *Nb.t-~~lwn.t~~* “Lady-of-Dendera.”¹⁶² A stela of the “Lector Priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera Sekhemsén” of the mid 13th Dynasty requests offerings in the names of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Horus the Behdetite and Harsomtus,¹⁶³ which suggests these deities were considered to be a triad or family by this time.¹⁶⁴ There may have been an association of Horus the Behdetite in Edfu with cults of the gods of Heliopolis in the Second Intermediate Period/early New Kingdom. The stela of the Chief Lector Priest Ib from the late 17th-early 18th Dynasty¹⁶⁵ makes reference to the gods and goddesses of the *Hw.t Bnbn*.¹⁶⁶ The *Benben* was, of course, the obelisk-shaped

¹⁵⁹ See below and Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium*, pp. 125-126, nn. 554-555 and p. 211 and n. 821.

¹⁶⁰ See below.

¹⁶¹ An exception is *S3-Hw.t-Hr*, who lived during the Second Intermediate Period; see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 61; George Steindorf, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1946), pls. 11 and 111, no. 41.

¹⁶² Cf. Alliot, *Tell Edfou (1933)*, p. 30; cf. idem, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé,” pp. 149-153 Engelbach, “Steles and Tables of Offerings,” pp. 127-136; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 61, 64-65, 108, 125, 143, 150, 160, 180, 195, 202, 208, 217.

¹⁶³ Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 387-388.

¹⁶⁴ A monument of Sekhemsén’s father Sobekaa mentions “Hathor, Lady of Dendera” and “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Dendera”; *ibid.*, pp. 388-389.

¹⁶⁵ See below concerning Ib.

¹⁶⁶ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, p. 238.

sacred stone of the sun god in his temple in Heliopolis (also called *Hw.t Bnbn*).¹⁶⁷ However, there is also evidence that a place at Karnak was named the *Hw.t Bnbn* during the New Kingdom so the devotion to the *bnbn* may have come from Thebes.¹⁶⁸

5.II.iii: New Kingdom

The close relationship of the rulers of the 17th Theban dynasty begun under Intef V with the city of Edfu and its god continued to the end of the dynasty and into the 18th Dynasty, though in the latter dynasty this was not through intermarriage but through direct appointment of loyal personnel. A stela of a man named Horauib describes Kamose as one who *irr mḥty=f r Hw.t-w'r.t rsy=f r Kš im ḥs.t Ḥr Bḥd.ty* “makes his north (border) at Avaris and his south (border) at Kush by the favor of Horus the Behdetite.”¹⁶⁹ The stela of Iuef, who lived during the early 18th Dynasty, describes his appointment as Second Prophet of the Dues of the Altar (*ḥm-nṯr snw n š3w.t n ḥ3w.t*), Doorkeeper of the Temple and Pure Priest (*w'b*) by Queen Ahhotep, mother of King Ahmose.¹⁷⁰ Iuef restored the tomb of the Princess Sobekemsaf (wife of Intef V) at Edfu, was appointed Scribe of the God’s Seal-bearer, was placed in charge of the property of Queen Ahhotep in Edfu and assigned to manage the cult of the queen’s statue,¹⁷¹ likely located in the

¹⁶⁷ See Eberhard Otto, “Benben,” *LÄ* I, cols. 694-695 and László Kákósy, “Heliopolis,” *LÄ* II, col. 1111.

¹⁶⁸ See Jean-Claude Goyon, “Le ceremonial de glorification d’Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I.3079 (colonnes 110 à 112),” *BIFAO* 65 (1967), pp. 104, 122 (n. 132) and see pp. 91-92 for the date.

¹⁶⁹ Alan H. Gardiner, “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. 1,” *JEA* 3 (1916), figure on p. 100 and n. 1.

¹⁷⁰ *Urk.* IV, pp. 29-31; a rather dated translation of the stela can be found in James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), pp. 44-46, §§ 109-114.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

temple of Horus.¹⁷² His son Horhotep was also a Prophet of the Dues (of the Alter).

Hathoremkhebat (*Hw.t-Hr-m-hb3.t* “Hathor-in-the Bark”) also called Sataem (*S3-T3im*), who lived into the reign of Amenhotep I, was *hry-hb snw n Hr Bhd.t(y) hm-k3 n Nb-ph.ty-R' m3'-hrw* “Second Lector Priest of Horus the Behdetite and *Ka*-Priest of Nebpehtyre (Ahmose).”¹⁷³

Sataem transported the king’s statue to the temple of Horus and was responsible for its cult.¹⁷⁴ A short inscription in this tomb mentions *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t Hw.t-Hr hry.t-ib Bhd.t nb.t i3.t tn nfr.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky and Hathor, who Dwells in Behdet, Lady of this beautiful mound.”¹⁷⁵ The “beautiful mound” mentioned in the text is evidently a reference to the New Kingdom necropolis of Edfu located at Hager Edfu 4-5 km to the southwest of the town of Edfu.¹⁷⁶ During the Greco-Roman Period during the festival of the “Good Reunion” the statues of Horus, Hathor and other gods were taken to the necropolis of Edfu called the “First Mound,” where an “Upper Temple” was located and offerings were given and hymns sung on behalf of the ancestors.¹⁷⁷ The “beautiful mound” is possibly a reference to the same

¹⁷² The text of Iuef’s stela seems to have been composed by the “Scribe of the Fields of Horus the Behdetite” Deleg, whose name and titles are found at the bottom of the stela.

¹⁷³ Gawdat Gabra, “The Site of Hager Edfu as the New Kingdom Cemetery of Edfu,” *Cd’É 52* (1977), pp. 215, 219-220 and figs. 4 and 7; Andreas Effland, et al., “Bericht über drei Surveys im Gebiet zwischen Hager Edfu und Nag ‘el-Hisaja,” in *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien*, Dieter Kurth, ed., EDFUB 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), p. 49. On the reading of the name, see Gabra, p. 212, n. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Effland, et al., “Bericht über drei Surveys,” p. 49.

¹⁷⁵ Gabra, “The Site of Hager Edfu,” p. 220, fig. 7; Andreas Effland, “Zur Grabungsgeschichte der archäologischen Stätten zwischen Hager Edfu und Nag ‘El-Hisaja Al-Gharbi,” in *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien*, Dieter Kurth, ed., EDFUB 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), p. 27.

¹⁷⁶ Gabra, “Site of Hager Edfu,” pp. 207-211; Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 326; Effland, “Grabungsgeschichte,” pp. 22-30 and see n. 4 on p. 22 for further sources.

¹⁷⁷ Gabra, “Site of Hager Edfu,” pp. 221-222; cf. Watterson, *House of Horus at Edfu*, p. 107; Nathalie Baum, *Le temple d’Edfou: À la découverte du Grand Siège de Rê-Harakhty* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 2007), pp. 496-497.

site.¹⁷⁸ Sataem is shown worshipping Hathor in her bark in his tomb in reflection of his name Hathoremkhebat,¹⁷⁹ which may reflect devotion for the bark procession of Hathor on the part of his family and himself. A stela found at Gebelein but which may have originally come from Edfu depicts at left a queen wearing a vulture headdress with two tall feathers and offering wine to the Hathor cow.¹⁸⁰ The queen is the *ḥm.t ny-sw.t wr.t mw.t ny-sw.t l'ḥ-ms* “Great King’s Wife and King’s Mother Ahmose” and the cow is identified as *Hw.t-Ḥr ḥry.t-ib Bḥd.t nb.t qnb.t/qrr.t* “Hathor, who Dwells in Behdet, Lady of the Court of Magistrates/the Cavern.”¹⁸¹ At right is the mostly destroyed figure of a king wearing the Blue Crown being embraced by Horus. The king is *ntr [nfr] M3'.t-[k3]-R' mry Ḥr Bḥd.t(y)* “The [Perfect] God Maat[ka]re, beloved of Horus the Behdetite.”¹⁸²

Early 18th Dynasty royal objects that may have come from the temple of Horus or its workshops include a part of a sculptor’s model carved with a large cartouche with the name of Hatshepsut *M3'.t-k3-R'* with two uraei resting upon the gold-sign, which suggests building activity as the design is frequently found in temple reliefs,¹⁸³ a kneeling statuette of the same

¹⁷⁸ Gabra, “Site of Hager Edfu,” pp. 221-222.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 221.

¹⁸⁰ See Dietrich Wildung, “Zwei Stelen aus Hatschepsuts Frühzeit,” in *Festschrift zum 150. jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptische Sammlung 8 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1974), pp. 257-258, fig. 1 and pl. 35.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, pp. 257-260; Effland, “Grabungsgeschichte,” p. 27, n. 27. However the last word is to be read, it is unlikely to be read as *lwn.t* “Dendera” as Wildung proposes (p. 259); see Effland, p. 27, n. 27.

¹⁸² Wildung, “Zwei Stelen,” pp. 257-259. The stela belonged to the Pure Priest Wajmose and his friend the Pure Priest Montu, who are shown below worshipping an image of Hathor below the scene described. Wadjmose was the son of a Hor-[. . (?)], whom Wildung thinks might be the Horhotep son of Iuef of *Urk. IV*, pp. 29-31; see *ibid*, p. 260, n. 32.

¹⁸³ The excavators report finding this piece in the central “kom” of Edfu, which would include the temple area. The uraei bear sun disks upon their heads; see Bruyère, *Tell Edfou 1937*, p. 104, no. 14, pl. 26, no. 9.

queen (badly damaged) was found near the south wing of the New Kingdom pylon (see below)¹⁸⁴ and a seated statue of a king missing its head and feet with the names of Thutmose II and Thutmose III.¹⁸⁵ Part of a statuette of Senenmut, the famous official of Hatshepsut, was also found at Edfu.¹⁸⁶ Blocks with the name of Thutmose III have been found in the court of the Ptolemaic Temple of Edfu but have not yet been published.¹⁸⁷ Texts from Edfu mention a *m3rw n ny-sw.t Mn-ḥpr-R* “*Maru* of King Menkheperre,” who is likely Thutmose III but the original location of this structure at Edfu is unknown.¹⁸⁸ Probably from the temple of Horus itself is part of a door jamb of Thutmose IV with the inscription *[ny-sw].t-bi.ty Mn-ḥpr.w-R' ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f [Ḥr Bḥd.ty (?). . .]* “[King of Upper] and Lower Egypt Menkheperure. It is for his father [Horus the Behdetite (?)] that he has made as his monument [a . . . (?)].”¹⁸⁹ A small statuette of

¹⁸⁴ Alexandre Barsanti, “Rapport sur la découverte à Edfou des ruines d’un temple ramesside,” *ASAE* 8 (1907), p. 236; Louis A. Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside’ d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 55 (1958), p. 4, n. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Arthur E. P. Weigall, “A Report on Some Objects Recently Found in Sebakh and Other Diggings,” *ASAE* 8 (1908), p. 44.

¹⁸⁶ Arthur E. P. Weigall, “Upper Egyptian Notes,” *ASAE* 9 (1909), p. 106, no. 3.

¹⁸⁷ See Jean Leclant and Gisèle Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1984-1985,” *Or* 55 (1986), p. 287. A stela from the village of Bueb near Edfu shows a man worshipping a falcon-headed god with an inscription reading *nb t3.wy Mn-ḥpr-R' di 'nh ḡd-md(.w) in Ḥr nb Bḥd.t nb (Ms)n (?) s3b šw.t pr (m 3ḥ.t) nṯr '3 nb p.t nb Bḥd.t* “The Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre, given life. Statement by Horus Lord of Behdet, Lord of (Mese)n (?), He who Comes Forth (from the Horizon), the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Behdet (sic)”; A.-H. Sayce, “Gleanings from the Land of Egypt,” *RecTrav* 16 (1894), p. 175. Georges Daressy, “Remarques et notes,” *RecTrav* 10 (1888), pp. 141-142 makes reference to the same stela and includes an inscription identifying the god worshipped as *Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t nb Msn s3b šw.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, He of Multicolored Plumage.” On rocks close by he records the cartouches of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (*ibid.*, p. 142).

¹⁸⁸ See Chassinat, “Le temple d’Horus Behouditi à Dendérah,” p. 299.

¹⁸⁹ The fragment was found near the west tower of the pylon of the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu; Gabra and Farid, “Neue Materialien,” pp. 182-183, fig. 3.

Amenhotep III in Boston may have come from Edfu.¹⁹⁰ An inscription on the back describes the king as *[ny-sw.t-bi.ty] Nb-M3˙t-R˙ s3 R˙ Imn-ḥtp Ḥq3-W3s.t mry 3s.t ḥry.t-ib Bḥd.t di ˙nh* “[The King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Nebmaatre, Son of Re Amenhotep Heqawaset, beloved of Isis who Dwells in Behdet, given life.”¹⁹¹ However, it is uncertain whether the “Behdet” here refers to Edfu or the Behdet of Lower Egypt at Tell el-Balamun.¹⁹² We have seen above that a cult of Isis was established at least by the time of the 17th Dynasty at Edfu,¹⁹³ however the goddess does not otherwise bear the title *ḥry.t-ib Bḥd.t* until the Greco-Roman Period.¹⁹⁴ Isis is attested at Tell el-Balamun but no earlier than the Saite or Persian Periods and does not bear the title *ḥry.t-ib Bḥd.t* in these cases.¹⁹⁵

By far the most significant New Kingdom monument from Edfu is the lower part of the New Kingdom pylon of the temple of Horus the Behdetite. First uncovered by Alexandre Barsanti in 1906,¹⁹⁶ the pylon is located outside of the southeast portion of the court of the

¹⁹⁰ See William Kelly Simpson, “A Statuette of Amunhotpe III in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,” *BMFA* 68, no. 354 (1970), pp. 260-269.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 262, fig. 4 and p. 267, fig. 9.

¹⁹² *Cf. ibid.*, p. 265.

¹⁹³ Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 6, pl. 28.

¹⁹⁴ Most occurrences of the title are found in the inscriptions from Edfu Temple; see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 420-421.

¹⁹⁵ A statuette of Isis was dedicated by a man named Hornakht, who was a prophet of “(A)mun of Lower Egyptian Thebes” (*ḥnw mḥw*), which is another name for *Sm3-Bḥd.t/Bḥd.t*, modern Tell el-Balamun; see Ivan Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes: Recherches de géographie religieuse*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses 123 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), pp. 215-216. A text from the “Archive of Hor” says Isis is found in a town where Amun-Re of Semabehdet is also to be found; see *ibid.*, p. 227 and J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, Texts from Excavations 2 (London: EES, 1976), pp. 167-169, no. 59.

¹⁹⁶ Barsanti, “Rapport sur la découverte à Edfou des ruines d’un temple ramesside,” pp. 233-236.

Ptolemaic temple.¹⁹⁷ The pylon faces east with the end of its south tower meeting the north face of the east tower of the pylon of the Ptolemaic temple.¹⁹⁸ The preserved length of the south tower is 12.05 meters in length and that of the north tower is 10.95 meters in length with a 2.20 meters wide passage between. The width of the pylon is 5.59 meters.¹⁹⁹ The temple preserves the names of several kings of the 19th and 20th Dynasties and is often referred to as the “Ramesside” pylon; Ramesses III’s name is the most frequent and prominent name found and the pylon is often attributed to him²⁰⁰ even though Barsanti noted the presence of a cartouche with the name of a “Sety Merenptah,” who, whether Sety I or II, would pre-date Ramesses III!²⁰¹ During the 1950s Christophe re-examined the texts on the pylon.²⁰² He found that the cartouche with the name “Sety Merenptah,” located near the bottom of the east exterior façade, was deeply cut and he believed that he could see parts of the name of Ramesses II (*R^c-ms-sw*), including the quail-chick (*w*) at the end of the name, under the name of the “Sety,” who would thus have to be Sety II.²⁰³ However, based in part on the depth of the cut of the re-carved cartouche, Christophe believed that the original name in the cartouche could have been Sety I or even a king of the 18th

¹⁹⁷ See Christian E. Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel des Neuen Reiches in Edfu,” *BSEG* 14 (1990), p. 59, pl. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Thus the orientation of this pylon is facing east, while the Ptolemaic pylon faces south.

¹⁹⁹ Barsanti, “Rapport sur la découverte à Edfou des ruines d’un temple ramesside,” p. 234, fig. 1.

²⁰⁰ For example, Sylvie Cauville, *Edfou*, Les guides archéologiques de l’Institut Français du Caire, Bibliothèque générale 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1984), p. 8; *PM* VI, p. 168.

²⁰¹ Barsanti, “Rapport,” p. 233; Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel,” pp. 57-58; William J. Murnane and Frank J. Yurco, “Once Again the Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu,” in *The Followers of Horus: Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman 1944-1990*, Renée Friedman and Barbara Adams, ed., Egyptian Studies Association Publication 2, Oxbow Monograph 20 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992), p. 337.

²⁰² Christophe, “Le pylône ‘ramesside’ d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 58 (1958), pp. 1-23.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 4, pl. 4B; cf. Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel,” pl. 2 on p. 60, for the location of the name.

Dynasty, most likely Thutmose III.²⁰⁴ Loeben examined the cartouche in 1989 and 1990 but could not see any traces of the name of Ramesses II or any other earlier king; he believed that the cartouche was cut deep enough for at least two re-cuts but not more than three.²⁰⁵ The final name is undoubtedly Sety II, since Sety I is not known to have usurped the cartouches of other kings and the multiple re-carvings are typical of the late 19th Dynasty.²⁰⁶ Since he could not see the name of a king earlier than Sety II, Loeben tentatively proposed a sequence of names based on known patterns of usurpation, with the likeliest sequence being Merenptah, Amenmesse and Sety II but earlier candidates might include Ramesses II, whose name was on rare occasions usurped by Sety II, and maybe Sety I, who was frequently usurped by his son Ramesses II.²⁰⁷ Epigraphic examinations of the cartouche by Bill Murnane and Frank Yurko have revealed traces of what are likely the ꜥꜣ, ꜣ and ꜣ of the name *Imn-ms-sw Hq3-W3s.t* “Amenmesse Heqawaset.”²⁰⁸ There are possibly traces of Merenptah’s name, as well but no traces of Ramesses II’s name.²⁰⁹ The likely sequence is thus Merenptah, Amenmesse and Sety II. Texts of Ramesses III were added to the pylon later,²¹⁰ as was the name of Ramesses IV.²¹¹ However, as Murnane and Yurko have pointed out, all of the Ramesside Period texts on this pylon are

²⁰⁴ Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” p. 4, n. 3.

²⁰⁵ “Bemerkungen zur Horustempel,” pp. 58, 60-61.

²⁰⁶ This is accepted by all who have studied the cartouche; see Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” p. 4; Loeben, “Bemerkungen zur Horustempel,” p. 60; Murnane and Yurko, “Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu,” p. 338.

²⁰⁷ Loeben, “Bemerkungen zur Horustempel,” pp. 61-62; cf. Murnane and Yurko, “Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu,” pp. 337-338.

²⁰⁸ Murnane and Yurko, “Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu,” p. 338, figs. 1a and 1b (on p. 339).

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” pp. 9-10; *KRI V*, p. 340, line 8-p. 341, line 3 and see below.

²¹¹ Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” p. 8, pl. 6A; *KRI VI*, p. 63, line 2.

marginal texts typically added below earlier inscriptions in areas left blank by the original builders of the monument.²¹² Merenptah is also not known for much original building activity. With the exception of his tomb in Thebes and maybe the entrance corridor to the Osireion at Abydos, Merenptah built very little in Upper Egypt; his mortuary temple was made mostly from blocks taken from the temple of Amenhotep III.²¹³ Merenptah frequently added his name to existing monuments, most notably during his second regnal year when he commissioned an inspection of all the temples of Egypt.²¹⁴ Moreover, the solid masonry of this pylon is more typical of the middle of the 18th Dynasty and not the early 19th Dynasty, when the interiors of pylons were filled with rubble.²¹⁵ The ruined state of the New Kingdom pylon at Edfu today appears to be the result of pilferage rather than structural decay.²¹⁶ Loeben's argument for a 19th Dynasty date for the pylon based on the width of flag-staff niches²¹⁷ is inconclusive based on lack evidence and, from what evidence there is, the niches of the Edfu pylon are not inconsistent with the niches of 18th Dynasty structures of similar size.²¹⁸ If this pylon does date to the 18th Dynasty, who is the king most likely responsible for its construction? Thutmose III is the earliest king of the New Kingdom with blocks from the actual temple inscribed in his name. He

²¹² Murnane and Yurko, "Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu," pp. 339-341, and compare figs. 2-4 (from Karnak) with Christophe, "Le pylôn 'ramesside,'" pls. 1A-B, 3A, 4A-B, 5A-B and 6A (from the Edfu pylon).

²¹³ Ibid, p. 340.

²¹⁴ Ibid. A text in the name of Ramesses III on this pylon documents a similar inspection ordered by that king; see below.

²¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 340 and 343; many of the pylons of the 19th Dynasty have crumbled or had to be rebuilt in modern times (ibid, p. 343); the pylon of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple is a good example of a pylon suffering the ill-effects of this building technique. For the solid masonry of the Edfu pylon, see Christophe, "Le pylôn 'ramesside,'" pls. 2A-B, 6B and 7A.

²¹⁶ Murnane and Yurko, "Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu," p. 343.

²¹⁷ "Bemerkungen zur Horustempel," p. 62.

²¹⁸ Murnane and Yurko, "Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu," p. 343.

also was largely responsible for the main initiative in building processional temples in the provinces during the New Kingdom.²¹⁹ Hatshepsut was also a prolific builder and is attested at Edfu although no blocks from the New Kingdom temple with her name have, so far, been found. Of course, even if one of these kings began the work on the temple, the pylon could belong to a later king of the dynasty.²²⁰

Another issue raised by Loeben's article is the original orientation of the New Kingdom temple. Loeben proposes that the New Kingdom pylon was a side entrance; due in part to religious conservatism, the temple of the New Kingdom would have had the same orientation as the Ptolemaic temple, i. e. with a north-south axis.²²¹ During the Ptolemaic Period the yearly procession of Hathor entered the court of the temple at Edfu by a side door on the east side of the temple that aligns with the entrance of the New Kingdom pylon.²²² A couple of texts from the Ptolemaic temple in describing the court refer to the doorway of the New Kingdom pylon in conjunction with the south-eastern portal calling it the "gate of the Golden One," *w' im=sn wb3 r wbn r sb3 n hft-hr n Nbw(.t) nb.t lwn.t* "One of them (the doors) opens to the east²²³ towards the axial²²⁴ gate of the Golden One, Lady of Dendera,"²²⁵ *w' im=sn dsr.t r nfr m 'q3 sb3 n Nbw(.t) nb.t lwn.t* "One of them is very sacred opposite the gate of the Golden One, Lady of Dendera."²²⁶

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Murnane and Yurko note that the jambs of the gateways join the main walls of the building at a 45° angle, which is a feature characteristic of the buildings of Amenhotep III; see *ibid.*

²²¹ Loeben, "Bemerkungen zur Horustempel," pp. 63, 65-67.

²²² The door was called the "Hathor Door"; see *ibid.*, p. 62 and Cauville, *Edfou*, pp. 7-8.

²²³ Literally "rising," i.e. the place the sun rises; see *Wb.* I, p. 294, no. 8.

²²⁴ See C. Wallet-Lebrun, "*Hft-hr* dans les textes de construction," *GM* 58 (1982), p. 94, n. 64 and Egberts, "The Pylons of Edfu," p. 797 and n. 35.

²²⁵ *Edfou* V, p. 3, line 7; Egberts, "The Pylons of Edfu," p. 797.

²²⁶ *Edfou* VII, p. 18, line 10-p. 19, line 1; Egberts, "The Pylons of Edfu," p. 797.

Loeben likens this procession to the river procession of Amun-Re to Luxor Temple during the Opet Festival, in which the image of the god entered the temple from a side entrance, rather than the pylon of the main, north, entrance.²²⁷ However, side entrances, including that at Luxor Temple, did not have pylons.²²⁸ In addition, despite religious conservatism, the temple of Khentymentyu/Osiris at Abydos witnessed shifts in its location over time and the temple at Medamud had a shift in axis from the early pre-formal temple to the mature formal temple of the New Kingdom.²²⁹ So, unless future excavations show otherwise, it is more reasonable to presume that this pylon represents the main axis of the New Kingdom temple at Edfu. Egberts has an interesting theory as to why the main axis of the temple could have shifted from the east-west axis of the New Kingdom to the north-south axis of the Late Period. During the New Kingdom the necropolis of the city was to the west of the temple at Hager Edfu.²³⁰ There was also likely a shrine of Hathor there based on images and texts in the tomb of Sataem, which mention *Hw.t-Hr ḥry.t-ib Bḥd.t nb.t i3.t tn nfr.t* “Hathor, who Dwells in Behdet, Lady of this beautiful mound.”²³¹ The New Kingdom pylon of Edfu Temple has a 3⁰ deviation north of west that aligns directly with the necropolis of Hager Edfu.²³² Egberts compares this with the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak, which aligns with the sanctuary of Hathor at Deir el-Bahari and suggests that the New Kingdom temple at Edfu may have been aligned with a sanctuary of Hathor at

²²⁷ Loeben, “Bemerkungen zur Horustempel,” pp. 66-67, pls. 5-6.

²²⁸ Murnane and Yurko, “Date of the New Kingdom Pylon at Edfu,” p. 343.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 344; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 124-126, fig. 43 and pp. 131-133, fig. 46.

²³⁰ See G. Gabra, “The Site of Hager Edfu as the New Kingdom Cemetery of Edfu,” *Cd’É* 52 (1977), pp. 207-222.

²³¹ Ibid, 219-221; Egberts, “The Pylons of Edfu,” p. 799 and n. 49.

²³² Egberts, “The Pylons of Edfu,” p. 799.

Hager Edfu.²³³ The theological underpinning for the orientations at both Thebes and Edfu would be the union of the sun god (Amun-Re at Thebes and Horus the Behdetite at Edfu) with Hathor, who is the eye of the sun god in myth.²³⁴ During the Late Period a new cemetery was created at Nag el-Hassaya to the southwest of the town of Edfu. The door of the Ptolemaic pylon is oriented south-southwest and Egberts identifies Nag el-Hassaya with the “Mound of Behdet” mentioned in texts from the Ptolemaic temple.²³⁵ The Mound of Behdet was, according to the Ptolemaic inscriptions, presided over by Re where his children were buried and worshipped as divine ancestors.²³⁶ Thus the orientation of the temple shifted as the necropolis shifted along with the location of the “Mound of Behdet.” This is an intriguing idea; one assumes that there is a theological reason behind the shift in orientation and this theory is superior to others that have been proposed.²³⁷ One difficulty with Egberts’ theory is that the New Kingdom temple did not face the necropolis and shrine of Hathor/Mound of Behdet as does the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu and as Karnak Temple faces Deir El-Bahari. We will see below that there is some evidence from the Late Period that the orientation of the temple to the end of the 30th Dynasty was probably facing east.

Ramesses III took advantage of blank sections of the lower wall of the west face of the south tower to carve the two lengthiest inscriptions of the New Kingdom pylon that are still preserved. One of these records a mission of inspection of year 15: *ḥsb.t 15 3bd snw 3ḥ.t ḥr ḥm*

²³³ Ibid, pp. 799-800.

²³⁴ Ibid, p. 800.

²³⁵ The mound of Behdet was the destination of divine processions leaving the Ptolemaic pylon; see ibid, pp. 800-801; idem, “Praxis und System,” p. 21.

²³⁶ Egberts, “The Pylons of Edfu,” p. 800. Interestingly, a text from a tomb at Hager Edfu mentions the *ms.w n Bḥd[.t(y?)]* “children of the Behdetite (or of Behdet?)”; see Effland, et al., “Bericht über drei Surveys,” pp. 42-43.

²³⁷ Cf. Egberts, “The Pylons of Edfu,” pp. 798-799.

n ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Wsr-M3'.t-R' Mry-lmn s3 R' nb [h'.w] R'-ms-sw Hq3-lwnw di 'nh mi R' d.t iw wd.n hm=f r sw'b r3.w-pr.w nb.w n Šm'w r sip pr.w-hd šnw.wt r q(3)b htp.w-ntr m-h3w wn m-b3h m-ht di.t m-hr n hry s3w.ty sš.w P-(n)-p3-t3 m3'-hrw “Regnal Year 15, 2nd month of *Akhet*-season under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Son of Re and Lord of [Crowns] Ramesses Heqaiunu, given life like Re forever. His Majesty commanded (one) to cause all the temples of Upper Egypt to be purified, to inspect the treasuries and granaries and to increase the divine offerings in excess of what existed formerly. Given in the sight of the Chief Keeper of Archives Pe(n)pata, justified.”²³⁸ Penpata is also attested in inscriptions from Tod and Elephantine from his inspections of year 15.²³⁹ In the other text, the longest text from Edfu Temple before the Late Period, Ramesses III is called beloved of both Horus the Behdetite and Amun-Re. Amun-Re is said to have made an appearance and address the gods at the “Festival of Presentation” (*wp-w3h*) of all the gods of Egypt telling them to recognize the king’s accomplishments, including provisioning their cults, and what he, Amun, has done for the king. The gods are told to cause the king to partake of the festival each year and for eternity.²⁴⁰ One wonders if this inscription was also carved in year 15 or at the end of Penpata’s mission. The text mentions the appearance of Amun-Re, which likely refers to the appearance of the god’s portable cult statue. It seems most likely that this appearance originally took place in Thebes and the “statement” of Amun-Re may have been carved in the temples of the other gods of Upper Egypt with only this text

²³⁸ *KRI V*, p. 233, lines 7-9; Barsanti, “Rapport,” p. 235, no. 2; Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” p. 11; *PM VI*, p. 168.

²³⁹ Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” p. 18; *KRI V*, p. 233, lines 3-4 (Tod) and p. 233, line 13-p. 234, line 3.

²⁴⁰ *KRI V*, p. 340, line 8-p. 341, line 3; Barsanti, “Rapport,” pp. 234-235; Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” pp. 9-11.

surviving. Later Ramesses IV added his names and titulary to the subbase of the east façade of the north tower.²⁴¹ Another Ramesside fragment from the New Kingdom temple at Edfu is a block with a scene of Ramesses II offering to Anubis “Lord of the White Land” (*T3-Hd*).²⁴² The uncommon title “Lord of the White Land” is closely associated with Hathor, Lady of Gebelein.²⁴³ A fragment of what is likely part of an architrave bears the cartouches of Merenptah.²⁴⁴

We know fewer of the temple officialdom from the New Kingdom than we do for the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. This is partly due to the fact that the New Kingdom necropolis has not been fully excavated and published. However we have evidence of a hierarchy in the senior ranks of the priesthood and more evidence of other temple personnel. From the 18th Dynasty we have already met Hathoremkhebat called Sataem and Iuef and his son Horhotep. A stela of a man whose name is lost describes him as the *wḥm/wḥm(w) n ḥ3ty-‘ n Hr Bhd.t(y)*, which Vernus translates as the “Vice Governor of Horus the Behdetite.”²⁴⁵ The stela dates stylistically to the early 18th Dynasty, and probably the reign of Amenhotep I.²⁴⁶ The first title could be taken simply as an abbreviated rendering of *wḥmw* “herald.”²⁴⁷ The title *ḥ3ty-‘* combined with *imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* were the titles used by the governors of Edfu in the Middle Kingdom and we find the same titles with the following official to be discussed. The addition of

²⁴¹ Christophe, “Le pylôn ‘ramesside,’” pp. 5 and 8, pl. 6A; *KRI* VI, p. 63, line 2.

²⁴² Gabra and Farid, “Neue Materialien,” p. 184, fig. 4, pl. 30d.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185; cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 771.

²⁴⁴ Gabra and Farid, “Neue Materialien,” p. 185, fig. 5, pl. 30e.

²⁴⁵ Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 319, 849 (no. 95) and see pl. 63.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 320-321.

²⁴⁷ The word is written ; cf. *Wb.* I, p. 344; William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used* (Beirut, Lebanon: American University in Beirut, 1982), pp. 89-90.

n Hr Bhd.t(y) makes one wonder if the title *ḥ3ty-‘* is now a purely religious title.²⁴⁸ The stela texts also say that he had spent thirty years “carrying (*hr f3y.t*)” something, which was most likely the sacred bark of Horus.²⁴⁹ During the Greco-roman Period at Edfu two of the highest ranked priests were the *ḥ3ty-‘ wr* and the *ḥ3ty-‘ m-ḥt*.²⁵⁰ These two officials stood closest to the image of the god when carrying his sacred bark in processions.²⁵¹ Vernus suggests that one of the religious duties carried out by the Middle Kingdom governors of Edfu was acting as porter of the divine bark (with privileged place) during certain festivals.²⁵² However, this person was not the governor, whether we follow Vernus’ interpretation of the title as “Vice Governor” or my own of “Herald of the *Hatia*/Mayor.” An unfortunately badly damaged stela from the 18th Dynasty mentions a *ḥ3ty-‘ imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr n Hr [Bhd.ty]* “Mayor and Overseer of Prophets of Horus [the Behdetite],” whose name ends with 3 (𓆎).²⁵³ On the same stela is an offering formula for the *sš [ḥtm] (?) nṯr n Hr Bhd.ty Tti [-(?)]*.²⁵⁴ of

²⁴⁸ Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 849.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid; the king took the part of the *ḥ3ty-‘ m-ḥt* in some ceremonies: ‘š3 [rmṯ (?)] wn m-q3b wṯs.t nn ‘q=f n(n) pr.(t) rḥy.t wpw-ḥr s ḥr ir.(t) k3.t=f ‘3(.w) Ns.t-R’ ḥtm.ti r-dr=sn ḥn’ sb3.w nb(.w) nw inb=f ‘q Nḏm-‘nh in ny-sw.t ds=f m irw=f n ḥ3ty-‘ m-ḥt “Many [men (?)] are within the temple (but) there is no one who enters it (the sanctuary of the *msn.t*); there is no coming forth of a common person except for a man doing his work. The doors of the Throne-of-Re are all sealed along with the gates of its wall. Entry of Nedjem-ankh is by the king himself in his form of *Hatia-emkhet*” (*Edfou* I, p. 554, lines 2-4; Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, pp. 313-314).

²⁵¹ Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 849; cf. *Edfou* I, p. 536, lines 8-9: šm=sn nb m-qb-nmt.t ḥ3ty-‘ wr ḥr imn.t n ḥm=f ḥ3ty-‘ m-ḥt is ḥr i3bt.t=f “and they all go slowly (in procession), the *Hatia-wer* being on the right side of His Majesty (Horus), while the *Hatia-emkhet* is upon his left side.”

²⁵² “Edfou,” p. 849.

²⁵³ Henri Gauthier, “Monuments et fragments appartenant à l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire,” *BIFAO* 12 (1916), p. 135-136; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 364, 848.

²⁵⁴ Vernus, *ibid*, reads *ḥtm* in the lacuna; with the *t*-loaf below one might alternatively read [*md3*].*t* giving the title “Scribe of Divine [Scripture],” although one would expect the 𓆎 to come before the scribe’s palette; cf. *Wb.* III, p. 480, no. 8.

Horus the Behdetite Teti [- (?) .].”²⁵⁵ Vernus dates the stela to the sole reign of Thutmose III or a little later.²⁵⁶ The combination of titles “Mayor and Overseer of Prophets” is no longer common during the 18th Dynasty but is not unheard of, since Minmose of Thebes held the same titles but they seem to be primarily religious in his case.²⁵⁷ We have met Iuef and his son Horhotep, who were both “Prophet of the Dues of the Alter,” but there were at least three other men named Iuef who bore the title “prophet” (*ḥm-nṯr*) during the early New Kingdom.²⁵⁸ The commonality of the name Iuef at Edfu and the imprecise nature of the term *snw*, which can mean “brother” but also “companion,” and maybe “colleague,”²⁵⁹ make it difficult to know the true

²⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 136; Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 848; the name could just be “Teti” but the space following the *i* is damaged and “*Tt*” could be a component of a longer name; see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), p. 384.

²⁵⁶ “Edfou,” p. 848.

²⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 848; cf. Regina Hözl, “Die Statuengruppe des Minmose im Ashmolean Museum Oxford (Inv. Nr. 1888.298),” *ZÄS* 128 (2001), pp. 109-110, fig. 1.

²⁵⁸ A statue in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore belongs to a prophet named Iuef. The statue is dedicated to him by *snw=f s’nh rn=f ḥm-nṯr lwf ir.n [Hr(?) ḥm-nṯr lw(f)* “his brother, who causes his name to live the Prophet Iuef who the Prophet of [Horus (?)] Iuef engendered”; See Georg Steindorf, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1946), pls. 9 and 112, no. 58. Another stela from Edfu of the early 18th Dynasty mentions a prophet named Iuef. This is a stela dedicated to a man named Hori son of Tjar (*T’r*) and his wife Iyetherkhasut by *snw=sn s’nh rn=sn ḥm-nṯr lwf dd n=f lby* (or *’bi*) “their brother, who causes their names to live the Prophet Iuef, who is called Aby”; *ibid*, pl. 112, no. 58; cf. Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 900. On the same stela are pictured two men facing each other with entwined arms, who are named Horemhat and Horemsaef. Another stela found at Edfu is dedicated to an Iuef, who is the son of a woman named Dednebu by the Pure-Priest Horemhat; see Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 18, p. 52; Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 899. This may be the same Iuef and Horemhat from the previous stela; possibly the Iuef of these stelae is the elder prophet named Iuef of the statue in Baltimore. This assumes that the statue is made commemoratively for the elder Iuef, since the statue dates to the reigns of Hatshepsut and/or Thutmose III; see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 900.

²⁵⁹ See W. V. Davies, “Renseneb and Sobeknakht,” p. 234; Gay Robins, “The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms,” *Cd’É* 54 (1979), pp. 202-204; D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren*

relationship of these men. One other prophet of the early 18th Dynasty, named Djehuty, is mentioned on an offering table of the Lector Priest Ib, who is possibly his father.²⁶⁰

Beginning in the 17th Dynasty and continuing in the 18th, and unlike the Middle Kingdom, we know that lector priests at Edfu were organized into a hierarchy. Not only do we have men with the title *hry-hb tpy* “Chief Lector Priest,”²⁶¹ Sataem held the title *hry-hb snw* “Second Lector Priest.”²⁶² A probable succession of six chief lector priests is known for the late 17th and early 18th Dynasties. For a couple of these men we only have monuments identifying them as just lector priests but they are sons of chief lector priests or their sons are known to have become chief lector priests, so it is likely that they held that position, as well. They are likely members of a single family but some of the relationships are uncertain. The earliest from the period is the “Chief Lector Priest of Horus the Behdetite Iuef,” who is also called *lwf-wr* “Iuef the Elder.”²⁶³ Iuef the Elder was succeeded by his son the “Chief Lector Priest of Horus the Behdetite, King’s Son, (Priest) who Enters Ib.”²⁶⁴ Vernus dates Iuef and Ib from the end of the 17th Dynasty to the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty based on stylistic aspects of their

Reich (Hamburg: Borg, 1983), p. 311; James P. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, PMMA 27 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), pp. 115-116.

²⁶⁰ Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 899 dates the table to Amenhotep I or one of his immediate successors.

²⁶¹ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, p. 238; idem, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 18, pp. 49-51.

²⁶² Gabra, “Site of Hager Edfu,” p. 220, fig. 7; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 907-908.

²⁶³ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, p. 238; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 287-288, 906-907.

²⁶⁴ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, pp. 237-238; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 287-292; 906-907. The title *s3 ny-sw.t* during the 18th Dynasty, for those who were not really sons of the king, identified someone who carried the sacred bark or divine images during religious processions; see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 923.

monuments.²⁶⁵ Possibly the same “Chief Lector Priest” named Ib, but married to a different woman, served under Amenhotep I,²⁶⁶ and was father of a lector priest named Id, who was in turn the father of a lector priest named Iuef.²⁶⁷ We know that at times on their monuments “Chief Lector Priest” is shortened to just “Lector Priest”²⁶⁸ and it was common practice for sons to succeed their fathers in office, so Id and Iuef also likely became chief lector priests.²⁶⁹ The Iuef son of Id may be the “Lector Priest Iuef,” who was father to the “Chief Lector Priest of Horus the Behdetite Iuef, who is called Ib.”²⁷⁰ This Iuef and Iuef/Ib would have served from Thutmose I to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, according to Vernus.²⁷¹

“Pure Priests who Enter”²⁷² known from the 18th Dynasty are (1) Ib,²⁷³ (2) Senemere father of the “Pure Priest Montu,”²⁷⁴ and (3) Ity.²⁷⁵ During the 18th Dynasty priests who carried

²⁶⁵ “Edfou,” pp. 291, 294, 305, 313, 315, 907.

²⁶⁶ See *ibid*, pp. 368-370, 906-907; Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 18, pp. 50-51.

²⁶⁷ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 18, p. 51; Vernus, “Edfou,” 368-371, 906-907.

²⁶⁸ For example, on an offering table of Ib son of Iuef the Elder both men are just called *hry-hb* (Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 17, pp. 239-240); this may have been true for Ib but it seems unlikely that his father was not already “Chief Lector Priest” when his son joined the clergy; see Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 907.

²⁶⁹ Vernus, “Edfou,” p. 907.

²⁷⁰ Daressy, “Monuments d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 18, p. 49; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 906-907.

²⁷¹ “Edfou,” p. 907.

²⁷² Simple “Pure Priests” known from the early 18th Dynasty are (1) Horemhat, son of Dedunub, who is mentioned on a stela of a brother named Iuef, who is probably the prophet Iuef/Aby; (2) Id, who is mentioned on the offering table of the lector priest Ib, husband of Taimred---Id may be the future lector priest of that name, who was the same Ib’s son; (3) Nebit, who is likely the son of the Overseer of the Granary Administration of Horus the Behdetite Djehuty” (see below) based on the names of the sons of Djehuty (Nebit and Horhotep, the latter being the same name of Nebit’s brother); Nebit’s sister’s name was Hatshepsut; see Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 929-930.

²⁷³ His cube-stature and the epigraphy of its texts dates him to the reign of Amenhotep I *Ibid*, pp. 322 and 921.

²⁷⁴ Montu appears on a stela with Hatshepsut depicted in the top register, which would place Senemere in the first two reigns of the 18th Dynasty; see Wildung, “Zwei Stelen aus Hatshepsuts Frühzeit,” pp. 255-259, fig. 1; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 341 and 921.

the sacred bark or divine images were usually pure-priests.²⁷⁶ A man named Hori and his son Wehemusenedj, who lived in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III bore the title *w'b (n) ḥ3t rmn Hr* “Pure Priest at the Front and Porter of Horus.”²⁷⁷ A man named Nakht was *w'b n(w) f3y(.t)=f* “Pure Priest of His (Horus’) Guild of Porters.”²⁷⁸ The *w'b n ḥ3t (n) Hr Bḥd.t(y) sš ḥtm ntr imy-s.t-‘ tpy Ḥ3y* “Pure-Priest at the Front (of) Horus the Behdetite, Scribe of the Divine Storehouse and Chief Administrator Hay” dates before the Amarna Period on epigraphic grounds and he may have succeeded the “Scribe of the Divine Storehouse Teti,” who is mentioned on the stela of the “Mayor and Overseer of Prophets” whose name ends in 3 and datable to the reign of Thutmose III.²⁷⁹ Another temple official of the early 18th Dynasty was the *imy-r3 šnw.ty n Hr Bḥd.t(y)* “Overseer of the Double Granary²⁸⁰ of Horus the Behdetite” Djehuty.²⁸¹ Djehuty held an important post and would have been responsible for the storage and redistribution of the

²⁷⁵ He and his brother Ipu dedicated a small stela without representations to their brother Djehuty that dates stylistically between Thutmose I and Hatshepsut/Thutmose III; Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 351 and 922.

²⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 923.

²⁷⁷ Wehemusenedj’s title lacks the word “Horus” and the words *w'b n* are lost to damage; ibid, p. 924.

²⁷⁸ Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, CGC 34001-34064 (Cairo: IFAO, 1905), p. 196, pl. 60 (no. 34148); Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 372-373, 924-925; cf. Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 304.

²⁷⁹ Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 377-378, 926. Another scribe of the temple of Horus at Edfu was the scribe responsible for the inscription on the stela of the “Second Prophet of the Dues of the Altar” Iuef the *sš 3ḥ.wt n Hr Bḥd.ty Dlg* “Scribe of the Fields of Horus the Behdetite Deleg”; see *Urk.* IV, p. 31, line 15; Wolfgang Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, vol. 2, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 1960, no. 11 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1960), p. 937 (155); cf. Pascal Vernus, “Le prêtre-ritualiste *Hr-mni*, rédacteur de la stèle de *Hr-m-ḥ'w.f.*,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier: Institut d’Égyptologie, Université Paul Valéry, 1986), p. 589.

²⁸⁰ *Wb.* IV, p. 510, no. 16; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 829.

²⁸¹ Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 2, pp. 262-263, vol. 3, pl. 49 (20623); Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 306-309, 938.

produce of the temple owned fields.²⁸² Djehuty claims to have offered 5 bulls to Horus the Behdetite, which shows that he was a wealthy man.²⁸³ His stela dates to the time of Amenhotep I.²⁸⁴ The following officials are not found in Vernus' corpus but may date to the 18th Dynasty. A stela in the British Museum records a "Master of the Boat of Horus the Behdetite" named Qia or Qaa.²⁸⁵ A man named Saese ("Son-of-Isis" *ḥ3-ḥs.t*) was a "Barber" (*ḥ'qw*) of Horus the Behdetite, who is identified as *ntr nfr nb p.t* "the Perfect God, Lord of the Sky."²⁸⁶

The direct genetic links between the royal house with the governors and senior clergy found during the 13th and 17th Dynasties seem to have come to an end with the 18th Dynasty.²⁸⁷ However, intermarriage between high ranked priestly families no doubt continued. The royal house maintained a connection to the priesthood by direct appointment of priests such as Iuef (Second Prophet of the Dues of the Alter) and Sataem.²⁸⁸

Our knowledge of the temple officialdom of the Ramesside Period is limited. We know of an *iry-p'.t ḥ3ty-ḥ smr '3 n mr.wt imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* "Hereditary Noble, Mayor, Great Friend of Favor (of the King) and Overseer of Prophets" from the 19th Dynasty but we do not know his

²⁸² Vernus, "Edfou," p. 938.

²⁸³ Ibid, pp. 307 and 938.

²⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 309.

²⁸⁵ BM 1366; *PM V*, p. 204; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 937 (155). Porter and Moss and Helck show the name as Qia, whereas the British Museum website collection database gives the name Qaa. The same website dates the stela to the 18th Dynasty (which I follow here) but Porter and Moss date it to the 20th Dynasty. See http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=121278&partid=1&ldNum=1366&orig=%2fresearch%2fsearch_the_collection_database%2f for information on the stela.

²⁸⁶ G. Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *RecTrav* 16 (1894), p. 43; Daressy dates the stela to the 18th Dynasty. The stela has a sun disk with a single wing above the gods, which is found in the Ramesside Period but is much more common during the 18th Dynasty.

²⁸⁷ The marriage of the sister of the king to the mayor/governor Ipu appears to be the last such case; see Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 900-901, 909.

²⁸⁸ Cf. *ibid*, p. 909.

name.²⁸⁹ From the reign of Ramesses III comes our only known “First Prophet” of Horus the Behdetite named Amunmose.²⁹⁰ On a lintel in Cairo Amunmose is shown kneeling in adoration at the far left and again at the far right. The cartouches of Ramesses III are in the center and the king is said to be beloved of both Horus the Behdetite and of Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum.²⁹¹ A prayer at left reads *dw3 Hr Bhd.t(y) nb ntr.w sn t3 n Hr mry M3'.t di=f 'nh wd3 snb 'h' q3i m Bhd.t n k3 n hsy '3 n ntr nfr mry n nb t3.wy hm-ntr tpy n Hr Bhd.ty Imn-ms m3'-hrw* “Worshipping Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Gods; kissing the ground for Horus, Beloved of *Maat* that he may grant life, prosperity, health and an exalted lifetime in Edfu for the *ka* of the greatly favored one of the Perfect God, beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, the First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite Amunmose, justified.”²⁹² At right another prayer reads *dw3 Imn-R' s'3 nfr.w=f sn t3 n Hr wsr rnp.wt di=f 'h' nfr m W3s.t nh.t ndm ib m lp.t-s.wt n k3 n hsy '3 n ntr nfr mry n nb t3.wy hm-ntr tpy n Hr Bhd.t(y) Imn-ms m3'-hrw* “Worshipping Amun-Re; magnifying his beauties; kissing the ground for Horus, Great in Years that he might grant a good life in Thebes the Victorious and joy in Karnak for the *ka* of the greatly favored one of the Perfect God, the beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, the First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite Amunmose, justified.”²⁹³ Kitchen and Gaballa suggest that Amunmose’s equal devotion for Amun-Re as for

²⁸⁹ Gaston Maspero, “Notes de voyage,” *ASAE* 11 (1911), p. 152; he dates to the 19th Dynasty according to Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 937 (155).

²⁹⁰ K. A. Kitchen and G. A. Gaballa, “Ramesside Varia III: A Behdetite, a Theban and a Thinite,” *Serapis* 6 (1980), p. 76.

²⁹¹ *KRI* V, p. 431, lines 3-4; Kitchen and Gaballa, “Ramesside Varia III,” p. 75, fig. 1, pl. 1.

²⁹² *KRI* V, p. 431, lines 6-7; Kitchen and Gaballa, “Ramesside Varia III,” pp. 75-76, fig. 1, pl. 1.

²⁹³ *KRI* V, p. 431, lines 8-9; Kitchen and Gaballa, “Ramesside Varia III,” pp. 75-76, fig. 1, pl. 1.

Horus the Behdetite means he likely was originally from Thebes.²⁹⁴ His longing for Thebes and Karnak suggests this, as well.²⁹⁵ From the 19th Dynasty there is the “Musician-priestess of Horus the Behdetite” Hathor, who was wife of the Charioteer Amunmose under Ramesses II.²⁹⁶ In a graffito in a New Kingdom tomb at Edfu a scribe, possibly of the temple,²⁹⁷ named Nakhtmin son of Amunmose mentions a water-procession festival.²⁹⁸ He also expresses his devotion to his god: *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntk p3 šw wbn n=i* “O Horus the Behdetite, you are the light, which shines for me!”²⁹⁹ From the end of the New Kingdom comes a text from a lintel fragment of a Nesypare:

dw3 n Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t sn t3 n p3(y)=f hw ʿ3 šps di=sn ʿwnmʿ=i³⁰⁰ m k3w=s(n)³⁰¹ rʿ-nb n

²⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 76.

²⁹⁵ Another interesting artifact linking Edfu and Thebes found at Edfu from this era is the lower portion of a block statue of a man named Pashedu, who was an official of the Ramesseum at Thebes. Nothing from the texts of the statue directly link Pashedu with Edfu other than its place of discovery. However, a sandstone block fragment from Edfu that probably dates to the 25th to 26th Dynasties may refer to this man. The fragment depicted a man holding a staff under a canopy. Above him is an inscription reading [. . .] *hm-ntr* [. . .].*nw n lmn m lp.t-s.wt hm-ntr Hr [Bhd.ty (?) . . .]* “[. . . 2nd/3rd/4th (?)](?)²⁹⁵] Prophet of Amun in Karnak, Prophet of Horus [the Behdetite (?) . . .].” Two broken lines of text in front of the canopy read *[l]mn-[m]s [s3] mry [ntr] Ns-[. . .] P(3)-šd(w) s3 hr(y)-hb(.t) Dsr-k3 s3 mry ntr P(?)* [. . .] “[. . . A]mun[mo]se, [son] of the beloved [of the god] Nes[. . .], Pashedu son of the Lector Priest Djoserka son of the beloved of the god P(3?)-[. . .].” The name of Pashedu appears in what is likely a list of the ancestors of Amunmose; see Dominique Farout, Ossama I. Ahmad and Ramadan H. Ahmad, “A Steward of the Ramesseum in Edfu? The Block Statue of Pashedu Son of Djoserka,” *Memnonia* 18 (2007), pp. 71, 73-76, pls. 10 A-C, 11A.

²⁹⁶ Turin 168; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 938 (156).

²⁹⁷ In the graffito after a prayer to the Behdetite and a lost portion of text the writer says “made by *his* scribe,” and it appears that “his” likely refers to the god.

²⁹⁸ Possibly the water procession, which took place in the 1st and 2nd month of *Peret*-season; see Effland, et al., “Bericht über drei Surveys,” pp. 42-43, textual note f.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ As copied by Maspero, the word written appears to be *swn* “to flatter” but this makes no sense in the context. The word must be *wnm* “to eat,” which followed by *m* gives the meaning “to eat of.”

³⁰¹ The *n*-sign is not present but the plural strokes following the *s* confirm the reading.

*k3 n it ntr mry ntr*³⁰² *sš hw.t-ntr sš ḥsbw it Nsy-p3-R' m3'-hrw* “Worshipping Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky; kissing the ground for his great and noble fan, that they may grant that I eat of their food every day, for the *ka* of the God’s Father and Beloved of the God, Scribe of the Temple and Scribe of the Counting of the Grain Nesypare, justified.”³⁰³

The use of the third person suffix pronoun =*sn* shows that the sacred fan of Horus the Behdetite was considered a deity in its own right that could grant favors to the devout.³⁰⁴ Helck notes one other temple employee from the New Kingdom a “Singer (*šm'γ.t*) of Horus Wiay” wife of the “Scribe of the Granary of Pharaoh” Neferhor.³⁰⁵

5.II.iv: Third Intermediate Period and Late Period

The most significant post New Kingdom remains found buried under the Ptolemaic court are ~25 fragments from a Kushite *Heb Sed* “porch.”³⁰⁶ The names of the Kushite king have been hacked out and replaced with the names of Psamtek II.³⁰⁷ It has been suggested that the Kushite king may be Shabaka, who had his names hacked out on a stela found at Edfu or Taharqa, whose

³⁰² The single $\bar{\eta}$ serves for both *it* and *mry*; see *Wb.* I, p. 142, no. 6.

³⁰³ Maspero, “Notes de voyage,” p. 153.

³⁰⁴ Cf. *ibid.* During the Greco-Roman Period the staff of Horus the Behdetite, which took the form of a lance seems to have been worshipped as a god; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 479, 943-944; Nathalie Baum, *Le temple d'Edfou: À la découverte du Grand Siècle de Rê-Harakhty* (Monaco: Éditions du Rocher, 2007), p. 44; *Edfou* I, p. 359, line 3.

³⁰⁵ *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 938 (156); H. Schäfer and G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2, *Inschriften des Neuen Reiches* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 5, no. 2303; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der aegyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1899), pp. 136-137 (2303). There is no mention of Behdet or specification of Horus as the Behdetite on the piece (a statue), nor is there any mention of providence in any of the publications, so I am uncertain as to what basis Helck identifies Wiay as a singer in the cult of Horus of Edfu.

³⁰⁶ Eid and von Falck, “History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu,” p. 66.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 69-70, figs. 2-3; Leclant and Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux, 1984-1985,” p. 288.

work at Karnak is similar to the Edfu reliefs and who had his cartouches frequently usurped by Psamtek II.³⁰⁸ Among the significant scenes preserved was a double scene of the king enthroned back to back with, at right, Horus (name lost), with a goddess behind him, offering the heraldic flowers of Upper Egypt to the king.³⁰⁹ An inscription between the king and god reads *rdi.t Šm'w Mhw n ntr nfr [. . .]* “Giving Upper and Lower Egypt to the Perfect God [. . .].”³¹⁰ At left was Thoth offering the plant of Lower Egypt to another, now lost, image of the king enthroned.³¹¹ To the right of the scene with Horus a goddess places three *ankhs* in the hand of the king and right of this a falcon-headed god with a sun disk on his head offers life to the nose of the king.³¹² Another block preserves the name *Itmw ntr '3 nb Bhd.t nb p.t nb t3* “Atum, the Great God, Lord of Behdet, Lord of the Sky, Lord of the Earth.”³¹³ The stela with the hacked out names of Shabaka mentioned above is interesting in that it shows, again, the close connections of the priesthoods of Edfu and Thebes. The stela was found at Edfu and we know it likely originated from there and was not carried there in later times, because the king is said to be “beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the Great God” at top right. At top left the king is “beloved of Amun-Re,

³⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 287-288, n. 314. For the stela with the hacked names of Shabaka; see Fernand Bisson de la Roque, “Complément de la stèle d’  fils de , époux de , prêtre d’Amon qui réside à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 25 (1925), pp. 47-48 and plate.

³⁰⁹ Eid and von Falck, “History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu,” pp. 66, 69, fig. 2.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid, p. 66; Leclant and Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux, 1984-1985,” p. 288.

³¹² Eid and von Falck, “History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu,” pp. 66, 69, fig. 2; Jean Leclant and Gisèle Clerc, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1985-1986,” *Or* 56 (1987), p. 349, pls. 44-45, figs. 57 and 59.

³¹³ Eid and von Falck, “History of the Temple of Horus at Edfu,” pp. 67, 70, fig. 3. On another block is preserved the heads of Sefkhet-abwy and the Royal *Ka*; *ibid*, pp. 67, 70, fig. 4. The goddess is called *Sfh.t-‘b.wy hnty(.t) Hsr.t hnty(.t) Hw.t-iry(.w) nb.t mdw-ntr* “Sefkhet-abwy, Foremost of Hesperet, Foremost of the Mansion of Records, Lady of Hieroglyphs” and the text of the Royal *Ka* states *K3-ny-sw.t ‘nh nb t3.wy di=f ‘nh nb dd(.t) nb(.t) w3s nb mi R* “The Living Royal *Ka*, Lord of the Two Lands, as he gives all life, all stability and all dominion like Re.”

Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.”³¹⁴ Below, the stela owner and his wife offer to Mut, the Great One of Isheru” and to Taweret. The stela owner is *ḥm-nṯr Imn m (lp.t)*³¹⁵ –*s.wt rḥ-ny-sw.t Imn-m-ḥ3.t s3 ḥm-nṯr snw Imn P3-ṯnfy* “The Prophet of Amun in Karnak, the King’s Acquaintance Amenemhat, son of the Second Prophet of Amun Patjenfy.”³¹⁶ Excavations to the west of the Ptolemaic temple pylon revealed a few blocks from a chapel with the names of Psamtek I but there are not enough remains (structural or textual) to say much about it.³¹⁷

One of the most important texts pre-dating the Ptolemaic temple actually comes from that temple itself. On the external face of the east enclosure wall is a text that records state donations to the temple of Horus the Behdetite stated by the text to extend from the origins of the cult to the 18th year of Nectanebo II. Only the donations of Darius II and III and Nectanebo I and II are preserved.³¹⁸ The text was carved in the time of Ptolemy X Alexander but it was probably copied from a Demotic text during the early Ptolemaic Period and possibly under Ptolemy I, when he was still the Satrap of Egypt.³¹⁹ Meeks’ study of the text suggests that from the Saite

³¹⁴ Below a winged disk, which is called “The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage” to the side of each uraeus and “Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen” between the uraei; see Bisson de la Roque, “Complément de la stèle,” plate (1).

³¹⁵ *lp.t* is left out of the inscription above the heads of the people and gods but the *p* is visible before *s.wt* in the damaged inscription of the prayer below.

³¹⁶ Bisson de la Roque, “Complément de la stèle,” p. 47 and plate (1).

³¹⁷ Two blocks were found in the foundations of the so-called “Salle à colonne,”; see Marcel Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1932)*, *BIFAO* 9.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1933), pp. 24-25, figs. 63-64; Gabra and Farid, “Neue Materialien,” p. 181. Another block of Psamtek I with texts referring to a Nubian campaign is mentioned in Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte, “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique,” *BIFAO* 50 (1952), p. 201 but has not been published.

³¹⁸ Meeks, *Texte des Donations*, pp. 19, 52, 4* and 76*.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. vii-viii, 133, §§ 3-4. The full text is given in *ibid.*, pp. 4*-76* and *Edfou VII*, pp. 215-251.

Period to the end of the 30th Dynasty the temple received 65% of its 13209+ arouras of land.³²⁰ These lands stretched from just south of Thebes in the north to Gebel Silsila in the south.³²¹ The extent of land donated in this period suggests that during the New Kingdom, although possessing a fairly substantial temple, the cult of Horus the Behdetite possessed very little land.³²² Even with the great donations of this period the temple of Edfu was probably not the largest landholder south of Thebes. The largest landholder was likely the temple of Khnum at Elephantine.³²³ The last monument still mostly intact that dates to a time prior to the building of the Ptolemaic temple can be found in the sanctuary of that temple. This is the black granite naos of Nectanebo II.³²⁴ The naos is intact except for the doors and the statue that would have been inside. The back of the exterior is unfinished and still rough-hewn.³²⁵ Three lines of inscriptions are carved on each side flanking the door.³²⁶ The center inscription is to be read first and is identical at right and left. It begins with the king's Horus name but in front of the falcon of the name is a small figure of Horus the Behdetite enthroned and holding a standard topped by a falcon in one hand while raising his other hand. Between the god and the falcon of the name is *r ḥn.t=k* which should be

³²⁰ *Le grand texte des donations*, p. 155, § 3. Darius I donated 5128 1/8 1/16 1/32; Darius II 1368 1/2 1/8 1/16 and Nectanebo II 1500; Nectanebo I's totals are lost but individual donations by the king in the document suggests that his donations were also substantial; see *ibid*, pp. 21, 28-29, 38-39, 42, 51-52, 44*-46*, 55*, 74*, 76*; *idem*, "Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du I^{er} Millénaire avant J.-C.," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978*, ed. Edward Lipiński, OLA 6 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), pp. 654-655.

³²¹ Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations*, p. vii, pls. 1-4.

³²² *Ibid*, p. 155, § 3.

³²³ *Ibid*, p. 155, § 4.

³²⁴ *PM VI*, p. 146; *Edfou I*, pp. 9-10, fig. 2; Johannes Duemichen, *Altägyptische Tempelinschriften*, vol. 1, *Weihinschriften aus dem Horustempel von Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna)* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1867), pl. 3.

³²⁵ *Edfou I*, p. 9.

³²⁶ See *Edfou I*, p. 10.

understood as “(Life) to your nose,”³²⁷ that is the breath of life to the nose of the king, who is in the form of the Horus falcon. The rest of this line gives the names and titles of Nectanebo II.³²⁸

The outer lines of text are to be read next; they are identical to right and left except for at the end: *ir.n=f m*³²⁹ *mnw=f n it=f Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t ir.n=f k3r šps m m3t ʿ3.wy=f(y) m h.t*

mrw nbd m hm.t mk m nbw ht rn wr n hm=f iwʿw hr=f, (at right): *hh.w m hb.w-sd hfn.w m rnp.wt d.t*, (at left): (*hr*) *rdi.t sw hr ns.t=f tp t3 r nhh d.t* “It was for his father Horus the

Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky that he constructed as his monument, he constructing a noble shrine in granite, its two doors (made) in *meru*-wood sheathed in copper, overlaid with gold engraved with the great name of His Majesty (being) a reward for³³⁰ him” (right) “of millions of *Sed* festivals and hundreds of years forever”/(left) “placing him upon his throne on earth for ever-repeating-eternity and everlasting-eternity.”³³¹ Line three, the statement of Horus,

differs only in the titles of Horus the Behdetite; (at right): *dd-md(w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t nb t3.wy nb Msn snn pw n Rʿ m t3 Šmʿw nb*³³² *Bhd.t hnty itr.ty Šmʿw Mhw*, (at left) after *nb p.t*:

s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t hnty Wts.t-Hr d3 p.t rʿ-nb m Hr-3h.ty shm-shm ph.ty ʿpy wr hnty k3r nb; common: *s3=i mry Sndm-ib-Rʿ Stp.n-Inhr nfr.wy mnw pn ir.n=k n=i ib=i htp(w) hr=f n d.t*

“Statement by Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky,” (at right) “Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Mesen, he is the image of Re in Upper Egypt, Lord of Behdet, Foremost of the Shrine Rows of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt”; (at left) “He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of Utjeset-Hor, who crosses the sky everyday as

³²⁷ Ibid, line 1.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ The *m* is missing at left.

³³⁰ See *Wb.* III, p. 316, no. 9.

³³¹ *Edfou* I, p. 10, line 2.

³³² See *Edfou* I, 2nd ed., p. 10a, n. d; *hry-ib* in the original publication is an error.

Horakhty, Image of Power,³³³ Mighty One,³³⁴ Great Winged Beetle (Apy), Foremost of Every Shrine:” (common) “My beloved son Senedjemibre Setepenihur, how beautiful is this monument, which you made for me! My heart/mind rests upon³³⁵ it forever!”³³⁶ Winged sun disks are found on the lintel and the cornice. The winged disk on the lintel is identified as *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3* “The Behdetite, the Great God” at the end of each wing.³³⁷ The winged disk of the cornice is at right/east *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen.” The name and titles at left/west are the same except *s3b šw.t* “He of Multicolored Plumage” replaces *nb Msn*.³³⁸ Winged disks and falcons are found with the vultures of Nekhbet and Wadjet on the ceiling of the naos.³³⁹ The inscriptions of these winged disks and falcons are somewhat interesting concerning geographic orientation and are given here. The first is at left/west *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty itr.t šmʿy.t ḥnty Nḏm-ʿnh* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost of Sweet-of-Life (Edfu Temple).”³⁴⁰ At right/east he is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t*³⁴¹ *ḥnty Ḥʿw-*

³³³ See *LÄGG*, vol. 6, p. 541.

³³⁴ Or “Lion”; see *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 100.

³³⁵ Perhaps the meaning is “my mind will contemplate it,” or “I shall remember it.”

³³⁶ *Edfou* I, p. 10, line 3.

³³⁷ *Edfou* I, p. 9.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ I can find no publication in which these are illustrated or a description to tell what inscriptions go with winged disk or falcon. In *Edfou* I, p. 11 we are told “au plafond, on a disposé, en une large bande centrale, le disque ailé, l’épervier et le vautour planants.” In an older publication we are told “Légendes sur le plafond alternant avec des disques ailés,” which ignores the obvious presence of vultures (as evidenced by inscriptions of Nekhbet and Wadjet); see Jacques de Rougé, *Inscriptions et notices recueillies à Edfou (Haute-Égypte) pendant la mission scientifique de M. Le Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé*, vol. 2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1880), pl. 161.

³⁴⁰ *Edfou* I, p. 11, line 8; cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 825; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 567.

³⁴¹ The original publication has *šmʿw* by mistake; see *Edfou* I, 2nd ed., p. 11a, n. a.

‘nh³⁴² “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost of Body-of-Life (Edfu Temple?).”³⁴³ The second is at left/west *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty Ḥbnw* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of (the city) Hebenu.”³⁴⁴ At right/east he is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty Šns*³⁴⁵ “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of Shenés (“Fish-Pool?”).”³⁴⁶ The last sun disk/falcon has identical inscriptions to right/east and left/west: *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn pr m 3ḥ.t di ʿnh* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, He who Comes Forth from the Horizon, who gives life.”³⁴⁷ The inscriptions to two of these sun disks/falcons clearly orient the west side with Upper Egypt and the east side with Lower Egypt. The first is “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row” on the west side and “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row” on the east. The title “Lord of Mesen” in the Greco-Roman Period is usually associated

³⁴² The reading is uncertain; the word is written  but this is treated as an error for ḥw “flesh/body” or, possibly, ḥ “palace” in *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 827.

³⁴³ *Edfou I*, p. 11, line 8 and cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 827.

³⁴⁴ *Edfou I*, p. 11, line 11.

³⁴⁵ The sign  is now read as *šns* from *šn-s(w)* meaning something like “encircle it (a fish)”; see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 866 and E. Bresciani, et al., *Saqqara*, vol. 1, *Tomba di Boccari: La galleria di Padineit, Visir di Nectanebo I* (Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori, 1980), p. 31. Earlier scholars read the sign as *In* or *ʿyn(w)*; for these readings and discussion of the city’s location see Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1935), pp. 78-79; Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 136-137, 144; Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l’Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1,  To-Mehou: *La Basse Égypte* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957), pp. 45-46.

³⁴⁶ *Edfou I*, p. 11, line 11. Gardiner’s translation of “Fish-Pool” might still work even with the new reading of the name (see previous note), although “Encircled (Fish)” or figuratively “Netted (Fish)” might have been the meaning of the name.

³⁴⁷ *Edfou I*, p. 11, line 12.

with Lower Egypt and may be here but can also be a name of Edfu.³⁴⁸ The city of Hebenu mentioned on the west side of the second winged disk/falcon is found in Upper Egypt. It is the capital of the 16th Upper Egyptian nome.³⁴⁹ The city of Shenese was in Lower Egypt close to the border with Upper Egypt near Memphis.³⁵⁰ The orientation of the naos would, thus, be opposite of the usual orientation at Edfu in which east is associated with Upper Egypt and west with Lower Egypt.³⁵¹ However, if the naos were to be rotated so that it faces east the side associated with Lower Egypt would now be on the north side and that associated with Upper Egypt would be on the south side. The naos, therefore, could be used as evidence that the original orientation of the temple of the New Kingdom was facing east and this remained the orientation up to the 30th Dynasty. This is not the first instance of the Behdetite being associated with the towns of Hebenu and Shenese. A scene in the *Akhmenu* of Thutmose III at Karnak shows a falcon-headed Horus, who is called *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t ḥnty Ḥbnw ḥnty Šns ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Foremost of Hebenu, Foremost of Shenese, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row.”³⁵² In a scene from the tomb of Ramesses IX in the Valley of the

³⁴⁸ The inscriptions for the third winged disk/falcon may reflect the presence of cities named Mesen in both Upper and Lower Egypt but there may not be a geographic orientation of the different wings in this case just as the wings of the vultures are not of geographic orientation (the vultures have the inherent orientations with the north and south based on the goddesses they represent).

³⁴⁹ See Farouk Gomaà, “Hebenu,” *LA* II, cols. 1075-1076. This city should not be confused with a Hebenu in Lower Egypt found in the eastern Delta and of much less importance; see Montet, *Géographie*, p. 189.

³⁵⁰ See Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, pp. 78-79; Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, pp. 136-137, 144; Montet, *Géographie*, pp. 45-46.

³⁵¹ See Loeben, “Bemerkungen zum Horustempel,” p. 67.

³⁵² *LD* III, pl. 33g. The Behdetite stands behind the king, who is performing the “race” with vases and wearing the Red Crown before Amun-Re; behind Amun-Re, and the counterpart to Horus, is “[Seth], Lord of Upper Egypt, Lord of the Sky, Great of Magic, Son of Nut, Great of Strength, Foremost of Su.”

Kings (KV 6) a falcon shown hovering above the king is called *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t nb Msn nb 3ḥ.t ḥnty Ḥbnw ḥnty Šns di=f nsy(.t) n R' m ḥ3b3s (?)*³⁵³ “The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Lord of Mesen, Lord of the Horizon, Foremost of Hebenu, Foremost of Shenes, as he gives the kingship of Re among the stars (?).”³⁵⁴ On the south facing wall of the Bubastite Portal at Karnak a falcon hovering above Shoshenq I is *[Bḥd].t(y) nṯr ʿ3 s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t nb p.t [nb] Msn ḥnty Ḥbnw ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t/šm'y.t (?)*³⁵⁵ “The [Behd]etite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Lord of the Sky, [Lord] of Mesen, Foremost of Hebenu, Foremost of the Upper/Lower (?) Egyptian Shrine Row.”³⁵⁶ In these three cases there is not a clear division or orientation with north and south except the usual case of Upper Egypt (Hebenu) having precedence over Lower Egypt (Shenes or Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, in the last case). However on the lintel of the sanctuary in the mammisi at Edfu is a winged disk, which on the south side is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t ḥnty Ḥbnw ḥnty Nḏm-(nh) ḥnty Ḥ'w-nḥ* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost of Hebenu,³⁵⁷ Foremost of Sweet-of-Life (Edfu Temple), Foremost of Body-of-Life” (Edfu Temple).³⁵⁸ On the north he is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t ḥnty T3rw ḥnty Šns* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of

³⁵³ Cf. *Wb.* III, p. 230, nos. 1-4; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 704.

³⁵⁴ *KRI* VI, p. 459, lines 13-14; *LD* III, pl. 234a.

³⁵⁵ Only the base of the plant with three stems is intact; the flowers are lost. Although the writing of *Mḥw/mḥy/.t* with a three-stemmed plant is more common, *Šm'w/šm'y/.t* can also be written with a three-stemmed plant at this time; cf. *Wb.* IV, pp. 472-475.

³⁵⁶ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 3, *The Bubastite Portal*, OIP 74 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pls. 2-3.

³⁵⁷ For other cases at Edfu Temple in which the Behdetite is called “Foremost of Hebenu,” see *LÁGG*, vol. 5, p. 841.

³⁵⁸ É. Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d'Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), p. 1, line 14.

Mesen, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost of Sile,³⁵⁹ Foremost of Shenes.”³⁶⁰ There is no direct evidence of a cult of Horus the Behdetite at either Hebenu or Shenes. However, there was much symbology in these two places concerning Horus, which the theologians of the Behdetite utilized. During the Old Kingdom the god of Hebenu was called *Hr* (𐦏) *ḥnty Ḥbnw* “Horus Foremost of Hebenu.”³⁶¹ During the New Kingdom the god appears as *Hr nb Ḥbnw* “Horus, Lord of Hebenu.”³⁶² The nome in which Hebenu lay was the Gazelle Nome and a gazelle appeared on the nome standard.³⁶³ Since the gazelle was identified with the powers of chaos,³⁶⁴ it became identified with Seth and, thus, Horus was placed on top of the gazelle to represent his dominance over Seth; sometimes a man or Horus (falcon-headed man) is shown with a spear driving it into the back of the gazelle.³⁶⁵ As Horus the Behdetite became more and more viewed as the specific opponent of Seth, he was associated with this form of Horus. Thus in the “Legend

³⁵⁹ Tjaru or Sile was a city in the northeast Delta near modern Qantara that was the beginning of the land route (“The Ways of Horus”) between Egypt and Canaan and, thus, the border with Asia; it was the place where Horus the Behdetite had his final victory over his enemies in the “Legend of the Winged Disk” and was an important cult site of his Lower Egyptian alter-ego “Horus Lord of Mesen”; see Montet, *Géographie*, p. 190 and see below.

³⁶⁰ Chassinat, *Mammisi d’Edfou*, p. 1, line 15. For other cases in which the Behdetite is called “Foremost of Shenes,” see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 866.

³⁶¹ See *LD Text II*, pp. 63-64, 67-68; Alexandre Varille, *La tombe de Ni-Ankh-Pepi à Zâouyet el-Mayetîn*, MIFAO 70 (Cairo: IFAO, 1938), p. 29.

³⁶² See Varille, *Ni-Ankh-Pepi*, pp. 31, 41; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 697.

³⁶³ See Wolfgang Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 5 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1974), pp. 109-111; idem, “Gauzeichen,” cols. 423-424 (16. O. äg.).

³⁶⁴ See Emma Brunner-Traut, “Gazelle,” *LÄ II*, col. 426; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 1952), p. 201.

³⁶⁵ See Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, KAWW Philosophische-historische Klasse Denkschriften 59 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 1917), pp. 37-38; Helck, *Gaue*, p. 109; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostri I^{er}*, vol. 1, pp. 228-229; *Edfou V*, p. 186, line 16; *Edfou VI*, p. 230, line 15.

of the Winged Disk” Horus the Behdetite slays 142 Sethian enemies in Hebenu and is said to kill a male hippopotamus, representing Seth, while standing on its back.³⁶⁶ In the text known as the “Memphite Theology” from the so-called “Shabaka Stone,” which is now generally thought to date either to the New Kingdom³⁶⁷ or the time of Shabaka himself (25th Dyn.),³⁶⁸ Horus and Seth are said to have made peace at Shenes:

. . . wp.n=f Hr hn‘ [Stš] (.)³⁶⁹ hw.n=f šnt=sn di=f [Stš] m ny-sw.t m t3 Šm‘w dr bs=f im m Sw sw(t) Gb di=f Hr m bi.ty m t3 Mhw dr bw mh it=f im m Psš.t-t3.wy sw(t) Hr ‘h‘(w) hr (i)3.t Stš ‘h‘(w) hr (i)3.t htp=sn t3.wy m Šns t3š t3.wy pw

. . . and he (Geb) judged Horus and Seth (.) and he prevented their quarrel, he appointing [Seth] as Upper Egyptian King in the land of Upper Egypt as far as (the place) in which he emerged³⁷⁰ in Su. And so Geb appointed Horus as Lower Egyptian King in the land of Lower Egypt as far as the place in which his father drowned in Division-of-the-Two-Lands. And so Horus stood upon one place and Seth stood upon one place with the result that they pacified the Two Lands in Shenes. It is the border of the Two Lands.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ See Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 30.

³⁶⁷ See Jan Assmann, *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte* (Munich: Carl Hanser, 1996), p. 392; Hermann Alexander Schlögl, *Der Gott Tatenen: Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 29 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), pp. 110-117; James P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*, YES 2 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1988), p. 43.

³⁶⁸ F. Junge, “Zur Fehlдатierung des sog. Denkmals memphitischer Theologie oder der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistesgeschichte der Spätzeit,” *MDAIK* 29 (1973), pp. 195-204; Carsten Peust and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi, “Das »Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie«,” in Manfred Dietrich, et al., *Ergänzungslieferung*, Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh, Germany: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 2001), pp. 166-168; Amr El Hawary, *Wortschöpfung: Die Memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pije-zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25. Dynastie*, OBO 243 (Freiburg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprechte, 2010), p. 206 (a good summary of the various interpretations of the date of the text can be found on pp. 92-111).

³⁶⁹ There is a long gap here, which is probably due to a broken area in the papyrus that the text was copied from or, according to some interpretations, left blank to give this appearance.

³⁷⁰ In both *Pyr.* § 205 and in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 12 Seth is said to have burst out of his mother rather than being born in the conventional way, which may explain why the verb *bsi* is used instead of *msi* here; see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 27-28.

³⁷¹ Kurt Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, UGAA 10 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 23; El Hawary, *Wortschöpfung*, endplate

However, we are told, Geb later regretted giving Seth part of the inheritance of Osiris and he then made Horus king over all of Egypt. Both Hebenu and Shenese might be viewed as representing Horus' triumph over Seth and the former's authority over both parts of Egypt. For Horus the Behdetite the two cities may have been only symbolically important and not actual cult sites, although future discoveries could confirm or deny this statement.³⁷²

We actually have quite a bit of material from the officials who served in the cult of the Behdetite or related gods during the period from the late 25th/early 26th Dynasties to the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. Before examining the material from the region of Edfu we must note an official and prince depicted in the Temple of Khonsu at Thebes. This is the son of Herihor named Ankhefenamun. He is depicted as the second prince in a procession of Herihor's family on the west wall of the temple forecourt.³⁷³ The prince is identified as *s3 ny-sw.t n ḥ.(t)=f ḥm-[ntr] ḥm.t.nw [n] I[m]n ḥm-ntr n In-ḥr ḥm-ntr n Hr Bḥd.t[y] imy-r3 (i)ḥ.[w n] P3-R' 'nḥ=f-n-lmn m3'-ḥrw* "The King's Son of his body, the Third Prophet [of] Amun, Prophet of Onuris, Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, and Overseer of the Cattle [of] Pre Ankhefenamun, justified."³⁷⁴ Although it is not impossible that there was a cult of Horus the Behdetite at

and pp. 119-120; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 52; Peust and Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Memphitischer Theologie," p. 171.

³⁷² Although the general areas in which the two cities were located are known, the actual locations of the town sites are uncertain; see Montet, *Géographie*, pp. 45-46; Gomaà, "Hebenu," cols. 1075-1076.

³⁷³ Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court with Translations of Texts*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pls. 14 and 26; cf. Robert K. Ritner, *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, WAW 21 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), pp. 83-85, no. 17.

³⁷⁴ Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pls. 14, 26; Ritner, *Libyan Anarchy*, p. 85.

Thebes,³⁷⁵ based on material presented above and below, it is more likely that Ankhefenamun's title refers to the cult of Horus the Behdetite in Edfu. In the same way, his title of "Prophet of Onuris" likely refers to the main cult site of this god in Thinis. These offices held by his son were likely part of Herihor's attempt to maintain some control over the clergy of various cities in Upper Egypt. We find a similar policy under Psamtek I at the beginning of the 26th Dynasty. One official that we can place chronologically is a Nesnaiset,³⁷⁶ who served under Psamtek I. A text from his granite statue now in Berlin reads *R'-Hr-3h.ty ntr '3 nb p.t iry-p'.t h3ty-' hm-ntr n Hr Bhd.t(y) rh-ny-sw.t m3' mry=f Ns-n(3)-Is.t s3 n Hr-wd3.t ir nb(.t)-pr Ts-Nt-pr.t m3'-hrw dd=f m dw3w Wsir hr-tp 'nh wd3 snb ntr nfr nb t3.wy W3h-ib-R' s3 R' Psmtk 'nh d.t* "O Re-Horakhty, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, the Hereditary Noble, Count and Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, One Truly Known by the King, his beloved Nesnaiset, son of Horudjat, engendered (by) the Lady of the House Tjesneithperet, justified, speaks³⁷⁷ in adoration of Osiris on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of the Good God and Lord of the Two Lands Wahibre, Son of Re Psamtek, who lives forever."³⁷⁸ A short autobiography from the same statue states that Nesnaiset was a count³⁷⁹ in several towns, including El Kab before he became Count of Edfu.³⁸⁰ A stela of

³⁷⁵ He is pictured in several temples in Thebes being offered to and embracing the king, including at Khonsu Temple. We will examine this material in Chapter 7.IV.v.

³⁷⁶ For the correct reading of the name, see H. de Meulenaere, "Recherches onomastiques," *Kémi* 16 (1962), pp. 31-35.

³⁷⁷ Literally, "as he speaks/says."

³⁷⁸ Hermann Ranke, "Statue eines hohen Beamten unter Psammetich I.," *ZÄS* 44 (1907), pp. 43-44.

³⁷⁹ I choose the translation "count" for the title *h3ty-* instead of "nomarch" or "mayor," because, as we will see with the family of Khonsuirdis below, in this period a man can be *h3ty-* of several cities and multiple men can hold the title for the same city during the same period. There are too many *h3ty-*'s for them to be nomarchs or mayors of the same province or city.

³⁸⁰ He may have retained some or all of these positions after becoming Count of Edfu. Ibid, p. 46; Mark Depauw, "Elkab and Edfu: A Survey of Local Textual Sources from the Later Periods," in *Edfu: An Egyptian Provincial Capital in the Ptolemaic Period; Brussels*, 3

a Psamtek tells us that his father Wahibre was an official assigned to the sacred bark of Horus the Behdetite.³⁸¹ Wahibre also held the position of "God's Scribe of Horus the Nekhenite," that is Horus of Hierakonpolis. The necropolis of Edfu was moved to Nag el-Hassiya to the south of the town of Edfu during the Late Period and this site has offered quite a bit of material.³⁸² A few tombs have been investigated and several stelae come from the site. Among the tombs investigated is one of a count of Edfu Djehutymose son of the prophet and count Neshor, who must date somewhere from the 26th to 29th Dynasties based on their names.³⁸³ A text from his tomb at Nag el-Hassiya reads [. . . . Hr]-sm3-t3.wy-p3-hrd hm-ntr [imy] 3bd=f [imy]-s.t-^c sš t3š hr s3 snw h3ty-^c Db3 Ns-Hr [.] ir.n s3=f r s'nh rn=f hm Hr [. . . .] iry-p^c.t h3ty-^c Dhwtj-ms mw.t=f nb(.t)-pr [. . . .] "[. . . . Har]somtus-the-Child. The Prophet, Monthly-service-priest, [Ritual] Assistant,³⁸⁴ District Scribe of the Second Phyle, the Count of Edfu

September 2001, ed. Katelijn Vandorpe and Willy Clarysse (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België, 2003), p. 34. A hieroglyphic Book of the Dead (P. Louvre N 3114 and 3116) of a Nesnaiset also likely belongs to this man; see Depauw, "Elkab and Edfu," p. 38. The papyrus contains additional sacerdotal titles but has not been published; V. Laurent, "Une statue de Tell el-Maskoutah retrouvée," *Rd'É* 36 (1985), p. 181, n. 11.

³⁸¹ Sayce, "Gleanings from the Land of Egypt," pp. 174-175. Before the word *wi3* in Wahibre's title is a broken space then . I have not found a title that would include this grouping of signs; it could be an incorrect writing of *srrw wi3* "Bark Captain (?)" ; see Dilwyn Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, 1988), p. 127, no. 23.

³⁸² In general, see Andreas Effland, "Zur Grabungsgeschichte der archäologischen Stätten zwischen Hager Edfu und Nag^c el-Hisaja al-Gharbi," in *Edfu: Bericht über drei Surveys; Materialien und Studien*, Dieter Kurth, ed., EDFUB 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), pp. 21-39; *PM* V, pp. 205-206; Gawdat Gabra, "Möglichkeiten zur Feldarbeit in Edfu," in *Tell-Edfou soixante ans après: Actes du colloque franco-polonais, Le Caire-15 octobre 1996*, FFP 4 (Cairo: IFAO, 1999), p. 12.

³⁸³ Effland, et al., "Bericht über drei Surveys," p. 58.

³⁸⁴ On this title during the Late Period, see Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3)* (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press, 1962), p. 30.

Neshor³⁸⁵ [.], which his son made to cause his name to live, the Servant of Horus [. . .], the Hereditary Noble and Count Djehutymose, his mother, the Lady of the House [. . .].”³⁸⁶ A Neshor, who is father of a Djehutymose is known from Stela Hilton-Price 2018 but these men do not bear the same titles as the men from the tomb.³⁸⁷ Neshor holds the titles *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Nbw.t sš mš' sš wb3* “Prophet of Horus³⁸⁸ and (Prophet) of the Golden One (Hathor), Scribe of the Army, Scribe of the Forecourt (?).” Djehutymose is *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Nbw.t ḥry mnḥ.t n pr Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) imy-r3 mn'.wt Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy-p3-ḥrd ḥry mnḥ.t nṯr.w Bḥd.t 3ṯw-nṯr Ḥr-sm3-t3.wy-p3-ḥrd ḥm-nṯr Mntw* “Prophet of Horus and (Prophet) of the Golden One, Chief of Linen of the House of Horus the Behdetite, Overseer of Wet-nurses of Harsomtus-the-Child, Chief of Linen of the Gods of Behdet, God's-Quartermaster of Harsomtus-the-Child, Prophet of Montu.”³⁸⁹ Since the inscriptions from the tomb are so incomplete, it is possible that these are the same men but even if they are not they almost certainly come from the same family. Most important is the tomb of a Khonsuirdis, whose family tree can be reconstructed based on the texts from the tomb and from stelae and other artifacts, as well as the tomb that likely belongs to his father Patjenfy in Thebes (TT 128). Yoyotte first noticed the similarity of the titles of the Khonsuirdis who owned the tomb in Edfu and Patjenfy of TT 128, who also had a son named Khonsuirdis, again, with similar

³⁸⁵ With the break following *Ḥr* the father’s name could have been “Neshor[behdety]”; Effland, et al., p. 58.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 57-58.

³⁸⁷ See Peter Munro, “Zur Chronologie der Totenstelen aus Nag’ el-Ḥiṣyâ,” *MDAIK* 41 (1985), p. 185.

³⁸⁸ This is likely short for “Horus the Behdetite” as seen in several cases from monuments from this necropolis where “Horus the Behdetite” takes the place of “Horus” in different texts referring to the same person. We often find a contraction of *ḥm-nṯr* to *ḥm* and *ḥm-(nṯr) Ḥr (Bḥd.ty) ḥm-(nṯr) Nbw.t* to *ḥm Ḥr Nbw.t* as we have here.

³⁸⁹ I have left out some broken titles; see Munro, “Chronologie der Totenstelen,” p. 185.

titles.³⁹⁰ From the texts of TT 128 and a stela in Philadelphia (Phil. 29-86-422) we can trace Patjenfy's ancestry back to his great grand father.³⁹¹ Even though these predecessors are Thebans they have connections with cults in Edfu. According to a text in TT 128, Patjenfy's great grandfather, Djeddjehutyuefankh was *ḥm-ntr (n) Imn m Ip.t-s.wt imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd Pr-ʿ3* "Prophet of Amun in Karnak, Overseer of the Double Treasury of Pharaoh."³⁹² However, on the stela in Philadelphia we find that he and his son Patjenfy (the grand father of Patjenfy who owned TT 128) also held the posts *ḥm-ntr Hr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn ḥsk Ḥnsw Bhd.t m33-sš(t3)-3ḥ.t-nḥḥ* "Prophet of Horus the Great, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, *Hesek*-priest of Khonsu of Behdet, He-who-Sees-the-Secrets-of-the-Horizon-of-Eternity."³⁹³ Patjenfy's father Padiamun was *ḥm-(ntr) Hr-šḥtp-ḥm.t=s* "Prophet of Horus-who-Causes-Her-Majesty-to-be-Appeased (?),"³⁹⁴ while his mother Iryt was the daughter of the *[ḥm-ntr] Hr iḥy ḥry mnḥ.t Hr Bhd.t(y) Wd3-rn=f* "[Prophet] of Horus, Music-priest and Chief of Linens of Horus the Behdetite Udjarenef."³⁹⁵ According to texts in the tombs of Patjenfy and Khonsuirdis the wife of the former and mother of the latter was the Music-priestess (*iḥy.t*) of Amun-Re Irtyru, who was the daughter of the Second Prophet of Amun in Karnak, who has the interesting name

³⁹⁰ Jean Yoyotte, "Trois notes pour servir à l'histoire d'Edfou," *Kēmi* 12 (1952), pp. 93-96.

³⁹¹ See Peter Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, ÄF 25 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1973), pl. 22, fig. 80; idem, "Chronologie der Totenstelen," p. 182; Wolfgang Schenkel, "Die Gräber des *P3-tnf-j* und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)," *MDAIK* 31 (1975), pp. 133-144, figs. 4-12.

³⁹² Schenkel, "Gräber," p. 144, fig. 12.

³⁹³ Munro, *Totenstelen*, pl. 22, fig. 80.

³⁹⁴ According to *Wb.* IV, p. 222, no. 15 *šḥtp ḥmi.t* is a Late Period priestly title; all examples from Edfu, however, are followed by an *s*. Perhaps in these cases it is part of the epithets of Horus with the meaning "who causes Her Majesty (Hathor?) to be appeased."

³⁹⁵ Schenkel, "Gräber," p. 133-134, fig. 4.

Neshorbehedy.³⁹⁶ Patjenfy and Khonsuirdis after him held both secular and religious posts in both Thebes and Edfu. Patjenfy was *ḥm-nṯr {ḥm} Hr (wr-wr.ty)*³⁹⁷ *ḥm-(nṯr) Nbw.t ḥsk Ḥnsw Bḥd.t sš-nṯr Hr Bḥd.t(y) imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr nṯr.w rsw ḥ3ty-ꜥ Db3 ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Niw.t rḥ-ny-sw.t m3ꜥ mry=f* “Prophet of Horus (Great-of-the-Two-Uraei), Prophet of the Golden One (Hathor), *Hesek-* priest of Khonsu of Behdet, God’s-scribe of Horus The Behdetite, Overseer of Prophets of the Gods of the South, Count of Edfu, Count of No (Thebes), One Truly Known by the King, his beloved.”³⁹⁸ In texts from the tomb of his father Khonsuirdis holds the titles *ḥm-(nṯr) Hr ḥm-(nṯr) Nbw.t imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.(t) lwn.t imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr n nṯr.w [rsw] ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Db3 ḥ3ty-ꜥ n Niw.t rḥ-ny-sw.t m3ꜥ mry=f* “Prophet of Horus, Prophet of the Golden One, Overseer of Prophets of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Overseer of Prophets of the Gods of [the South], Count of Edfu, Count of No (Thebes), One Truly Known by the King, his beloved.”³⁹⁹ By the time the texts in his tomb at Edfu were carved Khonsuirdis held religious and civil offices in most of the major cities of Upper Egypt: *iry-pꜥ.t ḥ3ty-ꜥ ḥm-nṯr lmn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t-nṯr.w imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr Hr*⁴⁰⁰ *Bḥd.t(y) šḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr n Hr Bḥd.t(y) imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.(t) lwn.t imy-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr Nḥb.t ḥḏ.t Nḥn ḥry-sšt3 (?)*⁴⁰¹ *n nṯr.w T3-Sty ḥ3ty-ꜥ n 3bdw rḥ-ny-sw.t m3ꜥ mry=f* “Hereditary Noble, Count, Prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Overseer of Prophets of Horus the

³⁹⁶ Schenkel, “Gräber,” p. 45, fig. 13; Georges Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23 (1901), p. 128.

³⁹⁷ This is found in only one text from the tomb; see Schenkel, “Gräber,” p. 146, fig. 17.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, pp. 133-134, 139-140, 144, 146-147, figs. 4, 7-8, 17.

³⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 145, fig. 13.

⁴⁰⁰ Written with .

⁴⁰¹ Written with the twin pupil-signs over the back of a reclining jackal; Yoyotte, “Trois notes,” p. 94, reads the pupils as *ḥry* but gives no explanation and I can find no other examples or references to this reading. The most common reading of the two pupils is *m33* (see François Daumas, ed., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine*, vol. 1 (Montpellier: Institut d’Égyptologie Université Paul-Valéry, 1988), p. 154, no. 167; *Wb.* II, pp. 7, 10; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 393) but no such title appears in any of the dictionaries; I accept Yoyotte’s interpretation with reservations.

Behdetite, Inspector of Prophets of Horus the Behdetite, Overseer of Prophets of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Overseer of Prophets of Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Master of Secrets (?) of the Gods of Ta-sety (1st nome of Upper Egypt), Count of Abydos, One Truly Known by the King, his beloved.”⁴⁰² A bronze statuette of a priest in the British Museum bears the full titulary of Psamtek I and the priest is identified as the *iry-p.t ḥ3ty-‘ imy-r3 Šm’w imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr m Wts.t-Ḥr m i3.t Dw-f(y.t) imy-r3 [. .] Ḥnsw-ir-di-s(w)* “Noble, Count, Overseer of Upper Egypt, Overseer of Prophets in Utjeset-Hor (and) in Serpent-Mound,⁴⁰³ Overseer [of . . (?)] Khonsuiridis.”⁴⁰⁴ Yoyotte identifies this Khonsuiridis with Khonsuiridis son of Patjenfy and thus he is contemporary with Psamtek I.⁴⁰⁵ Two of Khonsuiridis’ half-brothers, born to the lady Takhenmemet, also held important offices. Padiamun was *ḥm-(ntr) Ḥr ḥm-(ntr) Nbw.t ḥry mnḥ.t Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) [. .] t3.wy ḥry-ib Wts.t-Ḥr ḥ3ty-‘ n Db3 rḥ-ny-sw.t m3‘ mry=f* “Prophet of Horus, Prophet of the Golden One, Chief of Linen of Horus the Behdetite, [. .] of the Two Lands, who dwells in Utjeset-Hor, Count of Edfu, One Truly Known by the King, his beloved.”⁴⁰⁶ Ramose was *ḥm-(ntr) Ḥr ḥm-(ntr) Nbw.t imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr [. . .] ḥ3ty-‘ n Db3 ḥ3ty-‘ n Niw.t rḥ-ny-sw.t m3‘* “Prophet of Horus, Prophet of the Golden One, Overseer of

⁴⁰² Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23, pp. 127-129. On a stela that belonged to his grand son, also named Khonsuiridis, he is also given the title *imy-r3 Šm’w* “Overseer of Upper Egypt,” which was a title frequently found with officials who were also *ḥ3ty-‘* of Thebes during the Saite Period; see *ibid.*, p. 129; Ahmed Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1905), p. 5 (22004); Yoyotte, “Trois notes,” p. 94.

⁴⁰³ Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 69 identifies this place as both a city near Asyut and as a name of the 12th Upper Egyptian nome; the latter is understood by Yoyotte, “Trois notes,” p. 95.

⁴⁰⁴ H. R. Hall, “The Bronze Statuette of Khonserdaisu in the British Museum,” *JEA* 16 (1930), pp. 1-2, pl. 2, fig. 3 and see Yoyotte, “Trois notes,” p. 95.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ Schenkel, “Gräber,” pp. 146-147, fig. 18, pl. 48 bottom.

Prophets of [. . .], Count of Edfu, Count of No (Thebes), One Truly Known by the King.”⁴⁰⁷

Khonsuirdis’ daughter Iry, who was an *ihy.t n Hr Bhd.t(y)* “Music-priestess of Horus the Behdetite,” married the priest named Djehutymose son of Neshor whom we met above.⁴⁰⁸ Their other son Padiamun like his grandfather held civil and religious posts in multiple cities of Upper Egypt: *hm-(ntr) Hr (hm-ntr) Nbw.t hm-ntr n Hr imy-r3 hm.w-ntr h3ty-‘ Niw.ty hry mnḥ.t imy-r3 mn’.wt n Hr-sm3-t3.wy imy-s.t-‘ sš t3š hr s3 snw h3ty-‘ Db3 imy-r3 hm.w-ntr Nḥb* “Prophet of Horus and (Prophet) of the Golden One, Prophet of Horus, Overseer of Prophets, Count of the Two Cities (Thebes?),⁴⁰⁹ Chief of Linen, Overseer of Wet-nurses of Harsomtus-the-Child, Ritual Assistant, District Scribe of the Second Phyle, Count of Edfu, Overseer of Prophets of El-Kab.”⁴¹⁰

Another important priestly family of the late 25th-early 26th Dynasties at Edfu was that of another Patjenfy and his heirs. Earlier members of the family held priestly positions in the cult of Amun at Thebes and possibly of an otherwise unknown cult of Amun at Sile and the family may have been related to Khonsuirdis’ family through marriage.⁴¹¹ Information on this family

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, pp. 147-148, fig. 20, pl. 49 bottom.

⁴⁰⁸ Kamal, *Stèles*, vol. 1, p. 5; cf. Munro, “Chronologie der Totenstelen,” pp. 165, 183; Herman de Meulenaere, “Les stèles de Nag el-Hassaïa,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969), p. 94.

⁴⁰⁹ According to Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 3, p. 77, *Niw.ty* is a term for Thebes and means the city of the living on the East Bank of Luxor and the city of the dead on the West Bank. In Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Großes Handwörterbuch; Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), p. 1352, *Niw.ty* is said to be “viell Bez. Der Stadt Krokodilopolis” but no reference is given. The name is not found in Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Jean Yoyotte, “Processions géographiques mentionnant le Fayoum et ses localités,” *BIFAO* 61 (1962), pp. 79-138 or in H. Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum*, ÄgAb 51 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991).

⁴¹⁰ Kamal, *Stèles*, vol. 1, p. 44, vol. 2, pl. 14 (22048); Munro, “Chronologie der Totenstelen,” p. 183.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Munro, “Chronologie der Totenstelen,” p. 165.

comes from a statue of Patjenfy's grandson Pasheryese,⁴¹² a stela of his great grandson Nakhthor⁴¹³ and a fragment of the coffin of his son Padiaabehdet.⁴¹⁴ On the statue of Pasheryese, which dates to the early 26th Dynasty based on epigraphic and stylistic grounds,⁴¹⁵ Patjenfy is given the titles *ḥm-nṯr Imn m Ip.t-s.wt ḥm-nṯr tpy Ḥr Bḥd.t(y)* "Prophet of Amun in Karnak, First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite."⁴¹⁶ Padiaabehdet was *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) ḥm-(nṯr) Nb.w.t* "First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Prophet of the Golden One," and Pasheryese was *ḥm-(nṯr) Ḥr ḥm-(nṯr) Nb.w.t ḥm-nṯr Wsir ḥnty sh-nṯr*⁴¹⁷ *ḥm-nṯr 3s.t-ḥdd.t ḥr s3 ḥm.t.nw* "Prophet of Horus, Prophet of the Golden One, Prophet of Osiris Foremost of the God's Booth, Prophet of Isis-the-Scorpion of the Third Phyle."⁴¹⁸ On the coffin fragment of Padiaabehdet he and his father are given the same titles but they are slightly different from those on the statue of Pasheryese: *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) [. .] . . (?)*⁴¹⁹ *n pr Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) imy-3bd[=f .] ḥm-nṯr Imn-p3-ḏr P(3)-di-ḥ3-Bḥd.t s3 mi-nn P(3)-ṯnfy m3-ḥrw* "The First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, [. .] . . (?) of the House of Horus the Behdetite, the Monthly-service-priest, the Prophet of

⁴¹² The statue is in a private collection; see Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, ed. Elizabeth Riefstahl (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1960), pp. 43-44, pl. 33, figs. 78-79, no. 36.

⁴¹³ See Svetlana Hodjash and Oleg Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, trans. Oleg Berlev (Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982), pp. 174-175, no. 117.

⁴¹⁴ Text published by Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *RecTrav* 23, p. 130 (j). Another coffin fragment appears to have belonged to a son of Padiaabehdet, who was named after his grandfather. A text from this coffin reads *Wsir ḥm-(nṯr) Ḥr ḥm Nb.w.t P(3)-ṯnfy [m3-ḥrw] s3 n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) ḥm Nb.w.t P(3)-di-ḥ3-(Bḥd.t)* "The Osiris, the Prophet of Horus, the Servant of the Golden One, Patjenfy, [justified], son of the First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Servant of the Golden One Padiaa(behdet)," see *ibid.*, p. 130 (k).

⁴¹⁵ See Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 44.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 43, pl. 33, fig. 78.

⁴¹⁷ Although the sign looks somewhat like *ḥw.t-nṯr* on this statue, it is clearly *sh-nṯr* in the titles of Pasheryaset on the stela of Nakhthor; see Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, p. 175 (4th line at left).

⁴¹⁸ Brooklyn Museum, *Egyptian Sculpture*, p. 43, pl. 33, fig. 78.

⁴¹⁹ The lacuna is followed by an owl (*m*), a t-loaf and a seated god determinative.

Amun-the-Savior⁴²⁰ Padiaabehdet, son of the like-titled Patjenfy, justified.”⁴²¹ On his stela in Moscow Nakhthor is *ḥm-(ntr) Hr ḥm-(ntr) Nbw.t imy-s.t-‘ sš t3š hr s3 ḥm.t.nw Nh.t-Hr m3‘-hrw s3 n mi-nn ḥm-ntr Wsir ḥnty sh-ntr ḥm-ntr 3s.t-ḥdd.t P(3)-šry-3s.t* “The Prophet of Horus, Prophet of the Golden One, Ritual Assistant, District Scribe of the Third Phyle Nakhthor, justified, son of the like-titled, the Prophet of Osiris Foremost of the God’s Booth, Prophet of Isis-the-Scorpion Pasheryese.”⁴²² A man named Psamteknebpehty may be another son of this Patjenfy and a brother to Padiaabehdet. According to Stela CGC 22002 Psamteknebpehty and his father Patjenfy both held the titles *ḥm-ntr tpy Hr Bhd.t(y) ḥm-(ntr) Nbw.t ḥm-ntr Hw.t-Hr hry(.t)-ib Wts.t-Hr* “First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Prophet of the Golden One, Prophet of Hathor who Dwells in Utjeset-Hor.”⁴²³ In regards to the mention of Amun-the-Helper on the

⁴²⁰ The signs given in Daressy following *Imn* are: , which looks like the ancient name for Sile “Tjaru,” however Pascal Vernus, “Amon P3-‘dr. De la piété «populaire» à la spéculation théologique,” in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927-1976*, vol. 1, *Égypte pharaonique*, Bd’É 81 (Cairo: IFAO, 1979), pp. 463, 471 has shown that this is to be read as P3 ‘dr. This god is mentioned several times in texts from Edfu Temple and in *Edfou V*, p. 299, line 13 uses the same signs; cf. Vernus, “Amon P3-‘dr,” pp. 464-469.

⁴²¹ Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23, p. 130 (j).

⁴²² Hodjash and Berlev, *Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae*, pp. 174-175, no. 117 (left side lines 1-5).

⁴²³ See Kamal, *Stèles*, vol. 1, p. 3, vol. 2, pl. 1=Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23, p. 130 (h). Cairo Stela 27/9/16/7 belongs to a woman named Dimutshepenankh daughter of a Patjenfy, who was “First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite” and a woman named Heryib, who was the daughter of the “Prophet of Horus the Behdetite” Ramose; see de Meulenaere, “Les stèles de Nag el-Hassaia,” p. 95 and n. 2. This is possibly the same woman mentioned on a coffin fragment named Heryib, who was daughter of the *ḥm-ntr Hr Bhd.t(y) ḥm-(ntr) Nbw.t ḥ3ty-‘ Db3 R‘-ms* “Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Prophet of the Golden One, Count of Edfu Ramose”; see Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23, p. 130 (g). Munro, “Chronology der Totenstelen,” p. 165 identifies this Ramose, father of Heryib with the Ramose, who was a half brother of Khonsuirdis (I). To complicate matters, the base of a bronze statuette of Osiris in Baltimore preserves the name of *ḥm-ntr fdw.nw n Hr Bhd.t(y) ḥm-ntr imy-3bd=f imy-s.t-‘ hry-s3 fdw.nw ḥm Nbw.t ḥm-ntr P(3)-R‘ hry-ib Wts.t-Hr P(3)-tnfy s3 ḥm [Hr]-sh̄tp-ḥm.t=s R‘-ms mw.t=f nb(.t)-pr Hry-ib* “The Fourth Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Prophet, Monthly-service-priest, Ritual Assistant, Chief of the Fourth Phyle, Servant of the Golden One, Prophet of Pre who

coffin of Padiaabehdet, it has been suggested that this god was introduced to Edfu by the members of a community with the name *T3-s.t-n3y.w-Niw.t* (Greek Τῶεβνη) “The-place-of-the-Thebans” mentioned in the Great Donation text at Edfu Temple.⁴²⁴

A text from another coffin gives us the names of two other high priests from this era, although more exact dating must await full publication of the coffin: *ḥm-(ntr) Ḥr-sḥtp-ḥm.t=s ḥm-ntr tpy n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Ḥr-s3-3s.t s3 ḥm-ntr tpy n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Ns-p(3)-ḥrd m3'-ḥrw ms nb(.t)-pr iḥy.t n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Nfr.t-iw* “The Prophet of Horus-who-Causes-Her-Majesty-to-be-Appeased, First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite Horsiese, son of the First Prophet of Horus the Behdetite Nespakhered, justified, and born by the Lady of the House, the Music-priestess of Horus the Behdetite Neferetiu.”⁴²⁵

The appointments of Nesnaiset to various civil and religious offices in Upper Egypt is generally viewed as Psamtek I’s policy of slowly extending his control over Upper Egypt by placing loyal officials from Lower Egypt in southern posts.⁴²⁶ Psamtek’s policy regarding Thebes was one of diplomacy.⁴²⁷ The local ruler Montuemhat retained his position as de facto ruler of Thebes, while the Nubian God’s Wives of Amun Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II

Dwells in Utjesethor Patjenfy, son of the Servant of [Horus]-who-Causes-Her-Majesty-to-be-Appeased Ramose, his mother (being) the Lady of the House Heryib”; see Steindorff, *Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 103-104 (no. 368), pls. 66 and 118 (368B). It seems unlikely, based on the title of this Ramose, that he is the same as the other Ramose (or Ramoses?), since it never occurs in the longer lists of titles from the other monuments but, given the names, it is likely that they were in some way related.

⁴²⁴ Vernus, “Amon P3-‘dr,” p. 475; cf. Meeks, *Grand Texte des Donations*, pp. 38, 113, n. 213.

⁴²⁵ Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 23, p. 130 (i).

⁴²⁶ cf. Ranke, “Statue eines hohen Beamten,” p. 51; Yoyotte, “Trois notes,” p. 96; Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 326 and n. 52 (col. 330); Mariam F. Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant: The God’s Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 23.

⁴²⁷ See Anthony Spalinger, “The Concept of the Monarchy during the Saite Epoch-an Essay of Synthesis,” *Or* 47 (1978), pp. 17-18.

adopted Psamtek's daughter Nitocris as their successor in year 9.⁴²⁸ Montuemhat passed his position to his son Nesptah in year 14 of Psamtek I.⁴²⁹ Khonsuirdis (I), judging from the titles that he held during the early 26th Dynasty, would appear to have been one of Psamtek I's "new men" but, if the analysis of his family tree is correct, he came from a well established Theban family. His ancestors, going back four generations, were Thebans, who must have lived there during the better part of the 25th Dynasty. Khonsuirdis likely obtained his initial positions in Edfu as part of a long tradition of interconnections of that city with Thebes. Perhaps his later promotions were due to the recognition of his abilities and as a reward for his loyalty by the new Saite rulers of Egypt. He carried on a long tradition of the interconnection of Thebes and Edfu through religious and state administrative offices.

There are two pre-Ptolemaic groups of Demotic papyri from Edfu, which were all acquired from the antiquities market. One group dates to the Persian Period and the other to the 30th Dynasty.⁴³⁰ Only a small amount of information concerning the cult and temple of Horus at Edfu can be gleaned from the documents that have so far been published. The most important document known that concerns the cult is P. Golenscheff but it is not fully published and its present location is unknown.⁴³¹ There is only a hand copy and partial translation by Revillout, which does not include a long list of priests at the end,⁴³² and a description by Griffith.⁴³³

⁴²⁸ Richardo A. Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," *JEA* 50 (1964), pp. 71-101; Ayad, *God's Wife*, pp. 23-26.

⁴²⁹ Yoyotte, "Trois notes," pp. 95-96.

⁴³⁰ In general, see Depauw, "Elkab and Edfu," pp. 39-42.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴³² Eugène and Victor Revillout, "Seconde lettre de M. Revillout à M. Lenormant de l'Institut sur les monnaies égyptiennes," *Revue Égyptologique* 3 (1885), pp. 62-63, pls. 1-2.

Column 1 is a list of cups and other objects and amounts of gold and silver in (or taken from) the temple of Horus. Columns 2-8 lists gold and silver left in the temple in the third year of Darius I that was divided among the priests with the names of the priests and the amount they received.⁴³⁴ Griffith's interpretation of the document is that it was "a temple-document or record(s) the result of a government inquiry. One suspects that the division (?) among the priests was not an ordinary division of income, but an attempt to secure or conceal the treasures that had not been laid hands on by the government, the amounts being assigned to each being large; or, on the other hand, it might be sums which belonged to the priests and had been stored in the temple for security during the troubled years, were now taken out again with the prospect of a term of settled peace and profitable trade."⁴³⁵ As seen in the "Great Donation Text," Edfu Temple received special favor in lands under Darius I and Darius II,⁴³⁶ so the latter interpretation may be the more accurate. Several Demotic cattle documents from the Saite and Persian Periods mention several low-level servants of the temple. P. Michigan 3523 dates to year 20 of Amasis and concerns a dispute over a bull between one Irethorru and several unnamed *'ḥwṯ.w n Hr Bḥtt* "Cultivators of Horus the Behdetite."⁴³⁷ P. Michigan 3525A from year 20 of Darius I records the selling of a cow to the "Cultivator of Horus the Behdetite Patiatum."⁴³⁸ P. Cairo 50146 may record a cow and calf purchase that included a payment to the temple of Horus the Behdetite,

⁴³³ F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 3, *Key-list, Translations, Commentaries and Indices* (Manchester: Bernard Quaritch and Sherratt & Hughes, 1909), pp. 25-27.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

⁴³⁵ Ibid, pp. 25-26.

⁴³⁶ Cf. *ibid*, p. 26 and Meeks, *Grande Texte des Donations*, p. 52.

⁴³⁷ Eugene Cruz-Urbe, *Saite and Persian Demotic Cattle Documents: A Study in Legal Forms and Principles in Ancient Egypt*, *American Studies in Papyrology* 26 (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985), pp. 7-9, pls. 1, 3 (doc. 4).

⁴³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 17-19, pls. 3-4, 6 (doc. 8).

however the papyrus is damaged and the reading of *ḥw.t-nṯr* “temple” is uncertain.⁴³⁹ Two papyri in the collection of the IFAO (P. Dém. IFAO 901 and 902) dated to years 12 and 16 of Nectanebo II record cattle sales between men who held the title *ʿ3m b3k Ḥr Bḥtt* “Herdsman and Servant of Horus the Behdetite.”⁴⁴⁰ A few Demotic documents from Edfu mention a title, which some have read as *msn n Tb3* “Harpooner of Edfu.” The title has been identified with the priestly title *msn.ty* known from the texts of the Greco-Roman Period temple.⁴⁴¹ However, the correct reading is likely *msh n Tb3* (literally) “Crocodile of Edfu,”⁴⁴² which is probably a military title,⁴⁴³ although Spiegelberg thought it might be a religious term similar to *p3 ḥm* “The Falcon” found in the Late Period and used to honor the dead in the same way the term “The Osiris such-and-such” had been used for centuries.⁴⁴⁴ The phrase that follows the term in two cases favors a military title. In P. Lonsdorfer 1, 1 this is *iw=f ip r p3 sb.t Nḥ.t-nb=f* “who is assigned⁴⁴⁵ to the Rampart of Nectanebo”⁴⁴⁶ and in P. Cairo 50150 *iw=f ip r Sw n* “who is

⁴³⁹ See *ibid*, pp. 34-36 (doc. 16) and cf. Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, vol. 3, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung)*, CGC 50023-50165 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1932), p. 108, pl. 61.

⁴⁴⁰ B. Menu, “Deux contrats de vente datés du règne de Nectanébo II (P. Dém. IFAO 901 et 902),” *BIFAO* 81 (1981), pp. 46-47, 49, 51; cf. Depauw, “Elkab and Edfu,” p. 40. Menu was not able to read the names with certainty.

⁴⁴¹ See Michel Malinine, Review of Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, *OLZ* 58 (1963), p. 562; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Demotic Cattle Documents*, pp. 36-37, and n. II on p. 37.

⁴⁴² The term is found in P. Berlin 15831, 1, P. Cairo 50150 and P. Lonsdorfer 1, 1; in the latter the crocodile determinative is clear and in all cases the sign that comes before it looks more like an *ḥ* than an *n*; cf. *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, M (13 July, 2010), pp. 237-238; I thank Dr. François Gaudard for discussing this material with me.

⁴⁴³ Cf. Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, *ÄgAb* 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960), pp. 239-240; Karl-Theodor Zauzich, “Ein Kaufvertrag aus der Zeit des Nektanebos,” *MDAIK* 25 (1969), pp. 224-225 and textual note e on p. 226; and see below.

⁴⁴⁴ W. Spiegelberg, “Die Falkenbezeichnung des Verstorbenen in der Spätzeit,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927), p. 32.

⁴⁴⁵ Literally “counted” and meaning counted in the ranks of those assigned there.

assigned to Syene.”⁴⁴⁷ The fact that these persons are assigned or counted to a fortress or a specific geographic location outside Edfu suggests they are part of a military unit.

5.II.v: Edfu: A Summary

There is not much that can be said about the earliest cult and temple of Horus at Edfu. We do not really know of any cult personnel with the possible exception of the last Old Kingdom nomarch who held the title of “Overseer of Prophets.” Likely their monuments have not been discovered yet or they have been destroyed. It is also likely that they were few in number and also served in the local administration. One assumes that the cult of Horus of Edfu gained some prestige with his prominence on the stelae of Djoser at Saqqara, if that king did not establish the cult of the god himself. The god’s status as protector of the king as hovering falcon would also warrant prestige. Of course, there is little evidence of royal patronage in the form of building for the cults of the gods anywhere during the Old Kingdom. Excavations led by Nadine Moeller have revealed a major expansion in the size of Edfu during the First Intermediate Period from *c.* 8 hectares to *c.* 14 hectares; a pattern seen in other Upper Egyptian cities during this period.⁴⁴⁸ An increase in the population would likely result in more resources for local cults. Just as important, if not more so, would be the first known royal patronage of the temple of Horus found in the sphinxes of Mentuhotep VII. We do not really have any evidence of a significant cult of the god until the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period when we first have

⁴⁴⁶ See W. Erichsen, *Auswahl fröhdemotischer Texte*, vol. 1, *Texte* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950), p. 70, line 1.

⁴⁴⁷ See Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler*, vol. 3, *Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung)*, CGC 50023-50165 (Berlin: Reichdruckerei, 1932), pp. 111-112, pl. 63 (top, line 1).

⁴⁴⁸ See Nicolas Grimal and Emad Adly, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 2002-2003,” *Or* 73 (2004), pp. 107-108; Nadine Moeller, “Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report on Seasons 2005-2009,” *JARCE* 46 (2010), p. 85 and see fig. 1 on p. 82.

multiple monuments of cult personnel. These personnel include the main priests that you would expect for an Egyptian temple: prophets, lector priests and pure-priests. However, these are few in number and the positions of prophet and lector priest seem to have been limited to a single person or a couple of persons holding the office at one time. There is no evidence of a hierarchy of these priests until the late 17th Dynasty and the New Kingdom. There is also little evidence of other temple personnel. There is one temple scribe known from the 12th or 13th Dynasty, the grain measurer Userhat and the harpooners from the 13th Dynasty and a “Superior of the Altar” known from the early 17th Dynasty. The temple and cult of Horus at Edfu was, no doubt, a modest affair during the Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. Nevertheless, the god was very important to the people of Edfu as can be seen by their personal names. The nome of Edfu during the late Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period appears to have been relatively prosperous. Excavations to the southwest of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu have uncovered a large columned hall that originally consisted of 16 wooden columns with a large room on its west side likely used in the distribution of grain.⁴⁴⁹ The building was likely attached to the governor’s residence and it was in use during the late Middle Kingdom.⁴⁵⁰ During the Second Intermediate Period this building was replaced by several grain silos with many of them being of massive size.⁴⁵¹ The largest silo, number 316, was 6.12 m in diameter and had an

⁴⁴⁹ Moeller, “Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report,” pp. 100-102, fig. 13; idem, “The Archaeological Evidence for Town Administration: New Evidence from Tell Edfu,” in *Beyond the Horizons: Studies in Egyptian Art, Archaeology and History in Honour of Barry J. Kemp*, ed. Salima Ikram and Aidan Dodson, vol. 1 (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2009), pp. 268-269, 273, fig. 4.

⁴⁵⁰ Moeller, “Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report,” pp. 105-110; idem, “Town Administration,” pp. 268-269.

⁴⁵¹ Moeller, “Town Administration,” pp. 263-264; idem, “Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report,” pp. 89-96.

estimated height of 5.2 m; it could hold an estimated 35-42 tons of grain.⁴⁵² The entire facility could hold most of the combined wealth of the town and was likely administered by the local government rather than the temple, which likely had grain facilities farther east.⁴⁵³ When this evidence is combined with the many monuments from the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period it is evident that the city of Edfu and its people were doing quite well in this time period even though it was marked by political turmoil and military conflict.⁴⁵⁴ Although the grain facilities found are not associated with the temple, there can be little doubt that the temple of Horus the Behdetite at Edfu prospered along with the city and its people through private and state donations. Of royal donations to the temple, only a few bits and pieces survive: the stone door jambs of Sobekhotep III, the lintel of Senwosret IV and block fragments of Djehuty Sekhemre-Sementawy. The discovery of these fragments near and within the grounds of the Ptolemaic temple show that the Middle Kingdom temple was in the same area, as would be expected. Edfu would always have had some strategic importance to the national government due to its position near the southern border. With the collapse of the government at Memphis and the rise of Thebes, Edfu became critically important to the rulers of the late 13th and 17th Dynasties as a major city of Upper Egypt. This is not surprising as the cities are only about 110 km/68 miles apart by river. In addition, the town gave access to a desert route connecting with the Kharga Oasis and with Nubia and across the river was the Wadi Abbad, which led to gold

⁴⁵² Moeller, "Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report," pp. 91-92.

⁴⁵³ Ibid, p. 92; idem, "Town Administration," p. 264.

⁴⁵⁴ Cf. Moeller, "Tell Edfu: Preliminary Report," pp. 109-110. Texts from the tomb of Sobeknakht at El Kab tell of an attack on that city by the Kingdom of Kush during the 17th Dynasty; a raid that would have had to pass near Edfu; see W. V. Davies, "Sobeknakht of Elkab and the Coming of Kush," *Egyptian Archaeology* 23 (Autumn 2003), p. 6.

mines at Barramiye (Kanais) and Berenice (Karawanen[wege]).⁴⁵⁵ The rulers in Thebes assured the loyalty of Edfu by bonds of marriage with the families of the governors of that city, including offering royal daughters as brides, which you do not find in the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁵⁶ Ties of kinship may have been older as inscriptions from Beni Hasan give the impression that during the Middle Kingdom the whole country was ruled by several families connected by marriage.⁴⁵⁷ Officials of Theban origin in Edfu may be documented as early as the late 13th Dynasty, when we find a military commander at Edfu named Khonsuemwaset (Khonsu-in-Thebes).⁴⁵⁸ The early rulers of the 18th Dynasty promoted loyal personnel to priestly offices at Edfu but these appear to be local men. By the Ramesside and Late Periods we find more and more Thebans from the cult of Amun-Re as officials in the cult of Horus the Behdetite, although these people may have had family connections at Edfu like the family of Khonsuirdis. Surely the cult of Amun-Re, the “King of the Gods,” was very influential. The syncretization of Amun-Re with Horus the Behdetite begins in the 18th Dynasty but is most popular in the Ramesside Period, when these interconnections of cult personnel begin.⁴⁵⁹ The theologians of Thebes likely had influence upon those of Edfu but it is Amun-Re who borrows the identity of the Behdetite, so the influence went both ways. The influence of Thebes in Edfu is evident in the existence of the cults of Amun *p3* ‘*dr* and Khonsu at Edfu;⁴⁶⁰ both gods were still worshipped at Edfu during the Greco-Roman

⁴⁵⁵ Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 324.

⁴⁵⁶ Cf. Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, pp. 161-162.

⁴⁵⁷ Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, p. 160; Wolfgang Schenkel, “Chnumhotep,” *LÄ* I, col. 955.

⁴⁵⁸ Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 164-171.

⁴⁵⁹ See Chapter 7.IV.v.

⁴⁶⁰ Cauville's contention that the cult of Amun-the-Savior came from Tanis, rather than directly from Thebes, see *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, Bd'É 102 (Cairo: IFAO, 1987), p. 52, seems unlikely given the close relations between the cities and cults of Edfu

Period.⁴⁶¹ There are interconnections of Edfu with the nearer towns of El Kab, Hierakonpolis, Gebelein and Elephantine, as well as Thebes, and these interconnections were probably more significant than the historical record reveals. The “Festival of the Good Reunion” (*ḥb šḥn nfr*) of Hathor of Dendera with Horus of Edfu bound the people of Upper Egypt together religiously and socially.⁴⁶² The ceremonies involved officials from throughout Upper Egypt and included the divine image of Horus of Hierakonpolis, in addition to those of Hathor and the Behdetite.⁴⁶³ This festival likely extends back to the New Kingdom, if not earlier.⁴⁶⁴ In the Late Period it may have contributed to the growing importance and prosperity of both of the temples of Edfu and Dendera and of their gods.

The earliest temple blocks of the New Kingdom now known are those of Thutmose III. Many temples were reconstructed during the reign of this king from what Kemp has termed “pre-formal” structures that were more organic in nature (often constructed around some natural feature as the Satet temple at Elephantine) to “formal” structures taking the form of the well-known temples of the New Kingdom and Late Period.⁴⁶⁵ This may have occurred at Edfu, as well, but at present all we can do is speculate. Much of the reconstruction of earlier temples

and Thebes; cf. Robert K. Ritner, Review of *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*, by Sylvie Cauville, *JAOS* 110 (1990), p. 757.

⁴⁶¹ Khonsu was worshipped in the temple of Horus; see Cauville, *Edfou*, p. 41 and see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 767-768 for textual sources. The location of the cult of Amun at Edfu is uncertain but a priest from Edfu named Pashu was a prophet of his cult; see Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, *Priester im Tempel: Die Rezeption der Theologie der Tempel von Edfu und Dendera in den Privatdokumenten aus ptolemäischer Zeit*, GOF, IV 19 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), p. 27.

⁴⁶² Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, p. 441, n. 1.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 447-475.

⁴⁶⁴ See above and cf. Gabra, “Site of Hager Edfu,” p. 220; Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” col. 330.

⁴⁶⁵ Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 115-160, figs. 39, 41, 43-44, 46, 52, 54.

began under Hatshepsut and she is also attested at Edfu though no actual blocks from structures with her name have yet been found.⁴⁶⁶ The pylon of the New Kingdom temple as preserved is 25.20 meters in length (from the end of one tower to the end of the next) and the thickness of the towers is 5.59 meters, which is dwarfed by the dimensions of the Ptolemaic pylon and by the great pylons of Karnak. However it is evident that much of the length has been lost. The thickness of the towers is comparable to that of the pylons of the two temples of Ramesses III at Karnak, which are slightly less than 5 meters thick. The length of the pylon of these temples is ~40 meters, so one might expect the Edfu pylon to have been comparable and, perhaps, 30-35 meters in length.⁴⁶⁷ The New Kingdom temple at Edfu was likely of fair size for a provincial temple but nowhere near as large as the great temples at Karnak, Luxor, Memphis and Heliopolis. The number of staff probably expanded during the New Kingdom as is suggested by the greater number of attested positions. The number of personnel was probably comparable to the staffing of most middle-sized temples: between 25 and 50 people.⁴⁶⁸ During the New Kingdom the actual number was probably closer to the lower number, while in the Late Period it probably was nearer to the higher number or a little above. It is not until the Late Period that we have evidence of priests in monthly service and of a phyle system. The phyles may have existed

⁴⁶⁶ Reconstructions of earlier temples by Hatshepsut include the small temple at Medinet Habu and the temple of Satet at Elephantine; see Uvo Hölscher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*, vol. 2, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, trans. Mrs. Keith C. Seele, OIP 41 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), pp. 4-7; Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, pp. 117-118, fig. 39 (but begun by Hatshepsut not Thutmose III; see Labib Habachi, "Elephantine," *LÄ I*, col. 1218).

⁴⁶⁷ Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, *Ramesses III's Temple within the Inclosure of Amon, Part I*, OIP 25 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 1, figs. 1-2.

⁴⁶⁸ Cf. Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 53-54.

earlier but would have had to have been small.⁴⁶⁹ During the Late Period most prophets of Horus are also prophets of Hathor and we find priests who serve the god Harsomtus the offspring of Hathor and the Behdetite.⁴⁷⁰ As is typical of the Third Intermediate Period and 26th Dynasty, the priests at Edfu during these periods often hold civil and military offices in addition to religious positions. The donations of land during the Late Period would have certainly increased the wealth of the temple and may have been a factor in the decision to build a much larger temple during the reign of Ptolemy III.⁴⁷¹

In this examination of the pre-Ptolemaic record of the cult of Horus at Edfu we frequently have been forced to use words such as maybe, probably, possibly, etc. due to the broken and often absent record of historical material from Edfu. However, the record from Edfu is comparably wealthy in material in comparison to the record from Tell el-Balamun and other sites of worship of Horus the Behdetite.

⁴⁶⁹ Perhaps the simple pure-priests were organized into phyles but they do not mention it in their monuments; on phyles of temples, see Sauneron, *Priests*, pp. 69-70; H. Kees, "Die Phylen und ihre Vorsteher im Dienst der Tempel und Totenstiftungen (Untersuchungen zur Struktur der ägyptischen Priesterschaft im Alten und Mittleren Reich)," *Or* 17 (1948), pp. 314-321; Ann Macy Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, SAOC 48 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1991), passim.

⁴⁷⁰ The stela of the Lector Priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera Sekhemsennetep suggests that Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, Lady of Dendera and Harsomtus were already a family triad by the 13th Dynasty but there is no evidence of a cult of Harsomtus at Edfu at that time. Cf. John Taylor, "The Third Intermediate Period (1069-664 BC)," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 361-362.

⁴⁷¹ Due largely to political turmoil in Upper Egypt, the temple was not completed until 57 B.C.E. under Ptolemy XI and Ptolemy XII; see Vernus, "Tell Edfu," col. 323; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. vi.

5.III: Behdet of Lower Egypt: Tell el-Balamun

Brugsch noted delta locations named *Bḥd.t* and *Bḥd.t Mḥ.t* “Behdet of Lower Egypt” in 1879.⁴⁷² Kurt Sethe in 1913 in commentary on the publication of the temple relief carvings of Sahure by Borchardt noted that Horus the Behdetite is shown in one scene in a procession of gods of Lower Egypt.⁴⁷³ He raised the possibility that the original home of Horus the Behdetite was in the Delta and suggested Damanhur (the name of which derives from Egyptian *Dmi-n-Hr* “City-of-Horus”) located between Cairo and Alexandria and west of the Rosetta branch of the Nile as the Lower Egyptian Behdet.⁴⁷⁴ In his article on Horus the Behdetite Gardiner pointed out several ancient inscriptions that indicate that “Behdet” in Lower Egypt should be identified with a town known from New Kingdom inscriptions as *Sm3-Bḥd.t* “Semabehdet” or “Sambehdet.”⁴⁷⁵ These inscriptions indicate that both Behdet of Lower Egypt and Semabehdet were located in the northernmost region of the Delta and are likely the same place. Inscriptions from the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak measure Egypt from Elephantine in the south to the *ph(.w)* *Bḥd.t* “hinterland of Behdet” in the north.⁴⁷⁶ A papyrus from Tanis with a geographical text from the time of Nectanebo II also measures Lower Egypt from Pi-Hapy, the island of Rodah opposite Old Cairo, north to *ph(.w) Bḥd.t*.⁴⁷⁷ That this “Behdet” is likely the same place as Semabehdet is

⁴⁷² Henri Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l’Ancienne Égypte* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1879), pp. 540-543; Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), p. 23.

⁴⁷³ See Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa³ḥu-Re‘*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pl. 21, pp. 83, 101. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 23.

⁴⁷⁴ In Borchardt, *Śa³ḥu-Re‘*, vol. 2, p. 83; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 121-122, § 147; Gardiner, “Horus Behdetite,” p. 23.

⁴⁷⁵ “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 33-44.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 34, fig. 1; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 238, § 678, vol. 2, pl. 3.

⁴⁷⁷ Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 33-34.

seen in an inscription of Amenhotep IV from Gebel el-Silsila, which commanded the undertaking of all works *š3' m 3bw nfryt r Sm3-Bḥd.t* “from Elephantine down to Semabehdet,” indicating the whole country of Egypt.⁴⁷⁸ The location of Behdet in the northernmost point of Egypt eliminates the modern city of Damanhur, which is well inland.⁴⁷⁹ The location of Semabehdet is likely in the area of Tell el-Balamun as proposed by Gardiner, since a stela found near there mentions the building of a temple by Ramesses II at *Sm3-n-Bḥd.t* and Carter found a Late Period statuette there, which mentions “Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet” and “Osiris of Behdet.”⁴⁸⁰ Tell el-Balamun is located 19 km south of the Mediterranean coast and 5 km west of the Damietta branch of the Nile.⁴⁸¹ During the New Kingdom the city was the capital of the 17th Lower Egyptian nome.⁴⁸² The modern town takes its name from Egyptian *P3-īw-n-Imn* “The-Island-of-Amun” because a major sanctuary of Amun-Re existed on an island in that region during the New Kingdom.⁴⁸³ It is uncertain if Semabehdet and “The-Island-of-Amun” (or just “The-Island”) were the exact same place. Nebwa, who served in the time of Horemheb, calls himself the “Chief Prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods in Semabehdet” and “Chief Prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods of The-Island,”⁴⁸⁴ so the two place names may refer to the same location or, perhaps, “The-Island” refers to a place within the area known as Semabehdet.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 40.

⁴⁷⁹ Cf. Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésotris I^{er}*, vol. 1, p. 238; Jaromir Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” *LÄ VI*, col. 319.

⁴⁸⁰ Gardiner, “Horus the Beḥdetite,” p. 41; Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” cols. 319-321, n. 8; N. Farag, “Une stèle de Ramsès II,” *ASAE* 39 (1939), pp. 127-132.

⁴⁸¹ Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” col. 319; cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Beḥdetite,” pl. 3.2.

⁴⁸² Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” col. 319; Gardiner, “Horus the Beḥdetite,” p. 38, cf. pl. 5.1.

⁴⁸³ Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” col. 320; Gardiner, “Horus the Beḥdetite,” pp. 41-43.

⁴⁸⁴ See Georges Legrain, “Notes d’inspection,” *ASAE* 8 (1907), pp. 272-273.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. Málek, “Tell el-Belamun,” col. 319, n. 8.

A text from the mammisi of Edfu suggests that *Sm3-Bḥd.t* is an expansion on the name *Bḥd.t*.⁴⁸⁶ A nome figure is shown with the name *Sm3-Bḥd.t* on its head but the accompanying legend reads just *Bḥd.t*.⁴⁸⁷ The legend goes on to describe the figure: *ntk s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t nb h3y.t* “You are the One of Multicolored Plumage who Comes Forth from the Horizon, the Lord of the Sky.”⁴⁸⁸ The name “Semabehdet” does not appear before the New Kingdom; the town must have been called just “Behdet” before this. This makes it difficult to distinguish references that might refer to the cult of Horus the Behdetite in Lower Egypt. The Sahure relief places Horus the Behdetite among Lower Egyptian gods but does not make a specific reference to the cult of the god in Lower Egyptian Behdet.⁴⁸⁹ The same can be said of the hovering falcons in the reliefs from the White Chapel of Senwosret I identifying Horus the Behdetite as “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row.” In fact the previously mentioned text from this monument mentioning Behdet as the northernmost city of Egypt is the earliest clear reference to the town but it does not mention Horus.⁴⁹⁰ Nor does any other New Kingdom inscription refer to Horus the Behdetite of Semabehdet, whereas the cult of Amun-Re at Semabehdet is well attested from the New Kingdom through the Late Period.⁴⁹¹ The Theban Triad, Isis, Osiris, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris

⁴⁸⁶ Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 37-38.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid and see Émile Chassinat, *Le Mammisi d’Edfou*, MIFAO 16 (Cairo: IFAO, 1910), p. 67, line 10, pl. 21.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 67, line 11.

⁴⁸⁹ Borchardt, *Śa³ḥu-Re^c*, vol. 2, pl. 21.

⁴⁹⁰ Cf. Manfred Bietak, *Tell el-Dab’a II: Der Fundort im Rahmen einer archäologisch-geographischen Untersuchung über das ägyptische Ostdelta*, UZK 1 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975), p. 111.

⁴⁹¹ See Ivan Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes: Recherches de géographie religieuse*, Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005), pp. 202-205, 207-222.

and Onuris-Shu are all attested in texts pertaining to Semabehdet but not Horus the Behdetite.⁴⁹² The “First Prophet of Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet” Aak was also a priest of “Horus of Shen” (*Hr Šn*) but it is uncertain if the cult he served was in Semabehdet or in the place of origin of this god, which seems to be the region of Sebennytos.⁴⁹³ Spencer has recently excavated the temple area of the cult of Amun-Re at Semabehdet.⁴⁹⁴ The only discovery that could relate to Horus is a small stone figure of a falcon,⁴⁹⁵ although the remains of the temples are sparse and, of course, not dedicated to Horus the Behdetite. Texts from the tomb of Hornakht a prophet of Amun of “Thebes of the North” (*W3s.t mhy.t*), another name for Semabehdet, from the Saite-Persian era may indirectly refer to Horus at Semabehdet: *3s.t nb(.t) r3.w sw3d=s s3=s m-ḥnw sš m W3s.t (n Mḥw)* “Isis, Lady of Snakes, as she protects her son within the marshes of Thebes (of the North).”⁴⁹⁶ Texts from Edfu Temple also link Semabehdet with the myth of Horus at Chemmis. Amun-Re of Semabehdet addresses Horus the Behdetite in one text: *iw.n=i ḥr=k Hr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t in=i n=k 3ḥ-bi.t m 3ḥ(y).w s’d.ti nh.ti (?) m ḥnty=s(n)* “It is so that I might bring to you

⁴⁹² Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 43-44; Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon*, pp. 206, 210-222.

⁴⁹³ See Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon*, p. 214 and n. a, and see n. e on p. 77.

⁴⁹⁴ A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at Tell El-Balamun 1991-1994* (London: British Museum Press, 1996); idem, *Excavations at Tell El-Balamun 1995-1998* (London: British Museum Press, 1999); idem, *Excavations at Tell El-Balamun 1999-2001* (London: British Museum Press, 2003); idem, *Excavations at Tell El-Balamun 2003-2008* (London: British Museum Press, 2009).

⁴⁹⁵ See Spencer, *Tell El-Balamun 1995-1998*, p. 76, nos. 16-17. A faience amulet of Horus wearing the Double Crown was found in the tomb of a man named Iken, who lived in the time of Osorkon I. There may be a connection of this man with Edfu. Prince Iuwelot from Karnak bought some land from the children of a man named Iken, which included the toponym *lw-nfr.t*, which is the name for a sanctuary of Horus the Behdetite; see *ibid*, p. 78, no. 40.

⁴⁹⁶ There are actually two lines of text with the same phrase with one saying “in Thebes” and the other “of the North” but based on Hornakht’s position and home Guerneur restores “in Thebes (of the North)” and “(in Thebes) of the North” in his translations, which seem correct; see *Les cultes d’Amon*, pp. 215-216.

a Chemmis⁴⁹⁷ of useful plants, you being safeguarded and sheltered (?)⁴⁹⁸ within them that I have come to you, O Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky.”⁴⁹⁹ In another text it is Amun-Re of Semabehdet that is identified with Horus at Chemmis: *Imn-R' nb Sm3-Bhd.t hpr ds=f ntr '3 hnty Bhd.t rsy h3p d.t=f m 'py ntry r imn hm=f m idhw* “Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet, who Created Himself, the Great God, Foremost of Southern Behdet (Edfu), who hid his body in the Divine Sun disk with Two Uraei (𐜪𐜪) in order to hide His Person in the marshes.”⁵⁰⁰ On the subbase of the pylon of Edfu Horus the Behdetite is *Imn (i)mn=f s(w) r Sty m idh n Sm3-Bhd.t* “Amun as he hides himself from Seth in the marsh of Semabehdet.”⁵⁰¹ Gardiner uses some of this material in a suggestion that the original Chemmis may have been in the region of Semabehdet and by implication suggesting a great antiquity for the cult of Horus there and that the Behdetite is the “original” Horus.⁵⁰² As Gardiner himself notes, several places in Egypt claimed a location called “Chemmis” in reference to the birth place of Horus but even the actual place name called “Chemmis” attested in one 6th Dynasty text that he cites (*3h-bi.t-n-Hr* “Chemmis-of-Horus” in the far north of Egypt) takes its name from a *mythical* place in the

⁴⁹⁷ The word has 𐜪 as a determinative.

⁴⁹⁸ The translation follows Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 46; the word is written 𐜪 and must mean some form of protection as recognized by Gardiner. Of the possible readings of the sign in Daumas, ed., *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 2, p. 394, only *nh.t*, referring to the word for a sycamore tree, is similar to a word for “protection,” which is *nh*. *Wb.* II, p. 282, no. 6ff shows a writing of *nh.t* with 𐜪 but neither *Wb.* II, p. 281, nos. 7-9 or Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 527 give a writing of *nh* with 𐜪. Perhaps the scribe thought of a similarity of the shelter of the sycamore with that of the marsh plants sheltering Horus.

⁴⁹⁹ *Edfou* VI, p. 51, line 10, no. XVIII; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 58

⁵⁰⁰ *Edfou* III, p. 237, lines 4-5; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 46.

⁵⁰¹ *Edfou* VIII, p. 8, line 1; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, GOF IV, 11 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 54, n. 22.

⁵⁰² “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 52-58.

Delta marshes.⁵⁰³ The most that can be said is that the text from the Saite-Persian period may indicate a cult of Horus in the area at this period. This long existing myth⁵⁰⁴ would have been adopted by many local cults of Horus, and is known from Edfu, although it is usually the king who is identified with “Horus-in-Chemmis.”⁵⁰⁵

The only direct associations of Horus the Behdetite with Semabehdet are found in the texts from the temples of the Greco-Roman Period. On the subbase of the west face of the pylon at Edfu grouped with mostly Lower Egyptian gods⁵⁰⁶ he is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t nb Sm3-Bhd.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Semabehdet.”⁵⁰⁷ On the frieze of the outer west wall of the temple of Hathor at Dendera he holds the same titles⁵⁰⁸ and Hathor is *Hw.t-Hr wr.t nb(.t) Sm3-Bhd.t* “Hathor the Great, Lady of Semabehdet.”⁵⁰⁹ The scene consists of the king wearing the Red Crown and worshipping mostly Lower Egyptian gods; on the east wall he wears the White Crown and worships mostly Upper Egyptian gods but among these is “Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet”!⁵¹⁰ In another scene from Dendera the Behdetite is *Hr Bhd.ty ntr '3 nb p.t hnty Wts.t-Hr wsr ph.ty nb Sm3-Bhd.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Foremost of Utjeset-Hor, powerful of strength, Lord of Semabehdet.”⁵¹¹ Here Horus the Behdetite is identified as both the god of the nome of Edfu and of Semabehdet. Horus

⁵⁰³ Cf. *ibid*, pp. 57-58.

⁵⁰⁴ The myth can be traced as far back as the Old Kingdom; see Hartwig Altenmüller, “Chemmis B.,” in *LÄ* I, col. 921.

⁵⁰⁵ See *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 238 for references.

⁵⁰⁶ Note, however, the presence of Re-Horakhty and Hathor, who are both called “Foremost of Utjeset-Hor” (*Edfou* VIII, p. 87, line 13 and p. 88, line 13).

⁵⁰⁷ *Edfou* VIII, p. 88, line 4.

⁵⁰⁸ *Dendara* I, p. 152, no. 29.

⁵⁰⁹ *Dendara* I, p. 152, no. 30.

⁵¹⁰ *Dendara* I, p. 121, no. 61 and see pls. 75 and 79.

⁵¹¹ *Dendara* IX, p. 251, line 4.

the Behdetite appears among a procession of Upper Egyptian gods on the east tower, north side of the pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae, where he is called *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t nb Sm3-Bhd[.t] k3 w'b h'w m Sn-mw.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Semabehd[et], *Ka*, pure of body in Biggeh.”⁵¹² So the Behdetite, who is “Lord of Semabehdet,” is also associated with the island of Biggeh near Philae, where he is likely being identified with a local form of Horus, who was identified as the son of Osiris and was called “Pharaoh of Biggeh.”⁵¹³ At least to the theologians of Upper Egypt, Horus of Edfu and “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Semabehdet” could be identified as one and the same (but see below).

In texts from Edfu and Dendera Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet and Horus the Behdetite are closely assimilated. In a scene from Dendera Amun is *Imn-R' nb Sm3-Bhd.t ntr '3 hry-ib lwn.t ntr ntry hp(r) ds=f R'-Hr-3h.ty hwn nfr h3p h3p rn=f s3b šw.t Hr pr m 3h.t Bhd.t(y) pw nb h3y.t* “Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet, the Great God, who Dwells in Dendera, Divine God, who created himself, Re-Horakhty, the Perfect Youth, Hidden One, whose name is hidden, He of Multicolored Plumage, Horus, He who Comes Forth from the Horizon. He is the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky.”⁵¹⁴ At Edfu he is *Imn-R' nb Sm3-Bhd.t hp(r) ds=f R'-Hr-3h.ty m hwn rnp 'py šps wr m ktm Bhd.t(y) hry-ib 3h.t* “Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet, who created himself, Re-Horakhty as a youthful child, the Noble and Great Winged Sun Disk (☉) in fine gold, the Behdetite who dwells in the Horizon”⁵¹⁵ and *Imn-R' nb Sm3-Bhd.t ntr šps m Wts.t(-Hr) ntr hnty bhdw=f [. .] Bhd.t(y) nb [. .]t hw gs-pr.w B3q.t ny-sw.t ntr.w hnty lp.t-s.wt* “Amun-Re, Lord of

⁵¹² Hermann Junker, *Philä*, vol. 1, *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophische-historische Klasse, Denkschriften-Sonderband (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1958), pp. 118-119, lines 12-13.

⁵¹³ See Erich Winter, “Bigga,” *LÄ* I, cols. 792-793.

⁵¹⁴ *LD Text* II, p. 191; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 44.

⁵¹⁵ *Edfou* II, p. 57, line 14; Guermeur, *Les cultes d'Amon*, p. 240.

Semabehdet, the Noble God in Utjeset(-Hor), the god who is preeminent in his throne [. .], Behdetite, Lord of [.] Jet, who protects the sanctuaries of Egypt, King of the Gods and Foremost of Karnak.”⁵¹⁶ In another text from Edfu Horus the Behdetite is called *Imn nb ḥ3i.t-idḥw s3b-sš m r3-ḥ3wy* “Amun, Lord of the Delta marshes, who traverses the mouths of the Nile.”⁵¹⁷ An interesting scene from Edfu depicts a procession of gods followed by the king and queen before Horus the Behdetite, Hathor and Harsomtut.⁵¹⁸ Among these deities is *Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nb Sm3-Bḥd.t* “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Semabehdet,” who states *iw[.n]=i ḥr=k Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) [ntr ‘3 nb p.t (?) in=i n=k Bḥn.t⁵¹⁹] qn nḥt Imn ḥr ir(.t) s3=k* “The reason I have come before you, O Horus the Behdetite, [the Great God, Lord of the Sky (?), is that I might bring to you Bekhenet⁵²⁰ with (?)] valor and strength. Amun is making your protection.”⁵²¹ Once again there is an association of Horus the Behdetite of Semabehdet with Amun, who in a role reversal is the protector of Horus the Behdetite. However, the Theban triad was worshipped in the region that included the place name mentioned in the text, and this may be a different incarnation of Amun than that of Semabehdet.⁵²² Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Semabehdet here is treated as a separate incarnation from Horus the Behdetite of the Edfu triad; although Horus of Edfu is also identified as being in the role of the supreme sun god as *R’-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty ḥry ntr.w* “Re-Horakhty, who is Over

⁵¹⁶ *Edfou* VII, p. 173, line 15-p. 174, line 1; Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon*, p. 243.

⁵¹⁷ *Edfou* IV, p. 41, line 5; cf. Guerneur, *Les cultes d’Amon*, p. 239.

⁵¹⁸ See *Edfou* X, pl. 160.

⁵¹⁹ This word is said to be restored according to J. de Rougé; see *Edfou* VI, p. 234, n. 2.

⁵²⁰ A place in the Xoite nome; see Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1925), p. 31.

⁵²¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 234, line 2.

⁵²² Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 2, p. 31.

the Gods.”⁵²³ Such is the nature of Egyptian theology, in which different incarnations of a god are both different and the same; separate yet united. Gardiner points to the syncretization of Amun-Re, Lord of Semabehdet with Horus the Behdetite as evidence that the former displaced the latter in Behdet/Semabehdet in Lower Egypt. Since Amun-Re did not come into prominence until the 12th Dynasty, he must have displaced a much earlier god, according to Gardiner.⁵²⁴ However, there is no evidence for a cult of Amun-Re at Semabehdet/Behdet of Lower Egypt until the 18th Dynasty and all the evidence used for this syncretism dates to the Greco-Roman Period. Horus the Behdetite was among the gods honored at Karnak from the reign of Senwosret I and was syncretised with Amun-Re during the Ramesside Period.⁵²⁵ When the cult of Amun-Re was established at Semabehdet/Behdet of Lower Egypt, this identification with Horus the Behdetite may have been brought to the Delta with him. It is also notable how often Horus the Behdetite is identified with Amun in regard to Semabehdet as if it is a prerequisite to be associated with the town. In fact, in the Greco-Roman Period it is the city of Mesen that is treated as the counterpart of Edfu in Lower Egypt. Not only is this evident in inscriptions next to the wings of the winged sun disk, with “Behdetite” associated with Upper Egypt and “Lord of Mesen” associated with Lower Egypt, but in a group of reliefs from Edfu termed “un manuel de géographie liturgique” by Derchain we find Horus of Edfu paired with Horus Lord of Mesen, while Amun of Thebes is paired with Amun of Semabehdet.⁵²⁶ Kees statement that if Edfu borrowed the name of “Behdet” from an older Lower Egyptian city, then the newer city so

⁵²³ *Edfou VI*, p. 227, line 15.

⁵²⁴ “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 44-45.

⁵²⁵ See Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 17 (Paris: Institut de France, 1998), p. 93, § 134, pls. 28c and 29; and see Chapter 7.IV.v.

⁵²⁶ Ph. Derchain, “Un manuel de géographie liturgique à Edfou,” *Cd’É* 37 (1962), p. 39.

outshined its namesake that in the later periods it forgot that the elder city existed, may be too extreme but it is understandable how he could come to this conclusion!⁵²⁷

5.IV: Conclusions: The Question of Origins

Evidence shows a long established cult of Horus the Behdetite at Edfu. The temple and number of cult personnel was small compared to the great temples and cult of Amun at Thebes but the cult and temple of Horus of Edfu was significant for southern Upper Egypt and was even viewed as such by those in Thebes. Evidence for a cult of Horus the Behdetite at Tell el-Balamun, and even for the entire Delta, before the Greco-Roman Period is almost nonexistent.

A reassessment of Gardiner's contention that Lower Egyptian Behdet, or more specifically the cult of Horus there, predates the cult of Horus at Edfu (Upper Egyptian Behdet) should be undertaken. A major component of his argument is based on Horus the Behdetite's role as the representative god of Lower Egypt in the "Uniting of the Two Lands" scenes opposite Seth, who represents Upper Egypt. We have already dealt with this material to some extent and have noted that other forms of Horus can take this role and that the mythological stories involving Horus and Seth never specify Horus as the Behdetite or mention Behdet before the myths found in Edfu Temple. I would like to review the early material that associates Horus the Behdetite with Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt or both together. Some of this material was available to Gardiner and some was not. Gardiner contended that, although Horus the Behdetite was worshipped there at an early date, the name "Behdet" only appears as an alternate name for "Djeba" (*Dj3* Edfu) in the late 12th Dynasty.⁵²⁸ This may be true based on what material has survived, however the fact still remains that the only local god mentioned in the inscriptions of

⁵²⁷ *Horus und Seth*, vol. 2, p. 78.

⁵²⁸ "Horus the Behdetite," p. 24.

the governor Qar of the 6th Dynasty is Horus the Behdetite, the latter word derived from the name of a city, and the name “Djeba” is not attested at all before the 12th Dynasty at Edfu or anywhere else. Our earliest attestation of the god named “the Behdetite” is on the relief panels of Djoser in the Third Dynasty and on one of these the god is associated with the shrine of Upper Egypt. Gardiner dismissed this evidence due to the god that appears with the shrine of Lower Egypt, which is Horus of Khem/Letopolis. Horus the Behdetite, he claims, cannot represent the “national god of Upper Egypt,” because the city of Letopolis “never was, and never has been claimed as, a Lower Egyptian Capital.”⁵²⁹ Horus the Behdetite here is just a typical Upper Egyptian god, according to Gardiner.⁵³⁰ We do not know the reason Djoser picked these two gods but they certainly seem to represent their respective portions of the “Two Lands.” The traditional cities that represent the two portions of Egypt were the very ancient towns of Nekhen/Hierakonpolis, in Upper Egypt and Pe in Lower Egypt, evident throughout Egyptian history and royal ideology in the form of the *b3.w*, or *Ba*-spirits of Nekhen and of Pe, the ancestors who appear in nearly every religious procession. Djoser may have intended to create a new focus of symbology, for whatever reason, on the Horus gods of Letopolis and Edfu and away from those of Pe and Nekhen. In some ways it worked for the Behdetite as he became the official protector of the king and Egypt but it did not work so much for Horus of Letopolis. Nevertheless, during the early Old Kingdom Horus of Letopolis appears to have more significance than Horus the Behdetite, because the former appears in the Pyramid Texts but neither Horus the Behdetite, or Behdet or Djeba appear anywhere in the Pyramid Texts or the Coffin Texts! One bit of evidence that would not likely have been known to Gardiner is the

⁵²⁹ Ibid, p. 32.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

relief, probably dating to Khufu, of a hovering falcon that is said to be “Foremost of the Two Shrine Rows” of Upper and Lower Egypt.⁵³¹ This places Horus the Behdetite at the head of the row of national shrines for Upper and Lower Egypt during the *Sed* festival; from this date the Behdetite can be associated with both halves of Egypt, which has a bearing on all later material. In the temple reliefs from the monuments of Sahure Horus the Behdetite appears twice in processions of the gods of Lower Egypt.⁵³² In one scene the gods appear beside the shrines of Lower Egypt⁵³³ and in the other a goddess, who is likely Wadjet, follows him.⁵³⁴ In the reliefs from the temple of Neuserre is a scene in which the king is carried on a throne with a bowl- or basket-shaped base known as a *zp3*, which is associated with Upper Egypt.⁵³⁵ An inscription mentions ‘*h’ itr.t/Pr-wr (?)*⁵³⁶ (*n*) *Hr Bhd.t(y) htp ir.t[=f]* “Standing in the Upper Egyptian shrine of Horus the Behdetite in which he rests.”⁵³⁷ From the funerary complex of Unis is a hovering falcon identified as *hnty itr.t šm’y.t* “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.”⁵³⁸ Two

⁵³¹ See Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, PMMA 20 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), pp. 13-15, no. 2 and see my comments in Chapter 2.IV.

⁵³² Borchardt, *Ša³hu-Re‘*, vol. 2, pls. 19, 21. On pl. 19 only parts of his name is preserved.

⁵³³ Ibid, pl. 19.

⁵³⁴ Ibid, pl. 21.

⁵³⁵ See Gardiner, “Horus,” pp. 32-33; F. W. Freiherrn von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 2, *Die kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pl. 19 (45b).

⁵³⁶ The sign is in the form of the Upper Egyptian shrine, the reading of which in this context is not certain.

⁵³⁷ Literally, “a resting, which he makes.” See von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, pl. 19 (45b) and idem, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse 32.1* (Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1922), p. 107; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 32-33.

⁵³⁸ Audran Labrousse and Ahmed M. Moussa, *Le temple d’accueil du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Bd’É 111 (Cairo: IFAO, 1996), p. 81, fig. 68, pl. 12 (doc. 31).

falcons from the funerary monuments of Pepy II also are designated “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.”⁵³⁹ Although the names of these birds are not preserved, there is no doubt that they are the Behdetite, since no other god appears as a hovering falcon above the king or his names. In one of the scenes where one of these falcons occur in the temple of Pepy II on the west wall of the antechamber Seth appears in a procession of gods and is followed by the *Ba*-spirits of Nekhen.⁵⁴⁰ Small Upper Egyptian shrines appear beside each god.⁵⁴¹ Processions of gods standing beside Lower Egyptian shrines appear on the east wall of the antechamber, including one with a falcon head.⁵⁴² Gardiner correctly identified these scenes and those from Sahure’s temple as parts of reliefs representing the *Sed* festival.⁵⁴³ He suggests that the falcon-headed god on the east wall of the antechamber in the temple of Pepy II is Horus the Behdetite and this is certainly possible.⁵⁴⁴ However, the god’s name is not preserved. In fact, all of these reliefs are so fragmentary that it is hazardous to make any claim as to the composition of the processions of gods other than that some (the west wall of the antechamber of the temple of Pepy II) are composed of the gods of Upper Egypt and that some others (the east wall of Pepy II’s antechamber and the scenes from Sahure’s temples with the Behdetite) are composed of gods from Lower Egypt. Since Horus the Behdetite is already associated with the shrine rows of both Upper and Lower Egypt in the 4th Dynasty, he could have appeared in both processions of gods. On a lintel of Mentuhotep II Horus the Behdetite is positioned on one side of the king with

⁵³⁹ Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 2, *Le temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17.2 (Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1938), pls. 50-51, 61, 63.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid, pls. 50, 53.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Ibid, pls. 58, 60.

⁵⁴³ “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 27-28.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 29.

Wadjet and opposite Seth and Nekhbet on the other side of the king.⁵⁴⁵ However, on a lintel of Amenemhat I the Behdetite is placed beside Nekhbet and opposite of Anubis and Wadjet.⁵⁴⁶ Unlike Seth, Anubis had a cult in Lower Egypt as early as the 5th Dynasty.⁵⁴⁷ On the statue bases of Senwosret I found at Lisht the Behdetite takes the Lower Egyptian plant, as he does many times after, and on one statue is *ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* but *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t* on another.⁵⁴⁸ Seth is called *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t* once, as well as *nb T3 šm'w* twice and, of course, his identification as “the Ombite” and “Lord of Su” associate him with cities in Upper Egypt.⁵⁴⁹ Hovering falcons in three cases at the White Chapel of Senwosret I appear to take the position of Lower Egypt opposite the vulture of Nekhbet, however two of them are called *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t*,⁵⁵⁰ while another is *ḥnty itr.t(y) šm'y.t mḥy.t* “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian and Lower Egyptian Shrine Rows.”⁵⁵¹ Seth never takes the titles of “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row” or any title combination that includes the shrine rows of both Upper and Lower Egypt.⁵⁵² In one scene from the chapel of Mentuhotep II a *sm3-t3.wy*-scene places “Horus” opposite a god, who is placed with the *Meret*-goddess of Lower Egypt.⁵⁵³ The missing god could be Seth; otherwise

⁵⁴⁵ See Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), p. 35, fig. 14 and see Chapter 4.II-III.

⁵⁴⁶ See Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonommes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), p. 380, no. 303A.

⁵⁴⁷ Brigitte Altenmüller, “Anubis,” in *LÄ* I, cols. 331-332.

⁵⁴⁸ See J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pp. 36-37, figs. 34, 36.

⁵⁴⁹ See *ibid*, pp. 35-37, figs. 33-37.

⁵⁵⁰ Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostri I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 13-14.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid*, pl. 24.

⁵⁵² Cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 790-792.

⁵⁵³ Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp,” pp. 22-23, fig. 6.

Seth does not take the position representing Lower Egypt until the Ramesside Period.⁵⁵⁴ Gardiner's statement that "the weight of evidence in favour of Horus (by which he means specifically Horus the Behdetite) as the god of Lower Egypt is absolutely overwhelming"⁵⁵⁵ is not supported by the evidence. It is possible, nonetheless, that there was a cult of Horus the Behdetite at a city named Behdet in Lower Egypt before a cult of the same god was established at Edfu but one cannot make this claim due to the fact that not one piece of direct evidence to support it has ever been found! Even though officials from other Lower Egyptian temples are known, we do not know of a single temple official of the cult of Horus the Behdetite from Lower Egyptian Behdet/Semabehdet. One cannot know very much about a cult of the god in the Delta until the actual cult site is found and excavated and, due to the nature of the archaeological record, especially in the Delta, the answer to this question of origin may still not be found. Based on the evidence that exists, one could easily argue that *Edfu* is the original cult center, as the overwhelming majority of early evidence associates the god with Upper Egypt and Edfu. However, this evidence also comes from a very fragmentary record. Only a small amount of material from the early temple at Edfu has so far been excavated and published and the walls of the Ptolemaic temple cover most of the site. The two cult centers could also have been established simultaneously. In addition to the Egyptians' love of duality is their love of symmetry. Tell el-Balamun was in the northernmost point of Egypt and Edfu may have once been thought of as the southern end of Egypt, since the 1st nome of Upper Egypt was known as

⁵⁵⁴ See Chapter 4.III.

⁵⁵⁵ "Horus," p. 25.

T3-sty “Nubian Land.”⁵⁵⁶ As Vernus suggests,⁵⁵⁷ the two cities would represent the borders of the king, who would be manifest in the person of Horus; “Behdet” is the “throne-place” at each end of Egypt. Even Gardiner suggests that Behdet in Lower Egypt may have not been the original birthplace of Horus but was chosen to be his home because it was in the northernmost point of Egypt and was picked in order to stress his northern origin and would be a suitable counterpart to Ombos the home of Seth.⁵⁵⁸ Horus the Behdetite is closely connected with the protection of the king’s person and with the kingdom of Egypt from the time that he first appears under Djoser.⁵⁵⁹ It is therefore remarkable that he does not appear anywhere in the Pyramid Texts and that his home city also does not appear there. A possible explanation for this is that, when these spells were first developed, supposedly at a time many years prior to their use in the pyramids of the 5th and 6th Dynasties, Horus the Behdetite may not have existed. The god may have been invented in the time of Djoser, whose reign is certainly a time of innovation as witnessed by the first pyramid. Perhaps at Edfu there was already a cult of Horus there before he was recognized by the state as a distinct incarnation of that god. The name of the nome of Edfu *Wꜥt.t-Hr*, which is attested earlier than *Bḥd.t*, *Bḥd.ty* or *Dḥ3*, suggests this. This might explain why the people of Edfu seem to have referred to their god as “Horus,” while he is most frequently called just *Bḥd.ty* on royal monuments. Even with recognition of a special status for this form of Horus by the state, the god did not receive any devotion outside of Edfu (and Tell el-

⁵⁵⁶ Cf. Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morganländische Gesellschaft, 1930), pp. 124-125, §§ 151-152; Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 49, n. 4.

⁵⁵⁷ Cf. Vernus, “Tell Edfu,” cols. 326-327, n. 3.

⁵⁵⁸ “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 60.

⁵⁵⁹ Cf. Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 2, pp. 76-77, who suggests that the reason for Horus the Behdetite’s use to represent sometimes Upper Egypt and sometimes Lower Egypt is that he is the universal protective god of the united kingdom of Egypt.

Balamun?) among the officialdom of the Old Kingdom.⁵⁶⁰ Although the Behdetite had a place in royal ideology from the time of Djoser, it is, ironically, the rise of Thebes and its god Amun that seems to have helped make Horus the Behdetite a more universal god. This occurred with links between the leading families of Edfu with the royal house at Thebes during the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom and further links between the clergy of Thebes and Edfu during the New Kingdom, Third Intermediate Period and Late Period. As a warrior god and protector of the king and country, we will see that the Behdetite became a god venerated by Egyptians at the country's borders and in Nubia; his designation as the opponent of Seth, the god of the "Red Land," in the later periods of Pharaonic history also likely won him favor as Egypt's fortunes in foreign affairs declined.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. Und V. Dynastie*, OBO 37 (Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), p. 89.

CHAPTER 6

MESEN, THE LORD OF MESEN AND THE MYTHS AND RITUALS OF THE HARPOONER AT EDFU

6.I: Introduction

From the Old Kingdom onward Horus the Behdetite is often designated *nb Msn* “Lord of Mesen.” The term *Msn* from this time forward usually has a city-sign determinative, which indicates it is a toponym. Edfu and a few cities in the Delta were named Mesen. Most often the name Mesen is associated with Lower Egypt. The name of the city, however, derives from a word associated with harpooning. During the first few dynasties of Egypt there is a Horus falcon, which appears with a harpoon and is often referred to as “Horus the Harpooner.” This deity seems to be the early form of “Horus Lord of Mesen.” The “Lord of Mesen” is the most important alter ego of Horus the Behdetite but could appear as a form of Horus independent of the Behdetite, especially in the Delta. In this chapter we will examine the history of this deity and his relationship with Horus the Behdetite. Like the city name “Behdet,” there has been an issue as to which “Mesen” is the original home of the god Horus Lord of Mesen, which we will also examine. One aspect that Horus the Behdetite probably derived from Horus Lord of Mesen is his role as the harpooning god who slays Seth in the form of a hippopotamus. Much of the material concerning this aspect is preserved in texts from the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu but many believe the material to be older than the Greco-Roman Period. We will see that these texts do indeed appear to contain older material but separating older from newer material and determining the ultimate sources of this material is fraught with difficulty.

6.II: Horus the Harpooner/Horus Lord of Mesen

6.II.i: *Hr msnw/nb Msn*

Horus first appears with a harpoon at the dawn of Egyptian history on the reverse side of the Narmer Palette.¹ In the top register at top right is a falcon perched on a harpoon with a single barb above a boat with high prow and sternposts. Below the boat are the fallen and decapitated enemies of the king. To the left of the boat are the words '3 *wr* and with the image of Horus and the harpoon the signs read “The great door of Horus the Harpooner.” In the same register the king walks behind his standards wearing the Red Crown. Since the king appears on the opposite side of the palette wearing the White Crown in the presence of another falcon, we might interpret the Horus with a harpoon as a god of Lower Egypt. Just as the king conquers rebels of the north in the crown of Lower Egypt, he conquers under, or as, the Horus-god of Lower Egypt. The falcon on the front of the palette shown with human arms dominating an anthropomorphic sign for the Delta may represent Horus of Nekhen, the god of the temple where the palette was found and, at this time, the Horus-god of Upper Egypt. The remaining source material for Horus the Harpooner from the 1st and 2nd Dynasties is found on ivory or wood labels or tags, inscriptions on pottery and from seals and seal impressions mostly found at Abydos or Saqqara. All examples include the name of a structure that is named *P-Hr-msnw* “Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner.” This name is found within the *hw.t*-sign and sometimes within a square or rectangular structure with crenellated walls as found with the sign  but most scholars interpret

¹ J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I: Plates of Discoveries in 1898*, BSAE 4 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900), pl. 29.

the structure as a palace, because in some cases, the name is followed by *pr-ny-sw.t*.² The most informative examples are also the oldest; these are some ivory labels with the name of King Djer. Two similar tags, one from Abydos and the other from a tomb at Saqqara (now in Berlin, 18026), show in the top register the name of Djer with the words ‘*h’ P* “standing (in) Pe” and the palace the “Mansion³ Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner.”⁴ The word for “harpoon” is unusual when compared to later examples. It takes the form of two lines, which extend from each foot of the Horus falcon to form a point. To the right of the palace-sign are what appear to be palm trees and the *Pr-Nw*-shrine of Lower Egypt.⁵ In the second register is the city name *Dp* “Dep” above a structure or shrine with the word *nb.t*, which Vandier reads as “Sanctuary of the Lady of Dep.”⁶ Helck, however, reads the signs within the shrine as *nb.t(y)* and reads the group as “Die Doppelkapelle der beiden Herrinnen.”⁷ To the right of this shrine is another with the Red Crown within it. The palace mentioning Horus the Harpooner in this case certainly seems to be in Pe.

² Cf. Adolphe Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux du nome tanitique à la Basse Époque (Suite),” *Kêmi* 17 (1964), p. 36; Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* 18 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1954), p. 32, n. 33; A. J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, vol. 5, *Early Dynastic Objects* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1980), p. 42, pls. 23, 26, nos. 272-273.

³ Or “palace.”

⁴ See Wolfgang Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, *ÄgAb* 45 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), pp. 152-153; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 1, pt. 2, *Les époques de formation: Les trois premières dynasties* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1952), pp. 841-842, fig. 526.

⁵ Vandier, *Manuel*, vol. 1, p. 841.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 842.

⁷ *Thinitenzeit*, p. 152, textual note 2. The only thing on the tag that I can find to support this is the presence of what may be the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt in the two bottom registers. Helck likens the shrine to one on a tag of Aha, which clearly shows the *nb.ty*-sign with vulture and cobra on *nb*-baskets above the *mn*-sign (see his figure on p. 146); the two shrines are similar in shape but do not have the same signs within as the Djer tag and there are multiple references to the homeland of Wadjet and nothing mentioning Nekhbet, Nekheb (El Kab) or Nekhen.

Another ivory tag of Djer found in his tomb at Abydos shows the signs of the Horus falcon and the word *P* within a fortress-like structure but instead of a harpoon there is a sign similar to the heart-sign (𐎃, *ib*),⁸ however this sign has 3 or 4 protuberances extending from the top.⁹ This sign is very similar to a sign on a seal impression of King Den (or Dewen) that appears before an image of the king harpooning a hippopotamus.¹⁰ The sign appears with the phonetic complements *s* (𐎎) and *n*,¹¹ the Horus falcon appears directly above it, so the king is being called *Hr msnw* “Horus the Harpooner.” This sign also shows protuberances on each side; these represent the ties and fringe seen on the top and sides of the later version of the *msn*-sign: . One should note, however, that these signs are also similar to the *ib*-sign in the name of Adjib¹² but *ib* does not work in the context of the Djer ivory tag or the Den seal impression. Godron has challenged the reading of *msn* for this sign but offers no alternate reading.¹³ The occurrence of the sign where we normally find a harpoon-sign with the falcon and *p*-sign in the name of the palace and its occurrence below a falcon *and* with an image of the king harpooning a hippopotamus *and* with the phonetic complements *s* and *n* on the seal impression of Den seems

⁸ Vandier, Manuel, vol. 1, p. 844, interpreted the sign as the heart-sign, with misgivings.

⁹ See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, vol. 2, EM 21 (London: EEF, 1901), pl. 5, no. 2. Vandier’s drawing of the sign in *Manuel*, vol. 1, p. 843, fig. 563, no. 2 is very inaccurate; the photo is very clear in Petrie.

¹⁰ See Peter Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, ÄgAb 8 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), pl. 93, no. 364; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 2, pl. 7, no. 6; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, *Horae Soederblomianae* 3 (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1953), p. 16, fig. 7; see also Jochem Kahl, ed., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, m-h (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), p. 201.

¹¹ The *s* is placed in front of the *msn*-sign for unknown reasons.

¹² See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, vol. 1, EM 18 (London: EEF, 1900), pl. 26, nos. 57, 61-63.

¹³ Gérard Godron, “Notes d’épigraphie thinite,” *ASAE* 54 (1957), pp. 197-198.

to be too much of a coincidence for the sign not to be read as *msn*.¹⁴ The occurrence of the *msn*-sign with the Horus falcon and the *p*-sign and the fact that it is later clearly used for the word “harpooner” suggests that the harpoon in the other renderings of the palace name is also to be read as *msnw*.¹⁵ The origin of the word *msnw* has been disputed. Long ago Sethe proposed that the word was a denominative *m*-form deriving from the word for a two barbed harpoon *sn* ()¹⁶, which is depicted being used in hippopotamus and crocodile hunting at Edfu Temple.¹⁷ Osing supported Sethe’s interpretation.¹⁸ Alliot¹⁹ and Vernus²⁰ suggested that the word is derived from the verb *msn* “to spin” and refers to the reed or wicker float that the *msn*-sign represents. The word *msnw* would actually refer to a harpooner equipped with an *msn*-float.²¹ Gábor Takács in his etymological study of Egyptian considers the theory of Sethe to be plausible but that of Alliot

¹⁴ Godron has apparently convinced few other scholars; cf. Kahl, ed., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 200-201.

¹⁵ The fortress style walls are not a major problem of interpretation as they are used in the name of the palace of Reneb (or Nebre), which uses the harpoon sign; see P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à degrés*, vol. 4, *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, Fouilles Saqq. 18 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1959), p. 37, pl. 16, no. 77.

¹⁶ Kurt Sethe, “Die angeblichen Schmiede des Horus von Edfu,” *ZÄS* 54 (1918), pp. 50-54.

¹⁷ *Edfou XIII*, pls. 441-442, 494-495, 497-498, 501, 503, 505-507, 513.

¹⁸ Jürgen Osing, “Nochmals zur ägyptischen Nominalbildung,” *GM* 27 (1978), p. 69; note that Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997), p. 462 misreads Osing, who actually states that there is no verb form *msn* in reaction to commentary by J. Vergote, “Problèmes de la «Nominalbildung» en égyptien,” *Cd’É* 51 (1976), p. 276, and states that “eine etymologische Verbindung (m-Bildung) zu *sn* ‘Zweizack’ noch möglich ist.”

¹⁹ Maurice Alliot, “Les plus vieilles traditions du temple d’Edfou,” in *Mélanges Mariette*, Bd’É 32 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), p. 298; idem, *Le culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, vol. 2, Bd’É 20 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), p. 702, n. 1.

²⁰ Pascal Vernus, “Mesen,” in *LÄ* IV, col. 108.

²¹ Alliot, “Les plus vieilles traditions,” p. 198; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 462.

as “rather dubious.”²² Moreover, he has found several phonetically similar words in Afro-Asiatic with meanings such as “hatchet” or “axe.”²³ It is not unlikely, therefore, that the words *msn/msnw* used for “harpooner” and the float used in hippopotamus hunting derives from a word for a harpoon. One difficulty in regards to the harpoon used in the name of the early dynastic palace is that we often find the single barbed harpoon (*w' ←*) rather than the double barbed harpoon (*sn*) used in the name. Some scholars thus read the name of the palace as *Hw.t-Hr-w'-P* “Palace-of-the-Harpooning-Horus-of-Buto.”²⁴ However, we find the double barbed harpoon frequently enough to show that the two harpoons are interchangeable in use for the name of the palace. The signs on these tags, seals and pottery inscriptions are often poorly carved and the actual type of harpoon may not have mattered to the people carving or inscribing them. *Msn* may have become a general word for “harpoon.” Gutbub was of the opinion that the word for the harpoon and the float should be read as the city *Msn* found in the later title of Horus “Lord of Mesen.”²⁵ The lack of the city-determinative (⊗) in any of the early writings of the word would not be a problem, he argues, since the names of the cities Pe, Nekhen (Hierakonpolis), Nekheb (El Kab) and Khem (Letopolis) often appear in early inscriptions without a city-determinative.²⁶ In later times the name of the city “Mesen” can appear with or

²² *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vol. 3, m-, HO I: 48.3 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 566-567.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 567.

²⁴ Günter Dreyer, et al., “Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 7./8. Vorbericht,” *MDAIK* 52 (1996), pp. 75-76, fig. 28; *idem*, “Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof 11./12. Vorbericht,” *MDAIK* 56 (2000), pp. 126-127, cf. fig. 27a; Spencer, *Early Dynastic Objects*, p. 42, nos. 272-273, cf. pls. 23, 26.

²⁵ Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*),” pp. 36-39, cf. n. 1 on p. 36.

²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 38.

without the determinative.²⁷ These points are indeed true, however three of the cities he names, Pe, Nekheb and Khem, *do* sometimes appear with the city-determinative in Early Dynastic writings unlike *msn/w*.²⁸ Only the city name “Nekhen” and the epithet of Horus “He of Nekhen” do not appear with the city-determinative in the Early Dynastic Period although the determinative is frequently used with this city name in the Pyramid Texts.²⁹ It seems doubtful that the writing with the harpoon in the early inscriptions is the name for the city, although it is certainly possible. We can only be certain that the word is the name for the city when the city-determinative appears in the later Old Kingdom, although it is likely the proper reading when the epithet of Horus became *nb Msn* in the 4th or 5th Dynasty (see below). The majority of scholars appear to prefer *msnw* “harpooner” for the early inscriptions and Gutbub seems to concede this reading as possible.³⁰

We have already noted the seal impression of Den using a sign for *msnw* similar to the heart-sign in shape, but another similar seal impression, in which King Den is called *Hr msnw*, uses a form of the *msn*-sign that looks more like the classic form of the sign with a single protuberance at top representing a piece of the material used to tie the float together.³¹ The same sign is found on a few private stelae from the reigns of Djet and Den forming part of the owner’s personal names.³² One has the phonetic complement *s* before the *msn*-sign as on the seal

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 38-39.

²⁸ See Jochem Kahl, ed., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, 3-f (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), p. 147; idem, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 246; idem, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, ḥ-ḥ (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 348-349.

²⁹ Kahl, ed. *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, pp. 247-248; cf. *Pyr.* §§ 295a-b, 296a, 478a, 624c, 725d, 795d, 904b, 1013b, 1293d, 2011d.

³⁰ See Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*),” p. 36.

³¹ See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 1, pl. 32, no. 39.

³² Ibid, pls. 31-34, nos. 10, 22.

impression of Den.³³ Seal impressions of an official named *S.t-k3* from the time of Den bear a word with the *msn*-sign with phonetic complement *n*, which has been interpreted as the name of his father; thus he was named *Msnw* “Harpooner.”³⁴ The palace is named on objects of the First Dynasty kings Adjib,³⁵ Semerkhet³⁶ and Qaa.³⁷ The palace *Hw.t-P-Hr-msnw* is also attested

³³ Ibid, pls. 31, 34, no. 22.

³⁴ Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, no. 182-185; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 226.

³⁵ See Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 1, pl. 26, nos. 58-60; Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, pl. 69, nos. 246, 250A-B.

³⁶ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 32, n. 33; see Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 1, pl. 28, no. 72. The main Cairo fragment of royal annals (Jd’E 44859) for the 5th year of Semerkhet states *ḥ’(t)-ny-sw.t ms(.t) [. .] wp.t Hw.t-P-Hr-msnw mh fdw šsp fdw* “Appearance of the king; creating (an image of) [. .]; opening (?) the Mansion Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner. Four cubits and four palms”; see Toby A. H. Wilkinson, *Royal Annals of Ancient Egypt: The Palermo Stone and its Associated Fragments* (London: Kegan Paul, 2000), p. 198, cf. p. 181.

³⁷ See Lacau and Lauer, *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, pl. 4, nos. 20-21. Stone bowls from the Step Pyramid include the names of all three of these kings and mention the ‘3 *ḥnty (Hw.t)- P-Hr-msnw* “Great One of the Jar Magazine of the Mansion Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner.” The “Great One” was an official and the “jar magazine” (or “cellar”) was an institution attached to royal palaces and temples assigned to their provisioning; see Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 2, p. 799; Kahl, ed., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3, p. 355; idem, *Steingefässe mit Inschriften der Frühzeit und des Alten Reichs*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 1 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1968), pp. 43-46. Raymond Weill interpreted ‘3 *ḥnty* as a post of the “interior” of the palace understanding ‘3 as a prefix of *ḥnty* and related the word to *ḥnwty* “royal cabinet” or “private chamber” of the palace; see his *Recherches sur la I^{re} Dynastie et les temps prépharaoniques*, vol. 1, Bd’É 38 (Cairo: IFAO, 1961), pp. 126-127. A stone vessel with a nearly identical inscription is in a private collection in Switzerland; it adds the title *ḥry-ḥb* “Lector Priest” and *ḥnty pr-ny-sw.t* “Jar magazine of the Royal Palace”; see Kaplony, *Steingefässe*, pp. 20-24, pls. 2, 11, 18, no. 9. Another jar fragment from the Step Pyramid excavations has the name of the palace with ‘3 *ḥnty* and the names of Semerkhet and Qaa; see Cecil M. Firth, J. E. Quibell and J.-P. Lauer, *The Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 14 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1935), pl. 105, no. 3. An official named Sabef, who served under Qaa was *ḥrp pr-dšr Hw.t-P-Hr-msnw* “Controller of the Treasury of the Mansion Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner”; see Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 2, pls. 30, 31, 36, no. 48; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 228, no. 3, textual note b. The jar magazine of this palace is also mentioned on a copper cup recently found at Abydos and on a stone vessel fragment in the British Museum with the name of Qaa; see Dreyer, et al., “Umm el-Qaab 7./8. Vorbericht,” pp. 75-76, gig. 28; Spencer, *Early Dynastic Objects*, p. 42, pls. 23, 26, no. 272; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 1, pl. 8, no. 14, cf. pl. 9, no. 3 and ibid, vol. 2, pl. 8, no. 7. An ivory

during the 2nd Dynasty associated with the names of Hetepsekhemwy,³⁸ Reneb (or Nebre),³⁹ Ninetjer⁴⁰ and Khasekhemwy.⁴¹ The goddess Neith appears on a stone jar mentioning the palace

label of Qaa's found at Abydos records an expedition for coniferous and acacia wood mentions *mdḥ.ty-ny-sw.t Ḥw.t-P-Ḥr-Msnw* "The Royal Unguent-maker (?)* of the Mansion Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner"; see Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. 2, pl. 8, no. 3 and pl. 12, no. 6; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 164. *On the title see Spencer, *Early Dynastic Objects*, p. 64, no. 459, cf. pls. 49, 53; cf. Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), p. 124; Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 1, p. 300 reads the title as *mdḥ-mdḥ(w)-njswt*. Weill translates as "Le double hacheur royal"; see *Recherches sur la 1^{re} Dynastie*, vol. 1, p. 125 and n. 2. Cf. Gérard Godron, *Études sur l'Horus Den et quelques problèmes de l'Égypte archaïque*, Cahiers d'Orientalisme 19 (Geneva: Patrick Cramer, 1990), pp. 73-74, §§ 320-330, especially § 330. Kahl, ed., *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 206 gives the translation "Zimmermann; Meister" for the singular and notes the dual but does not offer a translation.

³⁸ Alexander Scharff, *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*, vol. 1, *Werkzeuge, Waffen, Gefässe*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptische Sammlung 4 (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1931), pp. 211-212, fig. 82, pl. 22, no. 606. Scharff's drawing of the text shows a circular sign, or mark, next to the *p*-sign, p. 211, fig. 82, which might be interpreted as the city-determinative giving "Horus the Harpooner of Pe," however the sign is not visible in the photo plate (pl. 22, no. 606).

³⁹ See G. Maspero, "Fouilles autour de la pyramide d'Ounas (1901-1902) XI: Note sur les objets recueillis sous la pyramide d'Ounas," *ASAE* 3 (1902), pp. 188-189, no. 3; Weill, *Recherches sur la 1^{re} Dynastie*, p. 129; Jochem Kahl, »*Ra is my Lord*«: *Searching for the Rise of the Sun God at the Dawn of Egyptian History*, MENES 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), p. 20, fig. 13; Eva-Maria Engel, "Die Siegelabrollungen von Hetepsechemui und Raneb aus Saqqara," in *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, vol. 2, Ernst Czerny, et al., ed., OLA 149 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2006), pp. 25, 29, fig. 9. 5 cylinders of this type were found and are numbered 35613-35617 (Maspero, p. 188). See also Lacau and Lauer, *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, pl. 16, no. 77. On the name of the king see Kahl, »*Ra is my Lord*«, p. 7. A seal impression with the name of this king reads *Hr R'-nb ḥrp Ḥw.t-P-Ḥr-msnw nbw* "The Horus Reneb; The Director of the Metal-working Department (?) of the Mansion Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner"; see Maspero, "Notes sur les objets," pp. 188-189; Kahl, »*Ra is my Lord*«, pp. 18-19, fig. 10; Engel, "Siegelabrollungen," p. 28, fig. 6; cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, pls. 71-72, figs. 257A-B, 263, 264-265.

⁴⁰ Lacau and Lauer, *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, p. 37; J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1912-1914: Archaic Mastabas*, EXSAQ 6 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1923), pl. 15, no. 3.

⁴¹ Dreyer, et al., "Umm el-Qaab 11./12. Vorbericht," pp. 126-127, a) Type I; cf. Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 3, pl. 127, fig. 767. Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 2, p. 860, notes a group of texts written in ink on vases from the Step Pyramid and dating to the reign of Khasekhemwy, which he interprets as the name of the palace

with the names of Reneb and Ninetjer.⁴² A seal impression found in a tomb at Saqqara mentioning the palace has Ninetjer's Horus name facing a goddess that is likely Wadjet, since she holds a papyrus-scepter and has a uraeus.⁴³ A clear reference to Horus the Harpooner from the time of Netjerykhet (Djoser)⁴⁴ comes from the tomb of Hesy-Re at Saqqara. One wood panel from his tomb gives his full titulary, which includes the titles *wr P ḥ3t(y) (s)in(.w) wr mḏ.w Šm'w ḥm-nṯr Hr msn(w) P Hsy-(R')* "Great One of Pe, Head of the Couriers, One of the Ten Great Ones of Upper Egypt, Prophet of Horus the Harpooner (𐀓) (in) Pe (𐀓) Hesy-(Re)."⁴⁵ Hesy-Re's titles certainly appear to relate the cult of Horus the Harpooner with the city of Pe. Pe is also the likely location of the palace with this god's name, which, perhaps, served some purpose in the king's coronation or status as king in Lower Egypt.

with the addition of the snake-sign: 𐀓. There is variation in the number of signs in the "palace" name, as well. The variations appear to be 𐀓𐀓𐀓, 𐀓𐀓𐀓 and 𐀓𐀓, but since the two key signs of the harpoon and falcon are questionable, it is somewhat doubtful that the institution named on these two seal impressions of Khasekhemwy is the same as that with the name of Horus the Harpooner; for the signs see P. Lacau and J.-Ph. Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés*, vol. 5, *Inscriptions à l'encre sur les vases*, Fouilles Saqq. 18.5 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1965), pl. 12, nos. 4/18, 8/18 and 9/18.

⁴² Lacau and Lauer, *Inscriptions gravées sur les vases*, p. 37.

⁴³ See Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1912-1914*, pl. 15, no. 3.

⁴⁴ A problematic inscription is found on a seal impression of Netjerykhet. Next to the Horus name is a group of signs not within a building-sign. One sign could be either 𐀓 or 𐀓, because the sign is damaged at the top. This is followed by the *p*-sign, while below is 𐀓. This raises the same problems as the signs on the seal impressions of Khasekhemwy and is doubtful as the name of the palace *Hw.t-P-Hr-msnw*, the seal impression is discussed by Kaplony along with those of Khasekhemwy; see *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 858-859.

⁴⁵ J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1911-12): The Tomb of Hesy*, EXSAQ 5 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1913), pls. 31-32; transliteration and translation based, in part, on Jochem Kahl, Nicole Kloth and Ursula Zimmermann, *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, ÄgAb 56 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), p. 111 (Ne/Sa/84).

A stela in the form of a false-door in the British Museum commemorates a man named Kainefer (*K3=i-nfr*).⁴⁶ Kainefer is said to be the “Eldest Son of his Body” of Sneferu, vizier, and priest of the cult of Sneferu. Among his many titles, he is also *hm-ntr Hr nb Msn* “Prophet of Horus, Lord of Mesen” ()⁴⁷ Although there is no city-determinative following *Msn*, the structure of the title (the addition of *nb*) and later analogy suggests that *Msn* is a word for a town and not the word for “harpoon” or “harpooner.” Kainefer’s mastaba tomb is located at Dahshur and was excavated by J. de Morgan; besides the false-door found on the exterior of the tomb and now at the British Museum, another false-door found within the tomb is now in the Louvre.⁴⁸ This would be the next attestation of the harpooning Horus but there is a controversy on the dating of Kainefer. Due to Kainefer’s claim that he was a son of Sneferu, he was assumed to have lived during the early 4th Dynasty.⁴⁹ However, Helck challenged the early 4th Dynasty date based on some of his titles that he believed were not found before the 5th Dynasty, the use of sunk relief on his false-door and the use of Ptah in a man’s name, who is mentioned on his monument, which Helck said does not appear before the late 4th Dynasty.⁵⁰ B. Schmitz in her study of the term *s3-ny-sw.t* went farther claiming a date from the end of the reign of Pepy II or

⁴⁶ T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1961), p. 10, pl. 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid, pl. 10, left panel 5th column of text (2nd from left).

⁴⁸ See Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et hypogées d’Ancien Empire: Le problème de la datation* (Brussels: Connaissance de l’Égypte ancienne, 1989), pp. 106-107; Christiane Ziegler, “La fausse-porte du prince Kanefer «fils de Snefrou»,” *Rd’É* 31 (1979), pp. 120-134.

⁴⁹ Cf. Klaus Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 145, no. 534.

⁵⁰ Wolfgang Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, HO I: 1.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 59-60.

later based on a number of different factors.⁵¹ Kainefer, according to Schmitz, usurped the title of vizier and claimed to be the bodily son of the king due to his positions in administering the cult of Sneferu.⁵² Mostafa,⁵³ Strudwick⁵⁴ and Harpur⁵⁵ have also challenged the 4th Dynasty date. Nadine Cherpion⁵⁶ and Christiane Ziegler,⁵⁷ however, have defended the early 4th Dynasty dating of Kainefer. Michel Baud has given the most thorough defense of a 4th Dynasty date attacking arguments for a later date point by point.⁵⁸ The arguments for and against a 4th Dynasty date are too many and too complex to go over here,⁵⁹ however there is very little support for Schmitz's dating of Kainefer to the late Old Kingdom. Although some of Baud's

⁵¹ Bettina Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt „Königsson“*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 2 (Bonn: Rudolf Habelt, 1976), pp. 145-149.

⁵² Ibid, p. 147-148.

⁵³ Mostafa, following Schmitz's re-dating of Kainefer, dates the *htp*-type of offering table found in the tomb of Kainefer and in the funerary complex of Sneferu to the late Old Kingdom arguing that the latter was in a structure belonging to a later building phase; see Maha M. F. Mostafa, *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich*, HÄB 17 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1982), pp. 51-52.

⁵⁴ Strudwick accepts the conclusion that the *htp*-type of offering table does not date to the 4th Dynasty and believes that the false-door of Kainefer is more typical of the mid-5th Dynasty. He objects to Schmitz's dating of Kainefer to the late Old Kingdom, because of the great size of his tomb, which is more typical of the 4th and 5th Dynasties see Nigel Strudwick, review of *Untersuchungen zu Opfertafeln im Alten Reich*, by Maha M. F. Mostafa, *Cd'É* 61 (1986), p. 264; idem, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London: KPI, 1985), p. 153, no. 148.

⁵⁵ Harpur states that the wig worn by men on the monuments of Kainefer is more typical of the 5th Dynasty; see Yvonne Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content* (London: KPI, 1987), p. 248, no. 1.5; cf. H. G. Fischer, "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty," *JNES* 18 (1959), pp. 238-239.

⁵⁶ *Mastabas et hypogées*, pp. 107-108, cf. p. 56, § 2 (critère 30).

⁵⁷ *Catalogue de steles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et la Première Période Intermediaire vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), p. 236, no. 42.

⁵⁸ Michel Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, Bd'É 126 (Cairo: IFAO, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 83-92.

⁵⁹ See the works cited in the preceding notes.

counter arguments are problematic, due to a dependence on the re-dating of tombs and artifacts, overall he makes a good case for Kainefer living in the earlier 4th Dynasty, though a 5th Dynasty date cannot be completely ruled out. The most important point supporting this is the fact that Kainefer's titulary for the cult of Sneferu includes the name of the king (*ḥm-nṯr Snfrw, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Nb-M3'.t*). Although this does not prove that he was the king's son, it shows that he cannot have served after the 5th Dynasty, because at some point during the 5th Dynasty the practice of using the king's name in cult titles was replaced by the use of the name of the king's pyramid.⁶⁰ Thus we can place the first appearance of the title "Horus Lord of Mesen" in the 4th Dynasty or the 5th Dynasty.

The form *Ḥr msnw* "Horus the Harpooner" does not completely disappear with the appearance of *Ḥr nb Msn* although it only appears three more times before the Greco-Roman Period. There is no dispute that Iidjefa, *ḥm-nṯr n Ḥr msnw* "Prophet of Horus the Harpooner," served during the early 5th Dynasty.⁶¹ The last two occurrences of the form *Ḥr msnw* before the Greco-Roman Period come from the 6th Dynasty tomb at Giza of the "Royal Chamberlain and Royal Document Scribe" (*ḥry-tp ny-sw.t sš ' n ny-sw.t*) Ankhudja called Itji.⁶² A block from

⁶⁰ Baud, *Famille royale*, p. 86, cf. pp. 19-24; cf. Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 264-265; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 128; Hermann Junker, *Giza*, vol. 6, *Die Mastabas des Nfr (Nefer), Kdfjj (Kedfi), K3hj (Kahjef) und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen* (Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943), p. 12.

⁶¹ Iidjefa was also a "Royal Chamberlain" (*ḥry-tp ny-sw.t*) and was buried at Saqqara east of the Step Pyramid; *PM* III.2, p. 579; *LD* II, pl. 101a; Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 55, 288, no. 26; Barbara L. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. und V. Dynastie*, OBO 37 (Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), pp. 92, 274, no. 26; Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs*, p. 272, no. 347; Baud, *Famille royale*, vol. 1, p. 72.

⁶² Hermann Junker, *Giza*, vol. 8, *Der Ostabschnitt des Westfriedhofs: Zweiter Teil*, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 73.1 (Vienna: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1947), pp. 122-136, cf. figs. 59-60.

the entryway of his tomb shows offering bearers representing funerary domains of the last kings of the 5th Dynasty Djedkare and Unis.⁶³ Among these are the domains *Mr Hr msnw 'nh Dd-k3-R* “Horus the Harpooner Wants Djedkare to Live”⁶⁴ and *Mr Hr msnw 'nh Wnis* “Horus the Harpooner Wants Unis to Live.”⁶⁵

The first identification of the Behdetite with the harpooning Horus comes from the pyramid temple of King Teti at Saqqara. A block fragment shows a hovering falcon named *[Bh]d[.ty nb] Msn ntr '3 s3b šw.t hnty [itr.t . . . (?)]* “[The Beh]de[tite, Lord of] Mesen, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Foremost of [the Shrine Row of . . . (?)].”⁶⁶ The word *Msn* is written with the city-sign determinative. A block of relief from the pyramid of Ipuet, wife of Teti and mother of Pepy I, has a hovering falcon with a similar inscription: *[Bh]d[.t(y)] ntr '3 s3b šw.t [nb] Msn* “[The Beh]de[tite], the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, [Lord] of Mesen,” with the city-sign determinative for *Msn*.⁶⁷ This relief dates to Pepy I as his cartouche with his throne name “Meryre” is on the same block. A block found at Dendera depicts a winged sun disk above Pepy I in the presence of Hathor of Dendera and Bastet.⁶⁸ At the end of each wing is *Bhd.t(y) nb Msn* “The Behdetite, Lord of Mesen.”⁶⁹ We know that in the Greco-Roman Period there were two cities, at least, named “Mesen.” One was Edfu and the other was in the Delta at

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 130-131, fig. 61, pl. 23a; Helen K. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien*, Bd'É 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1962), pp. 318-319.

⁶⁴ Jacquet-Gordon, *Les noms des domaines*, p. 319, no. 2.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 319, no. 4.

⁶⁶ J.-Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission archéologique de Saqqarah*, vol. 1, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti*, Bd'É 51 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), p. 69, fig. 29, pl. 26B.

⁶⁷ Cecil M. Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, EXSAQ 7.1-2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1926), vol. 1, p. 91, vol. 2, pl. 56.2

⁶⁸ Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), p. 41, fig. 8.

⁶⁹ The word *Bhd.ty* has been lost at the left side but is certain.

Sile. Edfu is *Msn n nb Msn nty m T3-Šm'w mi Msn=f T3rw m T3-Mḥw* “the Mesen of the Lord of Mesen, which is in Upper Egypt like his Mesen Sile in Lower Egypt.”⁷⁰ Sile was also named *Ḏb3 mḥy* “Lower Egyptian Edfu.”⁷¹ As has been proposed with the name *Bḥd.ty* at the end of each wing of the winged sun disk,⁷² the presence of *nb Msn* at each wing may be a reference to the southern (Edfu) and northern (Sile?) cities named Mesen.⁷³ The term “Lord of Mesen” when used with an image of the Behdetite is sometimes associated with Lower Egypt⁷⁴ but there is no consistent use of the term to designate the north before the Greco-Roman Period, as discussed in Chapter 3.II.ii. From the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period the term *nb Msn* is frequently encountered following the name *Bḥd.ty*,⁷⁵ however, when all of the multitude of hovering

⁷⁰ Joh. Dümichen, “Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Edfu III: Die Namen des Edfutempels,” *ZÄS* 9 (1871), p. 111. Cf. *Edfou* V, p. 101, line 12 where Horus Lord of Mesen is *ḏr.ty wr ph.ty ḥnt [Msn] Šm'w m3i ḥnt Msn Mḥw* “Falcon great of strength in [Mesen] of Upper Egypt, Lion in Mesen of Lower Egypt.”

⁷¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 51, no. 18; Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), p. 59.

⁷² Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 48-49; cf. Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft 1930), p. 127, § 155.

⁷³ Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 49.

⁷⁴ Cf. Catalog B-6, B-18, C-5.

⁷⁵ See Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1969), pls. 3, 13, 16-17, 21, 25-26, 29-32; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 4, CGC 20001-20780 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1902), pl. 41, no. 20539 vs.; Edouard Naville, H. R. Hall and E. R. Ayrton, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 1, EM 28 (London: EEF, 1907), pl. 24; Luc Gabolde, “La «Cour de Fêtes» de Thoutmosis II à Karnak,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 9 (1993), p. 47, pl. 16; Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings* (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 94; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 9, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part 1: The Inner Sanctuaries with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 136 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pls. 8-9, 81, 91; Ricardo A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, *The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: EES, 1998), pl. 33.2; *MH* IV, pl. 211 (scene of Amenhotep III at Luxor T.); *LD* III, pl. 234a; Louis A. Christophe, “Le pylône ‘ramesside’ d’Edfou,” *ASAE* 55 (1958), pp. 6-7; Félix Guil mant, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, MIFAO 15 (Cairo: IFAO, 1907), pl.

falcons, sun disks and other images of the Behdetite are taken into consideration, the epithet is rather rare.⁷⁶ Even more rare are images of a god identified as the “Lord of Mesen” without reference to the “Behdetite.” Among the *sm3 t3.wy*-scenes on the thrones of the statues of Senwosret I found at Lisht, was one scene in which Horus is called *ntr ‘3 nb Msn* “The Great God, Lord of Mesen.”⁷⁷ The earliest monument or text that clearly places Horus Lord of Mesen in a specific place dates to the time of Amenhotep II and comes from a statue of the “God’s Father of Atum and Overseer of Goldsmiths of the Temple of Re” Hatre in the Louvre.⁷⁸ In a text from his statue Hatre tells us *ink ḥmww ‘q-ir.ty (?) n Šm‘w Mḥw k3.t ‘.wy=i pḥ(.ti) n 3bw mḥty m Ṛ3[rw] m mnw ir.n ḥm=f n lmn m s.t tn n Ḥr nb p.t nb Msn n W3dyt m lm3.t* “I was a competent (?)⁷⁹ artisan for Upper and Lower Egypt, the work of my hands having reached (from) Elephantine north to Si[le] in the monuments, which His Majesty made for Amun in this place, for Horus, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen and for Wadjet in Imet.”⁸⁰ Wadjet of Imet appears in another New Kingdom monument with Horus Lord of Mesen, which we will discuss below.⁸¹ Imet is the modern town of Tell el-Farun Nebesheh and was directly west of Qantara (Tell Abu

38; Jean Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne à l’est de la Grande Enceinte d’Amon à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 53 (1953), pp. 132-134, fig. 6; Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pl. 7.

⁷⁶ For example, the epithet is not found in any of the published monuments of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu or the same king’s temple within the enclosure of Amun-Re at Karnak.

⁷⁷ See Catalog C-2 (statue 3); J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), p. 36, fig. 35 (left).

⁷⁸ Jean-Louis de Cenival, “Les textes de la statue E. 25550 du Musée du Louvre,” *Rd’É* 17 (1965), pp. 15-16, fig. 2.

⁷⁹ See *ibid*, pp. 16, 19, textual note f.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 16-17, fig. 3.

⁸¹ Hatre requests an offering on his behalf to Wadjet in another text from his statue; see *ibid*, pp. 15-16, fig. 2.

Seyfeh).⁸² Monuments from the Saite and Ptolemaic Periods found at Tell el-Farun associate the goddess with Min-Horus and Harsomtus.⁸³ A small tablet from the same location (?) mentions *Hr nb Msn [hry-ib (?) T3]rw* “Horus Lord of Mesen, [who-Dwells-in (?) Si]le.”⁸⁴ An additional text from the statue of Hatre mentions work in the temple of Horus: *iw ir.n(=i) k3.t m r3-pr pn [r'-nb (?) . .] r3-pr Hr nb Msn dw3(w) n(=i) ntr fq3.kwi hr=s in ntr nfr* “I carried out works in this temple [every day (?)⁸⁵ . .] the temple of Horus Lord of Mesen and god was praised on my behalf, while I was rewarded for it by the Perfect God.”⁸⁶ A seal impression for a wine jar from the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata reads *Hr nb Msn hr Mhw* “Horus Lord of Mesen in Lower Egypt.”⁸⁷ Wine was the main export of the region of Sile.⁸⁸ Horus in a *sm3-t3.wy*-scene of Ramesses II in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is *Hr ntr '3 nb Msn* “Horus the Great God, Lord of Mesen.”⁸⁹ One of the most significant monuments in regards to Horus Lord of Mesen dates to the reign of Sety I and was found in the area of Qantara (ancient Tjaru=Sile, Tell Abu-

⁸² Ibid, p. 19, textual note b; Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 171 and see the map on p. 133; Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, vol. 1,  To-Mehou *la Basse Égypte* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1957), p. 181, pl. 1.

⁸³ Montet, *Géographie*, p. 181; W. M. Flinders Petrie, A. S. Murray and F. Ll. Griffith, *Tanis Part II, 1886*, EM 4.1 (London: Trubnër, 1888), pl. 10, nos.164-165.

⁸⁴ Petrie, Murray and Griffith, *Tanis II*, pl. 10, no. 168, p. 31.

⁸⁵ Cf. de Cenival, “Les textes de la statue E. 25550,” p. 17, fig. 4 and textual note k on p. 20.

⁸⁶ Ibid, pp. 16-17, fig. 4.

⁸⁷ William C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III, II: The Jar Sealings,” *JNES* 10 (1951), p. 159, fig. 28 (TT).

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 159, cf. p. 158 (J, K).

⁸⁹ See Catalog C-5; Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 69.

Seyfeh).⁹⁰ The monument is a monolith made of red quartzite, which Griffith described as “a kind of truncated obelisk” with an oblong rectangular base but it probably served as a base for a falcon statue.⁹¹ It is dedicated by Sety to Horus Lord of Mesen and to his own father Ramesses I and has a restoration inscription of Ramesses II on the base. On the south face, which appears to be the front, at top Sety wearing the *Nemes* headdress kneels offering *nw*-vases to falcon-headed “Horus Lord of Mesen,” who is shown standing on a low pedestal and holds a *was*-scepter and an *ankh*.⁹² Following the titulary of Sety I the main text below reads:

*ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Hr nb Msn ms.t sšmw=f m bi3.t '3.t m k3.t mnḥ.t nt nḥḥ išt 3b.n
ḥm=f rd.t mn rn n it=f ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-ph.ty-R' s3 R' R'-ms-sw m-b3ḥ ntr pn mn(.w) w3ḥ(.w)
r nḥḥ d.t*

It was for his father Horus Lord of Mesen that he constructed as his monument; (namely) the making of his image in a great block of quartzite with an excellent workmanship of eternity. Now His Majesty desired to make the name of his father the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menpehtyre, Son of Re Ramesses to endure in the presence of this god, enduring and lasting for ever-repeating eternity and everlasting eternity.⁹³

At the top of the east side Ramesses I kneels before a deity, which is lost to damage.⁹⁴ He wears a crown of the form  on a short wig with streamers at the back. Behind him stands a god, who appears to be falcon-headed and holds year-signs in his right hand and is steadying the king's crown with the other and behind him is a goddess holding two *ankhs*. The inscriptions for

⁹⁰ W. M. Flinders Petrie, A. S. Murray and F. Ll. Griffith, *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, EM 4 (part 2) (London: Trubnër, 1888), pp. 103-104, § 101, pl. 51; Serge Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion’ du Jardin des Stèles à Ismaïlia,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Études Historiques et Géographiques de l’Isthme de Suez* 5 (1953-54), pp. 45-58.

⁹¹ Petrie, Murray and Griffith, *Nebesheh*, p. 103; cf. Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pp. 56-57.

⁹² The top of the scene is lost; above Sety can still be read [*ntr*] *nfr* and Sety's throne name and the bottom of his personal name; see Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 2.

⁹³ Ibid; *KRI* I, p. 105, lines 9-12.

⁹⁴ Behind the king is *ntr nfr Mn-ph(.ty)-R'* and above him there are the remains of *mi R'* and an *nb*-basket; see Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 3.

the two deities are now lost but an early drawing by Prisse d’Avennes shows some of the inscription remained in his time⁹⁵ and the rest can be restored as done by Kitchen: [*Hr*] *nb* [*Msn ntr* ‘3] *nb p.t* “[Horus] Lord of [Mesen, the Great God], Lord of the Sky.”⁹⁶ The text of the goddess reads *W3dyt nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w* “Wadjet, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods.”⁹⁷ Since the main texts on the east and west side are nearly identical, a description of the scene at the top of the west face is given here before the main text. It is also similar to the scene on the east face but more complete.⁹⁸ Sety I kneels in the center before an enthroned deity but only the waist, legs and hand of the king remain and the foot and part of the throne of the god. The inscription above the king can probably be restored, per Kitchen, as [*ntr nfr Mn-M3’.t-R’*] *Stḥy Mr.n-Pth* “[The Perfect God Menmaatre] Sety Merenptah.”⁹⁹ Before the king at right is a falcon-headed god holding year-signs in his left hand and reaching to steady the king’s crown with his right. He is identified as *Hr nb Msn ntr ‘3 nb p.t* “Horus Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of the Sky.”¹⁰⁰ Behind him is a goddess holding two *ankhs* and wearing the cow horns and sun disk associated with Hathor but she is *W3dyt nb.t Im3.t* “Wadjet, Lady of Imet.”¹⁰¹ Between the king and Horus is a vertical column of text: *smn(=i) ḥ’w n it=k Hr [nb Msn]* “Let me make firm the crown of your father Horus [Lord of Mesen].”¹⁰² The missing deities on the east and west sides

⁹⁵ Cf. Petrie, Murray and Griffith, *Nebesheh*, p. 103.

⁹⁶ I have place brackets only around those words that were already missing in Prisse d’Avennes’ day; cf. *KRI* I, p. 105, line 16.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ See Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 4.

⁹⁹ *KRI* I, p. 106, line 2.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 106, line 3; Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 4.

are probably Re-Horakhty and Atum, since they are mentioned in the main texts of both sides.¹⁰³

The main text, following the titulary of Sety, of the east and west sides reads:

*ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Hr nb Msn mds*¹⁰⁴ *ms.t sšmw=f m bi3.t '3.t m k3.t mnḥ.t n ḡ.t m irr s3*
ir 3ḥ.wt ḡ'r bw-iqr (n) ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy nb ir.t ḥ.t Mn-ph.ty-R' s3 R' n ḥ.t=f mry=f nb ḥ'.w
*R'-ms-sw di 'nh ḡ.t/mi R'*¹⁰⁵ *ḡd-md(.w) in R'-Hr-3ḥ.ty di.n(=i) n=k 'nh w3s nb ḥr=i snb nb*
*ḥr=i 3w-ib nb ḥr=i ḥr s.t Hr*¹⁰⁶ *mi R' ḡd-md(.w) in Itmw di.n(=i) n=k ḥw.w nb(.w) ḥr=i ḥtp.w*
nb(.w) ḥr=i ḡf3.w nb(.w) ḥr=i mi R' ḡd-md(.w) in Hr nb Msn di.n(=i) n=k ḥḥ(.w) m ḥb.w-sd
ḥfn.w rnp.wt ḥtp.w t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) dmd(.w) ḥr ṯbw.ty=k

It was for his father Horus Lord of Mesen, Formidable of Arm that he made as his monument; (namely) the making of his image with a great block of Quartzite in an excellent work of eternity as a son does, who performs benefactions and who searches out excellence (for) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of Ritual Menpehtyre, Son of Re of his body and Lord of Crowns Ramesses given life forever/like Re. Words spoken by Re-Horakhty: “To you I have given all life and dominion from me, all health from me and all joy from me upon the throne of Horus like Re.” Words spoken by Atum: “To you I have given all sustenance from me, all offerings from me and all provisions from me like Re.” Words spoken by Horus Lord of Mesen: “To you I have given millions of *Sed* festivals and hundreds of thousands of peaceful years; all flat lands and all hill-countries are united under your sandals.”¹⁰⁷

The north face of the monument showed the king kneeling and holding an offering before a god, probably Horus Lord of Mesen, but all texts and most of the scene is lost.¹⁰⁸ A restoration text inscribed by Ramesses II is below.¹⁰⁹ Ramesses II also inscribed the base of the monument.

¹⁰³ Cf. Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” p. 53.

¹⁰⁴ The king also has the title “Formidable of Arm” in his titulary here.

¹⁰⁵ The east side has *ḡ.t*, while the west side has *mi R'*

¹⁰⁶ The east side does not have *ḥr s.t Hr*.

¹⁰⁷ *KRI I*, p. 106, lines 5-16; Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pls. 3-4, cf. pp. 52-54; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*, vol. 1, *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 88-89.

¹⁰⁸ See Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 5; cf. *KRI I*, p. 107, line 2.

¹⁰⁹ The text reads *Hr K3-nḥt Mry-M3'.t nb.ty Mk—Km.t W'f-ḥ3s.wt Hr-nbw Wsr-rnp.wt '3-nḥt.w ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp.n-R' s3 R' R'-ms-sw Mry-lmn 'nh ḡ.t mry Hr nb Msn sm3wy-mnw n it=f ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-M3'.t-R' s3 R' Sḥy Mr.n-Pḥs['nh] rn n it it=f ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-ph.ty-R' s3 R' R'-ms-sw m pr Hr* “Horus Strong-bull Beloved-of-Maat; Two Ladies Protector-of-Egypt, He-who-Subdues-the-Foreign-Lands; Horus of Gold Rich-in-Years, Great-of-Victories; King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatse Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses

There are two levels of text and four separate inscriptions with each giving the titulary of Ramesses II and two mentioning his restoration of the monument.¹¹⁰ One of these reads *'nh ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp.n-R' ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Hr nb Msn s'h' n=f sšmw=f m inr bi3.t ist sm.n s(w) hm=f w3(.w) r hbs m gbb hnty rnp.wt 'š3* “Live the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre. It was for his father Horus Lord of Mesen that he constructed as his monument; (namely) the erecting for him of his image in quartzite. Now His Majesty had found it fallen into (a state of) being covered with earth (after) a period of many years.”¹¹¹ A second quartzite monument with texts of Ramesses II, and possibly associated with the previous monument, was found at Qantara.¹¹² This was a plinth, which may have served as a base for a statue. It has texts on two sides. The texts on the right side of the plinth read:

['nh] Hr K3-nht Mry-M3'.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp.n-R' di 'nh mry [Hr] hry-ib 3h-bi.t di 'nh mi R' [Hr-nbw] Wsr-rnp.wt '3-nht.w s3 R' R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn mi R' mry Hr tm3-' di 'nh mi R' ir.n=f m mnw=f n it=f Hr nb Msn s'h' n=f sšmw=f m inr n bi3.t ir.n n=f s3 R' R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn

[Live] Horus Strong-bull, Beloved-of-Maat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, given life; One beloved of [Horus]-who-Dwells-in-Chemmis, given life like Re, [Horus-of-Gold] Rich-in-Years, Great-in-Victories, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, (one)¹¹³ like Re. One beloved of Horus-Strong-of-Arm, given life like Re. It was for his father Horus Lord of Mesen that he constructed his monument; (namely) the erecting for him of his image in quartzite, (is that) which the Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun did for him.¹¹⁴

The texts on the left side of the plinth read:

Meryamun, given life, beloved of Horus Lord of Mesen, who has restored the monument of his father the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, Son of Re Sety Merenptah, who has caused [to live] the name of the father of his father the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menpehtyre, Son of Re Ramesses in the House of Horus”; see *KRI I*, p. 107, lines 4-6; Sauneron, “Le prétendu ‘pyramidion,’” pl. 5, cf. p. 54; Kitchen, *Translations*, vol. 1, pp. 89-90.

¹¹⁰ See *KRI I*, p. 107, lines 9-14.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107, lines 13-14.

¹¹² Petrie, Murray and Griffith, *Nebesheh*, pp. 104-105, § 101, pl. 51.

¹¹³ Possibly *di 'nh* has been omitted by mistake, however the same phrase is found on the left side of the plinth.

¹¹⁴ *KRI II*, p. 402, line 14-p. 403, line 1.

[‘nh Hṛ K3-nḥt] Mry-M3’.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3’.t-R’ Stp.n-R’ di ‘nh mry Hṛ nb Msn di ‘nh mi R’ [nb.ty Mk]-Km.t W’f-ḥ3s.wt s3 R’ R’-ms-sw Mry-Imn mi R’ mry Hṛ nb sš.w di ‘nh mi R’ [ir.n=f m mnw=f] n it=f Hṛ nb Msn s’ḥ’ n=f sšmw=f m inr n bi3.t ir.n n=f s3 R’ R’-ms-sw Mry-Imn

[Live Horus Strong-bull] Beloved-of-Maat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, given life, beloved of Horus Lord of Mesen, given life like Re; [Two Ladies Protector]-of-Egypt-who-Subdues-the-Foreign-Lands; Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, (one) like Re. One beloved of Horus Lord of the Marshes, given life like Re. It was for his father Horus Lord of Mesen [that he constructed his monument]; (namely) the erecting for him of his image in quartzite (is that), which the Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun made for him.¹¹⁵

It is clear from the texts of the two monuments that a statue or statues of this god was/were erected in a temple called the “House of Horus” by Sety I; Ramesses II claims to have restored both monuments. The choice of red quartzite and the presence of Re-Horakhty and Atum on the first monument probably indicate an identification of Horus Lord of Mesen as a solar god, which is not surprising for a god elsewhere closely identified with Horus the Behdetite. Wadjet, who seems to act as, either, Horus Lord of Mesen’s consort, daughter or mother also is treated as a solar goddess with the sun disk and horns of Hathor.¹¹⁶ She is here the eye of the sun god.¹¹⁷ His epithets of “Formidable of Arm” and “Strong of Arm” identify Horus Lord of Mesen as a warrior god whose presence on Egypt’s northeast border seems appropriate in this period of

¹¹⁵ KRI II, p. 403, lines2-4.

¹¹⁶ Wadjet's relationship to Horus Lord of Mesen depends on Horus’ status. Wadjet is the protector and sometimes mother of Horus at Chemmis being identified with Isis. If Horus is here identified with the sun god, Wadjet as the Eye of Re is simultaneously the mother, consort and daughter of the sun god; See Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Egyptian Myth and History*, Acta Universtatis Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14 (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1986), pp. 45-72, cf. pp. 115-131.

¹¹⁷ Hathor and Wadjet are mutually identified in the Coffin Texts (CT IV, pp. 175e-176f). Over a doorway of the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari are two vultures with *Udjat*-eyes for bodies; the one on the south has a vulture head and represents Nekhbet, while the one on the north has a cobra head and must represent Wadjet but the two also represent Hathor as the eyes of the sun god; see Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 103. Cf. CT VII, p. 166f-g where Wadjet is identified with the sun as the “Great-Flaming-One, who shines upon Nut.”

restoring Egypt's authority in Asia. Horus Lord of Mesen also appears to be identified, or closely associated, with Horus-who-Dwells-in-Chemmis and Horus-Lord-of-the-Marshes,¹¹⁸ which connects him with the stories of the conflict of Horus and Seth.¹¹⁹ As a slayer of the hippopotamus and crocodile, the harpooning Horus was already suited as a protector of the child Horus in the marshes and even more so when Seth came to be identified with the hippopotamus shortly after this time.¹²⁰

After these monuments of the Ramesside Period we have no real information on the cult of Horus Lord of Mesen at Sile until the Ptolemaic Period, however we do have material from the nearby city of Tanis. Texts from the statues of some of the governors of Tanis in the Saite Period reveal that they were priests of Horus Lord of Mesen: *[dw3 Imn-R' nb ns.wt] t3.wy di t3w ndm n ['ḥ3]-' Imn [nb m3'-ḥrw] ḥm-nṯr Imn-R' nb ns.[wt] t3.wy Ḥr nb Msn imy-r3 mš' wr ḥm-nṯr Dd-Ḥr s3 [ḥm-nṯr] W3ḥ-ib mw.t=f Mw.t-ir-di-s*¹²¹ *m3'-ḥrw* “[Praise of Amun-Re, Lord of

¹¹⁸ Both names are mentioned in Ramesses II's titulary on the second monument.

¹¹⁹ Note that Wadjet sometimes is identified as the mother or wet-nurse of Horus in Chemmis and Buto; cf. *Edfou III*, p. 135, lines 4-5; Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah: Description générale du grande temple de cette ville*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1870), pl. 56a; idem, *Dendérah: Description générale du grande temple de cette ville*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1871), pl. 20t. In Papyrus Chester Beatty Ramesses V is identified with Horus and is called *p3 sḥy s3 W3dyt* “the child, the son of Wadjet”; see Alan H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1: The Library of A. Chester Beatty; Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-songs and Other Miscellaneous Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1931), pls. 20-20a, lines 13-14, p. 41, n. 5.

¹²⁰ See Almuth Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 2, *Textband*, European University Studies Series 38, Archaeology 62 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 71-75; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, *Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz* 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1976), p. 128.

¹²¹ For the reading of $\frac{\text{𓄿}}{\text{𓄿}}$ as *mw.t*, see *Wb.* II, p. 54.

the Thrones] of the Two Lands, who gives fresh air to the [Fighting]-Arm¹²² of Amun, [Lord of Justification], the Prophet of Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands and of Horus Lord of Mesen, the Great General, the Prophet Djedhor, son [of the Prophet] Wahib, his mother (being) Mutirdis, justified.”¹²³ The governor Djedhor, son of Wenennefer held similar titles but was also *wn ʿ3.wy ḥw.t n Hr nb Msn* “One who Opens the two doors of the sanctuary of Horus Lord of Mesen.”¹²⁴ Djedhor, son of Wahib mentions *ʿq r ḥw.t n nb Ṛ3rw* “entering the sanctuary of the Lord of Sile.”¹²⁵ According to Montet, this sanctuary was actually in Tanis instead of Sile.¹²⁶ Indeed, a temple within the sacred district of Tanis was discovered in which was found a falcon statue with the name of Nectanebo II.¹²⁷ An inscription from this statue reads *ny-sw.t-bi.ty bik ntry pr m 3s.t nb t3.wy Snḏm-ib-Rʿ Stp.n-(Imn)*¹²⁸ *s3 Rʿ sḥtp ms sw nb ḥʿ.w Nḥt-Hr-ḥby.t Mry-(Imn) mry Hr nb Msn* “The King of Upper and Lower and Lower Egypt, the Divine Falcon, who came forth from Isis, the Lord of the Two Lands Senedjemibre Setepen(amen), Son of Re, who satisfies the one who bore him, the Lord of Crowns Nakhthorhebit (Nectanebo), Mery(amen), beloved of Horus Lord of Mesen.”¹²⁹ An inscription on an axe head, presumably

¹²² A priestly title of the cult; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 170; Adolphe Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux du nome tanitique à la Basse Époque,” *Kémi* 16 (1962), pp. 45-46. At Edfu the king is *iwʿ n ʿ3 m3ʿ-ḥrw ḥm Hr nty Hr Bḥd.t(y) ʿh3-ʿ nb m3ʿ-ḥrw n Hr nb Msn* “Heir of the Great One of Justification, Servant of Horus, who is Horus the Behdetite, Fighting-Arm of the Lord of Justification, of Horus Lord of Mesen” (*Edfou* VI, p. 91, lines 2-3); and see below.

¹²³ Pierre Montet, “Trois gouverneurs de Tanis d’après les inscriptions des statues 687, 689 et 700 du Caire,” *Kémi* 7 (1938), p. 126.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-149.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 133, n. 4.

¹²⁷ Pierre Montet and Alexandre Lézine, “Un nouveau temple d’Horus à Tanis,” *Revue archéologique*, 29-32 (1949), pp. 758-761. This temple was in the southeast corner of the temple district at Tanis, south of the Great Temple of Tanis, and faced east.

¹²⁸ The published text shows a blank but according to Montet should read *Imn*; see Pierre Montet, “Inscriptions de Basse Époque trouvées à Tanis,” *Kémi* 15 (1959), p. 60.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. Montet and Lézine, “Un nouveau temple d’Horus,” pp. 758-759.

from Tanis, reads *ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' mry Hr nb D'n.t* “Usermaatre Setepenre, beloved of Horus of Tanis.”¹³⁰ This is an inscription of Shoshenq III according to Montet and it is during the 22nd Dynasty that he attributes the introduction of Horus to Tanis or, at least, the building of the original Horus temple there.¹³¹ It is not certain if “Horus of Tanis” is a reference to Horus Lord of Mesen. However, the only other form of Horus known to be worshipped here, Harsomtus (of Nebesheh), is not attested until the Ptolemaic Period¹³² and, if they are not originally identical, “Horus of Tanis” must have been absorbed by Horus Lord of Mesen. Horus Lord of Mesen seems to have been one of the more important deities of Tanis in the Greco-Roman Period. He almost always is mentioned in tandem with Amun-Re “Lord of the Two Lands” or “Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.”¹³³ Another Delta site where Horus Lord of Mesen was venerated, at least in Greco-Roman times, is revealed by a stela from the collection of Sigmund Freud, which shows the god with the Theban triad. He is identified as *Hr nb Msn ntr '3 nb p.t 'py šps(y) ḥnty W3s.t mhy(.t)* “Horus Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, the Noble Winged Beetle () Foremost of Lower Egyptian Thebes (Tell el-Balamun).”¹³⁴ A text from Edfu Temple possibly identifies Semabehdet (Tell el-Balamun) as *Msn i3bt.t* “Mesen

¹³⁰ The actual provenance is unknown; see Montet and Lézine, “Un nouveau temple d’Horus,” p. 763; Bernhard Grdseloff, “En marge des récentes recherches sur Tanis,” *ASAE* 47 (1947), p. 205, fig. 39.

¹³¹ See Montet and Lézine, “Un nouveau temple d’Horus,” p. 763.

¹³² Cf. Malte Römer, “Tanis,” *LA* VI, col. 199.

¹³³ He is sometimes just called “The Lord of Mesen” with a falcon-headed god as determinative; see Pierre Montet, “Inscriptions de Basse Époque trouvées à Tanis,” *Kêmi* 8 (1946), pls. 10-11, 13, 15, 20, 24-25, pp. 61, 104, 108, 112, 122; Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*),” p. 36.

¹³⁴ See Rita Ransohoff, “Sigmund Freud: Collector of Antiquities; Student of Archaeology,” *Archaeology* 28.2 (April 1975), p. 104; cf. Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 197.

of the East.”¹³⁵ Although it may, instead, be a reference to Sile.¹³⁶ In the Legend of the Winged Disk at Edfu Temple reference is made to both an “Eastern Mesen” and a “Western Mesen.”¹³⁷ Gardiner identifies the Eastern Mesen as Sile.¹³⁸ Western Mesen may be Pe.¹³⁹ Texts from Edfu mostly associate Mesen of the north with Sile.¹⁴⁰ We know nothing about cult personnel from Sile until the Ptolemaic Period.¹⁴¹

6.II:ii An “Original” Mesen?

Due to the mention of Pe on the label of Djer with the name of the palace “Throne-of-Horus-the-Harpooner” and in the title of Hesyre, some scholars have interpreted that city to be the original home of Horus Lord of Mesen.¹⁴² Hermann Kees, although recognizing a connection with Pe, felt that the god originally had no specific home city, due to the lack of a

¹³⁵ A text associated with the right/east wing of a winged sun disk on the pylon of Edfu temple reads *nb Msn ntr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pri m 3h.t hnty itr.ty šm'y.ty [hnty/nb (?)] P-Msn Msn i3bt.t Sm3-Bhd.t is.w hpr wr mki drty.w m sš(.w)=sn s3w B3q.t m dnh.wy=f(y)* “The Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Rows,* [Foremost/Lord of (?)] Pe-Mesen, Mesen of the East, Semabehdet and the tombs, which have come into being, great of protection of the falcons in their nests, who guards Egypt with his wings” (*Edfou* VIII, p. 1, line 3); cf. Pascal Vernus, “Mesen,” *LÄ* IV, col. 109, n. 7. *Here is a rare case of the Lord of Mesen being “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Rows,” whereas, with the left/west wing, the Behdetite is “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Rows” (*Edfou* VIII, p. 1, line 1). This reversal of the usual pattern was probably meant to emphasize the unity of the Behdetite and Horus Lord of Mesen and the sovereignty of Horus the Behdetite over the whole land of Egypt.

¹³⁶ See Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*),” p. 40, n. 4.

¹³⁷ *Edfou* VI, p. 126, lines 1-5.

¹³⁸ Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” *JEA* 30 (1944), p. 26, n. 1; idem, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 203

¹³⁹ Vernus, “Mesen,” col. 108, and see below.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁴¹ See Georges Daressy, “Sarcophages d’El Qantarah,” *BIFAO* 11 (1914), pp. 31, 34.

¹⁴² Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, pp. 32-33, n. 34; cf. idem, *Thinitenzeit*, p. 152; Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol. 2, pp. 858-860, n. 992; Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952), p. 459.

city-determinative in early writings of *Msn* and the existence of a western Delta tradition for the harpooning Horus seen in the mention of Neith in a hippopotamus hunting song in the Theban tomb of Amenemhat. He further argues that the name was first taken by Behdet/Edfu and then transferred to Sile.¹⁴³ Pascal Vernus argues that the actual cult of the god may not have been localized until the 18th Dynasty when we find it at Sile, because Mesen is not mentioned in the geographical text from the White Chapel of Senwosret I.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand, Adolphe Gutbub vigorously defends Sile as the original and ancient home of Horus Lord of Mesen.

Concerning the palace *Hw.t P-Hr-msnw*, Gutbub argues that the “Horus” in the name is actually the king, which he believes is proven by cases in which the king’s name appears within the *hw.t*-sign. He further argues that Buto (Pe) is only mentioned on the label of Djer, because Buto was visited during the *Sed* festival and the Djer label concerns the *Sed* festival;¹⁴⁵ a scene of the *Sed* festival from a palace of Senwosret I at Memphis shows an official called the *hrp-‘h*, which Helck has shown derives precisely from that of the *hrp Hw.t P-Hr-msnw* mentioned on the stela of Sabef.¹⁴⁶ Gutbub argues that those who held the title *wr P*, as did the prophets of Horus Lord of Mesen Hesyre and Kainefer, were also involved in the *Sed* festival and the label of Djer does not allow one to place the palace at Buto but even if the palace were located there it would

¹⁴³ *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 2, Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.) 1924, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1924), pp. 72, 79-81; cf. Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt (No. 82)*, TTS 1 (London: EEF, 1915), pp. 28-30.

¹⁴⁴ “Mesen,” cols. 108-109.

¹⁴⁵ Gutbub, “Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*),” pp. 36-37, n. 2.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37, n. 2; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, p. 32; cf. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, BSAE 17 (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College and Bernard Quaritch, 1909), pl. 6.

only designate the place where Horus Lord of Mesen, i.e. the king, is enthroned.¹⁴⁷ Gutbub's objections to Kees argument concerning the lack of a city-determinative have been stated above. The fact that the *msn*-sign first appears with a city sign in relation to the Behdetite shows that the theologians of that god were drawing upon the traditions of a city named Mesen rather than a general myth about Horus the Harpooner, according to Gutbub.¹⁴⁸ Gutbub's arguments regarding the palace containing the name of Horus the Harpooner are reasonable but they cannot eliminate an early association of the god with the city of Pe even if it *is* the king that is being identified with Horus the Harpooner. The label of Djer seems to clearly connect the palace at that time with Pe and we have no reason to view this palace as mobile. Horus the Harpooner appears to have been the most important Delta form of Horus during the Early Dynastic Period and Pe was designated as the ancestral capital of Lower Egypt in the myth of the state. Although we do not know the nature of the association in Hesyre's title of Horus Lord of Mesen with the city of Pe,¹⁴⁹ there clearly appears to have been an association. This does not mean that Pe was the main cult site of Horus Lord of Mesen but we also cannot say that there *was* a cult of Horus Lord of Mesen at Sile at that time either. Gutbub points out that the texts from the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu recognize that Edfu took its name of "Mesen of the South" based on the "Mesen of the North," which is always Sile. He also asks that if Edfu took the name of Mesen from Pe, then why is there no trace of this in the texts at Edfu?¹⁵⁰ However, there is no reason to assume that the builders of the Ptolemaic Period temple had any actual verifiable knowledge of all of the details of the cult during the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. We do not know

¹⁴⁷ Gutbub, "Remarques sur les dieux (*Suite*)," p. 37, n. 2.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 43-44.

precisely what information the builders of the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu possessed concerning the early cult of Horus Lord of Mesen or how old it was or how accurate it was. Over the long and sometimes violent history of Egypt much could have been lost, damaged or altered at both Edfu and the cult sites of Horus Lord of Mesen. The tradition that Edfu took the name “Mesen” from Sile is explainable by the fact that by the New Kingdom Sile had become the main cult center of Horus Lord of Mesen. The founding or naming of a city as “Mesen” is, perhaps, attested in the first appearance of the term “Lord of Mesen” or, at least, in the presence of the city-determinative used with hovering falcons and winged sun disks during the late Old Kingdom. The double writing of the name at the end of each wing of a sun disk may designate Edfu and a Delta city as Mesen but this is an unproven theory and, even if true, we do not know what city in the Delta it designates. Sile is, perhaps, the most likely candidate but unless documents placing Horus Lord of Mesen there or that name Sile “Mesen” at an earlier date are found, we cannot make this assumption. Gutbub also claims that Horus of Pe and Horus of Mesen were assimilated before Horus the Behdetite and Horus Lord of Mesen were assimilated, which took place in the late Old Kingdom.¹⁵¹ This would not be surprising, since both were gods of the Delta, primarily. However, Gutbub bases this on the fact that the two gods are assimilated in the Ptolemaic texts of Edfu Temple and because Horus of Chemmis, usually placed at Buto, is mentioned on the monument of Ramesses II found at Sile!¹⁵²

Since the first appearance of the city-determinative appears with an image of Horus the Behdetite, one could argue that Edfu is the original “Mesen.” However, the strong association of Horus Lord of Mesen with the Delta makes this doubtful. The Ptolemaic temple at Edfu contains

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 56.

¹⁵² Ibid, pp. 51-60.

a chapel named “Mesen” but the temple itself could also take this name.¹⁵³ During the same period the city of Edfu could be called the “Mesen” of Upper Egypt. Likely this designation goes back to the 6th Dynasty when the Behdetite takes the epithet *nb Msn*. Whenever the Behdetite is called *nb Msn* this title always follows the name *Bhd.ty* in monuments that predate the Ptolemaic Period. There is very little evidence of the worship of the Behdetite in the Delta. It is striking that in the Delta monuments mentioning Horus Lord of Mesen there is no mention of the Behdetite. Could the title *nb Msn* when following that of the “Behdetite” refer to Edfu only or the temple there? Some scenes of “uniting the Two Lands” involving the Behdetite in which he is also “Lord of Mesen” associate him with Lower Egypt but the name “Behdetite” and the fact that he is Horus may be the reason for this association with Lower Egypt, as we saw in Chapter 4.III. The war-like character of the harpooning Horus is the factor that likely appealed the most to the theologians of Edfu and led to the identification of this god with the Behdetite, who appears as the protector of the king from the beginning. There is little evidence that the Behdetite appealed to the theologians of Horus Lord of Mesen but this may be due to the sparse preservation of material from the Delta.

6.III: Edfu and the Rites of Harpooning the Hippopotamus

6.III.i: The Problem of the *Hb Hd.t*

Evidence of a ritual involving a hippopotamus at Edfu dates at least to the Old Kingdom, however the most informative material on this rite comes from a later time. Two relief scenes dating to Thutmose III, one from the *Akhmenu* at Karnak and the other from the 3rd terrace of the

¹⁵³ Sylvie Cauville, *Edfou*, Les guides archéologiques de l’Institut français du Caire, Bibliothèque générale 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1984), p. 41.

temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, and a 26th Dynasty scene from the palace of Apries show a scene from a ritual called *hb Hd.t* with the last word taking a determinative of a hippopotamus.¹⁵⁴ This hippopotamus stands on a base, which on the 18th Dynasty reliefs looks like a sledge with a front end that curves up. On the Memphis relief the hippo stands on a flat base with a bundle of tied reeds standing vertically behind; from earlier depictions (see below) we know that the base on which the hippo stands is also a matt of tied reeds. The king appears in these scenes standing or striding, holding a staff horizontally in both hands, wearing the Red Crown and with a long scarf over his shoulder that nearly reaches the ground. In the Memphis scene several officials escort the king. Behind him are a *hry-hb.t* and a *smr-w'.ty hrp-'h*, while in front are two more *smr-w'.ty hrp-'h* priests. In all three reliefs are two dancers, who appear face to face and the name of a city is found above each one (see below). On the Memphis relief an *imy-hnt*-priest stands behind the dancer on the right. Small fragments of this ritual scene come from the Old Kingdom. A fragment from a temple of Khufu at Giza shows the king wearing the Red Crown and scarf, with his arms in the same position as in the later reliefs.¹⁵⁵ A fragment from Bab el-Futuh, which may date to the 4th Dynasty, shows a hippo on a matt of tied reeds with another matt of reeds standing vertically behind it and with the title *hb Hd.t* above it.¹⁵⁶ A fragment from the temple of Neuserre at Abu Ghurab shows a hippo on a base similar in

¹⁵⁴ See Almuth Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 1, *Katalog*, European University Studies Series 38, Archaeology 22 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1989), Dok. 159, 196; *PM II*², p. 125, no. 451.3; Werner Kaiser, "Zum *Hb Hd.t*," *MDAIK* 44 (1988), p. 129, figs. 4-5; idem, "Die dekorierte Torfassade des spätzeitlichen Palastbezirkes von Memphis," *MDAIK* 43 (1986), p. 153, fig. 10, pl. 47; Franciszek Pawlicki, "Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le temple de Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari," *Études et Travaux* 14 (1990), pp. 15-28.

¹⁵⁵ See Kaiser, "*Hb Hd.t*," p. 128, fig. 1; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 62.

¹⁵⁶ Kaiser, "*Hb Hd.t*," p. 128, fig. 2, pl. 60a; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 63.

shape to the matt of the Bab el-Futih fragment, with the sign  *rh-ny-sw.t*¹⁵⁷ and possibly the handle of the mace from the word *Hd.t* in front.¹⁵⁸ A recently published fragment of relief in the Brooklyn Museum shows a hippopotamus on a reed matt with a vertical bundle of reeds behind, while below is the top of the signs  and . The first sign is the name of the nome of Edfu *Wts.t* associated with one of the dancers, whereas the other is part of the word *hb* in *hb Hd.t*. The relief either dates to the Old Kingdom or comes from a later relief scene using an archaic style.¹⁶⁰ The identity of the cities associated with the dancers on the New Kingdom and 26th Dynasty reliefs have been the subjects of some debate. On the Karnak relief of Thutmose III the cities are  and  and Pawlicki states that the same names are on the Deir el-Bahari relief.¹⁶¹ However, the dancers and the names of the cities have been hacked out and it is not clear if Pawlicki is basing this reading on the Karnak relief or on actual traces of the names.¹⁶² The 26th Dynasty relief from Memphis shows one of the two cities as .¹⁶³ The name of the other city has been damaged and only shows the feet and legs of a quail chick and behind it, with a bit of a

¹⁵⁷ Or *(i)r(y)-(i)h.t-ny-sw.t*.

¹⁵⁸ Kaiser, “*Hb Hd.t*,” p. 128, fig. 3; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 72.

¹⁵⁹ Werner Kaiser, “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hd.t*-Belege,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelin, vol. 2 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), pp. 452-453, fig. 1.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 453.

¹⁶¹ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 159; *idem*, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter*, vol. 2, *Textband*, European University Studies Series 38, Archaeology 62 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996), p. 198, Dok. N4; Kaiser, “*Hb Hd.t*,” p. 129, fig. 4, pl. 60b; Pawlicki, “Fête de l’Hippopotame Blanc,” p. 17.

¹⁶² See Pawlicki, “Fête de l’Hippopotame Blanc,” pp. 18-19, 21, figs. 1-2, 4; cf. Kaiser, “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hd.t*-Belege,” p. 455, n. 14.

¹⁶³ Kaiser, “Torfassade,” pl. 47; *idem*, “*Hb Hd.t*,” p. 129, fig. 5; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 196.

gap between, is part of a city-sign determinative. The name is usually restored as .¹⁶⁴ One subject of controversy is the two different appearing names  and . Kees read these as *Wts.t- (Hr)* “Edfu” and *(S3)w* “Sais.”¹⁶⁵ Säve-Söderbergh accepted the reading of *Wts.t-(Hr)* as “Edfu” but only comments on the Memphis rendering of the name as “probably fragmentary.”¹⁶⁶ Kaiser¹⁶⁷ and Helck¹⁶⁸ accept the reading of “Sais” and “Edfu” but Kaiser gave a greater priority to Sais thinking that, due to the evident Lower Egyptian origin of the ritual seen in the king wearing the Red Crown, two Delta sites are more likely than one in each half of the country or two sites in Upper Egypt.¹⁶⁹ He now recognizes that the sign on the Brooklyn relief is *Wts.t* (Edfu) and that this city’s association with the festival either dates to the Old Kingdom or was based on an Old Kingdom model (of the 4th or 5th Dynasty) but thinks this reflects an early desire to place the cult activity in both parts of the country or even is a sign of a misunderstanding and reinterpretation of the ritual scene at an early date.¹⁷⁰ He continues to consider the name in the Memphis relief to be the original city (in Lower Egypt) and thinks the reliefs from Apries’ palace are modeled on reliefs of an earlier date than the Brooklyn relief and may be as old as the Early

¹⁶⁴ Kaiser, “Torfassade,” p. 153, fig. 10; idem, “*Hb Hd.t.*,” p. 129, fig. 5; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 196; Hartwig Altenmüller, “Das ‘Fest des Weissen Nilpferds’ und das ‘Opfergefilde,’” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. 1, *Études pharaoniques*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc and Nicolas Grimal, Bd’É 106.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1994), p. 33.

¹⁶⁵ Hermann Kees, “Zu den Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten im Nordwestlichdelta Aegyptens,” in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini nel primo centenario della morte (4 Giugno 1843-4 Giugno 1943)*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Industrie Grafiche v. Lischi e Figli, 1955), pp. 149-150; cf. idem, “Das ‘Fest der Weißen’ und die Stadt Sw,” *ZÄS* 83 (1958), pp. 128-129.

¹⁶⁶ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, *Horae Soederblomianae* 3 (Uppsala: C. W. K. Gleerup, Lund, 1953), pp. 52-53.

¹⁶⁷ “*Hb Hd.t.*,” p. 132.

¹⁶⁸ *Thinitenzeit*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁹ “*Hb Hd.t.*,” p. 132; cf. Altenmüller, “Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” p. 32.

¹⁷⁰ “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hd.t.*-Belege,” p. 458-459.

Dynastic Period.¹⁷¹ Altenmüller agrees with the readings of “Edfu” and “Sais” but notes that it is unlikely that there was some confusion of the *wts*-sign (𓏏) with any writing or emblem of Sais or the name and symbol of its chief deity Neith.¹⁷² The Memphite relief is done in an archaic style and Altenmüller argues that Edfu may have supplanted Sais in the New Kingdom reliefs (the Brooklyn relief being unknown to him at that time). Although Edfu had a tradition of harpooning the hippo from an early age, Altenmüller argues, Sais was a more important center of royal ritual and was more important in hippopotamus hunting based on the mention of Neith in an ancient hunting song:¹⁷³

[ntr] h'(w) (m)-hnw sh (?) Hr psd=f (m) Nwn Nwn=f m-tp=f mr.t t3.wy 'h' rf Nt m-
 hsfw=f is sn-t3 n msn.w=f di=s n=f tp.t '=s 'd hr h.t sntr hr h.t n Hr mry psd.t=f wdn(=s) t-hd
 di.n Sh.t shtp=s s.t stp.t ndr w n=k s(t) s3(=i) Hr iw=k (hr) h' m3'-hrw=k shd(=i) n=k nhs m
 itrw h ndr w msn n Hr

[The god] is joyful within the covert (?) of Horus, when he shines (in) the *Nun*. His *Nun* is ahead of him (namely) the love of the Two Lands. Now Neith rises up before him at his approach, doing reverence to his harpoons and she gives to him what is upon her hand (namely) fat upon the fire and incense upon the flame for Horus, beloved of his Ennead, and (she) offers white bread after the Fen-goddess causes her to propitiate the place of choice meat. Seize it for yourself my son Horus. You are rejoicing and you are justified! Let me reveal to you the hippopotamus in the river. Ho, grasp the harpoon of Horus!¹⁷⁴

However, de Wit examined the Memphite relief at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and states that one can clearly see the base of a tall sign in front of the quail chick that very likely is that of

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² “Das Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” pp. 33-34.

¹⁷³ Ibid, pp. 33-35. Cf. Kees, “Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten,” p. 150.

¹⁷⁴ See Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 29; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 37.

the *wts*-sign.¹⁷⁵ The quail chick may very well be an error for the Horus falcon.¹⁷⁶ On the Memphis relief a  appears above the words *ḥb Ḥd.t*, while the top of the same sign plus a *t*-loaf appear on the Karnak relief in roughly the same position. Säve-Söderbergh reads these inscriptions as *ḥb Ḥd.t šm'y.t* “The Feast of the White One (or White Hippopotamus) of Upper Egypt.”¹⁷⁷ Kaiser objects that  is in the opposite orientation from the other words in the inscriptions and suggests that there may have been some misunderstanding by the artists who composed the New Kingdom and 26th Dynasty reliefs from earlier scenes of the festival.¹⁷⁸ Helck believed that  on the New Kingdom and 26th Dynasty reliefs are mistakes for  *rh-ny-sw.t* as found on the relief of Neuserre and that this title referred to the dancers.¹⁷⁹ Altenmüller accepts the reading of *šm'w* “Upper Egypt” for the Memphis relief and *ny-sw.t* “Upper Egyptian King” for the Karnak relief.¹⁸⁰ He points out that, although the king wears the Red Crown in all scenes, in the Karnak scene he carries a type of mace (*ḥd*) that can be associated with the Upper Egyptian kingdom and that the king appears here as a representative of Upper Egypt at a Lower Egyptian festival. One could read *šm'w ḥb Ḥd.t* “(Visit of the King from) Upper Egypt and Festival of the White Hippopotamus” for the Memphis relief and *[ny-sw].t ḥb Ḥd.t* “[(Visit of)

¹⁷⁵ Constant de Wit, “Une représentation rare au Musée du Cinquantenaire: La fête de l’hippopotame blanc,” *Cd’É* 33 (1958), p. 27, n. 6. This remainder of a sign is not visible in the photo plate of Kaiser, “Die dekorierte Torfassade,” pl. 47, however.

¹⁷⁶ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 115-116; cf. Kaiser, “Torfassade,” pl. 47; Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. 7.

¹⁷⁷ *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 52.

¹⁷⁸ Though on the Karnak relief the  is part of two identical inscriptions with one horizontal and the other vertical; the sign is in the same orientation as the other signs of the vertical inscription but opposite those in the horizontal inscription; see Kaiser, “*Ḥb Ḥd.t*,” pp. 127, 130, cf. p. 129, figs. 4-5.

¹⁷⁹ Wolfgang Helck, “Herkunft und Deutung einiger Züge des frühägyptischen Königsbildes,” *Anthropos* 49 (1954), p. 982, n. 61.

¹⁸⁰ “Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” p. 43.

the King of Upper Egypt]t and the Festival of the White Hippopotamus” for the Karnak relief.¹⁸¹

Altenmüller further suggests that the festival may pre-date the unification of the country and was later adapted to a ceremony involving both parts of Egypt.¹⁸²

Of course there are many scenes in Upper Egyptian temples of the king performing rituals wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and just because a ritual is Lower Egyptian or Upper Egyptian in origin does not mean it was only carried out in that particular region of Egypt. The writing of *Wts.t* in both the Brooklyn and Karnak reliefs is pretty clear, whereas in the Memphis scene the only things clear in the inscription are the legs of the quail chick and the left half of the city-determinative. To state that it is to be read as *S3w* or any other specific place is a bit speculative based on present knowledge. At least by the New Kingdom, and probably by the late Old Kingdom, based on the Brooklyn relief, it is clear that the ritual was carried out in part in Edfu or part of the ceremonies were associated with that city.

The other city where ceremonies took place or with which they were associated was somewhere in the Delta but where exactly is much debated. The name  is even more problematic than the location of the previously discussed city, because there are at least three cities in Lower Egypt with names that include one or more trees and various scholars have identified each as the city in question.¹⁸³ Kees initially read the name of this city as *Im.t* and identified it with  *Im3w*, Kom el-Hisn, the capital of the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 114-115.

¹⁸⁴ Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 2, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E.V.) 1924, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 64, n. 6 and p. 80; and Kees in F. W. Freiherrn von Bissing, *Das Re-*

Later Kees decided that the feminine *Im.t* could not be identical with the masculine *Im3w*.¹⁸⁵ Instead he proposed a city in the 7th nome of Lower Egypt. In the temple of Neuserre in a series of Lower Egyptian gods is , which appears next to Horus of Libya (*Hr Thnw q3-*). Kees compared this epithet of Sobek to an inscription of Nectanebo II:  and proposed the reading (*Hw.t*) *Nhw.t* “(House of the) Sycamore” for .¹⁸⁶ Kees, who linked the *hb Hd.t* with the ritual slaying of the hippopotamus, noted that in the texts of Edfu *Hr s3 3s.t hry-ib Hw.t Nhw.t* “Horus Son of Isis, who Dwells in the House of the Sycamore” takes part in the slaying of the hippopotamus.¹⁸⁷ Säve-Söderbergh suggests the possibility that the city is to be identified with *Im.t*, which is the capital of the 19th nome of Lower Egypt in the eastern Delta.¹⁸⁸ Zibelius rejects this reading but bases this on orthography of the name from the Old Kingdom (all of which use the sign ).¹⁸⁹ However, the orthography of the name of this city which dates closest to the reliefs of Thutmose III comes from the Sety I monument dedicated to Horus Lord

Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures), vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 30. Cf. Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B 19 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1978), p. 280; Altenmüller, “Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” p. 32.

¹⁸⁵ Kees, “Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten,” p. 145; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, p. 280; Altenmüller, “Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” p. 32.

¹⁸⁶ Kees, “Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten,” pp. 145-146; cf. Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, p. 280; Altenmüller, “Fest des Weissen Nilpferds,” p. 32.

¹⁸⁷ Kees, “Krokodil- und Nilpferdkulten,” p. 147; cf. *Edfou* III, p. 257, lines 13-18; *Edfou* VII, p. 149, lines 2-18; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, p. 281.

¹⁸⁸ *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 52-53. The actual location of this city was at modern Nebesheh; see Alan H. Gardiner, “Tanis and Pi-Ra‘messe: A Retraction,” *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 125; idem, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 171; Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, vol. 2, Bd’É 20.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), p. 716, n. 2; Montet, *Géographie*, vol. 1, p. 181.

¹⁸⁹ *Siedlungen*, p. 280, cf. p. 36.

of Mesen from Sile, where we find the epithet of Wadjet Lady of Imet written as .¹⁹⁰

Kaiser¹⁹¹ and Altenmüller¹⁹² accept Kees' later reading of (*Hw.t*) *Nhw.t*. Altenmüller emphasizes the connections of Hathor "Lady of the Sycamore" with the papyrus thicket and her close relationship with Neith of Sais, since he considers Sais to be the partner city of *Hw.t Nhw.t*.¹⁹³ Behrmann continues to accept Kees' first proposal of *Im3w* in the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome.¹⁹⁴ She bases this identification primarily on a statement in Herodotus that the Hippopotamus was sacred in the nome of Papremis, which Bresciani identifies with a town named *P3-n-p3-rmt* located in the 3rd nome of Lower Egypt.¹⁹⁵ However, the location of Papremis is still in dispute and may have been located in either the 3rd or 7th nomes.¹⁹⁶ A factor that might favor the 3rd nome over the 7th nome is the fact that Herodotus (II, 71) says that the hippopotamus was sacred in Papremis, but not elsewhere. According to the texts from Edfu Temple the hippopotamus was ritually slain in the 7th nome by "Horus Son of Isis, who Dwells in the House of the Sycamore" and it might seem unlikely that the animal would be sacred and considered worthy of death in the

¹⁹⁰ See Sauneron, "Le prétendu 'pyramidion,'" pl. 4.

¹⁹¹ "*Hb Hd.t*," p. 132.

¹⁹² "Fest des Weissen Nilpferds," pp. 36-38.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 159; vol. 2, p. 115.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, vol. 1, Dok. 159, 244a; Herodotus, Book II, 71; E. Bresciani, "Ancora su Papremi: Proposte per una nuova etimologia e una nuova localizzazione," *Studi Classici e Orientali* 21 (1972), pp. 299-303; cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B 5 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1974), p. 152.

¹⁹⁶ See Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 1-98*, *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain* 43 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976), pp. 270-272, who favors the 7th nome. Hartwig Altenmüller, "Letopolis und der Bericht des Herodot über Papremis," *JEOL* 18 (1964), pp. 271-279 identifies Papremis with *P3(n)-p3-rm.wy* near Letopolis in the apex of the Delta just north of Memphis, which is also accepted by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto in *Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 268-269. However, as pointed out by Lloyd, Herodotus (II, 165) names the nome of Papremis with the nomes of the west and north-central Delta; see Lloyd, *Herodotus*, p. 271.

same nome (however, see below).¹⁹⁷ The 19th Lower Egyptian nome might be linked with the hippopotamus through Wadjet of Imet, who at Sile appears to be the consort, wife or mother of Horus Lord of Mesen but one is left wondering why reference is not made directly to Mesen/Tjaru/Sile.¹⁹⁸ The word *im.t* refers to a child and in the name of the city may refer to the child Horus at Chemmis.¹⁹⁹ Harsomtus was worshipped there with Wadjet and Min and in the Greco-Roman Period Imet was believed to be the site where the eyebrows of Osiris were preserved.²⁰⁰ But these facts are barely tangentially related to the myth of harpooning the hippopotamus. Alliot read a line from the “Triumph of Horus” from Edfu Temple () as “your (Horus’) adornment is (that) of the prince of Imet” (*hkr=k m sr Im.t*) believing the writing of the last two words to have been in error.²⁰¹ This would make a connection between Imet and the ritual slaying of the hippopotamus, however it appears that the words should be interpreted as they are written and read *hkr=k m sr mmi* “your adornment is (that of) giraffe hair.”²⁰² Some believe that this reference may refer to the long scarf worn by the king in the *hb Hd.t*, which on the relief from Memphis appears as long coarse hair.²⁰³ Although the connection of *Im.t* with Horus Lord of Mesen through Wadjet is intriguing, the evidence that *Im.t* in the 19th

¹⁹⁷ This actually conflicts with Behrmann’s interpretation of the *hb Hd.t* as part of the harpooning the hippopotamus ritual!

¹⁹⁸ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 52, 54 thinks that a small figure of a Wadjet-cobra (now lost but identifiable by the papyrus plant support) sitting upon a *nb*-basket and offering life to the king in the Karnak relief is significant but this motif, with either a Wadjet-cobra or a Nekhbet-vulture, is just a protective symbol that does not necessarily have any relation to the meaning of the scene.

¹⁹⁹ See Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 65.

²⁰⁰ Montet, *Géographie*, p. 181.

²⁰¹ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 715-716, n. 2 on p. 716; *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 4.

²⁰² Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 113; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 421; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 49.

²⁰³ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 112-114; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 49; cf. Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, pl. 7.

nome of Lower Egypt is the location in the *ḥb Ḥd.t* is rather weak. If Papremis, where the hippopotamus was sacred during the Persian Period, was located in the 3rd Lower Egyptian nome,²⁰⁴ and if the hippo was ritually slain in the 7th nome as is stated in the texts from Edfu, the identification of the location mentioned in the *ḥb Ḥd.t* may depend on how this ritual is interpreted. According to some scholars this ritual is part of the ceremonies of harpooning the hippopotamus, whereas other scholars view the “White Hippopotamus” as a symbol of good.

Kees viewed the *ḥb Ḥd.t* as a hunting scene, in which the king was the harpooner of the hippopotamus.²⁰⁵ Säve-Söderbergh raised several objections to this interpretation. First he noted that many divine animals could be viewed as both positive and negative depending on the context. Hunters could view the hippopotamus favorably as a blessing, because it would provide much food to their families and fellow villagers but for farmers hippos were a threat to crops.²⁰⁶ Hippopotami are also very dangerous to fishermen on the water and to anyone on land, who find themselves between the beast and the water.²⁰⁷ Säve-Söderbergh argues that Egyptians only viewed the male hippo negatively but that female hippos were viewed in a positive light, because they are protective mothers, but notes there are a few exceptions.²⁰⁸ As for the “White

²⁰⁴ This assumes, of course, that Herodotus’ information was correct.

²⁰⁵ *Horus und Seth*, vol. 2, p. 80; idem, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, p. 31; idem, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 4th ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), pp. 212-213.

²⁰⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 46.

²⁰⁷ Säve-Söderbergh is in error when he states “hippopotami seldom attack without being hunted” (ibid); they are actually quite dangerous! See, for example www.ml.duke.edu/projects/hippos/Newsletter/InTheNews.html#News7, goafrica.about.com/od/africasafariguide/tp/dangerousanimals.htm and www.environmentalgraffiti.com/animals/news-africas-most-dangerous-animal and cf. S. K. Eltringham, *The Hippos* (London: T. & A. D. Poyser, 1998), p. 121.

²⁰⁸ For example Taweret is usually viewed positively as a protector of mothers and children but in the magical Papyrus Harris she is an evil being that must be kept away from the fields by the god Hurun; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 46.

Hippopotamus,” it appears on a 30th Dynasty sarcophagus from Hawara with the vulture of Nekhbet and the *Shed*-cow and is said to destroy the enemies of Osiris.²⁰⁹ In the Book of the Fayum a hippo-like creature is *Hd.t dnsy.t m š htp=s m-hnw n T3-š ‘nh=s m š n.t ntr ‘nh hr s3 s3=s nb(.t) Tp-ihw pw* “The White One, the Heavy One in the lake, as she resides within the Lake-land (Fayum), as she lives in the Lake of the Living God protecting her son. She is the Lady of Atfih.”²¹⁰ She takes the role of the white cow-goddess (*Hs3.t*) here, who is identified with Hathor.²¹¹ On a quartzite block in Cairo Psamtek II is shown offering to a hippopotamus on a pedestal similar in shape to the “sledge” (?) of the hippo on the 4th Dynasty relief of the *hb Hd.t* from Bab el-Futuh (which seems to be made of tied papyrus like a raft), as well as that on the Memphis relief. The hippopotamus in the relief of Psamtek II is named *Hd.t nb(.t) wrr.t* “The White One, Lady of the *Wereret*/White Crown.”²¹² In Coffin Text Spell 466 (CT V, pp.354-355) and the Book of the Dead Chapter 110 some vignettes of the plowing of the fields of Iaru are labeled *r3 n Hd.t (𓆎𓅓) itrw h3 3w=f nn dd wsh=f nn wn.t rm.w im=f n(n) hf3.w nb im=f* “Water’s edge of White Hippopotamus (Lake),²¹³ 1000 schoenus is its length, without speaking of its width.²¹⁴ There are no fish in it and there are not any snakes in it.”²¹⁵ This water is

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 47; cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 223.

²¹⁰ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 47; Horst Beinlich, *Das Buch vom Fayum: Zum religiösen Eigenverständnis einer ägyptischen Landschaft*, ÄgAb 51 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), pls. 13-14, pp. 154-155, no. 15/172, cf. p. 325, n. 395; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 240.

²¹¹ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 47; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 240; Beinlich, *Buch vom Fayum*, p. 325.

²¹² Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 47-48; Kaiser, “*Hb Hd.t*,” pl. 61a, cf. pl. 60a; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 194.

²¹³ In the Coffin Texts the name is written *š n hd.t* “Lake of the White Hippopotamus.”

²¹⁴ Or “untold of width.”

²¹⁵ See Edouard Naville, *Aegyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden*, vol. 2, *Varianten* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1886), p. 258; cf. Thomas George

presumably free from all religious impurities and dangers.²¹⁶ Furthermore, the color white usually symbolizes something good and is often contrasted with red, which is the color of Seth as a male hippopotamus.²¹⁷ In the *hb Hd.t* scenes there is nothing to suggest that the king is harming the hippopotamus and he carries a staff instead of a harpoon.²¹⁸ Säve-Söderbergh compares the *hb Hd.t* to the joyful festival that took place at the discovery of a new Apis.²¹⁹ Pawlicki supports Säve-Söderbergh's thesis noting that the presence of the dancers indicates that the *hb Hd.t* was a joyous occasion and emphasizes the positive aspects of white.²²⁰ Kaiser generally follows the interpretation of Säve-Söderbergh but thinks that the "staff" of the king may be interpreted as a weapon based on its sharpened end and by the manner in which the king holds it.²²¹ However, he notes, there are other examples of kings bearing weapons in this manner when approaching the shrine of a god without violent intent.²²² Altenmüller views the hippopotamus in the *hb hd.t* as not evil but as a dangerous guardian. He points out that, unlike scenes of the hippopotamus hunt, the animal is not threatening with its tusks but has its mouth closed and stands in a passive manner.²²³ Altenmüller views the "White Hippopotamus" of Coffin Text Spell 466 and Book of the Dead Chapter 110 as a creature that guards the threshold

Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 90; Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 48.

²¹⁶ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 48.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 53.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ "Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc," pp. 24-26.

²²¹ "*Hb Hd.t*," p. 131.

²²² Ibid; cf. Cecil M. Firth, J. E. Quibell and J. -P. Lauer, *The Step Pyramid*, vol. 2, EXSAQ 14 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1935), pls. 17, 40-41.

²²³ "Fest des Weissen Nilpferds," p. 38.

between this world and the next and this is how he views the hippo of the *ḥb Ḥd.t*.²²⁴ The “White Hippopotamus” as a guardian has an ambivalent character being both good but also having a violent defensive aspect.²²⁵ The scene depicts the king’s visit to the Field of Offerings on the day of the “Festival of the White Hippopotamus.”²²⁶ Altenmüller states that the king bears weapons, i.e. his staff and, in the reliefs of Thutmose III, a mace, because the hippopotamus stationed at this border region can refuse him entry and even kill him. He notes the danger faced when entering the Field of Offerings as stated in Pyramid Texts Spell 519:

*Šsp=k n=k m‘b3=k pw ḥswti m3w.t=k i.ḥm‘t itrw.w bwn=s ḥnbw R‘ qs.wy=s ‘n.wt
M3fd.t i.š‘ N. tp.w im nw d3y.tyw imyw šḥ.t ḥtp*

Take for yourself this your favorite harpoon, your staff, which penetrates the waterways, whose barbs are the rays of Re, whose points are the claws of Mafdet, with which N. cuts off the heads of the adversaries who are in the Field of Offerings.²²⁷

Altenmüller interprets the “Field of Offerings” in the *ḥb Ḥd.t* as an actual location in this world in either the 7th or 10th nome of Lower Egypt.²²⁸ The main component of the festival is the visit of the king to the Field of Offerings; men from “Sycamore-town” and Sais escort him as he enters the terrain of the Field of Offerings, which is guarded by the White Hippopotamus. The king enters the Field of Offerings through the death of the hippopotamus.²²⁹

²²⁴ Ibid, pp. 38-39; Altenmüller interprets the hippopotami in scenes of the papyrus thicket in private tombs of the Old Kingdom as holding the same purpose; see idem, “Nilpferd und Papyrusdickicht in den Graebem des Alten Reiches,” *BSEG* 13 (1989), pp. 9-21.

²²⁵ “Fest des Weissen Nilpferdes,” p. 39.

²²⁶ Ibid, p. 40.

²²⁷ *Pyr.* § 1212a-f; Altenmüller, “Fest des Weissen Nilpferdes,” p. 40; cf. R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 193.

²²⁸ “Fest des Weissen Nilpferdes,” p. 41, cf. pp. 42-44.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 43.

Helck believed that the scene of the *hb Hd.t* was just a different type of representation of the hippopotamus hunt.²³⁰ The king, according to Helck, is not holding a *mks*- or *3ms*-staff, it is not the same form as these, he says, rather he carries a hunting spear “with a long blade.”²³¹ Behrmann follows Kees’ and Helck’s interpretation and is of the opinion that the *hb Hd.t* is just another, more ritualized image of depictions of the king harpooning the hippopotamus.²³² The scene of the harpooning concerns the image plane of the king slaying a living animal, while the *hb Hd.t* involves a statue of the animal.²³³ Behrmann’s main argument is that both scene-types concern regeneration of the king and that it is unlikely that there would be two such rituals involving a hippopotamus.²³⁴ She argues that both types of depictions are found in places that are the repository and place of expression of royal concepts of regeneration.²³⁵ The scenes of harpooning the hippopotamus in the mortuary temple of Pepy II do not depict part of the burial rituals but, rather, they are ritual scenes meant for the regaining or continuation of royal strength and power.²³⁶ The fragment of the *hb Hd.t* from the sun-temple of Neuserre appears to have been part of reliefs of the *Sed* festival. The same scene of this type at the *Akhmenu* of Thutmose III is in a group of side rooms that served as the treasury of the temple, in which were stored temple equipment, booty from military campaigns and temple statues. The opening of the mouth ceremony on new statues also took place here as is revealed by other depictions in an adjacent

²³⁰ *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 31-32.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32; but see below.

²³² *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 100-101.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 104: “Eine große Anzahl beider genannten Belegtypen steht durch den Ort der Anbringung oder Aufbewahrung in unterschiedlicher Direktheit im Kontext königlicher Regenerationsgedanken.”

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106.

room;²³⁷ the room was thus a place of establishing life and bestowing power.²³⁸ The location of the *hb Hḏ.t* scene in the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut is linked to the tradition of the Old Kingdom of being placed in a temple dedicated to the cult of the king, even though it is Thutmose III that carries out the ritual.²³⁹ A large statue of a hippopotamus found at the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III may have been a statue used in this ritual.²⁴⁰ *Sed* festival scenes accompany the *hb Hḏ.t* scene at the palace of Apries and it is possible that the building was erected to commemorate this event.²⁴¹ Behrmann also points to the appearance of various standards and protective emblems associated with ideas of regeneration that appear in both scenes of harpooning the hippo and the *hb Hḏ.t* such as the Wepwawat-standard and the enigmatic signs that appear behind the king in the *Sed* festival.²⁴² We have already noted the scarf worn by the king in the *hb Hḏ.t*, which may be the adornment of giraffe hair worn by Horus in harpooning the hippo of Seth at Edfu. Two scenes from private tombs of the Old Kingdom portray the tomb owner wearing a very similar scarf while in the papyrus thicket plucking papyrus in one scene and bird hunting in the other.²⁴³ In all periods several small figures of a hippo upon a base, which often takes the form of a sledge, were used as amulets, while at the same time there were amulets in the form of the king harpooning a hippo.²⁴⁴ These would have

²³⁷ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 159; cf. Claude Traunecker, “Le «Château de l’Or» de Thoutmosis III et les magasins nord du temple d’Amon,” *CRIPEL* 11 (1989), pp. 98-99, 106-108.

²³⁸ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 106; idem, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 159.

²³⁹ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 106.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid, p. 107. Cf. Kaiser, “Die dekorierte Torfassade,” p. 147, fig. 4.

²⁴² *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 107-111.

²⁴³ Ibid, p. 114; idem, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 83-84.

²⁴⁴ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 117; cf. idem, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 116, 133a-b, 134a-c, 136a-c, 137a-b, 140a-b, 141a-b, 180a-c, 181a-b.1, 202-204.

served the same purpose for a private person, according to Behrmann, and thus show the interchangeability of the two types of scene.²⁴⁵ The same can be said for some New Kingdom *Senet* game boards in which in the same playing square on different playing boards one finds either a scene of harpooning a hippo or just an individual hippo.²⁴⁶ The word *hb* “festival” can be identical in form to the word *hb* (𓂏𓂏𓂏) meaning “catch (of fish and fowl)”²⁴⁷ and there is a transitive verb *hb* meaning “to triumph”²⁴⁸ and Behrmann suggests that the *hb* in *hb Hd.t* may be related to these words.²⁴⁹ The word *Hd.t* in the name of the ritual is usually translated as “White Hippopotamus,” however Pawlicki has found that the hippopotami in the two scenes of Thutmose III were actually painted red.²⁵⁰ Pawlicki suggests a translation of “clear” or “brilliant” for *Hd.t* instead of “white.”²⁵¹ Behrmann notes that many of the actual depictions of the hippopotamus determinative in the name of the lake at the Field of Offerings in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead are actually painted reddish-brown and are never painted white.²⁵² She translates the word as “jagdbar,” meaning the hippo is visible, having surfaced, or risen close to the water’s surface such that the hunter can see it well enough to strike it with the harpoon.²⁵³ As for the inscription of Psamtek II offering to a *Hd.t*-hippopotamus identified as the “Lady of

²⁴⁵ *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 117.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid*; *idem*, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 158a-d.

²⁴⁷ *Wb.* III, p. 62, no. 2; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 119; cf. Dimitri Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Égypte Ancienne*, vol. 2, (1978) (Paris: Dimitri Meeks, 1981), p. 245, no. 78.2638.

²⁴⁸ *Wb.* III, p. 61, no. 15, cf. nos. 12-13; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 119; Dimitri Meeks, *Année Lexicographique Égypte Ancienne*, vol. 3, (1979) (Paris: Dimitri Meeks, 1982), p. 189, no. 79.1928.

²⁴⁹ *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 118-119.

²⁵⁰ “Fête de l’Hippopotame Blanc,” p. 28.

²⁵¹ *Ibid*.

²⁵² *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, pp. 119-120.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 120.

the White Crown,” the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus on the Hawara sarcophagus with the Nekhbet vulture and the Shed-cow and the same type of hippopotamus in the Book of the Fayum identified as the “Lady of Atfih,” Behrmann notes that these cases are all very late and suggests that in the Late Period the ritual hippopotamus statue was no longer understood as a cult object upon which a ritual killing was performed but was rendered independent from this ritual.²⁵⁴

In a more recent article Kaiser suggests that by or during the 18th Dynasty there was a misunderstanding or reinterpretation of the *hb Hd.t* whereby the White Hippopotamus was transformed from a good being to one that had to be destroyed.²⁵⁵ The evidence for this is (1) the sledge that the Hippopotamus appears on in the New Kingdom reliefs, which is very similar to the papyrus boat on which the king hunts and is also similar to a boat or sledge in the hippopotamus hunting scene in the temple of Pepy II on which a hippo is shown tied up with ropes.²⁵⁶ (2) The red paint found by Pawlicki on both of the Thutmose III reliefs. (3) The other scenes, with which the relief at Deir el-Bahari is associated.²⁵⁷ The relief scenes run in order from north to south: the driving of the calves before Amun, running with the vases, consecration of royal statues, the *hb Hd.t*, pulling papyrus, netting birds and hunting birds in the papyrus thicket.²⁵⁸ There was a widely based accord between these scenes with meanings not limited to the actual events pictured but running from concepts of execration to warding off evil to the

²⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 121.

²⁵⁵ “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hd.t*-Belege,” pp. 455-457.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, pp. 455-456; cf. Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1940), pl. 32.

²⁵⁷ Kaiser, “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hd.t*-Belege,” p. 456.

²⁵⁸ Ibid; cf. Pawlicki, “Fête de l’Hippopotame Blanc,” pp. 16-17.

magical insurance of fertility and rebirth.²⁵⁹ In another article Kaiser addresses the theses of Altenmüller and Behrmann.²⁶⁰ Kaiser accepts the possible identification of the city written in the reliefs of the *hb Hḏ.t* as *Hw.t- Nh.t* “House of the Sycamore” but notes that there is no known association of Hathor with the *Nh.t* associated with Sobek in the 7th Lower Egyptian nome.²⁶¹ He notes that Altenmüller’s interpretation of the *hb Hḏ.t* is based on three assumptions: (1) that the depiction of the *hb Hḏ.t* is directly linked to the cosmographical part of *CT* 464-468 and Book of the Dead Chapter 110 connected with the Field of Offerings, (2) that the *Hḏ.t*-hippo is a guardian-animal, such that it has both friendly and dangerous aspects and (3) that the exhortation of the king in *Pyr.* § 1212 to take weapons to cut off the heads of his enemies in the Field of Offerings relates to the *Hḏ.t*-hippo, even though no hippopotamus is mentioned.²⁶² Kaiser notes that all of this could be correct but that the *hb Hḏ.t* reliefs are so fragmentary that his interpretation must be viewed as speculative. His final conclusion that the tableau of the *hb Hḏ.t* is preliminary to the killing of the animal is thus unfounded.²⁶³ As for Behrmann’s idea that the “harpooner ritual” and the “statue ritual” (*hb Hḏ.t*) with the latter being a further reutilization of the former, Kaiser notes that she discusses both types of image as if they are the same without

²⁵⁹ Kaiser, “Zwei weitere *Hb-Hḏ.t*,” p. 456: “Daß die Zusammensetzung dieser Dekoration, d.h. Auswahl und Abfolge der Szenen, wohl überlegt ist, darf als sicher angenommen werden. Diese Überlegung auch genauer zu erfassen, ist freilich umso schwieriger, als gerade die Bedeutung der letzten drei Szenen schon grundsätzlich problematisch ist. Weitgehende Übereinstimmung besteht hier lediglich darin, daß die eigentliche Bedeutung dieser Bilder sich nicht in den tatsächlich dargestellten Handlungen erschöpft. Die Interpretationen der sicher nicht zu Unrecht angenommenen Ambivalenz sind jedoch höchst unterschiedlich und reichen von Vernichtungsritualen zur Abwehr des Bösen bis zur magischen Sicherung geschlechtlicher Vereinigung und Wiedergeburt.”

²⁶⁰ “Noch einmal zum *Hb-Hḏ.t*,” *MDAIK* 53 (1997), pp. 113-115.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

explaining what is the decisive difference between them.²⁶⁴ Behrmann also does not explain why the *Hd.t*-hippo is never identified as such in the harpooning scenes and why all other references to this hippopotamus are positive except for in the *hb Hd.t*.²⁶⁵

First it should be noted that the staff carried by the king is unlike any harpoon used in hippopotamus hunting.²⁶⁶ In the Karnak relief the king holds a long stick with rounded ends, however at the forward end there is what appears to be a knife-shaped blade. The edges of the blade appear to sit higher than the top and bottom lines of the stick. More important is the fact that this blade appears to be a later addition. Even in the photo-plate of Kaiser it is evident that the shaft of the stick and the mace are in higher raised relief than the blade, which seems to be merely carved in outline.²⁶⁷ It is possible that the artist did this intentionally to portray the flatness of the blade, however this does not seem to be the case. The end of the cutting edge sits directly upon the shoulder of one of the dancers. The bottom end of the mace head, where it meets the upper edge of the blade also appears to be cut back. The stick held by the king in the relief from Deir el-Bahari shows no sign of any kind of blade but has a rounded end.²⁶⁸ Near the back end, as held by the king, there is a ring and at the front behind the king's hand there is a sort of cone-shaped hilt or hand-rest. The stick held by the king in the relief from the palace of Apries is similar to the one in the Deir el-Bahari relief but appears to lack the cone-shaped

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 7-9, figs. 1-3, p. 14, fig. 5; *Edfou XIII*, pls. 442, 480, 494-496, 500-506, 508, 513 and see Kaiser, "*Hb Hd.t*," pl. 60b.

²⁶⁷ See Kaiser, "*Hb Hd.t*," pl. 60b.

²⁶⁸ See Pawlicki, "Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc," pp. 18-19, figs. 1-2.

protrusion.²⁶⁹ Säve-Söderbergh thought the staff resembled the *mks*- or *3ms*-scepter.²⁷⁰ Helck originally identified the staff as the *mks*-scepter, which he viewed as a type of wide bladed spear when used in the *hb Hd.t.*²⁷¹ At a later date, however, Helck rejected the identification with either the *mks* or *3ms* but insisted in identifying the stick in the scene as a spear.²⁷² Helck was evidently not aware of the Deir el-Bahari scene,²⁷³ the cone-shaped object and ring at the base on the Deir el-Bahari example identifies the staff as the *mks*-scepter. Several *mks*-scepters in the *frises d'objets* of the Middle Kingdom show these features.²⁷⁴ Actual examples have been found in the royal tombs of King Hor and Princess Nubhotep at Dahshur²⁷⁵ and in the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁷⁶ The example from the tomb of Hor has one end that appears to be sharpened to a point and the shaft between this end and the cone-shaped object is wrapped with a cord, perhaps as a grip.²⁷⁷ In the *frises d'objets* and in some elaborate examples shown carried by the king the cone-shaped object takes the form of a papyrus or lotus flower and the end of the shaft above the wide end of the flower takes the form of a bud, closed flower petals or other vegetal

²⁶⁹ There appears to be a small ring at that location; there may be damage there, as well; See Kaiser, "Die dekorierte Torfassade," pl. 47.

²⁷⁰ *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 49.

²⁷¹ "Herkunft und Deutung," p. 983.

²⁷² *Thinitenzeit*, p. 32, n. 8.

²⁷³ Cf. *ibid*, p. 32.

²⁷⁴ See Gustave Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, MIFAO 47 (Cairo: IFAO, 1921), p. 174, figs. 450-454.

²⁷⁵ See J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894* (Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1895), pp. 96-97, fig. 222, no. 11 and p. 109, fig. 253; Ali Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, MÄS 33 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), p. 87, figs. 28-29.

²⁷⁶ See T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli, Italy and New York: White Star S.r.l. and MetroBooks, 2000), pp. 261, 268-269 (Carter no. 204, Jd'É no. 61667).

²⁷⁷ See de Morgan, *Dahchour Mars-Juin 1894*, pp. 96-97, fig. 222, no. 11; Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, p. 174, fig. 455; Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 87, fig. 28. Cf. the king's staff with end-ring and shaft apparently wrapped with cord in Richardo A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, vol. 2, ASE 34 (London: EES, 1974), pl. 58.

form.²⁷⁸ The *mks*-scepter first appears in the 1st Dynasty²⁷⁹ and is used through the Greco-Roman Period.²⁸⁰ The king most often bears the *mks*-scepter as a walking stick (in which case the cone-shaped object acts as a hand-rest)²⁸¹ or is held by the king as a staff while presenting a food offering to the gods,²⁸² but it can also appear in other scenes of the king interacting with the gods.²⁸³ In a head-smiting scene Ramesses III holds an *mks*-scepter in the same hand that he

²⁷⁸ Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, p. 174, figs. 450-454; James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 268-269 (staff mentioned above); *LD III*, pl. 162 (Ramesses II).

²⁷⁹ King Adjib appears with the *mks*-scepter on a fragment from a stone vase; see Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 178 and B. Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site-III: Fragments of Inscribed Vessels," *ASAE* 28 (1928), pl. 1, no. 3. Hassan (p. 178) also thinks the staff held by Den on the seal impression that shows the king fighting and harpooning a hippo is also a *mks*-scepter but this is less certain; the staff's top end (as carried by the king) has a wide ending but this is not the usual location of the cone-shaped object (a hand-rest when used as a walking staff) but see below.

²⁸⁰ See *LD III*, pls. 21, 45, 51b, 162, 207d, 224d; *LD IV*, pls. 3a, 71a.

²⁸¹ See Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid," pl. 1, no. 3; Florence Dunn Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex," *JARCE* 32 (1995), p. 19, fig. 12; Ricardo A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, vol. 1, ASE 33 (London: EES, 1974), pls. 26, 29, 38-39, 47.2, 53, 57.1, 59, 78.2, 86.1, 88.1; idem, *Buhen*, vol. 2, pls. 9, 23, 29, 58; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, *The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: EES, 1998), pls. 24, 50; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 2, *The Temple of Kumma*, ASE 38 (London: EES, 1998), pl. 14.2; Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pls. 73, 85, 94, 153; James, *Tutankhamun*, pp. 60-61, 174-175; *LD III*, pl. 21; *LD IV*, pl. 71a; Auguste Mariette, *Dendérah: Description générale du grande temple de cette ville*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie A. Franck, 1870), pl. 13.

²⁸² See Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 30 (scene 9') and XXVII (scene 18'); Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, pp. 174-175, figs. 456-457; *LD III*, pl. 51b; *LD IV*, pl. 3a; Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pls. 49, 54, 56, 59; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 2, pl. 19; Brunner, *Luxor*, pls. 46, 60, 94 (also as walking stick), 165, 168, 176. Other scenes of offering to gods: Caminos, *Buhen*, vol. 2, pls. 40 (live animals), 41 (cattle); Brunner, *Luxor*, pl. 99 (jars).

²⁸³ King being embraced and/or receiving life from one or more deities: Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 14 (scenes 5-6), 16 (scenes 9-10), XXVIII; *LD III*, pl. 45; Caminos, *Buhen*, vol. 1, pls. 29, 32, 34.2, 47.2, 78.2 (also as walking stick), 86.1 (also as walking stick), 88.1 (also as walking stick); idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pls. 33.1-2, 50 (also as walking stick); idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 2, pl. 14.2 (also as walking stick). King in the presence of ithyphallic Amun-Re at the raising of the *shn.t*-pole: Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 31 (scene 10'). King at doorway demanding purity of those who enter: Caminos,

uses to grasp the hair of his enemies.²⁸⁴ As in the *hb Hd.t* scenes of Thutmose III, the *mks*-scepter is most often paired with the *hd*-mace²⁸⁵ but not always.²⁸⁶ Not every *mks*-scepter was equipped with the ring and cone-shaped object/hand rest, as is suggested by the Karnak and Memphis reliefs. The king appears countless times with a long staff without embellishments and one wonders if any of these may also have been considered to be *mks*-scepters.²⁸⁷ Hassan identifies a short stick carried by the king in some scenes and similar to fighting sticks as an *mks*, as well.²⁸⁸ Some factors that may support this identification is that the stick is paired with the *hd*-mace and in the reliefs of Djoser from the Step Pyramid it is held in a horizontal position as in the *hb Hd.t* scenes²⁸⁹ and in some head-smiting scenes of Ramesses II and Ramesses III the king holds a short stick in the same hand that he grasps the hair of his enemies (as in the scene of Ramesses III referenced above with the *mks*-scepter).²⁹⁰ In a scene from the White Chapel of Senwosret I the king holds a *hd*-mace and a short stick, which has a floral design at the end

Buhen, vol. 2, pls. 12, 15; Brunner, *Luxor*, pls. 40, 56, 62, 179. King founding a temple: Caminos, *Buhen*, vol. 2, pl. 27. Ramesses II standing before Re-Horakhty and Osiris: *LD III*, pl. 224d.

²⁸⁴ *LD III*, pl. 207d.

²⁸⁵ See Gunn, "Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid," pl. 1, no. 3; Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pls. 14, 16, 30-31, XXVII-XXVIII; Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, p. 175, figs. 456-457; *LD III*, pls. 51b, 207d; *LD IV*, pls. 3a, 71a; Caminos, *Buhen*, vol. 1, pls. 22, 53, 101.2; idem, *Buhen*, vol. 2, pls. 9, 12, 15, 27, 40 (probable), 41, 58; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pls. 24, 33.2, 49-50, 54, 56, 59; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 2, pls. 14.2, 19, 48; Brunner, *Luxor*, pls. 40, 60, 73, 94, 99, 168, 176, 179.

²⁸⁶ *LD III*, pl. 224d; Caminos, *Buhen*, vol. 1, pls. 29, 38-39, 57.1, 59, 78.2, 86.1, 88.1; idem, *Buhen*, vol. 2, pl. 29; idem, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, pl. 33.1; Brunner, *Luxor*, pls. 56, 62, 165; Mariette, *Dendérah*, vol. 1, pl. 13.

²⁸⁷ Cf. *LD III* and *IV*, passim.

²⁸⁸ *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 178, n. 20; cf. Gardiner, "Horus," pl. 3, no. 3=Friedman, "Underground Relief Panels," pp. 38-39, figs. 23-24; cf. the fighting sticks in *LD III*, pl. 152 (bottom). See, also, Peter Kaplony, "Zepter," *LÄ VI*, cols. 1375-1376.

²⁸⁹ See Friedman, "Underground Relief Panels," pp. 38-39, figs. 23-24; cf. Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, vol. 1, pl. 91.

²⁹⁰ *LD III*, pls. 195b, 209.

similar to the decorated ends of *mks*-scepters.²⁹¹ The *mks*-scepter, at least that with the cone-shaped hand rest, is only used by the king; it does not appear in the hands of officials or gods.²⁹² The etymology of the word *mks* is problematic. Some scholars make no differentiation between the name of the scepter and the *mks* “document holder,” the name of which is believed to derive from the verb *mki* “to protect” with an *s* suffix commonly found with the names of royal regalia.²⁹³ Others make a clear distinction and believe the name of the scepter is derived from *ks* “to bow.”²⁹⁴ Unfortunately, the *mks*-scepter is rarely mentioned in texts.²⁹⁵ It is mentioned twice in the Pyramid Texts,²⁹⁶ where it is representative of the king’s authority:²⁹⁷ *h3 Wnis n šm.n=k is mt.ti šm.n=k ‘nh[.ti] hms.t(i) hr hndw Wsir hrp=k m ‘=k wd=k md.w n ‘nh.w mks nhb.t m ‘=k wd(=k) md.w n št3w-s.wt* “Ho Unis! You have not departed dead, (rather) you have departed living and you sit upon the throne of Osiris (with) your *hrp*-scepter in your hand that you may give orders to the living (and with) the *mks*-scepter, the lotus-bud-scepter²⁹⁸ in

²⁹¹ He also holds this staff and the mace in one hand, while raising the *shm*- or *hrp*-baton with the other hand as seen in similar scenes with the *mks*-scepter; see Lacau and Chevrier, *Sésostris I^{er}*, vol. 2, pl. 17 (scene 11, cf. pls. 30 (scene 9’), 31 (scene 10’), 35 (scene 18’= pl. XXVII); cf. Jéquier, *Les frises d’objets*, p. 174, figs. 450-451.

²⁹² Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 178.

²⁹³ See Gábor Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, vol. 3, m-, HO I: 48.3 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 671-673; Elisabeth Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*, MÄS 8 (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1966), p. 162; Kaplony, “Zepter,” cols. 1375, 1383, n. 45; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Großes Handwörterbuch; Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), p. 372.

²⁹⁴ See W. Spiegelberg, “Varia,” *ZÄS* 53 (1917), pp. 102-103, n. 3; Winfried Barta, “Mekes,” *LÄ* IV, col. 20; Jéquier, *Les frises d’objets*, p. 176; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 474.

²⁹⁵ Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 177.

²⁹⁶ It is not mentioned at all in the Coffin Texts or Book of the Dead.

²⁹⁷ Cf. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, p. 179.

²⁹⁸ The floral design of the *mks*-scepter is that of the lotus; cf. Jéquier, *Les frises d’objets*, p. 175.

your hand that (you) may give orders to those whose seats are hidden (the dead).²⁹⁹ *Nh3h3 m*
 ‘=k mks=k h3 ‘=k i.hr n=k h3ty.w hr hr=sn “The flail is in your hand; the *mks*-scepter is behind
 your hand.³⁰⁰ The slaughtering-gods³⁰¹ shall fall upon their faces for you!”³⁰²

In real life it would be suicidal to attack a hippopotamus with a wooden stick like the *mks*-scepter. However, in a ritual setting this is conceivable, and the *hb Hd.t* scene is placed in a ritual context, since the hippo takes the form of a statue. In Myth D of the Myth of Horus at Edfu Horus’ staff, named *mdw* and decorated with a falcon head, is also described as a harpoon but could only have served this purpose in a ritual context.³⁰³ A parallel case might be Pyramid Text Spell 324, in which a female hippo seems to be struck with a staff. The staff is not the *mks* but, rather, the *3ms*-scepter: *i.(n)d-hr=k db.t nhhwt [in ii].n=t ir Tti m db.t nhhwt shs.n=f w’ 3ms.wy Hr ir=t [hw=f (?)] tm im i.(n)d-hr=t ‘3.t hiwt in ii.n=t ir Tti m ‘3.t hiwt h(w).n=f tm m sd [rd] m š n Wsir* “Hail to you eternal she-hippopotamus! [Have] you [come] against Teti as an eternal she-hippopotamus? [It is so that he might strike] you with (it) that he has run away with one of the two *3ms*-scepters of Horus. Hail to you [monstrous] she-ass! Have you come against Teti as a monstrous she-ass? It is with the *sd*-plant, [which grows] in the Lake of Osiris that he has struck you.”³⁰⁴ Despite their sex, the female hippopotamus and ass may be understood as

²⁹⁹ *Pyr.* § 134a-c.

³⁰⁰ “Behind” in the same manner as the flail is usually shown behind the hand of Min? But here the flail is in the hand while the *mks* is behind.

³⁰¹ See *Wb.* III, p. 236, nos. 6-7.

³⁰² *Pyr.* § 1535a-c.

³⁰³ See below.

³⁰⁴ *Pyr.* §§ 522a-523c; cf. Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, p. 103 and Peter A. Piccione, “Sportive Fencing as a Ritual for Destroying the Enemies of Horus,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, SAOC 58 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1999), pp. 338-339. This spell opens with the mention of healing

Sethian here, as proposed by Piccione,³⁰⁵ which would extend the association of Seth with the hippo much farther back than the Ramesside Period. However, for our purposes, this sheds little light on the *hb Hd.t*. The hippo is female but is not called *Hd.t* and the *3ms*-scepter appears to have been of a very different form than the *mks*.³⁰⁶ The sharpened end of the *mks* from the tomb of King Hor may have been intended to turn it into a stabbing weapon and the blade at the end of the staff in the Karnak relief would have served the same purpose.³⁰⁷ However, such a conversion of the *mks* would not have turned it into a practical weapon to dispatch a Nile hippopotamus as it probably would not have the weight needed to penetrate the animal's thick hide. But more important, it lacks the rope needed to recover the harpoon when the shot is missed or to pull the dead hippo from the water.³⁰⁸ Then again, this can be said of the *mdw*-scepter of Horus. The usual form of this latter scepter has two prongs at its end in the same manner as the *w3s*-scepter [↑]³⁰⁹ but in some scenes from Edfu this pronged end is replaced by a double pointed harpoon or spear blade (*sn*-type) and the staff is depicted being used to slay hippopotami, crocodiles and human captives.³¹⁰ On the Deir el-Bahari relief the dancers were hacked out during the Amarna Period in addition to the hippopotamus (but never restored).³¹¹ Although it is not certain from Kaiser's photo-plate, the dancers in the Karnak scene may have

Horus and makes a veiled reference to the new and full moons and evidently concerns the Eye of Horus; cf. *Pyr.* §§ 520-521; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, pp. 103-104, nn. 7-8 to Utterance 324.

³⁰⁵ "Sportive Fencing," p. 339.

³⁰⁶ Cf. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, p. 163, figs. 418-422.

³⁰⁷ On the latter, see below.

³⁰⁸ It probably took multiple strikes and multiple harpoons to kill the animal and pull it in, thus lines were attached to floats, which probably served to track the beast for the next strike. The floats shown in scenes of harpooning hippos were too small to tire the animal or keep it near the surface; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 8-9, 11-12, figs. 1-3.

³⁰⁹ See *Edfou XIV*, pl. 576 (staff offered by the king).

³¹⁰ See *Edfou XIII*, pls. 441, 480 and 512.

³¹¹ See Pawlicki, "Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc," pp. 16-21, figs. 1-4.

been attacked, as well, but restored.³¹² If so, the blade at the end of the *mks*-scepter may have been added during the restoration.³¹³ The *hb Hd.t* was not a common temple scene and may have been misunderstood by the Ramesside restorers,³¹⁴ who added the blade by mistake or confusion with the harpoon ritual. However the blade on the Karnak relief does not look like any blade used in any scene of slaying hippos or other inimical beings.

Kaiser's criticisms of both Altenmüller's and Behrmann's theses are quite correct. Although I personally believe that Altenmüller is close to the truth in the matter, at least in part, we do not know what role the "White Hippopotamus" has in the Field of Offerings. The texts mention a body of water named after this hippopotamus but they do not say anything about the hippopotamus itself. To Kaiser's comments on Behrmann I can only add a few comments of my own. There is no direct identification of the scarf worn by the king with the adornment of giraffe's hair mentioned in the text from Edfu Temple; this does not mean that the scarf is not made of giraffe's hair, just that there is no direct link. The hippopotamus that appears upon the *senet* game board is not identified as *Hd.t* nor does it stand on a base or sledge similar to those found in the *hb Hd.t*.³¹⁵ Behrmann's contention that both the scenes of the king harpooning the

³¹² See Kaiser, "*Hb Hd.t*," pl. 60b.

³¹³ It seems unlikely that this blade was part of the original carving with its edge directly upon the shoulder of the dancer, since such scenes were laid out on a grid and drawn before carving. There is also the fact that it is missing from the Deir el-Bahari relief.

³¹⁴ The restoration of monuments after the Amarna Period sometimes appears to have been a hurried affair. I know of one case at the small temple at Medinet Habu in which a hovering falcon has been given the name "Nekhbet"; Epigraphic Survey *Medinet Habu*, vol. 10, forthcoming; at the *Akhmenu* a hovering vulture, almost always identified as Nekhbet prior to the Ramesside Period, while Wadjet has a snake head, has been given the epithet "She of Pe and Dep" but the *b* of *Nhb.t* is still visible; see Jean-François Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes; Relevés épigraphiques* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000), pl. 73 (right).

³¹⁵ Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 158c-d.

hippopotamus and the *hb Hd.t* represent regeneration seems to be based primarily on where the scenes are located, rather than anything within the scenes themselves. The harpooning scene probably served multiple conceptual purposes in addition to regeneration, including the warding off of evil forces and destruction of enemies in the hereafter. The *hb Hd.t* may have served some, if not all, of the same purposes, but that does not mean that the one hippopotamus cannot be good, if the other is evil. A good comparison can be found with the snakes found in the books of the underworld. In the Amduat the serpent Apophis threatens to destroy the sun god and bring an end to the order of Creation. Many images show the defeat of Apophis, in which he is stabbed and cut in pieces much as the hippo is slain by the harpoon.³¹⁶ His destruction ensured the continuation of Re and of the Creation and the depiction of this in the royal tomb ensured the rebirth of the king.³¹⁷ At the same time the ouroboros serpent, which encircles him with protection, protects the sun god and the god is transformed into a child within the snake's coils. The image of the good snake serves the same purpose as the image of the slaying of the threatening snake, namely the rebirth of the sun god and the king.³¹⁸ Most problematic is the fact that the *hb Hd.t* does not appear in the texts from Edfu Temple. If the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus was viewed as an evil force that needed to be destroyed, it would fit quite well with the theology of the Ptolemaic temple and one would expect this festival ritual to continue. However, if the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus was originally viewed in a positive light, this might not have fit well with the Late

³¹⁶ See Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings: Horizon of Eternity*, trans. David Warburton (New York: Timken, 1990), pp. 111-113, pls. 75-80, and see the unnumbered illustrations on pp. 103-106.

³¹⁷ Ibid, p. 107.

³¹⁸ There is little that physically distinguishes the two snakes except the large size of Apophis; see *ibid*, pp. 103-113, pls. 75-80.

Period identification of the hippopotamus with Seth. This could have led to the elimination of the *ḥb Ḥd.t* from the Edfu festival calendar, despite its ancient association with that city.

The red paint on the New Kingdom reliefs is a bit of a problem in interpreting the *Ḥd.t*-hippopotamus at this time as a “good” deity, due to red’s association with enemies and evil forces and specifically Seth,³¹⁹ although red also has solar associations.³²⁰ I am not sure however, that this and the other reasons put forward by Kaiser are enough to posit a change of interpretation of the *Ḥd.t*-hippopotamus at the time the reliefs were carved. The base that the hippopotamus stands on in the New Kingdom reliefs looks similar in shape to those used for other statues with the exception of the higher curving front.³²¹ The sledge may partially mimic the form of a papyrus boat. The hippopotami in harpooning scenes are always in the water; the same place one finds the dangerous crocodile and the turtle, the enemy of Re.³²² The place for a good deity is not hidden in the water and, thus, New Kingdom theologians may have provided a boat-like base for the goddess. It is true that a hippo in the hunting scene of Pepy II is shown tied down to a sledge, while there are Middle Kingdom stone carvings of a hippopotamus tied to

³¹⁹ See Hermann Kees, “Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten,” *NAWG* 11 (1943), pp. 456-461; and see Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), pp. 147-148.

³²⁰ Kees, “Farbensymbolik,” pp. 431-434, 448-452.

³²¹ See, for example, the base of the red quartzite statue of Amenhotep III now in the Luxor Museum; see Arielle P. Kozloff, Betsy M. Bryan and Lawrence M. Berman, *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art and Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 132, figs. V.14-15.

³²² Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 74a, 76, 78-82, 90a, 92a, 94-95, 98a, 111 (although the hippo is on the same level as the hunter, the latter is in a boat; cf. 114a 120, 133a-b, 158a, 161b), 158b, 161a, c-d, 174; contrast these scenes with Dok. 177a where a man worships Seth in the form of a hippo, which, though shown in a papyrus thicket, appears to be walking on land. For the turtle see Henry G. Fischer, “Schildkröte,” *LÄ* V, cols. 627-628.

a boat and this hippo is even painted red³²³ but the hippo of the *hb Hd.t* is never shown as being tied. As noted by Kaiser himself, the scenes found with the *hb Hd.t* scene at Deir el-Bahari contain a variety of different meanings, while the driving of the calves can symbolize the destruction of the enemies of Osiris and the hunting and trapping of birds suppresses the powers of chaos, the pulling of papyrus flowers can have erotic and regenerative meanings and the scene of running with the vases symbolizes the search for the dispersed body parts of Osiris.³²⁴ We cannot be certain that the hippopotamus in the context of these scenes is viewed in a negative light or as something that needed to be suppressed. In the later documents mentioning the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus (Hawara sarcophagus, Book of the Fayum, monument of Psamtek II) she appears as a protective deity or is associated with protective deities and might have served the same function in the *hb Hd.t*. She may have been a guardian of a liminal zone as proposed by Altenmüller but that does not mean she had to be killed. The closest parallel to the king's stance holding the *mks*-scepter and *hd*-mace in the *hb Hd.t* are two scenes of Djoser from the Step Pyramid complex.³²⁵ The main difference is the type of *mks*-scepter, the short club-like version, and the fact that he holds the scepter and mace in separate hands. The use of both hands in the *hb Hd.t* scenes to hold the scepter and mace (or just the scepter in the Memphis scene) is likely due to the use of the longer *mks*-scepter.³²⁶ In the Djoser reliefs the king is said to be standing in

³²³ Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 135a-b, cf. 135c-d.

³²⁴ Cf. A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*, vol. 1, EU 8.1 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), pp. 364-370; Karl Martin, "Vogelfang, -jagd, -netz, -steller," *LÄ* VI, cols. 1051-1054; Wolfgang Helck, "Papyrusraufen, Papyruszepter," *LÄ* IV, cols. 671-672.

³²⁵ See Friedman, "Underground Relief Panels," pp. 38-39, figs. 23-24.

³²⁶ The king had to hold the staff with both hands.

the shrines of Horus of Letopolis and the Behdetite.³²⁷ In the Pyramid Texts the *mks*-scepter is representative of the king's authority. In *Pyr.* § 1535a-c the king, possessing the *mks*-scepter and flail, is able to make the "slaughtering-gods" to "fall upon their faces" before him, whereas in *Pyr.* § 134a-c possession specifically of the *mks*-scepter allows the king to give commands to the dead. In both cases he has authority of command over minor deities. In the scenes of Djoser his stance with *mks*-scepter and mace are not signs of aggression but are likely symbolic of his legitimacy and authority to enter the shrines of the gods during the *Sed* festival. This may be the situation in the *hb Hd.t* scene. In fact, Kaiser proposes that the vertical piece found behind the hippo, which sometimes takes the form of tied papyrus stocks similar to the form of some temple columns, is indicative of a sort of primitive shrine, which the king seeks to enter.³²⁸ However the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus could still be a guardian deity as proposed by Altenmüller. The king's pose before the hippo-goddess may be an expression of power over the goddess declaring his right to enter her shrine with the result that she must obey in the same manner as the "slaughtering-gods" in the Pyramid Texts must "fall upon their faces." This does not mean that the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus is slain, for the "slaughtering-gods" are not slain but just bow to the king's authority. Of course, on present knowledge, none of this is provable but there is no reason to consider the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus as evil or to have been reinterpreted as such during the New Kingdom (or even earlier as Kaiser suggests). If the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus were a guardian deity, it would explain why people used her image as an amulet.³²⁹ The amulet would have served the

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ "*Hb Hd.t.*," p. 131.

³²⁹ A clear example of this type of amulet is found in Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 204 from the Late Period, in which the hippo stands on a base with a vertical piece behind it as in the Bab el-Futuh, Brooklyn and Memphis reliefs; Dok. 202-203 are amulets that appear to be on

same purpose as amulets representing the harpooning of the hippopotamus, warding off of evil forces, but for different reasons.³³⁰ There may be alternative explanations for the red paint found on the hippos of the New Kingdom. One possibility is that the red paint had solar connotations; the *Hd.t*-hippopotamus has solar associations in its identification with Hathor of Atfih.³³¹ The word *hd*, from which the goddess' name derives, meaning "white" or "bright," can also represent the splendor of the sun.³³² Indeed, many painted representations of the sun are red with a white rim.³³³ Then again, the red paint might also have no major significance at all. It may have been intended merely to portray the natural reddish color of the real animal, which is caused by its sweat.³³⁴ Most have assumed the name *Hd.t* refers to the color of the animal's skin but this is not necessarily the case. The goddess Nekhbet is called *Hd.t Nhn* "The White One of Nekhen" but she takes this name based on her identification with the "White Crown" of Upper Egypt. The goddess in vulture form may have some white plumage but can be depicted with none at all.³³⁵

sledges, though without the high curving front end, however 116 (a small statuette) and 140a (part of a necklace) appear to have this type of sledge.

³³⁰ Cf. *ibid*, Dok. 133a-b, 180a.

³³¹ See Kees, "Farbensymbolik," p. 438.

³³² Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 48; Kees, "Farbensymbolik," p. 443.

³³³ Cf. Hornung, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 128, pl. 84; James, *Tutankhamun*, p. 40 (in cartouche of Horemheb); Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 9, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple, Part I: The Inner Sanctuaries*, OIP 136 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pls. 118, 121.

³³⁴ Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 120. The sweat of hippos turns a reddish color that gives the animal protection from the sun; see Yoko Saikawa, et al., "Pigment Chemistry: The Red Sweat of the Hippopotamus," *Nature* 429 (27 May, 2004), p. 363.

³³⁵ See Charles K. Wilkinson and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983), p. 6; Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rē', Rē'-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pl. 11; *MH* III, pl. 131; *MH* IV, pls. 220, 222.

The word *ḥd* can also mean “bright” or “silver.”³³⁶ The name of the *Ḥd.t*-hippopotamus may refer to an attribute that we are not aware of due to the paucity of information concerning this goddess. Whatever the name refers to, *ḥd* usually *does* have positive connotations and the overwhelming majority of our sources for this goddess are positive. I see no reason for a change in interpretation to negativity as early as the New Kingdom. The rites of the *Ḥd.t*-hippopotamus disappeared from Edfu by the Greco-Roman Period, where evidence shows they had a long history, but this was likely due to a change in status of the hippopotamus (the animal) by its association with Seth or due to a loss in importance of these rites even before this time rather than a reinterpretation of the goddess herself as evil. One might view the presence at Edfu of a cult for a “good” hippopotamus to be a contradiction for a place that also had a ritual killing of a hippopotamus that represented evil, chaotic forces. However, this is interpretation from a modern perspective. The ancient Egyptians may not have viewed it as a contradiction, at least not for most of their history. Perhaps as Säve-Söderbergh has theorized, only male hippos were considered evil.³³⁷ However, it is difficult to know the sex of the hippopotami shown being slain in tomb and temple scenes and there are exceptions to the rule that female hippo-goddesses are good by nature. There are many contradictions in the religions of the world, both ancient and modern.³³⁸

³³⁶ Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, p. 181; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, p. 573.

³³⁷ *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 46.

³³⁸ An example from Egyptian religion might be the Fen-goddess, who is the “mother of the birds,” who “cares for the nestlings” but also offers birds to the king as prey; see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 38; cf. Waltraud Guglielmi, “Die Feldgöttin *Sh.t*,” *Die Welt des Orients* 7 (1973-74), pp. 211-212.

6.III.ii: The Harpooning Ritual at Edfu and The Behdetite as Lord of Mesen

Although the Behdetite is identified as the “Lord of Mesen” during the Old Kingdom, actual evidence of a harpooning ritual involving the god as the “Lord of Mesen” is likely found in the presence of the harpooners named Hori from the Middle Kingdom.³³⁹ These harpooners are attached to the cult of Horus, who is designated *nb [. .]*; the most likely restoration in the lacuna is *Msn*. The ritual probably existed at Edfu before this but this is the first evidence, although indirect. A recent intriguing find at Edfu is a number of hippopotamus bones discovered in the fill of abandoned grain silos just southwest of the Greco-Roman Period temple of Horus.³⁴⁰ The bones, which included part of a skull, were found in trash deposited dating from the very end of the 17th Dynasty to the mid-18th Dynasty.³⁴¹ The bones are in the process of zooarchaeological study,³⁴² so nothing definitive can be stated here. However, one cannot help but speculate on why these bones were found at this location. Hippopotamus meat, though considered a delicacy in some modern African cultures, does not appear to have been a food source for Egyptians through most of the historical periods. It is not found in offering lists or jar labels, except for the Saite and Ptolemaic Periods when it is listed among other meats in Spell 31 of Books of the Dead from that time.³⁴³ Although found in several village sites of the Pre-

³³⁹ See Chapter 5.II.ii.

³⁴⁰ See Nadine Moeller, “Tell Edfu,” in the *Oriental Institute 2009-2010 Annual Report*, ed. Gil J. Stein (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), p. 96, fig. 2; idem, “Tell Edfu,” in *The Oriental Institute 2010-2011 Annual Report*, ed. Gil J. Stein (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2011), p. 113, fig.3.

³⁴¹ Moeller, “Tell Edfu,” *2010-2011 Annual Report*, pp. 112-113.

³⁴² They are being examined by Richard Redding of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan; *ibid*, p. 113.

³⁴³ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 51; Ursula Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 41 (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1993), vol. 1, p. 127, vol. 2, p. 26.

dynastic Period,³⁴⁴ with the exception of hippopotamus ivory, there have been few discoveries of hippo bones from village and city sites of the historical periods. Two deposits of hippopotamus ivory and bones that date to the 19th Dynasty were found at Qau, which included a skull. A similar deposit was found at Matmar. The latter was found near a temple of Seth and Qau was also a place where Seth was revered.³⁴⁵ It is not unlikely that the animals found at these sites were in some way related to cults of Seth.³⁴⁶ Edfu, obviously, was not a cult center of Seth but could the bones found there be from animals ritually killed? During Greco-Roman times we know that hippopotami were found only in the Delta but we do not know their distribution during earlier periods. Säve-Söderbergh points out that some earlier didactic texts suggest a familiarity with the hippopotamus throughout the country as a threat to people and crops.³⁴⁷ Could the hippopotamus-shaped cake used in the ritual drama of the myth of Horus have been substituted when the real animal was no longer found in Upper Egypt? This will remain speculation until the bones are studied and may remain so even after that study is completed. However, one should note Säve-Söderbergh's suggestion that the conflict in the tale of the "Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre" was over the cries of pain uttered by the hippopotami, sacred to King Apophis' god Seth(-Baal), because they were being ritually slain in Thebes.³⁴⁸ However, the earliest evidence of the identification of Seth with a hippopotamus comes from the Ramesside Period and there is no direct evidence that he was viewed negatively in this form until after this

³⁴⁴ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1 Doks. 2 a.-i.; vol. 2, p. 51.

³⁴⁵ Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*, pp. 24-25; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 51.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 2, p. 51.

³⁴⁷ *Hippopotamus Hunting*, p. 24.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 43-45; cf. Lothar Störk, "Was störte den Hyksos Apophis am Gebrüll der thebanischen Nilpferde?" *GM* 43 (1981), p. 67.

period.³⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it is possible that the archaeological record is incomplete and that Seth was earlier associated with the hippopotamus, such as might be suggested by Pyramid Text Spell 324.³⁵⁰ Any form taken by Seth in an Osirian context could be viewed in a negative light. The hippopotamus' aspect as a force of danger and chaos predates its identification with Seth by many centuries and the Behdetite's identification with the harpooning Horus in the 6th Dynasty may have lead to the actual sacrifice of the animal in temple ritual.

We know that an actual royal ritual of slaying the hippopotamus existed from the time of the 1st Dynasty. It is recorded on the Palermo Stone for an unknown king of the 1st Dynasty and was associated with what is likely the sacred lake of a temple: *wꜥ.t š S.wt-nꜥr.w st.t ḥ(3)b* "Opening of the (sacred) lake Thrones of the Gods: shooting the hippopotamus."³⁵¹ The seal impressions of King Den discussed above, which show the king harpooning and wrestling with the hippopotamus, may represent gold statues of the king made for this rite. Three figures of the king are shown on what can be interpreted as pedestals and the gold sign appears beside each figure.³⁵² The image of the king of one of these was named *Hr msnw* "Horus the Harpooner." A similar seal impression of Den showing him harpooning, most likely, a hippopotamus and named *Hr msnw* also shows the emblem of Mafdet and the standard of Wepwawat.³⁵³ Small fragments

³⁴⁹ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, pp. 71-75; Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen*, Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1976), p. 128.

³⁵⁰ See Piccione, "Sportive Fencing," p. 339.

³⁵¹ Heinrich Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen* (Berlin: Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1902), p. 20, no. 8; cf. H. W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974), p. 34; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 71.

³⁵² See Godron, "Notes d'épigraphie thinite," pp. 195-197; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 53a.

³⁵³ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 53b.

from the funerary complex of Sahure at Abusir likely come from a scene of the king harpooning the hippopotamus.³⁵⁴ A more complete but still fragmentary scene was found in the funerary temple of Pepy II at Saqqara.³⁵⁵ The king is depicted on a reed boat holding a harpoon in his right hand and a coil of rope in his left. Two lines of rope extend to a hippopotamus in front of the king, looking back at him with open mouth, with the ropes indicating two strikes of a harpoon. The vizier, the crown prince and several priests attend the king.³⁵⁶ Behind the king are a group of men pulling an evidently live and bound hippopotamus on a sledge. This might support the idea that living hippopotami were slain in the later temple ritual at Edfu. That this scene represents a ritual and not an actual hunt is shown by the lack of marsh plants and wildlife and the mention of the *Pr-wr.w* or “fore hall,” which is likely where the ritual took place.³⁵⁷ Although hippopotamus hunting scenes frequently appear in private tombs, there is very little information on the royal/temple ritual of slaying the hippopotamus before the Greco-Roman Period temples. We are limited to depictions and statues of the king harpooning the animal.³⁵⁸ Increasingly in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods we find statues of Horus, Onuris and other gods as harpooners.³⁵⁹ In the temples the king is often depicted slaying the Sethian hippopotamus and crocodile on behalf of the gods.³⁶⁰ In a scene of harpooning the hippopotamus at the temple of Montu at Karnak the king is identified with the Behdetite. He is

³⁵⁴ See Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa³ħu-Re*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*, *Augrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908* 7, WVDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pp. 29-30, pl. 16; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 69a.

³⁵⁵ Jéquier, *Pepi II*, vol. 3, pl. 32; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 94.

³⁵⁶ Only the position and name of one is preserved, the *Se(tem)-priest* Tjety.

³⁵⁷ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 94.

³⁵⁸ Cf. *ibid*, vol. 1, Dok. 133a-b, 167a-e.

³⁵⁹ Cf. *ibid*, Dok. 207a-h, 208, 209a-b.

³⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid*, Dok. 227-228a.1-15.

tit dsr.t n Hr n Nbw hf' m3w.t tw.t sw r Mnṯw sti hb mi Bhd.t(y) “Sacred image of Horus of Gold, who grasps the harpoon shaft. He is an image of Montu, who shoots the hippopotamus like the Behdetite.”³⁶¹ At Edfu where the king is shown harpooning the hippopotamus in front of Horus the Behdetite the texts speak of a mutual destruction of the enemies of the king and of the gods.³⁶² These enemies are usually identified as Seth and his associates. In a series of mythological texts at Edfu it is Horus, who slays the hippo. He is identified as the Behdetite and/or as his alter ego Horus Lord of Mesen or Horus Son of Isis and these forms of the god can appear as separate manifestations of Horus in the same story. Although the copies of these texts post-date the focus of this study, most scholars believe that they date to an earlier period. Fairman identified five different mythical texts that he labeled A to E.³⁶³ These texts are inscribed on the inner faces of the east and west enclosure walls of Edfu Temple.³⁶⁴

Fairman named Text A the “Legend of the Winged Disk.” The tale begins with the sun god, called both Re and Re-Horakhty, with his followers in Nubia, when enemies of the sun god are spotted in the area of Edfu by Horus the Behdetite. The Behdetite transforms into the “Great

³⁶¹ See Sydney H. Aufrère, *Le propylène d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak*, MIFAO 117 (Cairo: IFAO, 2000), pp. 389-390, § 256; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 227.

³⁶² For example see *Edfou IX*, pl. 40b (*Edfou II*, p. 45); the king states to the Behdetite *n=k hb ndr=i n=k hfty.w ntṯ.n=i s(n) hr ṯb.ty=k s'q=i bi3(=i) m [. .] . . dr.t w' 'q m bi3 m msq=f dr.t sn 'q m nt* “Take for yourself the hippopotamus, which I have seized for you; the enemies, which I have bound under your sandals, while I cause my harpoon to enter into [his body (?)]. One hand enters with the harpoon in his hide, the second hand enters with the rope” (II, p. 45, lines 4-6). The Behdetite replies *srwd=i 'wy=k r hwi(.t) snty.w=k sgnn(=i) [nh.t] n hfty.w=k* “I shall strengthen your arms in order to strike your rebel-foes, while I weaken [the strength] of your enemies” (II, p. 45, lines 7-9). Cf. Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 228a.1, a.2 (= *Edfou IX*, pl. 48; III, p. 28, line 7-p. 29, line 3), a.3 (= *Edfou IX*, pl. 76; III, p. 257, lines 13-18), a.4 (= *Edfou IX*, pl. 82; III, p. 346, lines 7-11), a.5 (= *Edfou X*, pl. 86; IV, p. 58, line 12-p. 59, line 12), a.6 (= *Edfou X*, pl. 92; IV, p. 213, line 6-p. 214, line 8).

³⁶³ H. W. Fairman, “The Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” *JEA* 21 (1935), pp. 26-27.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Winged Sun Disk” (*py wr*) and drives the foes before him; the enemies go into the water and transform into hippopotami and crocodiles and attack the bark of Re.³⁶⁵ Horus and his followers then become harpooners and slay many of the foes. It is then that we are informed that this has been done in accordance with a book of ritual: *Dḥwty dd=f m-ḥt m3.n=f ḥfty.w ḥr(.w) ḥr t3 ndm ib=tn ntr.w n p.t ndm ib=tn ntr.w m t3 rnp ntry iw(.w) m ḥtp di=f ḥ3w ḥr nm.t=f ir.n=f ḥr md3.t n dr ḥb* “Thoth said, after he had seen the enemies fallen upon the earth, ‘Rejoice O gods of the sky! Rejoice O gods in the earth! The Divine Youth (Horus the Behdetite) has come in peace, he lengthening his stride after he acted according to the book “Repulsing the Hippopotamus.”³⁶⁶ Note that this line does not state that the Legend of the Winged Disk *is* the Book of Repulsing the Hippopotamus but only that Horus’ actions conform to the instructions of that book.³⁶⁷ The Behdetite as the winged disk is placed on the bow of the sun bark with Nekhbet and Wadjet as his uraei. The enemy is pursued and defeated at Thebes, Dendera, Hebenu and Meret, the capital of the 19th Upper Egyptian nome.³⁶⁸ Horus the Behdetite overthrows the enemy at a place called *Pr-rḥ.wy* and, at the command of Re, the enemy is handed over to Horus Son of Isis and his mother.³⁶⁹ Together with Horus the Behdetite they continue to slay their foes. The place of victory of this section of the story is near the site named “Neref,” which was sacred to Osiris and was the necropolis of Abusir el-Malek at a place called *S.t-i3b=i*.³⁷⁰ The text states *iw ir=tw irw.w nb(.w) n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) m tpy 3ḥ.t m hrw tpy pr.t hrw*

³⁶⁵ At one point in the story Seth is described as a “hippopotamus of red jasper” (*ḥ3b n ḥnm.t*); *Edfou VI*, p. 123, line 5.

³⁶⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 114, lines 1-2.

³⁶⁷ Contra Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 683.

³⁶⁸ See Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” pp. 29-31, n. 3 on p. 31.

³⁶⁹ Seth turns into a roaring serpent and goes down a hole, which is plugged with a falcon-headed staff identified with Horus Son of Isis.

³⁷⁰ See Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 33, n. 5.

(sfh.nw)³⁷¹ m 3bd (sn.nw)³⁷² pr.t hrw 21 hrw 24 nn hb.w pw m S.t-i3b=i r-gs rsy n N'rf "All rites are performed for Horus the Behdetite in the first month of *Akhet*-season, first day, in the first month of *Peret*-season, seventh day and in the second month of *Peret*-season, twenty first day and twenty fourth day. These are the festival (days) in Setiabi to the south side of Neref."³⁷³

The remaining foes fled north towards Sile and towards the sea. At the command of Re, Horus the Behdetite, who now is also called "Lord of Mesen," pursues the enemy to Sile, where he takes the form of a lion with the face of a man.³⁷⁴ The Behdetite rends the flesh of the enemies and the rest are driven into the sea. Thoth then speaks concerning the cult of Horus the Behdetite in the Delta:

iw dd=tw (dmi.wt?) nn msnty.w rw.w i3.wt hry.w-ib r-mn hrw pn iw d(d)=tw Hr Bhd.t(y) nb Msn r ntr imy=sn r-mn hrw pn iw (d)d=tw i3.t r Msn imn.t(y) r-[mn] hrw pn ir Msn imn.t(y) wnn hr=f r [mw]³⁷⁵ r wbn R' im iw dd=tw (dmi.t n) nn Msn(ty.w) r Msn i3bt.t r-mn hrw pn ir Msn.wy k3.t nn msnty.w i3bt.t iw hr=f r rsy r Bhd.t h3(y.t) pw nt Hr ir=tw irw.w nb(w) n Hr Bhd.t(y) m T3-[Mhw] m tpy 3h.t hrw sn(.nw) m 3bd (fdw.nw)³⁷⁶ 3h.t hrw 22(.nw) m tpy pr.t hrw (sfh.nw)³⁷⁷ 3bd (sn.nw)³⁷⁸ pr(.t) hrw 21(.nw) r-mn pn

The Central Districts shall be called '(The Towns) of these Harpooners' from this day. The god who is in them shall be called 'Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen' from this day. The Western Mesen shall be called 'The (Sacred) Mound' from this day. As for the Western Mesen, it faces [the water] towards where Re rises. The (town of) these harpooners shall be called Eastern Mesen from this day. As for the double town of Mesen, the work of these eastern harpooners, it faces south to Behdet. It is the sanctuary of Horus and all the rites of Horus the Behdetite in Lower Egypt shall be performed (there) in the first month of *Akhet*-season, second

³⁷¹ This is actually written *diw-sn* () 5, 2(=7)!

³⁷² *3bd* actually written as a dual ().

³⁷³ *Edfou* VI, p. 123, lines 1-3; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich: Artemis, 1994), p. 208 and Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," p. 33.

³⁷⁴ *Wnn Hr Bhd.t(y) ir(w) hprw=f n m3i m hr n p'.t*, *Edfou* VI, p. 127, lines 10-11.

³⁷⁵ See Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, p. 211.

³⁷⁶ Written .

³⁷⁷ .

³⁷⁸ .

day, in the fourth month of *Akhet*-season, twenty fourth day, in the first month of *Peret*-season, seventh day and in the second month of *Peret*-season, twenty first day from this day.³⁷⁹

Eastern Mesen is most likely Sile (*T3rw*).³⁸⁰ If this text were older than the Greco-Roman Period in origin, it would be the oldest direct reference to a cult of Horus the Behdetite at Sile. The Western Mesen was thought by Brugsch to be the site mentioned earlier in the text as being near Neref in the Herakleopolite nome.³⁸¹ According to Gauthier it is a reference to Edfu.³⁸² The action in this part of the tale appears to be in the Delta, however, and Western Mesen may be a reference to Buto, as suggested by Vernus, given its early association with Horus the Harpooner (*msnw*).³⁸³ Re, Horus the Behdetite and their followers then return to Nubia, where revolt breaks out once again in Wawat. Horus the Behdetite transforms into the winged disk again but this is where the narrative ends. The whole tale uses puns to aetiologically explain the names of cities, temples, other sacred sites, objects and priestly titles. The placement of winged disks over temple doorways is explained as a command of Re: *iw ir n=k 'py pn m s.t nb(.t) snḏm.n=i im m s.wt n(.wt) nṯr.w m Šm'w m s.wt n(.wt) nṯr.w m T3-Mḥw shṛ.n=f ḏ3ḏ3(.w) m r-w3.t=sn* “You shall make³⁸⁴ this winged sun disk in every place in which I have settled, in the places of the gods in Upper Egypt, in the places of the gods in Lower Egypt for he (the Behdetite) has overthrown the foes in their paths.”³⁸⁵ Horus is then praised as the Morning Star (*Sb3-dw3*) and the Lone Star (*sb3-w'.ty*) that has defeated Apophis. The text ends with magical

³⁷⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 126, lines 1-5; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, pp. 210-211 and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 34.

³⁸⁰ Cf. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” p. 26, n. 1; idem, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 203; Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, p. 211.

³⁸¹ Henri Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1879), pp. 374-377.

³⁸² *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 3, p. 60.

³⁸³ Pascal Vernus, “Mesen,” *LÄ IV*, col. 108.

³⁸⁴ Literally “make for yourself.”

³⁸⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 129, lines 8-10; cf. Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 35.

instructions for the king in times of trouble that includes drawing a winged beetle on his chest and identifying the king as Horus the Behdetite. Several times in the text the enemies of Horus and Re are slain and the followers of these gods devour their body parts.³⁸⁶

Fairman's Text B, which immediately follows the Legend of the Winged Disk is named *hnk hrw-* "Offering of the Grape and Water Drink."³⁸⁷ The Legend of the Winged Disk makes a reference to this ritual: (Re says to Horus) *rd.n=k i3rr.t r mw pr im shtp ib hr=s ir=tw hrw- ' n Hr Bhd.t(y) hr=s r-mn hrw pn* "It is so that your heart may be pleased thereby that you have put grapes in the water that comes forth³⁸⁸ from it (Edfu).' Therefore do men offer *hrw-* ' to Horus the Behdetite from this day.'³⁸⁹ The grape juice symbolizes the blood of Horus' enemies slain in the water. By drinking it while eating a grape it was believed to give strength and valor, while magically annihilating the enemies of Horus and the king.³⁹⁰ Kurth has noted the blending of two mythological cycles in the Legend of the Winged Disk.³⁹¹ The first is the cycle of the divine kingship of Osiris and Horus. The second cycle is that of the movement of the sun between the solstices. This is evident in the movement of the action from the south, where the sun is weakest in the winter months and the place where the revolt broke out, to the north, where the sun is warmer in the summer and where the enemies were defeated, then back to the south where revolt breaks out again. The identification of Seth with Apophis, the serpent that attempts to swallow the sun, is further evidence of the meshing of these two cycles.

³⁸⁶ See *Edfou VI*, p. 116, line 8-p. 117, line 1 and P. 119, lines 3-5.

³⁸⁷ Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," p. 26; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 670.

³⁸⁸ A perfect active participle but with repeated/continuous meaning, thus present tense.

³⁸⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 112, lines 1-2; cf. Fairman, "Myth of Horus at Edfu-I," pp. 28-29.

³⁹⁰ Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, vol. 2, p. 807; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 670; *Edfou VI*, p. 133, lines 7-9.

³⁹¹ See Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, pp. 196-197.

The text is, generally, written in good narrative Middle Egyptian and does not reveal frequent Late Egyptianisms as do most of the other mythological texts from Edfu.³⁹² There are indications that the text, in its final form at least, dates no earlier than the New Kingdom. Some words are not attested before the New Kingdom.³⁹³ When the followers of Seth are pursued to the sea the text uses the Semitic word for “sea” *ym*, which is not attested before the 18th Dynasty.³⁹⁴ Other factors speak for a New Kingdom date, such as the mention of Astarte.³⁹⁵ This goddess is not attested in Egypt until the time of Amenhotep II.³⁹⁶ As we saw in Chapter 3.V, the very name designating the winged sun disk in the text, ‘*py* “Apy,”³⁹⁷ does not occur until the Ramesside Period. The name for Seth *B* “Be” is not attested before the Greco-Roman Period.³⁹⁸ Ptolemaic forms of words are found throughout the text, including ³⁹⁹ and ⁴⁰⁰ for *dd* “to speak/say,”  for *iw* “to come,”⁴⁰¹  for =*k* 2nd P. sing. masc. suffix pronoun,⁴⁰² 

³⁹² There is some interchange in the use of *n* for *m* and vice versa; cf. *Edfou* VI, p. 123, lines 3 and 5 and p. 127, line 10.

³⁹³ *Sd3* “to tremble”; *Edfou* VI, p. 114, line 4; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 974; *Wb.* IV, pp. 366-367. *ddb*, “to sting, stab”; *Edfou* VI, p. 114, line 8; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1253; *Wb.* V, p. 632, nos. 7-10. *hnb* “to drive away (foes)”; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 653; *Wb.* III, p. 113, no. 3. *Qh*, which is the Ptolemaic form of the word for “wooden collar”; *Edfou* VI, p. 120, line 1; cf. Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 31, n. 7; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1068; *Wb.* V, p. 66, no. 11.

³⁹⁴ See *Edfou* VI, p. 128, lines, 2, 3 and 4; cf. *Wb.* I, p. 78, no. 11; James E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 52-53.

³⁹⁵ *Edfou* VI, p. 112, line 4.

³⁹⁶ See Jean Leclant, “Astarte,” *LÄ* I, col. 500.

³⁹⁷ For example, *Edfou* VI, p. 111, lines 5, 6 and 8, p. 114, line 3, p. 116, line 5, p. 117, line 3.

³⁹⁸ Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 293; *Wb.* I, p. 410, no. 9.

³⁹⁹ *Edfou* VI, p. 111, lines 3-4, 8-9 and *passim*.

⁴⁰⁰ *Edfou* VI, p. 109, line 8, p. 112, line 6, p. 114, line 8, p. 126, lines 3, 6, p. 131, line 8

⁴⁰¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 111, line 7, p. 113, line 1.

⁴⁰² *Edfou* VI, p. 111, line 3, p. 112, line 3, p. 129, line 8, p. 130, line 6, etc.

for *hft-hr* “before,”⁴⁰³  for *h(3)b* “hippopotamus,”⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ and ⁴⁰⁶ for *hn* “together with,”  for *pri* “to come forth/out,”⁴⁰⁷  for ‘*q*’ “to enter,”⁴⁰⁸  for *gmh* “to see/catch sight of,”⁴⁰⁹  for *mki* “to protect”⁴¹⁰ and  for *rdi* “to give.”⁴¹¹

Text B is in the same register and is placed at the end the Legend of the Winged Disk.⁴¹²

The scene associated with this text shows the king offering the *hrw*-‘ drink mentioned in the Legend of the Winged Disk: *hnk hrw-‘ n it=f wdn ‘3 m h.t nfr.(t) nb.(t) n k3=k R‘ nb ntr.w Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t psd.t ‘3.t imy.(t) Bhd.t* “Offering the Grape-and-Water Drink to his father. The great offering of every good thing for your *ka* Re, Lord of the Gods and Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky and the Great Ennead, which dwells in Edfu.”⁴¹³ The scene includes ritual instructions: *rdi.t i3rr.wt mw swr in ny-sw.t dd-md.w s3 R‘ . . . ‘m min.(t) wgi i3rr.wt Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t shb šnb.t=f pw m [w]n-m3‘ iwty sk=f iwty htm=f* “Giving grapes and water,⁴¹⁴ which is drunk by the king. Recitation (by) the Son of Re . . . Swallow the grape juice; eat the grapes O Horus the Behdetite, Great God, Lord of the Sky. It is the making festive

⁴⁰³ *Edfou* VI, p. 113, line 2.

⁴⁰⁴ *Edfou* VI, p. 114, line 2.

⁴⁰⁵ *Edfou* VI, p. 114, line 4, p. 116, line 2, p. 130, lines 1 and 2.

⁴⁰⁶ *Edfou* VI, p. 120, lines 4 and 9, p. 121, line 3, p. 123, line 4.

⁴⁰⁷ *Edfou* VI, p. 115, line 7, p. 119, line 5, p. 129, line 7, p. 130, line 10, p. 131, line 7.

⁴⁰⁸ *Edfou* VI, p. 119, line 3, p. 121, line 10.

⁴⁰⁹ *Edfou* VI, p. 116, line 4, p. 119, line 1, p. 127, line 9, p. 128, line 7.

⁴¹⁰ *Edfou* VI, p. 128, line 4.

⁴¹¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 130, line 3.

⁴¹² Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 26; *Edfou* VI, pp. 132-135; *Edfou* XIII, pls. 534-536.

⁴¹³ Offering is made to Re-Horakhty, Horus the Behdetite, Hathor and Harsomtus; see *Edfou* XIII, pl. 536; *Edfou* VI, p. 132, lines 7-9 and cf. p. 136, lines 1-9.

⁴¹⁴ Alternatively, one might read *rdi.t i3rr.wt (m) mw* “Putting grapes (in) water.”

of his throat in very truth, without his dying, without his destruction.”⁴¹⁵ Texts also make reference to the magical rite at the end of the Legend of the Winged Disk: *ir p(3) ‘bb ktm mnḥ hr nṯri nt sṯ n nṯr di.n [ny-sw.t] r ḥḥ=f ḥft m33=f ḥr-n-ḥr n ḥ(r)wy.w* “Concerning the winged beetle of splendid gold upon a piece of god’s-cloth, which [the king] placed on his throat when he saw fear and trouble.”⁴¹⁶ The scene is accompanied by another short aetiological myth.⁴¹⁷ The mythical text begins after the final defeat of the enemies and the remnants of these foes are said to have become the Nubians, Libyans, Asiatics and bedouin (of the eastern desert) depending on which direction they fled. Re-Horakhty gives the sacred sites of Edfu to the Behdetite after sacrifices are established on his behalf named *p(3) wdn ‘3 n P(3)-R* “The Great Offering of Pre.”⁴¹⁸ The sites where the enemy was defeated became the sacred sites of the Behdetite in the words of Re-Horakhty:

Sdr.(t) pw ir.n=i m 3w.(t)-ib ḥp(r)=f m Wts.t-Hr Bḥd.t n tpy pr.t 2[5/7 (?)] i[w] i3.wt šm.n Hr Bḥd.t(y) ḥr=sn Mḥt (=M3-ḥd) Pr-‘ḥ3 S.t-i3b.t=i Msn imnty Msn i3bty Bḥd.t mḥyt I3rw G(š)3y.t Ym-m-sqd.t dmi n Š3s-ḥr.t Bḥd.t-n-Pr-R’ sp3.wt pw nt Hr Bḥd.t(y) m Šm’w Mḥw ir=tw wdn.w ‘š3 m ṯnw k3.w 3pd.w snṯr ḥr sḍ.t qbḥ.w ‘š3.w r-mn hrw pn iw=w wdn.w r Bḥd.t-rsy-i3.wt

It is a place of rest, which I made in joy, it coming into being as Utjeset-Hor and Behdet on the first month of *Peret*-season (day) 2[5 (or 27 ?)]. The sacred mounds upon which Horus the Behdetite came against (the enemy): the Oryx Nome, The-House-of-Combat,⁴¹⁹ Setiabi, Western Mesen, Eastern Mesen, Northern Behdet,⁴²⁰ Sile,⁴²¹ Xoïs,⁴²² Lake-of-Sailing, the town of Shasheret, Behdet-of-the-House-of-Re (Edfu Temple).⁴²³ These are the places⁴²⁴ of Horus the

⁴¹⁵ *Edfou* VI, p. 133, lines 7-9.

⁴¹⁶ *Edfou* VI, p. 133, line 1.

⁴¹⁷ There is less use of puns than in the Legend of the Winged Disk; see *Edfou* VI, p. 133, line 7-p. 135, line 12.

⁴¹⁸ *Edfou* VI, p. 134, line 3.

⁴¹⁹ This is the name of the harbor in the Oxyrhynchite nome; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 351.

⁴²⁰ Semabehdet (Tell Balamun).

⁴²¹ Here Sile is treated as separate from Eastern Mesen although other texts indicate they are identical; cf. Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 810, n. 6.

⁴²² *Ibid*, p. 810, n. 7.

⁴²³ *Ibid*, p. 810, n. 10.

Behdetite in Upper and Lower Egypt and offerings are made, many in number, of bulls, birds, incense upon the flame and many libations from this day and they are offered at Throne-to-the-South-of-the-Sacred-Mounds (Edfu Temple).⁴²⁵

The text goes on to describe the naming of a sacred body of water and the sacred lance of Horus, then recounts the request of Isis for the Behdetite to fight on behalf of her son against Seth. The fighting in this recount takes place at Edfu around a lake to the south of the city. The Behdetite is called *nb Msn nhy m3rw m-‘ wsr* “Lord of Mesen, who protects the weak from the hand of the strong,”⁴²⁶ for Horus Son of Isis is said to be “small” (*ktt*) being the young child hidden in the marsh at Chemmis.⁴²⁷ After killing Seth Horus the Behdetite gave the office of Horus to Horus Son of Isis. Something not mentioned in the Legend of the Winged Disk is a violent windstorm, evidently caused by Seth, the effects of which are suppressed by Isis.⁴²⁸

The mythical text shows frequent use of the definite article, such as *P(3)-R*,⁴²⁹ and some late occurring words.⁴³⁰ The text also shows the use of the Late Egyptian 3rd person suffix

⁴²⁴ Literally “nomes.”

⁴²⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 134, lines 7-9; cf. Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 808-810.

⁴²⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 135, line 4.

⁴²⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 135, line 3.

⁴²⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 134, lines 8-9.

⁴²⁹ See *Edfou VI*, p. 134, lines 3, 5, 11.

⁴³⁰ *Ym* “sea, lake” *Edfou VI*, p. 134, line 8 and p. 135, lines 6-7; *r.w* “gravel,” “grains (of sand)” p. 135, line 9 (see *Wb. I*, p. 208).

pronoun *w*,⁴³¹ the Late Egyptian reduced stative ending for feminine singular⁴³² and the use of the Greco-Roman Period 1st person, feminine singular suffix pronoun *ⲟ* for *=i*.⁴³³

Fairman's text C is found in a series of reliefs below the Legend of the Winged Disk.⁴³⁴ Fairman and Blackman interpreted this text as a ritual drama performed during the annual Festival of Victory held on the 21st day of the second month of *Peret*-season and on each of the following four days.⁴³⁵ The text is named *sm3'-ḥrw Ḥr r ḥfty.w=f* "The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies."⁴³⁶ The three main criteria that identify the main text as a drama are (1) in many places the names of the characters are placed before the words they are to speak; (2) the whole text is a series of speeches and songs without any narrative and (3) there are clear stage directions, which differ from the main text in grammatical form and content.⁴³⁷ Blackman and Fairman believed that, due to a number of Late Egyptian forms and words in the dramatic text, a scribe of the late New Kingdom made a partially modernized version of the text that was

⁴³¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 134, line 10; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 190; Friedrich Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, trans. David Warburton (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2001), p. 52.

⁴³² *Edfou VI*, p. 135, line 9.

⁴³³ *Edfou VI*, p. 135, line 8, cf. n. 9; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstüchen*, vol. 2 (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2007-2008), p. 591, § 38.

⁴³⁴ See H. W. Fairman, *The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1974), pp. 14-17, fig. 1; *Edfou VI*, pp. 60-90; *Edfou XIII*, pls. 494-514. Translations: Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 79-120; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 217-229; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II: C. The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies; A Sacred Drama (*Continued*)," *JEA* 29 (1943), pp. 2-36 and idem, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II: C. The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies; A Sacred Drama (*Concluded*)," *JEA* 30 (1944), pp. 5-22; Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 677-822.

⁴³⁵ Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 27; cf. A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II: C. The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies; A Sacred Drama," *JEA* 28 (1942), pp. 32-38.

⁴³⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 61, line 2.

⁴³⁷ Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 26.

deposited in the temple library at Edfu.⁴³⁸ This version stripped away most of the stage directions and replaced the conventional heading *gd-md.w in N.* with phrases such as “Isis said to Horus” or “Thoth said.”⁴³⁹ Other dramatic features, such as headings indicating who is speaking, were removed when the text was fitted in the scenes on the wall of the temple in the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁴⁰ However, many of these lost features are supplemented by the presence of the reliefs, which indicate the actions and characters in each scene as well as indicate the use of certain props, such as model hippopotami.⁴⁴¹ Drioton argued that the text was not a dramatic text but, rather, a purely ritual text that was, nevertheless, composed of two earlier short dramas.⁴⁴² One text he designated Text A, which was the text of the warship (*‘h3.t*) and was the story of a mature, strong Horus fighting Seth. This text originated in Busiris. Text B was the text of the skiff (*dp.t*), in which Horus as an immature youth fought against the “Monster.” This text originated in Buto. To reconstruct these texts Drioton had to, in the appropriate words of Fairman, dissect the Edfu text into sections, often quite small and put them together in a different order.⁴⁴³ According to Drioton, parts of these plays were placed on the walls of Edfu to form hymns sung at appropriate moments in the liturgy of the harpooning of the hippopotamus.⁴⁴⁴ Among other problems with Drioton’s interpretation,⁴⁴⁵ most fatal is his criterion of identifying parts of his Texts A and B based on the words for the boats *‘h3.t* and *dp.t*, because he did not

⁴³⁸ “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II,” p. 33.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, pp. 33-34.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 34.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Étienne Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, SASAE 11 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1948), pp. 1-14.

⁴⁴³ For the worst case of this, see ibid, pp. 58-59; cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 20.

⁴⁴⁴ See Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, pp. 93-125; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁴⁵ See Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 21-23.

realize that  found in the same sentence as 'h3.t in *Edfou* VI, p. 64, lines 7-8 is to be read *dp.t!*⁴⁴⁶ Alliot also denied that Text C was a drama, although he thought it had dramatic aspects. He also views Text C as a ritual text.⁴⁴⁷ According to Alliot, Text C formed a unit with the Legend of the Winged Disk to form a ritual performed during the Festival of Victory.⁴⁴⁸ Alliot believed that the reliefs of the Legend of the Winged Disk and of the Triumph of Horus, along with the relief of Text B and a relief with the “Appearance of Sokar” were originally intended to fill the same relative space forming a vast rectangle.⁴⁴⁹ However, due to an error by the sculptors, scenes on the lower register were allowed to occupy too much space.⁴⁵⁰ If one follows Alliot the result requires one to jump from one register to another within the same, supposed, ritual episode, which hardly makes any sense!⁴⁵¹ Text C is best understood separate from the Legend of the Winged Disk. The frequent phrase *ndr Hr ndr* “Hold fast, Horus! Hold fast!” at the end of each scene suggests the dramatic nature of the text.⁴⁵² One line of a statement by the followers of Horus even seems like an exhortation to the people viewing the play: *mi hn=n r p(3)*

⁴⁴⁶ See Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, p. 19 and Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 22; cf. *Edfou* III, p. 28, line 12 and p. 257, line 15.

⁴⁴⁷ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 680; cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 23.

⁴⁴⁸ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 680-684

⁴⁴⁹ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 684; cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 23.

⁴⁵⁰ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 685; cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 23.

⁴⁵¹ Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 24; cf. Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 705-715 where the beginning of the Legend of the Winged Disk is inserted between the Prologue and the beginning of the harpoon ritual of the Triumph of Horus. The beginning of the Legend of the Winged Disk is presented as an historical text: “Year 363 of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Re-Horakhty . . . “ (*Edfou* VI, p. 109, line 9); this type of phrase usually is at the beginning of an inscription and is only preceded by the names of the king; cf. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 2, *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 48, 52-53, 60, 74.

⁴⁵² Drioton’s belief that this phrase is instructions for the priest performing the ritual slaying of the hippopotamus figure (*Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, p. 93) is not convincing. Cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 217.

Š-n-Hr m3=n p(3) bik m smḥ=f m3=n p(3) s3 3s.t m-ḥnw ‘ḥ3.t=f mi R’ m (m)skt.t “Come! Let us hasten to the Lake-of-Horus that we might see the Falcon in his bark; that we might see the Son of Isis in his warship like Re in the Morning Bark!”⁴⁵³ Kurth recognizes Text C as a drama, although the texts and depictions are put in the form of ritual scenes.⁴⁵⁴ He also believes that the drama is a ceremony celebrating the victory that occurs in the Legend of the Winged Disk, which is limited to the highpoints and results of this myth.⁴⁵⁵ However, we will see that, in addition to the forms that the two texts take, there are many, major differences between the two. The first scene and texts⁴⁵⁶ form a prologue that includes hymns of praise for Horus the Behdetite and the naming of the Harpoon Ritual that is the primary component of Act I:

dd-md(w) i[n ḥm]=f i3w n=k iḥy n ‘ḥ3.t=k Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t dw3.n=i rn=k ḥn’ mnḥwy.w m-ḥt=k di=i i3w n [i]3wty.w=k ḥf(3)=i n ḥm.wt=k nty (m) b3.w-R’ dw3=i ntr n db3.w=k ḥ3.t m sm3’-ḥrw Ḥr r ḥfty.w=f ḥft phrr=f r sm3 sbi.w m-ḥt bs=f r skyw Stš wp.tw=f m d3d3.t R’

Recitation by His Majesty: ‘Praise to you and music for your warship O Horus the Behdetite, Great God, Lord of the Sky, I having praised your name and (those of) your executioners in your following! Let me give praise to your harpooners and let me revere your harpoons, which are (in) the Emanations of Re as I praise god for your weapons!’ Beginning of the Triumph of Horus against his Enemies when he hastened to slay the rebels after he sallied forth to battle and Seth was judged in the Tribunal of Re.⁴⁵⁷

In each of the next five scenes two boats are portrayed, one with Horus the Behdetite and one with Horus Lord of Mesen.⁴⁵⁸ Each is accompanied by a protective demon and each Horus harpoons a small figure of a hippopotamus. Each harpoon is numbered, with the odd numbered

⁴⁵³ *Edfou VI*, p. 79, line 5.

⁴⁵⁴ *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 217.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁶ *Edfou VI*, pp. 60-63; *Edfou XIII*, pls. 494-496; Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Continued*),” pp. 2-6; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 79-83.

⁴⁵⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 60, line 11-p. 61, line 2; cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Continued*),” pp. 4-5; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 82.

⁴⁵⁸ *Edfou XIII*, pls. 497-499D, 501-506.

(1, 3, 5, 7 and 9)⁴⁵⁹ wielded by Horus Lord of Mesen and the even numbered (2, 4, 6, 8 and 10)⁴⁶⁰ wielded by Horus the Behdetite.⁴⁶¹ The body part of the hippopotamus struck as mentioned in the text corresponds to the body part shown being struck in the relief.⁴⁶² Although Horus the Behdetite had long been identified with Horus Lord of Mesen, the two are shown separate here to individually represent the two sections of Egypt, with Horus the Behdetite representing Upper Egypt and Horus Lord of Mesen representing Lower Egypt.⁴⁶³ Although she is not depicted in the relief scenes, Isis is a prominent character in Act I. Often she is not named but her speeches can be identified with her by references to “my son Horus” and the like. Fairman suggests that Act I is adapted from a very ancient royal harpooning ritual of Lower Egyptian origins.⁴⁶⁴ There is some evidence to support this. In scene I the chorus says *ndr hm.t hnp t3w m-hnw n 3h-bi.t nb Msn in h(3)b* “Grasp the harpoon; breathe the air in Chemmis O Lord of Mesen, who brought (away) the hippopotamus.”⁴⁶⁵ This text generally refers to Horus but its use for royal ritual is revealed by one line that the editors at Edfu failed to adjust: *hwi=k wd=k st3w mi st.n Hr* “while you strike and wound the way that Horus has cast (the harpoon).”⁴⁶⁶ The person being addressed must be the king. Another line that may suggest a Lower Egyptian origin for parts of Act I is: *ndr hm.t nb.n Pth sšm(w) nfr n Sh.t n bi3 n mw.t(=k) 3s.t* “Grasp the harpoon, which Ptah, the Goodly Guide, forged for the Fen-goddess from copper

⁴⁵⁹ See *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 11, p. 69, line 9, p. 71, lines 5-6, p. 75, line 1, p. 77, line 1.

⁴⁶⁰ See *Edfou VI*, p. 65, line 7, p. 68, line 7, p. 72, line 5, p. 76, line 1, p. 78, line 4.

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 24-25.

⁴⁶² Cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 84-99, figs. 7-11; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 217.

⁴⁶³ See Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 30.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁴⁶⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 7.

⁴⁶⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 9; cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (Continued),” p. 8, textual note i.

and for (your) mother Isis.”⁴⁶⁷ Ptah, of course, is the god of Memphis and the Fen-goddess seems to be a Lower Egyptian goddess, whom we met above in a hippopotamus hunting song that also mentions Neith. At one point Isis states *mk (w)i ii.kwi*⁴⁶⁸ *m mw.t m 3ḥ-bi.t in=i n=k pḥwy n p(3) db/ḥ3b šsr sš* “See, I have come as the mother in Chemmis that I may bring for you an end to the hippopotamus, which destroyed (?)⁴⁶⁹ the nest.”⁴⁷⁰ Of course this refers to the mythical birthplace of Horus at Chemmis near Buto a myth known since the Old Kingdom. Another section mentions several major cities as being in joy *m33=sn mnw pn nfr w3ḥ ir.n Ḥr s3 3s.t qd.n=f P šḥkr(.w) m nbw b3k(.w) qn(.w) m d‘m iw dṛy.t=f nfr.t špsy.t m sni r [ns.t] Nb-r-dṛ ḥm=f m Ḥ3-nfr idb.w Ḥr ḥr dw3=f ḥr ḥ.t it=f Wsir 3m.n=f i3.t n it=f sm3‘-ḥrw=f ir(.w) wšb ḥr=f* “when they see this beautiful and enduring monument, which Horus Son of Isis made, after he built Pe, adorned with gold, worked and finished with electrum. Its beautiful and noble chapel resembling the [throne] of the Lord-of-All. His Majesty is in Memphis, while the Banks-of-Horus (Egypt/the Two Lands) are extolling him, because of the estate of his father Osiris, he having seized the office of his father causing him to be justified and avenging him.”⁴⁷¹ By long tradition, Pe was the capital of Lower Egypt, although how historically accurate was this belief is debatable. However, as the reference to Memphis shows, this section likely refers to an ancient *national* myth about Horus, rather than a solely Lower Egyptian tradition. Seth is sometimes called *K3-mḥy* “Lower Egyptian Bull” or “Bull of the (papyrus) Marsh,”⁴⁷² and even if the latter translation is correct it probably also associated him with Lower Egypt in people’s minds. Cries

⁴⁶⁷ *Edfou* VI, p. 67, line 3.

⁴⁶⁸ Written $\overline{\text{ḥ}}\Delta$.

⁴⁶⁹ Literally “slayed.”

⁴⁷⁰ *Edfou* VI, p. 74, line 2.

⁴⁷¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 70, lines 4-8.

⁴⁷² *Edfou* VI, p. 61, line 8; p. 67, line 5.

of lamentation over his death in Kenmet associate him with Kharga Oasis.⁴⁷³ No place in the text associates Seth with his ancient home of Ombos.

In Act II, Scene I the relief scene shows only a single Horus but he is now *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr* ‘3 nb p.t nb Msn ndr iry-ḥ3.t ‘ḥ3.t=f“Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, who holds fast, helmsman in his warship.”⁴⁷⁴ The union of Horus the Behdetite with Horus Lord of Mesen here is likely symbolic of the defeat of Seth representing the union of Upper Egypt (associated with the Behdetite) and Lower Egypt (associated with Horus Lord of Mesen).⁴⁷⁵ Although Seth is defeated, Isis encourages Horus’ followers to partake of the slaughter.⁴⁷⁶ The followers of Horus consist of the royal children, the crew of Horus’ bark and the harpooners of Horus Lord of Mesen and Horus the Behdetite.⁴⁷⁷ Two harpooners with harpoons and knives are depicted behind the king, who is arrayed like Onuris harpooning a hippopotamus from land.⁴⁷⁸ In Scene II Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen is depicted twice: once on land harpooning a hippopotamus and once in a bark with Thoth behind him.⁴⁷⁹ Before him at left is the queen playing a pair of sistra and two rows of women (3 each row) playing small drums. The women in the upper row represent the princesses of Upper Egypt and the women of Pe and Dep (*sic*), while the lower row represents the princesses of Lower Egypt and

⁴⁷³ *Edfou VI*, p. 69, line 10; cf. p. 74, line 3; Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Continued*),” p. 35, n. 26.

⁴⁷⁴ *Edfou VI*, p. 81, lines 8-9; cf. *Edfou XIII*, pls. 507-508.

⁴⁷⁵ Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 30.

⁴⁷⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 79, line 11-p. 81, line 6.

⁴⁷⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 79, lines 1-4.

⁴⁷⁸ *Edfou XIII*, pls. 507-508; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 101, fig. 12; Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Concluded*),” p. 5.

⁴⁷⁹ *Edfou XIII*, pls. 509-510; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 105, fig. 13.

the women of Busiris.⁴⁸⁰ One would expect that the princesses of Upper Egypt would be paired with the women of an Upper Egyptian city, such as Edfu.⁴⁸¹ Fairman believed this discrepancy was a mistake of the scribe, who was using a Lower Egyptian prototype.⁴⁸² At another place in the scene the women of Busiris⁴⁸³ and of Pe and Dep⁴⁸⁴ are encouraged to rejoice over the victory of Horus. The scribe may have used a Lower Egyptian prototype, as Fairman believed, or may have looked below and confused what became *Edfou* VI, p. 83, line 2 with what became *Edfou* VI, p. 83, line 9. This latter section that invokes the people of Busiris and Pe and Dep to rejoice might be parallel with a section in Act III, Scene II: *Hr in=f p(3) h(3)b r hnw=f hnt P-Msn ršy n=tn i n3y Dḅ3 šhr Hr hfty.w=f h“ r=tn wny.w nw lwn.t wnp=l*⁴⁸⁵ *wn-mw=f n wnn=f* “Horus, he brings the hippopotamus to his residence in Pe-Mesen.⁴⁸⁶ Rejoice O inhabitants of Edfu as Horus causes his enemies to fall. Be cheerful those who are of Dendera, as (Horus) stabs his opponent and he (no longer) exists!”⁴⁸⁷ The king disappears from the figures of the relief, probably because he is considered to be one with Horus the Behdetite.⁴⁸⁸ Indeed, Scene II speaks of the crowning of the Behdetite as king of all of Egypt: *psd.ti m 3h.t shk(w) m w3d bnd(w) m ins pgs.ti m hkr.w=f hḡ.t dšr.t mn.ti m tp=f w3d.ty imy.ty inh.wy=f(y) šsp.n=f hḡ3.t nḡ3ḡ3 h‘(w) m shm.ty wr(ty) Shm.t mn.ti m-ḡ3.t=f Dḡwty hr ir(t) s3=f*“(Come and see Horus at the prow of his bark like Re) when he shines in the horizon decorated in green cloth, clad in

⁴⁸⁰ *Edfou* VI, p. 82, lines 8-9 and p. 83, line 2; Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Concluded*),” p. 8.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 22.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Edfou* VI, p. 83, line 6.

⁴⁸⁴ *Edfou* VI, p. 83, line 9.

⁴⁸⁵ Read *wnp=f*.

⁴⁸⁶ Most likely this is a reference to the Late Period name of the city of Edfu as Pe-Mesen, rather than to the cities of Pe and Mesen.

⁴⁸⁷ *Edfou* VI, p. 86, lines 8-10.

⁴⁸⁸ Cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, pp. 30-33.

bright red cloth, decked in his ornaments; the White Crown and the Red Crown firmly on his head, the two uraei, which are between his brows, he having received the crook and flail being crowned with the great Double Crown, while Sekhmet remains in front of him, Thoth making his protection.”⁴⁸⁹ The scene concerns the celebration of Horus’ victory and his coronation. Act III, Scene I depicts Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen standing upon the hippopotamus that he is harpooning, with Isis behind him and before him are two rows of gods (5 above and 4 below). This scene concerns the first dismemberment of Seth and the gods depicted are the recipients of the body parts. They are Osiris-Wennefer the Justified, Haroeris, Foremost of Letopolis, Onuris of This, Wepwawat of Hermopolis Magna, Tefnut of Asyut, Khnum-Haroeris, Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, Nephthys and Isis. Body parts are also to go to the cats and worms and to the young harpooners and their children.⁴⁹⁰ After an interlude (Scene II), in which the people of Edfu and Dendera are told to rejoice over Horus’ victory, there is another dismemberment of Seth (Scene III) with a distribution of the body parts to the gods. In this scene the stage directions to bring in a cake in the form of a hippo are preserved: *st3 p(3) h(3)b n š’(t) m-[b3h (?)] p(3) f3i-’ sdf(3) in mnḥwy šd md3.t tn r=f in ḥry-ḥb.t m ibd sn Pr.t hrw 21* “Dragging (in) the hippopotamus of cake before (?) He-of-Uplifted-Arm (Horus the Behdetite). Dismembering (as provisions) by the butcher. Recital of this book against him by the Chief Lector Priest⁴⁹¹ in the second month of *Peret*-season, day 21.”⁴⁹² There are also instructions to bring in a goose and

⁴⁸⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 83, lines 10-12.

⁴⁹⁰ See *Edfou VI*, p. 84, lines 10-14 and p. 84, line 15-p. 85, line 10; cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Concluded*),” pp. 11-12.

⁴⁹¹ In *Edfou VI*, p. 87, line 9 the chief lector priest is identified as “Imhotep the Great, Son of Ptah.”

⁴⁹² *Edfou VI*, p. 88, lines 1-2.

pour grain down its mouth.⁴⁹³ All of this is also depicted in the relief of the scene, with the king performing the rite with the goose.⁴⁹⁴ The priests are instructed to tell the women of Busiris and of Utjeset-Hor to rejoice.⁴⁹⁵ The gods to which the body parts of the hippo are to be distributed are not identical to those in Scene I. They are Osiris the Healthy-Wakeful-One, who lives in the “House of the Prince,” Ipy-sehedj of Dep, Thoth of Hermopolis, a god named “Great-of-Strength,” Wenut, the hare-goddess of Hermopolis, Khnum “in the Temple” (?), Wadjet of the Two Uraei, Horus the Primeval, the Birds who Make Judgment in Djebaut, Sepa, the Disease Demons of Dep, Khemuiyt, the Songstress of Lower Egypt, Isis, the young harpooners and their children and, finally, Horus, who takes the head in order to assume the White Crown.⁴⁹⁶ There are some similarities in the body parts dispersed to the gods in each list.⁴⁹⁷ However, there are many more differences in the two groups. There is nothing in the two groups to suggest a double rite; one for Upper and one for Lower Egypt.⁴⁹⁸ Fairman suggests that, because in Scene I Horus appears but not the king, whereas in Scene III the king appears but not Horus, the first rite was for Horus and the second for the king, although the text of the Epilogue emphasizes that the victory is that of both Horus and of the king.⁴⁹⁹ This is quite plausible but the two groups of gods might derive from two different, but similar, traditions.

⁴⁹³ *Edfou VI*, p. 88, lines 7-8.

⁴⁹⁴ *Edfou XIII*, pl. 514; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 113, fig. 16.

⁴⁹⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 88, lines 3-4.

⁴⁹⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 89, line 6-p. 90, line 2.

⁴⁹⁷ In both lists Isis takes the front and back ends of Seth. The foreleg goes to a form of Osiris in each list. The shoulder in Scene I goes to Wepwawat of Hermopolis and in Scene III it goes to Thoth of Hermopolis; the large or great meat portion goes to a form of Khnum in each list.

⁴⁹⁸ This is noted by Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 32.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid*; cf. *Edfou VI*, p. 90, lines 3-18.

The Legend of the Winged Disk and the Triumph of Horus are similar in the fact that Horus the Behdetite slays Seth in the form of a hippopotamus and does so from a bark. There is even a mention of devouring a body part of the enemy in the Legend of the Winged Disk.⁵⁰⁰ However, here is one of the many differences between the two texts: in the Legend of the Winged Disk the body part is the kidneys but the kidneys are not mentioned in the list of body parts in the Triumph of Horus. More important is the complete absence of a mention of the winged sun disk in the sacred drama, except for one mention in the epithets of the king.⁵⁰¹ In the Legend of the Winged Disk Horus the Behdetite fights on behalf of Re-Horakhty from the bark of Re-Horakhty. In the Triumph of Horus Re is only mentioned in the Epilogue as one of the victorious gods.⁵⁰² In the Triumph of Horus Isis is a major character but in the Legend of the Winged Disk she only appears once to request that the Winged Disk/Horus the Behdetite protect her son.⁵⁰³ Indeed, in the “Triumph of Horus” Horus the Behdetite/Horus Lord of Mesen is Horus Son of Isis.⁵⁰⁴ Only in Act I, Scene III is there a possible case where the gods have separate identities. There the chorus tells Horus the Behdetite (?)⁵⁰⁵ to *snsn n Hr* “Make common cause with Horus.”⁵⁰⁶ In the Triumph of Horus Seth is frequently called *K3-mhy* “Lower Egyptian Bull” but he is never called this in the Legend of the Winged Disk. There is no

⁵⁰⁰ See *Edfou VI*, p. 127, lines 12-14.

⁵⁰¹ The king is *imy-r3 Bhd.t mnḥ n 'py* “Overseer of Behdet, one excellent on behalf of the Winged Sun Disk”; *Edfou VI*, p. 72, line 13.

⁵⁰² *Edfou VI*, p. 90, line 6.

⁵⁰³ *Edfou VI*, p. 120, line 9.

⁵⁰⁴ The texts of the reliefs, at least, imply this, because in the dramatic text proper the god is just called Horus; see below.

⁵⁰⁵ The text does not actually give a name to the god it addresses. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus-II (*Continued*),” p. 12, textual note c, believed that the chorus addresses Horus the Behdetite; Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, p. 75, textual note d, did not know which god is addressed but suggests “Peut-être s’agit-il de Khnoum?”

⁵⁰⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 69, lines 8-9.

enumeration of harpoons in the Legend of the Winged Disk. Many of the place names in the Legend of the Winged Disk are absent in the Triumph of Horus. The women of Busiris, Pe and Dep and Utjeset-Hor, the lamenting in Kenmet/Kharga are all absent in the Legend of the Winged Disk. Many more examples can be given but are not necessary; these two texts are only loosely related to each other, at best.

What is the age of the Triumph of Horus? The texts were carved *c.* 110 B.C.E. but Fairman notes that scattered quotations from the text are found even in the earliest parts of the temple and the play was probably performed a short time after the foundations were laid in 237 B.C.E.⁵⁰⁷ A text on the wall where the play is inscribed states that *s3wy=f sphr.ti m-stwt-r=f hr B3.w-R'* “its wall is inscribed conformably with (?) the Emanations of Re.”⁵⁰⁸ This means that the wall was inscribed with old texts considered sacred⁵⁰⁹ but we do not know how old. The text has several Late Egyptian features such as the definite article, the possessive article *p(3y)=*, the preposition *m* being replaced with *n*, *iri* used in the periphrastic construction for the *sdm=f* and the plural pronoun *=w* in place of *=sn*.⁵¹⁰ Based on these features, Fairman suggests that it is “a slightly edited and modernized version of a compilation of the later New Kingdom.”⁵¹¹ A fair amount of editing must have taken place in the Ptolemaic Period due to the number of words or forms found only from that time. Words only known from the Greco-Roman Period are *hr.t*

⁵⁰⁷ See *Triumph of Horus*, p. 33.

⁵⁰⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 14, lines 12-13; cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus-II (Continued),” p. 22, n. 7; Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 958.

⁵⁰⁹ Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 299-300.

⁵¹⁰ See Drioton, *Le texte dramatique d’Edfou*, p. 51; cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34; Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 683.

⁵¹¹ *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34.

“water,”⁵¹² *wn-mw* “opponent,”⁵¹³ and *wdi-r-s’rq* “to make an end of” (with *m*).⁵¹⁴ The name of the god *Wnty* or *Dwnty* written  is only found in the Greco-Roman Period.⁵¹⁵ As is true with most of the hippopotamus rite texts from Edfu, many words, which are known to have existed previously, are written in Ptolemaic Period forms. The word for “hippopotamus” *h3b* used through out the text is given in the late form without the 3 with Ptolemaic Period signs: . The word *hn* “with” is written through out in its Ptolemaic forms.⁵¹⁶ The word *dd* “to say” is written ,⁵¹⁷ *nfr* “good” is ,⁵¹⁸ *mki* “to protect” is ,⁵¹⁹ ‘3 “great” is ⁵²⁰ and *sdr* “to sleep” is ,⁵²¹ all of which are Ptolemaic forms.⁵²² *Sti* “to pour out” has a Ptolemaic determinative:

⁵¹² *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 9; see *Wb.* III, p. 144, no. 4.

⁵¹³ *Edfou VI*, p. 86, line 9; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 229.

⁵¹⁴ *Edfou VI*, p. 79, line 2; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 276.

⁵¹⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 6; see *Wb.* V, p. 433, nos. 6-9; Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus-II (*Continued*),” pp. 30-31, n. 17.

⁵¹⁶ See, for example, *Edfou VI*, p. 66, line 11 and p. 73, line 5.

⁵¹⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 80, line 11 and p. 89, line 6.

⁵¹⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 61, line 6 and p. 70, line 4.

⁵¹⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 73, 2.

⁵²⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 80, line 3.

⁵²¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 66, line 10.

⁵²² See François Daumas, ed. *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d’époque gréco-romaine*, vol. 1 (Montpellier: Institut d’Égyptologie Université Paul-Valéry, 1988), p. 245, no. 549 for *dd*; *ibid.*, p. 244, no. 543 for *nfr*; *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 296, no. 1264 and *Wb.* II, p. 160 for *mki*; Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques*, vol. 1, p. 139, no. 279 for ‘3; and *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 580, no. 55 and *Wb.* IV, p. 390 for *sdr*.

𓆎. ⁵²³ An unknown word *dm3t*⁵²⁴ includes the sign 𓆎, which is only found in late texts.⁵²⁵

There is one case of the Greco-Roman Period 1st person, singular feminine stative ending 𓆎.⁵²⁶

Texts D and E are found on the internal west wall of the enclosure wall at Edfu.⁵²⁷ A single scene is found with these texts,⁵²⁸ which depicts the king offering a staff with the head of a falcon. The word for this object is *mdw*, which is usually translated as “staff” but this staff is also a weapon used in the hippopotamus rituals, is said to be sharp and can be fitted with a harpoon blade.⁵²⁹ In Text B (the ritual of the grape-drink) it is used to overthrow rebels and is called the “staff of Re.”⁵³⁰ The staff is offered to Horus the Behdetite, who is escorted by Hathor of Dendera, who Dwells in Behdet and Isis.⁵³¹

Text D reads much like a literary tale. The tale begins in month two of *Akhet*-season, day 18 when Isis informs Thoth that she is pregnant with the son of Osiris, with the implication that she fears for her unborn son. Thoth tells her to go to Edfu (*Db3*) to inform Horus the Behdetite, who will protect her and the child.⁵³² Isis goes to see the Behdetite, who asks Thoth to recite

⁵²³ *Edfou VI*, p. 70, line 10; cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 329.

⁵²⁴ Possibly we have a miswriting of *dm3.t-pdw.t* “vulture ornament,” since there is mention following the word of the adornments of Horus’ harpooners; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1195.

⁵²⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 79, line 8; see *Wb.* V, p. 452.

⁵²⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 74, line 2; cf. Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, vol. 2, p. 724, § 140.

⁵²⁷ However, it is unlikely that it was actually used in the killing of a hippopotamus. See *Edfou VI*, pp. 213-219 (=D), 219-223 (=E); *Edfou XIV*, pls. 576-581 (=D), 582-584 (=E) and see *Edfou X*, pl. 159; translations: Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 256-262, no. 37.

⁵²⁸ *Edfou XIV*, pl. 576.

⁵²⁹ See *Edfou VI*, p. 213, lines 7-10; *Wb II*, p. 178, nos. 1-2; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 479. This is the same staff/harpoon used to plug the hole that Seth fled down in the form of a snake in the Legend of the Winged Disk (*Edfou VI*, p. 121, lines 9-11).

⁵³⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 135, line 1.

⁵³¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 213, lines 7-11.

⁵³² *Edfou VI*, p. 214, lines 1-3.

magic to protect Osiris, Thoth praises the Behdetite and asks if he will protect the birth of Horus from Seth.⁵³³ After some time Isis gives birth to Horus in Chemmis in the 4th month of *Peret*-season, day 28. Then after a few years Seth and his confederates come to fight Horus Son of Isis and his followers. An interesting verbal exchange occurs between Horus and Seth, which Thoth explains to Re: *ḏd.n Stš my Mdy* () *ḥ3s.t ḏd m*⁵³⁴ *mṯ3* () [. .] . *ḏd.n R' n Dḥwty iḥ p3 nty iw=w ḏd{n} im=f Hr ḥn' Stš Dḥwty ḏd=f m-b3ḥ=f Stš ḏd=f n Hr iw my di=n ḏd r Mdy.w n3 rn.w n3 ḥ3sty.w ḏd.n Hr n Stš mṯ3 n rn rmt n Km.t m-di Stš*“(and) Seth said (to Horus) ‘Come (you) *Medey* of a foreign land!’ which was said as a challenge [. .] . ; and Re said to Thoth ‘What is this which they say (namely) Horus and Seth?’ and Thoth said in his presence ‘Seth said to Horus “Come, let us say *Medey* (are) the names of the foreigners” and Horus said to Seth “A challenge to the names of the Egyptians from Seth!”⁵³⁵ The name *Mdy* usually refers to Seth⁵³⁶ and here seems to mean “foreigner.”⁵³⁷ Seth, the god of foreign lands, is thus insulting Horus by casting doubt on whether he is truly Egyptian.⁵³⁸ The origin of the word *mdy* is disputed.⁵³⁹ Kees believed it was derived from the word “Mede.”⁵⁴⁰ The word *Mḏ3w/Mḏ3y* the word for the country that supplied mercenary troops and police for Egypt has also been

⁵³³ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, lines 3-8; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 257.

⁵³⁴ Written as *o* but must be read as *m* since there is no subject.

⁵³⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 8-p. 215, line 3; cf. H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), p. 148.

⁵³⁶ Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 149; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 478; *Wb.* II, p. 177, no. 21.

⁵³⁷ Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 148-149.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁹ See the discussion in *ibid* and Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 478.

⁵⁴⁰ Hermann Kees, “Kultlegende und Urgeschichte: grundsätzliche Bemerkungen zum Horusmythus von Edfu,” *NAWG Phil.-hist. Kl., Fachgruppe 1*, no. 3 (1930), p. 347, n. 2.

suggested as the origin of *Mdy*.⁵⁴¹ The origin of the word would have implications for the dating of the text, since the people and land of Medjay are attested from an early time, whereas the Medes are only known from the Late Period. Its context in Text D seems to be an insult to Horus; since the Medjay had long been a part of Egyptian society, “Mede” would seem to have a more offensive tone given the word’s association with the Persians.⁵⁴² Re now calls on Horus the Behdetite, also called “Horus Lord of Mesen, who Dwells in Edfu (*Dḥ3*),” to protect Horus Son of Isis.⁵⁴³ Isis asks Horus Lord of Mesen, as he is called in this section, to give her son a ship and he orders his followers to do so.⁵⁴⁴ Seth transforms into a red hippopotamus and travels with his followers to Upper Egypt but Horus Lord of Mesen, along with Isis and her son are said to travel to Lower Egypt. This is, perhaps, to hide and protect Isis’ son, who is still a young child, because Isis and her son do not appear to voyage south with Horus Lord of Mesen. *‘ḥ’.n ḡd.n Ḥr nb Msn Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t nb Msn nb t3.wy ḥr=tw r=f n Stš s3 Nw.t iw=k r-ṯn p3 whi-n-sn=f ‘ḥ’.n ḡd.n=f n‘i(=i) r 3bw S.t-i3b.(t) ‘ḥ’(.n) nis sgb ‘3 n-ḡr 3s.t ḥn’ s3=s Ḥr r t3 p.t my m ṯ3w ‘3 mḥy.t r Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t nb Msn nb t3.wy ‘ḥ3.(wt)=f ṯ3w m-‘q3=w pḥ=sn Stš ḥn’ sm(3)y.w[=f] m-‘q3 n Wṯs.t-Ḥr Dḥ3 pw* “Then Horus Lord of Mesen, who is called Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Lord of the Two Lands said to Seth, Son of Nut, ‘Where are you, O one who failed his brother?’ Then he (Seth) said, ‘I shall voyage to Elephantine, the Place-of-the-Left-(Leg of Osiris).’⁵⁴⁵ Then Isis and her son Horus let out a very great cry to the sky, ‘Come with a great wind, a north-wind (O Sky) to

⁵⁴¹ See J. Gwyn Griffiths, “The Interpretation of the Horus-myth of Edfu,” *JEA* 44 (1958), pp. 77-78; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 478.

⁵⁴² Cf. te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 148-149.

⁵⁴³ *Edfou* VI, p. 215, lines 3-9.

⁵⁴⁴ *Edfou* VI, p. 215, line 9-p. 216, line 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 258.

Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Lord of the Two Lands and (to) his warships!’ A wind was behind⁵⁴⁶ them as they reached Seth and [his] confederates precisely at Utjeset-Hor, which is Edfu.”⁵⁴⁷ Seth is said to transform into a hippopotamus, while Horus the Behdetite, who again is primarily called by this name now that he is in Edfu, changes into a young man. A description of the size of his boat, the length of the blade, shaft and rope of his harpoon and the depth of the water above the hippopotami is given followed by the phrase *ḥ3'.n=i m imn.t=i sš.n=i m i3b.t=i mi irr.n šḥ.ty qn* “It is with my right hand that I hurled (the harpoon); it is with my left hand that I swung (the rope), just as does a valiant fen-man.”⁵⁴⁸ A nearly identical passage is found at the end of the Prologue of Text C.⁵⁴⁹ Following this is another sentence found in Text C: *ḥmty tpy mn(.w) m fnd=f fdg.n=f šr.ty=f(y)* “The first harpoon is fast in his nose, it having severed his nostrils.”⁵⁵⁰ The second harpoon is mentioned in a later section but the text there and the lines about the second harpoon in Text C are too damaged to tell if the wording is the same.⁵⁵¹ Horus the Behdetite hurls his harpoon at Seth and Seth flees to the north followed by Horus.⁵⁵² Isis and Horus Son of Isis are now with Horus the Behdetite (called “Hornefer” and, again, “Horus Lord of Mesen”). Isis now repeats a phrase that is also found in Text C: *dp.t is.ti nt(y)-im=s m nḥn* “The boat is light and the one who is in it is a child.”⁵⁵³ Finally, Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen reaches Pe and Dep and gives the office

⁵⁴⁶ Literally “opposite.”

⁵⁴⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, lines 4-9.

⁵⁴⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, line 11-p. 217, line 1.

⁵⁴⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 61, lines 7-10; cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (Continued),” pp. 27-28.

⁵⁵⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 217, line 1 and see VI, p. 64, line 11 (Text C).

⁵⁵¹ See *Edfou VI*, p. 217, line 7 and p. 64, line 3.

⁵⁵² *Edfou VI*, p. 217, lines 1-4.

⁵⁵³ *Edfou VI*, p. 217, line 7; cf. VI, p. 69, lines 10-11.

of Osiris to Horus Son of Isis and, as in the sacred drama of Text C, the red hippo is carved up and apportioned to Isis, Horus Son of Isis, Osiris, the harpooners and their children, to the dogs and worms. The list of recipients is similar to, but not exactly the same as those in the sacred drama. Thoth now begins a hymn of praise of Horus the Behdetite as ruler over both halves of Egypt.⁵⁵⁴ Horus the Behdetite is recognized as Re and it is that god's role that he plays at the end, whereas Horus Son of Isis is in the role of the king of Egypt. The text ends with a somewhat charming description (poem?) of the young Horus in the marshes where he is a sort of "Mother Nature's Son": *s3 nḥn [n sd]3.n=f r [Stš (?) s]mi.t m mk(.t) ḥp=f dr.t=f m ḥp(.w) pr s3 isw (?) m nw ['py].n=f 3pd.w m nw[=f ḥ]rw b3.w(t) m sr.w m iw ḥr=f nm(ḥ) Ḥr s3 [3s.t]* "The young son [does not tre]mble before [Seth (?) (for) the veg]etation is a protection as he runs and his hand is (upon) the *hep*-plants, while the *sa*-plants come forth (as) a replacement for a diaper. When [he] looks up the birds [fly] to him. The bushes (are full of) geese (which) are coming because of him;⁵⁵⁵ the Orphan, Horus Son of [Isis]."⁵⁵⁶

The text has several Late Egyptian forms. The definite article is often used,⁵⁵⁷ as well as the relative construction *p3 nty*.⁵⁵⁸ There is use of the Late Egyptian 3rd person plural suffix pronoun *w*.⁵⁵⁹ There is the use of the Late Egyptian stative reduced ending *.tw* for 1st Person

⁵⁵⁴ *Edfou* VI, p. 217, line 8-p. 218, line 8.

⁵⁵⁵ Literally "The bushes with geese are coming because of him" but this makes little sense in English.

⁵⁵⁶ *Edfou* VI, p. 218, line 8-p. 219, line 3.

⁵⁵⁷ *P3: Edfou* VI, p. 214, line 9, p. 216, line 5; *n3*: p. 215, line 2, p. 217, line 9, p. 218, line 1.

⁵⁵⁸ *Edfou* VI, p. 215, line 1.

⁵⁵⁹ *Edfou* VI, p. 215, line 1.

feminine.⁵⁶⁰ The imperative *my* “Come” appears in the feminine singular (𓆎𓆏𓆑)⁵⁶¹ and plural (𓆎𓆏𓆑)⁵⁶² forms found in Late Egyptian and Ptolemaic Period texts.⁵⁶³ The word *sgb* (written *skp*) “to cry out,” noun: “cry,” is only attested from the 19th Dynasty onward.⁵⁶⁴ The words *dmi* “to sail,”⁵⁶⁵ *bb.w* “harpoon floats” (?)⁵⁶⁶ and *hrb* (𓆎𓆏𓆑) “to transform” (used for Seth in place of *hpr* at Edfu, perhaps an invented word used as a form of execration?)⁵⁶⁷ are only known from Greco-Roman Period texts. Among the words in distinctly Ptolemaic forms are 𓆎𓆏 *iw* “to come,”⁵⁶⁸ 𓆎 *dšr* “red,”⁵⁶⁹ 𓆎 *mki* “to protect,”⁵⁷⁰ and 𓆎 *gd* “to say/speak,”⁵⁷¹ among others.

Besides the sections mentioned above, there are other commonalities found in both Texts D and C. In both texts Horus the Behdetite is called *s3 h3 tpy*,⁵⁷² which is either to be translated as “Man of the First Lotus Leaf” or “Man of the First Thousand.”⁵⁷³ As in Text C, Seth is called *K3-mhy* “Lower Egyptian Bull.”⁵⁷⁴ In text D the coronation of Horus takes place in Pe and Dep (Buto) and in Text C (Act II, Scene II) the women of Pe and Dep praise the coronation of

⁵⁶⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 1; cf. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 82.

⁵⁶¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, line 7.

⁵⁶² *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 7.

⁵⁶³ See Adolf Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1933), p. 167, § 354 and Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische*, vol. 2, pp. 751-752, § 156.

⁵⁶⁴ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, line 6; cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 321; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 943.

⁵⁶⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 217, line 5; cf. *Wb.* V, p. 453; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 1196.

⁵⁶⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 215, line 6 and p. 217, line 6; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 315.

⁵⁶⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, lines 2 and 9; cf. *Wb.* III, p. 396, no. 8.

⁵⁶⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 213, line 15, p. 214, line 10, p. 218, line 1 and p. 219, line 2.

⁵⁶⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 217, line 9; cf. p. 216, line 2 with fish determinative.

⁵⁷⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 8 and p. 215, line 11 (in the name of Horus the Behdetite’s bark ‘3-mk.t).

⁵⁷¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 12.

⁵⁷² *Edfou VI*, p. 64, line 8 and p. 215, line 7.

⁵⁷³ Cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II (*Continued*),” pp. 21-22; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 699; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 218.

⁵⁷⁴ *Edfou VI*, p. 216, line 11.

Horus.⁵⁷⁵ However, in Text D Horus the Behdetite causes Horus Son of Isis to be crowned, while in Text C Horus the Behdetite *is* Horus Son of Isis, who is crowned (or this is implied from the reliefs, since in the dramatic text the god is just named “Horus”).⁵⁷⁶ There are some commonalities of Text D with Texts A (Legend of the Winged Disk) and B (ritual of the grape-drink). As in Text B, Horus the Behdetite and Horus Son of Isis are completely separate deities and in each story Thoth encourages Isis to seek out the help of Horus the Behdetite on behalf of her son against Seth.⁵⁷⁷ Re takes part in the story as in Text A and unlike Text C. In both Text A and Text D Thoth praises Horus the Behdetite as *Sb3-dw3* the “Morning Star.”⁵⁷⁸ More important is the fact that in Text D Horus the Behdetite becomes Horus Lord of Mesen when in the Delta⁵⁷⁹ while in Text A Horus the Behdetite takes the epithet of “Lord of Mesen” only when he is in the area of Sile, i.e. “Mesen” in Lower Egypt. He also takes the form of a lion in Text A, which is a form of Horus Lord of Mesen worshipped at Sile. One might interpret this as a remnant of a Lower Egyptian story of Horus Lord of Mesen and this is certainly possible. The god is again called “Horus the Behdetite,” when he pursues Seth to Edfu. I believe the pattern of use of these epithets in both stories are intentional and have meaning. The evidence is near the end of each text. In Text C, the Legend of the Winged Disk, the outcome of the tale is summed up thus:

ir p(3) 'py nt(y) hr n3 g3.wt n ntr.w ntr.wt nb(.w) nw Šm'w Mhw šm.w=sn mitt Hr Bhd.t(y) pw ir Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t hnty itr.t šm'y.t mtw=tw ir=f hr wnmy Hr Bhd.t(y) pw ir.n=f Nhb.t hn'=f m i'r.t ir Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb [p.t] nb Msn hnty itr.t mhy.t mtw=tw ir[=f] n smhy Hr Bhd.t(y) pw W3dy.t hn'=f m i'r.t ir Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t nb Msn hnty itr.ty Šm'w Mhw di[.n]

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. Edfou VI, p. 217, line 8 and p. 83, lines 2-14.

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. Blackman and Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-II,” p. 33.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. Edfou VI, p. 135, lines 6-12 and p. 214, lines 1-8.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Edfou VI, p. 130, line 5 and p. 214, line 5.

⁵⁷⁹ The epithet “Horus the Behdetite” is not used in that section of the story.

*s(w) R'-Hr-3h.ty m s.t=f nb(.t) [r] shr sbi.w m bw nb nt(y)=sn im dd=tw n=f hnty itr.ty Šm'w
Mhw hr=s r-mn hrw pn*

As for the Winged Sun Disk, which is upon the shrines of all of the gods and goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt (and) their chapels likewise, it is Horus the Behdetite. As for Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, let him be placed on the right side. He is Horus the Behdetite and he has taken⁵⁸⁰ Nekhbet with him as uraeus. As for Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the [Sky], Lord of Mesen, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, let him be placed to the left. He is Horus the Behdetite and Wadjet is with him as uraeus. As for Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Foremost of the Shrine Rows of Upper and Lower Egypt, Re-Horakhty has placed him in all of his places [in order to] overthrow the rebels in every place in which they are and he is called Foremost of the Shrine Rows of Upper and Lower Egypt from this day.⁵⁸¹

In Text D Thoth praises Horus the Behdetite:

*Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t nb Msn hnty itr.t šm'y.t hnty itr.t mhy.t hd=k r T3-Šm'w hn' 'h3y.w(t)=k
hn' šms.w=k d[gi]=k sw hd=k hnty=k r mr-ib=k Šm'w Mhw htm.ti hr [rn]=k m [sš]y(.t) n(t)
Dhwty dsf . . . ntk nb nhh ntk R' rn=k pw n R'*

O Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row, may you sail north to Upper Egypt (*sic*) with your warships and your followers. May you [perceive] him (Seth). May you sail north, may you sail south according to your desire! Upper and Lower Egypt are sealed with your [name] in the [writings] of Thoth himself! . . . You are the Lord of Eternity! You are Re; this your name is Re!⁵⁸²

The point of both texts is that Horus the Behdetite is sovereign over both parts of Egypt. Just as the pharaoh is king of Upper Egypt in the title *ny-sw.t* and king of Lower Egypt in the title *bi.ty*, Horus the Behdetite is sovereign over Upper Egypt in the epithet *Bhd.ty* and of Lower Egypt in the epithet *nb Msn*. This is explicitly stated in the text from the Legend of the Winged Disk (Text A) and implied in the section from Text D. The major difference between the two texts is that in Text A he is the servant of Re-Horakhty like the human king of Egypt and in Text D he is identified as Re but this is also like the human king, who is Re on earth, and Re is also treated as a separate being in the story. The reason Horus is identified as Lord of Mesen in Lower Egypt in

⁵⁸⁰ Literally “made.”

⁵⁸¹ *Edfou* VI, p. 129, line 10-p. 130, line 4.

⁵⁸² *Edfou* VI, p. 218, lines 2-5.

Texts A and D is similar to the reason Horus the Behdetite and Horus Lord of Mesen are shown as separate deities at the beginning of the sacred drama of Text C but as the same deity at the end of the play and that is to emphasize the union of the Two Lands with the defeat of Seth.

Text E⁵⁸³ is a badly damaged text but the basic story can be followed. It appears to be titled *rh p(3) hrw n ms(w) Hr i.ir [hn (?) mw.t]=f 3s.t m-hnw 3h-bi.t r t3y (?) [. .] 3bd 4 pr.t hrw 28 m [gr]h* “Knowing (about) the birth of Horus, which his [mother] Isis [fulfilled (?)]⁵⁸⁴ in Chemmis at that (?)⁵⁸⁵ [time (?)] (in) the 4th month of *Peret*-season, day 28 during the [ni]ght.”⁵⁸⁶ The gods rejoiced, except for Seth: *wn.in Stš rs[w iw] mn[m]n sm3.t=f hr=f nwr ib=f* “Then Seth awoke [and] his bead was shaking under him. His heart trembled.”⁵⁸⁷ Seth travels to the Delta and checks every chick in every nest for years in search of Horus but does not find him.⁵⁸⁸ Horus grows into a strong young man. He fights Seth in Wadjet of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome. Seth is killed, cut up and embalmed in the 5th Upper Egyptian nome (Two Gods Nome). Seth’s followers go to Shashotep. We are then told that Horus is the lord of Lower Egypt and resides in Memphis, while Seth is lord of Upper Egypt and resides in Shashotep.⁵⁸⁹ Horus, evidently unsatisfied with this arrangement, then goes to Upper Egypt, defeats him and drives

⁵⁸³ *Edfou VI*, p. 219, line 5-p. 223, line 2; *Edfou XIV*, pls. 582-584; translation: Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, pp. 260-262.

⁵⁸⁴ Cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 260.

⁵⁸⁵ The text has  followed by a small gap; cf. *Wb. V*, p. 212, no. 4: “bis zu Diesem [Jahr].” I do not understand Kurth’s translation of “die wohl geschah [im]” in *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 260.

⁵⁸⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 219, lines 5-6.

⁵⁸⁷ *Edfou VI*, p. 219, lines 8-9.

⁵⁸⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, lines 1-3.

⁵⁸⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, line 3-p. 221, line 3.

him out of Egypt fighting him all the way to Byblos.⁵⁹⁰ Horus is now lord of both Upper and Lower Egypt and sits upon the throne of his father Osiris.⁵⁹¹ A text follows that is an interpretation of the previous tale:

wh' n mdw tn ir wn Hr m šm r [wh3 p3 hfty n (?)] Wsir iw=w dd n=f gm=f m-b3h t.t [n mrh.t n W3bwi] iw Hr (hr) šm r W3bwi iw=f (hr) gm [S]tš (?) [. . . iw]=f (hr) ir(.t) hprw=f n '3 dšr m-dr nw=f r Hr n w3 iw Hr (hr) ir(.t) [hprw=f n hwn '3 ph.ty] iw=w (hr) 'h3 m-ht iw Hr (hr) di(.t) h(3)=f iw=f (hr) š'.t hpš=f iw=f [(hr) . . iw=f (hr) t]3i=f r Hw.t Nni-ny-sw.t iw=f (hr) di(.t) n p3 t.t ntt hr p3 mrh.t iw=f (hr) dd n=[sn . . iw=i] (r) 3w n pfy iw Hr (hr) t]3i(.t) p3 hfty (n) Wsir iw=w (hr) gm=f mwt=f iw=w (hr) qrs=f m⁵⁹² s.t=f m Hw.t Nni-ny-sw.t iw=w (hr) dd n=f nn rwd (r)=f⁵⁹³ hr s.t=f r-mn hrw pn 3bd 3 Šmw hrw 9 hrw pw iwr 3s.t n s3=s Hr im=f

Interpretation of this text⁵⁹⁴: As for when Horus was going to [search for the enemy of (?)] Osiris; they said to him (that) he should find him before the staff [of the astronomers of Wabui]; and Horus went to Wabui and he found [Se]th (?) [. . . and] he (Seth) changed his form to a red donkey when he saw Horus at a distance, while Horus changed [his form to a young man of great strength]; and they fought afterwards. And Horus caused him to fall and he cut off his foreleg, he [. . he bro]ught it to the Mansion of Herakleopolis and he gave (it) to the staff which were at the building of astronomical instruments,⁵⁹⁵ and he said to [them . . I] will cause That One (Seth) to be far away! And Horus took the enemy of Osiris (away). However, they found him (Osiris) (already) dead and they buried him in his place in the Mansion of Herakleopolis and they say of him ‘There is none who prevails (over) him upon his throne’ from this day. The 3rd month of *Shemu*-season, day 9. It is the day in which Isis conceived her son Horus.⁵⁹⁶

Text E is in a narrative form of Late Egyptian throughout.⁵⁹⁷ There are several differences between this text and the other texts of the “Myth of Horus.” The most important of these is the fact that the god is always called, simply, “Horus.” There is no mention of the “Behdetite,”

⁵⁹⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 221, lines 3-6

⁵⁹¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 221, lines 8-10.

⁵⁹² Written as *n*.

⁵⁹³ Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 262 seems to understand  as a miswriting of *d3r* “to suppress, to subdue” based on his translation of “verdrängt.” I believe the word is *rwd* with a missing *r* before the wrongly placed *f* with the meaning “There is none who prevails over him.” Both interpretations require emendation of the text.

⁵⁹⁴ Literally “word.”

⁵⁹⁵ Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 444; the word has a house-determinative here.

⁵⁹⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 221, line 11-p. 223, line 2.

⁵⁹⁷ Cf. Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 33; as in the interpretive part of the text quoted above, the circumstantial first present is used throughout the text as is common with many Late Egyptian tales; cf. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 207.

“Behdet” (or other names for Edfu), “Mesen” or the “Lord of Mesen.” Seth is not once called a hippopotamus but is a red donkey. Seth is dismembered in one case but is embalmed⁵⁹⁸ and in the interpretative section Horus cuts off his foreleg and takes it to Herakleopolis⁵⁹⁹ but his parts are not distributed for consumption as in the other texts. As in Text D, the birth date of Horus is 4 *Peret*-season, day 28⁶⁰⁰ but in Text D Horus is conceived on 2 *Akhet*-season, day 18,⁶⁰¹ whereas in Text E it occurs on 3 *Shemu*-season, day 9.⁶⁰² The geographical locations in Text E are not found in the other texts. With the exception of the birth of Horus in Chemmis, Seth’s search for him and Horus residing in Memphis, most of the action occurs in Upper Egypt. Nemmi and Shashotep are in the Seth Nome, which is the 11th of Upper Egypt.⁶⁰³ Wadjet, where Horus and Seth fight, is in the 10th Upper Egyptian nome.⁶⁰⁴ Netjerwy, or Two Gods Nome is the 5th nome of Upper Egypt.⁶⁰⁵ Wabui, mentioned in the interpretive text,⁶⁰⁶ is in the 19th Upper Egyptian nome⁶⁰⁷ and Herakleopolis Magna is in the 20th nome.⁶⁰⁸ Neref, which is mentioned in the Legend of the Winged Disk is in the same nome as Herakleopolis⁶⁰⁹ but there is little in

⁵⁹⁸ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, lines 6-7.

⁵⁹⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 222, lines 5-6.

⁶⁰⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 9 and p. 219, line 6.

⁶⁰¹ *Edfou VI*, p. 214, line 1.

⁶⁰² *Edfou VI*, p. 223, line 2.

⁶⁰³ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, line 8 and p. 221, line 2; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 261 and Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 518 and p. 220, line 8; cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 5, pp. 91, 107-108.

⁶⁰⁴ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, line 6; cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, pp. 180-181.

⁶⁰⁵ *Edfou VI*, p. 220, line 7; cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 3, p. 108; cf. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 261.

⁶⁰⁶ *Edfou VI*, p. 222, lines 2-3.

⁶⁰⁷ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, p. 175.

⁶⁰⁸ See Farouk Gomaà, “Herakleopolis magna,” *LÄ II*, col. 1124.

⁶⁰⁹ *Edfou VI*, p. 123, line 8; cf. Fairman, “Myth of Horus at Edfu-I,” p. 39, n. 5; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 3, pp. 66-67.

common geographically between Text E and the other mythical texts. Herakleopolis was an important cult site of Osiris. (Horus) Somtus was also worshipped there and there was a late tradition concerning the coronation of Horus in the city.⁶¹⁰ There is a very good chance that this version of the myth originated in that city. The story is somewhat reminiscent to the story of Horus and Seth in the so-called Memphite Theology. In both there is a division of Egypt between Horus (Lower Egypt) and Seth (Upper Egypt) but then the whole country is turned over to Horus. However, in the Memphite Theology Geb awards Egypt to Horus and Seth is appeased, whereas in Text E Horus seizes Upper Egypt from Seth and drives him out of the country.⁶¹¹

As stated above, the text is in Late Egyptian throughout. It also has fewer Ptolemaic forms but there are some. These include the phrase *sty m nbw* “the strewing-of-gold” meaning “dawn,”⁶¹²  is used to write “Osiris”⁶¹³ and  for *hfty* (?)⁶¹⁵ “enemy.” The text may be largely preserved in its original form with some editing in the Ptolemaic Period. One part of the story is much older than the New Kingdom. The removal of Seth’s foreleg is

⁶¹⁰ Ibid, cols. 1124-1125.

⁶¹¹ See Kurt Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, UGAA 10 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pp. 23, 27-28. Seth is also driven out of Egypt after Horus is crowned king in a mythological text of the Ptolemaic Period in Papyrus Louvre 3129 and Papyrus BM 10252; see *Urk.* IV, p. 10, line 15-p. 13, line 9.

⁶¹² *Edfou* VI, p. 219, line 8; cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 247, no. 7.

⁶¹³ *Edfou* VI, p. 222, line 1; cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 2, p. 528 (no. 210); *Dendara* V, p. 94, line 3.

⁶¹⁴ The actual vessel with streaming water in the text is  but this vase with streaming water is not available in JSesh hieroglyphic font.

⁶¹⁵ *Edfou* VI, p. 222, line 7; Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 726; Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter*, p. 262.

found in Pyramid Text Spell 61.⁶¹⁶ In the other texts Late Egyptianisms appear here and there but are not found throughout the text as in Text E. The same can be said in regards to Ptolemaic words and forms. Grammatically, Ptolemaic temple texts are usually written in a scholarly Middle Egyptian with occasional features from Old and Late Egyptian and Demotic but not with Late Egyptian throughout.⁶¹⁷ The attitude towards Seth seems post Ramesside but if the text originated in Herakleopolis, a center of the cult of Osiris, it may be from the New Kingdom.⁶¹⁸

Fairman believed that Text C, the sacred drama, was “a slightly edited and modernized version of a compilation of the later New Kingdom,” due to the Late Egyptianisms and the fact that the wall it is on is said to be inscribed with the “Emanations-of-Re” (*b3.w Rʹ*).⁶¹⁹ This would hold true for Texts B and D and, perhaps, A as well. Text A has been said to be in an archaic style⁶²⁰ but there is evidence, outlined above, that it dates no earlier than the New Kingdom. All the texts were edited in the Ptolemaic Period, some extensively. Based on the evidence of the texts, one cannot date these texts earlier than the New Kingdom.⁶²¹ This does not mean that the compilers of the texts did not draw upon earlier texts. There was likely some form of ritual harpooning text used at Edfu at the latest by the Middle Kingdom. Without these earlier texts, it is impossible to pull out what may derive from them in the texts from Edfu

⁶¹⁶ See R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English: Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 4, § 42c.

⁶¹⁷ See Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*, vol. 1 (Hützel: Backe-Verlag, 2007), p. 6.

⁶¹⁸ See the comment on the Osirian contexts for these texts below.

⁶¹⁹ *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34.

⁶²⁰ Cf. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, vol. 2, p. 683.

⁶²¹ Cf. Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 35.

Temple. Trying to reconstruct the earliest history of Egypt based on these (or earlier) mythical texts is absurd!⁶²²

Alliot believed that the Legend of the Winged Disk was originally the *md3.t n dr h3b* “Book of Subduing the Hippopotamus” due to its mention in *Edfou* VI, p. 114, line 2.⁶²³

However, as noted above, nothing in the text identifies it as this book. The book would likely be a ritual text and the Legend of the Winged Disk is not a ritual text, although it has instructions of a magical ritual added to the end. The Book of Subduing the Hippopotamus is not mentioned in the list of books of the temple library.⁶²⁴ At the end of Text C, the ritual drama, the lector priest is said to *šd(.w) md3.t tn r=f* “read this book against him (the hippopotamus).”⁶²⁵ This presumably refers to the same book. There is, however, a scene in the temple library showing the king harpooning a hippo before Horus.⁶²⁶ The scene has a limited amount of text with the names of Ptolemy VIII and Horus, who is *Hr nb Msn ntr ‘3 nb p.t i(3)wt[y] nfr m Db3* “Horus Lord of Mesen, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, the Good Harpooner in Edfu.”⁶²⁷ The title is interesting: *hmt tpy mn(.w) m fnd=f tk(s).n=f šr.ty=f(y)* “The first harpoon is firm in his nose, it

⁶²² Even Fairman, *Triumph of Horus*, p. 28, thought these and earlier tales were based on actual events: “These wars (between the worshippers of Horus and the worshippers of Seth), it should be noted, rest ultimately on a historical basis.” He reconstructs a history in which Horus was originally a god of Lower Egypt whose followers conquered those of Seth in Upper Egypt, then the reverse happens when the followers of Horus in Upper Egypt (re-)conquer Lower Egypt, then this resulted in the unification of Egypt.

⁶²³ *Le culte d’Horus*, vol. 2, p. 683.

⁶²⁴ See Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 228a.4; *Edfou* III, p. 347, line 11-p. 348, line 3, p. 351, lines 7-11.

⁶²⁵ Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 228a.4; *Edfou* VI, p. 88, line 2.

⁶²⁶ *Edfou* IX, pl. 82; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 228a.4.

⁶²⁷ *Edfou* III, p. 346, line 10. Horus promises to place the king’s enemies in the house of slaughter.

having pierced his nostrils.”⁶²⁸ The title is the beginning of the harpoon ritual found in the dramatic text (Text C).⁶²⁹ Could the harpoon ritual of Text C actually be the Book of Subduing the Hippopotamus or be a part of that ritual reused in the Triumph of Horus? Without further evidence it cannot be proven.⁶³⁰

Alliot believed that much of the material in these texts was derived from religious cults of the Delta, mainly Buto (Pe and Dep), Sile (Mesen) and Busiris.⁶³¹ This seems to be based on the fact that there is some material that likely does not derive from Edfu (cf. Text E), much of the action takes place in the Delta, the importance of Chemmis near Buto as the birth place of Horus and the prominence of Horus Lord of Mesen in the stories. Given Horus the Behdetite’s long existing identification with Horus Lord of Mesen and the latter’s importance in the Delta, especially the east Delta, it would not be surprising that Edfu would adopt some mythological stories about this god. However, Horus the Behdetite had been identified as the Lord of Mesen since the time of King Teti of the 6th Dynasty over 2000 years before the texts at Edfu were carved and over ~1000 years before the late New Kingdom when the texts are believed to have

⁶²⁸ *Edfou* VI, p. 346, line 7.

⁶²⁹ *Edfou* VI, p. 64, line 3; Behrmann, *Nilpferd*, vol. 1, Dok. 228a.4.

⁶³⁰ There are other ritual texts at Edfu aimed against Seth in hippo form; *Edfou* IV, p. 343, lines 4-10: *sti(.t) r db dd-md(.w) hf'.n=i hmt 3m.n=i w3r sti.n=i h'w=f rdi.n=i w'b.t=f r-hft-hr=k titi=i dns mds=i mds hms.n=i hmt m hmt m3'-hrw=k s3 Wsir m wsh.t shr.n=i hfty.w n it=k* “Casting (the harpoon) at the Hippopotamus. Recitation: No sooner have I grasped the rope than I have seized the harpoon; I having shot the hippopotamus in the nose; I having brought the hippopotamus away; I having cut up his body; I having placed his meat before you as I trample the Heavy One; as I stab the Violent One, when I slew the Coward with the harpoon so that you may be justified, O Son of Osiris, in the Place of Slaughter for I have caused the enemies of your father to fall.”

⁶³¹ *Le culte d'Horus*, vol. 2, pp. 683-684, 815-822.

been composed.⁶³² Furthermore, there is very little mythological material concerning Horus Lord of Mesen outside of the texts of Edfu and what there is does not concern any of the myths discussed here.⁶³³ How can one know what originally came from Sile (or elsewhere in the Delta) and what has been edited and/or created by theologians at Edfu? As for the tradition of the birth of Horus at Chemmis near Buto, this myth is first mentioned in the Pyramid Texts found in the pyramids of the kings of the 5th and 6th Dynasties and thought to be much older still.⁶³⁴ Not only is Horus the Behdetite *not* associated with this place in early texts neither is Horus Lord of Mesen. This myth had become a *national* myth and cannot be called a myth of Buto in the New Kingdom and Late Period.⁶³⁵ It is not even known if the myth originated in Buto or was placed there by court theologians. Pe, near Chemmis, was long considered the ancient capital of Lower Egypt. A marshy area near that ancient city may have seemed a likely place to hide the birth of the infant Horus by a sage at the court in Memphis; we simply do not know where the myth originated. Text E and the major differences in the other texts show that the priests at Edfu used different traditions concerning the conflict of Horus and Seth. Fairman was of the opinion that there was little originality in the Greco-Roman inscriptions,⁶³⁶ and perhaps this is true, but much of the material in these texts is not found in earlier sources. The Legend of the Winged Disk

⁶³² Cf. William J. Murnane, *The Ancient Egypt Guide*, revised by Aidan Dodson, with contributions by Nicholas Warner (Northampton, Mass.: Interlink, 2012), pp. 402, 404, 407.

⁶³³ There is a veiled reference to Horus of Sile as a winged beetle in P. Brooklyn 47.218.84 but we would not even realize this without the texts from Edfu! See Dimitri Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta d'après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*, MIFAO 125 (Cairo: IFAO, 2006), p. 33, §§ 44-45 (XV, 4-5), pp. 147-148, n. 517.

⁶³⁴ *Pyr.* §§ 1214, 1703, 1877 and 2190.

⁶³⁵ This is like saying the story of George Washington cutting down a cherry tree is a myth of Virginia instead of the United States simply because he grew up in that state but on a much longer chronological scale!

⁶³⁶ *Triumph of Horus*, p. 34.

appears to be an original composition of the priests of Edfu but whether of the Late New Kingdom or of the Ptolemaic Period is difficult to say. There is hardly a hint of this material from earlier periods in regards to the winged sun disk but this may be due to the paucity of information on the theology of the Behdetite before the Ptolemaic Period.

Precisely dating the original composition of the texts also raises a number of issues. The attitude towards Seth is more typical of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods, however this attitude may be typical of an Osirian context, which can be traced to earlier times.⁶³⁷ Seth is punished several times in the Pyramid Texts for the murder of Osiris, although this usually takes the form of being forced to bear the body of Osiris.⁶³⁸ Seth's followers, on the other hand, are chopped to pieces in two spells.⁶³⁹ In the Coffin Texts Seth's heart is cut out⁶⁴⁰ and his followers are slaughtered.⁶⁴¹ Theologians at Abydos were so sensitive to the misdeeds of Seth that Sety I removed the Seth figure from his name in his own temple in that city.⁶⁴² In the early texts Seth plays the role of the sacrificial animal whose death and dismemberment is necessary for the resurrection and triumph of the dead (Osiris).⁶⁴³ Of course, the triumph of the dead (Osiris) is

⁶³⁷ Cf. te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 141-142.

⁶³⁸ *Pyr.* § 173a: Osiris is restored to life that he might punish Seth; *Pyr.* § 581a: Horus seizes Seth and places him under Osiris; *Pyr.* § 587b-c: Horus smites Seth and drives him off; *Pyr.* § 1035a-c: Seth is bound and thrown on his side; *Pyr.* § 1258c: Seth is forced to carry Osiris; *Pyr.* § 1628b: Seth is put under Osiris; *Pyr.* § 1699c: Seth must lift up Osiris.

⁶³⁹ *Pyr.* § 84c (heads severed) and §§ 1285c-1287a (beheaded, delimbed, disemboweled, hearts cut out, blood drank!).

⁶⁴⁰ *CT IV*, 85q.

⁶⁴¹ *CT VI*, 213i; cf. *VI*, 125d.

⁶⁴² Cf. Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 1, *The Chapels of Osiris, Isis and Horus*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1933), pls. 3-8 and *passim*.

⁶⁴³ See te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 94-98.

bound up with the triumph of Horus.⁶⁴⁴ In several of the Edfu texts Seth is the foreigner that is driven from Egypt. This alone cannot be used to more precisely date the texts, since Seth always appears to have been the god of foreign lands.⁶⁴⁵ However, a few of the foreign epithets given to Seth in the texts require a late date. We have already noted the use of the word *Mdy* in Text D, which is likely derived from the word “Mede,” but he is also called *Nḥsy* “Nubian” in Text C.⁶⁴⁶ Seth was often connected with the foreign peoples and gods to the north, east and west of Egypt but does not have any association with Nubia until Ptolemaic times when Nubia and Egypt had become estranged.⁶⁴⁷ One is left with the impression that these texts are composed of both older and more contemporary material. Just as the various geographical material is nearly impossible to sort, it is very difficult to separate older and later material. This is probably because the Ptolemaic Period theologians at Edfu took old traditions and joined them with more recent ideas from various sources to create new myths. These new myths would have been familiar to people yet fresh. Egyptologists have a tendency to emphasize the conservative nature of the Egyptians in regards to religion, such that there is a tendency to assume a great antiquity for late texts and assume, like Fairman that there is nothing original in Ptolemaic texts. The Egyptians were indeed conservative, however religion in Egypt did change over time. This combination of conservatism combined with innovation can be seen in the major corpora of funerary literature from the various periods of Egyptian history. The Pyramid and Coffin Texts, the Book of the

⁶⁴⁴ The original mythical dispute seems to have been between Horus and Seth. The vindication of Horus against Seth became the basis of the vindication of the dead but they become Osiris, because he is the god of the dead; everyone who is dead is Osiris; see *ibid*, p. 94 and J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources: A Study in Ancient Mythology* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), pp. 60-65.

⁶⁴⁵ Cf. te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 109-138.

⁶⁴⁶ *Edfou* VI, p. 86, line 11.

⁶⁴⁷ Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 144.

Dead, the Books of the Underworld and the Books of Breathing all share many themes and beliefs concerning the afterlife but no one would deny that there are also many important differences among them. The Egyptians also treated different traditions concerning the same mythical events as equally valid.⁶⁴⁸ The existence of Text E and the sometimes, major differences between the other texts shows that religious traditions from other regions were available at Edfu. It is not unlikely that various traditions were used in the final constructions of the myths now found on the walls of Edfu Temple but it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate these different traditions. The placement of these texts on the enclosure wall likely served an apotropaic purpose of warding off danger to the temple, since they all deal with the destruction of evil forces. The recitation of the texts and the performance of the sacred ritual served the same purpose but also ensured the triumph and rebirth of the gods and king.

6.IV: Conclusions

Horus Lord of Mesen was a god of greater antiquity than Horus the Behdetite based on present evidence. The god clearly had cult sites in Sile during the New Kingdom and Tanis during the Late Period. There is no evidence at present of an earlier cult at these sites. There is some early connection to Pe that cannot be discounted just because the connection was unknown to the priesthood of the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu. Horus Lord of Mesen's antiquity and warlike aspect must have appealed to the theologians of the Behdetite or the royal court. Similar qualities of the Behdetite, as well as that god's connection to kingship probably appealed to theologians of Horus Lord of Mesen although we have no direct evidence of this from

⁶⁴⁸ This is seen in the phrase in religious texts "Another (tradition)" *ky*, cf. Jacques Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1971), pp. 124-125 (XIII, 11-14); Meeks, *Mythes et légendes du Delta*, p. 14, § 14 (VI, 6).

monuments built for that god.⁶⁴⁹ It was a union of two great forms of Horus from the north and south.

Undoubtedly, the myth(s) concerning Horus the Harpooner/Lord of Mesen had a great influence on the cult and myths of Horus the Behdetite. The fact that the harpooners of the Middle Kingdom were attached to the cult of “Horus Lord of [Mesen]” at Edfu may be telling, however we cannot know what changes to these myths and rituals were carried out by the theologians of Edfu. The harpooning rituals were likely an important part of the cult in Edfu, at least judging by the status of the harpoon rituals, Mesen and its god have in the texts of the Ptolemaic Period. If, as Behrmann believes, the identification of the hippopotamus with Seth was late, the ritual was originally a general rite of suppressing evil forces. A major shift in focus would have occurred in the late New Kingdom when Seth was identified with the hippopotamus and became “The Enemy.” The myths would have had to be rewritten. This may explain why the texts show so many features of Late Egyptian. It is unfortunate that we know so little about the earlier harpoon ritual at Edfu.

⁶⁴⁹ Of course, we have very little evidence at all concerning this form of Horus.

CHAPTER 7

THE BEHDETITE OUTSIDE OF BEHDET

7.I: Introduction

With Djoser's elevation of the Behdetite to the status of guardian of the king and of Egypt the god achieved some measure of national status. However, how much did this translate in actual veneration of the god outside of Edfu and Tell el-Balamun? As we saw in Chapter 5.III, there is no physical evidence of the god's cult or veneration at Tell el-Balamun itself and there is virtually no evidence of worship of the god anywhere else in the Delta but this may be due, in part, to the lack of archaeological information available from Lower Egypt. However, there is some evidence for the veneration of the god in Upper Egypt outside of Edfu, as well as in Nubia. This evidence is found in the temples of these regions and in some private monuments. Of course images of the Behdetite are found in great quantity in every temple and on many private monuments, especially stelae in the form of hovering falcons and sun disks. The god is also frequently depicted in stereotypic scenes in most temples, such as uniting the Two Lands and purification. These images are not, however, indicative of veneration of the god at that site by the local inhabitants. Images of the Behdetite as recipient of offerings, among processions of the gods of a temple or interacting with the king in non-typical scenes (i.e. those where he is not paired with another god such as Seth or Thoth), as well as texts describing the king as "beloved" of the Behdetite are more indicative of his importance in that temple. These temple scenes and texts may not be indicative of worship of the Behdetite among the population but they do indicate that the god had official recognition by the religious authorities of that locale. Private recognition of the god takes the form of dedicatory texts and offering formulae mentioning the

Behdetite's name. Not surprisingly Dendera is an important site outside of Edfu for the Behdetite but we will see that Thebes and the cult of Amun-Re is of great importance. We will begin our survey in Nubia and follow the Nile north with a couple of forays to the eastern and western deserts. All references to images of the Behdetite refer to the form of the god with a human body and head of a falcon unless otherwise noted.

7.II: Upper Nubia

7.II.i: Semna

Among the finds of the excavation of the fortress of Semna by the Museum of Fine Arts was a headless squatting limestone statuette of 18th Dynasty style.¹ The name of the owner is illegible in the photo² but part of the offering formula states *ḥtp[-di-ny-sw.t] Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Ḥ'-k3.w-R' Ddwn ntr ḥnty T3-Sty . . .*³ "An offering [which the king gives to] Horus the Behdetite, Kakaure (Senwosret III) and Dedwen, Foremost God of Nubia . . ." Senwosret III and Dedwen were worshipped locally at Semna but there is no other evidence that Horus the Behdetite was

¹ Dows Dunham and Jozef M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts*, vol. 1, *Semna Kumma* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), pl. 86a-b, p. 24, Room XXXVI, no. 24-4-94; for the style, see Bodil Hornemann, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Statuary II-III* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957), nos. 445-446; although the vertical column of text is more typical of the 19th Dynasty; see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 3, *Les grandes époques: La statuaire* (Paris: Éditions A. and J. Picard, 1958), p. 453.

² See Dunham and Janssen, *Semna Kumma*, p. 24.

³ The words *ntr ḥnty T3-Sty* are not clear enough to read in Dunham and Janssen's plate but are reconstructed based on their translation of "the foremost god of Nubia," which is a common epithet of Dedwen at Semna; see Ricardo A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, vol. 1, *The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: EES, 1998), pl. 20.

worshipped there. Perhaps the owner of the statue was a soldier or official from Edfu that was assigned to the fort.⁴

7.II.ii: Buhen

A rock inscription from Buhen Hill B, 1 is read by Baines as *mry Hr Bḥd(.ty) nṯr '3 nb niw.t nb p.t t3.wy* “Beloved of Horus of Behdet, the Great God, lord of (his) town, lord of the sky and the two lands.”⁵ The signs that Baines reads as *nṯr '3* could also be read as *nṯr nfr* but Baines (and Smith) rejected this reading due to its rare use with deities, however, as we have seen in previous chapters, this epithet is sometimes used for the Behdetite, so this reading should not be rejected out of hand. A companion inscription to this one but in opposite orientation reads *mry 3s.t nṯr.t nb(.t) p.t t3.wy* “Beloved of Isis, the Goddess, Lady of the Sky and the Two Lands.”⁶ The word *w'by* is carved to the left. Smith, who did not recognize the word *Bḥd.ty*, dated the inscriptions to the Early Dynastic Period based on the way the word Horus is written (𐩣), which is found on some Early Dynastic objects.⁷ However, Baines notes the writing of the name of Horus the Behdetite in this manner on the Second Intermediate Period stela of Nakhthoru in the British Museum.⁸ Isis is also depicted on this stela with the epithet *nṯr.t*.⁹ Both

⁴ Only a photograph was available to Dunham and Janssen; hopefully the statuette will some day be accessible for direct examination of the owners name and titles.

⁵ John Baines, “‘Greatest God’ or Category of Gods?” *GM* 67 (1983), p. 24, fig. 1; cf. H. S. Smith, “The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,” *JEA* 58 (1972), pp. 58-61, 81, fig. 11.5, pl. 26.1. Smith did not recognize the word *Bḥd.ty* but Baines seems to be correct in this reading.

⁶ Cf. Baines, “‘Greatest God,’” p. 24 and fig. 1.

⁷ H. S. Smith, “Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,” pp. 58-61; cf. J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I: Plates of Discoveries in 1898*, BSAE 4 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900), pl. 19.

⁸ Baines, “‘Greatest God,’” p. 25; cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, ed. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*, vol. 6 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1922), pl. 28 (No. 1645).

⁹ Baines, “‘Greatest God,’” p. 25; Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 6, pl. 28.

gods are oriented on the stela in the same positions as the orientations of the respective rock inscriptions at Buhen; also the word *mry* is found in the inscriptions for each deity on the stela (referring to the king Intef mentioned in the inscriptions above the deities).¹⁰ The writing of *Hr* as  depicts the god in his bark and, as Baines suggests, likely represents Horus as the sun god.¹¹ The depiction of Isis on the stela of Nakhthoru with a sun disk upon her head may support the interpretation of Horus the Behdetite on the stela and in the Buhen inscription as the sun god.¹² Baines notes that the developed form of the writing of the rock inscription speaks against an Early Dynastic date and that Buhen is unlikely to have been settled before the 4th Dynasty, because so many 4th and 5th Dynasty kings are attested there, so that it would be difficult to explain a long earlier period from which no inscriptional material was preserved.¹³ Baines would leave the question of the date of the inscription open but with the evidence favoring the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁴ According to Baines the content of the rock inscriptions “appears thus to consist of two formulae for captions to figures of gods which relate the gods to the king, who may offer to, or be favoured by them. The total context might be two figures of the king facing in opposite directions towards the deities, who would themselves face out from each other, Horus to the left and Isis to the right.”¹⁵ The word *w'by* might then be a scene title “purifying . . .” or it might be part of the titulary or name of the inscription’s dedicator.¹⁶ No scene, however, is preserved and it is unlikely that there ever was one. The most likely explanation is that someone

¹⁰ See Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 6, pl. 28.

¹¹ ““Greatest God,”” p. 25.

¹² See Budge, ed., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, vol. 6, pl. 28.

¹³ ““Greatest God,”” p. 25.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 25.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

took the scene captions as a model for a monumental inscription whose only content is the proclamation of the names of the deities and their relation to the king, who is not even named or given titles.¹⁷ The similarity of the rock inscription with the stela of Nakhthoru is unlikely to be a coincidence, argues Baines, and suggests that both drew upon a common pairing of the deities.¹⁸ The stela of Nakhthoru is without provenance but was purchased in Egypt.¹⁹ The stela most likely came from Edfu and it is likely that both the makers of the stela and the Buhen rock inscription drew upon images of Horus and Isis in Edfu. Thus, like the Semna statue, the person(s) who carved the inscription at Buhen likely originated in Edfu. Baines states that the parallels between the deities in both the stela of Nakhthoru and the rock inscription of Buhen are “most easily explained on the assumption that the deities of Buhen were related to those of Edfu, the major southern cult centre of Horus in Egypt.”²⁰ This indeed may have been the view of the person(s) who carved the rock inscription. Horus and Isis were worshipped at Buhen but this Horus is otherwise only called *nb Bhn* “Lord of Buhen” and is never mutually identified as the Behdetite.²¹ In fact, the name *Bhd.ty* is only otherwise attested at Buhen in the name of the sun disks on lintels, at the top of stelae or hovering above the king.²² Horus the Behdetite had a more substantial/official veneration to the north at Amada and, to a lesser extent, Wadi es-Sebua.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 26.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Cf. H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions*, EM 48 (London: EES, 1976), p. 237; Ricardo A. Caminos, *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, ASE 34 (London: EES, 1974), vol. 1, *passim*; vol. 2, pls. 23, 35, 37, 47, 52, 55, 57, 66, 72, 86.

²² Cf. Smith, *Fortress of Buhen*, p. 111, pl. 20.4 (1185), p. 112, pl. 21.2 (1188), p. 135, pl. 33.7 (1709), pp. 155-156, pl. 78.4-5, (ST 9 and 10); Caminos, *Temples of Buhen*, vol. 1, pls. 50-52; vol. 2, pl. 94.1-2.

7.III: Lower Nubia

7.III.i: Amada

The temple of Amada is on the west bank (literally north) of the Nile about 200 km south of Aswan.²³ The temple was built by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II with a hypostyle hall added by Thutmose IV.²⁴ The temple was dedicated to Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty with the north side primarily dedicated to Amun-Re and the south side to Re-Horakhty.²⁵ On the east wall of a small room north of and accessible via the sanctuary,²⁶ 1st register, Amenhotep II offers flowers to Re-Horakhty to his right, while Horus the Behdetite is behind him/to his left.²⁷ Horus the Behdetite is without a crown and holds a year-sign in his left hand and an *ankh* in his right hand.²⁸ The text of Horus reads *gd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) nb hw.t-‘3.t s3=i mry ‘3-hprw-R’ di.n(=i) n=k s.t ns.t iw’.t ns.t=i rnp.wt m ny-sw.t ‘nh.w* “Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of the Great House: ‘My beloved son Aakheperure, to you have I given the place of the throne, the inheritance of my throne and (many) years as king of the living.’”²⁹ The term *hw.t-‘3.t* could refer to the palace or the temple of Atum in Heliopolis.³⁰ Re-Horakhty is the only other god in

²³ Henri Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, TIN 13 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1913), p. 1; John Baines and Jaromir Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, rev. ed. (New York: Checkmark Books, 2000), p. 179.

²⁴ Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, p. 1; Baines and Malek, *Cultural Atlas*, p. 182.

²⁵ Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, p. 3.

²⁶ Gauthier’s “sale laterale du fond”; see *Le temple d’Amada*, pl. A.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 39-40, pl. 12B.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 40; *Urk.* IV, p. 1349, lines 10-12. Re-Horakhty promises life, dominion and praise for the monument the king has constructed; see Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, p. 40.

³⁰ *Wb.* III, pp. 3-4; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), p. 516; Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, vol. 4 (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1927), p. 54.

this temple that bears this epithet³¹ and in another scene he is *nṯr-‘3 ḥry-ib ḥw.t-‘3.t*.³² However, in a purification scene in the temple the Behdetite tells the king *ḥtp ḥm=k m ḥw.t-‘3.t ḥnm tw psd.t ‘3.t* “May you rest in the Great House, which unites you with the Great Ennead.”³³ This suggests that *ḥw.t-‘3.t* refers to the temple of that name in Heliopolis, where the Great Ennead was based.³⁴ Horus the Behdetite appears again with Re-Horakhty on the south wall, 1st register, and 1st scene of the room on the south side of the sanctuary.³⁵ Amenhotep II faces left/east towards Re-Horakhty, who embraces him, while the Behdetite embraces the king at right. The Behdetite wears no crown and holds an *ankh* in his left hand. Horus the Behdetite’s text reads *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) s3=i n ḥ.t=i mry Imn-ḥtp Nṯr-ḥq3-lwnw wḏ3 m-ḥt m3.n=k it=k di=f n=k ‘nh w3s nb* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘My beloved son of my body Amenhotep Netjerheqaiunu, be prosperous after you have seen your father and may he give to you all life and dominion.’”³⁶ The fact that the Behdetite appears only with Re-Horakhty and the shared association with the *ḥw.t-‘3.t* of Heliopolis suggests a close relationship between these two gods at Amada.

³¹ Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, p. 33.

³² Ibid, p. 89.

³³ Ibid, p. 115; *LD III*, pl. 65d.

³⁴ See Winfried Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1973), pp. 27-28; Hellmut Brunner, “Neunheit,” *LÄ IV*, cols. 473-474; *LÄGG*, vol. 3, pp. 690-691.

³⁵ Gauthier’s “première sale laterale de gauche”; see *Le temple d’Amada*, pl. A, pp. 94-95; *LD III*, pl. 65e.

³⁶ Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, p. 95; *LD III*, pl. 65e. The text of Re-Horakhty gives only his name and *shṯp=f ib* “as he satisfies the heart.”

7.III.ii: Wadi es-Sebua

The temple at Wadi es-Sebua is upon the west bank of the Nile about 150 km south of Aswan.³⁷ It was dedicated to Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty and to its builder Ramesses II.³⁸ A number of falcon-headed sphinxes are found in the 2nd exterior court. These represent three forms of Horus of Nubia: Horus of *Mḥ3* (Ibrim), Horus of *Mi'm* (Aniba), and Horus of *B3ky* (Kuban).³⁹ A fourth is identified with Horus the Behdetite, because its inscriptions identify the king as “Beloved of Horus the Behdetite.”⁴⁰ In the inscription Horus the Behdetite takes the form of a seated falcon-headed god with a sun disk and uraeus on his head and he offers life to the Horus falcon of the king's name.⁴¹ The Behdetite also appears in the middle/2nd register scene of the left doorjamb of the exterior of the pronaos/vestibule.⁴² The king offers flowers to *Hr Bhd[.ty]*. The damaged scene description reads *dbḥ[. . .] ir=f di-’nh* “Requesting (?) [. . .] that he might make a given-life.”⁴³

7.IV: Southern/Upper Egypt

7.IV.i: Aswan Area

Since the Aswan area was in the nome that bordered that of Edfu, one might expect Horus the Behdetite to be well attested there. However, there are only a couple of cases. One of

³⁷ Henri Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, vol. 1, TIN 4 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1912), p. iii.

³⁸ It is named *Pr Imn* “House of Amun”; *ibid*, p. ii.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 30.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 33-34.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 33.

⁴² *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 127, vol. 2, pl. 43A; *PM VII*, p. 59 (61-62).

⁴³ Gauthier, *Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, vol. 1, p. 127.

these may indicate that there was a temple on Elephantine that was at least partly dedicated to the Behdetite. A fragment of a stela of Amenemhat III found in a rubbish pit of a house records some building activity of the king, likely in year 44.⁴⁴ The inscription at the top of the stela reads *nṯr nfr nb ir(.t) ḥ.t N(y)-M3'.t-R' mry Ḥr Bḥd.ty di 'nh* “The Perfect God and Lord of Ritual Nymaatre, beloved of Horus the Behdetite, given life.” Since only Horus the Behdetite is named in the lunette it is not unlikely that the structure mentioned might have been dedicated to that god. A stela said to come from Aswan and dating to the 18th Dynasty shows the *s3 ny-sw.t imy-r3 ḥ3s.wt rs.wt t3y-ḥw Mry-ms* “King’s Son, Overseer of Southern Foreign Lands and Fan-bearer Merymose” worshipping *Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage.”⁴⁵ The offering formula is carved in vertical lines below: *ḥtp-di-ny-sw.t Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t di=f 'nh wd3 s(nb) spd-ḥr ḥs.wt pr.t ḥsw⁴⁶ m-(h)nw (?) n k3 n s3 ny-sw.t Mry-ms* “An offering, which the king gives to Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky that he might give life, prosperity, health, alertness, praises, going forth and coming back (?)⁴⁷ in (?) for the *ka* of the King’s Son Merymose.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Only the top half of the date is preserved with 𓂏𓂏𓂏 but these signs are likely repeated below; a similar stela from year 44 was found at El Kab, in which the same king records the building of a wall and is said to be “beloved of Nekhbet”; see Cornelius von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, AVDAIK 91 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), pp. 316-317, fig. 135, pl. 37a.

⁴⁵ Pierre Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, vol. 1, CGC 34001-34189 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1905), p. 190, pl. 58, no. 34140; G. Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” *RecTrav* 14 (1893), p. 27; *Jd’É* 29261.

⁴⁶ Written 𓂏𓂏𓂏 .

⁴⁷ Literally “to turn back”; usually is followed by *r* for turning back to a place; cf. Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), p. 177.

⁴⁸ Lacau, *Stèles*, p. 190.

Merymose served under Amenhotep III and was buried in Thebes in TT 138.⁴⁹ We do not know the circumstances of the stela's discovery; given Edfu's close proximity to Aswan it is not impossible that it was carried to Aswan from Edfu at some point. Of course it is not impossible that the stela of Amenemhat III was carried from Edfu to Elephantine in ancient times. We should also note a block fragment reused in a library in Cairo near El-Azhar with the name of a King Senwosret, who *qd ḥw.t-nṯr n Stt n 'nq.t Hnmw ḥnty Qbḥw m inr s'ḥ' qd ḥw.t-nṯr n Ḥr T3-Sty m Wṯs.t-Ḥr* "built the temple of Satet, of Anuqis and Khnum Foremost of the Cataract Region with erected (?) stone, who built the temple of Horus of Ta-sety in Utjeset-Hor."⁵⁰ Other parts of the stela mention the king granting religious equipment to Anuqis, Khenty-imentyu, Onuris and Min, erecting statues of himself in Sais and Akhmim, while presenting offerings to the country's gods from Kheraha (Babylon) to Elephantine. Habachi notes that this work best fits Senwosret I, who ruled 45 years during a time of prosperity and built chapels in Armant, Tod, Hierakonpolis and Elephantine.⁵¹ Is the "Horus of Ta-Sety" a reference to one or more of the Horus gods of Nubia (called "Ta-Sety"), a special form of Horus worshipped in Aswan, the nome of which was called Ta-sety or is it a reference to Horus the Behdetite, who was in rare cases called a "Nubian"?⁵²

⁴⁹ *PM I.1*, p. 436; Daressy, "Notes et remarques," p. 27.

⁵⁰ G. Daressy, "Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques trouvée dans le Caire," *ASAE* 4 (1903), p. 102; Labib Habachi, "Building Activities of Sesostris I in the Area to the South of Thebes," *MDAIK* 31 (1975), p. 37.

⁵¹ Habachi, "Building Activities of Sesostris I," p. 37.

⁵² See A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu-II.C. The Triumph of Horus over his Enemies; A Sacred Drama (*Continued*)," *JEA* 29 (1943), p. 12, textual note d. At Philae in the Greco-Roman Period he was called *ḥnty T3-Sty* "Foremost of Nubia"; *LD Text IV*, p. 159.

7.IV.ii: Gebel el-Silsila

Gebel el-Silsila was within the nome of Aswan 65 km north of that city, just north of Kom Ombo and not far south of the Edfu nome.⁵³ The location was mostly a sandstone quarry, however several kings and officials of the New Kingdom carved out small shrines and stelae there, the largest shrine being built by Horemheb (Great Speos).⁵⁴ The most important gods were Sobek and Hapi but there⁵⁵ was some recognition of Horus the Behdetite.

A shrine of the Steward of the Vizier Amenemhat and his father Djehutymes dating to the reign of Amenhotep II includes an offering text invoking the gods Amun-Re, Atum, Nut, the Behdetite, Khentienirty, Sobek Lord of Ombos, Sobek Lord of Gebel el-Silsila (*Hny*), Khnum, Satet, Anukis “and all the gods.”⁵⁶ However, Amenemhat appears to have been from Thebes, where he was buried.⁵⁷ The deities mentioned are universal gods like Atum and Nut and several of the major gods of southern Upper Egypt.

On the south half of the east wall of the sanctuary of the Great Speos built by Horemheb, lower register, Horus the Behdetite is depicted with a sun disk upon his head, holding a *was*-scepter in his right hand and an *ankh* in his left hand.⁵⁸ Isis stands behind him with a scorpion on

⁵³ Baines and Malek, *Cultural Atlas*, pp. 71, 75-76; Ricardo A. Caminos, “Gebel es-Silsile,” *LA* II, col. 441.

⁵⁴ Caminos, “Gebel es-Silsile,” cols. 442-443.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, col. 443.

⁵⁶ *LD* Text IV, p. 91 (bottom); *PM* V, pp. 215-216.

⁵⁷ Cf. *Urk.* IV, pp. 1043-1064.

⁵⁸ *PM* V, p. 213 (54); Andrea-Christina Thiem, *Speos von Gebel es-Silsileh: Analyse der architektonischen und ikonographischen Konzeption in Rahmen des politischen und legitimatorischen Programmes der Nachamarnazeit*, vol. 2, *Architektonische Pläne und Umzeichnungen*, *ÄAT* 47 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2000), fig. 16; vol. 1, *Text und Tafeln*, pp. 158-177, 325-326, pl. 81.

her head and holding a *was*-scepter and *ankh* like Horus. The text of Horus reads *d(d)-md(w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) nb p.t hry-tp psd.t* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, who is at the Head of the Ennead.” Isis’ text reads *d(d)-md(w) in 3s.t wr.t nb.t p.t hnw.t t3.wy bnr.t mrw.t* “Statement by Isis the Great, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands, Sweet of Love.”

Another column of text associated with her is behind her: *d(d)-md(w) in Hdd.t hnm.t hr.t m-ht Wsir htp(w) m M3nw* “Statement by Hededet, who unites with the sky after Osiris has gone to rest (set) in the Western Mountain.” The goddess Hededet was identified with Isis by the New Kingdom and Isis-Hededet was worshipped as a local goddess at Edfu.⁵⁹ In the upper register are Osiris and Sopdu⁶⁰ and Thiem argues that the two scenes must be interpreted together.⁶¹ On one level is the Osirian myth, in which Horus is the legitimate heir of Osiris but also represents the newly arisen sun.⁶² Thiem also sees an astronomical/astrological aspect to these scenes. The epithets of Isis “who unites with the sky after Osiris has gone to rest in the Western Mountain” recalls texts in which Osiris is identified as Orion and Isis as Sothis: *i-nd-hr=k m sšmw=k n p.t m hprw=k ‘3 n bnw [s3h]=k m S3h [šmsw=k] sqdy.w m sb3.w n p.t rsy sn.t=k 3s.t m Spd.t r-gs=k m s3w[=k m (?) wi3 n h’.w s3=k Hr m iry-hmw* “Hail to you (Osiris) in your image of the sky, in your great form of the Phoenix, while you [approach] as Orion, [your followers] are sailing as stars of the southern sky, your sister Isis is Sothis at your side as [your] protection [in

⁵⁹ Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, p. 173 and see bibliography in n. 959.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, vol. 2, fig. 15.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, vol. 1, pp. 174-175.

⁶² Sopdu, whose epithets are *hry-nm.t nb snd.t m s.t nm.t(?)* “He who is Over the Slaughter-house, Lord of Fear in the place of slaughter(?),” plays the role of protector in this context; see *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 174.

(?)] the Bark of Flesh, your son Horus is the helmsman.”⁶³ Horus can also be identified with Sopdu and identified with Sirius, while Horus the Behdetite is identified with the Morning Star in the Ptolemaic Period.⁶⁴ Thiem further connects the gods of the south end of the wall with the some of the deities on the north end of the wall, namely Taweret/Meskhenet and the sons of Horus Hapi and Imseti.⁶⁵ In New Kingdom astronomical constellations Taweret/Meskhenet is associated with the “leg” of Seth (*Ursae majoris*, the Great Bear), which she must keep separate from Osiris with the aid of Hapi and Imseti.⁶⁶ Taweret stands upon the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif being bound by fecundity figures and Thiem views the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif as a substitute for the leg of Seth, since it can be representative of the binding of Seth.⁶⁷ Since these constellations are of the northern hemisphere they would be a counterpart to the astronomical aspects of the scene on the south end of the wall.⁶⁸ A monument dedicated to Merenptah by the vizier Panehesy at Silsila praises the king as *Bhd.t(y) t3.wy* “Behdetite of the Two Lands.”⁶⁹ Kings are often compared to gods worshipped locally.

⁶³ *KRI* III, p. 191, line 16-p. 192, line 2; cf. Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tut‘ankhamūn*, vol. 1, *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, EM 55 (London: EES, 1989), p. 68; Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, pp. 173, 175.

⁶⁴ Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, pp. 172 (textual n. an), 175; *Edfou* VI, p. 130, lines 5-6.

⁶⁵ Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 2, fig. 15; *PM* V, p. 213 (57).

⁶⁶ Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, p. 177; cf. G. A. Wainwright, “A Pair of Constellations,” in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London: EES, 1932), pp. 373-382; Christian Leitz, *Altägyptische Sternuhren*, OLA 62 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1995), pp. 250-251.

⁶⁷ Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, p. 177.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*; cf. Leitz, *Sternuhren*, pp. 250-251.

⁶⁹ *KRI* IV, p. 89, lines 9-10.

7.IV.iii: The Deserts of Southern Egypt

7.IV.iii.1: Eastern Desert

7.IV.iii.1.1: Kanais/Wadi Mia

The site of Kanais is found in Wadi Mia, which is a branch of the Wadi Abbad that heads directly east from Edfu.⁷⁰ Sety I claims to have dug the well there for the benefit of those working with mining expeditions and constructed a temple there to commemorate it and honor the gods: *ḏ3m.w nb(.w) nty r ḥpr ḥr nḥ.t n=f nḥḥ ir=f ḥb.w-sd mi ltmw rnp(y)=f mi Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) mi ir.n=f mnw ḥr ḥ3s.wt n nṯr.w nb.w šd.n=f mw ḥr ḏw.w wn w3.w r rmt* “All the troops who will come to be (will be) praying eternity for him (the king), that he might celebrate *Sed* festivals like Atum and that he may be youthful like Horus the Behdetite according as he made a monument upon the deserts for all the gods after he extracted water from the mountains, which were far-distant for people.”⁷¹ *ḥ'.n wḏ.n ḥm=f rdi.t m ḥr n ḥrp n k3.wt ny-sw.t ḥn'=f m ḥrty.w-nṯr ir.in=tw š3d m ḏw pn ḥw.t-nṯr nn [nṯr.w] lmn im=s R' m-ḥnw=s Pth Wsir m ḥw.t- '3.t=s Ḥr 3s.t Mn-M3'.t-R' psd.t imy.t ḥw.t-nṯr* “Then His Majesty commanded to the director of the royal workmen, who were with him as stone-masons. Then there was excavated in this mountain a temple of these gods: Amun is in it, Re is within it, Ptah and Osiris are in its sanctuary, (also) Horus, Isis and Menmaatre, the Ennead, which is in this temple.”⁷² The texts and reliefs of the temple show that Horus the Behdetite is the form of Horus worshipped here,

⁷⁰ *PM VII*, pp. 323-324; Siegfried Schott, *Kanais: Der Tempel Sethos I. im Wadi Mia*, NAWG 1961, no. 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), pl. 20.

⁷¹ Text A of the threefold inscription of year 9 in the doorway to the inner hall of the temple at Kanais; *KRI I*, p. 65, lines 10-11; Schott, *Kanais*, pls. 12-17, 19; *PM VII*, pp. 323-324 (13).

⁷² Text B; *KRI I*, p. 67, lines 1-4.

which is not surprising given the close proximity to Edfu.⁷³ In fact, he is one of the most important gods of the temple, although it is called *Pr Imn-R* ‘‘House of Amun-Re.’’⁷⁴ A triumph scene on the west wall of the outer hall shows the king smiting northern enemies wearing the Red Crown before Horus the Behdetite, who offers the curved *khepesh*-sword to the king with his right hand and holds a *was*-scepter and a rope that binds enemy figures on name-rings with his left hand.⁷⁵ The king smites Nubians in the Double Crown before Amun-Re in the companion scene.⁷⁶ The title of the scene with Horus is *ptpt wr.w nw h3s.wt nb(.wt)* ‘‘Trampling the chiefs of all foreign lands.’’⁷⁷ The text of Horus the Behdetite reads *dd-md(.w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) šsp n=k hpš ny-sw.t nh.t Hr h' m W3s.t r ptpt h3s.wt bšt.t ir tkk t3š.w=k b3.w=k m=sn n d.t hr(.w) hr snf=sn m ph.ty it=k Imn wd(.w) n=k qn.t nh.t* ‘‘Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘Take for yourself the *khepesh*-sword O victorious King, Horus who appears in Thebes in order to trample the rebellious foreign lands, which have violated your borders! Your *bau*-power is in them forever, they having fallen upon their (own) blood. The strength of your father Amun has commanded for you valor and victory!’’’⁷⁸

⁷³ The forms of Ptah and Re(-Horakhty) worshipped at the temple are both called *hry-ib t3 hnm.t* ‘‘Who Dwell in the Well’’; cf. *KRI I*, p. 70, lines 12 and 15.

⁷⁴ See Henri Gauthier, ‘‘Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah (El Kanaïs),’’ *BIFAO* 17 (1920), p. 27.

⁷⁵ See *LD III*, pl. 140a.

⁷⁶ See *LD III*, pl. 139a.

⁷⁷ *KRI I*, p. 36, line 5. Sety I is identified as *ntr nfr '3 ph.ty nb hpš hr h3s.t nb(.t) ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' s3 R' nb h'.w Sthy-mry-n-Pth di 'nh* ‘‘The Perfect God, great of strength, Lord of the Strong Arm over every foreign land, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Menmaat, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Setymerenptah, given life’’ and *Hr tm3-' ir.t h.t* ‘‘Horus of the Mighty Arm, Lord of Ritual’’; *KRI I*, p. 36, lines 3-4.

⁷⁸ *KRI I*, p. 36, lines 7-8.

There are three niche-sanctuaries at the rear of the temple each with the carvings of three figures.⁷⁹ In the east niche is Osiris, Ptah and the king.⁸⁰ In the west niche is the king, Isis and a destroyed god.⁸¹ In the central niche-sanctuary Sety I sits flanked by Amun-Re on his immediate left and a falcon headed god with a sun disk on his head at his far left.⁸² Schott in his description of the scene calls the falcon headed god “Horus”⁸³ but on his plate 9 he calls the god “Re-Horakhty.”⁸⁴ It is logical to call the god Re-Horakhty given the sun disk on his head and the fact that he is honored several times elsewhere in the temple, including alongside Amun-Re.⁸⁵ However, on the lintel to the niche the king is said to be “beloved of Amun-Re” and “beloved of Horus the Behdetite” and the relative positions of the texts match those of the gods (Amun-Re at left and Horus the Behdetite at right).⁸⁶ It is difficult to know whether there is an identification of the Behdetite with Re-Horakhty here or simply recognition of Horus the Behdetite as a sun god in his own right. To complicate matters, Gunn and Gardiner interpret the destroyed god in the west niche as Horus the Behdetite.⁸⁷ There are two offering scenes involving Horus the Behdetite. In the internal pillared hall, on the east wall, second scene the king offers wine to a

⁷⁹ *PM VII*, p. 324 (24-26) and see the figure on p. 322; Schott, *Kanais*, pl. 18; Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 10, fig. 1 and pp. 24-26.

⁸⁰ See Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 26; *PM VII*, p. 324 (25).

⁸¹ Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 26; *PM VII*, p. 324 (26).

⁸² Schott, *Kanais*, pl. 9; Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” pl. 14; *PM VII*, p. 32 (24).

⁸³ Schott, *Kanais*, p. 136.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pl. 9.

⁸⁵ Schott, *Kanais*, pp. 135-136, pls. 9-11; Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” pp. 12, 14, 34, pl. 11.

⁸⁶ *KRI I*, p. 71, line 9.

⁸⁷ Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts,” *JEA* 4 (1917), p. 244; they say eastern niche but must be referring to the west niche; see Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 26 and *PM VII*, p. 324 (26). The lintel inscriptions of both of the other niches have the king as “beloved of Amun-Re” and “beloved of Isis”; see Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 26, pls. 15-16.

seated Horus the Behdetite.⁸⁸ The king wears the Blue Crown, while Horus wears the Double Crown and holds a *was*-scepter in his left hand and an *ankh* in his right hand. The scene title reads *rdi.t irp n it=f Hr Bhd.t(y) [ir=f di 'nh]* “Offering wine to his father Horus the Behdetite [that he might make a given-life].”⁸⁹ The text of Horus reads *d(d)-md(.w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) ii.ti m htp s3=i nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' 3w(=i ib) n m3w mnw=k hrw.k(wi) hr ir(.t).n=k n=i di=i n=k 'h'w rnp.wt n Itmw iw=k m ny-sw.t t3 pn hr(.t)=k r' [nb (?)]* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘Welcome in peace my son the Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre; I am joyful at the sight of your monument and I am satisfied with what you have done for me! I shall give to you the lifetime and years of Atum, while you are king in this land (it being) your possession (?) [every (?)] day.’”⁹⁰ The other scene is on the south face of the southwest pillar in the same hall; on the same pillar, west face, is another group of texts of the king and the Behdetite but with no images.⁹¹ On the south face of the pillar the figure of the king is destroyed with only *ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-M3'.t-R'* and *s3 R' Sthy-mry-n-Pth* remaining from his texts.⁹² The image of the Behdetite is badly damaged but he wears the Double Crown. His inscription is intact, however: *d(d)-md(.w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) di.n(=i) n=k 'h'w n R' nsy.t=k mi hm n Gb rnp.wt=k rnp.wt Itmw* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘To you have I given the lifetime of Re. Your kingship is like (that of) the majesty of Geb and your years are the years of Atum.’”⁹³ On the west face of

⁸⁸ Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” pp. 21-22, pl. 9; *PM* VII, p. 324 (16-17).

⁸⁹ Gauthier, “Le temple de l’Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 22. The king is identified as *ntr nfr ir 3h.t nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' nb h'.w Sthy-mry-n-Pth di 'nh mi R'* “The Perfect God, who does what is effective, the Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, Lord of Crowns Sety-Merenptah, given life like Re”; *ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Gauthier’s pillar III, faces 3 and 4; see *ibid.*, figure on p. 28 and pl. 19.2.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 33, pl. 19.2.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

this pillar two columns contain the names of the king.⁹⁴ First column: *Hr H'-m-W3s.t S'nh-t3.wy ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-M3'.t-R' mry Imn-R'* “Horus He-who-Appears-in-Thebes He-who-Causes-the-Two-Lands-to-Live, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre, beloved of Amun-Re.”⁹⁵ Second column: *Hr H'-m-hd.t Mry-R' s3 R' Sthy-mry-n-Pth mry Hr* “Horus He-who-Appears-in-the-White-Crown Beloved-of-Re, Son of Re Sety-Merenptah, beloved of Horus.”⁹⁶ The final column reads *d(d)-md(w) in Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 s3b šw.t nb p.t nfr.wy mnw pn ir.n=k di{.n}=i n=k 'h'=f (sic) m nb t3.wy* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Lord of the Sky: ‘How beautiful is the monument, which you made! I shall give to you his lifetime⁹⁷ as Lord of the Two Lands.’”⁹⁸ In addition to Horus the Behdetite both Osiris⁹⁹ and Hathor¹⁰⁰ *hry-ib Bhd.t* “who Dwell in Behdet” were worshipped in the temple.

On the rock stela of the Commander of Troops of the Gold (Supply) Anena near the temple Anena offers something now lost to a sitting Horus the Behdetite, who wears the Double Crown and holds a *was*-scepter, while behind him sits a lion.¹⁰¹ The Behdetite is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t hq3 ntr.w* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Ruler of the Gods.”¹⁰² The lion is called *Hr nb h3s.t ntr '3 nb p.t* “Horus, Lord of the Desert, the Great God, Lord of

⁹⁴ See *ibid*, p. 33; cf. Arthur E. P. Weigall, “A Report on the So-called Temple of Redesiyeh,” *ASAE* 9 (1908), p. 81 (pillar “Second, west”).

⁹⁵ Gauthier, *Le temple de l'Ouâdi Mîyah*, p. 33.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*.

⁹⁷ This is probably a mistake for “the lifetime of Re” or similar.

⁹⁸ Gauthier, “Le temple de l'Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 34; Weigall, “So-called Temple of Redesiyeh,” p. 81.

⁹⁹ Gauthier, “Le temple de l'Ouâdi Mîyah,” p. 24, pl. 13.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 34, pl. 19.1.

¹⁰¹ See W. Golénischeff, “Une excursion à Bérénice,” *RecTrav* 13 (1890), pl. 3.

¹⁰² *KRI* I, p. 72, line 5.

the Sky.”¹⁰³ On another rock stela the latter god is pictured as a falcon and is with Amun, Mut, Re and Osiris.¹⁰⁴ Although Horus the Behdetite is not shown on this stela (or his image has not survived?), he is mentioned prominently in a prayer of the official Panebu below: *r(di.t) i3w{.t} n Imn-R' sn-t3 n Mw.t nb.t p.t di(.t) i3w n R'-Hr-3h.ty shtp Wsir 3s.t [di.t] i[3w] n Pth nb m3'.t Shm.t mry.t Pth ii.k(wi) hr=k Hr Bhd.t(y) sw3š(=i) Hw.t-Hr nb.t Bhd.t hw=tn s3=tn nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' m 'nh dd(.t) w3s nb di=tn nd=i hr[=f] iw=i hr phwy nn wr n niw.t=i n k3 [n hry] ihw n Imn p3 hry pd.t P3-nbw [m3'-hrw]* “Giving adoration to Amun-Re; kissing the ground for Mut; giving adoration to Re-Horakhty; propitiating Osiris and Isis; giving adoration to Ptah, Lord of *Maat* and Sekhmet, Beloved of Ptah. I have come before you O Horus the Behdetite, while I pay honor to Hathor, Lady of Behdet, that you (both) may protect your son, the Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre with all life, stability and dominion. May you grant that I may greet [him] when I am at the end of this (expedition as) a great one of my town. For the *ka* of the Stable-[master] of Amun, the Commander of Troops Panebu, [justified.]”¹⁰⁵ Despite the importance of Amun-Re and Horus the Behdetite at Kanais, this temple was not under the authority of the religious establishment at Thebes or Edfu but, rather, the king’s temple at Abydos.¹⁰⁶ It was from this site that gold from nearby mines was washed and transported to Abydos for the

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ See *LD III*, pl. 138o; *KRI I*, p. 72, line 14.

¹⁰⁵ *KRI I*, p. 73, lines 1-5; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations, vol. 1, Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 62.

¹⁰⁶ See *KRI I*, p. 67, line 8; Schott, *Kanais*, p. 175.

embellishment of that temple.¹⁰⁷ One might say that the other figure in the sanctuary, Menmaatre, was the main god of the temple.¹⁰⁸

7.IV.iii.2: Western Desert

7.IV.iii.2.1: Kharga Oasis

All evidence of the worship of the Behdetite in Kharga comes from the temple of Hibis built in the time of Darius I and enlarged by Nectanebo II close to the end of our period of study.¹⁰⁹ Kharga is a large depression that ran south to north from directly west of Aswan to directly west of Abydos with several trails between the oasis and the major cities of southern Upper Egypt.¹¹⁰ A desert path connected the oasis with Edfu¹¹¹ and Horus the Behdetite, as we will see, was an important god here but the most important religious influence came from Thebes.

In the beginning of the second register of the south wall of the central sanctuary (Room A)¹¹² the king¹¹³ offers *nw*-vases: *ir.t n [irp] n it=f Imn-R' nb Hb.t ḥry psd.t* “Making a [wine

¹⁰⁷ See *KRI* I, p. 68, line 1; Schott, *Kanais*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁸ As noted above, Menmaatre was a member of the temple's Ennead; cf. Gunn and Gardiner, “New Renderings,” p. 244.

¹⁰⁹ Ahmed Fakhry, “Charga Oase,” *LÄ* I, col. 909.

¹¹⁰ See Lisa L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases: Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra and Kharga during Pharaonic Times* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1987), pp. 6-10, map II.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹¹² See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khārgēh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley F. Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), pl. 1; *PM* VII, pp. 276 (IX), 285 (115-116).

¹¹³ The king's crown is lost to damage. Note: I do not include the inscriptions of the king at Hibis, as every cartouche is blank but are all attributed to Darius I or, rarely, Nectanebo II and the titles are of the usual sort. I have also left out mention of the hovering falcons, vultures and sun disks unless they seem to have some significance to the scene.

offering] to his father Amun-Re, Lord of Hibis, who is Over the Ennead.”¹¹⁴ However, instead of an image of Amun-Re before the king, there are five deities identified as Horus the Behdetite. The first is an ithyphallic falcon perched on a box that contains two crocodiles, whose bodies cross. Horus wears the Red Crown with a pair of ram horns, a sun disk and two tall plumes. A human arm and hand rises above his back with a flail as the god Min is depicted. The god is identified as *Hr Bhd.t(y) imy wi3=f* “Horus the Behdetite, Who is in His Bark.” Behind is another falcon identical to the first including the same crown but without the arm and flail. This falcon is perched upon the back of a crocodile, which has a *maat*-feather perched on its forehead and sits on a mat. The falcon is simply named *Hr Bhd.t(y) nb p.t* “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky.” Behind this falcon is another on a standard. This falcon is identical to the preceding one but without the phallus. A *maat*-feather is perched on the standard in front. He is called *Hr Bhd.t(y) nb pr* “Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Temple.” These falcons are very similar to several depicted at the temple of Hathor at Dendera identified as Horus the Behdetite.¹¹⁵ The falcons are ithyphallic and are crowned the same except instead of the Red Crown alone they wear the Double Crown and in one case the crown has two pairs of tall plumes.¹¹⁶ The falcons stand on boxes and in two depictions of the falcon in the room at Dendera called the Throne of

¹¹⁴ Davies, *Hibis*, pl. 4; Eugene Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1988), p. 25.

¹¹⁵ See *Dendara II*, pl. 109, p. 81, lines 13-14; *Dendara III*, pl. 179, p. 42, line 16; *Dendara IV*, pls. 250, 258, p. 20, lines 3-6 and pls. 260, 269, p. 30, lines 15-17; see, also, Karol Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, vol. 1, HÄB 5 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1978), p. 142, fig. 84; Sylvie Cauville, “Les statues cultuelles de Dendera d’après les inscriptions pariétales,” *BIFAO* 87 (1987), pp. 97, 112-113; idem, “Le pantheon d’Edfou à Dendera,” *BIFAO* 88 (1988), pp. 16-19, fig. 2; Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25.

¹¹⁶ For the latter, see Myśliwiec, *Atum*, vol. 1, p. 142, fig. 84.

Re the box contains crocodiles that have been speared.¹¹⁷ Cauville identifies these images as cult statues¹¹⁸ from the temple at Edfu.¹¹⁹ Among the epithets of the Behdetite with these images are those emphasizing the virility of the god, which is appropriate for the images' ithyphallic appearance.¹²⁰ Perhaps there is an emphasis on Horus the Behdetite's role as husband of Hathor and father of Harsomtus/Ihy in images at Dendera and Hibis. The placement of Horus over crocodiles represents Horus the Behdetite's role in dominating Seth and other evil forces.

Behind the falcon on a standard is a mummified male human figure with a broad collar and a scarf, which kneels on both knees. He is identified as *Hr Bhd.t(y) hry S.t-wr.t* "Horus the Behdetite, who is Over/Upon the Great Place/Throne."¹²¹ *S.t-wr.t* was a term used for both the temple of Horus at Edfu as well as the sanctuary of that temple during the Greco-Roman Period.¹²² According to Gabolde, the term *s.t-wr.t* could be used to designate any place where a statue was installed to receive a cult and was used especially for divinities worshipped outside

¹¹⁷ *Dendara* IV, pls. 250 and 260; *PM* VI, pp. 52, 73 (204-205).

¹¹⁸ "Les statues cultuelles," p. 97; idem, "Le pantheon d'Edfou," p. 20.

¹¹⁹ Idem, "Le pantheon d'Edfou," p. 7.

¹²⁰ *Dendara* II, p. 81, line 13: *iw' mnh* "potent heir"; *Dendara* IV, p. 20, line 4: *t3w ntr.w* translated by A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Significance of the Ceremony HWT BHSW in the Temple of Horus at Edfu," *JEA* 36 (1950), p. 71, textual note a, as "most virile of the gods" and by Cauville, "Le pantheon d'Edfou," p. 16 as "qui engender les dieux"; *Dendara* IV, p. 30, line 16: *nb mt3* "Lord of the Phallus."

¹²¹ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 4; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25. Interpretations vary in the translation of *S.t* between "place" and "throne"; cf. Maurice Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, Bd'É 20.2 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), p. 566, n. 1; *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 376-377; Cauville, "Le pantheon d'Edfou," p. 18; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997), pp. 948-949; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25.

¹²² See Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, pp. 948-949; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25; Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, p. 566, n. 1.

their major cult center.¹²³ Horus the Behdetite and Hathor are shown in a small shrine on the west wall of Hypostyle Hall M but he is falcon headed and there is no mention of *s.t-wr.t*.¹²⁴ Also, this shrine may have only been a reality on the wall and not an actual place in the temple.¹²⁵ Horus the Behdetite “who Dwells in Hibis” appears on the outer lintel with Isis,¹²⁶ opposite Anubis and Nephthys, above the door to Room J but is not depicted or mentioned within,¹²⁷ so it seems best to understand *hry S.t-wr.t* here as referring to the temple or sanctuary at Edfu,¹²⁸ although I’m not aware of any case of the god appearing in this mummified human form there or anywhere else. Behind the god with this form and title is a figure of the king holding a standard decorated with a Hathor head identified as *Hw.t-Hr n Brw* “Hathor of Benu (Diospolis Parva).”¹²⁹ Behind the king is a griffon wearing the same crown as the falcons of this register trampling a human enemy with one paw grasping his head. The griffon is identified as *Hr Bhd.t(y) sm3=f rd.wy h3s.wt* “Horus the Behdetite, who slays the legs (sic)¹³⁰ of the foreign lands.”¹³¹

¹²³ Luc Gabolde, “Un linteau tentyrite de Thoutmosis III dédié à Amon,” *BIFAO* 99 (1999), p. 200, cf. pp. 198-199.

¹²⁴ See below and Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31.

¹²⁵ There are no concentrations of inscriptions mentioning the Behdetite in any of the chapels; they are found on this one register of a large wall and various spots on the walls of Hypostyle Halls B and M.

¹²⁶ He again appears falcon headed.

¹²⁷ See below and *ibid.*, pl. 10; cf. *PM* VII, pp. 284-285, (96-99).

¹²⁸ Cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25.

¹²⁹ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 4; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 2, p. 21.

¹³⁰ The word *rd.wy* was probably added by mistake as Cruz-Uribe suggests; see *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 25.

¹³¹ The other deities depicted in this register before the section divider are “Horus Son of Isis, Lord of Lower Egypt” depicted as a child with side-lock and finger in mouth, “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen” in the form of a sitting vulture wearing the White Crown with side plumes typically worn by the goddess, “Nekhbet, who is Over/Upon the Great Place/Throne”

On the north wall, west section, second register of the inner hypostyle hall (Hypostyle B) the king offers ointment to a striding Amun-Re of Hibis and Horus the Behdetite.¹³² The scene label reads *ir.t (m)d(.t) n it=f Imn-R' Hb.t* “Presenting ointment to his father Amun-Re of Hibis.” The king wears the *Nemes* headdress topped by . Amun-Re wears his usual crown with tall plumes, while Horus wears the Double Crown. Both gods hold *was*-scepters in their left hands and *ankhs* in their right hands. Amun-Re is named *Imn-R' ntr '3 nb [p.t/Hb.t (?) .]* “Amun-Re, the Great God, Lord of [the Sky/Hibis . .]” Horus is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t hry-ib Hb.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, who Dwells in Hibis.” Below and slightly to the left is the previously mentioned lintel scene.¹³³ At left/west the king wearing the White Crown kneels offering white bread to Horus the Behdetite sitting on a throne wearing the Double Crown holding a *was*-scepter in his right hand and an *ankh* in his left with Isis standing behind holding the same objects and wearing cow horns and sun disk upon the vulture headdress: *sqr hd.t n it=f Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 hry-ib Hb.t* “Offering white bread to his father Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, who Dwells in Hibis.” Horus is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t hry-ib Hb.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, who Dwells in Hibis.” Isis is *3s.t hw(.t) s3=s hry(.t)-ib Hb.t*

depicted as a falcon headed woman with a sun disk on her head, “Wadjet of Neb(yu)t” a village in the Theban nome (see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 3, p. 83) in the form of a lion headed cobra on top of a shrine and “Horus of Chemmis” depicted as a falcon wearing the White Crown among papyrus plants upon a shrine. There is a loose theme of protection (Nekhbet, Wadjet, the papyrus marsh) of the young Horus-king (child Horus, Horus of Chemmis) here that is similar to the themes of protection and virility found with the images of Horus the Behdetite at the beginning of the register. The whole wall is filled with ithyphallic gods, most with the wings and tail of a falcon, themes of rebirth, gods and demons armed with knives, gods and royal figures with harpoons, and the king shoots arrows at hippos in a scene in the bottom register; the same can be said of the other walls of the sanctuary; see Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 4.

¹³² Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 10; *PM VII*, p. 283 (81-83).

¹³³ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 10; *PM VII*, p. 284 (96).

ir=s di 'nh mi R' “Isis, who Protects Her Son, She who Dwells in Hibis; that she might make a given-life like Re.” On the right/east side of the lintel the king wears the Red Crown and offers milk to Anubis and Nephthys, both said to “Dwell in Hibis.” Anubis replaces Seth here as he and, more often, Thoth frequently do in the Late Period but it is interesting given the fact that Seth is depicted as a falcon headed god slaying a serpent on the west wall of the First Hypostyle Hall (N).¹³⁴ One should note the lintel to Room K directly to the left/west of this lintel on which the Behdetite is twice depicted as a griffon on a standard and wearing  flanking each side of a -symbol upon a *shen*-ring and equipped with arms and hands that grasp year-signs.¹³⁵ Each griffon is identified as *Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, who Comes Forth from the Horizon.”

On the west wall of Hypostyle M, north of the doorway to Hypostyle B, top register at right the king holds two small stands with burning incense wearing the *Atef*-Crown.¹³⁶ Various offerings are stacked before a kiosk with a seated Horus the Behdetite with Double Crown, *was*-scepter (left hand) and *ankh* (right hand) and Hathor standing behind him with her right hand raised in protection and her left holding an *ankh*. Hathor wears the cow horns and sun disk with two tall plumes upon the vulture headdress. Horus is *Hr Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky.” Hathor is *Hw.t-Hr-Mhy.t* “Hathor-Mehyt.”¹³⁷ The ritual text between the king and shrine does not directly refer to the gods in the scene:

¹³⁴ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pls. 42-43, 77B; *PM VII*, p. 280 (38).

¹³⁵ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 10; *PM VII*, p. 285 (100).

¹³⁶ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31; *PM VII*, pp. 281-282 (60-61).

¹³⁷ The  following  is likely just part of the name of Hathor rather than the word *s3.t* “daughter”; the references Cruz-Urbe gives as discussing Hathor as the daughter of Mehyt

r3 n di(.t) 'ntyw hr h.t Imn Hb.t wsr hps̄ m iqr pn rdi.t s(t) n=k Imn-R'-K3-mw.t=f hry s.t=f wr.t m iqr=k pn rdi n=k s3 R' (blank cartouche) 'nh d.t di=(t)n¹³⁸ n=f 'nh nb hr=tn dd(.t) nb(.t) hr=tn w3s nb hr=tn (sn)b¹³⁹ nb hr=tn 3w(.t)-ib nb hr=tn s3 R' (blank cartouche) 'nh d.t 3w.t-ib=f hq3=f t3.wy shn=f tn n¹⁴⁰ b3=tn sh(n)=f¹⁴¹ tn n shm=tn di=tn ir=f hb.w-sd 'š3.w wr.w is sw m ny-sw.t-bi.ty hnty 'nh.w nb.w mi R' d.t

Spell for placing incense upon the fire: ‘O Amun-Re of Hibis, great of strength, behold this your excellent thing, which was given to you. O Amun-Re-Kamutef, who is Upon his Great Throne/Place, behold this your excellent thing, which the Son of Re (blank cartouche), who lives forever gives to you. May you (pl., Amun-Re plus Horus, Hathor?) give to him all life from you, all stability from you, all dominion from you, all health from you and all joy from you. The Son of Re (blank cartouche), who lives forever is happy when he rules the Two Lands. Whenever he unites with you (pl.) in your *ba*, he unites with you (in) your sistrum. May you (pl.) allow him to celebrate very many *Sed* festivals for he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Foremost of All the Living like Re, forever.¹⁴²

It is unusual that this text mentions only Amun-Re and not Horus the Behdetite and Hathor. A ram headed “Amun-Re, Lord of Hibis” appears in the next scene to the left in a similar kiosk-shrine with Mut but that scene has its own ritual offering text. The use of the second person plural suffix and dependant pronouns must include Horus the Behdetite and Hathor plus Amun-Re and Mut and perhaps the Ennead mentioned in the offering text in the other scene.

in *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 119, n. 643 actually mention the identification of Hathor as Mehyt especially at Edfu; see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 82; cf. Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1952), p. 445 and Hermann Junker, *Die Onurislegende*, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 59, nos. 1-2 (Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1917), p. 49.

¹³⁸ Given that the rest of the text uses the second person plural, it is likely that a \ominus has been left out here.

¹³⁹ The word is written 𓂏 , which is likely a mistake for *snb*, as proposed by Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 119, n. 640.

¹⁴⁰ *N* is carved for *m* here.

¹⁴¹ The word is actually carved as *shr* but with the embracing arms determinative of *shn*.

¹⁴² Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 119.

Horus the Behdetite appears in one other offering scene at Hibis. On the exterior south wall, lower register (right half) the king offers to various groups of gods.¹⁴³ The gods are grouped, roughly, geographically.¹⁴⁴ The first scene includes the gods of Herakleopolis, then the gods of Thinis, then the group with the Behdetite. The king wears the *Atef*-Crown and offers a head of lettuce in each hand. The king's name is actually carved on this wall; he is *ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb ir(.t) ḥ.t s3 R' nb ḥ'.w Drywš [di 'nh] ḏ[.t]* "The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Ritual, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Darius, [given life] forever." The scene label reads *ḥnq 'bw n it=f Mnw-R' nb lpw ir.n=f di 'nh ḏ.t* "Presenting lettuce for his father Min-Re, Lord of Ipu, he having made a given-life forever." Min-Re is shown ithyphallic with raised arm and flail and wearing the crown of Amun-Re. The text with his name and epithets is identical to those given in the scene label. Ipu is modern Akhmim, which throws off the geographical order somewhat, since Akhmim is north of Thinis.¹⁴⁵ Behind a stand with lettuce is Isis wearing the cow horns and sun disk of Hathor with her right hand raised in protection and an *ankh* in her left. She is *3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr nb[.t lpw (?)¹⁴⁶] ir.n=s di 'nh* "Isis the Great, Mother of the God, Lady [of Ipu (?)], she having made a given-life." Behind her is Horus the Behdetite wearing the Double Crown, holding a *was*-scepter in his left hand and an *ankh* in his right. His text reads *Hr Bḥd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t ir.n=f di 'nh ḏ.t* "Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, he having made a given-life forever." Behind him is Nekhbet wearing her usual crown () upon the vulture headdress, holding a papyrus-scepter in her left hand and an *ankh* in her right. Most

¹⁴³ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 52; *PM VII*, pp. 288-289 (145-146).

¹⁴⁴ The gods of Thebes are grouped separately at the left end of the register; see Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 51.

¹⁴⁵ See Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 41; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 1, p. 67.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, vol. 2, p. 41.

of her inscription is lost but can be restored as *[Nḥb.t ḥd.t]-Nḥn ir.n[=s di 'nh] d.t* “[Nekhbet, the White One] of Nekhen, [she] having made [a given-life] forever.” In the following scene the king offers to Khnum of Elephantine and Isis (of Philae?).

The scenes in which the king makes reference to Amun-Re in the presence of Horus the Behdetite and the scene in which these two gods appear together suggest a close relationship between the Behdetite and Amun-Re. In some hymns to Amun found at Hibis that god is identified with the solar Horus and once with the Behdetite directly. In a hymn on the west wall of Hypostyle M south of the doorway to Hypostyle B Amun-Re is praised as *Hr sti nb (m)skt.t ity nb (m)'nd.t ḥ3y ḥpr.w m wi3 ḥḥ.w wts sw r Hḥ.w sn.ty Bḥd.t(y) psd m 3ḥ.t ḥr '.wy Hḥ H[ḥ.t]* “Horus the Brilliant One, Lord of the Morning Bark, Sovereign, Lord of the Evening Bark, who illumines the forms in the Bark of Millions (of Years), who raises himself over Hehu (millions) and the Two Sisters, Behdetite, who shines in the horizon upon the arms of Heh and He[h]et.”¹⁴⁷ A text from the north wall of Hypostyle M identifies Amun-Re as *Hr d3i p.t bik '3 s3b šw.t nfr-ḥr nb šw.ty wr(.ty)* “Horus, who crosses the sky, Great Falcon of Multicolored Plumage, He of Beautiful Face, Lord of the Great Double Plumes.”¹⁴⁸ The imagery invokes Horus the Behdetite, although other deities had long ago adopted the epithet “Multicolored Plumage.” The double plume crown may refer to Amun’s usual crown but double plumes are a standard feature of the *ḥp.ty*-crown () worn by the Behdetite during the Greco-Roman Period.¹⁴⁹ The two plumes

¹⁴⁷ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 32; cf. Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 129.

¹⁴⁸ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 30 (above winged sun disk).

¹⁴⁹ In general see Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, “Die *ḥptj*-Krone  in Edfu und ihre Varianten,” in *EDFU: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik*, ed. Dieter Kurth, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu Begleitheft 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), pp. 25-71.

also represent the twin uraei of the winged sun disk.¹⁵⁰ The two plumes, like the two uraei, are the eyes of Horus and represent the flame and light of the sun disk: *Hr ḥnk psd šn=f nb m nbi.t m [. . .] nw ir.ty=f(y) šd.n=f šn n p.t m šw.ty=f(y) wr(.ty)* “Horus who offers light, his entire circumference in flame as/in [. . .] of his two eyes. It is with his two Great Plumes that he has illuminated the circuit of the sky.”¹⁵¹ In the same hymn as this Amun-Re is identified with Apy in the form of the winged beetle: *twt ‘py wr ḥnty n Nw.t* “You are the Great Winged Beetle (Apy), Foremost of Nut/the Sky.”¹⁵² A winged sun disk provided with arms and hands and holding an *ankh* () begins a frieze inscription on the exterior of the south wall of the temple and has been read by Drioton as “Living Amun, his sun disk proceeding in life and dominion in the morning.”¹⁵³ One may have doubts on the exact wording of Drioton but he may be correct in the identification of the winged disk here with Amun-Re. The temple of Hibis is a temple of Theban Amun-Re and it is likely that Horus the Behdetite was viewed there through the theology of Thebes, i. e. as an aspect or form of Amun-Re.

7.IV.iv: El Kab and Hierakonpolis

El Kab, ancient Nekheb, on the east bank of the Nile and the adjacent Kom El-Ahmar, ancient Nekhen and called Hierakonpolis by the Greeks, on the west bank were Edfu’s closest

¹⁵⁰ See Lana Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas, Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1986), pp. 127-129; J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344, Verso* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 365, 368-369, vol. 2, pp. 603, 607, 610, vol. 3, p. 990.

¹⁵¹ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pl. 31.

¹⁵² Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 31; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pl. 31.

¹⁵³ Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 50; É. Drioton, “Recueil de cryptographie monumentale,” *ASAE* 40 (1940), pp. 341-343; cf. Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 155.

neighbors to the north (15 and 17 km respectively).¹⁵⁴ A small amount of material referring to Horus the Behdetite has been found at these two sites but probably under represents the connection of these cities with the god of Edfu. Possibly the earliest piece that exists is a stela found at Kom el-Ahmar of an unknown man that Daressy dated to the early 12th Dynasty.¹⁵⁵ The offering formula mentions *Nḥb.t nb.t Nḥb . . Ḥr [Nḥny (?)] Wsir ḥry-ib Nḥn . . Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr.w nṯr.wt imyw Nḥb* “Nekhbet, Lady of Nekheb, . . Horus [the Nekhenite (?)], Osiris, who Dwells in Nekhen, . . Horus the Behdetite and the gods and goddesses, who dwell in Nekheb.”¹⁵⁶ This stela suggests that Horus the Behdetite was considered one of the major deities of El Kab and Hierakonpolis during the Middle Kingdom. Another stela from Kom el-Ahmar and dating to the late Middle Kingdom¹⁵⁷ mentions a priest of Horus the Behdetite: *ḥtp-di-ny-sw.t Ḥr Nḥny Wsir ḥry-ib Nḥn di=sn pr.t-ḥrw t ḥnq.t k3.w 3pd.w ḥ3 m ḥ.t nb.t nfr(.t) nb.t (sic) w’b(.t) ‘nḥ.t nṯr im n k3 n ḥry-ḥb(.t) n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Ḥr-mni m3’-ḥrw ms.n nb.t-pr Sn-wr.t in snw=f s’nh rn=f sš-sp3.t Rn=i-iqr m3’-ḥrw* (at bottom): *ir.n sš-sp3.t R’-Pth* “An offering which the king gives to Horus the Nekhenite and Osiris, who Dwells in Nekhen, that they might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, bulls, fowl and a thousand of everything good and pure on which a god lives for the *ka* of the Lector Priest of Horus the Behdetite, Hormeni, justified, whom the Lady of the House Senweret bore; (made) by his brother, who causes his name to live the Nome-Scribe

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Baines and Malek, *Cultural Atlas*, pp. 76-81; Herman J. de Meulenaere, “Elkab,” *LÄ* I, cols. 1225-1226; Barbara Adams, “Hierakonpolis,” *LÄ* II, cols. 1182-1183.

¹⁵⁵ Daressy, “Notes et remarques,” p. 22, no. XX; H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 1, CGC 20001-20780 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1908), pp. 330-331, no. 20318, Jd’É 29233. On the left side of the stela an offering is requested for the draughtsman Iimery, a common name of the Middle Kingdom; cf. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ Daressy, “Notes at remarques,” p. 22, Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine*, vol. 1, p. 330.

¹⁵⁷ *PM* V, p. 200; now Louvre C228.

Reniiqer, justified. (That which) the Nome-Scribe Reptah made.”¹⁵⁸ Brothers named Hormeni and Reniiqer are known from the private monuments of the Middle Kingdom found at Edfu.¹⁵⁹ As noted in Chapter 5.II.ii, Hayes believed these to be the same men as found in the Kom el-Ahmar stela¹⁶⁰ but Vernus believes they are different men.¹⁶¹ They are, nevertheless, likely to be from the same family if they are not identical. The proximity of these cities to Edfu makes it unclear whether Hormeni the lector priest of Horus the Behdetite performed his duties in Edfu or El Kab/Hierakonpolis, or both.

From the 18th Dynasty tomb of Paheri at El Kab is a scene with a man making offering to Paheri’s brother Herari, who is identified as *wb3 n p3 ḥ3ty-‘ P3-Bḥd(.t/.ty)* “The Butler of the *Hatya* Pabehde(t/ty).”¹⁶² The man’s name could be read as either “He/The Man of Behdet” or “He/The Man of the Behdetite.”¹⁶³ A graffito added under a scene of Amenhotep III and Thutmose IV in the temple built by these kings at the Wadi Hellal records the name and titles of *w‘b sš {i}n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) Nfr-pry m3‘-ḥrw* “The Pure-priest and Scribe of Horus the Behdetite Neferpery, justified” and just below *w‘b n Nḥb.t Ptḥ-nb-(N)ḥb m3‘-ḥrw* “The Pure-priest of Nekhbet Ptahnebekheb.”¹⁶⁴ Several pieces from the New Kingdom mentioning the Behdetite

¹⁵⁸ Émile Chassinat, “Petits monuments et petites remarques,” *BIFAO* 10 (1912), p. 164.

¹⁵⁹ See Pascal Vernus, “Edfou du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie: Études philologiques, sociologiques et historiques d’un corpus documentaire de l’Égypte pharonique,” PhD diss., Paris: Sorbonne University, 1987, pp. 238-241, 906.

¹⁶⁰ William C. Hayes, “Horemkha’uef of Nekhen and His Trip to It-towe,” *JEA* 33 (1947), pp. 3-9, pl. 2.

¹⁶¹ Pascal Vernus, “Le prêtre-ritualiste *Ḥr-mni*, redacteur de la stèle de *Ḥr-m-ḥ‘w.f.*,” in *Hommages à François Daumas*, vol. 2 (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1986), pp. 590-591.

¹⁶² See J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, EM 11.2 (London: EEF, 1894), p. 24, pl. 7.

¹⁶³ The name is written .

¹⁶⁴ *LD III Text*, p. 43.

have been found buried in the temple of Nekhbet at El Kab. A small stela depicts Horus the Behdetite as a falcon wearing the Double Crown with Amun-Re in the form of a ram resting upon a shrine with a man kneeling in worship below.¹⁶⁵ The inscription reads *dw3 n k3=k Imn-R' ny-sw.t ntr.w Hr Bhd.t(y) p3 nb t3 h3s.t di=k n=i snb hr p3(y)=k mtn ir(.t) n f(3i).t inr Hwuy* “Praise for your *ka* O Amun-Re, King of the Gods, and Horus the Behdetite, Lord of the Desert. May you give to me (good) health according to your reward. Made for/by the Porter¹⁶⁶ of Stone Huy.” A limestone figure of a vulture found with objects of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period¹⁶⁷ is inscribed on its base with (at left) *htp-di-ny-sw.t n Nhb.t hḏ.t-Nhn di=s 'nh wd3 s(nb) n k3 n it-ntr [sš (?)] md3.t(?)[-ntr (?)]¹⁶⁸ n pr Hr Bhd.t(y) P3-R'-m-ḥb* “An offering which the king gives to Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, that she may give life, prosperity and health for the *ka* of the God’s Father and Document [Scribe of the God] of the Temple of Horus the Behdetite Paremheb” and (at right) *htp-di-ny-sw.t n Hw.t-Hr hry(.t)-ib Bhd.t ir.t R' hnw.t ntr.w* “An offering which the king gives to Hathor, who Dwells in Behdet, Eye of Re and Mistress of the Gods.” Nekhbet and Hathor of Edfu are here equated with each other as a vulture goddess. Paremheb’s inscriptions do not tell us if he served in a temple of the Behdetite at El Kab or at Edfu but the form of Hathor mentioned is that of Edfu. It seems more likely that Horus the Behdetite was worshipped in the temple of Nekhbet rather than having a

¹⁶⁵ See Jean Capart, “Deuxième rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth à El-Kab (Janvier à Mars 1938),” *ASAE* 38 (1938), p. 635.

¹⁶⁶ The sign  usually is read as *dwn* (more rarely *dw3* in *dw3-mw.t=f*) according to François Daumas, ed. *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, vol. 1 (Montpellier: Institut d'Égyptologie Université Paul-Valéry, 1988), p. 28 and *Wb.* V, p. 433, however with  followed by the word *inr* the word must read *f3i.t* “porter,” “bearer” as in Capart’s translation “porteur.”

¹⁶⁷ Capart, “Deuxième rapport sommaire,” p. 635.

¹⁶⁸ Capart, *ibid.*, shows  with a question mark beside the *p*; I think this is a miswriting of *md3.t* with  lost to the damage in front of it.

temple of his own at El Kab or Hierakonpolis. The following royal monuments may support this. A dyad statue of Ramesses II with a female figure that represents Nekhbet bears the inscription *[mry Nhb.t]*¹⁶⁹ *nb(.t) r3 in.ty mry Hr Nhnny mry Hr Bhd.ty* “(Ramesses II is) [beloved of Nekhbet], Lady of the Mouth of the Two Valleys,¹⁷⁰ beloved of Horus the Nekhenite and beloved of Horus the Behdetite.”¹⁷¹ On an inter-columnar wall relief of the kiosk of Nectanebo I before the first pylon of the temple of Nekhbet¹⁷² is a scene depicting a god in the form of Min-Amun, according to Capart,¹⁷³ who is identified as *[Hr] Bhd.t(y) [hn]t(y) Nhb.t]*¹⁷⁴ [. . .] . . (?) *Wts.t-Hr* “[Horus] the Behdetite, [Fore]most of Nekheb, [. . .] . . (?) Utjeset-Hor.” Another inscription identifies the god as *[. . .] qn hry-ib Nhb ntr ‘3* “[. . .], the Valorous, who Dwells in Nekheb, the Great God.”¹⁷⁵ The epithet *hry-ib Nhb* indicates that the god was one of the deities that resided in the temple and Capart believed that one of the sanctuaries flanking the central one of Nekhbet belonged to the Behdetite.¹⁷⁶ What little remains of the temple of Nekhbet at El Kab seems to be a construction of the Late Period but older remains are found reused in its construction particularly those of Thutmose III.¹⁷⁷ From what little evidence we have, it does

¹⁶⁹ See Jean Capart, “Rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth à El-Kab,” *ASAE* 37 (1937), p. 13; *KRI* II, p. 715, n. 7a.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. *LÄGG*, vol. 4, p. 86.

¹⁷¹ Capart, “Rapport sommaire,” p. 13; idem, “Les fouilles d’El Kab,” *Cd’É* 12 (1937), p. 143; *KRI* II, p. 715, lines 7-8.

¹⁷² See the plan of the temple complex in Richard H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 202.

¹⁷³ “Rapport sommaire,” p. 12.

¹⁷⁴ A *t*-loaf is carved instead of the city-sign but the word must be read as the name of the city and not of the goddess.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ See Somers Clarke, “El-Kâb and its Temples,” *JEA* 8 (1922), pp. 27-38; Wilkinson, *Complete Temples*, pp. 202-203; Luc J. H. Limme, “Elkab,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 468.

appear that Horus the Behdetite was an important god worshipped in the temple of Nekhbet during the New Kingdom and was, at least, venerated in the region from the time of the Middle Kingdom.

7.IV.v: Thebes

We have already discussed the close relationship of the priests and officials of Thebes and Edfu from the time of the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period in Chapter 5. We will concentrate here on other material primarily from Thebes. Most evidence for the worship of Horus the Behdetite at Thebes comes from the New Kingdom, however there is one earlier piece. Among the scant remains of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun at Karnak is a pillar that shows on its original east face *Bḥd.t(y) nb lwn.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of Dendera” embracing Senwosret I.¹⁷⁸ Amun-Kamutef, Atum and Ptah South-of-his-Wall appear on the other faces of the pillar.¹⁷⁹ It is unfortunate that so few of the other pillars from this structure survive.

Horus the Behdetite appears a few times on the pillars of the pillared hall of the Festival Hall or *Akhmenu* of Thutmose III at Karnak. On the south face of pillar 2-east (following the designations of Pécoil)¹⁸⁰ the god, wearing no crown, embraces the king,¹⁸¹ who wears the

¹⁷⁸ See Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 17 (Paris: Institut de France, 1998), p. 93, § 134, pls. 28c, 29; for the placement and orientation of the pillar, see *ibid.*, p. 89, § 130.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92, §§ 131-133, pls. 28-29.

¹⁸⁰ Jean-François Pécoil, *L’Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak: La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes; Relevés épigraphiques* (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2000), plan IV.

¹⁸¹ The figure is badly damaged from Amarna Period attacks.

Double Crown and holds a mace and *ankh* in his right hand and a staff in his left hand.¹⁸² A vulture identified as Nekhbet hovers above. The god is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 s3b šw.t nb p.t nb [Msn (?)] di=f 'nh nb* “The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Lord of the Sky, Lord of [Mesen (?)].”¹⁸³ A line of text below the scene reads *mry (Bḥd.ty) sp tpy ḥb-sd ir=f 'š3 [wr]* “The beloved of (the Behdetite).¹⁸⁴ The first occasion of the *Sed* festival. May he celebrate very many (*Sed* festivals).” On pillar 6-west, south face Horus the Behdetite embraces the king, while extending an *ankh* to his nose with his left hand. He wears no crown.¹⁸⁵ The king wears the Double Crown, holds a mace and an *ankh* in his right hand and an *mks*-scepter in his left.¹⁸⁶ A vulture hovers above; its name is lost but it appears to have the neck of a cobra and is likely Wadjet. The god’s inscription, actually referring to the king, is badly damaged but readable: *mry Ḥr Bḥd[.ty] nṯr ['3] nb p.t di=f 'nh nb ḏd(.t) [w3s] nb* (the king is) “Beloved of Horus the Behdetite, the [Great] God, as he gives all life and all stability [and dominion].” The text below the scene reads *[mry] (Ḥr Bḥd.ty) sp tpy ḥb-sd ir[=f] di ['nh ḏ.t]*¹⁸⁷ “[The below]ed (of Horus the Behdetite). The first occasion of the *Sed* festival. May [he] make a given-[life forever].” Most

¹⁸² Ibid, pl. 23 left. The king is identified as *Ḥr K3-nḥt Ḥ'-m-W3s.t nṯr nfr nb t3.wy s3 R' ḏḥwty-ms Ḥq3-W3s.t di 'nh ḏd(.t) w3s mi R' ḏ.t* “The Horus Strong-Bull Who-Appears-in-Thebes, the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands and Son of Re Thutmose Heqawaset, given life, stability and dominion like Re forever.”

¹⁸³ Pécoil shows bits of a sign that are consistent with the word “Mesen,” although they are a bit too low and may be traces of the original inscription from before the Amarna Period.

¹⁸⁴ *Mry* is oriented with the image of the god above and thus the king is beloved of the god above in such scenes; see Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, vol. 2, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1: Reversals* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), pp. 86-89.

¹⁸⁵ Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III*, pl. 37 left; *LD III*, pl. 33f.

¹⁸⁶ The king is *Ḥr K3-nḥt Ḥ'-m-[W3s.t] nṯr nfr nb t3.wy ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-ḥpr-R' Stp-n-R' di 'nh nb [mi] R' ḏ.t* “The Horus Strong-Bull Who-Appears-in[-Thebes], the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands and King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre Setepenre, given all life [like] Re forever.”

¹⁸⁷ The base of the *ankh*-sign and the horizontal sign found at the bottom of *ḏ.t* are extant; cf. Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III*, pl. 39 right.

interesting is the scene on the north face of pillar 3-east.¹⁸⁸ A falcon headed god embraces and offers life to the king's nose as in the previous scene.¹⁸⁹ The king wears the Double Crown, holds a mace and *ankh* in his right hand and a staff in his left.¹⁹⁰ A hovering vulture is identified as Nekhbet. The inscription of the god appears to read *Imn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy nb p.t Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 di=f 'nh nb* "Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky, the Behdetite, the Great God, as he gives all life." The text below the scene reads *mry (Imn-R' . . .) di 'nh dd(.t) w3s snb mi R' d.t* "The beloved of (Amun-Re, etc.), given life, stability, dominion and health like Re forever." This would be the earliest syncretism of Amun-Re and the Behdetite of which I am aware. However, it is likely that the inscription was re-carved in error. The scene on the south face of pillar 13-east suggests this.¹⁹¹ Mut is pictured extending an *ankh* to the king's nose. The inscription in the column above her identifies the king as "beloved" of Amun-Re with the word *mry* placed at the end of the column and below this, between the word *mry* and the head of the goddess, is her name *Mw.t* and *nb.t p.t*. Her name is placed similar to that of the Behdetite in the scene in question. It is possible that on pillar 3-east *nb p.t* has been carved where there was originally the word *mry*, which referred to Amun-Re. Most of the evidence for the syncretism of Amun and the Behdetite is found in the Ramesside Period (see below). A similar scene with a falcon headed god and the name Amun-Re is found on the south

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, pl. 27 right; *LD III*, pl. 33c.

¹⁸⁹ Pécoil, *L'Akh-menou de Thoutmosis III*, pl. 27 left.

¹⁹⁰ The king is *Hr K3-nht H'-m-M3'.t ntr nfr nb ir.t h.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-hpr-R' I[r-n-(?)]R' di 'nh [nb mi] R' d.t* "The Horus Strong-Bull Joyful-at-Maat, the Perfect God, Lord of Ritual and King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre I[ren]re (?), given [all] life [like] Re forever."

¹⁹¹ Ibid, pl. 65 left.

face of pillar 12-west but the entire text below the name is destroyed.¹⁹² The Behdetite is however one of the more important gods here. Of the deities, whose names are preserved, only Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu and Hathor are depicted more than three times.¹⁹³ The Behdetite appears more often than even the Theban deities Amunet and Montu (each shown twice and of those deities with names lost it is unlikely that their number of depictions could be boosted to more than three).¹⁹⁴ In the pillared ambulatory of the 18th Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu the Behdetite appears among other southern deities on the southern row of pillars, 3rd pillar from the west on the west face.¹⁹⁵ The scene shows the Behdetite, who wears no crown, embracing Thutmose III wearing the *Atef* crown. The king is identified as *Hr K3-nh.t H'-m-W3s.t ntr nfr*¹⁹⁶ *nb t3.wy Mn-hpr-R' hq3*¹⁹⁷ [*di (?) 'nh] dd(.t) w3s mi R' d.t* “Horus Strong-Bull Who-Appears-in-Thebes, the Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre, the Ruler (?) [given life (?)], stability and dominion like Re forever.” The text of Horus reads *dd-md(.w) in Hr Bh.d.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t Mn-hpr-R' di(=i) n=k nsy.t t3.wy rnp.wt ltmw m 'nh w3s 3w(.t)-ib=k (hr) s.t=i m 3w(.t)-ib mi R' d.t* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘O Menkheperre, Let me give to you the

¹⁹² See *ibid*, pl. 59 left.

¹⁹³ Hathor is identified as “Lady of Dendera” in one scene (*ibid*, pl. 31 right) and once as “She who Dwells in Karnak” (pl. 73 right) and in the other scenes she has more universal titles (“Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Gods/Two Lands” pls. 20 left, 35 right, 43 left). There are three other forms of Horus that each appear once: “Horus” without other epithets (pl. 65 right), Haroëris (pl. 33 right) and Re-Horakhty (pl. 47 right).

¹⁹⁴ See *ibid*, pls. 41 right (Montu) and left (Amunet), 45 left (Montu), 49 right (Amunet); cf. pls. 17-18 (pillar 1-west; both gods in pl. 17 are likely Amun-Re; uncertain in pl. 18), 21-22 (pillar 2-west; completely lost deity pl. 21 left, unknown goddess 21 right; unknown god 22 left, lost deity 22 right but usually at least two deities on a single pillar are Amun-Re), 25-26 (pillar 3-west; three gods that have the kilt of Amun-Re and an unknown goddess), 39 right (pillar 6-east, north face; goddess with cow horns and disk and cannot be Amunet).

¹⁹⁵ *PM II*², p. 467, Fc; OI Photo 1550; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 10, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, part 2, forthcoming; I thank Dr. J. Brett McClain for providing the Murnane/Shubert hand copy of this scene.

¹⁹⁶ The hand copy shows only the bottom of the *nfr*-sign.

¹⁹⁷ The sign is outside the cartouche and, thus, not a part of the name.

kingship of the Two Lands and the years of Atum with life and dominion, you being joyful upon my throne (even) in joy like Re forever.”¹⁹⁸

The Behdetite is pictured a few more times in Theban temples of the New Kingdom in offering scenes and assemblies of important deities of the region. The latter deserves extra commentary, so we will examine these scene types separately beginning with offering scenes.

The Behdetite appears in an offering scene at the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu on the exterior south wall west of the second pylon on the frieze above the temple calendar.¹⁹⁹ The king wears the Blue Crown and kneels upon a low pedestal offering wine before a seated Horus, who wears the Double Crown with a *was*-scepter in his left hand and an *ankh* in his right. Behind stands Hathor with cow horns and sun disk upon the platform type crown and holds a papyrus-scepter in her left hand and probably held an *ankh* in her right hand (now lost). The king’s pre-nomen and nomen appear above: *Wsr-M3’.t-R’ Mry-Imn R’-ms-sw Hq3-lwnw* “Usermaatre Meryamun Ramesses Heqaiunu.” Behind the king is a column of text: *wnn ny-sw.t nb t3.wy mi R’ wbn=f n rhy.t* “The King and Lord of the Two Lands shall be like Re when he shines for the common folk.” The scene label reads *hnk m irp n it=f* “Making offering with wine to his father.” The text of Horus reads *[dd]-md(.w) in Hr nb Bhd.t [di.n=i] n=k nh.t nb(.t)* “[State]ment by Horus, Lord of Behdet: ‘It is to you [that I have given] all victory,’” while that of Hathor reads *d[d]-md(.w) [in] Hw.t-Hr hnw.t t3.wy di.n(=i) n[=k] gn nb* “Statement [by] Hathor, Mistress of the Two Lands: ‘It is to [you] that I have given all valor.” The scenes on the frieze around the outer temple wall, like this scene, show a series of offering

¹⁹⁸ Cf. *LD III Text*, p. 155 and cf. *Urk.* IV, p. 563, lines 7-9 (P.), which shows several differences from the hand copy.

¹⁹⁹ *MH VII*, pl. 576A; *PM II*², pp. 516-517 (186).

scenes before the various state and local gods of Egypt.²⁰⁰ Although there is some geographical ordering, this is not strictly followed.²⁰¹ Another offering scene with the Behdetite is in the court of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak on the east wall, middle register, first scene from the south.²⁰² The king offers bouquets of flowers wearing a cap-like crown with two streamers at the rear and a sun disk with two uraei identified as *Bḥd.ty* hovers above. Horus sits on a throne with the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif. He has a sun disk upon his head with a single uraeus; he holds one of the bouquets in his left hand and an *ankh* in his right hand. Hathor stands behind Horus wearing cow horns and sun disk upon the vulture headdress with her right hand raised in protection and an *ankh* in her left hand. Her vulture headdress has two uraei with cow horns and sun disks upon their heads. The titles and names of the king are *nb t3.wy Ḥm-nṯr-tpy-n-Imn Ḥry-Ḥr S3-Imn* “The Lord of the Two Lands Hemnetjertepyenamun (High-Priest-of-Amun) Herihor Siamun.”²⁰³ The text of Horus reads *Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 s3b šw.t nb m3’.t ḥr(y)-ib Wṯs.t-Ḥr di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh ḡd(.t) w3s nb ḥr=i* “Horus the Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Lord of *Maat*, who Dwells in Utjeset-Hor: ‘It is to you that I have given all life, stability and dominion from me.’” The text of Hathor is *Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t lwn.t ḥr(y.t)-ib Bḥd.t di=s ‘nh w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb mi R’* “Hathor, Lady of Dendera, who Dwells in Behdet; as she gives all life and dominion and all joy

²⁰⁰ Cf. *MH VII*, pls. 571-586A-C.

²⁰¹ The gods of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome appear in the scene in front of this one (*MH VII*, pl. 575), while Montu and Rayettawy follow (pl. 576B); there are also groupings such as Horus (perhaps of Nekhen) and Nekhbet then Horus Son of Isis with Wadjet of Pe and Dep (pl. 577A-B).

²⁰² See Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court with Translations of Texts*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pl. 56A; *PM II*², p. 230 (20-21, II.1).

²⁰³ There is no scene label.

like Re.” Most of the gods depicted upon this wall are gods of Thebes or the great gods of Egypt.²⁰⁴

On the interior north wall of the bark chapel of the small temple at Medinet Habu is a scene of a double row of gods originally carved by Thutmose III with major restorations under Sety I and in the Ptolemaic Period.²⁰⁵ According to the copy of Lepsius, in the upper row the seventh god from the right is human in form and identified as *Hr Bhd(.ty)* “Horus the Behdetite” followed by a sign that *LD III*, pl. 37b shows as a crocodile but in *LD III Text*, p. 159, n. 3 shows as undetermined. This is followed by the word *ṯhn* “dazzling” then a seated god determinative. The editors of the *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* interpreted the sign after *Bhd.ty* as a lion (*m3i*) based on a scene at Edfu Temple of the Ennead.²⁰⁶ However, close examination of the relief by the Epigraphic Survey shows that there is no *bḥ*-tusk sign between the Horus falcon and the *d*-hand sign; the following sign *is* a crocodile meaning that the group reads *Hr dpy (?) ṯhnw* “Horus the Dazzling Crocodile.”²⁰⁷

On the door jambs of the west face of the first pylon at both the Ramesseum and the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu are a nearly identical series of deities.²⁰⁸ Each deity is in human form seated on a throne holding out a *nb*-basket in one hand with *ankh* and *was*-signs

²⁰⁴ Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pls. 51-68; the only deities that are not specifically Theban are Ptah and Sekhmet (pl. 64) and Re-Horakhty with the goddesses Iusaas and Nebet-Hetepet (pl. 66).

²⁰⁵ See *LD III*, pl. 37b; cf. *LD III Text*, p. 159, n. 3, no. 7.

²⁰⁶ *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 212; cf. *Edfou IV*, p. 266, line 14.

²⁰⁷ I thank Dr. J. Brett McClain for a copy of the drawing of this scene and the collation and commentary of Dr. Harold Hays; this scene will be in *Medinet Habu*, vol. 10, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, Part 2, forthcoming.

²⁰⁸ See Wolfgang Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums*, ÄgAb 25 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), vol. 1, p. 16 and *MH V*, pl. 251.

above and holding an *ankh* in their other hand with the words *di=f/s*, the dative *n* and the king's pre-nomen in front. Thus one reads "as he/she gives all life and dominion to (pre-nomen)." The third deity from the top is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t* "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky." Below him is *Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t lwn.t* "Hathor, Lady of Dendera."²⁰⁹ The order of the gods on the north jamb are, from top to bottom, Amun-Re, Atum, the Behdetite, Hathor, Osiris (Khenty-imentyu), Geb and Min with Thoth at bottom writing the king's name on a year-sign. Those on the south side are Montu, Seth (*Nwb.ty* "the Ombite"), Shu, Amun, Sobek, Wepwawat and Khnum with Sefkhet-abwy writing the king's name at bottom. The Behdetite represents Horus among the great gods of Thebes. These gods include all the male gods of the Theban Ennead but includes only Hathor of the female deities. The depiction of every deity in completely human form is typical of depictions of the gods of the Ennead, as well. The Theban Ennead is composed of the Heliopolitan Ennead, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys, with the addition of Montu, Horus, Hathor, Sobek and the goddesses Tjenenet and Iunit.²¹⁰ Most groupings of the Theban Ennead place Horus with Hathor and they are most often simply identified as *Ḥr* and *Ḥw.t-Ḥr* sometimes with common epithets like "Lord/Lady of the Sky."²¹¹ Horus is sometimes identified as *Ḥr s3 3s.t.*²¹² In some lists Hathor is identified as

²⁰⁹ The Medinet Habu relief adds *di=s snb nb*.

²¹⁰ See Brunner, "Neunheit," cols. 474-475.

²¹¹ See Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 101; LD III, pls. 26, no. 7, 34d, 37b, 74a, 125a, 222d, 223, 246c; LD IV, pls. 10, 29a, 31a, 66 a-b; Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, vol. 1, *Ramses III's Temple Within the Great Inclosure of Amon*, OIP 25 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pl. 56B; Thiem, *Gebel es-Silsileh*, vol. 1, p. 331, vol. 2, fig. 18; Marcelle Baud and Étienne Drioton, *Tombes thébaines: Nécropole de Dirâ Abû'n-Nâga*, vol. 1, *Le tombeau de Roj (tombeau No. 255)*, MIFAO 57.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1928), p. 37; Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, pl. 71(=LD III, pl. 246c).

“Lady of Dendera”²¹³ but Horus is never named *Bḥd.ty*. He is identified in four lists as *Hr m P* “Horus in Pe.”²¹⁴ All of these lists are from the New Kingdom or later and long after Horus of Edfu was recognized as the consort of Hathor of Dendera. In Ennead lists from the Greco-Roman Period temple at Dendera Horus is usually identified as the Behdetite.²¹⁵ One would expect the Behdetite to appear in at least some lists from Thebes. As we have seen, the Behdetite is called “He who is at the Head of the Ennead” at Gebel el-Silsila, even though the list of the Ennead there, which seems to have derived from Thebes, names the god simply as *Hr*.²¹⁶ It may be that the desire was not to limit Horus to a specific manifestation and, indeed, we even find him identified as just “Horus” in lists at Dendera²¹⁷ and Edfu²¹⁸ as well as “Horus Son of Isis”²¹⁹ and “Horus in the Great Mansion” (*ḥw.t-‘3.t*)²²⁰ in two other lists from Edfu. Still, it is hard to explain why “Horus in Pe” appears so often.

²¹² Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 2, *The Ebony Shrine, Northern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 14 (London: EEF, 1894-1895), pl. 46; Baud and Drioton *Roy*, p. 37; LD III, pl. 124b (also identified as *ḥry-ib lp.t-s.wt*)=Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 140.

²¹³ See LD III, pls. 124b, 125a; RIK I, pl. 56B. In a Greco-Roman Period list she is *Hw.t-Hr ḥry(.t)-tp W3s.t*, see LD IV, pl. 29a.

²¹⁴ LD III, pl. 37b; Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, vol. 1, PMMA 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), p. 45; Alan H. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, vol. 2, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1935), pls. 53-53a, line 13; Karl Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum: Altägyptische Inschriften*, vol. 1, *Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1883), P. 730, No. 39.

²¹⁵ Cf. LD IV, pls. 56a and 83a.

²¹⁶ See Barta, *Neunheit*, p. 67, no. 30 and Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographes rédigés sur les lieux*, vol. 1 (1844; repr. Geneva: Éditions de Belles-lettres, 1973), p. 264.

²¹⁷ See LD III, pl. 59b.

²¹⁸ *Edfou I*, p. 504, no. 36.

²¹⁹ See Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 726, no. 16.

²²⁰ *Edfou VI*, p. 294, line 6, no. 8.

Among private monuments not covered in Chapter 5 that mention the Behdetite is a block statue of Didia, a Chief Draughtsman of Amun during the reign of Sety I.²²¹ One of the offering texts on the statue reads *ḥtp-di-ny-sw.t Hr Bḥd.t(y) Nḥb.t ḥd.t-Nḥn Hw.t-Ḥr nb.t In.ty Sbk nb Swnw Mntw ḥry-ib W3s.t di=sn t3w ndm n mhy.t n k3 n Didi3* “An offering which the king gives to Horus the Behdetite, Nekhbet the White One of Nekhen, Hathor, Lady of Gebelein, Sobek, Lord of Sunu and Montu, who Dwells in Thebes that they might give the sweet north wind for the *ka* of Didia.”²²² Other offering texts from the statue include the names of the gods of Thebes, Upper Egypt and the great gods of Egypt.²²³ Of minor interest is the name of the wife of Pashedu, Chief Workman on the Left Side at Deir El-Medina in the time of Sety I: *Ndm-Bḥd.t*.²²⁴ Her name suggests some connection with Edfu, although it could refer to Behdet near Abydos, but there is nothing in the monuments of Pashedu to suggest a devotion to the gods of either local. A text on the stela of Mahu, the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Ramesses II at Heliopolis identifies his mother as *šm’y.t Hr Bḥd.(t)y Hw.t-Ḥr m3’.t-ḥrw* “the Singer of Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, justified.”²²⁵ His father was a charioteer named Amunmose. According to a text from a lintel found at Abydos, however, his mother is said to be a “Singer of Amun,”²²⁶ so it is not unlikely that the family originated in Thebes.

Several high officials of the Ramesside Period buried at Thebes included hymns to Amun that identified the god with the Behdetite. A hymn found in the tomb (TT 25) of the high priest

²²¹ See Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, CGC 42001-42138 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1906), pp. 71-73, pl. 72.

²²² *KRI VII*, p. 26, line 3.

²²³ See *KRI VII*, p. 24, line 12, p. 25, lines 5-6 and p. 26, line 1.

²²⁴ *KRI I*, p. 375, line 15, p. 377, line 7, p. 380, lines 3-4.

²²⁵ *KRI III*, p. 444, lines 10-11.

²²⁶ *KRI III*, p. 249, line 3.

of Khonsu Amenemheb, who served under Ramesses II and in the tomb (TT 26) of the general Khnumemheb of the late 19th Dynasty begins *ind-ḥr=k m wi3=k šḥd.n=k t3.wy m nfr.w=k bik nṯri s3b šw.t Bḥd.t(y) šḥr ḡw nb* “Hail to you in your bark after you have lightened the Two Lands with your beauties, Divine Falcon of Multicolored Plumage, Behdetite, who drives off all evil.”²²⁷ The line *bik nṯri s3b šw.t Bḥd.t(y) šḥr ḡw* is also found in Amun hymns in the tomb of the governor and vizier Paser (TT 106; Sety I/Ram. II),²²⁸ Paennesuttawy, the “Captain of Troops and Governor of the Southland” (TT 156; Ram. II),²²⁹ and the “Scribe and Counter of the Cattle of the Estate of Amun Siamun called Kyky” (TT 409; Ram. II).²³⁰ According to Assmann the line identifies Amun-Re with the Behdetite as winged sun disk, the morning or midday light-form of the sun god, who drives off darkness, which is mythically interpreted as evil.²³¹ Another section of hymn found in the tomb of Paser, as well as in the tomb of Iimiseneb (TT 65; Ram. IX), who was head of the temple-scribes of the estate of Amun, also identifies Amun-Re with the Behdetite: *ind-ḥr=k R' m wbn=f Imn šḥm-nṯr.w b3 i3bt.t bik imnt.t Bḥd.ty nb ḥr šn.(t) nb.t itn ḥpw.ty pḥrr-nmt.t* “Hail to you Re in his rising, Amun, Power of the Gods, Eastern *Ba*, Western Falcon,²³² Behdetite, Lord of all that the Sun Disk encircles, runner with hurrying step.”²³³ Another hymn to Amun in the tomb of Paser begins *šsp b(w)-nfr nb nṯr.w Imn-Itmw m W3s.t bik nṯry s3b šw.t Bḥd.t(y) 'š3 in(m) [n]mt'*²³⁴ *ḥr.t ib=k nḡm r ḥtp m ḥ.t mw.t=k* “Receive good things,

²²⁷ See Jan Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*, Theben I (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern 1983), pp. 26-27 (Text 20.4) and p. 29 (Text 21).

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-153, 158 (Texts 113-114).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158 (Text 146).

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 368 (Text 262).

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28, textual note b.

²³² Or “Horus.”

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 122 (Text 86), pp. 152-153 (Text 113).

²³⁴ Cf. *Wb.* II, p. 270, no. 15.

O Lord of the Gods, Amun-Atum in Thebes, Divine Falcon of Multicolored Plumage, Behdetite abounding in color, [who tra]verses the sky (with) your heart being happy in order to repose in the womb of your mother.”²³⁵

A winged sun disk or sun disk with two uraei often appears at the head of the coffins of the Theban priests of Montu of the 25th and 26th Dynasties. An offering text is often associated with these sun disks requesting offerings from the Behdetite (given his most common epithets).²³⁶ This is a somewhat significant change from earlier practice in that the protective sun disk is now a more active being. Sun disks on most non-royal monuments are limited to their names and epithets. Promises of giving life, etc. are usually intended for the king, so this represents a change in decorum. However, we will see below that these instances of requesting offerings from protective sun disks are not the earliest cases. Even more interesting is a text on the coffin of Besenmut, son of Ankhefenkhonsu and the lady Neskhonsu (25th-26th Dyn.), which says of the deceased *iw=f m ḥprw n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 s3b šw.t* “He is in the form of Horus the Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage.”²³⁷ Here the deceased is likely identified with the Behdetite as the newly born solar Horus in the form of the winged disk.

Besides the political and family ties of the official families of Thebes and Edfu, Horus the Behdetite was important in Thebes as the most important form of Horus in southern Upper Egypt starting in the Middle Kingdom. His association with kingship and protection of the person of

²³⁵ *KRI I*, p. 296, lines 7-8; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*, vol. 1, *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 241.

²³⁶ See Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, CGC 41042-41072 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1913), pp. 220, 534.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 126, 41052 (line 9).

the king may also have been important. For the theologians of Amun-Re in the New Kingdom it was his identity as the solar Horus, the new or re-born sun god whose light drove off the dark of night that led to the Behdetite's syncretism with the god of Thebes.

7. IV.vi: Dendera

The earliest association of Horus the Behdetite with Hathor Lady of Dendera is problematic. The earliest direct association of the Behdetite with Dendera is on an 11th Dynasty stela from Dendera (Cairo 20804) that Fischer dates to shortly after the reunification under Mentuhotep II.²³⁸ On this stela a woman is described as one “whom the gods of Dendera love and whom  praises.”²³⁹ We have already noted the image of Horus the Behdetite in the temple of Senwosret I at Karnak, where the god is called “Lord of Dendera.” A 12th Dynasty stela from Dendera directly associates the Behdetite and Hathor of Dendera: *Hw.t-Hr nb.t lwn.t Hr Bhd.t(y) lwn.t* “Hathor, Lady of Dendera and Horus the Behdetite of Dendera.”²⁴⁰ A pedestal dated to the early Second Intermediate Period calls Horus the Behdetite “Lord of Dendera.”²⁴¹ However, it is possible that these deities were connected at a much earlier period. An offering slab of Menankhpepy of the 6th Dynasty identifies his wife, the Priestess of Hathor [Niankh(?)]hathor, as *im3hw.t hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t lwn.t hr Hr m lwn.t* “a venerated one before

²³⁸ Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York, 1968), pp. 28, 125.

²³⁹ Ibid, p. 125, n. 554. The stela is not published.

²⁴⁰ University of Pennsylvania Museum E 15996; Ibid, p. 211, n. 821.

²⁴¹ The pedestal is in the Nahman collection. The name of the original owner is lost but his/her mother was named Reniseneb; see Pascal Vernus, “Edfou, du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie: Études philologiques, sociologiques et historiques d’un corpus documentaire de l’Égypte pharaonique,” PhD diss. (Paris: Sorbonne University, 1987), pp. 392-393.

Hathor, Lady of Dendera and before Horus in Dendera.”²⁴² On the stela of Seneni from Dendera of the 9th Dynasty he claims the title *imy-r3 hn.w Hw.t-Hr Hr (?)* “Overseer of Rowers of Hathor and Horus (?)”.²⁴³ The name “Horus” is a little problematic; the text shows  and the falcon could be just a determinative in the name of Hathor.²⁴⁴ An 11th Dynasty lintel from Dendera refers to the temple in that city as *hw.t-ntr nt Hr Hw.t-Hr nb.t lwn.t* “The Temple of Horus and Hathor Lady of Dendera.”²⁴⁵ The problem is the identification of the god Horus. The god Harsomtus (*Hr-sm3-t3.wy* “Horus-Who-Unites-the-Two-Lands”) was worshipped at Dendera as the son of Hathor but does not appear to have been named Horus before the 11th Dynasty.²⁴⁶ Remenwikai of the 6th Dynasty in his tomb at Giza is titled *hm-ntr n [Hw.t-Hr] nb.t lwn.t Sm3-t3.wy* “Prophet of [Hathor], Lady of Dendera and Somtus.”²⁴⁷ Fischer raises the possibility of the unknown Horus being Horakhty, who appears in the small temple of Mentuhotep II at Dendera as “Lord of Dendera” and who is given precedence of place over Somtus there.²⁴⁸ But is Horakhty ever called “Horus” for short? In texts where both names appear it is difficult to know whether Horakhty/Re-Horakhty is being called Horus for short or is just being identified with Horus.²⁴⁹ Fischer’s other suggestion is Horus the Behdetite²⁵⁰ and there may be some

²⁴² Ibid, pp. 27-28, fig. 6 (Jd’É 38427, CGC 57014).

²⁴³ Ibid, pp. 195, 209-210, fig. 43, pl. 26.

²⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 211, textual note b.

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 211, n. 821.

²⁴⁶ He takes the prefix *Hr* in the small temple of Mentuhotep II at Dendera although he is also named without it; see Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), pp. 21, 24, fig. 7; he also is named “Harsomtus” on a 13th Dynasty stela from Coptos; see Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 26, n. 108 and p. 28.

²⁴⁷ Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 25-26.

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 28; Habachi, “Nebhepetre,” p. 24, fig. 7, cf. p. 26, fig. 8.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Jan Assmann, “Harachte,” *LA* II, cols. 956-957; idem, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete: Übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg, Switzerland and Göttingen:

indirect evidence to support this identification. The evidence comes from a text in Crypt 9 (Chassinat's "3 ouest"), east wall, of the Greco-Roman Period temple of Hathor:

3bd 3 Šmw psdntyw šh' ntr.t tn nb(.t) lwn.t r Bhd.t r ir(.t) hn(.t)=s nfr(.t) sm3' '3b.t '3.t k3.w 3pd.w h.t nb(.t) nfr(.t) w'b(.t) n k3 n ntr.t tn 'q n ntr.t tn r wi3=s '3-mr(.wt) (r)n=f²⁵¹ in hm.w-ntr w'b.w '3(.w) n{ty}²⁵² Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) lwn.t šms.w ntr.t hr-h3.t ntr.t tn sš md3.t-ntr hr-h3.t ntr.t tn ir.n=sn nt-'w nb(.w) h'(w) r hrw 4 in ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-hpr-R' s3 R' nb h'.w Dhwty-ms ir.n=f m mnw=f n mw.t=f Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) lwn.t ir.t-R' nb.t p.t hnw.t ntr.w nb.w gm.tw snṯ wr m/(n) (?) lwn.t m sš.w is.w sš hr wbh n h'r m h(3)w n šms.w Hr gm.ti m-hnw n lnb-(hd) m 3tp n pr-ny-sw.t m rk ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mry-R' s3 R' nb h'.w P(p)y di 'nh dd(.t) w3s nb mi R' d.t

Month three of *Shemu*-season, Festival of the New Moon. Causing this goddess, the Lady of Dendera to appear in Behdet (Edfu) in order to carry out her beautiful water procession.

Presenting the great offering of bulls, fowl and every good and pure thing for the *ka* of this goddess when this goddess entered into her sacred bark, Great-of-Love being its name, by the prophets and great pure-priests of Hathor, Lady of Dendera. The followers of the goddess are before this goddess and the scribes are in front of this goddess, they having performed all the rituals of the procession for four days. It is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the

Two Lands Menkheperre, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Thutmose who made it²⁵³ as his monument for his mother Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Eye of Re, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the Gods, when the great plan was found in/of (?) Dendera in ancient texts written upon a roll of leather in the time of the Followers of Horus found in Memphis in a chest of the royal palace in the time of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Meryre, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Pe(p)y, given all life, stability and dominion like Re forever.²⁵⁴

The text states that a "great plan" of Dendera that dates back to the time of the "Followers of Horus," i.e. the Pre-dynastic Period and written down under Pepy I, and which included the establishment or plans for a water procession to Edfu, was restored or enacted under Thutmose III. Since this text was hidden away in one of the crypts of the temple, Daumas argues, the text

Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), pp. 100, 147, 153-155, 210-211.

²⁵⁰ *Dendera*, p. 28.

²⁵¹ The text has .

²⁵² Read *nw*.

²⁵³ For *in* + noun + *sdm.n=f*, a rare form used in the Pyramid Texts and at Dendera, see Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 45-46, textual note j.

²⁵⁴ *Dendara* VI, p. 158, line 4-p. 159, line 2; Fischer, *Dendera*, pp. 44-46; François Daumas, "Le trône d'une statuette de Pépi I^{er} trouvé à Dendara," *BIFAO* 52 (1953), pp. 166-167.

cannot be some form of temple propaganda meant to claim a great and prestigious antiquity.²⁵⁵

This is likely true for those who built the Greco-Roman temple, however it does not exclude this possibility for the priests of the time of Thutmose III or Pepy I. Fischer doubts the claim that this “plan” dates back to the time of the “Followers of Horus,” since writing was not well developed at that time.²⁵⁶ He admits, however, that the reference may refer to the time when the temple was founded.²⁵⁷ To complicate matters is the “heading” text on the north wall of the same crypt: *p3 snṯ wr m/(=n?) lwn.t sm3w(y)-mnw ir.n ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-ḥpr-R' s3 R' nb ḥ'.w Dḥwty-ms m-ḥt gm.tw m sš.w is.w m h(3)w n ny-sw.t Ḥwf(w)* “The great plan in/of (?) Dendera, the renewal of monuments, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Thutmose made, after (it) was found in ancient texts from the time of King Khufu.”²⁵⁸ This seems like a contradiction with the text saying the “great plan” was found in a document from the time of Pepy I. It is possible that the “great plan” came from multiple ancient texts dating to Pepy I and Khufu; both the east and north text use the plural *sš.w is.w*. However, Fischer doubts this believing that the texts’ statements concerning the age of the “great plan” are a conventional means of introducing the earliest persons and periods that were significant in the temple’s history, thus the “great plan” was known in the earliest times and in the reigns of Khufu and Pepy I.²⁵⁹ Claims, often false, of great antiquity for religious texts are not unknown from ancient Egypt (Shabaka Stone/Memphite Theology, Famine Stela), yet one should not dismiss such a claim out of hand. Although there is little evidence of an interest in the goddess’ cult at Dendera from the time of Khufu, there is

²⁵⁵ “Le trône d’une statuette de Pépi,” p. 170.

²⁵⁶ *Dendera*, p. 47.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 48.

²⁵⁸ *Dendara VI*, p. 173, lines 9-10; Fischer, *Dendera*, p. 47.

²⁵⁹ *Dendera*, p. 48.

much evidence for the devotion of Pepy I for Hathor of Dendera.²⁶⁰ Given the mention of a “Horus” associated with Hathor of Dendera in the 6th Dynasty, the presence of a cult of Hathor at Edfu in the 6th Dynasty,²⁶¹ the fact that the nome of Edfu is named *Wts.t-Hr* from the 5th Dynasty²⁶² and the fact that it was common at Edfu to simply call Horus the Behdetite *Hr*, it is not unlikely that the “Festival of the Good Reunion” dates back to the Old Kingdom. A man named Pepyseshemnefer, also called Senen from the 6th Dynasty may have been in charge of leading the procession of Hathor to Edfu, since he held the title *irr sqdw Hw.t-Hr nb.t lwn.t* “One who Makes (i.e. is in charge of) the Voyage²⁶³ of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.”²⁶⁴ Thus Horus the Behdetite’s association with Hathor and Dendera would also date to that time. A text from the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu provides definitive proof that the procession of Hathor of Dendera to Edfu dates at least to the beginning of the 12th Dynasty: *sbi(.t) Hw.t-Hr r lwn.t ‘rq m-ht hrw 14 hrw 27 h’ in Hw.t-Hr nb(.t) lwn.t Hr-sm3-t3.wy mitt r-rsy-n niw.t tn htp n²⁶⁵ p(3) m3rw n Sn-wsr.t pr Hr Bhd.t(y) hr.tw r=f iw hr ntr.t tn r rsy ir(w) irw nb n nb Bhd.t st3 r hw.t-ntr htp m-hnw=s* “The conducting of Hathor to Dendera, which was achieved after four days (on the) twenty seventh day (of the month). Appearance by Hathor, Lady of Dendera, and Harsomtut likewise, to the south of this town and resting in the *maru* of Senwosret (I), it being called the House of Horus the Behdetite. The face of this goddess is (turned) to the south, all the rites of

²⁶⁰ Cf. *ibid*, pp. 37-44.

²⁶¹ See Chapter 5.II.i.

²⁶² See previous note.

²⁶³ See *Wb.* IV, p. 309, no. 12.

²⁶⁴ Oriental Institute Museum 5027; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Dendereh 1898*, EM 17, with chapters by F. Ll. Griffith, Dr. Gladstone and Oldfield Thomas (London: EEF, 1900), pl. 7; Daumas, *Dendara et le temple d’Hathor*, p. 2.

²⁶⁵ Read as *m*.

the Lord of Behdet having been completed. Admittance into the temple and resting within it.”²⁶⁶ The text concerns the return of the statue of Hathor to Dendera at the end of the festival of the “Good Reunion.” Chassinat believed that the *maru* of Senwosret I was within Dendera itself to the south of the main temple²⁶⁷ but Daumas considered this unlikely.²⁶⁸ Since Dendera is the name of the town mentioned before the phrase “to the south of this town” where the *maru* of Senwosret is located, the latter must have been south of the city of Dendera.²⁶⁹ It is unlikely that the temple was in Edfu, since the main temple there was also called the “House of Horus the Behdetite.”²⁷⁰ Chassinat points out that it could not be a reference to the Middle Kingdom temple of Horus preserved due to its antiquity, because this structure was likely located where the Ptolemaic temple is now (i.e. it was *not* preserved).²⁷¹ The structures called *maru*, at least in Edfu and Dendera, seem to have been bark chapels used during religious processions. A *maru* named *K3-ḥsi.t*, which is possibly the same *maru* of King Menibre of the 13th Dynasty, was located at the boat landing at Edfu²⁷² A *maru* of Thutmose III was located somewhere in Edfu, as well.²⁷³

²⁶⁶ *Edfou V*, p. 357, lines 6-p. 358, line 1; cf. É. Chassinat, “Le temple d’Horus Behouditi à Dendérah,” *Revue de l’Égypte ancienne* 1 (1927), pp. 298-308.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 302-304.

²⁶⁸ François Daumas, *Dendara et le temple d’Hathor: Notice sommaire*, RAPH 29 (Cairo: IFAO, 1969), p. 16, n. 2.

²⁶⁹ Chassinat uses the same facts to argue that the *maru* was within the temenos of Dendera (see “Le temple d’Horus,” pp. 302-303) but seems to mistake the city with the temple; the text clearly states that the *maru* is to the south of the “city” (*niw.t*).

²⁷⁰ Chassinat, “Le temple d’Horus,” pp. 299-300.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 300.

²⁷² *Ibid*, p. 299; cf. D. Meeks, *La Grand Texte des Donations au temple d’Edfou*, Bd’É 59 (Cairo: IFAO, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 94-95.

²⁷³ Chassinat, “Le temple d’Horus,” p. 299; *Edfou V*, p. 34, lines 5-6.

Horus the Behdetite does not appear in the chapel of Mentuhotep II at Dendera, instead you have the god Horakhty with Hathor and Somtus. For this reason Daumas believed that the triad of Horus the Behdetite, Hathor of Dendera and Somtus was late and artificial.²⁷⁴ However, Sekhemsens, a lector priest of Hathor, Lady of Dendera who lived during the mid-13th Dynasty left a stela at Edfu requesting offerings from Hathor, Lady of Dendera, Horus the Behdetite and Harsomtus,²⁷⁵ which suggests they may have been viewed as a triad at that time. Given Horus the Behdetite's close relationship with Re-Horakhty in later periods, one wonders if there was any kind of identification of the two in the early Middle Kingdom at Dendera and Edfu. Even if the "Horus" of earlier inscriptions found at Dendera is not the Behdetite, both Horakhty and the name "Behdetite" are first attested at Dendera at nearly the same time at the beginning of the 11th Dynasty, namely this chapel (Horakhty) and Cairo stela 20804 (the Behdetite).

There is a major lack of information on the religious cults in Dendera between the 11th Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period.²⁷⁶ This is especially the case with monuments mentioning the Behdetite. The one exception is a statuette of 25-26th Dynasty date of the *ḥm(-ntr) Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) ḥm(-ntr) Nbw.t . . (?) Ḥr m3'-ḥrw s3 ḥm(-ntr) Ḥr (Bḥd.ty ?) ḥm(-ntr) Nbw.t Dd-Dḥwty-iw=f-'nh m3'-ḥrw s3 mi-nw P3(y)=s-tnfy (m3'-ḥrw)* "Prophet of Horus the Behdetite and Prophet of the Golden One (Hathor), . . (?) Hor, justified, son of the Prophet of Horus (the Behdetite ?) and

²⁷⁴ *Dendara et le temple d'Hathor*, p. 25.

²⁷⁵ Sekhemsens's father Sobekaa, who was also a lector priest of Hathor, mentions Hathor, Lady of Dendera and Horus the Behdetite, "Lord of Dendera"; See Vernus, "Edfou," pp. 387-388.

²⁷⁶ Cf. Robert K. Ritner, "Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of Theban High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue OIM 10729," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman, SAOC 55 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1994), p. 220.

Prophet of the Golden One Djeddjehutyuefankh, justified, son of the like-titled Payestjenfy, (justified).”²⁷⁷

7.IV.vii: Abydos

There is no evidence of any kind of cult of the Behdetite at Abydos but there are two examples of monuments from the site that express veneration of the god. The Hall-keeper Kemhu of the late Middle Kingdom built a cenotaph at Abydos with stelae requesting offerings from Horus the Behdetite: *hṭp-di-ny-sw.t Wsir hnty-imnty.w nṯr ‘3 nb 3bdw Hr Bhd.ty 3s.t wr.t mw.t nt Hr di{.n}=sn n(=i) t3w ‘nh r šr.t iry-‘.t (‘.t)-sb3y Kmhw ms n nb.t-pr Ptw m3‘.t-ḥrw* “An offering which the king gives to Osiris Khenty-imentyu, the Great God, Lord of Abydos, Horus the Behdetite and Isis the Great, mother of Horus, that they might give to me the breath of life for the nose of the Hall-keeper of the (House) of Astronomy Kemhu, born to the Lady of the House Petu, justified.”²⁷⁸ Kemhu was almost certainly from Edfu.²⁷⁹ Horus the Behdetite has taken the place of Horus Son of Osiris/Isis on Kemhu’s stela.

Yuyu, the high priest of Osiris at Abydos under Ramesses II commissioned a naophorous statue (Louvre A 67) and offerings are requested from the winged disk above the door of the naos: (at left) *Bhd.ty di=f t3w ndm n hm-nṯr tpy n Wsir Ywyw m3‘-ḥrw hr Wsir* (at right) *Bhd.ty*

²⁷⁷ See Georges Legrain, “La statuette de Hor, fils de Djot Thot Efankh,” *ASAE* 16 (1916), p. 146.

²⁷⁸ Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 2, CGC 1-1294 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1925), p. 63, no. 482; cf. William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, *PYE* 5 (New Haven and Philadelphia: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University and University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 20 (ANOC 48), pl. 66.

²⁷⁹ See Vernus, “Edfou,” pp. 22-34.

di=f pr.t-ḥrw t ḥnq.t snṯr md.t n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Wsir Ywyw m3'-ḥrw nb im3ḥ (left) “The Behdetite, may he give the sweet wind for the Head Prophet of Osiris Yuyu, justified before Osiris” (right) “The Behdetite, may he give invocation offerings of bread, beer, incense and unguent for the Head Prophet of Osiris Yuyu, justified, Lord of Veneration.”²⁸⁰ This is the earliest preserved case of a winged sun disk associated with an offering text of which I am aware. Significantly it comes from a man who held one of the most important religious posts in the country.

7.IV.viii: Tuna el-Gebel

The sarcophagus of Djehutyirdes may date to the Saite Period but could be later.²⁸¹ A text from the sarcophagus identifies him as *iry-p'.t ḥ3ty-' si3-nt(t) imy-r3 sš d3d3.t ḥry n p3 mš'.w nt ny-sw.t ḥm-nṯr n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nb Msn ḥm-nṯr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb(t) Qis Dḥwty-ir-di-s m3'-ḥrw* “The *Irypat* and *Hatya*, He-who-Knows-what-Exists,²⁸² Overseer of Scribes of the Magistrates, General of the King, Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen, Prophet of Hathor, Lady of Qusae Djehutyirdes, justified.”²⁸³ Another text describes him as *ḥm-nṯr Dḥwty nb ḥpš sš-nṯr n Dḥwty nb ḥpš Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nb Msn sš pr-ḥd n Hnmw* “Prophet of Thoth, Lord of the Strong Arm, God’s Scribe of Thoth, Lord of the Strong Arm and of Horus the Behdetite, Lord of Mesen, Scribe of the Treasury of the temple of Hermopolis.”²⁸⁴ In another he is *ḥm-nṯr n Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nb Msn ḥm-nṯr n Dḥwty nb p3 ḥpš ḥm-nṯr n Sm3-t3.wy ḥm-nṯr n Wsir ḥry-ib*

²⁸⁰ *KRI* III, p. 463, lines 3-4.

²⁸¹ *PM* IV, p. 175; Gaston Maspero and Henri Gauthier, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïques*, CGC 29307-29323 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1939), pp. 83-100 (no. 29315).

²⁸² This is a priestly title from Hermopolis; see *Wb.* IV, p. 30, no. 17.

²⁸³ Maspero and Gauthier, *Sarcophages*, pp. 83-84.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Hnmw Mnw ḥry-ib Hnmw Hr p(3)-ḥrd ḥry-ib Hnmw 3s.t t3-mnh(.t) ḥry(.t)-ib Hnmw “Prophet of Horus the Behdetite, Prophet of Thoth, Lord of the Strong Arm, Prophet of Somtus, Prophet of Osiris who Dwells in Hermopolis, Min who Dwells in Hermopolis, Horus-the-Child who Dwells in Hermopolis and Isis the Excellent who Dwells in Hermopolis.”²⁸⁵ So many of Djehutyirdes’ religious titles are associated with Hermopolis that it is tempting to think there was a cult of Horus the Behdetite there, as well but in another text from the sarcophagus he is called *iry-p‘.t ḥ3ty-‘ Wts.t-Hr* “Irypat and Hatya of Utjeset-Hor.”²⁸⁶ Djehutyirdes’ titles are similar to the titles of the high officials of Thebes and Edfu in the Saite Period, who held titles associated with several gods of the cities of southern Upper Egypt discussed in Chapter 5.II.iv. The title of “Prophet of Horus the Behdetite” if it does refer to the cult in Edfu,²⁸⁷ would have to have been largely honorary given the distance between the Hermopolite nome and Edfu.

7.V: Lower Egypt

7.V.i: Memphis

A pyramidion in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo belonging to Amenhotep and Huy from Memphis shows Re-Horakhty in a shrine on the sun bark on its south side.²⁸⁸ Below Huy at left and Amenhotep at right are shown in adoration pose with a hymn of praise before each. The hymn of praise before Huy reads *dw3 R‘-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty gmḥsw ḥry-ib 3ḥ.t in Wsir sš-ny-sw.t m3‘*

²⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 95.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ Horus was worshipped in Hermopolis but does not take the title *Bḥd.ty*, see Günther Roeder, “Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis (Ober-Ägypten),” *ASAE* 52 (1954), pp. 373-374; Dieter Keßler, “Hermopolis magna,” *LÄ* II, cols. 1141-1142.

²⁸⁸ See Karol Myśliwiec, “Zwei Pyramidien der XIX. Dynastie aus Memphis,” *SAK* 6 (1978), p. 149, fig. 6 (Jd’É 7/11/24/1).

*mry=f ḥ3ty-‘ wr n Inb-ḥd Ḥwy m3’-ḥrw ḏd=f i.nd-ḥr=k sp sn ḥrd n dw3y.t Bḥd.t(y) ḏ3 p.t r’-nb
wb3=f dw3.t ḥtp=f ḥr ḥ3.t Wsir Imn-ḥtp ‘nḥ=f mi ‘nḥ ḥ3b3.s r tr=s(n) Wsir imy-r3 pr Ḥwy m3’-
ḥrw* “Adoration of Re-Horakhty, the falcon who dwells in the horizon by the Osiris the True
King’s Scribe, his beloved the Great *Hatya* of Memphis Huy, justified, he saying: ‘Hail to you!
Hail to you O Child of the Dawn, Behdetite, who crosses the sky every day, when he opens up
the Netherworld! May he rest upon the corpse of the Osiris Amenhotep that he might live like
the stars live at their (proper) time, (even) the Osiris the Steward Huy, justified.’”²⁸⁹ The stela
dates to the reign of Ramesses II. The stela of the *sš wr n p3 ipw n Imn P3-R’-ḥr—wnmy=f*
“Great Scribe of the Land Register of Amun Pareherwenemyef” in Cairo (Jd’É 3299) dates to the
20th Dynasty and probably to the reign of Ramesses III.²⁹⁰ The dedication on the stela begins
*[3ḥ]=k wsr=k m3’-ḥrw=k Wsir sš wr P3-R’-(ḥr)-wnmy=f m3’-ḥrw šsp dw3.(t) ḥ3p=s ḏ.t=k
Bḥd.t(y) di=f nṯry b3=k* “May you [become an *akh*], may you be powerful, may you be justified
O Osiris, Great Scribe Pare(her)wenemyef, justified. May the Netherworld receive and may it
hide your body. The Behdetite, may he make your *ba* divine.”²⁹¹ The Behdetite here has fully
become a god of the non-royal dead. Like Pareherwenemyef, his wife served Amun, as a singer,
but they are both said to be “of Memphis” (*n Ḥw.t-k3-Pth*).²⁹² Although the evidence from
Memphis is meager it shows that Horus the Behdetite has become a more universal deity among
the elite far from his home city of Edfu.

²⁸⁹ Ibid; *KRI* III, p. 171, lines 1-3.

²⁹⁰ Jocelyn Berlandini, “Varia memphitica VI: La stele de Parâherouenemyef,” *BIFAO* 85 (1985), p. 62.

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 44, pls. 10-12.

²⁹² See *ibid*, pp. 51, 55-56, 59, n. 4.

7.VI: Conclusions

Actual worship of Horus the Behdetite, from what evidence has survived, is best documented in southern Upper Egypt in the cities close to Edfu. This is not surprising. Although the god had national prominence as the protector of the king, most people in Egypt had their own local forms of Horus or turned to the Horus of myth, Horus Son of Isis and Osiris. The god appears in Nubia in part because Edfu is close to the border of Nubia and, along with other cities of southern Egypt, probably supplied many of the troops in Pharaoh's armies sent to that land. The fact that the god was the warlike protector of the king may also have played a role. The god seems to have achieved extended royal favor under the Ramesside kings, who directly identified themselves with the Behdetite,²⁹³ however it was the priests in Thebes who helped make the Behdetite a more universal god through identification with Amun-Re.

²⁹³ Cf. *KRI* I, p. 114, lines 1-3; *KRI* II, p. 354, lines 2-4.

CHAPTER 8 KINGSHIP AND HORUS THE BEHDETITE

8.I: Introduction

From the beginning of Egyptian history the king was identified as an incarnation of Horus on earth. From the 5th Dynasty he was also identified as the Son of Re and is often described as the sun god's image. The Behdetite was either identified with Horus at an early date or was identified as Horus from the beginning and took the identity of the Behdetite in the 3rd Dynasty. The Behdetite was recognized as a solar god in the 4th Dynasty, if not before, and was often identified with the great solar deities Re, Re-Horakhty, Amun-Re, Atum and Khepri, from the New Kingdom through the Greco-Roman Period. The most specific identification of the king with the Behdetite is found in the *Sed* festival double-throne scenes of Senwosret III, Amenemhat Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I in which the sign of life is extended to the name of the winged disk as if to the king. There is other material related to the *Sed* festival that is less specific that may identify the king with the Behdetite. Another factor possibly linking the god and the king is the epithet *ntr nfr* the "Perfect God." This is usually a title of the king but in rare cases it is used for the Behdetite and other gods. Finally, there are the cases in which the king is identified with the sun god but uses the winged sun disk or sun disk with two uraei to express this in royal names.

The nature of the divinity of the king has been extensively debated. We will not fully examine this debate here but early studies such as A. Moret's *Du caractère religieux de la*

royauté pharaonique,¹ emphasized the divine nature of the king, whereas G. Posener's *De la divinité du pharaon* showed that the king was very much a human.² Recent studies have laid an emphasis on the divine nature of the office of kingship, which was carried out by a human king. The king received certain divine powers during the rituals of coronation, which were renewed during the *Sed* festival, and, at least during the New Kingdom, at certain festivals, such as that of *Opet* held in Luxor Temple.³ These powers were manifest when performing his divine office: divine ritual and warfare as depicted in the temples and on other royal monuments.⁴ Generally, the power of the king was less than that of the gods; he did not perform miracles before the eyes of his people. Nevertheless, when good things happened such as success in battle by the king or his servants or when the Nile rose to an ideal height or near miracles occurred, such as the sudden discovery of a water source for a thirsty expedition, it could be attributed to the divine powers of the king. It may have been the office of kingship that was divine, but the successful actions of the person carrying out that office made him seem divine in the eyes of his people. Of course on royal monuments the rulers emphasized their divine-like qualities and the idea that the gods were working through the king.

¹ *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études* 15 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1902).

² *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique* 15 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1960).

³ Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 142; Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 101-109; Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal *Ka*," *JNES* 44 (1985), pp. 251-294.

⁴ Winfried Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, MÄS 32 (Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1975), pp. 131-139; cf. D. Wildung, "Göttlichkeitsstufen des Pharaos," *OLZ* 68 (1973), col. 561; Erik Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest: Zwei Vorträge zum Geschichtsbild der frühen Menschheit* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), pp. 23-26.

Before examining the specific identification of the king with the Behdetite we must examine the relationship of the king and his office to Horus and the sun god.

8.II: The King, Horus and the Sun God

The falcon appears to be exclusively linked to kingship by the Naqada III Period.⁵ Falcon figurines are already found in the elite “royal” cemetery at Hierakonpolis, an important city to the early kings of Egypt and a major cult site of Horus in dynastic times, during the Naqada I and II periods.⁶ Horus must have been considered the supreme god since the earliest rulers of all of Egypt took the name of the god as a title before their names.⁷ The name took the form of a falcon (Horus) upon the façade of a palace and at some point the king, the earthly Horus, came to be called *Hr-ḥ* “Horus of the Palace.”⁸ The king is not only Horus by name but he contains a part of Horus’ essence inside him through the Royal *Ka*.⁹ As early as the 1st Dynasty the king’s *ka* was linked to the Horus Name. An alabaster vessel from Abydos shows the Horus Name of the king Adjib (*ḏ-ib*) set between the upraised arms of the *ka*-sign on a

⁵ Stan Hendrickx, Renée Friedman and Merel Eyckerman, “Early Falcons,” in *Vorspann oder formative Phase? Ägypten und der Vordere Orient 3500-2700 v. Chr.*, ed. Ludwig D. Morenz and Robert Kuhn, Philippika Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), p. 139.

⁶ Ibid, p. 132.

⁷ Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2nd ed., MÄS 49 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999), pp. 6-7, 36-41.

⁸ Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden König*, p. 51; idem, “„Falke des Palastes“ als ältester Königstitel,” *MDAIK* 24 (1969), pp. 55-57; cf. von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 7.

⁹ Cf. Bell, “Royal Ka,” pp. 251-294; idem, “Divine Kingship and the Theology of the Obelisk Cult in the Temples of Thebes,” in *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*, ed. Horst Beinlich, et al., *ÄAT* 33.3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), p. 42; Ursula Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter*, *ÄGF* 19 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1956), p. 66; Helmuth Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der Alten Ägypter*, *ÄGF* 8 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1939), pp. 55-56; Mamdouh Mohamed Eldamaty, “Horus als Ka des Königs,” *GM* 169 (1999), pp. 31-53.

standard.¹⁰ In the temples of the New Kingdom we often find this standard with the Horus Name, or the Royal *Ka* as a twin of the king standing behind him with the Horus Name upon its head.¹¹ The link between the *ka* and the falcon-king is mentioned in a text from Edfu Temple:

ḥꜥ=k s3=k mr=k Ḥr-sm3-t3wy p3 ḥrd s3 Ḥw.t-Ḥr Iḥi wr s3 Ḥw.t-Ḥr ny-sw.t-bi.ty □ s3 Rꜥ
Ptwlmys ‘nh d.t mr Ptḥ nhb k3=k n bik ḥr tp srḥ d.t

May you (Horus of Edfu) (let) your son, whom you love, appear (namely) Harsomtus the Child, son of Hathor; Iḥi the Great, son of Hathor, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (blank cartouche), Son of Re Ptolemy, who lives forever, beloved of Ptah, who supplies your *ka* as the falcon on the palace façade, forever.¹²

The king’s *ka* is born with him, or created when he is conceived, as is seen in depictions of the episodes of the divine birth of the king, but he becomes one with the Royal *Ka* during his coronation, when he assumes his rightful place on the “Horus-throne of the living,” and becomes “Foremost of All the Living *Kas*.”¹³ In the Pyramid Texts Atum transfers his *ka* to his offspring Shu and Tefnut by embracing them.¹⁴ Dochniak has suggested that the small falcon on the statue of Khaefre from Giza, which appears behind the king with its wings embracing his head,

¹⁰ Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, pp. 21-22, fig. 2; Eldamaty, “Horus als Ka,” pp. 31, 36, fig. 8.

¹¹ Eldamaty, “Horus als Ka,” p. 52; P. Barget, “Au sujet d’une représentation du *ka* royal,” *ASAE* 51 (1951), p. 206, figs. 1-2; Boyo Ockinga, “Hatshepsut’s Election to Kingship: The *Ba* and *Ka* in Egyptian Royal Ideology,” *BACE* 6 (1995), p. 94, figs. 1-2; Bengt Birkstam, “Reflections on the Association Between the Sun-God and Divine Kingship in the 18th Dynasty,” in *Sundries in honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh*, *BOREAS* 13 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1984), p. 38; Al. Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, MMAF 15 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), pl. 9, figs. 57-58, pl. 34, fig. 139, pl. 38, fig. 129; Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1, pt. 1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pls. 42, 53-54, 58.

¹² *Edfou VI*, p. 102, lines 1-5; cf. Dieter Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter: Inscriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu* (Zurich and Munich: Artemis, 1994), p. 232. Cf. *Urk.* III, p. 86, line 9.

¹³ Bell, “Royal *Ka*,” pp. 258, 267. At Edfu the king is ḥnt.y k3.w ‘nh.w, “Foremost of the *Kas* of the living,” *Edfou I*, pp. 284, 304.

¹⁴ *Pyr.* §§ 1652c-1653a; cf. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 66; Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), p. 44.

represents the transfer of the *ka* from Horus to the king.¹⁵ The wings can be conceived as making the form of the *ka*-sign: .¹⁶ The pose of the Horus falcon on the statue of Khaefre actually derives from observation of a defensive posture of birds¹⁷ but this does not exclude a double meaning of the falcon making the *ka*-sign as the Egyptians favored visual puns. The *ka* was also understood as being passed down from the previous king to his successor, when the former died and became Osiris, because, according to the Pyramid Texts, Osiris was the *ka* of Horus.¹⁸ The *ka* is sometimes understood as the vital, or life force of a person; it is that which makes the difference between a living person and a corpse.¹⁹ The king's *ka* was the vital force of the land and people of Egypt. Ramesses II is one who *s'nh idb.wy m k3=f*, "causes the Two Banks to live through his *ka*."²⁰ In the instruction from the stela of Sehetep-ib-Re we are told *k3 pw ny-sw.t h3w pw r3=f shpr=f pw wnn.t(y)=f(y)*, "The king is *ka*, his mouth is plenty, he who will be

¹⁵ Craig C. Dochniak, "The Horus Falcon's Wings on the Seated Statue of Khaefre as a Zoomorphic Substitution for the Ka Hieroglyph," *VA* 8.2 (1992), p. 71, fig. 3; cf. Bell, "Divine Kingship," pp. 43-45, figs. 1-3; *LD* III, 22-24; Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), pp. 61-62, pls. 13-14; Eldamaty, "Horus als Ka," pp. 37-38.

¹⁶ It was not only the *ka* that could be transferred by a divine embrace. In the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead Re and Osiris embrace and exchange or unite their *bas*; see *CT* IV, pp. 276 and 280; George Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Words*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1974), p. 28 (Ch. 17).

¹⁷ See Linda Evans, *Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art: Representations of the Natural World in Memphite Tomb Scenes*, Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies 9 (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2010), pp. 140-141; Randy Shonkwiler, "Sheltering Wings: Birds as Symbols of Protection in Ancient Egypt," in *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2012), pp. 49-52.

¹⁸ *Pyr.* §§ 585-587; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 133-135.

¹⁹ Ockinga, "Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship," p. 89; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, pp. 40, 44.

²⁰ *KRI* II, p. 256, line 15; Ockinga, "Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship," p. 95.

is his creation.”²¹ Officials identified the king’s *ka* as the creator of, and reason for the success of their careers: *iw=k dy r nhh mi it=k R‘ hr ir.t ‘h‘=f p3 hq3 ir.w=i m rmt.t p3 shpr=i m k3=f rsw.t nfr n h3w=k sdm t3y=k sb3y.t ink nmh n shpr.n=k sr m ir.n=k ph.n=i i3wi nfr n gm.tw bt3*, “You (endure) here eternally, like your father Re, attaining his lifespan, O Ruler who made me among humans, the one who created me with his *ka*! Joy and happiness are for your entourage who heed your instruction. I am a humble man, whom you created, a noble, whom you made, I having reached a goodly old age and no fault is found (in me).”²² A number of statues from the New Kingdom²³ attempt to convey the dual nature of the Horus-king. The statues depict the king wearing the *Nemes* headdress with the back covered by the feathers and sometimes the wings of a falcon.²⁴ In Coffin Text Spell 312 a messenger sent by Horus to Osiris

²¹ Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1924), p. 68, lines 19-20; cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, p. 128.

²² *KRI* I, p. 309, lines 8-10; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscription Translated and Annotated: Translations*, vol. 1, *Ramesses I, Sethos I and Contemporaries* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), p. 252. See, also, Ockinga, “Hatshepsut’s Election to Kingship,” p. 92.

²³ There is one example purchased by Petrie at Giza that he believed represented Menkaure; see William Flinders Petrie, “A Portrait of Menkaura,” *Ancient Egypt* (1923), p. 1-2, plate facing p. 1; Anthea Page and H. S. Smith, *Egyptian Sculpture Archaic to Saite From the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976), p. 103, no. 113. However, several scholars challenged its authenticity; see George A. Reisner, *Mycerinus: The Temples of the Third Pyramid at Giza* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), p. 124, n. 14; Richard A. Fazzini, et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum* (New York: Brooklyn Museum and Thames and Hudson, 1989), no. 36, n. 4; Bernard Van Rinsveld, “Redating a Monumental Stone Hawk-Sculpture in the Musées Royaux, Brussels,” *KMT* 4.1 (1993), pp. 16-17. Paule Kriéger, “Une statuette de roi-faucon au Musée du Louvre,” *Rd’É* 12 (1960), pp. 53-55, however, defended the authenticity of this statuette. However, the answer to the question of the authenticity and date of this object has now been answered. This fragment appears to be the head of a statuette of Thutmose III excavated by Weigall and now in the Manchester Museum, which depicts the king with the wings and tail of a falcon; see Tom Hardwick and Christina Riggs, “The King as a Falcon: A ‘Lost’ Statue of Thutmose III Rediscovered and Reunited,” *MDAIK* 66 (2010), pp. 107-119.

²⁴ Andrey O. Bolshakov, “Royal Portraiture and ‘Horus Name,’” in *L’art de l’Ancien Empire égyptien: Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le Service culturel les 3 et*

receives the *ba* and form (*irw*) of Horus and is able to fly to heaven as a divine falcon after receiving the *Nemes* headdress.²⁵ The king would, presumably, have received the *Nemes* at his coronation. Coffin Text 312 does not mention the Royal *Ka*, however, it does mention the *ba* of Horus and in later tradition the Royal *Ka* was considered to be one of the *bas* of the sun god.²⁶

During the 4th Dynasty the sun god Re rose to great importance. The names of three of the sons of Khufu make reference to Re: Djedefre, Khaefre and Baefre.²⁷ A text from the pyramid temple of Djedefre calls him the “Son of Re” but *s3 R'* does not become a title until the 5th Dynasty.²⁸ A later tale from Papyrus Westcar claims that Re himself engendered the first three kings of the 5th Dynasty.²⁹ In the New Kingdom royal birth reliefs and texts of Hatshepsut

4 avril 1998, ed. Christiane Ziegler, Louvre conférences et colloques (Paris: La Documentation française and Musée du Louvre, 1999), pp. 318-319, 331, fig. 1, nos. 14-18; Brooklyn Museum, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art, 1951-1956: Catalogue of an Exposition Held at The Brooklyn Museum 11 December, 1956 to 17 March, 1957*, ed. John D. Cooney (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1956), pp. 5-6, pls. 14-15; Fazzini, et al., *Egyptian Art in The Brooklyn Museum*, no. 36; Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), pp. 179-180, pl. 10, figs. 27-28; Kriéger, “Une statuette de roi-faucon,” pp. 37-58, pls. 3-4; Serge Sauneron, “Les travaux de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale en 1970-1971,” *BIFAO* 70 (1971), pl. 69; Hellmut Brunner, “Nochmals der König im Falkenkleid,” *ZÄS* 87 (1962), pp. 76-77, pls. 5-6; Hourig Sourouzian, “Thoutmosis III-faucon,” in *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World*, vol. 2, ed. Mamdouh Eldamaty and Mai Trad (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2002), pp. 1123-1132.

²⁵ See Katja Goebis, “Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des *nms*,” *ZÄS* 122 (1995), pp. 154-181.

²⁶ Richard A. Parker, Jean Leclant, and Jean-Claude Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Providence and London: Brown University Press and Lund Humphries, 1979), pp. 72, 77-78, 85, pl. 29, col. 10; Bell, “Divine Kingship,” p. 40; idem, “Royal *Ka*,” p. 259.

²⁷ Von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, p. 25.

²⁸ Ibid, pp. 25-26.

²⁹ See Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1, pp. 219-222.

and Amenhotep III the sun god, now Amun-Re, also impregnates the royal mother.³⁰ In these royal birth scenes we see the king and his *ka* created simultaneously upon the potter's wheel of Khnum.³¹ The Royal *Ka* now comes from the sun god. However, the king does not seem to receive the power, or become one with the Royal *Ka* until he takes the throne.³² This moment is probably portrayed on Hatshepsut's obelisks at Karnak where Amun is shown reaching to touch her crown from behind as she kneels. His arms distinctly form the *ka*-sign, which apparently indicates the imbuing of the king with the *ka* or empowering the *ka* during the ceremonies of coronation.³³ Direct association of the Royal *Ka* with the sun god can be traced to at least the time of Amenhotep III, who constructed Luxor Temple, which was dedicated to both Amun-Re and the Royal *Ka*.³⁴ Apparently the powers of the *ka* within the king had to be recharged, so to speak, during the festival of *Opet*.³⁵ The Royal *Ka* could also be identified with other solar gods. An inscription from one of the *ka*-statues standing before the burial chamber in the tomb of Tutankhamun reads *k3 (ny-)sw.t n Hr-3ḥ.ty Wsir n(y)-sw.t nb t3.wy Nb-ḥprw-R' m3'-ḥrw* "The Royal *Ka* of Horakhty, the Osiris, King and Lord of the Two Lands Nebkheperure, justified."³⁶ A scene from the Sety I temple at Abydos depicts two sphinxes, each with *ka*-arms on its head,

³⁰ *Urk.* IV, p. 220, line 16-p. 221, line 5; Hellmut Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*, 2nd ed., ÄgAb 10 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), pp. 35-58, pl. 4; Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. 63, fig. 202.

³¹ Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. 71, fig. 202.

³² See the comments of Bell, "Royal *Ka*," p. 258.

³³ See Dochniak, "Horus Falcon's Wings," p. 71, fig. 3; Bell, "Divine Kingship," pp. 43-45, figs. 1-3; *LD* III, 22-24; Habachi, *Obelisks*, pp. 61-62, pls. 13-14.

³⁴ The main study is Bell, "Royal *Ka*," pp. 251-294.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-283.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

which embrace a falcon sitting on a *serekh*.³⁷ The sphinx at right is identified as Re-Horakhty and that at left as Atum. At ed-Derr the Royal *Ka* of Ramesses II is represented as Re-Horakhty.³⁸ During the New Kingdom we also frequently find the pre-nomen, which included the name of Re, within the arms of *ka*-standards.³⁹ According to Stock the shift in the status of the Royal *Ka* as being identified with Horus, with whom the king is also identified, to being received from the sun god, to whom the king is only the son, led to a diminution of the status of the king.⁴⁰ The Royal *Ka* was no longer identified with the state god, formerly Horus, but was an emanation of the state god like a son, who is now the sun god, according to Stock, and in the solar cult the Royal *Ka* had become almost “irrelevant.”⁴¹ However, we still find the Horus name within the *ka*-arms on the head of the figure of the Royal *Ka*.⁴² The Royal *Ka* did not transform the king into Horus but was an emanation of that god just as it was later viewed as an emanation from the sun god and it was by no means irrelevant in the solar cult and royal ideology after the Old Kingdom. In fact, it may have been the most important element. Nevertheless, just as there was a trend of uniting Osiris and Re, we have some evidence of attempts to unite Horus and Re in the person of the living king. Horus the Behdetite would have a key role in this.

³⁷ Barguet, “représentation du *ka* royal,” p. 210, fig. 7; Amice M. Calverley and Myrtle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Re, Re-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pl. 15.

³⁸ Bell, “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun,” in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Bd’É 97.1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1985), p. 39.

³⁹ For examples see Ali Radwan, “Amenophis III., dargestellt und angerufen als Osiris (*wnn-nfrw*),” *MDAIK* 29 (1973), p. 71, n. 5, pl. 27b; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, p. 60, n. 50, pl. 1b.

⁴⁰ Hanns Stock, *Ntr nfr=der gute Gott?*, Vorträge der orientalistischen Tagung in Marburg, Ägyptologie 1950 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1951), pp. 13-14.

⁴¹ Stock, *Ntr nfr*, pp. 13-14.

⁴² Cf. Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 42, 54, 90.

8.III: The King as Behdetite/The Behdetite as King

The living king and Horus the Behdetite are similar in that they are recognized as protectors and rulers over Egypt. Two texts from the Ramesside Period identify the king directly as the Behdetite. On the Quban Stela of Ramesses II right after the king's titulary he is called *ntr nfr nb T3-Šm'w Bhd.t(y)*⁴³ *s3b šw.t bik nfr n d'mw hwy.n=f Km.t m dnḥ=f ir h3yb.t n rhy.t m sbty n qn(.t) nh(.t)* “the Perfect God, Lord of Upper Egypt, Behdetite, He of Multicolored Plumage, Perfect Falcon of electrum, he having protected Egypt with his wing, which made a shadow for the people as a rampart of valor and victory.”⁴⁴ An inscription of the vizier Panehesy at Gebel el-Silsila praises Merenptah: *i3w n=k Bhd.t(y) t3.wy 'py n h3mm* “Praise to you Behdetite of the Two Lands, Apy⁴⁵ of flame/burning (?).”⁴⁶ Other lines of text from the same monument identify the king as Re.⁴⁷ The Behdetite is called “Lord of the Two Lands” several

⁴³ A sitting falcon follows the name as a determinative.

⁴⁴ KRI II, p. 354, lines 2-4.

⁴⁵ The word is actually written with the *p3*-bird and two wings as determinatives, which caused some doubt in Kitchen's translation: “Winged Disc(?)”; see *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Translations*, vol. 4, *Merenptah & the Late Nineteenth Dynasty* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 71; however the same writing is found in a text from Philae Temple; see *LÄGG*, vol. 2, p. 93 (no. 82) and Silvio Curto, *Nubia: storia di una civiltà favolosa* (Novara: Istituto Geografico De Agostini, 1965), p. 165, fig. 58 (text behind Khonsu). The use of the *p3*-sign here is perhaps due to the fact that the sign is a flying bird. Radwan translates the word as a participle “der schwebt mit (*n*) glühendem (Sonnen)glanz,”; see Ali Radwan, “Eine Inschrift aus Gebel El-Silsilah,” *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 188.

⁴⁶ KRI IV, p. 89, lines 9-10; Radwan, “Inschrift aus Gebel El-Silsilah,” pp. 187-189 (line 3). The last word is curious. It is written , which is not found in the dictionaries; it is, perhaps, a confusion of two words for flame and burning: *h3w.t* “flame,” see Leonard H. Lesko, ed., *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Providence, RI: B. C. Scribe Publications, 2002), p. 285, and *3m/3mw* “to burn,” (*Wb.* I, p. 10, nos. 2-4). The sun disk with rays determinative suggests that the word refers to the burning heat of the sun. Cf. Radwan, “Inschrift aus Gebel El-Silsilah,” p. 189.

⁴⁷ KRI IV, p. 89, lines 7-9.

times from the Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period.⁴⁸ More often he is identified as *ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t*, *ḥnty itr.t šm'y.t*, *ḥnty itr.ty* or *ḥnty itr.ty šm'w Mḥw*,⁴⁹ which signify the Behdetite as senior representative of the gods of one or both halves of Egypt.

On rare occasions the Behdetite takes the usually royal title *ntr nfr*. The title occurs twice in the 5th Dynasty, once with a hovering falcon of Userkaf, which also takes the royal title *nb ḥ'.w*,⁵⁰ and once at each end of the wings of a winged sun disk over a smiting scene of Neuserre with the title *nb t3.wy*.⁵¹ Although the name of the Behdetite does not appear with the winged disk of Neuserre, the position of the epithet and the fact that a border separates it from the king below suggests it belongs to the sun disk.⁵² The epithet appears behind the wing of the falcon of Userkaf and is completely cut off from the names and epithets of the king, which already include *ntr nfr* before the king's Horus name, so there should be little doubt that the inscription *ntr nfr nb ḥ'.w* in this case belongs to the hovering falcon.⁵³ However, it is not impossible that there is an implied identification of the king with the god in these cases from the 5th Dynasty. The figure of the king in the Userkaf relief is not preserved but a line of text at the left edge of the block

⁴⁸ See Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London: EES, 1952), pl. 6, no. 10; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1969), pl. 15; William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), p. 172, fig. 103; *Edfou I*, p. 10 (3); *Edfou II*, p. 19, line 2; *Edfou VI*, p. 187, line 4, p. 215, lines 4-5, p. 216, line 5; *Edfou VIII*, p. 8, line 8.

⁴⁹ See *LÄGG*, vol. 5, pp. 790-792 for sources and add Hans Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht*, PMMA 20 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971), p. 14 (no. 2) and see Chapter 2.IV.

⁵⁰ See Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 318-321, no. 103.

⁵¹ See Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1, pl. 6, no. 10.

⁵² See Chapter 3.II.i.

⁵³ See Chapter 2.IV.

mentions returning by boat from the temple of Bastet and the king was likely pictured below in his bark.⁵⁴ The block likely came from the king's funerary temples at Saqqara. *Ntr nfr* also appears as a title of the god twice during the 18th Dynasty. A single-winged disk at the top of a stela of a barber at the temple of Edfu named Saese is named *Bhd.ty ntr nfr nb p.t* "The Behdetite, the Perfect God, Lord of the Sky."⁵⁵ A column of text on the left side of the sarcophagus lid of Tutankhamun reads *d(d)-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) ntr nfr nb p.t wnn m '3 p3(w.t)y hr=k '.wy=i hr h3.t=k m 'nh w3s s3 [dd.t] nb h3=k Wsir ny-sw.t Nb-hprw-R' m3'-hrw=k hn' k3=k Twt-'nh-Imn Hq3-lwnw-šm'y m3'-hrw* "Statement by the Behdetite, the Perfect God, Lord of the Sky, who exists as the Great One, the Primeval One⁵⁶ above you: 'My arms are upon your corpse with all life, dominion, protection and [stability] around you O Osiris King Nebkheperure, you being justified together with your *ka* O Osiris Tutankhamun Heqaiunushemay, justified."⁵⁷ The middle and right hand columns of text give the speech of Anubis and Thoth, respectively.⁵⁸ There is one other possible case in which the Behdetite is called the "Perfect God." A rock inscription from Buhen that likely dates to the Second Intermediate Period describes an un-named king as "beloved of Horus the Behdetite," who is either called *ntr nfr* or *ntr '3* but the signs are too crude to tell whether the sign is a  or a .

The royal title *ntr nfr* originally interpreted as "The Good God" was reassessed during the 1940s and 1950s. Scholars noted that the term *nfr* could take the meaning of "young" or

⁵⁴ Metropolitan Museum, *Age of the Pyramids*, p. 318.

⁵⁵ G. Daressy, "Notes et remarques," *RecTrav* 16 (1894), p. 43.

⁵⁶ One could also read *p3y* "who flies above you"; see M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), p. 27, textual note d.

⁵⁷ See *ibid*, pp. 26-27, pls. 1, 19-20.

⁵⁸ The gods are not pictured but a winged disk appears at the head of the lid, which is named *Bhd.t(y) ntr '3* "The Behdetite, the Great God" at the end of each wing; see *ibid*, pl. 19.

⁵⁹ See John Baines, "'Greatest God' or Category of Gods?," *GM* 67 (1983), pp. 24-25.

relate to “new” life.⁶⁰ Thus *ntr nfr* was interpreted as the “young” or “youthful god.”⁶¹ Hanns Stock interpreted the epithet to refer to the king as a newborn incarnation of Horus and translates the term as “der neuerstandene, wiedergeborene Reichsgott.”⁶² Victor Loret preferred the interpretation of *nfr* as “achevé, accompli, parfait,” noting, for example, that *nfr* *r* is opposed with *š3’ m* “begin with” in some texts and must mean “to be at the end/finish.”⁶³ Desroches-Noblecourt’s general understanding of *ntr nfr* in regards to the king is that he is a god fully realized, actualized or accomplished and a god perfectly incarnate, tangible, visible.⁶⁴ Alain Zivie suggests “the new god,” that is the king having arrived in his power as opposed to his predecessor.⁶⁵ Blumenthal suggests “präseneter Gott” or the god that is present on earth.⁶⁶ Berlev understands *nfr* as “younger” or “youngest” in regards to the king as opposed to the sun god, who as *ntr’ 3* was the “elder” or “eldest” god/king.⁶⁷ Lichtheim, however, prefers the older

⁶⁰ Cf. *nfrw* “youth” (*Wb.* II, p. 258).

⁶¹ See Gustave Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes* (Neuchâtel, Switzerland: Les Éditions de la Baconnière à Boudry, 1946), p. 53; Alan H. Gardiner, “ONNΩΦΡΙΣ,” in *Miscellanea academica berolinensia: gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Feier des 250 jährigen Bestehens der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1950), p. 52.

⁶² See Stock, *Ntr nfr*, p. 15.

⁶³ See Victor Loret, “Correspondance de Victor Loret publiée par Gustave Lefebvre,” *Kêmi* 13 (1954), p. 9; cf. *Wb.* II, p. 262.

⁶⁴ See Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and Charles Kuentz, *Le petit temple d’Abou Simbel: «Nofretari Pour Qui Se Lève Le Dieu-Soleil»*, vol. 1, *Étude archéologique et épigraphique, essai d’interprétation*, Centre de Documentation et d’Étude sur l’Ancienne Égypte, Mémoires 1 (Cairo: Ministère de la Culture, 1968), pp. 131-132, n. 42.

⁶⁵ Alain-Pierre Zivie, “Un monument associant les noms de Ramsès I et Séthi I,” *BIFAO* 72 (1972), p. 105, nn. 1-2.

⁶⁶ Elke Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, vol. 1, *Die Phraseologie*, Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Klasse 61.1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1970), pp. 24-25.

⁶⁷ See O. D. Berlev, “The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt,” in *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. Dwight W. Young (East Gloucester, Mass.: Pirtle & Polson, 1981), p. 362 and cf. n. 7 on pp. 372-373.

interpretation of “Good God,” because the divine king was on earth, mortal, spoke with his entourage; he was approachable in contrast to the “great gods” in heaven.⁶⁸ The traditional “Good God” might be applicable to both the king and the Behdetite in that the king and the god do good things for both the gods and humans. The king provides the gods with offerings and monuments and protects the people of Egypt from its enemies; his actions keep the universe in order.⁶⁹ The Behdetite also does good things for humans and gods as the protector of the king and the world of the gods and later of the sacred, non-royal dead. These are also deeds that keep the universe in order. Nevertheless, it has become common practice to translate *ntr nfr* as “the Perfect God”⁷⁰ with the apparent meaning of complete in having come into his full powers and without flaw. However “Good God” is still widely used.⁷¹ Osiris takes the epithet *ntr nfr* far

⁶⁸ Miriam Lichtheim, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*, OBO 155 (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: University Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), pp. 22-23.

⁶⁹ Cf. Jan Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*, ADAIK 7 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1970), p. 22; R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), pp. 39-40.

⁷⁰ Cf. Nigel C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, WAW 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), pp. 83, 92; Eaton-Krauss, *Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, p. 26; Erik Hornung, “Zur geschichtlichen Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie,” *MDAIK* 15 (1957), p. 122 (“vollkommener Gott”); Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit*, Hannig-Lexica 4, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 98 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), p. 682; idem, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleren Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*, Hannig-Lexica 5, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 112 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), p. 1405.

⁷¹ Cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translations*, vol. 4, pp. 1 (“goodly god”), 2, 21 (“good god”); Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb Commander-in-Chief of Tut‘ankhamūn*, vol. 1, *The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary*, EM 55 (London: EES, 1989), p. 97, pl. 115; Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, vol. 9, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple I: The Inner Sanctuaries with Translations of Texts, Commentary, and Glossary*, OIP 136 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), pp. 20, 23, 26; Hannig, *Wörterbuch I*, p. 682; idem, *Wörterbuch II*, p. 1405.

more than any other god beginning in the Middle Kingdom.⁷² Osiris is recognized as king of the dead in the Pyramid Texts.⁷³ In the Middle Kingdom he was also identified as a king of the living even receiving a Horus name and a *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* name.⁷⁴ His *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* name, or pre-nomen, Wenennefer, qualified Osiris as a god of the living and was placed in a cartouche in the Late Period.⁷⁵ Tillier has noted the connection of Osiris' title of *ntr nfr* with the rites of mummification and his justification (*m3'-hrw*) in certain texts from the Middle Kingdom and interprets *ntr nfr* as "the ritually completed."⁷⁶ Tillier cites, for example, a hymn found on stelae from the 13th and 18th Dynasties:

ind hr=k Wsir Hnty-imnty.w m hrw pn nfr . . . m rn=k pwy n K3-imnt.t wnn Nfr m s'h=k hr ntr.w m rn=k pwy n ntr nfr Wnn-nfr nb ntr.w ntr nfr pr m Gb [. . .] ts tw Wsir [. . .] m3'-hrw Wsir Hnty-imnty.w nfr(.w) m hrw pn hr R' hr ltmw [. . .] Wnn-nfr bnr(.w) h'w.t m r(3) n ntr.w Wsir Hnty-imnty.w ntr nfr pr m Nw.t ts tw

Hail to you Osiris Khenty-imentyu on this *nfr* (happy) day . . .⁷⁷ in this your name of Bull-of-the-West. The *Nfr*⁷⁸ shall be in your dignity before the gods in this your name of *ntr nfr* Wenennefer, Lord of the Gods, *ntr nfr*, who came forth from Geb [. . .]. Raise yourself Osiris [. . .]! "The justification of Osiris Khenty-imentyu is *nfr* (accomplished) in this day!" So says Re, so says Atum. O Wenennefer sweet is the exultation in the mouths of the gods! O Osiris Khenty-imentyu, the *ntr nfr*, who came forth from Nut, raise yourself!⁷⁹

Osiris' "dignity" (*s'h*), which is a term used for the mummy, and his justification are both called *nfr*. The text makes reference to Osiris as ruler of the dead in the name Khentyimentyu and as

⁷² See Anaïs Tillier, "À propos de *ntr nfr* comme épithète divine: Contribution à l'étude d'Osiris-roi au Moyen Empire," *Rd'É* 62 (2011), pp. 160, 174 (Tillier only notes one of the occurrences of the term for the Behdetite).

⁷³ Ibid, p. 161; Bernard Mathieu, "Quand Osiris régnait sur terre . . .," *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 10 (1998), p. 8; *Pyr.* § 260a-c.

⁷⁴ Tillier, "À propos de *ntr nfr*," pp. 161-162, 168; Mathieu, "Quand Osiris régnait," p. 8; *CT IV*, 87m-88a; Pierre P. Koemoth, "*Hr wp š'.t t3.wj*, un nom d'Horus pour le roi Osiris," *GM* 143 (1994), pp. 89-96, esp. pp. 91-92.

⁷⁵ Tillier, "À propos de *ntr nfr*," pp. 161-162.

⁷⁶ Ibid, pp. 168, 172.

⁷⁷ A problematic section; see *ibid*, p. 162, n. 23.

⁷⁸ The word *nfr* has an anthropomorphic determinative of Osiris; see *ibid*, p. 163, n. 24.

⁷⁹ Ibid, pp. 162-163.

ruler of the living as Wenennefer, as well as the references to Osiris as the offspring of Geb and Nut.⁸⁰ Similar is Coffin Text 45:

ḥw(y)-3 ṯw ip.t(i) sw3ḏ.t(i) m s'ḥ=k pn nty m-b3ḥ=i 3w-ib.n Inpw m ḥr(y).t 'wy=f(y) nḏm(.w) ib n ḥnt(y) sḥ-nṯr m33=f nṯr pn nfr nb nty.w ḥq3 n iwty.w ink s3=k Ḥr iw rd.n(=i) n=k m3'-ḥrw m ḏ3ḏ3.t

Would that you be counted and preserved in this your dignity (mummy), which is before me! It is in that which is under his hands that Anubis has rejoiced; joyful for He who presides over the god's booth, when he sees this *nṯr nfr*, Lord of those who are and Ruler of those who are not. I am your son Horus. I have given to you justification in the tribunal.⁸¹

Nṯr nfr is followed by a reference to Osiris as “Lord of those who are,” i. e. the living and as “Ruler of those who are not,” i. e. the dead. The text refers to Osiris as having reached rebirth after the two essential stages of mummification and justification.⁸² Coffin Texts Spells 4 and 5 also link the epithet *nṯr nfr* with the rites of Osiris and being vindicated over his enemies: *ḥpr=k Wsir/nṯr pn rnpw nfr im sḥm=k m ḥfty.w=k* “May you be transformed into Osiris” var. “this rejuvenated *nṯr nfr*, who is there! May you have power over your enemies!”⁸³ *h3 Wsir N. pn ṯ n=k p.t iw' n=k t3 in-m irf nḥm=f p.t tn m-'=k m nṯr pn rnpw nfr im m3'-ḥrw(.w) r ḥft(y).w=k* “Ho Osiris N., take possession of the sky, inherit the earth! Who is he who shall take away this sky from you as this rejuvenated *nṯr nfr*, who is there, justified against your enemies?”⁸⁴ The royal titulary of Osiris mentioned above occurs upon a stela of the 9th year of Senwosret I and Tillier proposes that the development of Osiris as king of the living was introduced under that king to reinforce that king's legitimacy following the assassination of Amenemhat I.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 163.

⁸¹ Ibid, p. 164; *CTI*, 198e-199e.

⁸² Tillier, “À propos de *nṯr nfr*,” p. 164.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 165; *CTI*, 12d-13a.

⁸⁴ Tillier, “À propos de *nṯr nfr*,” p. 165; *CTI*, 15a-16b.

⁸⁵ “À propos de *nṯr nfr*,” pp. 162, 168-171.

Tillier makes no claims on what the epithet *ntr nfr* meant for the living, human, king. But the concepts used to make Osiris *ntr nfr* must draw on some of the earlier concepts used to make the earthly ruler *ntr nfr*. It is likely that the king went through rites during his coronation that raised him to this status. The same likely occurred during the *Sed* festival meant to renew kingly power. Obviously, the king did not go through mummification when taking the throne. However, in myth Horus in order to take the throne of all of Egypt was vindicated in court against Seth; Horus, not Osiris, is the first god to be called *m3'-hrw*.⁸⁶ The living king, by his identification with Horus, would also have to be “justified” before his enemies.⁸⁷ Several rituals took place at the coronation to instill and insure the powers of kingship. First of all, the king, in a normal succession, saw to the burial and transfiguration of his predecessor. In the Pyramid Texts Horus ensures the transfiguration of Osiris through an embrace, which in funerary ritual was accomplished by wearing a sort of vest called *qeni*, which was also worn by the *Setem*-priest in the “Opening of the Mouth” ceremony.⁸⁸ The embrace of Horus and Osiris may also have symbolized the passing of the Royal *Ka* from Osiris to Horus.⁸⁹ Hatshepsut claims to have been embraced by her father Thutmose I when the king declared her his coregent.⁹⁰ Following the day of the funeral of the previous king the actual rites of coronation would have begun with purification of the successor.⁹¹ Temple reliefs show this as performed by Horus and Thoth, as

⁸⁶ *Pyr.* § 2089a; J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), p. 57; Rudolf Anthes, “The Original Meaning of *M3' Hrw*,” *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 51; idem, “Note Concerning the Great Corporation of Heliopolis,” *JNES* 13 (1954), p. 191

⁸⁷ Anthes, “Note Concerning the Great Corporation,” p. 191.

⁸⁸ See Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 134-136, fig. 32.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 133, 135; cf. *Pyr.* §§585-587.

⁹⁰ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 133; *Urk.* IV, p. 255, line 12.

⁹¹ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 105.

discussed in Chapter 4, but in reality priests would have carried out the purification. Hatshepsut gives a, probably, fictional account of her father Thutmose I declaring her coronation as a coregent.⁹² The king orders the lector priests to proclaim Hatshepsut's names on assumption of the Double Crown and identifies her as one who united the Two Lands, "circled around the wall" and provided for all the gods involved. Following this section the king's titulary is declared.⁹³ After Hatshepsut's Two Ladies name is stated she is called *ntr.t nfr(.t) nb.t ir.t ḥ.t* "The Perfect Goddess, Lady of Ritual."⁹⁴ So, at some point in the rituals performed before the declaration of the titulary the king is brought to the status of *ntr nfr* but it is not clear how and when. There is a group of scenes separate from the texts just quoted showing ceremonies, which took place during the day of coronation. A text appears to be a heading for all of the following scenes: *tp 3ḥ.t wp.t-rnp.t tp rnp.wt ḥtp.t(i) n ḥ'(y.t) sw.ty ḥ'(y.t) bi.ty sm3-t3.wy phr ḥ3 inb ḥb sšd* "First month of *Akhet*-season, New Year's Day, the beginning of peaceful years, (day) of the Appearance (or Coronation) of the King of Upper Egypt and the Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt, Circuit of the Wall, Festival of the Diadem."⁹⁵ This inscription follows word-by-word coronation inscriptions dating back to the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom.⁹⁶ Two scenes show Iunmutef leading Hatshepsut to the *Per-wer*-shrine and then the god of the West purifies her.⁹⁷

⁹² *Urk. IV*, p. 261, lines 2-10; cf. Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 2, *The Ebony Shrine, Northern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 14 (London: EEF, 1894-1895), pl. 62; Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I, bearbeitet und übersetzt* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1914), p. 120; James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 2, *The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), pp. 98-99, § 239; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 106

⁹³ *Urk. IV*, p. 261, lines 13-17.

⁹⁴ *Urk. IV*, p. 261, line 15.

⁹⁵ *Urk. IV*, p. 262, lines 7-8.

⁹⁶ Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 47-48.

⁹⁷ Naville, *Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 3, pl. 63.

A scene of Horus the Behdetite leading Hatshepsut to be crowned follows these scenes.⁹⁸ Separate scenes show Horus (Sethe records traces of *Bhd.ty* in the White Crown scene)⁹⁹ and Seth crowning Hatshepsut once with the White Crown and once with the Red Crown.¹⁰⁰ Hatshepsut is shown standing alone outside the shrines wearing each crown after each crowning. The royal standards appear in front of her indicating a procession. Presumably the shrine where the king receives the White Crown is still the *Per-wer* but no surviving text identifies it as such. A line of text with the scene following receipt of the White Crown states *sm3-t3.wy phr inb p3(y) phr hr gs i3b(y)* “Union of the Two Lands, Circuit of the Wall; flying and circling upon the east side.”¹⁰¹ A text with the appearance of Hatshepsut in the Red Crown says ‘*q{.t} pr.t r Pr-[n]s(r) r wsh.t hb sšd*’ “Entering and leaving the *Per-[n]ese(r)*-shrine for the court of the Festival of the Diadem.”¹⁰² Barta logically postulates a strict order of events based on the common inscription: “Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt; Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt, Union of the Two Lands, Circuit of the Wall.”¹⁰³ However, these two inscriptions may indicate that the order of events was not always so strict. In Hatshepsut’s inscription the Lower Egyptian shrine is the *Per-neser* but a block showing scenes from the coronation of Ramesses II shows him being led to the *Per-nu*-shrine and this is the only shrine mentioned.¹⁰⁴ In Horemheb’s

⁹⁸ The name of the god written once is read for both the falcon headed god and the winged sun disk above, since it stands at the beginning of each text; the falcon headed god would otherwise be without a name; see Naville, *Deir El-Bahari*, vol. 3, pl. 63.

⁹⁹ See *Urk.* IV, p. 264, line 14.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. 64.

¹⁰¹ *Urk.* IV, p. 264, line 10.

¹⁰² *Urk.* IV, p. 265, line 5.

¹⁰³ *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 48-49.

¹⁰⁴ See Alan W. Shorter, “Reliefs Showing the Coronation of Ramesses II,” *JEA* 20 (1934), p. 18, pl. 3.2.

coronation inscription only the *Per-wer*-shrine is mentioned.¹⁰⁵ In these cases, perhaps, only one shrine is mentioned to save space. Note Horemheb's coronation takes place at Thebes (Upper Egypt) before Amun-Re and the block of Ramesses II's coronation shows him going before Atum of Heliopolis (Lower Egypt). Horemheb's coronation is mentioned on a stela and Ramesses' upon a single block, so the limits of the media and the location where the rite and/or its documentation were located may be why the other national shrine is not mentioned.

The "Circuit of the Wall" refers to the king making a circumambulation of the outer walls of the city of residence, which was originally Memphis.¹⁰⁶ This ceremony took place either during or immediately after the coronation.¹⁰⁷ The circling of the walls proved the king's physical strength but circling the capital city was also symbolic of the king's power over Egypt.¹⁰⁸ The circling of the walls has been compared to a ceremony of the *Sed* festival called *phrr sh.t* "Running the Field" or *wd(.t) sh.t* "Dedication of the Field"¹⁰⁹ in which the king ran or strutted around semicircular cairns that seem to represent Egypt.¹¹⁰ During this run the king holds an object called the *mks* or "document holder," which contains the *imy.t-pr*, literally "that

¹⁰⁵ See below.

¹⁰⁶ Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁷ See Richard H. Wilkinson, "The Coronational Circuit of the Wall, the Circuit of the *Hnw* Barque and the Heb-Sed 'Race' in Egyptian Kingship Ideology," *JSSEA* 15 (1985), p. 46; Barta places it after the coronation; see *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 49; cf. Greg Reeder, "Running the Heb Sed," *Kmt* 4.4 (Winter 1993-94), p. 64.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs* p. 49; the act of circling (*phr*) was a means of magical power; cf. Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), pp. 57-67.

¹⁰⁹ *Wb.* I, p. 385, no. 22.

¹¹⁰ Hermann Kees, "Nachlese zum Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs," *ZÄS* 52 (1915), p. 68; Wilkinson, "Coronational Circuit," pp. 46, 50; Winfried Barta, "Der Dramatische Ramesseumpapyrus als Festrolle beim Hebsed-Ritual," *SAK* 4 (1976), p. 42; idem, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 49, 68.

pertaining to the house” or “house document,”¹¹¹ which has been likened to a will.¹¹² The king performed the run twice, wearing the White Crown once and the Red Crown once.¹¹³ Originally the king ran escorted once by Wepwawat of Siut in Upper Egypt and once by the Apis bull of Memphis but in the New Kingdom both runs could be with the Apis bull.¹¹⁴ The standard of Wepwawat appears in many royal processions and ceremonies.¹¹⁵ As “Opener-of-the-Ways” and “Lord of the *Sheshed*,” by which the king goes to the heavens, Wepwawat represented rebirth.¹¹⁶ Apis could represent the powers of fecundity of both the land and the king.¹¹⁷ A text from Edfu recognizes the ceremony as establishing the king’s rule over both Egypt and the cosmos:

*nṯr nfr pḥrr nmt.t ḥf' mks ḥr sin gst ḥns w3ḏ-wr ifd.w nn.t nmt r-r' st.wt itn thm t3 ḥr ḥnq šḥ.t
n nb(.t)=s*

The Perfect God,¹¹⁸ swift of strides, who holds the document holder, is running quickly, traversing the ocean, the four sides of the sky, walking through as far as the rays of the sun disk, treading the earth, offering the field to its lady.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ The sign 𓄏 is likely to be read as *mks* and not *imy.t-pr* as implied in Kees, “Nachlese zum Opfertanz,” p. 68 and followed by Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 86, however it likely contained the *imy.t-pr*, cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 473.

¹¹² Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 85-86; R. Wilkinson, “The Coronational Circuit,” p. 50.

¹¹³ Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 67.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Erhart Graefe, “Upuaut,” *LÄ* VI, col. 863.

¹¹⁶ See Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 92-93; Reeder, “Heb Sed,” pp. 65, 67.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Wolfgang Helck, “Rituale,” *LÄ* V, cols. 274-275 (no. 6); Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 68, 112.

¹¹⁸ A line of text following the title is shown in *Edfou* III, p. 116, lines 13-15 as *ḏ(d)-md(w) šsp.n=i ḥp.t sms imn.t Rh.wy mks di n=i it=i m-b3ḥ Gb*, which Kees read as “Man rezitiere: Ich habe den Lauf (*ḥpt*) genommen, indem ich erfaßt habe das Geheime der beiden *Rḥwj*, (nämlich) das Testament, das mir mein Vater vor Geb gab” (“Nachlese zum Opfertanz,” p. 68). However, *sms* does not mean “to hold” or “to grasp.” Wilson in *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 849 interprets this word as “to drive in” derived from the word for a mallet (*Wb*. IV, p. 141, nos. 15-16) and reads the line as “I receive the oar and I drive in the mooring post (*mni.t*).” By this interpretation *imn.t* as shown in *Edfou* III, p. 116, line 14 and reproduced in Kees is an error, either in the original carving or in the publication. However, this interpretation creates problems in the understanding of the following *Rḥ.wy mks*.

The extension of the king's rule to the cosmos is actually implied in the earliest *Sed* festival scenes by two "enigmatic" hieroglyphs, which likely represent two halves of the sky-sign often shown in direct association with the semicircular cairns.¹²⁰ The king's circling of the walls and cairns could be compared with the sun disk's circuit of the sky and underworld. Indeed, when the king takes the throne he is "Lord of all that the sun disk encircles." In the Edfu text the king is called *ntr nfr* but it is not certain if he receives this title by performing the ritual. Horemheb's ceremony also took place during the *Opet* festival, during which the Royal *Ka* was united with the king or had its powers renewed.¹²¹ During the "Festival of the Diadem," which seems to follow crowning with the White and Red Crowns at Deir el-Bahari, the king received the diadem with double feathers and other emblems of power, such as the bull's tail, crook and flail.¹²²

In the coronation inscription of Horemheb the crowning of the king occurred after he was "introduced" (*bsi*) into the presence of Amun-Re; whereas in a coronation scene of Ramesses II it was the god Atum.¹²³ The verb *bsi* can have connotations of "initiate."¹²⁴ The king is

¹¹⁹ *Edfou III*, p. 116, line 18-p. 117, line 2; Kees, "Nachlese zum Opfertanz, pp. 68-69; cf. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 86; Reeder, "Heb Sed," pp. 68, 70.

¹²⁰ A. J. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and their Relation to the Sed-Festival," *JEA* 64 (1978), p. 55 and n. 22; Wilkinson, "Coronational Circuit," p. 50; Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 68 and see the photo on p. 64.

¹²¹ Hatshepsut is shown doing the run in conjunction with the running of the Apis during the festival in both the White and Red Crowns on the walls of the Chapelle Rouge; see Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*, vol. 1, *Fac-similés et photographies des scènes* (Paris: CULTURESFRANCE, 2006), p. 63 (block 102) and p. 110 (block 128); cf. Bell, "Royal Ka," pp. 258-259, 266-267.

¹²² Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 49; Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, pp. 89-91.

¹²³ See Shorter, "Coronation of Ramesses II," p. 18.

¹²⁴ See Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIII^{mes} Dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon*, OLA 32 (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1989), pp. 167-204.

frequently shown in temples being introduced into the presence of the main god of the temple by other gods.¹²⁵ In the coronation text of Horemheb it is the form of Horus from Horemheb's home town, who leads him before Amun-Re: *wḏ3.in Ḥr m ḥ“w r W3s.t niw.t nb nḥḥ s3=f m qni=f r lp.t-s.wt r bs=f m-b3ḥ lmn r swḏ n=f i3.t=f n ny-sw.t* “Then Horus proceeded in joy to Thebes, the city of the Lord of Eternity, his son in his embrace, to Karnak in order to induct him into the presence of Amun in order to hand over to him his office of king.”¹²⁶ Amun then takes the king to be crowned in the *Per-wer*-shrine, which is situated in a royal palace.¹²⁷ The crown/uraeus goddess called the “Great-of-Magic,” establishes herself on the king's head: *wḏ3.in=f r pr-ny-sw.t rd.n=f sw ḥr-ḥ3t=f r Pr-wr n s3.t=f šps(y).t Wr.t-[ḥk3w ‘.wy=s(y)] m nyny ḥpt.n=s nfr.w=f smn.n=s s(t) m ḥ3.t=f* “Then he (Amun) proceeded to the palace, he having placed him (Horemheb) in front of him, to the *Per-wer*-shrine of his noble daughter the Great-[of-Magic, her arms] in welcoming attitude and she embraced his *nfr.w* and established herself on his forehead.”¹²⁸ Although the text mentions the crowning in the *Per-wer*, the shrine of Upper Egypt, another part of the text says this took place before the “lords of the *Per-neser*,” the shrine of Lower Egypt.¹²⁹ Following the crowning, Horemheb's titulary is established and Amun brings the new king forth: *pr.t r ḥ3 m pr-ny-sw.t in ḥm n nṯr pn šps(y) lmn ny-sw.t nṯr.w s3=f ḥr-ḥ3t=f ḥpt.n=f nfr.w=f ḥ'y.w m ḥprš r sw3ḏ šnn.t itn psḏ.t-pḏ.wt ḥr rd.wy=f(y) p.t m ḥb*

¹²⁵ Burgos and Larché, *Chapelle Rouge*, pp. 78 (block 172), 140 (block 73); Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 50, 62, 78.

¹²⁶ See Alan H. Gardiner, “The Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab,” *JEA* 39 (1953), pl. 2, line 13, cf. p. 15.

¹²⁷ In this case the palace may be a reference to Luxor Temple, which was the site of the *Opet* festival and it was during this festival that Horemheb was crowned; a text at Luxor identifies the temple as a palace (*ḥ*); see *Urk.* IV, p. 1683, lines 2-3; Bell, “Royal *Ka*,” p. 254. The *Per-nu*-shrine appears to have been in the palace (“Great House” *pr-‘3*) in Ramesses II's coronation; see Shorter, “Coronation of Ramesses II,” p. 18.

¹²⁸ Gardiner, “Coronation of King Ḥaremḥab,” pl. 2, lines 15-16, cf. p. 15.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 2, line 16, p. 15.

t3 hr ršw.t “Coming forth from the palace by the Majesty of this noble god Amun, King of the Gods, his son in front of him after he embraced his *nfr.w*, he (Horemheb) having appeared in the Blue Crown in order to make flourish what the sun disk encircles, the Nine Bows being under his feet, the sky in festival, the land in joy!”¹³⁰ There are three embraces of the king in Horemheb’s text: by Horus, the goddess of the crown and Amun. The embrace by Horus could be the transfer of the Royal *Ka* from Horus to the king. Horus takes the place of the king’s father, who was not a king. The embrace of Amun would represent the empowering of the Royal *Ka* when Horemheb actually took the throne. Significantly, Horemheb’s coronation is said to take place during the *Opet* festival,¹³¹ which was specifically connected with conferring and empowering the Royal *Ka*. The embrace of the crown-goddess probably also meant a transfer of divine power to the king. In the Hymns to the Diadems the White Crown gives the king power over Egypt: *di=t it.t N. t3.wy im=t šhm=f im=sn* “May you (the crown) cause N. to seize the Two Lands through you; let him have power over them.”¹³² The Double Crown gives the king his *bau*-power, a manifestation of divine wrath and power: *b3 b3.w=s tpw=k š’.t b3.w=s r hfty.w=k* “while its (the crown’s) *bau* is powerful upon you; its *bau* is a terror against your enemies.”¹³³

The passage in which Amun embraces the king’s *nfr.w* with the king in front of him wearing the Blue Crown reminds one of the scene on the obelisk of Hatshepsut (Fig. 12).¹³⁴ Hatshepsut kneels in front of Amun wearing the Blue Crown, while the god reaches out as if to

¹³⁰ Ibid, pl. 2, lines 19-20, cf. p. 15.

¹³¹ Gardiner, “Coronation of King Haremhab,” p. 15, pl. 2, line 14.

¹³² See Adolf Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenscheff*, APAW 1911 (Berlin: Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1911), p. 22.

¹³³ Ibid, p. 43.

¹³⁴ Cf. Habachi, *Obelisks*, p. 62, pl. 14; cf. Dochniak, “The Horus Falcon’s Wings,” p. 71, fig. 3.

adjust the crown but makes the *ka*-sign with his arms. His action might also be interpreted as embracing and transferring or, more likely, empowering the Royal *Ka* residing in the king. At Luxor Temple in a similar scene of Amun touching the crown of the king during the *Opet* festival, Amenhotep III's usual Horus name has been replaced with the general expression for every manifestation of the Royal *Ka* signifying that he has become one with the Royal *Ka*: *Hnty-k3.w-nh.w* "Foremost-of-the-Living-Kas."¹³⁵ In a later scene every name of his titulary has this name.¹³⁶ The crown-goddess also says she is embracing the king's *nfr.w* when she, as the crown, is placed on the king's head. *Nfr.w* is most often translated as "beauties" but this does not seem quite adequate when referring to the king; the term probably does not refer to the king's physical qualities or at least not alone. The term could refer to the king's good works but at coronation the king has not really built any monuments. It may refer to the rites of kingship that the king has just completed. These are the burial of his predecessor, the re-establishment of order through the Union of the Two Lands, the Circuit of the Wall, etc. However, *nfr.w* is expressed in physical terms in regards to the king. The king is *ntr nfr mitt R' shd=f t3.wy m nfr.w=f* "Perfect God, the likeness of Re, when he illuminates the Two Lands with his *nfr.w*."¹³⁷ This should be compared with *ntr nfr mitt R' shd t3.wy m i(3)hw=f* "Perfect God, the likeness of Re, who illuminates the Two Lands with his radiance."¹³⁸ The *nfr.w* of the king and sun god is light and the effects of light. The king is *mitt R' nfr.w=f m hr mi itn* "the likeness of Re; his *nfr.w* are in

¹³⁵ Bell, "Royal *Ka*," pp. 266-267.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 278.

¹³⁷ *KRI* II, p. 436, line 12; Nicholas-Christophe Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e Dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, n.s. 6 (Paris: Institut de France, 1986), p. 135.

¹³⁸ *KRI* V, p. 274, lines 11-12; Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, p. 136.

the face like the sun disk.”¹³⁹ The king’s *nfr.w* were created by the sun god: *in R’ ms hm=f ntf pw qm3 nfr.w=f* “It is Re who made His Majesty. He is the one who created his *nfr.w*.”¹⁴⁰ The *nfr.w* of the sun god, and by extension of the king, was not just the physical beauty of light and color. Sunlight was a visible manifestation of the creative power of the sun god that drives off the danger (chaos) of the darkness.¹⁴¹ The scenes of nature in the “Chamber of the Seasons” in the sun temples of the 5th Dynasty at Abusir were probably a representation of this creative power.¹⁴² The king was a manifestation of the creative power of the sun god on earth.¹⁴³ This idea received renewed emphasis in the New Kingdom. The daily appearance of the sun in the sky was viewed as a victory of life over death.¹⁴⁴ The light also bore the terrible heat of the Egyptian sun visualized as the fire spitting cobra, the uraeus of the sun disk and on the king’s

¹³⁹ *KRI V*, p. 84, line 15.

¹⁴⁰ *KRI I*, p. 46, line 12; Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande*, p. 104.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Erik Hornung, “Licht und Finsternis in der Vorstellungswelt Altägyptens,” *Studium generale: Zeitschriften für die Einheit der Wissenschaften in Zusammenhang ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden* 18 (1965), pp. 73-77; Reinhard Grieshammer, “Licht,” *LÄ III*, cols. 1033-1034; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 151-155.

¹⁴² Cf. Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 354-358; Dieter Arnold, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, trans. Sabine H. Gardiner and Helen Strudwick, ed. Nigel and Helen Strudwick (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 51.

¹⁴³ This is expressed by a hymn to Amenemhat III: *R’ pw m33w m st.wt=f shd sw t3.wy r itn sw3dw sw t3 r h’py ‘3 mh.n=f t3.wy m nh.t ‘nh qbb fnd.w w3=f r nšn htp=f r tpr t3w dd=f k3.w n nty.w m šms=f sdf3y=f mdd mtn=f k3 pw ny-sw.t* “He is Re, by whose rays one sees, for he is one who illuminates the Two Lands more than the sun disk. He is one who makes the land green more than a high inundation, he having filled the Two Lands with vigor and life. It is when he starts to rage that noses are cool but when he sets in peace, (one) can breathe the air (again). To those who are in his following he gives nourishment, while he provides sustenance to one who adheres to his path. The king is *ka*”; Kurt Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), p. 68, lines 15-19; cf. William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2003), p. 173.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Jan Assmann, “Sonnengott,” *LÄ V*, col. 1089.

head.¹⁴⁵ In the late 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period the title *ntr nfr* appears frequently when the king is compared to the sun god. Amenhotep III is *ntr nfr mi.ty R' shd t3.wy mi 3h.ty nb st.wt mi itn h'w n=f nb.wt* “The Perfect God, the equal of Re, who illuminates the Two Lands like He-of-the-Horizon, Lord of Rays like the sun disk (Aten) to whom everyone jubilates.”¹⁴⁶ Sety I is *ntr nfr mi R' m p.t thn hpr.w h'w=f mi Imn shd.n=f t3.wy m nfr.w=f mi 3h.ty di=f sw hr tp dw3y.t* “Perfect God like Re in the sky, sparkling of manifestations when he appears like Amun after he has illuminated the Two Lands with his *nfr.w* like He-of-the-Horizon as he positions himself at the break of dawn.”¹⁴⁷ Ramesses VI is *ntr nfr ti.t R' qm3 Itmw ds=f mw ntr pr m h'.w=f* “The Perfect God, Image of Re, whom Atum himself created, Divine Seed, who came forth from his flesh.”¹⁴⁸ *Nfr* is a quality the king shares with the sun god: *h'=k nfr ny-sw.t nht mi R' wbn m dw3w t3.w nb.w hr tbw.ty=k bw-nb m i3w n hr=k* “May you appear *nfr* O mighty King like Re, who shines in the morning. Every land is under your sandals and everyone is in adoration of your face.”¹⁴⁹ It is a quality acquired when one “appears” (*h'i*) as king. Ramesses II claimed *wn h' it=i n kywy iw=i m sfy imy qni[t=f] dd[n=f] r=i sh' sw m ny-sw.t [m3]=i nfr=f iw=i 'nh.kwi* “It was when I was (just) a youth within his embrace that my father

¹⁴⁵ The uraeus was the Eye of the sun god (Horus or Re) and was made of flame: *ink ir.t Hr ht.t pr.t m nrw nb.t š'.t '3.t ššf.t hpr.t m ns i3hw* “I am the fiery Eye of Horus, which came forth frightfully; Lady of Slaughter, great of awe, who came into being in the flame of sunlight” (*CT* IV, 98b-e); cf. *CT* III, 343b-d, h; *CT* IV, 91e-k; *CT* V, 264a; *CT* VII, 166f-g; Edouard Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. Bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden*, vol. 2, *Variante* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1886), pp. 73-74; *Edfou* IV, p. 166, line 4 and p. 167, line 6.

¹⁴⁶ *Urk.* IV, p. 1670, lines 7-8.

¹⁴⁷ *KRI* I, p. 80, lines 7-8. Cf. *KRI* I, p. 257, lines 4-5: *ntr nfr pn s3 Itmw iw' R' wbn=f m 3h.t r'-nb r sdm spr.wt=f nb(.wt)* “This Perfect God, the Son of Atum, the Heir of Re, when he appears each day in the horizon to hear all his petitions.”

¹⁴⁸ *KRI* VI, p. 328, line 8.

¹⁴⁹ *KRI* V, p. 192, lines 5-6; *MH* IV, pl. 240.

appeared¹⁵⁰ to the populace (and) [he] said concerning me ‘Cause him to appear as king that I might see his *nfr* while I am (still) living!’¹⁵¹ It is when the king “appears” (*h’i*) upon the throne that he is most like the sun god. The verb *h’i* is used for both the appearance of the king on the throne or in procession and for the appearance of the sun at dawn.¹⁵² The sign ☉ in the word *h’i* represents the rising sun with its aurora of light.¹⁵³ In the beginning of the “Instruction of King Amenemhat I for His Son Senwosret I” Amenemhat says to Senwosret *h’ m ntr*, the first word is either an imperative (“Appear as a god”) or a participle (“O One who Appears as a god”).¹⁵⁴ Either translation indicates that the new king Senwosret I “appears” as a god when he takes the throne. Although “as a god” may show, as Barta believes, that the king is only acting in the capacity of a god through his office.¹⁵⁵

The appearance of the new king like the sun parallels his predecessor’s rebirth *as* the sun at dawn. The dead king’s transfiguration was expressed as joining the sun disk:

hr [hm n] ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-hpr-R’ m3’-hrw shr=f r p.t hnm itn h’.w ntr 3bh m ir sw hđ.n rf t3 dw3w hpr itn wbn(w) p.t b3q.ti ny-sw.t-bi.ty ‘3-hpr.w-R’ s3 R’ lmn-htp Hq3-ntry-W3s.t di ‘nh smn.w hr ns.t nt it=f htp=f srh

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Paul John Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974), pp. 178-179 (§ 96, H).

¹⁵¹ *KRI* II, p. 327, line 15-p. 328, line 1. Cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, vol. 2, p. 167 and H. Gauthier, "La Grande Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos," *ZÄS* 48 (1910), p. 57.

¹⁵² It is also used for the appearance of a cult statue; see Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 4-5, 19-20; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 708; *Wb.* III, pp. 239 (no. 4)-241 (no. 2); Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 57; Winfried Barta, "Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier als unterschiedliche Zeugnisse königlicher Herrschaftsübernahme," *SAK* 8 (1980), p. 34; Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, "Thronbesteigung," *LÄ* VI, col. 531.

¹⁵³ Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 708.

¹⁵⁴ See Wolfgang Helck, *Der Text der „Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn“*, *Kleine ägyptische Texte* 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), pp. 10, 13-14, textual note c.

¹⁵⁵ See Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 61.

Now, [the Majesty of] the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, justified, went up to the sky and united with the sun disk. The body of the God joined with the one who made him. Now the (next) day dawned, the sun disk shined and the sky became bright. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperure, Son of Re Amenhotep Heqanetjerywaset, given life, was installed upon the throne of his father, he sitting upon the *serekh*.¹⁵⁶

The concept of the resurrected king appearing as the sun at dawn goes back to the earliest Pyramid Texts: *psd Wnis m3(y) m i3b.t* “and Unis shines anew in the east.”¹⁵⁷ Just as the earthly king received his powers of office through ceremonies in the two shrines (*itr.ty*) of Upper and Lower Egypt, the departed king became Osiris, king of the dead, through the double shrines in the sky: *pr=k rk hr mw.t=k Nw.t ndr=s ‘=k di=s n=k w3.t r 3h.t r bw hr R’ wn n=k ‘3.wy p.t ssn*¹⁵⁸ *n=k ‘3.wy qbhw gm=k R’ ‘h’(w) i.s3=f n=k ndr=w=f n=k ‘=k ssm=f tw m itr.ty p.t wd=f tw hr ns.t Wsir* “May you ascend to your mother Nut that she might take your hand and give you a path to the horizon, to the place where Re is. May the doors of the sky open for you; may the doors of the firmament open to you; may you find Re standing as he waits for you, as he takes your hand for you and leads you to the Two Shrines (*itr.ty*) of the sky. He shall place you upon the throne of Osiris.”¹⁵⁹ One of the golden shrines that protected the body of Tutankhamun is in the form of the *Per-wer*-shrine and another takes the form of the *Per-nu*-shrine.¹⁶⁰ In another Pyramid Text in which Horus arranges for the gods to unite with Osiris (i.e. the departed king)

¹⁵⁶ *Urk.* IV, p. 895, line 17-p. 896, line 8; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, pp. 102-103.

¹⁵⁷ *Pyr.* § 306b.

¹⁵⁸ Causative of *sn* “to open”; see Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, vol. 3 (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1934-62), p. 404 (756c).

¹⁵⁹ *Pyr.* §§ 756a-757c; cf. R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts Translated into English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 139; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁰ See T. G. H. James, *Tutankhamun* (Vercelli, Italy and New York: White Star and MetroBooks, 2000), pp. 84-85.

the latter is named “He of the Two Shrines” (*itr.ty*).¹⁶¹ In the same spell it is said that Horus acts on behalf of Osiris, because his (Horus’) *ka* is in Osiris.¹⁶²

How does all this relate to the Behdetite and his identification as *ntr nfr*? First, it should be noted that the Behdetite frequently appears in scenes of purification of the king, the Union of the Two Lands and the crowning of the king. The role of the god may originally belong to Horus in general and not specifically to Horus the Behdetite but the latter appears in these scenes more than any other form of Horus. Not all of these scenes are associated with the ceremonies of coronation but we find the Behdetite leading and then crowning Hatshepsut in her coronation. On the block showing the coronation of Ramesses II the Behdetite performs the purification of the king.¹⁶³ The Behdetite also takes the titles “Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row,” “Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row” and “Foremost of the Two Shrines/Shrine Rows,” the latter as early as the 4th Dynasty.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the god’s name *Bhd.ty* identifies him with the “throne-seat.”¹⁶⁵ One of the distinctive features of the god is likely an association with the enthronement of the king,¹⁶⁶ although there is more direct evidence for this in the *Sed* festival (see below). The Behdetite as a sun god specifically associated with the sun at dawn through the epithet *pr m 3h.t* “He who Comes Forth from the Horizon” is like the departed and reborn king. A spell from the Book of the Dead, though it does not identify the Behdetite by

¹⁶¹ *Pyr.* § 577b-d; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 114.

¹⁶² *Pyr.* § 582d; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 114.

¹⁶³ Shorter, “Coronation of Ramesses II,” p. 19, pl. 3.1. A god named *Hr hnty pr.w* “Horus Foremost of the Temples”; see *ibid.*, p. 18, pl. 3.2.

¹⁶⁴ See Chapter 2.IV.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Eberhard Otto, “Behedeti,” *LÄ* I, col. 683; Wolfhart Westendorf, “Die Flügelsonne aus Ägypten,” *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 19 (1986), p. 24; Florence Dunn Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex,” *JARCE* 32 (1995), p. 18.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Friedman, “Underground Relief Panels,” pp. 18, 20.

name, would certainly apply to him and other forms of the sun god associated with the horizon: *itn št3 ḥpr r 3ḥ.t nt p.t m rn=f Ḥr ir.w nt-'.w nḥḥ sp sn (?) bik m ḥr p'.t it.w m šḥm.ty* “Secret Sun Disk, who came into being at the horizon of the sky in his name of Horus, who performs the rites of eternity forever;¹⁶⁷ Falcon with a human face, possessor of the Double Crown.”¹⁶⁸ The text suggests that the sun god at dawn has gone through the rituals of kingship.

The *Sed* festival appears to have been celebrated as far back as the 1st Dynasty.¹⁶⁹ Most of our information on the festival comes from a few sources from the Old Kingdom, New Kingdom and Late Period: the Step Pyramid complex of Djoser, scenes in the sun-temple of Neuserre at Abu Sir, the *Akhmenu* of Thutmose III at Karnak, reliefs of Amenhotep III at Soleb in Nubia, depictions of the same king’s festival in the tomb of Kheruef in Thebes, the festival carried out early in the reign of Akhenaten at Karnak and from the Festival Hall of Osorkon II at Bubastis. There are also scattered bits of scenes of festivals dating from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, these sources are often fragmentary and often do not give much information on the ceremonies.¹⁷¹ During most of the ceremonies the king wears a sleeveless robe; preserved color shows that the robe was blue-green, the color of regeneration.¹⁷² We know many of the ceremonies and rituals that took place but determining the sequence of

¹⁶⁷ I follow the translation of Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 217 here; cf. *Wb.* V, p. 509, nos. 8-10.

¹⁶⁸ W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 164-174* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1881), pp. 86-87, 89; cf. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 217 (Chap. 167c).

¹⁶⁹ Barta, *Göttlichkeit*, p. 62; Barry J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 106, fig. 37.

¹⁷⁰ Reeder, “Heb Sed,” p. 62; Karl Martin, “Sedfest,” *LÄ* V, cols. 785-786; Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 62.

¹⁷¹ Cf. Martin, “Sedfest,” col. 785.

¹⁷² Erik Hornung and Elisabeth Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, AH 20 (Basel: Schwabe, 2006), p. 56.

events is hazardous and disputed.¹⁷³ Besides the “Dedication of the Field” discussed above, some of the main ceremonies include illuminating the double-thrones, which may have had an apotropaic function,¹⁷⁴ a procession in a litter, or sedan-chair with a box-like base as the king of Lower Egypt,¹⁷⁵ and a procession as king of Upper Egypt on a sedan-chair with a base in the form of a *nb*-basket.¹⁷⁶ The Lower Egyptian sedan-chair procession went to the chapel of Horus of Libya (*Hr ṯḥnw*) where the king seems to receive the *was*-scepter, the crook and flail.¹⁷⁷ The Upper Egyptian counterpart, in the reliefs of Neuserre, goes to the shrines of Horus the Behdetite and Seth.¹⁷⁸ In the reliefs of Djoser at Saqqara the gods’ shrines that were visited were those of the Behdetite for Upper Egypt and Horus of Letopolis for Lower Egypt.¹⁷⁹ The destination of the procession in other reliefs is not preserved. In the festival scenes from the *Akhmenu* of

¹⁷³ Martin, “Sedfest,” col. 785; Reeder, “Heb Sed,” p. 62.

¹⁷⁴ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 81.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 87; Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing and Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 2, *Die kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pls. 16-17, 21. This form of base seems to have dropped out of use in the New Kingdom as the king is shown with the Red Crown upon a throne with the *nb*-basket base previously only used for the Upper Egyptian procession; cf. Hermann Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re (Rathures)*, vol. 3, *Die grosse Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pl. A (showing the *Sed* festival of Thutmose III at the *Akhmenu* at Karnak); Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon and Jean Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, *Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: IFAO, 1998), pl. 97.

¹⁷⁶ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 88; von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 2, pls. 2, 18-19. The name of the Behdetite appears on a shrine on a block from the funerary complex of Sahure with part of the Wepwawat standard outside and an inscription mentioning the *itr.ty*-shrines; see Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa³ḥu-Re^c*, vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902-1908 7, WVDOG 26 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1913), pl. 67.

¹⁷⁷ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 87; von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 2, pl. 21; Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, p. 11, pl. A.

¹⁷⁸ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 88; von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 2, pl. 19; Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, p. 14.

¹⁷⁹ See Friedman, “The Underground Relief Panels,” pp. 18-20, fig. 12 and pp. 36-38, fig. 23.

Thutmose III Horus and Seth are shown carrying the king in place of priests (or the priests are wearing masks?).¹⁸⁰ The king received a bow and arrows in this procession, which he used to shoot arrows in the four cardinal directions.¹⁸¹ One of Amenhotep III's *Sed* festivals included the raising of the *djed*-pillar meant to ensure the fertility of the land, as well as guarantee the stability and duration of the king's reign.¹⁸² It should be noted that in most *Sed* festival scenes the king is identified as *ntr nfr* before his pre-nomen, sometimes with *nb t3.wy* before the name,¹⁸³ supporting the idea that *ntr nfr* identifies the king as being in his most god-like state.¹⁸⁴ A key event of the *Sed* festival appears to be a ritual death and resurrection of the king. This ritual, which may have been performed on a statue of the king,¹⁸⁵ seems to have taken place in a

¹⁸⁰ Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, pl. A.

¹⁸¹ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 88; von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 2, pls. 2, 18; Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 63.

¹⁸² This ceremony may have been a regular feature of the *Sed* festival if the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus is a ritual drama of the *Sed* festival and not of the coronation as Barta interprets it; see *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 63, 66-67; Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pl. 42.

¹⁸³ This is often followed by *s3 R'* followed by the nomen rarely with another epithet in between; see von Bissing and Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 2, pl. 13; idem, *Re-Heiligtum*, vol. 3, pl. A; *LD III*, pl. 36a-b, cf. pl. 35a; Giorgini, Robichon and Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, pls. 72, 74-75, 79, 94-95, 99, 101-107, 110-113; Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 26, 42; Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, p. 69, fig. 14; Edouard Naville, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889)*, EM 10 (London: EEF, 1892), pl. 17, no. 10, pl. 25, no. 5, pl. 27, no. 6; cf. Aylward M. Blackman, "The Stela of Nebipusenwosret: British Museum No. 101," *JEA* 21 (1935), pl. 1, p. 2: this is a stela of an official, who served in the rites of the *Sed* festival; the texts on his stela begins *ptr nfr.w ntr nfr H'-k3.w-R'* "Perceiving the *nfr.w* of the Perfect God Khakaure."

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, pl. 15 (Amenhotep and his *ka* as child of Amun-Re); Gayet, *Louxor*, pl. 19, fig. 76 (Amenhotep III being crowned by Amun-Re; Bell, "Royal *Ka*," p. 266, fig. 4 showing the horn of Amun-Re). The deified Sety I often has this arrangement of *ntr nfr* before the pre-nomen in scenes in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak where he is attended to by Ramesses II; see Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pls. 42, 57, 72, 76, cf. pl. 161.

¹⁸⁵ See Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 64-65.

mock tomb.¹⁸⁶ A scene from Osorkon II's *Sed* festival mentions the king *ḥtp m-ḥnw is.t* "Resting in the tomb."¹⁸⁷ The resurrection took place on a bed decorated with the head and feet of a lion.¹⁸⁸ Sety I is shown wearing a garment similar to the *Sed* festival robe rising up from such a bed in his cenotaph at Abydos with the word *rs* "awake" above him.¹⁸⁹ The same type of bed is used in the royal birth scenes of the New Kingdom showing the procreation, birth and rearing of the child king.¹⁹⁰ A text from one of Amenhotep III's *Sed* festivals depicted in the tomb of Kheruef describes an event as *ḥtp tnt3.t ms sw m ḥb-sd* "Occupying the dais of the one who begat him in the *Sed* festival."¹⁹¹ The king takes the role of the self-creating sun god Kamutef with the lion-bed representing the mother goddess; the king's "union" with the bed allows his regeneration.¹⁹² Kamutef is the creator of the gods; he is self-generating. He is both father and son, who is mysteriously reborn by union with his wife, who is also his mother and at Luxor Temple he is the physical creator of the king and Royal *Ka*.¹⁹³ The crowning of the king in the twin shrines likely followed the rebirth ritual.¹⁹⁴ A scene from the funerary monuments of Sahure, that might be part of the *Sed* festival rites, shows a goddess nursing the king and the

¹⁸⁶ This was possibly the purpose of the "south tomb" at the Step Pyramid complex; see Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 65.

¹⁸⁷ See Naville, *The Festival-Hall*, pl. 10; Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 65.

¹⁸⁸ Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 88; Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 65-66; Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 65.

¹⁸⁹ Reeder, "Heb Sed," p. 65; H. Frankfort, A. De Buck and Battiscombe Gunn, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, EM 39 (London: EES, 1933), pl. 74.

¹⁹⁰ Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 66; Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, pp. 90-93, pls. 4, 9, 12, 16.

¹⁹¹ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pl. 46, line 5. Cf. a comment addressed to the priesthood on the stela of Nebipusenwosret, who officiated at Amenemhat III's *Sed* festival: *ḥwn ny-sw.t m 'nh=tn* "The king shall become young in your (time of) living"; Blackman, "Nebipusenwosret," pl. 1, p. 4.

¹⁹² See Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁹³ See Bell, "Royal *Ka*," pp. 258-259.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Barta, *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 66.

accompanying text mentions the *itr.t šm'y.t* “Upper Egyptian Shrine/Shrine Row.”¹⁹⁵ The culmination of the festival was the king taking the double-throne. The ceremony probably consisted of the king sitting on one throne in the White Crown, then sitting upon the other throne wearing the Red Crown.¹⁹⁶ However, this is usually rendered in art with the king sitting in both thrones back to back.¹⁹⁷ The most interesting of these scenes is one of Senwosret III, later copied by Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenhotep I.¹⁹⁸ We find the king on the two thrones with the winged sun disk above. The Behdetite appears as a falcon on a standard at left offering years to the king in the Red Crown, while at right Seth on a standard offers life to the king in the White Crown. At top a standard representing Horus of Hierakonpolis (Nekhen) at left and another representing the heron-god of Djebaet (Pe in Lower Egypt) offer life to the name of the winged disk *Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʿ3* “The Behdetite, the Great God.” This scene is interesting on many levels. The offering of life to the name of the Behdetite has its closest analogy in scenes where a god offers life to the falcon of a king’s Horus name.¹⁹⁹ The falcon represents the embodiment of Horus represented by the name below the falcon. The winged disk in this scene must identify the king below as an embodiment of Horus but specifically Horus the Behdetite. This is appropriate

¹⁹⁵ Borchardt, *Śa³ḥu-Reʿ*, vol. 2, pls. 30-31; cf. Reeder, “Heb Sed,” p. 67.

¹⁹⁶ The order may have been reversed but Upper Egypt usually had precedence over Lower Egypt.

¹⁹⁷ The thrones likely sat side by side facing the same direction; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 85, cf. fig. 25; cf. Reeder, “Heb Sed,” p. 62; Kemp, *Anatomy of a Civilization*, p. 104; Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, p. 57, fig. 5, p. 69, fig. 14, p. 70, fig. 16, cf. p. 72, fig. 17.

¹⁹⁸ See Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, fig. 25; Alan H. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” 30 (1944), pp. 30-31, pl. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Life can be offered to the signs of other titles, as well; see Cathie Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Fribourg, Switzerland and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 71-73, 325-327 (nos. 146-147, 149-151), 330 (nos. 163-164), 332-333 (nos. 169-173).

in that the Behdetite is the god of the throne-place. The scene also represents the triumph of the king as Horus. The scene shows Horus (the Behdetite) and Seth at peace through or in the king represented by the images of the gods on standards offering years and other gifts to the king. But Horus is dominant as seen in the winged disk above. The king mirrors the god above in wearing the White Crown of Nekhbet and the Red Crown of Wadjet, because the sun disk bears the same two goddesses in the form of uraei. They wrap around the sun disk in the same manner that the crowns circle the head of the king.²⁰⁰ In this light, it is not surprising that the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei (𓇧𓇧) are first used to render the title *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* on objects related to a *Sed* festival of Ramesses II.²⁰¹ The scene also shows the moment of triumph following rebirth as represented by the Behdetite as the winged sun disk, the sun god “Who Comes Forth from the Horizon” renewed/reborn every day. A prayer for Sety I refers to this aspect of the god: *ir=f ḥb.w-sd mi Itmw rnpy=f mi Ḥr Bhd.t(y)* “May he celebrate *Sed* festivals like Atum; may he rejuvenate like Horus the Behdetite!”²⁰² A text from Dendera says of the Behdetite *sw m Itmw ḥtp m M3nw ḥy rnp(y) wbn m dw3w* “He is Atum, who sets in the Western Mountain and the

²⁰⁰ Cf. Wolfhart Westendorf, “Der Ring um die Sonnenscheibe,” *GM* 211 (2006), pp. 111-123.

²⁰¹ *KRI* II, p. 386, line 5 (mould mentioning the “repetition” of the king’s *Sed*-festival, i.e. his 2nd or 3rd), p. 395, line 13 (mould mentioning his 6th *Sed*-festival) and p. 396, line 4 (scarab mentioning his 8th *Sed*-festival); see, also, Mahmud Hamza, “Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantîr (Faquûs District), (Season, May 21st-July 7th, 1928),” *ASAE* 30 (1930), p. 60, fig. 15, nos. 5-6. Another mould and another scarab use the winged disk (the mould) and sun disk with two uraei (scarab) for *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* before the names of two divine statues of Ramesses II; see *KRI* II, p. 451, line 5 and p. 455, line 11; Hamza, “Excavations,” p. 60, fig. 15, no. 1; Jean Yoyotte, “À propos des scarabées attribués à Ramsès VIII,” *Kêmi* 10 (1949), pp. 86-88, nos. 10 and 14 on p. 87.

²⁰² *KRI* I, p. 65, lines 10-11. At Luxor Temple the king is shown being nursed and is said to have been conceived in the *ḥw.t-sr(.w)* “Court of Magistrates,” which is where Osiris was declared justified and Horus triumphed over Seth; Bell, “Royal *Ka*,” p. 272; Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 143 (XIX, 135).

Rejuvenated Child, who rises at dawn.”²⁰³ A Ramesside text identifying Re-Horakhty as the Behdetite describes the god as *ḥrd n dw3.t* “Child of the Dawn.”²⁰⁴ There are two scenes from rock inscriptions at Hatnub dating to the Old Kingdom, which may also identify an enthroned king with the Behdetite. The two scenes, one showing Khufu and the other Merenre, present the king sitting on a simple throne on a large base decorated with the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif.²⁰⁵ Both kings are shown wearing the Red Crown holding a *ḥd*-mace with their right hands, which rests on their shoulder and a long straight staff in their left hands. A hovering falcon is above in the same orientation as the king. Facing the king, in opposite orientation, is his Horus and *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* names in large scale, such that the top of the head of the Horus name falcon is level with the top of the head of the hovering falcon. Merenre has the titles *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* between the king and Horus name in the same orientation as the king and level with his face and crown. The name *Bḥd.t(y)* appears above this and is in the same location in Khufu’s scene. However, the name in both cases is in the same orientation as the falcons of the Horus name. Granted, the name of the Behdetite sometimes appears in reverse orientation with winged disks during the New Kingdom²⁰⁶ but there may have been an intentional ambiguity here. Although both kings wear the Red Crown the union of the Two Lands is implied by the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif below the throne, which is the equivalent of the king appearing in both crowns on the *Sed* festival double-throne. Baines has suggested a certain identification of the king and his throne by the presence of the

²⁰³ *Dendara IV*, p. 16, line 16.

²⁰⁴ *KRI III*, p. 171, line 2.

²⁰⁵ See Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers*, UGAA 9 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1928), pl. 4, no. 1 (Khufu) and pl. 5, no. 6 (Merenre).

²⁰⁶ Cf. Spiesser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 325, no. 147, p. 330, no. 162; *LD III*, pl. 50b; Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 4, *The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, EM 19 (London: EEF, 1899-1900), pl. 105; *KRI VI*, p. 20, line 12.

sm3-t3.wy-motif or scale-like feathers upon the throne.²⁰⁷ The feathers link the throne with Horus but, since the Behdetite is the form of Horus specifically associated with the throne, could the throne in these cases be specifically identified with the Behdetite? Some scenes depict the king seated upon a throne wearing a close fitting garment with scale like feathers during the *Sed* festival or coronation.²⁰⁸ Some images of the king wearing the *Sed* festival robe or cloak depict a long falcon tail sticking out from the garment.²⁰⁹ In these cases the garments appear to have

²⁰⁷ John Baines, “Trône et dieu: Aspects du symbolisme royal et divin des temps archaïques,” *BSFE* 118 (June 1990), pp. 22-23; cf. Norman De Garis Davies *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē’ at Thebes*, PMMA 11 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. 13, pp. 15-16 (Thutmose III in feathered garb on a feathered throne and probably depicted during the *Sed* festival); Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, pp. 66-67, figs. 12-13 (the same with Tutankhamun).

²⁰⁸ See Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē’*, pl. 13, pp. 15-16; Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, pp. 66-67, figs. 12-13; Cyril Aldred, “The ‘New Year’ Gifts to the Pharaoh,” *JEA* 55 (1969), pp. 75-76. A statue fragment in Cairo shows a king wearing a *Nemes* and a feathered cloak or robe that resembles the *Heb Sed* robe; see Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, part 3, CGC 11 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1930), p. 72, no. 747, pl. 138. The fold over the shoulders is similar to the *Heb Sed* robe worn by Pepy I on a statue in the Brooklyn Museum (39.120); Bolshakov, “Royal Portraiture,” p. 319; cf. F. Daumas, “Le trône d’une statuette de Pépi I^{er} trouvé à Dendera,” *BIFAO* 52 (1953), pl. 3.

²⁰⁹ See Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, p. 56, fig. 4 (Senwosret III), p. 58, fig. 6 (Tutankhamun, possibly wearing a variant on the *Sed* fest robe covered in feathers), p. 59, figs. 7-8 (Amenhotep III), pp. 60-61, figs. 9-10 (Osorkon III). According to *PM II*², p. 118 (385), Thutmose III appears in a scene at the *Akhmenu* at Karnak with a falcon tail. A text from the tomb of Kheruef with a scene of Amenhotep III wearing a falcon tail actually refers to the king “appearing in” or “as” followed by a broken sign that shows a falcon tail; see Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, p. 49, n. a and pl. 42; Hornung and Staehelin, *Neue Studien zum Sedfest*, pp. 58-59, fig. 7.

been real clothing worn during the ceremonies.²¹⁰ According to Aldred and Kriéger, feathered garments were worn on occasions when kings wished to display visible signs of their divinity.²¹¹

Despite the many divine aspects that the king exhibits in the *Sed* festival, Barta argues that there is still no identification of the king's being with the divine. He only functions as a manifestation or form of appearance (*Erscheinungsform*) of a god.²¹² In general, this seems to be the case. It can be argued that in the double-throne scene the king is acting in the capacity of the Behdetite or as a manifestation of that god. The breath of life is offered to the winged disk in the same way that gods offer life to the falcon of the Horus name; the name and image of the winged disk serves as a title in this scene. Life can also be offered to figures/signs of the king's other titles; it is given to the title rather than the name, which may indicate that it is through the title or position that divine grace and power reaches the king. Things are more complicated, however, when we consider the Royal *Ka* and the *Sed* festival, especially in the New Kingdom. The Royal *Ka* appears to be a divine being, since it can be shown in processions of gods.²¹³ The union of the king with the Royal *Ka* must be similar to the union of a god with its cult image. The cult image is not the god but is a vessel in which the power of the god can be manifest. And, indeed,

²¹⁰ Actual garments decorated with feather patterns were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun; see G. M. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Tutankhamun's Wardrobe: Garments from the tomb of Tutankhamun* (Rotterdam: Barjesteh van Waalwijk van Doorn & Co., 1999), p. 40; Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, vol. 1 (London: Cassell, 1923), pls. 38, 66.

²¹¹ Aldred, "New Year's Gifts," p. 76; Paule Kriéger, "Une statuette de roi-faucon au Musée du Louvre," *Rd'É* 12 (1960), p. 56.

²¹² *Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, pp. 72-73.

²¹³ The Royal *Ka* is pictured with the gods of the Ennead in a scene from Osorkon II's *Sed* festival; see Naville, *Festival-Hall*, pl. 10.

we find the king described in terms used for a cult statue, such as *hnty*.²¹⁴ An interesting situation developed in the New Kingdom in regards to the Royal *Ka* and the *Sed* festival. Following the *Sed* festivals of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II several colossal *ka*-statues of the kings were made, which were likely worshipped as gods.²¹⁵ Living kings are even shown presenting offerings to deified manifestations of themselves.²¹⁶ If the Royal *Ka* resided with the living king, how could it also be manifest in royal statues during that king's life? Texts from the reign of Hatshepsut suggest that the king could possess multiple manifestations of the Royal *Ka*.²¹⁷ In her fictive account of her father raising her to kingship Thutmose I says he is doing so *ir=t k3.w=t špsw* "that you (Hatshepsut) might exercise your splendid *kas*."²¹⁸ Indeed, Hatshepsut's Horus name was *Wsr.t-k3.w* "Powerful-of-Kas."²¹⁹ Since the living king could be pictured serving and worshipping his deified self this still suggests that the living king was of a lower status than the divine manifestation of his *ka*. After his first *Sed* festival in year 30, depictions of the living Amenhotep III depict him with an exaggerated youthfulness, wearing a *shebyu*-collar, previously only used in a funerary context, and his pre-nomen is sometimes found

²¹⁴ See Erik Hornung, "Der Mensch als »Bild Gottes«,," in Oswald Loretz, *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich: Kösel, 1961), pp. 128-131, 134-139, 145-151; Bell, "Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," pp. 36-37; idem, "Divine Kingship and the Theology of the Obelisk Cult in the Temples of Thebes," in *5. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Würzburg, 23.-26. September 1999*, ed. Horst Beinlich, et al., *ÄAT 33.3* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), p. 23; Birkstam, "Sun God and Divine Kingship," p. 39.

²¹⁵ Bell, "Royal *Ka*," pp. 259-260, 285-290; Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, *ADAIK 5* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1969), pp. 17-20, 42; cf. Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs*, p. 57, n. 3, p. 60.

²¹⁶ Giorgini, Robichon and Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, pls. 21-22, 29, 193, 260-261, 267; Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 5-6, figs. 4-5, p. 15, figs. 10-11, p. 34, fig. 21, pls. 1a, 2a, 3, 6, 10b, 13b

²¹⁷ Cf. Bell, "Royal *Ka*," pp. 288, 290-291.

²¹⁸ *Urk.* IV, p. 255, line 14.

²¹⁹ *Urk.* IV, p. 341, line 5.

in a rebus style within a sun disk resting on a solar bark, all of which Raymond Johnson suggests was a result of his being permanently merged with the creator god during the *Sed* festival.²²⁰ His son Akhenaten, although he called himself the son of the Aten, certainly seems to emphasize his own divinity by having his own priesthood.²²¹ Akhenaten hacked out earlier images of the human-form of the Royal *Ka*, while leaving the *ka*-arms intact, as if to make a point of there being no separation of the king and the Royal *Ka*.²²² One text from his reign implies virtually no separation between the king, the *ka* and the Aten as one of his officials prays *i3w n=k p3 ltn 'nh K3-ny-sw.t 'nh m m3'.t h'.w 3h-n-ltn '3 m 'h'=f* “Adoration to you O living Aten, Royal *Ka*, who lives on *Maat*, Lord of Crowns Akhenaten, long in his lifetime!”²²³ Silverman suggests that

²²⁰ W. Raymond Johnson, “The Dazzling Sun Disk: Iconographic Evidence that Amenhotep III Reigned as the Aten Personified,” *Kmt* 2.2 (Summer 1991), pp. 19-23, 60-66; idem, “Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions,” in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis; Papers Presented at the International Symposium Held at The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio 20-21 November 1987*, ed. Lawrence Michael Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), pp. 36-42; cf. idem, “The *Nfrw*-Collar Reconsidered,” in *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, ed. Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, SAOC 58 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1999), pp. 223-232.

²²¹ Donald B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 180; Sayed Tawfik, “Religious Titles on Blocks from the Aten Temple(s) at Thebes,” in *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Initial Discoveries*, by Ray Winfield Smith and Donald B. Redford (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976), pp. 96-100, fig. 18, no. 3, pl. 39.

²²² Bell, “Royal *Ka*,” pp. 291-292; cf. David P. Silverman, “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O’Connor and David P. Silverman, PdÄ 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), p. 79.

²²³ One could add “and” between each name and be correct but the way the names run together in the column of text is no accident. One column mentions the queen: *i3w n=k p3 ltn 'nh hm.t ny-sw.t wr.t mry.t=f nb.t t3.wy Nfr-nfr.w-ltn [Nfr.t-ii.ti]* “Adoration to you O living Aten (and) the Great Royal Wife, his beloved, the Lady of the Two Lands Neferneferuaten [Nefertiti].” Without the mention of the king the text almost implies that Nefertiti is the wife of Aten, which is not that unusual given the tradition of the “God’s Wife of Amun”; For the texts, see Norman De Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. 1, *The Tomb of Meryra*, ASE 30 (London: EEF, 1903), pl. 39; Maj Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, BIAE 8 (Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938), p. 18, line 1, p. 19, line 15; cf.

the arm-like rays of Aten represent the Royal *Ka* having replaced its traditional representation as a pair of human arms.²²⁴ It is not impossible that images of the winged disk with arms and hands, some of which predate Akhenaten, were meant to convey the same idea. Leblanc has similarly suggested that the uraei of the hovering sun disk represent the transfer of the *ka* from the sun god.²²⁵ Indeed, the “gifts” from the sun disks with uraei are shown around the necks of and descending from the uraei.²²⁶ It is human nature that powerful human beings like the kings of Egypt would emphasize their divine aspects and deemphasize the limitations of their divinity. Akhenaten may have gone too far in this regard but his main fault in the eyes of the Egyptians was his suppression of other gods and the traditional funerary beliefs that were the only means by which non-royalty could achieve a measure of divinity. For after his reign we find Ramesses II worshipped in the form of *ka*-statues in his lifetime and these statues even had priests.²²⁷ More often during the Ramesside Period we find a king’s *ka*-statue worshipped after the king’s death. Many of these are depicted with the sun disk with two uraei above their heads.²²⁸ A

William J. Murnane, *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*, WAW 5 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1995), p. 160.

²²⁴ “Nature of Egyptian Kingship,” pp. 74-75.

²²⁵ Christian Leblanc, “Les remplois de blocs décorés de la XVIII^{ème} Dynastie dans le secteur sud du Ramesseum,” *Memnonia* 7 (1996), n. 14 and fig. 2 on p. 108.

²²⁶ See 3.VII-VIII.

²²⁷ See Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 25-26, 29-31, figs. 17-18, p. 34, fig. 21.

²²⁸ See L. Loat, *Gurob*, BSAE 11 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1904), p. 7, pl. 15, nos. 2-3 and pl. 16, no. 2; Wilfried Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst: 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, vol. 1, Kataloge des OÖ. Landesmuseums, neue Folge 22.1 (Linz: OÖ. Landesmuseum Linz, 1989), p. 272, no. 445; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, vol. 1, *The New Kingdom* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1976), pl. 38, no. 3; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, vol. 9 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1970), pl. 16.1, no. 317. Cf. Jaroslav Černý, *Egyptian Stelae from the Banks Collection* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1958), no. 11 (sun disk without uraei or wings) and Norman De Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, vol. 1, PMMA 9 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1933), pl. 51 (sun disk with one uraeus

manifestation of the Royal *Ka* remains with a king after he dies.²²⁹ Why do these sun disks appear so often above the heads of statues of deified kings? The answer might be found in another phenomenon involving the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei: their use in royal names.

The practice of using the sun disk forms of the Behdetite to render the “Re” element of royal names may date back to the Middle Kingdom²³⁰ but is mostly a phenomenon of the New Kingdom.²³¹ There must be a particular reason that kings were substituting these forms of the sun disk for the usual writing of “Re” with a simple bare sun disk. Scholars have long interpreted the winged sun disk as a union of Horus and the sun god Re.²³² There is certainly a union of Horus the Behdetite and Re when the winged disk or sun disk with two uraei is used to write “Re.” There is also a union of these two gods with the king via his name. The main reason

identified as “the Behdetite” and dating to the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten); J. Vandier D’Abbadie, *Deux tombes ramessides à Gournat-Mourrai*, MIFAO 87 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), pls. 19-20.1; LD III, pl. 151; Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, PRÄ 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pl. 84; Eva Hofmann, *Bilder im Wandel: Die Kunst der ramessidischen Privatgräber*, Theben 17 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2004), p. 138, fig. 161; Ramadan El-Sayed, “Stèles des particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIII^e à la XX^e Dynastie,” *BIFAO* 79 (1979), pl. 46 (Jd’É 20395); *MH* VIII, pl. 597.

²²⁹ See Bell, “Royal *Ka*,” p. 258; the Royal *Ka* is pictured with the deceased and deified Sety I being attended to by Ramesses II in a scene in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak; see Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 42.

²³⁰ A scarab with the name of Senwosret I uses a winged disk but could be later than his reign; see H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Etc., in the British Museum*, vol. 1, *Royal Scarabs* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1913), p. 9, no. 86; Hall gives a date from the 12th to the 17th Dynasties.

²³¹ See Chapter 3.IV.ii.

²³² Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 49, 51; Regina Hölzl, *Die Giebelfelddekoration von Stelen des Mittleren Reichs*, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 55, Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 10 (Vienna: Institut für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien, 1990), p. 53; cf. Kurt Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 18.4 (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1930), p. 127 (§ 155).

to bring the king, Horus and Re together is the Royal *Ka*. The Royal *Ka* is an incarnation of Horus but it is also the offspring of Re. It is what raises the mortal king above the masses. Perhaps supporting this interpretation is the one case in which the sun disk with two uraei is used to render “Re” outside of a royal name. It appears in the phrase *ti.t R* “Image of Re” in the tomb of Kheruef (see Fig. 8).²³³ The name *Bhd.t(y)* is at each side of the sun disk. Below is the cartouche with the pre-nomen of Amenhotep IV with the arms of the *ka*-sign to each side at the base. Amenhotep IV with the Royal *Ka* is the image of Re but also of the Behdetite (i. e. Horus). The use of these sun disks within the name indicates that the king is an incarnation of both Horus and Re (in the manner of his child) but this union must be through the Royal *Ka*. Possession of the Royal *Ka* could be expressed by placing the name within the *ka*-arms. When the *ka*-arms were placed with the Horus name it recognized the relation of the *ka* with Horus; when the *ka*-arms were placed with the pre-nomen or nomen with the word “Re” as part of the name the *ka* was associated with the sun god. Using the sun disk of Horus the Behdetite as “Re” allowed recognition of Horus and Re together as the source of the king’s divine power. The sun disk is not a representation of the Royal *Ka* itself²³⁴ but represents its source and empowerment. Some kings of the Ramesside Period used the sun disk hovering over their heads with no cartouche (see Fig. 7),²³⁵ which reinforces the idea of no separation of the king and gods.²³⁶ The use of two

²³³ Epigraphic Survey, *Kheruef*, pls. 8-9.

²³⁴ The sun disk is usually referred to as the *ba* of the sun god.

²³⁵ Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 192; Frankfort, De Buck and Gunn, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, pl. 73; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 365, no. 266, p. 367, no. 269; Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1997), pls. 11-12; Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 5591.

²³⁶ Cf. several images of deified forms of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II with no cartouches; Giorgini, Robichon and Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, pls. 260-261; *LD III*, pl. 191f;

uraei on cartouches might have had the same meaning. During the Ramesside Period the sun disk with two uraei seems to have become a symbol of divine *ka*-power, or at least divinity, on its own when we find it above images of royal *ka*-statues.²³⁷ It continues to be a mark of divinity into the Greco-Roman Period when it is used over the heads of deities. At Edfu Temple the union of the sun disk with a cult image is expressed as *sm3 m b3 ḥn' sḥm n k3=f* “uniting the *ba* (sun disk) with the image of his *ka*.”²³⁸ According to the theology of the late New Kingdom and Late Period all life and existence was a product of the light of the sun god²³⁹ and, as the creator, all gods would be his images.

Could the winged disk have represented the double source of the Royal *Ka*, Horus and Re, from its origins? It does appear for the first time during the period that saw the rise of Re to dominance. Its creation may have been a reaction to link the new chief god of the state (Re) with the old one (Horus). There already was a god that was a union of these two gods in the form of Re-Horakhty, which raises the question of why was the specific form of “Horus the Behdetite” chosen, for lack of a better word, to be the winged sun disk? The god may have been recognized as a solar god before this but there is no evidence. He first appears as the protector of the king and is a main deity in the *Sed* festival as seen in the relief panels of Djoser.²⁴⁰ The god thus had

Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, p. 7 and cf. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 65; Wildung, “Göttlichkeitsstufen,” col. 556 (5.3).

²³⁷ Note its use to render *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* before the names of divine statues of Ramesses II; see *KRI II*, p. 451, line 5 and p. 455, line 11; Hamza, “Excavations,” p. 60, fig. 15, no. 1; Yoyotte, “À propos des scarabées attribués,” pp. 86-88, nos. 10 and 14 on p. 87.

²³⁸ *Edfou I*, p. 536, line 17; cf. *Edfou V*, p. 31, lines 1-2: *b3=k m p.t ḥr ḥnm sḥm=k snsn w' sn.nw=f wnn=k wbn.ti m msn.t* “Your *ba* in the sky is uniting with your image; as one embraces the other when you appear in the *msn.t*-sanctuary.”

²³⁹ Cf. Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), pp. 201-208.

²⁴⁰ See Friedman, “Underground Relief Panels,” pp. 1-42.

an intimate relationship with kingship and the person of the king from his origins. He was also identified with both portions of Egypt, the “Two Lands,” at least since the 4th Dynasty. As long recognized,²⁴¹ identification of the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei with Upper and Lower Egypt through the two wings and two uraei appears to be a basic meaning inherent in these symbols. Horus the Behdetite may thus have been the ideal form of Horus to represent the double kingdom through the new emphasis on solar theology. Given the winged sun disk’s identification with Horus and the sun god as well as its symbology of the new born and triumphant king in the *Sed* festival, it comes as no surprise that it came to represent the rebirth of the departed king in images of the Book of Nut during the Ramesside Period.

8.IV: Conclusions

From the Old Kingdom onward the King was both Horus and the offspring and image of the sun god on earth. The king’s ascension to the throne was like the rising of the sun in the ideology of kingship. Horus the Behdetite combined the aspects of Horus and a sun god from at least the 4th Dynasty. It possibly was his association with the throne and enthronement as well as the double kingdom of Egypt that led to his identification as a sun god. Since the rituals of rebirth are similar to, if not based on, those of coronation, as the new born sun the Behdetite could on rare occasions take the royal titles *ntr nfr* and *nb t3.wy*. Since the Behdetite was not only a god of kingship but a form of Horus, who was also a solar god, the kings of the New Kingdom used the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei as “Re” in their names as a union of Horus, Re and the king. The one thing that connects the king, Horus and Re is the Royal *Ka*.

²⁴¹ Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite,” pp. 48-51; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 127-133, §§ 155-162.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Horus the Behdetite first appears in the 3rd Dynasty as a god associated with the enthronement of the king at the *Sed* festival, where he also appears as the protector of the king's person. Most early evidence associates the god with Upper Egypt and Edfu but the evidence is too sparse to assume he was a god only of Upper Egypt. He is also associated with Lower Egypt at an early date. More important, a hovering falcon that is almost certainly an image of the Behdetite from the 4th Dynasty identifies the god with the shrines or shrine rows of both Upper and Lower Egypt. From this point Horus the Behdetite could represent either part of the country or both. He often takes the place of Lower Egypt, because he is teamed with Seth or Nekhbet, who are primarily deities of Upper Egypt and because the Horus of myth was a god born in the Delta. Although the Behdetite is identified as Horus, the fact that Horus in myth is from Lower Egypt cannot be used to tell where the original Behdet was located, if there was an original Behdet. The cult at Edfu likely dates to the 3rd Dynasty but this is not absolutely certain. A cult of Horus can be attested at Edfu in the 5th Dynasty by the name of the nome *Wts.t-Hr* and we know this god was called the Behdetite in the 6th Dynasty. The name *Bhd.ty* may have been applied to a local cult of Horus or it could have been a title of the local god in deep antiquity; the evidence is inconclusive. To the people of Edfu the god was simply called "Horus." Of the cult at Belalamun we know virtually nothing. Based on present evidence, we cannot even be sure that a cult of the Behdetite in Lower Egypt existed before the Greco-Roman Period. We only assume it did, because of the god's association with both parts of Egypt and the associations with Semabehdet in the texts of Edfu. One wonders if it was instead the identification with Horus

Lord of Mesen that reinforced the Behdetite's association with the north; the Behdetite already had the connection with the national shrines of Lower Egypt in the 4th Dynasty. This union was otherwise, no doubt, the result of a desire to join with another warlike god of great antiquity. The Behdetite likely did receive his identification as a harpooning god from this union but one cannot claim that the Myth of Horus at Edfu was handed down from the theologians in the Delta in its present form thousands of years previously!

There is no reason to identify the early winged sun disks as any god but the Behdetite. The Winged disk first appears under Sneferu and the Behdetite is identified as a solar god in the form of a falcon by the epithets *s3b šw.t* in the reign of the same king and *pr m 3h.t* in the reign of his son. The winged disk of Sneferu also appears directly above the king's name in a protective position reinforced by the protection formula, thus taking the same role as hovering falcons. In the epithet *pr m 3h.t* Horus the Behdetite is the sun god at dawn and represents new life. This also explains the winged disk's placement above the doorways of temples and at the top of stelae depicting gods, royalty and later the sacred non-royal dead. It protects the border between the world of humanity and the world of the gods. Since its two wings or two uraei could represent the united Two Lands it became a potent symbol of the ritually reborn King of the Two Lands in the *Sed* festival and later served the same purpose for the king, then non-royalty in the afterlife. Although the winged disk and sun disk with two uraei could be understood as a form of the great solar gods Re, Re-Horakhty, Atum and Amun-Re, these sun disks never completely lost the identification as the Behdetite. Perhaps this is due to the identification with Horus, so important to royal ideology, although these sun disks were usually just identified as *Bhd.ty*. The association of Horus and Re/Amun-Re as the source of the Royal

Ka seems like the most likely explanation for the use of these sun disks to render the “Re” portion of royal names. Why else change ☉ to  or  sometimes with the name *Bḥd.ty* added to the side? The Royal *Ka* is the one thing that binds Horus, Re and the king together. Horus is united with Re as Re-Horakhty but Re is the dominant god in this union. This may be the reason that Horus takes a solar form as the Behdetite. The later theologians at Edfu certainly noticed a close similarity of the Behdetite and Re-Horakhty. It is not impossible that the gods were mutually identified at Dendera in the 11th and 12th Dynasties, when we find both gods called “Lord of Dendera.”¹ Two major changes occur during the 19th Dynasty. The Behdetite is identified with Amun-Re at Thebes and the god, mostly in the form of the winged disk, becomes a funerary god of the king. The former is likely a result of the long interconnections of Thebes and Edfu. It is unfortunate that we have no evidence for this union from Edfu from the same period. The latter, the Behdetite as a funerary god, can be traced back to the end of the 18th Dynasty and the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun. Due in part to changing decorum following the Amarna Period and to the habit of the officialdom to adopt the funerary practices of their kings, we already find the Behdetite providing “sweet air” and resting upon the corpse of the non-royal dead in the 19th Dynasty and making the *ba* divine in the 20th. The winged disk and sun disk with two uraei appear in non-royal funerary art from the end of the New Kingdom onward representing rebirth.

The cult of the god never reached the prestige and power of that of Amun or of important deities such as Re-Atum of Heliopolis, Ptah of Memphis or even Khnum of Elephantine. Yet

¹ Cf. Henry George Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C. Down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1968), p. 28.

Edfu does seem to be the most important cult site of Horus in Upper Egypt for most of the period here reviewed. A certain prestige seems to have occurred during the Ramesside Period with the identification with Amun-Re. The Behdetite was always more important in royal ideology than as a local god. The limits of cult and worship of the god were likely due to the constraints of decorum; Horus the Behdetite was a strictly royal god. Over time, especially during the Ramesside Period, decorum relaxed. The god, especially in the form of the winged disk, grew in importance as a god of rebirth for all. Yet the god's association with kingship remained in the rituals and myths at the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu.

APPENDIX I

FIGURES

Fig. 1: Falcon, pose 1, showing red-tipped secondary and tail feathers, outlined primaries.



Fig. 2: Falcon in Pose 2.



Fig. 3: Hovering falcon with crown, funerary monument of Pepy II.

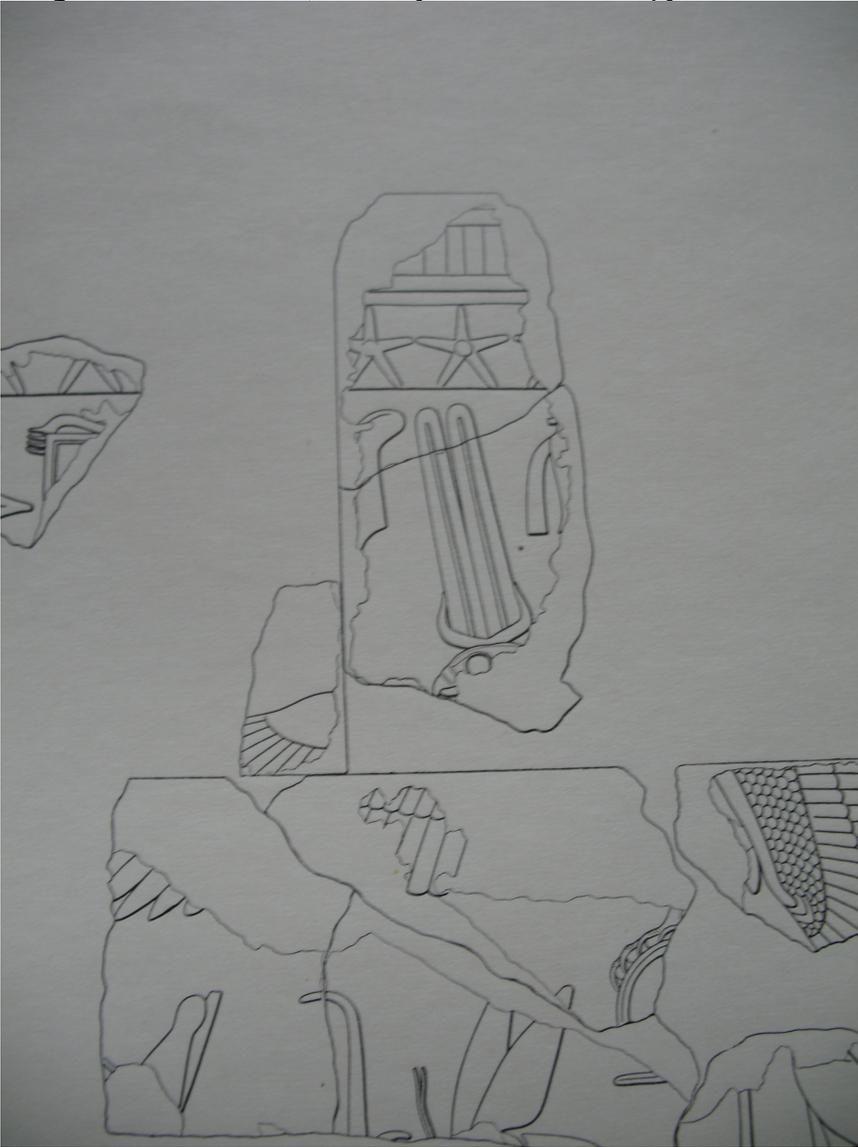


Fig. 4: The earliest winged sun disk, coffin of Hetepheres, 4th Dynasty.



Fig. 5: Winged disk and falcon on sail of the bark of Sahure.

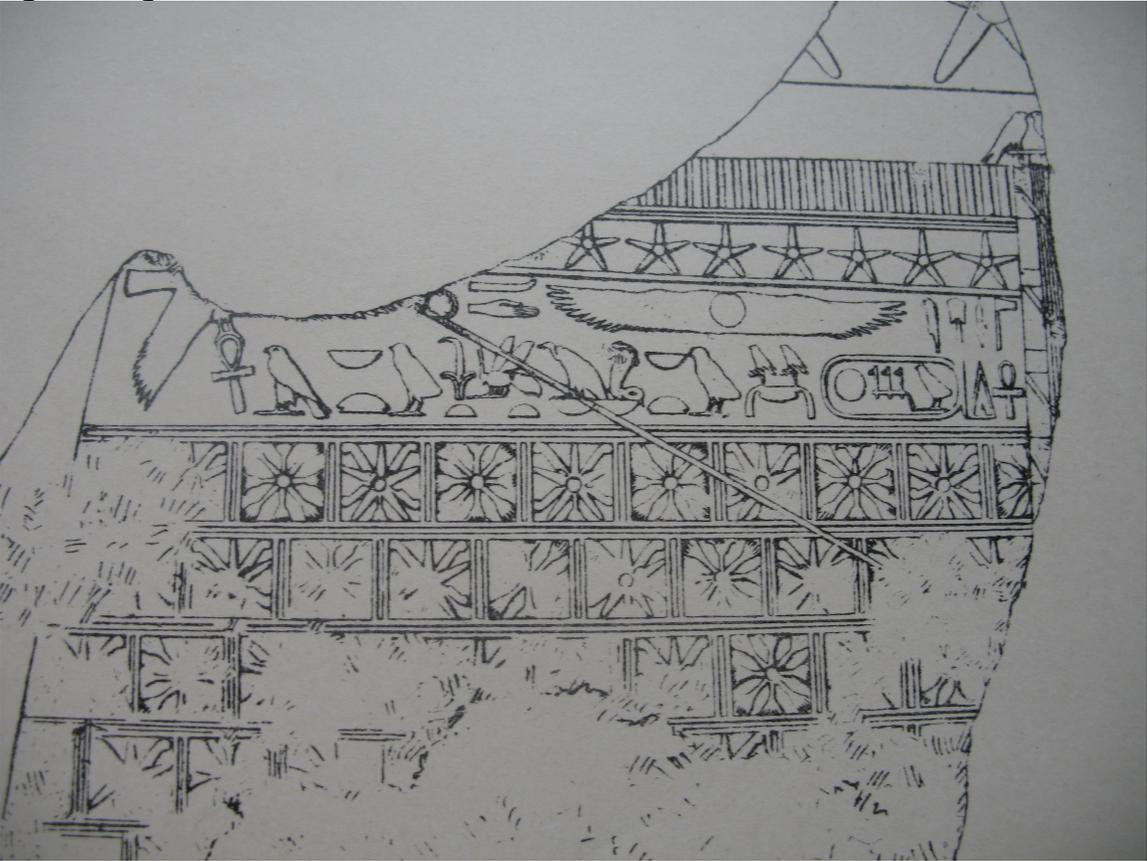


Fig. 6: Single-winged disk above names of Amenhotep III, rock-cut stela of Merymose at Tombos.



Fig. 7: Sun disk with two uraei in name of Ramesses IV without cartouche.



Fig. 8: Sun disk with two uraei as "Re" and the Behdetite. Tomb of Kheruef.

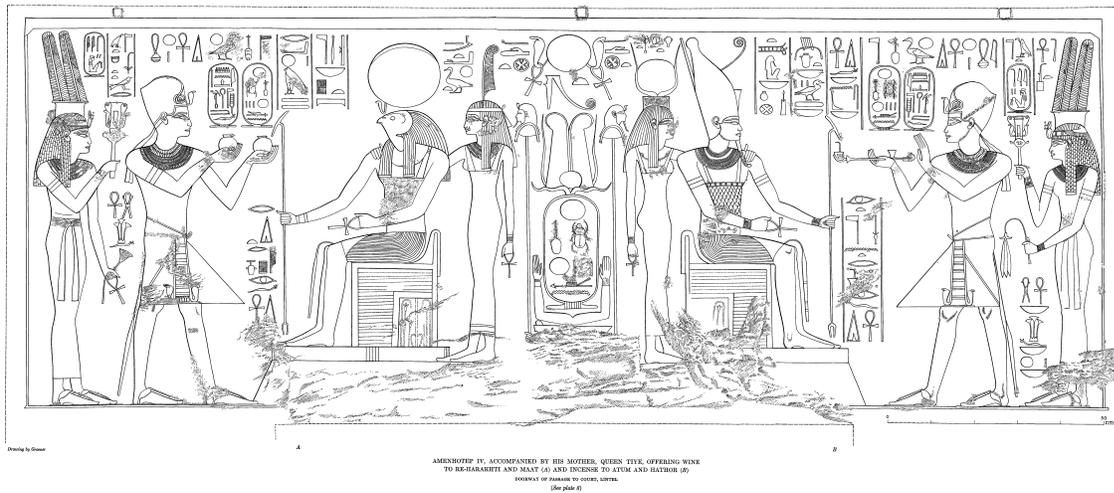


Fig. 9: Horus the Behdetite and Thoth with Nekhbet and Wadjet crowning Ramesses II, Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.



Fig. 10: Thoth and Horus, Lord of Mesen "Uniting the Two Lands" for the king.



Fig. 11: Thoth and Horus purify the king





sign behind Hatshepsut.

Fig. 12: Amun making *ka*-

APPENDIX II

CATALOGUE OF SCENES PAIRING HORUS WITH OTHER GODS

A: Purification

A-1 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, granite sanctuary, room XII, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts¹: R. A. Schwaller De Lubicz, *The Temples of Karnak*,

trans. André Vanden Broeck (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999), pl. 149; Richard Hamann,

Ägyptische Kunst: Wesen und Geschichte (Berlin: Th. Knaur, 1944), p. 213, fig. 224; Chic. Or.

Inst. Photo 3333; Paul Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak: Essai d'exégèse*, RAPH 21

(Cairo: IFAO, 1962), p. 149; *PM II*², p. 103 (302, II.1); Brigitte Altenmüller-Kesting,

“Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult,” (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 1968), pp. 95-96.

King: Hatshepsut; faces left; wearing the *Nemes* headdress (?). The image of Hatshepsut and

much of the texts have been hacked out, although the shapes of some signs are still visible. At

left/west Horus; at right/east Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḡd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t w'b(=i)*

ny-sw.t-bi.ty M3'.t-k3-R' s3.t mry.t (n) Imn-R' di.n(=i) n=t whm ḥḥ(?) [. . . .] ntr.w is.w lp.t-

s.wt 'nh ḡd.t w3s nb [. .] ḡd.t “Statement by the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky: ‘Let

me purify the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare, the beloved daughter of Amun-Re. It

is to you that I have given millions [of *Sed* festivals (?)] the gods,² and the ancient ones (?)

of Karnak (with ?) all life, stability and dominion [. . .]³ forever.” Text of Thoth: *ḡd-md(.w) in*

¹ This refers only to publications of texts, photos and translations of texts consulted and not to every publication, photo and translation of each scene available.

² Or, perhaps, the three *ntr*-signs are determinatives of *psḡ.t* “the Ennead.”

³ One would expect “like Re” here but all the signs have clearly been hacked; one would not expect the sun disk to be attacked by the agents of Thutmose III or by those of Akhenaten.

Dḥwty ḥnty Hsr.t wʿb(=i) M3˙.t-[k3]-R˙ m [ntri]⁴ šḥm.ty [. . .] ḥr [. . .] ḥb-sd [.] ḥḥ n(w) ḥb.w-sd (?) mi [. .] Imn [. . .] ʿnh ḡd.t w3s nb “Statement by Thoth, Foremost of Heseret: ‘Let me purify Maat[ka]re in [the Holy Palace] of the Double Crown [. . .] *Sed* festival [.] millions of *Sed* festivals (?) like [. .] Amun [. . . .] all life, stability and dominion.’” Between the king and each god can be read *ḡd-md(w) sp fdw wʿb sp sn [. . . .]* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure [O (Maatkare/Hatshepsut?) . .].’” Other components of the scene: Above the king is *ntr nfr nb ir(t) ḥ.t [M3˙.t-k3-R˙ Ḥ3t-špswt Ḥnm-]Imn di ʿnh nb ḡ.t* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual [Maatkare Hatshepsut Khenem]amun, given all life forever.”

A-2 Location: Chapelle Rouge, vestibule, south wall.⁵ Publications/photos/translations of texts: Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d’Hatshepsout*, vol. 1, *Fac-similés et photographies des scènes* (Paris: CULTURESFRANCE and Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 2006), p. 177; Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte and IFAO, 1977-79), vol. 1, pp. 287-289, §§ 466-471, vol. 2, pl. 14. King: Hatshepsut; faces left/east;⁶ wearing the *Nemes* headdress. At left/east is Horus and behind him stands Nekhbet wearing the vulture headdress, holding a year sign in her left hand and an *ankh* in her right hand; at right/west is Thoth and behind him stands Wadjet wearing the vulture headdress, holding a year sign in her right hand and an *ankh* in her left hand. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t*

⁴ Following the *m*-owl is a tall vertical sign that has been hacked away, which, based on A-3 below must be ; see *Wb.* II, p. 364, no. 26. At the top of the next column is a small sign above three thin horizontal signs (maybe water-signs), then *hr*.

⁵ For the orientation of the chapel, see Burgos and Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge*, vol. 2, pp. 59-60.

⁶ *Ibid.*

di=f 'nh “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, as he gives life.” Text of Thoth: *Nb Hmnw nb md.w-ntr di=f 'nh* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, as he gives life.” Between the king and Horus: *gd-md.w sp fdw w'b sp sn M3'.t-k3-R* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Maatkare!’” Between the king and Thoth: *gd-md.w sp fdw w'b sp sn H3t-špswt Hnm-Imn* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Hatshepsut Khenemamun!’” Text of Nekhbet: *Nhb.t hđ.t Nhn nb(.t) p.t di=s 'nh dd(.t) w3s nb* “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Lady of the Sky, as she gives all life, stability and dominion.” Text of Wadjet: *P Dp nb.t p.t nb.t pr-nw hnw.t ntr.w di=s 'nh nb rnp.wt nhh m 3w.t-ib* “She of Pe and Dep, Lady of the Sky, Lady of the *Per-nu*-shrine, Mistress of the Gods, as she gives all life and years of eternity in joy.” Other components of the scene: above Hatshepsut is *M3'.t-k3-R* “Maatkare.”

A-3 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, room 42 (room against north girdle wall), north wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 6160, Nelson # KD 514;⁷ *PM II*² p. 126 (457, I); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 97. King: Thutmose III; faces left/west; wearing the *Nemes* headdress. At left/west is Horus; at right/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *gd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) nb p.t w'b ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-hpr-R' s3 Imn mry=f di.n(=i) n(=k)*⁸ *wħm hh m hb(.w)-sd hr s.t Hr n.t 'nh.w 3w-ib=k hn(°)*⁹ *k3=k sšm=k t3.w b3k n=k h3s.wt hq3y=k idb.w h3(.w)-nb.w ir=k hh m hb(.w)-sd* “Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky: ‘Be pure O King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, Son of Amun, his beloved. The reason I have given to (you) the repetition of millions of *Sed* festivals upon the throne of Horus

⁷ “Nelson #” refers to Harold Hayden Nelson, *Key Plans Showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, OIP 56 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

⁸ The *k* is not carved.

⁹ The arm-sign is not carved.

of the Living is that you may be joyful together with your *ka*, that you may govern the flat lands and that the hill lands may labor for you, that you may rule the lands of the *Haunebu* as you carry out (these?) millions of *Sed* festivals.” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥsr.t(y) w‘b Mn-ḥpr-R‘ it=k ḥ‘.w m ntri šm.ty ḥms=k ḥr tnt3.t ir=k ḥḥ m ḥb(.w)-sd mi wḏ it=k [Imn di=]f n=k ‘nh ḏd(.t) w3s nb snb [nb] 3w.t-ib nb ḥ‘.ti m ny-sw.t-bi.ty ḥr [s.t] Ḥr mi R‘ [ḏ.t]* “Statement by He of Hesperet: ‘Be pure O Menkheperre, that you may seize the crowns in the Holy Palace of the Double Crown, that you may sit upon the throne-seat,¹⁰ that you may carry out millions of *Sed* festivals just as your father [Amun] commands as he [gives] to you all life, stability and dominion, [all] health and all joy, since you have appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the [throne] of Horus like Re [forever].” Between the king and Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) w‘b sp sn ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-ḥpr-R‘ di ‘nh* “Recitation: ‘Be pure! Be pure O King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, given life!” Between the king and Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) w‘b sp sn s3 R‘ ḏḥwty[-ms . .] di ‘nh* “Recitation: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Thut[mose . . ¹¹], given life!” Other components of the scene: Above the king is a sun disk with two uraei (no crowns on the uraei or other accoutrements) with *Bḥd.t(y)* to each side. Below the sun disk is *ntr nfr Mn-ḥpr-R‘ di ‘nh mi R‘ ḏ.t* “The Perfect God, Menkheperre, given life like Re forever.” A uraeus on an *nb*-basket upon a papyrus stalk is to the right of the king’s name with a *shen*-ring on the breast “held” towards the *ntr*-sign. The uraeus is identified as *W3ḏy.t di=s ‘nh w3s* “Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.”

¹⁰ The word takes the double throne of the *Sed* festival as determinative.

¹¹ An epithet usually follows here and there is space for it but I cannot read it if any remains.

A-4 Location: Temple of Thutmose III at Deir El-Bahari; unplaced fragment of relief.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Jadwiga Lipinska, “List of Objects Found at Deir El-Bahari in the Temple of Tuthmosis III,” *ASAE* 60 (1968), p. 206, pl. 1. Images of king and gods lost. At left is the inscription: *Hr di.n(=i) n=k nḥḥ [. . .]* “[Statement by] Horus: ‘It is to you that I have given eternity [. . .].’”¹² At right the name *Dḥwty* is all that is preserved. Above where the king would be is a sun disk with two uraei. The left uraeus bears the Red Crown and the right the White Crown. Below the disk is *di=f ‘nḥ nb* “As he gives all life.”

A-5 Location: Nubia, Temple of Amada, west wall of antechamber.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Henri Gauthier, *Le temple d’Amada*, TIN 13 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1913), pls. 23 (top)-24; *LD* III, pl. 65d; P. Barguet and M. Dewachter, *Le temple d’Amada*, vol. 2, *Description archéologique; planches*, Collection Scientifique 32 (Cairo: CEDAE, 1967), pl. 43; P. Barguet, A. Abdel Hamid Youssef and M. Dewachter, *Le temple d’Amada*, vol. 3, *Textes*, Collection Scientifique 33 (Cairo: CEDAE, 1967), p. 25; Mohamed Aly, Fouad Abdel-Hamid and M. Dewachter, *Le temple d’Amada*, vol. 4, *Dessins-index, table de concordances*, Collection Scientifique 34 (Cairo: CEDAE, 1967), H 1-2; *PM* VII, p. 70 (34). King: Amenhotep II, faces right/north, wears short wig. At right/north is Horus; at left/south is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḡd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t s3=i n ḥ.t(=i) [mr]y=i ‘3-ḥpr.w-R‘ nb t3.wy sw‘b.n(=i) tw m ‘nḥ w3s ḥtp ḥm=k m ḥw.t-‘3(.t) ḥnm(=i) tw psḡ.t ‘3.t šsp tw nb.w k3r.w=sn di=sn n=k ‘nḥ ḡd(.t) w3s nb* “Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky: ‘O my son of my body, my beloved Aakheperure, Lord of the Two Lands, the reason I have purified you with life and dominion is so that Your Majesty may be at peace in the palace, that I might

¹² Or something similar.

join you to the Great Ennead, that the lords of their chapels might receive you, that they might give to you all life, stability and dominion.” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw nb md(.w)-ntr Imn-ḥtp Ḥq3-ntry-lwnw mr(y)=i di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh [w3s] nb ḏd(.t) nb(.t) [s]nb nb 3w.t-ib nb ḥtp.t nb(.t) ḏf(3).w nb t3.w nb(.w) ḥ3s.(w)t nb(.wt) psḏ.t-pḏ.wt dm3(.w) ḥr ṯbw.ty=k ‘nh.ti mi R*“Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs: ‘O Amenhotep, my beloved, it is to you that I have given all life and [dominion], all stability, all [he]alth, all joy, all offerings, all provisions, all flat lands and all hilly lands, the Nine Bows being united under your sandals as you live like Re.” Between the king and Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w‘b sp sn nb t3.wy ‘3-ḥpr.w-R ‘bw=k ‘bw=i*“Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Lord of the Two Lands Aakheperure! Your purification is my purification.” Between the king and Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w‘b sp sn s3 R Imn-ḥtp Ḥq3-ntry-lwnw ‘bw=k ‘bw=i*“Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Son of Re Amenhotep Heqanetryiunu. Your purification is my purification.” Other components of the scene: A sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king; no crowns are on the uraei but *ankhs* are on their necks with djed-pillars below them. Below the sun disk is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy ‘3-ḥpr.w-R*“King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Aakheperure.”

A-6 Location: Luxor Temple, room 14, west wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 9154; Nelson # LE 229; *PM II*², p. 328 (157, III.4); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 104. King: Amenhotep III, faces left/south, wears a short wig with a fillet and two ribbons at the back. At left/south is Horus; at right/north is Thoth. Text above Horus

(mostly destroyed): [. . . (?)]¹³ *di=f 'nh dd(.t) w3s nb¹⁴ 3w[.t-ib] nb [. . .]=f¹⁵ “[. . .] as he gives all life, stability and dominion, and all joy [. . .].”* Column of text behind Horus: [*dd-md.w in . . . (?) nb p.t*] “[Statement by . . . (?)] Lord of the Sky: (text between Horus and king) *w‘b ny-sw.t Nb-M3‘.t-R‘ di ‘nh dd-md.w sp [fdw] ‘bw=k ‘bw=i w‘b sp [sn]* ‘Purification of the King Nebmaatre, given life.’ Recite [four] times: ‘Your purification is my purification. Be pure! Be pure!’” The text of Thoth is almost totally destroyed; all that remains is *nb snb nb* in the last two columns. Text between Thoth and king: *w‘b ny-sw.t Imn-ḥtp Hq3-W3s.t di ‘nh dd-md(.w) sp fdw ‘bw=k ‘bw=i w‘b sp sn* “Purification of the King Amenhotep Heqawaset, given life. Recite four times: ‘Your purification is my purification. Be pure! Be pure!’” Other components of the scene: Above the king hovers a badly eroded sun disk with two uraei. Below the sun disk and directly above the king’s head is *ntr nfr Nb-M3‘.t-R‘ di ‘nh [mi] R‘ d.t* “The Perfect God Nebmaatre, given life [like] Re forever.” Unusually, from the stream of *ankhs* representing the waters of purification pouring down on each side of the king is another stream of *ankhs* going from the left stream to the open palm of the king’s left hand and then to the *shen*-ring on the ground (where the right stream of *ankhs* ends as well).

A-7 Location: Luxor Temple, room 17, east wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts:

Hellmut Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor*, AVDAIK 18 (Mainz am Rhein:

¹³ Due to the depth of hacking and context, the name of the god was here.

¹⁴ There appears to be a round sign to the bottom left of the *nb*-basket but another word here is not expected in the context of this inscription. The Amarna Period attack on the image of the god extended into the inscription above; there may thus have been some major alterations of the text in the post-Amarna re-carving.

¹⁵ There is a round sign directly below the *nb*-basket and something above the viper (bottom shaped like a basket). One or more of these signs, possibly including the viper, may have been part of an earlier and different form of inscription (?).

Philipp von Zabern, 1977), pl. 72, cf. pl. 16 and fig. 1 on p. 9; *PM II*², p. 329 (170, III.3). King: Amenhotep III, faces right/north, wears short wig. At left/south is Horus, at right/north Thoth. Text of Horus: [*ḏd-md.w in Bḥd.t(y) nb*] *Msn* ‘b(=i) *ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Nb-M3’.t-R’ ir=f ḥḥ m rnp.wt ḥ’.ti*¹⁶ *ḥr s.t R’ [. . .]*¹⁷ “[Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of] Mesen: ‘Let me purify the King Nebmaatre that he may spend millions of years (he) having appeared upon the throne of Re [. . .].’” Text of Thoth: [*ḏd-md.w in Dḥwty*] *nb Ḥmnw* ‘b(=i) *s3 R’ n ḥ.t=f mry=f Imn-ḥtp Ḥq3-W3s.t di.n(=i) n=k* ‘*nḥ w3s nb snb nb ir.t(i) ḥḥ m rnp.wt* “[Statement by Thoth], Lord of Hermopolis: Let me purify the Son of Re of his body, his beloved Amenhotep Heqawaset. It is to you that I have given all life and dominion and all health as you spend (i. e. “live for”) millions of years.”” Text between Horus and the king: ‘*bw=k* ‘*bw=i ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw ny-sw.t Imn-ḥtp Ḥq3-W3s.t w’b sp sn* “‘Your purification is my purification.’ Recite four times. ‘O King Amenhotep Heqawaset, be pure! Be pure!’” Text between Thoth and the king: ‘*bw=k* ‘*bw=i ḏd-md(.w) sp [fdw] ny-sw[.t] Nb-M3’.t-R’ w’b sp [sn]* “‘Your purification is my purification.’ Recite [four] times. ‘O King Nebmaatre, be pure! Be pure!’” Other components of the scene: A sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king. The uraei have no crowns but have *ankhs* on their necks. Below the sun disk is *di=f* ‘*nḥ w3s* “As he gives life and dominion.” Directly above the king’s head is *nṯr nfr Nb-M3’.t-R’ di* ‘*nḥ* “The Perfect God Nebmaatre, given life.”

A-8 Location: Karnak, temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall, internal west wall, north half. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Harold Hayden Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, vol. 1.1, *The Wall Reliefs*, ed. William J. Murnane, OIP 106 (Chicago: Oriental Institute,

¹⁶ One expects 3rd person masculine here but the text shows 2nd person common.

¹⁷ There was another column, as in Thoth’s inscription, that is lost.

1981), pl. 148; *LD* III, pl. 124d; Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 97-98; *PM* II², p. 44 (152, II.7); *PM* II², p. 44 (152, II.7). King: Sety I, faces right/north, wears a short wig with a fillet and the body of a uraeus cobra wrapped around it. At right/north is Horus, at left/south is Seth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-[md.w] in Ḥr sw‘b.n(=i) tw m ‘nh w3s ‘h‘w=k ‘h‘w R‘ ir=k ḥb.w-sd ‘š3.w wr.w ḥ‘[.ti . . (?)]* “Statement by Horus: ‘The reason I have caused you to be purified with life and dominion and your lifetime (being) the lifetime of Re is so that you may carry out many great *Sed* festivals as [you] appear [. . (?)].” Text of Seth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Nb.w.t(y) nb Šm‘w s3=i mry=i nb t3.wy Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ sw‘b.n(=i) tw m ‘nh w3s rnpy=k mi it=k R‘ ir=k ḥb(.w)-sd mi Itmw ḥ‘.ti m ḥq3 3w.t-ib* “Statement by the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt: ‘O my son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaatre, the reason I have caused you to be purified with life and dominion is so that you may rejuvenate like your father Re, that you may make *Sed* festival(s) like Atum, you having appeared as ruler of joy.’” Between Horus and the king: *‘bw=k ‘bw=i ‘bw=i ‘bw=k nb t3.wy Mn-M3‘.t-R‘* “Your purification is my purification; my purification is your purification O Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre.” Text between Seth and the king: *‘bw[=k] ‘bw=i ‘bw=i ‘bw=k nb [ḥ‘].w Sth̄y Mry-n-Imn* “[Your] purification is my purification; my purification is your purification O Sety Merenamun.” Other components of the scene: A winged sun disk hovers above the king with *Bḥd.t(y)* above the end of each wing. There are two uraei without crowns but with *shen*-rings on their necks; they extend down with an *ankh* flanked by *w3s*-signs between the uraei. Below the uraei is *ntr nfr Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ di [‘nh]* “The Perfect God Menmaatre, given [life].”

A-9 Location: Qurnah mortuary temple of Sety I, room 5, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 6316; Nelson # Sety I 169; *PM* II²,

p. 412 (50); Louis-A. Christophe, “La salle V du temple de Sethi I^{er} à Gournah,” *BIFAO* 49 (1950), pp. 172-176; *PM II*², p. 412 (50). King: Sety I (re-carved in Ptolemaic Period), faces right/east, wears Blue/Khepresh Crown. At left/west Amun-Re stood behind the king and under the purification waters (image now destroyed); Horus stands behind Amun. At right/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Hr nḏ it=f n ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Mn-M3˙t-R˙ ‘bw=k ‘bw Imn-R˙ ts-phr sw˙b t(w) psḏ.t [˙3].t imy.t W3s.t m qbḥ.w pr.w m nwn ḥw=f tw m ‘nhḏ ḏd(.t) w3s mi R˙ ḏ.t* “Statement by Horus-Who-Protects-His-Father to the King and Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre: ‘Your purification is the purification of Amun-Re, and vice versa. May the [Grea]t Ennead, which is in Thebes cause you to be pure with cool waters, which came forth from the *Nun*. May he (Amun-Re) protect you with life, stability and dominion like Re forever.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb md.w-nṯr n Sthḏ Mry-n-Pth˙ ‘bw=k ‘bw Hr ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Sth˙ ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dḥwty ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dwn-˙nwy ts-phr w˙b sp sn ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Mn-M3˙t-R˙ m n=k mw imyw ir.t Hr* “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hieroglyphs to¹⁸ Sety Merenptah: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa. Be pure! Be pure O King and Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre! Take to yourself the water, which is in the Eye of Horus.’” Between Thoth and the king (text between Horus and the king destroyed): *ir.t ‘bw w˙b sp sn sp fdw* “Performing purification: ‘Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four times.” Other components of the scene: text of Amun-Re (mostly destroyed): *ḏd-md(.w) in Imn-R˙ ny-sw.t nṯr.w [. . .]*

¹⁸ It is odd that no title precedes the king’s name but there is none carved and no room for one in the area of damage.

“Statement by Amun-Re, King of the Gods [. . . .].”¹⁹ Above the king: ‘nh ntr nfr Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ s3 R‘ Sthꜣ Mry-n-Pthꜣ “Live the Perfect God Menmaatre, Son of Re Sety Merenptah.”

A-10 Location: Originally Heliopolis (?); now destroyed by fire; formerly in the Brussels Museum. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Jean Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, vol. 1 (Brussels: A. Vromant, 1902), pl. 39; Alan Gardiner, “The Baptism of Pharaoh,” *JEA* 36 (1950), pl. 1 (bottom), p. 5, no. 27. King: Sety I, faces right, wears short wig. At right Horus; at left Seth. Text of Horus: Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 di=f ‘nh dd.(t) [w3s] nb mi R‘ d.t “The Behdetite, the Great God, as he gives all life, stability and [dominion] like Re forever.” Text of Seth: Nbw.t(y) nb t3 Šm‘w di=f qn.t nh.t mi R‘ “The Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt, as he gives valor and victory.” Between Horus and the king: ‘b=k Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ hn‘ k3=f “May you purify Menmaatre together with his ka.” Between Seth and the king: ‘b=k Sthꜣ Mry-n-R‘ mi R‘ d.t “May you purify Sety Merenre like Re forever.” Other components of the scene: there is a winged sun disk centered above the king with uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements). At the end of the right wing: Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 “The Behdetite, the Great God.” At the end of the left wing: Bhd.t(y) s3b šw.t “The Behdetite, He of Multicolored Plumage.” Above the king: ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ lw‘w-R‘ di ‘nh mi R‘ “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre Iuaure (Heir-of-Re).”

¹⁹ Only the next column is extant but little can be read from the photograph, neither does Christophe (p. 176) provide any reading. There is a sign that looks like  but has the wrong orientation, followed by an n, then what looks like .

A-11 Location: Temple of King Sety I at Abydos, second hypostyle hall, west wall, entrance to the chapel of the king, top two scenes of jambs each side of entrance (below lintel).

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Amice M. Calverley and Mrytle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 4, *The Second Hypostyle Hall*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1958), pl. 32; *PM VI*, p. 10 (97).

King: Sety I, faces right/north in scene to right/north, faces left/south in scene to left/south, wears the Blue Crown in each scene. In right/north scene Horus purifies king; in left/south scene Thoth purifies king. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr* “Statement by Horus” (no additional text).

Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw ‘bw[=k] ‘bw Ḥr ts-phr ‘bw[=k] ‘bw Gb ts-phr*

“Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: ‘[Your] purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; [your] purification is the purification of Geb and vice versa.’” Other components of

the scenes: In right/north scene a sun disk with two uraei hovers over the king; at left is

[Bḥ]d.t(y); the space to the right of the disk is broken away. The left/south uraeus wears the

White Crown; the crown of the right/north uraeus is lost. Above the space between the king and

Horus is *[nb] t3.wy Mn-M3˙.t-R˙ [nb ḥ˙.w (?)] Sty Mry-n-Pth* “[The Lord of] the Two Lands

Menmaatre, [Lord of Crowns(?)] Sety Merenptah.” In the scene at left/south a sun disk with two

uraei hovers over the king. It is identified as *Bḥd.t(y)* to its right. The left/south uraeus wears the

White Crown and the right/north uraeus wears the Red Crown. Above the space between the

king and Thoth is *nb t3.wy Sty Mry-n-Pth nb ḥ˙.w Mn-M3˙.t-R˙ di ‘nh mi R˙ ḏ.t* “The Lord of the

Two Lands Sety Merenptah, the Lord of Crowns Menmaatre, given life like Re forever.” Notes:

in the other scenes of the jambs and lintel Horus is identified as “Horus-Who-Protects-His-

Father” and in one scene “Son of Isis” is added. There is a sun disk with two uraei on the

cornice with the White Crown on the left/south uraeus and the Red Crown on the right/north uraeus. On the lintel Nekhbet sits to the king's/Osiris' left/south and Wadjet to the right/north.

A-12 Location: Abydos, Temple of Sety I, 1st/outer hypostyle hall, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Jean Capart, *Le temple de Sêti I^{er}: étude générale* (Brussels: Rossignol & Van den Bril, 1912), pl. 5 (does not show right/east portion of scene); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 106 (no translation of texts); *PM VI*, p. 5 (56); Gardiner, “Baptism of Pharaoh,” p. 5, no. 28. King: Ramesses II, faces left/west, wears a short wig. At right/east, according to *PM VI*, p. 5 (56),²⁰ is Horus-Son-of-Isis; at left/west is Thoth. Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḑḥwty ḥry-ib 3bdw nb md.w-nṯr iry ‘bw nb sw‘b=i ḥm=k (?)²¹ m qbḥw pr m nwn* “Statement by Thoth who resides in Abydos, Lord of Hieroglyphs, He who performs²² every purification: ‘Let me cause Your Majesty (?) to be pure with cool water, which came forth from the *Nun*.’” Between Thoth and the king: *ir.t ‘bw n ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Stp-n-R‘ in Ḑḥwty ḥry-ib 3bdw ‘bw=k ‘bw Hr [ṯs]-pḥr ‘bw=k ‘bw Gb ṯs-pḥr ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw* “Performing purification for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre by Thoth who resides in Abydos: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and [vice] versa; your purification is the purification of Geb and vice versa.’ Recite four times.” Other components of the scene: centered above the king is a sun disk with two uraei with the White Crown on the left/west uraeus and the Red Crown on the right/east uraeus. To the left of the sun disk is a vulture; to the right is either another vulture or a falcon. The vulture holds a *shen*-ring

²⁰ I could not find a publication with the image and text of Horus.

²¹ The signs are not clear in Capart's plate; what is there does not look very much like *ḥm* but I cannot think of another word that would fit the context and space; the *k* could be a *nb*-basket.

²² The word *iry* has a seated-god determinative.

with an *ankh* flanked by *w3s*-signs. Above the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-R*²³ *s3 R' R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn*²⁴ “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun.”

A-13 Location: Loose block in the museum of the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. Original location and orientation unknown. Block with reliefs showing scenes from the coronation of Ramesses II. The purification scene is on one end of the block.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Alan W. Shorter, “Reliefs Showing the Coronation of Ramesses II,” *JEA* 20 (1934), p. 19, pl. 3.1. King: Ramesses II, figure lost. At left the figure of the god is lost. At right is Horus the Behdetite. Text of Horus: The text is barely visible on the plate; Shorter translates it as “Horus of Behdet, rich in magic, dwelling in the sanctuary of Upper Egypt” (p. 19). Notes: On another side of the block (pl. 3.2) a god that Shorter calls “Horus in the temples” (p. 18) helps guide the king before Atum with the aid of a lost god.

A-14 Location: temple of Amun and Re-Horakhty at Wadi El-Sebua, pronaos/vestibule, north wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Henri Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, TIN 4 (texts) and 5 (plates) (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1912), p. 149, pl. 51A; *PM* VII, p. 60 (74)-(75). King: Ramesses II (figure mostly lost), faces left/west, crown lost. At left/west is Horus; at right/east Thoth. Text of Horus: [*dd-md.w in . .*] *Bhd.t(y) nb p.t* [*bw=k*

²³ There may have been another epithet within the cartouche but it is not visible in the plate photo.

²⁴ Again, there may be another epithet within the cartouche not visible in the photo.

‘*bw Hr (?)*] *ts-phr*²⁵ [*bw=k* ‘*bw Dḥwt*]y *ts-phr* [*bw=k* ‘*bw Dwn-‘nw*]y *ts-phr*²⁶ “[Statement by Horus (?)²⁷] the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky: ‘[Your purification is the purification of Horus (?) and vice versa; [your purification is the purification of Thoth]h and vice versa; [your purification is the purification of Dunanw]y and vice versa.’” Text of Thoth: [*ḏd-md.w in*] *nb*²⁸ [*Hmnw*] ‘*bw=k* [*bw Hr (?)*] *ts-phr* ‘*bw=k* [*bw*] *Dḥwt*y *ts-phr* ‘*bw=k* [*bw*]²⁹ *Dwn-‘nw*y³⁰ *ts-phr* “[Statement by] the Lord of [Hermopolis]: ‘Your purification [is the purification of Horus (?) and vice versa; your purification [is the purification of] Thoth and vice versa; your purification is [the purification of] Dunanwy and vice versa.’” Column of text behind Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in R^c-Hr-3ḥ.ty iw*³¹ *s3(=i) mry(=i) nb [t3.wy/ḥ^c.w (?) . . .]* “Statement by Re-Horakhty: ‘O my son, my beloved Lord [of the Two Lands/Crowns . . .].” I do not know if Re-Horakhty was depicted in the damaged area to the left or whether he is being identified with the Behdetite here.

A-15 Location: Karnak, east temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, east wall of outer peristyle court, left/north of entryway. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 6341; *PM* II², p. 211 (30, I); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 99, pl. 4, fig. 1. King: Ramesses II, faces right/south, wears a short wig with fillet and ribbons at the back. At right/south is

²⁵ Gauthier, p. 149 shows this *ts-phr* immediately following *p.t* but in pl. 51 it is clear that there is a gap of damage after *p.t* with *ts-phr* in the next column.

²⁶ There are only 3 *ts-phrs* extant not 4 as Gauthier shows (p. 149).

²⁷ There might be room for “Horus” here.

²⁸ Gauthier (p. 149) begins the text with ‘*bw* but the first surviving column appears to begin with a *nb*-basket (or a *k*, but the context favors a *nb*-basket); there may be room in the broken area before this for *ḏd-md.w in*, which is what would be expected here.

²⁹ There is a gap after ‘*bw=k* with room for ‘*bw* contrary to Gauthier’s reconstruction of the text.

³⁰ The sign is  and not  as in Gauthier p. 149.

³¹ There appears to be a circular sign following *iw*.

Horus; at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus (mostly lost): *ḏd-md(.w) in [. . .] wʿb [sp sn (?) . . .] wnn [. . .]* “Statement by [. . .] ‘Be pure! [Be pure O . . .] . . [. . .].” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḏḥwty nb Ḥmnw wʿb sp sn nb ḥʿ.w Rʿ-ms-sw Mry-Imn swʿb(=i) tw m ʿnh w3s rnp[ʿy=k . . .]* “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Lord of Crowns Ramesses Meryamun! Let me cause you to be pure with life and dominion that [you] may rejuvenate [. . .].” Between Horus and the king: *swʿb ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ Stp-n-Rʿ wʿb sp fdw* “Causing the purification of the King and Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Setepenre: ‘Be pure! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure!’” Text between Thoth and the king: *s[wʿb] ny-sw.t nb ḥʿ.w Rʿ-ms-sw Mry-[Imn] wʿb sp fdw* “Causing [the purification] of the King and Lord of Crowns Ramesses Mery[amun]: Be pure! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure!” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king holding a *shen*-ring and is identified as *[Nḥb.t] ḥḏ.t Nḥn di=s ʿnh w3s mi Rʿ* “[Nekhbet], the White One of Nekhen, as she gives life and dominion like Re.” Above the king’s head was probably one or two of his names now lost with the still extant inscription *[. . .] di ʿnh ḏd(.t) w3s* “[. . .] given life, stability and dominion.”

A-16 Location: Karnak, temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall, interior east wall, south half. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 105; Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 107-108; *PM II*², p. 49 (160, IV.1). King: Ramesses II, faces left/north, wears short wig. At left/north is Horus; at right/south is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr s3 3s.t swʿb.n(=i) tw m ʿnh w3s rnp[ʿy ḥʿ.w=k n ḏ.t i(w) ḥrd=k mi ḥm n lʿḥ wsr nḥ.t ḥpš=k rwd=k n rn=k mi Šw Tfnwt rnp[ʿy=k mi Ḥpri rwd Rʿ m wbn ḥtp iw ḥm=k m nb [ʿnh] mt m nb t3.wy mrr Rʿ* “Statement by Horus-Son-of-Isis: ‘The reason I have caused you to be pure with life and dominion is so that your flesh might rejuvenate for eternity. You are a child like the

majesty of Ioh (the Moon). Powerful of strength is your mighty arm, while you are enduring of your name like Shu and Tefnut. May you rejuvenate like Khepri as Re is persistent in rising and setting. Your Majesty is lord of [life] and death O Lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves.”

Text of Thoth: *dd-md(w) in Dḥwty [. . ‘bw=k] ‘bw Ḥr ts-pḥr ‘bw=k ‘bw Sth ts-pḥr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dḥwty ts-pḥr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dwn-‘nwy ts-pḥr w‘b sp sn ny-sw.t nb t3.wy nb ḥpš Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ wnn=k ḥnty k3.w ‘nh.w nb.w (?)³² ḥ‘.ti ḥr s.t Ḥr mi R‘ d.t* “Statement by Thoth [. . ‘Your purification] is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification Thoth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa. Be pure! Be pure O King, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Mighty Arm Usermaatre. You shall be foremost of the *kas* of all (?) the living as you have appeared in glory upon the throne of Horus like Re forever.”³³ Between Horus and the king: *‘bw=k ‘bw Ḥr ts-pḥr nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ di ‘nh* “Your purification is the purification of Horus³⁴ and vice versa O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre, given life.” Between Thoth and the king: *‘bw=k ‘bw Dḥwty ts-pḥr nb ḥ‘.w R‘-ms-sw Mry-Imn di ‘nh* “Your purification is the purification of Thoth³⁵ and vice versa O Lord of Crowns Ramesses Meryamun, given life.” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king holding a *shen*-ring with both talons; it is not named but is provided with the inscription *di=s ‘nh* “As she gives life.” Above the king is *nṯr nfr nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ di ‘nh mi R‘* “The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre, given life like Re.”

³² The word is actually written with a *k*, which is probably a mistake for an *nb*-basket.

³³ Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pl. 33, p. 17; I take *wnn* to be a 2nd tense prospective.

³⁴ One might also understand the seated Horus as a 1st person singular suffix pronoun and read “Your purification is *my* purification.”

³⁵ Here again the seated figure of Thoth may be a 1st person singular suffix pronoun.

A-17 Location: Temple of Derr, second pillared hall, west wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Aylward M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, TIN 17 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1913), pl. 43, pp. 55-56; Altenmüller-Kesting, "Reinigungsriten," p. 106; *PM* VII, p. 87 (15). King: Ramesses II, faces left/south, wears a short wig with a ribbon at back (probably had a fillet). At right/north is Horus wearing the Double Crown; at left/south is Thoth (head lost). Text of Horus (mostly destroyed): *ḏ(d)-[md.w i]n Hr s3 s3.t [. . .]* 'State[ment b]y Horus Son of Isis [. . .].' Text of Thoth destroyed. Between Horus and the king: '*b sp sn Hr 'b sp sn ḏd-md.w sp fdw* "Be pure!³⁶ Be pure O Horus! Be pure! Be pure!' Recite four times." Between Thoth and the king: '*b sp sn Ḍḥwty 'b sp sn ḏd-md.w sp fdw* "Be pure! Be pure O Thoth! Be pure! Be pure!' Recite four times." Other components of the scene: a sun disk with two uraei hovers almost on top of the king's head (no uraei crowns or other accoutrements) and a vulture is above this with *shen*-ring and *ḥw*-fan in its talons; no texts survive.

A-18 Location: Memphis, Temple of Hathor, pylon, inner/south face.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Abdulla el-Sayed Mahmud, *A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis*, Egyptology Today 1 (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1978), p. 8, pls. 11, V-VIII. King: Ramesses II, faces left/east, wears short wig. At right/west is Horus; at left/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(w) in Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ('3)³⁷ s3b šw.t 'bw=k 'bw [. . (?) ṯs-phr] 'bw=k ['bw . . (?)] ṯs-phr 'bw=k ['bw . . (?) ṯs-phr . .]* "Statement by the Behdetite, the (Great) God of

³⁶ Or, perhaps, "Purify! Purify O Horus! . . . " (?).

³⁷ Sign not carved; the *nṯr*-sign is followed immediately by the word *s3b*.

Multicolored Plumage: ‘Your purification is the purification [of . . (?) and vice versa]; your purification [is the purification of . . (?) and vice versa; your purification [is the purification of . . (?) and vice versa . . .].’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in nb Ḥmnw ḥnty Ḥsr.t ‘bw=k ‘bw R‘ nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Stp-n-R‘ nb ḥ[.w] R‘-ms-[sw Mry-Imn]* “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis, Foremost of Heseret: ‘Your purification is the purification of Re O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Setepenre, Lord of Crown[s] Rames[ses Meryamun].’” Between the king and Thoth: *sw‘b ny-sw.t [Wsr-M3‘.t]-R‘ [. . .]* “Causing the purification of the King [Usermaat]re [. . . .].” No text survives between the king and Horus. Other components of the scene: above the king is a sun disk with two uraei. The uraei have *ankhs* around their necks; no crowns, if present, survive. Below the sun disk is *Bḥd.t(y)* “The Behdetite” and to the right of the disk is *di=f [‘nh] w3s nb* “As he gives all [life] and dominion.” Above and to the king’s left is *nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Stp-n-R‘ nb ḥ[.w] R‘-ms-sw Mry-[Imn di ‘nh ḏd].t [w3s] mi [R‘ ḏ.t (?)]* “The Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Setepenre, Lord of Crown[s] Ramesses Mery[amun, given life, stability] [and dominion] like [Re forever].” Notes: in the scene to the right/west the king exits the palace wearing the Red Crown.

A-19 Location: Karnak, temple of Amun, Eighth Pylon, west tower, north face.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 5284; Nelson # KG 110; *PM II*², p. 174 (519, II.1). King: Ramesses III, faces right/west, wears a short wig with a fillet and the body of a uraeus wraps around the fillet. At right/west is Horus; at left/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) ‘bw=k ‘bw{=k} Ḥr ‘bw Ḥr ‘bw=k ‘b nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Mry-Imn s3 R‘ n ḥ.t=f mry=f nb ḥ‘.w R‘-ms-ss Ḥq3-Iwnw di ‘nh mi R‘ ḏ.t* “Statement by the Behdetite

‘Your purification is the purification of Horus³⁸; the purification of Horus³⁹ is your purification. Be pure O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Son of Re of his body, his beloved Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu, given life like Re forever!’” Text of Thoth (badly damaged): *ḏd[-md.w]⁴⁰ i[n⁴¹ nb] Ḥmnw⁴² [‘bw=k ‘bw] Dwn-‘nwy [ṯs-phr (?)] ‘b/w‘b (?)⁴³ nb⁴⁴ t3.wy Wsr-M3‘t-R‘ Mry-Imn [di(?)⁴⁵].n(=i) n=k nsy.t(?)⁴⁶ nb ḥ‘w R‘-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw ḥ‘w ḥr s.t Ḥr mi R‘ ḏ.t* “State[ment] b[y the Lord of] Hermopolis: ‘[Your purification is the purification of] Dunanwy [and vice versa]. Be pure⁴⁷ O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun. It is to you that I have [given] the kingship (?) O Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu, who has appeared upon the throne of Horus like Re forever.’” Between Horus and the king: *sw‘b ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘t-R‘ Mry-Imn mi w‘b p.t n R‘* “Causing the King and Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun to be pure as long as⁴⁸ the sky is pure for Re.” Between Thoth and the king: *sw‘b ny-sw.t nb ḥ‘w R‘-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw mi w‘b t3 n Gb* “Causing the King and Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu to be pure as long as the earth is pure for Geb.” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king holding *shen-*

³⁸ Or, perhaps, “my purity” with the falcon standing for the 1st person singular suffix pronoun *i*.

³⁹ Or “my purity.”

⁴⁰ The body of the snake is visible.

⁴¹ The shaft of the reed leaf is visible.

⁴² The ends of most of the horizontal strokes are visible.

⁴³ Only the end of the stream of water remains.

⁴⁴ The shape of the *nb*-basket is visible.

⁴⁵ There is what looks like part of the arm and the shape of the damage *may* suggest 𓂏.

⁴⁶ The word is written with the *sw.t*-plant and a seated king-sign, which is not attested in the *Wörterbuch* for the New Kingdom. There are similar writings attested for the Late Period (see *Wb.* II, p. 333, no. 20, cf. *ibid.*, p. 334 (top). With the preceding *sdm.n=f* followed by *n=k*, the word *ny-sw.t* “king” (the usual meaning of this writing) makes no sense here.

⁴⁷ Or, perhaps, “Let me purify . . .”

⁴⁸ Cf. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 1027 (no. 3).

rings, which is identified as *Nḥb.t nb.t p.t* “Nekhbet, Lady of the Sky.” Above the king’s head is
[Wsr-]M3˙.t-[R˙] Mry-Imn “[User]maat[re] Meryamun.”

A-20 Location: Luxor Temple, outer east wall, south end of temple.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 9486; Nelson # LG 99; *PM II*², p. 335 (222, III.1); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 104-105. King: Ramesses III, faces left/south, image lost from just below the waist up. At left/south is Horus (?---face lost); at right/north is Thoth. Text of Horus (mostly lost): *[.] nb t3.wy [Wsr-M3˙.t-R˙] Mry[-Imn] sw˙b(=i) tw*⁴⁹ *m ˙nh dd(.t) w3s [. .]* “[.] the Lord of the Two Lands [Usermaat]re Mery[amun]. ‘Let me cause you to be pure with life, stability and dominion [. .].’” Text of Thoth: *[.] nb t3.wy Wsr-M3˙.t-R˙ Mry-Imn* (column behind Thoth) *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Wsr-M3˙.t-R˙ Mry-Imn s3 R˙ nb ḥ˙.w R˙-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw mry Dḥwty nb m3˙.t* “[.] the Lord of the Two Lands Usermaat Meryamun. (column behind Thoth) The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Usermaat Meryamun, the Son of Re Ramesses Heqaiunu, beloved of Thoth, Lord of *Maat*.” Between each god and the king: *[˙bw/w˙b . . . R˙]-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw w˙b sp fdw* “[Purification of the King/Lord of the Two Lands/Lord of Crowns (?) Ra]messes Heqaiunu: ‘Be pure! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure!’”

A-21 Location: Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, second court, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: *MH IV*, pl. 234; *PM II*², p. 500 (96)-(98), II.3.⁵⁰ King:

⁴⁹ There are actually two *t*-loafs carved in front of the quail chick.

⁵⁰ Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 109-110 has confused this scene with *MH V*, pl. 296 (A-20 below) and gives the wrong reference to Porter and Moss.

Ramesses III, faces right/east, wears the *Nemes* headdress. At right/east is Horus; at left/west is Seth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t s3=i mry=i nb t3.wy Wsr-M3'.t-R' Mry-Imn sw'b.n(=i) tw m 'nh ḏd(.t) w3s 'bw=k 'bw Dwn-'nwy ṯs-phr 'b(=i) s3 R' nb ḥ'.w R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw w'b sp sn ḏ.t* “Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky: ‘My son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, it is with life, stability and dominion that I have caused you to be pure, (such that) your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa. Let me purify the Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu. Be pure! Be pure forever!’”

Text of Seth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Nbw.ty nb t3 Šm'w s3=i mry=i nb t3.wy Wsr-M3'.t-R' Mry-Imn sw'b.n(=i) tw m 'nh w3s 'bw=k 'bw Dḥwty ṯs-phr 'b=k s3 R' nb ḥ'.w R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw w'b sp sn mi R'* “Statement by the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt: ‘My son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, it is with life and dominion that I have caused you to be pure, (such that) your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa. May you be purified O Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu. Be pure! Be pure like Re!’”

Between Horus and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w'b sp sn ny-sw.t Wsr-M3'.t-R' [Mry-Imn . .]=k (?) ntry R' ṯs-phr ḏ.t sp sn* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O King Usermaatre [Meryamun . .] you the divinity of Re and vice versa forever, forever!’”

Between Seth and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w'b sp sn s3 R' R'-[ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw . . .] ḥn' it=f nt(y)⁵¹ wsr nb t3.wy ḥnty rhy.t* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Son of Re Ra[messes Heqaiunu . . .] together with his father who (?) is mighty, Lord of the Two Lands and at the head of the subjects.’”

Other components of the scene: a vulture with *shen*-rings in its talons hovers above the king. It is identified as *Nḥb.t ḥḏ.t Nḥn nb.t p.t ḥnw.t t3.wy di=s 'nh w3s nb 3w.t-ib nb[t.]* “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands, as she gives all life and dominion and all

⁵¹ Or read *Tfnt* “Tefnut” (?).

joy.” Above the king’s head is *nb t3.wy Wsr-M3˚.t-R˚ Mry-Imn nb h˚.w R˚-ms-sw Hq3-Iwnw ti.t R˚ hnty t3.wy stp.n Imn ds=f r hq3 šn nb itn* “The Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu, Image of Re, Foremost of the Two Lands, whom Amun himself chose to rule all that the sun disk encircles.” To the right of the king’s names is a uraeus cobra on a papyrus plant, wearing the Red Crown and extending a *w3s*-scepter towards the king’s names and titles. Behind each god is *s3 ‘nh nb h3=f* “The protection of all life is behind him.” Notes: in the following scene on the east wall Nekhbet and the *Bas* of Nekhen/Hierakonpolis guide the king at right/south (corresponding to the right hand position of Horus in this scene) and Wadjet and the *Bas* of Buto guide the king at left/north (corresponding to the left hand position of Seth in this scene).

A-22 Location: Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III, second court, west wall, north of doorway. Publications/photos/translations of texts: *MH V*, pl. 296; *PM II*², p. 502 (107, II.3); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 110 (the translation is of this scene and not the scene of *MH IV*, pl. 234). King: Ramesses III, faces left/south, wears a short wig with ribbons to the back (and probably a fillet that is lost in damage). At left/south is Horus; at right/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) s3=i mry=i nb t3.wy Wsr-M3˚.t-R˚ Mry-Imn ‘bw=k ‘bw Hr ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Stḥ ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dḥwty ts-phr ‘bw=k ‘bw Dwn-‘nwy ts-phr sw‘b t(w) psd.dt ‘3.t di=sn hnm hm=k m hw.t-‘3.t n.t it=k Itmw* “Statement by the Behdetite: ‘My son, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa. May the Great Ennead cause you to be pure. May they cause you to

enter the temple of your father Atum.” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty s3=i mry=i nb ḥ'.w R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw sw'b.n=i tw m 'nh ḏd(.t) w3s ḥnm ḥm=k m ḥ'.w ntr 'bw=k 'bw=i ts-pḥr ḥ'.ti m ny-sw.t ḏ.t wnn rn=k mn(.w) mi p.t 'ḥ'w=k mitt imy=s* “Statement by Thoth: ‘The reason I have caused you to be pure with life, stability and dominion is so that Your Majesty might unite with the flesh of the god. Your purification is my purification and vice versa, as you have appeared as king forever. Your name shall endure like the sky and your lifetime (shall endure) the same as he who is in it (i.e. the sky, referring to Re).” Between Horus and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w'b sp sn ny-sw.t-bi.ty Wsr-M3'.t-R' Mry-lmn sw'b=i tw m 'nh ḏd(.t) w3s* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaatre Meryamun! Let me cause you to be pure with life, stability and dominion.” Between Thoth and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) sp fdw w'b sp sn s3 R' R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw sw'b=i tw m 'nh ḏd(.t) w3s* “Recite four times: ‘Be pure! Be pure O Son of Re Ramesses Heqaiunu! Let me cause you to be pure with life, stability and dominion.” Other components of the scene: a vulture with *shen*-rings in its talons hovers above the king (it is not identified). Above the king’s head is *Wsr-[M3'.t]-R' Mry-lmn* “User[maat]re Meryamun.”

A-23 Location: Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III, first hypostyle hall, east wall, north of doorway. Publications/photos/translations of texts: *MH* V, pl. 309A; *PM* II², p. 505 (111, II.1); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 110-111. King: Ramesses III, faces right/south, wears a short wig. At right/south is Horus; at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ir.t 'bw [W]sr-M3'.t-R' Mry-lmn ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr 'bw=k 'bw Ḥr ts-pḥr 'bw=k 'bw Stš⁵² ts-pḥr 'bw=k 'bw*

⁵² Written phonetically without determinative.

Dḥwty ts-pḥr [wʿb]⁵³ nb ḥʿ.w Rʿ-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw Dḥwty iʿb s(w) (m)⁵⁴ tm ir(y){t}=f “Performing the purification of [U]sermaatre Meryamun. Statement by Horus: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa. [Be pure] O Lord of Crowns, Ramesses Heqaiunu. It is Thoth who unites him (with) everything, which belongs to him.’”

Text of Thoth: *ir.t ʿbw Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ Mry-lmn ḡd-md(w) in Dḥwty ʿbw=k ʿbw Ḥr ts-pḥr ʿb[w=k] ʿbw Sts⁵⁵ ts-pḥr ʿbw=k ʿb[w] Dḥwty ts-pḥr wʿb nb ḥʿ[.w] Rʿ-[m]s-sw Ḥq3-lwnw Dḥwty⁵⁶ iʿb [s(w)]⁵⁷ m tm m i[ry]=f* “Performing the purification of Usermaatre Meryamun. Statement by Thoth: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; [your] purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa.

Be pure O Lord of Crown[s] Ra[m]esses Heqaiunu. It is Thoth who unites [him] with everything, which belongs to him.’” Text between Horus and the king: *wʿb sp sn nṯr nfr nb t3.wy Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ Mry-lmn wʿb sp fdw m ʿnh ḡd(t) w3s ḡ.t* “Be pure! Be pure O Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Meryamun! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure with life, stability and dominion forever!” Text between Thoth and the king: *wʿb nb ḥʿ.w Rʿ-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw wʿb sp fdw m snb ḡ.t* “Be pure O Lord of Crowns, Ramesses Heqaiunu! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure! Be pure with (good) health forever!” Other components of the scene: a sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king. The left/north uraeus wears the White Crown and the

⁵³ The top line of the water jug is visible; cf. the text of Thoth.

⁵⁴ Left out here but the tail of the owl is visible in the text of Thoth in the same place.

⁵⁵ Again, it is written phonetically without determinative.

⁵⁶ Only the body of the bird is extant plus the following *ty*.

⁵⁷ *Sw* must have been carved with just the *s* as in Horus’ text, since there is room for the *s* in the damaged area but not enough for a quail chick above the owl; there might have been room for the coil of rope but it would have had to be placed in front of or behind the owl.

right/south uraeus wears either the Red Crown (most likely) or the Double Crown.⁵⁸ The uraei each have *ankhs* on their necks with *was*-scepters below each *ankh*. Between the uraei and the *ankhs* and *was*-scepters is the cartouche of the king: *Wsr-M3ˆ.t-Rˆ Mry-Imn* “Usermaatre Meryamun.”

A-24 Location: Medinet Habu, sacred well to the south of the temple of Ramesses III, south wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: O.I. Photo 8309; Nelson # MHE 44; *PM II*², p. 475 (I, J).⁵⁹ King: Ramesses III, faces left/east, wears the *Nemes* headdress. At left/east is Horus; at right/west is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y)*⁶⁰ *s3b šw.t ʿbw=k ʿbw Dḥwty ʿbw Dḥwty ʿbw=k* “Statement by the Behdetite, He of Multicolored Plumage: ‘Your purification is the purification of Thoth; the purification of Thoth is your purification.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw ʿbw=k ʿbw Ḥr ʿbw Ḥr ʿbw=k r ḏ[.t]* “Statement by Thoth: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus; the purification of Horus is your purification for eternity.’” Between Horus and the king: *wʿb sp sn sp fdw nb t3.wy Wsr-M3ˆ.t-Rˆ Mry-Imn m ʿnh w3s* “Be Pure! Be pure, (Say) four times, O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun with life and dominion!” Between Thoth and the king: *[wʿb sp sn sp fdw (?)] nb ḥˆ.w Rˆ-ms-sw*⁶¹ *Ḥq3-lwnw m ʿnh w3s* “[Be Pure! Be pure (say) four times)?] O Lord of Crowns, Ramesses Heqaiunu with life and dominion.” Other components of the scene: above the king is *ny-sw.t-*

⁵⁸ Only the back portion of the Red Crown is extant.

⁵⁹ Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 105 translates a text, which she says comes from the south well. The scene is not mentioned in Porter and Moss and there are no O.I. photos available at this time for the north well, however her translation is nearly identical to the texts from the scene in the south well.

⁶⁰ Porter and Moss incorrectly identify both gods as Thoth.

⁶¹ A \Rightarrow appears to have been carved between “Ramesses” and “Heqaiunu.”

bi.ty nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c Mry-Imn R^c-ms-sw⁶² Hq3-lwnw di [‘nh] d.t “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun Ramesses Heqaiunu, given [life] forever.”

A-25 Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, room 4, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 7372; Nelson # KM 433; *PM II*², p. 238 (65, 1). King: Ramesses IV, faces right/east, wears a short wig with ribbons at the back and probably a fillet now lost to damage. At right/east is Horus; at left/west is Thoth. Text of Horus (beginning at the top and continuing between Horus and the king): *dd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t w‘b sp sn ny-sw.t nb [h^c.w (?) Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c] stp-[n=Imn] di ‘nh* “Statement by the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky: ‘Be pure! Be pure O King and Lord [of Crowns (?) Usermaatre] Setepen[amun], given life.’” Text of Thoth (beginning at the top and continuing between Thoth and the king): *dd-md(.w) in Dhwti nb md.w-ntr w‘b sp sn ny-sw.t nb [t3.wy (?) R^c-[ms-sw Hq3]-M3^c.t Mry-Imn di [‘nh]* “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hieroglyphs: ‘Be Pure! Be pure O King and Lord [of the Two Lands (?)] Ra[messes Heqa]maat Meryamun, given [life]!’”

A-26 Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, ambulatory around bark shrine, east wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Gardiner, “Baptism of Pharaoh,” p. 4, no. 4, pl. 1 (top); *PM II*², p. 236 (40, II.3); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 108-109. King: Ramesses IV, faces left/north, wears a short wig with a fillet with ribbons at the back and additional uraei

⁶² The *mry*-sign was also carved in this cartouche as in the previous note.

on a piece attached to the side of the fillet. At left/north is Horus; at right/south is Thoth. Text of Horus: *gd-md(.w) in Hr [Bhd].t(y) nb p.t n s3=f mry=f nb t3.wy Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn nb h'.w R'-ms-sw Hq3-M3'.t 'bw=k 'bw Hr ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw [Sth] ts-phr 'bw[=k] 'bw Dhwti ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Dwn-'nwy ts-phr nb t3.wy Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn* “Statement by Horus the [Behde]tite, Lord of the Sky to his son, his beloved, the Lord of the Two Lands Heqamaatre Setepenamun, the Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqamaat: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of [Seth] and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa; [your] purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice versa O Lord of the Two Lands Heqamaatre Setepenamun.’” Text of Thoth: *gd-md(.w) in Dhwti imy Hmnw n s3=f mry=f nb t3.wy Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn nb h'.w R'-ms-sw Hq3-M3'.t Mry-Imn 'bw=k 'bw Hr ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Sth ts-phr 'bw[=k] 'bw Dhwti ts-phr 'bw=k 'bw Dwn-'nwy ts-[phr] nb h'.w R'-ms-sw Hq3-M3'.t Mry-Imn* “Statement by Thoth, who dwells in Hermopolis to his son, his beloved, the Lord of the Two Lands Heqamaatre Setepenamun, the Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqamaat Meryamun: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Seth and vice versa; [your] purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy and vice [versa] O Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqamaat Meryamun.’” Between each god and the king: *sw'b(=i) tw m 'nh w3s nb t3.wy Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn nb h'.w R'-ms-sw Hq3-M3'.t Mry-Imn* “Let me cause you to be pure with life and dominion O Lord of the Two Lands Heqamaatre Setepenamun, Lord of Crowns, Ramesses Heqamaat Meryamun.’” Other components of the scene: a vulture, with a *shen*-ring and a *hw*-fan in each talon, hovers above the king. It has no preserved name or titles. Below the vulture is *nb t3.wy Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn*

nb ḥ'.w R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-M3'.t Mry-Imn “Lord of the Two Lands Heqamaatre Setepenamun, Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqamaat Meryamun.”

A-27 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Ninth Pylon, west tower, north face.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 7573; Nelson # KG 179; *PM II*², p. 180 (538, II.4); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” pp. 100-101. King: Ramesses IV, faces left/east, wears a short wig. At left/east is Horus; at right/west is Thoth. Texts of Horus and Thoth and area above king destroyed. Between Horus and the king: *sw'b ny-sw.t nb t3.wy nb ḥpš Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Imn mi w'b t3 n Gb di 'nh* “Causing⁶³ the King, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of the Mighty Arm Usermaatre Setepenamun to be pure so long as⁶⁴ the earth is pure for Geb, given life.” Between Thoth and the king: *[s]w'b [ny-sw.t⁶⁵] nb ḥ'.w nb ir.t ḥ.t [Ḥq3]-M3'.t [Mry]-Imn [R'-ms-sw Ḥq3-M3'.t-R' Mry-Imn]⁶⁶ mi w'b p.t n R' di 'nh* “[Causing the King], Lord of Crowns and Lord of Ritual [Heqa]maatre [Mery]amun [Ramesses Heqamaat Meryamun] to be pure as long as the sky is pure for Re, given life.”

A-28 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, first court of southern extension= “Cachette Court,” north wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 6220; Nelson # KG 19; *PM II*², p. 75 (184, II.3); Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 101. King: Ramesses

⁶³ Though one expects an infinitive here, based on the texts in A-26 where *sw'b* takes a 2nd person dependant pronoun as object, one could also take the verb as a prospective with unwritten 1st person singular pronoun as the direct speech of the god: “Let me cause . . . to be pure.”

⁶⁴ Cf. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 1027 (no. 3).

⁶⁵ The base of the *sw.t*-plant is visible.

⁶⁶ It is also possible that we have a repetition of the same names used in the inscription between Horus and the King: *[Wsr]-M3'.t-R' [Stp.n]-Imn*.

IX, faces right/east (based on position of legs), head and crown lost. At right/east is Horus (?; upper body and names lost); at left/west is Thoth. Text of “Horus” (beginning lost): *[dd-md.w in . . .] Nfr-k3-R‘ Stp[-n-R‘] w‘b [. . w]nn=f h‘.w hr s.t Hr* “[Statement by . . .] Neferkare Setepen[re]. Let me purify (?) [. .]. He shall maintain appearing in glory⁶⁷ upon the throne of Horus.” Text of Thoth: *dd-md(.w) in nb Hmnw hnty Hsr.t ‘b(=i) ny-sw.t R‘-ms-sw H‘-m-W3s.t Mrr-lmn wnn=f h‘.w hr s.t Hr* “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis, Foremost of Hesperet: ‘Let me purify the King Ramesses Khaemwaset Mereramun. He shall maintain appearing in glory upon the throne of Horus.’” Between “Horus” and the king: *[w‘b/‘b sp sn (?) . .] Nfr-k3-[R‘] Stp-n-R‘ [. . .] di ‘nh* “[Be pure! Be pure O King (?)] Neferka[re] Setepenre [. . .] given life.” I cannot make out any portion of the text between Thoth and the king. Other components of the scene: Amun-Re stands behind “Horus.”

A-29 Location: Karnak, Khonsu Temple, first hypostyle hall, south wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 2, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall with Translations of Texts and a Glossary for Volumes 1 and 2*, OIP 103 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1981), pl. 176, pp. 51-52; *LD IV*, pl. 238a; *PM II*², p. 233 (25, II.3). King: Ramesses XI, faces right/west, wears a short wig with a fillet and ribbons at the back. At right/west is Horus; at left/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) ‘bw=k ‘bw Hr ‘bw=k ‘bw Sth ‘bw Sth ‘bw=k* “Statement by the Behdetite: ‘Your purification is the purification of Horus; your purification is the purification of Seth and the purification of Seth is your purification.’” Text of Thoth: *dd-md(.w) in nb Hmnw*

⁶⁷ Cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, p. 17.

'bw=k 'bw Dḥwty 'bw=k ['bw Dwn]-'nwy “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis: ‘Your purification is the purification of Thoth; your purification [is the purification of Dun]anwy.’”
 Between Horus and the king: *sw'b ny-sw.t Mn-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Pth w'b sp sn sp fdw* “Causing the purification of the King Menmaatre Setepenptah: ‘Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four times.”
 Between Thoth and the king: *sw'b nb [ḥ'.w R'-ms-sw Ḥ'-m-W3s.t Ḥq3-nṯr(y)-lwnw] w'b sp sn ps fdw* “Causing the purification of the Lord of [Crowns Ramesses Khaemwaset, Heqanetjryiunu]: ‘Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four times.” Other components of the scene: to the right of Horus is Amun-Re on a throne and standing behind him is Amunet. A sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king; there are no crowns or other accoutrements associated with the uraei. To each side of the sun disk is *Bḥd.ty*. The names of the king are to either side of the sun disk and its name; at right: *Mn-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-Pth* “Menmaatre Setepenptah,” at left: *R'-ms-sw Ḥ'-(m)-W3s.t Mry-lmn [Ḥq3-nṯr(y)]-lwnw* “Ramesses Kha(em)waset Meryamun [Heqanetjry]iunu.”

A-30 Location: Karnak, temple of Khonsu, court, west wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pl. 33, p. 17; *PM II*², p. 230 (17-18, II.9). King: Herihor, faces right/north, wears a short wig. At right/north is Horus; at left/south is Thoth. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) 'bw=k 'bw Stḥ 'bw Stḥ 'bw=k nb t3.wy Ḥm-nṯr-tpy-n-lmn nb ḥ'.w Ḥry-Ḥr S3-lmn* “Statement by the Behdetite: ‘Your purification is the purification of Seth; the purification of Seth is your purification O Lord of the Two Lands Hemnetjertepyenamun (High-Priest-of-Amun), Lord of Crowns Herihor Siamun.’” Text

between Horus and the King: *swʿb ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Ḥm-ntr-tpy-n-Imn mi wʿb p.t n Rʿ*

”Causing the King and Lord of the Two Lands Hemnetjertepyenamun to be pure as long as⁶⁸ the sky is pure for Re.” Text of Thoth: *ḡd-md(.w) in nb Ḥmnw ʿbw=k ʿbw Dwn-ʿnwy ʿbw Dwn-ʿnwy ʿbw=k nb t3.wy Ḥm-ntr-tpy-n-Imn nb ḥʿ.w Ḥry-Ḥr S3-Imn* “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis: ‘Your purification is the purification of Dunanwy; the purification of Dunanwy is your purification.’ Text between Thoth and the king: *swʿb ny-sw.t nb ḥʿ.w Ḥry-Ḥr S3-Imn mi wʿb t3 n Gb* “Causing the Lord of Crowns Herihor Siamun to be pure as long as the earth is pure for Geb.” Column of text behind Thoth *wnn ny-sw.t nb t3.wy Ḥry-Ḥr S3-Imn ḥʿ.w m pr it=f Ḥnsw-m-W3s.t Nfr-ḥtp* “The King and Lord of the Two Lands Herihor Siamun shall maintain⁶⁹ appearing in glory in the house of his father Khonsu-in-Thebes Neferhotep.” Other components of the scene: a sun disk with two uraei appears above the king. The uraei have no crowns but have *ankhs* around their necks. Below the sun disk is *Bḥd(.ty)*⁷⁰ “The Behde(tite).”

A-31 Location: Karnak, east, of temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, northernmost row of columns (fourth row from north=d of Leclant, pl. 1), south face of inter-columnar wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Jean Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne à l’est de la Grande Enceinte d’Amon à Karnak,” *BIFAO* 53 (1953), pp. 143-144, fig. 13, cf. pl. 1 (Eḏ2); *PM* II², p. 210 (24, 2). King: Taharqa, all but one shoulder lost. At left/west is Horus; at right/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *Bḥ[d]t.[y] ntr ʿ3 di=f ʿnh w3s nb* “The Beh[d]tite, the Great God, as he gives all life and dominion.” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb*

⁶⁸ Cf. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 2, p. 1027 (no. 3).

⁶⁹ I take *wnn* to be a 2nd tense prospective; cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Khonsu*, vol. 1, p. 17.

⁷⁰ The *ankh*-signs (water) from the vases left no room to carve the *t*-loaf and city-signs.

md.w-ntr di=f 'nh w3s nb “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, as he gives all life and dominion.” Between Horus and the king: *'bw[=k 'bw=i ts-phr*⁷¹ “[Your] purification [is my purification and vice versa].” Text between Thoth and the king: [*'bw=k] 'bw=i ts-phr* “[Your purification is] my purification and vice versa.” Other components of the scene: Amun-Re stood at the far left behind Horus. Above the king: *ny-sw.t-bi.ty [(name lost) di 'nh] mi R* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt [(name lost), given life] like Re.” Notes: in a crowning scene to the left/west (B-17; Eδ4) Horus (name lost but is “The Behdetite” throughout the monument) stands at left/west with Wadjet behind him; the figure of Thoth is lost on the right/east and, presumably, the goddess behind him is Nekhbet (name lost). In the scene directly to the right/east the king exits the palace wearing the Red Crown.

A-32 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, easternmost row of columns (Barguet and Leclant row a), west face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: P. Barguet and J. Leclant, *Karnak –Nord IV (1949-1951)*, IFAO 25 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), pl. 61 (Eα1), cf. plan on pl. 91, pp. 75-76; *PM II*², p. 5, see plan III. King: Taharqa, faces right/south, crown lost to damage. At right/south is Horus; at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *Bhd.t(y) ntr '3 nb p.t dd-md(w) di.n(=i) n=k 'nh w3s nb dd-md(w) di.n(=i) n=k snb nb* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky. Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given all life and dominion.’ Recitation (continued): ‘It is to you that I have given all health.’” Text of Thoth: *nb Hmnw nb md(w)-ntr dd-[md.w] di.n(=i) n=k 'nh w3s nb dd-md(w) di.n(=i) n=k snb nb* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs. Recitation: ‘It is

⁷¹ Cf. the text between Thoth and the king and the texts in A-32.

to you that I have given all life and dominion.’ Recitation (continued): ‘It is to you that I have given all health.’” Between the king and Horus: *‘bw=k ‘bw[=i] ts-phr* “Your purification is [my] purification and vice versa.” Between Thoth and the king: *‘bw=k ‘bw=i ts-phr* “Your purification is my purification and vice versa.” Other components of the scene: above the king: *ntr nfr nb ir(.t) h.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy [Hw-Nfrtm]-R‘ [. .] di (?) [‘nh] d[.t](?)* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual, King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands [Khunefertem]re, [. .] given (?)⁷² [life] forever (?).⁷³” Notes: in a crowning scene to the right/south (B-12; Eα3; Barguet and Leclant, pl. 63) Thoth stands at the left/north with Wadjet behind him and Horus (name lost) stands at right/south and Nekhbet likely (name and figure lost) stood behind him. In the scene to the immediate left the king exits the palace wearing the White Crown.

A-33 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, 2nd row of columns (from the east=Barguet and Leclant row b), east face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 66 (Eβ’3), cf. pl. 91, pp. 79-80; Jean Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e Dynastie dite éthiopienne*, Bd’É 36 (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), pl. 52B; idem, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” p. 134, fig. 6; *PM II*², p. 5.⁷⁴ King: Taharqa, faces left/south, crown/wig uncertain but probably Nubian style “cap.” At left/south is Horus; at right/north is Thoth.⁷⁵ Text of Horus: *Bh[d.ty] ntr ‘3 nb*

⁷² There appears to be the bottom right corner of a Δ .

⁷³ The head of the snake and the end of the land-sign are visible.

⁷⁴ Porter and Moss incorrectly identify the scene as Eβ3 instead of Eβ’3.

⁷⁵ The figure’s head and names are lost but Seth does not appear in such scenes at this time.

[*Msn*]⁷⁶ *ḡd-[md.w di.n(=i) n=k] ‘nh*⁷⁷ *w3s nb* “The Beh[detite], the Great God, Lord of [Mesen].
 Statement: ‘[It is to you that I have given] all life and dominion.’” Text of Thoth: completely
 destroyed. No texts between the gods and the king appear to have been carved. Other
 components of the scene: at left behind Horus is Montu-Re. Notes: in a crowning scene to the
 right (B-13; Eβ’1; Barguet and Leclant, pl. 65) Horus stands at left/south with Nekhbet behind
 him and Thoth stands at right/north with Wadjet behind him.⁷⁸ The Behdetite and Thoth hold the
 same positions in a following scene of leading the king before Amun-Re (E-6; Eβ’4; Barguet
 and Leclant, pl. 67).

A-34 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, 2nd row of columns
 (from the east=Barguet and Leclant row b), west face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 68 (Eβ1), cf.
 pl. 91, pp. 80-81; *PM II*², p. 5. King: Taharqa, faces right/south, wears the Nubian style close
 fitting cap. At right/south is Horus; at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *Bḡd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t*
nb Msn [di] ‘nh [ḡd(.t)] w3s “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen,
 [who gives] life, [stability] and dominion.” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb md.w-nṯr di ‘nh ḡd(.t)*
w3s “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, who gives life, stability and dominion.”

Between Horus and the king: *‘bw=k ‘bw=i ṯs-phr* “Your purification is my purification and vice
 versa.” Between Thoth and the king: [*‘bw=k ‘bw=i ṯs-phr* “[Your purification is my

⁷⁶ On p. 79 Barguet and Leclant translation is “Mé]-sen”; I can only see what may be the
 rounded bottom of the center of the *Msn*-sign (𓄠), a *t*-loaf and a circular sign that may be the
 city-sign.

⁷⁷ Only the base of the sign is extant but its restoration as an *ankh*-sign is not in doubt.

⁷⁸ In the scene to the immediate right of the king leaving the palace the king’s head and
 crown/wig is lost.

purification] and vice versa.” Notes: in the scene to the immediate left the king exits the palace wearing the White Crown. No crowning scene is preserved on this wall.

A-35 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, third row of columns (from the east=Barguet and Leclant row c), east face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 71 (EY1), cf. pl. 91, pp. 83-84; *PM II*², p. 5. King: Taharqa, faces left/south, wears the Nubian style cap with a fillet and ribbons at the back. At left/south is Horus; at right/north is Thoth. Text of Horus:

Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʿ3 nb p.t nb Msn ḏd-md(.w) di.n(=i) n=k ʿnh w3s nb ḏ.t “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen. Statement: ‘It is to you that I have given all life and

dominion forever.’” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb md.w-ntr*⁷⁹ *ḏd-[md.w di].n(=i) n=k snb nb mi R* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs. Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have [given] all

health like Re.’” Between Horus and the King: *ʿbw=k ʿbw[=i ts-phr]* “Your purification is [my] purification [and vice versa].” Between Thoth and the king: *ʿbw=k ʿbw=i ts-phr* “Your

purification is my purification and vice versa.” Other components of the scene: above the king is *ntr nfr nb t3.wy s3 R ʿ n ḥ.t=f [Thr-q3] di ʿnh ḏ[.t]* “The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Son of Re of his Body [Taharqa], given life forever.” At far left behind Horus stood another god, whose figure and name is destroyed but who was probably Montu-Re. Only the *was*-scepter that

he held remains and the inscription *ḏd-md(.w) di.n(=i) n=k ʿnh w3s* “Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given life and dominion.’” Notes: at left is a crowning scene (B-14; EY3; Barguet and

Leclant, pl. 72) in which the Behdetite and Nekhbet stand to the left/south and Thoth and Wadjet

⁷⁹ The second *md*-sign was actually carved as an *ntr*-sign.

to the right/north. In the scene to the immediate right the king exits the palace wearing the Red Crown.

A-36 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, 3rd row of columns (from the east=Barguet and Leclant row c), west face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 75 (EY'1), cf. pl. 91, p. 86; *PM II*², p. 5. King: Taharqa, faces right/south (based on position of feet), upper body destroyed. At right/south is Horus; at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t[y] nṯr '3 [. . . . ḡd-md.w di.n(=i) n=k . . (?)] s[n]b nb* “The Behdetite, the Great God [. . . . Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given . . (?)] all health.’” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb [md.w-nṯr(?) ḡd-md.w di.n(=i) n=k]* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of [Hieroglyphs (?). Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given (?)].’” Between Horus and the king: (destroyed but presumably: *'bw=k 'bw=i ṯs-phr* “Your purification is my purification and vice versa.”). Between Thoth and the king: *['bw=k] 'bw=i ṯs-phr* “[Your purification is] my purification and vice versa.” Notes: in the crowning scene to the right (B-15; EY'3; Barguet and Leclant, pl. 76) Thoth and Wadjet stand to the left/north and the Behdetite and, presumably, Nekhbet⁸⁰ stand to the right/south. In the scene to the immediate left the king exits the palace wearing the Red Crown.

A-37 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, westernmost row of columns (4th row from east=Barguet and Leclant row d), east face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 77A (Eδ1),

⁸⁰ Her name and titles are lost.

cf. pl. 91, p. 88; *PM II*², p. 5. King: Taharqa, faced left/south (only one foot remains of his figure). Only the figure of Thoth remains from this scene and he stood at the right/north, so Horus presumably stood at the left/south. Notes: in the crowning scene to the left (B-16; Eδ3; Barguet and Leclant, pl. 78) the Behdetite and Nekhbet stand at the left/south, while Thoth, and presumably Wadjet,⁸¹ stand to the right/north.⁸²

A-38 Location: Medinet Habu, small temple begun in the 18th Dynasty, colonnade, internal north wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo 1459; Nelson # MHB 249; *PM II*², p. 463 (21, 1). King: originally Saite, usurped by Nectanebo I, faces left/west (based on position of feet), crown/wig lost. At left/west is Horus (?; head and text lost); at right/east is Thoth (based on bird-shaped neck and tip of beak being visible; text lost). Between each god and the king: *'bw=k 'bw=i ts-phr* “Your purification is my purification and vice versa.”

A-39 Location: Kharga Oasis, Hibis Temple, hypostyle hall B, south wall, west section. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 12; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pp. 64-65; *PM VII*, p. 283 (73). King: Darius I, faces right/west, wears the *Nemes* headdress. At right/west is Horus; at left/east is Thoth. Text of Horus: *Hr-s3-3s.t ntr* ‘3 “Horus-Son-of-Isis, the Great God.” Text of Thoth: *nb Hmnw nb md(w)-ntr* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs.” Combined text behind Horus: *dd-md(w) in Hr Dhwtj n s3 R' [. . .] 'nh.w iw 'bw=k n pr-dw3.t w'b.w hr 'wy l(w)n-mw.t=f [.] tw qm3=f tw m ir.t Hr wd3 hy-s3-t3 [.] d[t n]h[h]* “Statement by Horus and Thoth to the Son of Re [.]

⁸¹ Her figure and names and titles are lost.

⁸² In the scene to the immediate right the king exits the palace wearing the Double Crown.

the living. ‘Your purification is in⁸³ the House-of-the-Morning it being pure from the hands of the *Iunmutef*-priest [.]. May he beget you with the Eye of Horus, which is not injured. O joy⁸⁴ [.] forever and ever.’” Between Horus and the king: ‘*bw=k ‘bw Hr ts-phr sp fdw* “‘Your purification is the purification of Horus and vice versa.’ (Say) four times.” Between Thoth and the king: ‘*bw=k ‘bw Dhwtj ts-phr sp fdw* “‘Your purification is the purification of Thoth and vice versa.’ (Say) four times.” Other components of the scene: by the king’s right leg: *ntr nfr nb t3.wy D[rywš] di ‘nh* “The Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands Da[rus], given life.” Above the king is a sun disk with two uraei; the uraei bear no crowns or other accoutrements. To the right of the sun disk begins an inscription that continues to the left of the disk: *Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon.”

A-40 Location: Kharga Oasis, Hibis Temple, room E1, north and south pilasters.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*, vol. 3, *The Decoration*, ed. Ludlow Bull and Lindsley Hall, PMMA 17 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957), pl. 15; Eugene Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, *Translations, Commentary, Discussions and Sign List* (San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books, 1988), pp. 74-75; *PM VII*, p. 287 (132b and 133b). King: Darius I, not shown. Horus is shown on the south pilaster and Thoth on the north pilaster pouring the water of purification on the ground, which symbolizes the purification of anyone passing the doorway. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(w) in Hr-s3-3s.t w‘b sp fdw* “Statement by Horus-Son-of-Isis: ‘Be pure! Be pure! Be

⁸³ Read *m* for *n*.

⁸⁴ Cruz-Uribe, p. 65; *Wb.* III, p. 416, no. 10; Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 601.

pure! Be pure!’” Above Horus are four columns of text now mostly lost: [. *Imn Hb]t ntr*
‘3 *wsr ḥpš* [. ‘*bw=k (?) ‘bw]* *Gb ts-phr* [. ‘*bw=k (?) ‘b]w Dwn-‘nwy ts-phr* [. . .
. *wsr (?) ḥpš sp sn sp fdw* “[. Amun of Hib]is, the Great God, Powerful of Arm. “[. . . .
. Your purification is the purification] of Geb and vice versa; [. your purification is
the pu]rification of Dunanwy and vice versa; [. Be powerful (?) of ar]m! (Be powerful
(?) of) arm!’ (Say) four times.” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(w) in Dḥwty* ‘3 ‘3 *nb Ḥmnw w’b [sp sn]*
sp fdw “Statement by Thoth the Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis: ‘Be pure! [Be pure!].’ (Say)
four times.” Above Thoth are four damaged columns of text: [. . .] *Imn* [. . . .] *w’b sp sn Imn*
Hbt [. . .] *ḏd-[md.w ‘b]w=k⁸⁵ ‘bw Gb [ts-phr . . .] ḏd-[md.w ‘b]w[=k]⁸⁶ ‘bw Dwn-*
‘*nwy ts-phr* [.] *Imn* [. . .] *wsr [ḥpš sp sn] sp fdw* “[. . .] Amun [. . . .] ‘Be pure! Be
pure! Amun of Hibis [. . .] Recit[ation: ‘Your pur]ification] is the purification of Geb
[and vice versa . . .]. Recit[ation: your pur]ification is the purification of Dunanwy and
vice versa. [. A]mun [. . .] ‘Be powerful of [arm! Be powerful of arm!]’ (Say) four
times.”

A-41 Location: Kharga Oasis, Hibis Temple, portico (Q), interior east and west jambs of south gate. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pls. 65-66; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pp. 175-176; *PM VII*, p. 279 (24). King: Nectanebo II, figure not shown (he is found on exterior jambs with the Red Crown on the west and the White Crown (?)⁸⁷ on the east). On the interior west jamb is Horus; Thoth is on the interior east jamb. Both gods

⁸⁵ The top edge and left corner of the  is visible.

⁸⁶ It is hard to be certain from the drawing alone if there was room for the *k* but there is a definite break in the stone here, which may be greater than the drawing indicates.

⁸⁷ Damaged with only the front of the White Crown visible; he could be wearing the Double Crown but it is more likely to be the White.

pour the water of purification on the ground symbolizing the purification of anyone who enters through the gate. Text of Horus: *ḡd-md(.w) (i)n Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t ḥnty itr.t šmʿy.t wʿby pr ipw*⁸⁸ *mi 3ḥ.t n.t p.t ʿq nb r ḥw.t-nṯr ipw wʿb [sp sn sp fdw]* “Statement by the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row, who purifies⁸⁹ this house like the horizon of the sky: ‘Everyone who enters into this temple: Be pure! [Be pure!] (Say) four times.]” Text of Thoth: *ḡd-md(.w) (i)n Dḥwty ʿ3 ʿ3 nb Ḥmnw wp-rḥ.wy ḥnty Ḥsr.t*⁹⁰ *nb m3ʿ.t ḥry-tp psd.t wʿb[y pr i]pn [.] . . (?) ʿq nb r pr ipn wʿb sp sn (sp) fdw* “Statement by Thoth, the Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis, He who Separated the Two Combatants, Foremost of Hesperet, Lord of Maat, who is at the head of the Ennead, [who] purifies this [house] . . (?): ‘Everyone who enters into this house: Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four (times).” Notes: on the lintel above the scene with Horus is a winged disk (with uraei having no crowns or other accoutrements) and at the end of each wing is *Bḥd.t(y)*.⁹¹ Below the winged disk are the “Horus,” *ny-sw.t-bi.ty* and “Son of Re” names of the king shown to the left and right; at left/west: *Ḥr Mry-t3.wy ny-sw.t-bi.ty Sndm-ib-Rʿ Stp-n-Imn s3 Rʿ Nḥ.t-Ḥr-(n)-Ḥby.t Mry-Inḥr di ʿnh ḡd(.t)* “The Horus Merytawy, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Senedjemibre, Son of Re Nakhthor(en)hebyt (Nectanebo II) Meryinhur, given life and stability. At right/east the names are the same but with

⁸⁸ These texts in a number of places use the plural demonstratives *ipw* and *ipn* but are clearly referring to a singular *pr* “house/temple.”

⁸⁹ I take *wʿby* as an imperfect active participle based on the dual strokes (-y); cf. James E. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, SSEA Publication 15 (Mississauga, Ontario: Benben Publications, 1997), p. 134 (1,a).

⁹⁰ Rather than reading the word as “Rohesau” as Cruz-Uribe, I would read it as “Heseret,” which was a sacred part (probably the necropolis) of Hermopolis; see Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 4, pp. 42-43; see also *LÄGG*, vol. 3, p. 704. *Nb Ḥsr.t* was a common epithet of Thoth.

⁹¹ The lintel above Thoth is missing/destroyed.

di 'nh w3s “given life and dominion” at the end. Before the king’s Horus Name on the left/west is a cobra on an *nb*-basket, which is supported by a papyrus stem and flower. The cobra wears the Red Crown and extends an *ankh*, *was*-scepter and *shen*-ring to the nose of the falcon. An inscription identifies the cobra as *W3dy.t di 'nh mi R* “Wadjet, who gives⁹² life like Re.” Before the king’s Horus Name on the right/east is a vulture upon an *nb*-basket supported by a stem and flower of the Upper Egyptian heraldic plant (*sw.t*). The vulture wears the *Atef* Crown and extends a *was*-scepter and *shen*-ring to the nose of the falcon with one of its talons. The vulture is identified as *Nhb.t di=s 'nh w3s* “Nekhbet, as she gives life and dominion.”

B: Crowning Scenes

B-1 Location: Saqqara, pyramid temple of Unis, un-placed fragments of scene.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: A. Labrousse, J. –Ph. Lauer and J. Leclant, *Mission archéologique de Saqqarah*, vol. 2, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Bd’É 73 (Cairo: IFAO, 1977), pp. 95-96, fig. 73, pl. 34, no. 47. King: Unis, faces right, wears the Double Crown. At left is Seth; figure at right is lost. Text of Seth (mostly lost): [. . .] *nb [t3] Šm’w [. . . . nb] Sw [. . . .]* “[Statement by (?) . . .] the Lord of Upper Egypt, [. . . . the Lord] of Su [. . . .]” Text of Horus completely lost.

B-2 Location: Saqqara, funerary complex of Pepy II, a wooden panel, the original placement/location of which is unknown. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Gustave Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3, *Les approches du temple*, Fouilles à Saqqarah 17 (Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, 1940), P. 39, no. 7, fig. 27. King: Pepy II (?),

⁹² One might also restore *di(=s)* “as she gives . . . “

faces left, wears Double Crown (?). At left is Horus; at right is Seth. Text of Horus: *imy [. . .].t* “He Who Dwells in [. . . (?)].” Text of Seth: *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite.”

B-3 Location: Coptos, un-placed fragments. Publications/photos/translations of texts: W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos*, BSAE 38 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl. 7, nos. 16a-b. King: Intef V, faces right, wears the Double Crown. At right is Horus (the Behdetite); at left is a falcon-headed deity named *Hr Šnw hnty Hw.t-ny-sw.t* “Horus Shenu, Foremost of the Mansion of the King of Upper Egypt.” The name “Mansion of the King of Upper Egypt” was the sacred name of a city of the 18th Upper Egyptian nome⁹³ and the main god of this nome was the falcon-god Dunanwy,⁹⁴ who was also identified with Nemty.⁹⁵ Text of the Behdetite: *Bhd[.ty] dd-md.w di.n(=i) n=[k ‘nh dd].t (?) nb(.t) ‘nh.ti w3s.ti d.t* “The Behd[etite]. Recitation: ‘It is to [you] that I have given all [life and stability (?)] as you live and have dominion forever.’” Text of Horus Shenu: *Hr Šnw hnty Hw.t-ny-sw.t di=f ‘nh nb dd-md.w di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh dd(.t) nb.t⁹⁶ di.ti hr s.t Hr [d.t (?)]* “Horus Shenu, Foremost of the Mansion of the King of Upper Egypt, as he gives all life. Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given all life and stability as you are placed upon the throne of Horus [forever (?)].’” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king, which to the right is named *Nhb.t* “Nekhbet.” Above the king to the right

⁹³ See Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 4, p. 86; Wolfgang Helck, “Gauē,” *LÄ* II, col. 391.

⁹⁴ Wolfhart Westendorf, “Dunanui,” *LÄ* I, col. 1152.

⁹⁵ Ibid, and see Helck, “Gauē,” col. 391.

⁹⁶ The feminine *t* must refer back to *dd.t*, although the *t* is not carved in that word.

is *ntr* [*nfr Nbw-hpr*]-*R*ˁ *di* ˁ*nh* [*mi R*ˁ *d.t* (?)] “[The Perfect] God [Nebukheper]re, given life [like Re forever (?)⁹⁷].”

B-4 Location: Deir El-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, north wall of middle colonnade, twin crowning scenes. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 3, *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, EM 16 (London: EEF, 1896-97), pl. 64; *Urk.* IV, p. 264, lines 1-16; *PM II*², p. 348 (21.I). King: Hatshepsut, faces right/east in both scenes, crowns lost but likely wears the White Crown in left/west scene and the Red Crown in the right/east scene. The identity of the crowns is supported the double scene, by the texts (see below) and by the fact that in the scene following the right hand crowning scene the king wears the Red Crown (the crown in the scene following the left hand crowning scene is completely destroyed). At right/east in both scenes is Horus; at left/west is Seth. Text of Horus left/west scene: [*dd-md.w in*] *Bhd.t(y)*⁹⁸ *smn(=i) n=t s’h=t n sw.t h’ˁ.ti hr s.t Hr sšm.t ˁnh.w nb[.w mi R]ˁ d.t* “[Statement by] the Behdetite: ‘Let me affix for you your dignity of (*n*) the *sut*-plant; you having appeared on the throne of Horus O She who leads⁹⁹ all the living [like Re] forever.’” Text of Horus right/east scene: *dd-md(w) in* [*Hr . (?)*] *smn(=i) n=t s’h=t n bi.t h’ˁ.ti hr s.t Hr* “Statement by [the Behdetite (?)]: ‘Let me affix for you your dignity of the bee (*bi.t*); you having appeared upon the throne of Horus.’” Text of Seth left/west scene: [*dd-md.w in Sth/Nbw.ty (?)*] *smn(=i) n=t s’h=t n [sw].t h’ˁ.ti hr s.t Hr sšm.t ˁnh.w*

⁹⁷ The end of the inscription here should be longer than the end of the text of Horus Shenu, thus the longer suggested restoration.

⁹⁸ Sethe records traces of the name in *Urk.* IV, p. 264, line 14.

⁹⁹ The word must be a participle; it cannot be a stative, because it is transitive plus the word in both the texts of Horus and Seth ends with \ominus and not \mathfrak{d} . The god is directly addressing Hatshepsut, so there must be a vocative sense.

nb(.w) “[Statement by Seth/the Ombite (?): ‘Let me affix for you your dignity] of (*n*) the [*su*]t-plant; you having appeared upon the throne of Horus O She who leads all the living.’” Text of Seth right/east scene: *ḏd-md(.w) in [Sth/Nbw.ty (?)] smn(=i) n=t s’h[=t] n bi.t ḥ.ti ḥr s.t Ḥr*

“Statement by [Seth/the Ombite (?): ‘Let me affix for you [your] dignity of the bee (*bi.t*); you having appeared upon the throne of Horus.’” The texts combined make a clever use of the words *n sw.t* and *bi.t* (=ny-sw.t-bi.ty) in reference to wearing the two crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. Both Seth and Horus place each crown upon the head of Hatshepsut.¹⁰⁰ Other components of the scene: Above the king in the left/west scene is preserved *M3‘.t-k3-R‘ di ‘nh* “Maatkare, given life.” In the right/east scene only *M3‘.t-k3-R‘* is preserved.

B-5 Location: Nubia, Soleb Temple, pylon, north tower, east/outer face.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon and Jean Leclant, *Soleb*, vol. 5, *Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, Nathalie Beaux, ed. (Cairo: IFAO, 1998), pls. 6-9; *PM VII*, p. 169 (1). King: Amenhotep III, faces right/north, wears the Double Crown. At right/north is Horus; at left/south is Seth; both gods hold an *ankh* in one hand, while steadying the king’s crown with the other. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) i[n Ḥr . (?) . . .] n=k [. ḥb.w-sd* “Statement b[y Horus . . (?): ‘ . . .] to you [.] *Sed* festivals.” Between Horus and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) smn(=i) n=k sḥm.ty n.t p.t tp=k [‘r]f(w) n=k t3(.w) nb(.w) dmd(.w)*

“Recitation: ‘Let me affix for you the Double Crown of the sky upon you (with the result that) all assembled lands¹⁰¹ have been combined (?) for you.’” Text of Seth: *ḏd-md(.w) i[n Nbw.t]y nb [.] n [.] di.n(=i) n=k s[nb] nb [.] nb [.] nb [.]* “Statement b[y the Ombit]e Lord of [

¹⁰⁰ As pointed out by Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 1, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Or perhaps read “the entire land” meaning the two halves of Egypt.

. .] of/to [. . . .]: ‘It is to you that I have given all he[alth], all [. . . .] and all [. . . .].’”

Between Seth and the king: *ḏd-md(.w) smn(=i) ḥꜥ.w[=k] m [. . ir=k] di ‘nh* “Recitation: ‘Let me affix [your] crowns¹⁰² as/in/with (?) [. . that you may make(?)] a given life.’” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king (no name or epithets preserved). Above and to the right of the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty [. Nb-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ] s3 Rꜥ mry[=f] Imn-[ḥtp Ḥq3]-W3s.t* (with usurpation: *3ḥ-n-ltn) di ‘nh mi Rꜥ* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [. . Nebmaatre], Son of Re, [his] beloved Amen[hotep Heqa]waset (usurpation: ‘Akhenaten’), given life like Re.”

B-6 Location: Luxor Temple, room XIV (room east of bark sanctuary of Alexander), north wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photos 9187-9188; *PM II*, p. 328 (158); John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips, 1985), pp. 292-293. King: Amenhotep III, sits upon a *Serekh*-shaped throne facing right/west, wears the Double Crown and holds the crook and flail to his chest. At right/west seated is a lion-headed goddess identified as *W3ḏy.t nb.t p.t* “Wadjet, Lady of the Sky”; behind her is Horus; at left/east is a goddess wearing the White Crown, who, despite the loss of her name and titles, must be Nekhbet; behind her is a badly damaged figure of a god that, based upon the shape of the head and the fact that the figure appears to have been re-carved after the Amarna Period and then attacked again, must be Seth. Text of Horus (badly damaged; some reconstructions based on text of Seth): *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t nb Msn (s)mn[=i¹⁰³ n=k ḥꜥ/dšr.t=k (?)] Nb-M3ꜥ.t-Rꜥ [. . ḥr] ḥ3.t=k ny-sw.t-bi.ty [šmꜥw] Mḥw [. . . .]¹⁰⁴*

¹⁰² That is the White and Red Crowns.

¹⁰³ The text was actually re-carved to read *Imn*, which is clearly a mistake for *smn*; see Baines’ comment, p. 293.

¹⁰⁴ The only sign in this section that is legible is a vertically placed papyrus roll.

mi [R^c] *dd-md(.w)* *m* (?)¹⁰⁵ *n=k* *n(3)* [*sn.w* (?)]¹⁰⁶ *n(3)* *h̄tp.w* *n(3)* *mr.wt=k* *n(3)* *3w.t/3w.t-ib/nb* (?)¹⁰⁷ *pn* (sic) [. . . *di.n(=i)* *h̄ m ny-sw.t*]¹⁰⁸ *h̄.t* [*m h̄d.t dšr.t*]¹⁰⁹ *di.n(=i)* *n=k* *t3* [*Šm'w*] (*t3*)¹¹⁰

Mḥw 3w-ib=k im=sn “Statement by the Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, Lord of Mesen: ‘Let me affix [for you your (Red?) Crown O] Nebmaatre [l.p.h. (?) upon] your brow O King of Upper and Lower Egypt [. . .] like [Re].’ Recitation (continued): ‘Take (?) for yourself these [bread offerings], these *hetep*-offerings, these (things) which you love, ‘all (?) these gifts(?)/these your (?) gifts (?)’ [. . . after I have caused you to appear as king] and caused (your ?) appearance [in the White Crown and Red Crown] after I gave to you [Upper Egypt] and Lower Egypt that you may be joyful in them.’”¹¹¹ Text of Seth: [*dd-md.w in Stḥ/Nbw.ty . . .*] *smn*[=*i n=k h̄d.t*] *wsr.t imy.t tp=i nb=k t3 Šm'w i.t=k wrt.t=s m rn=k mn t3.wy m nḥb.t s3 R' Imn-h̄tp ḥq3-W3s.t m n(=k) n(3) sn.w (?) n(3) h̄tp.w n(3) mr.wt=k n(3) 3w.t/3w.t-ib=k (?) nb (?)pn* (sic) [. . .] *di.n(=i) h̄ m ny-sw.t h̄.t m h̄d.t dšr.t di.n(=i) n=k t3 Šm'w (t3) Mḥw 3w-ib=k im=sn* “[Statement by

¹⁰⁵ Both the texts of Horus and Seth show this column and the problems begin here. Both texts show the *m*-barn owl and the arm-sign with a *q*-sign in between. One expects an imperative like *m* “Take . . .” based on the words that follow and since the owl and arm can be used as the writing of this word. There is a writing of *m* with walking legs (*Wb*. II, p. 36), which are similar in shape to the *q*-sign but the word uses the reversed walking legs; *mi* “Come” would work better in this case (*Wb*. II, p. 35) but does not fit the context very well.

¹⁰⁶ In the Seth text there is no *k* after the *n* and below the *n* is ; the only interpretation that I can find is to assume the reed-leaf is some mistake and that the word is *sn.w* “offering bread,” which would fit with the following *h̄tp.w*.

¹⁰⁷ The Seth text, which appears to have been re-carved, has *3w(t)-ib=k* “your joy” or *3w-ib* “that you may be joyful” but the fragments of the signs in the Horus text are definitely not the signs for *ib*.

¹⁰⁸ The reconstruction is based on the Seth text; in both texts a circle follows *pn* (the presence of which I cannot explain) and then a large horizontal sign that is damaged in both texts; plural strokes follow this sign in Seth’s text.

¹⁰⁹ Reconstruction based on Seth text.

¹¹⁰ The *t3*-sign is written once above both signs for Upper and Lower Egypt in both texts, although the word for Upper Egypt is broken away in the Horus text.

¹¹¹ Cf. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 293.

Seth/the Ombite . . .] ‘Let [me] affix [for you your White Crown¹¹²], which is powerful on my head, that you might fashion Upper Egypt, that you might take possession of her *wrr.t*-crown in your name, that the Two Lands might endure with your titulary, Son of Re Amenhotep, Heqawaset. Take for (yourself) these bread offerings (?), these *hetep*-offerings, these (things) which you love, ‘all (?) these gifts(?)/these your (?) gifts’ [. . .] after I caused you to appear as king (and caused your?) appearance in the White Crown and Red Crown and gave to you Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt that you might be joyful in them.’” Other components of the scene: above the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty Nb-M3‘.t-R‘ [.] ḥpš [. . .]* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatre [.], the Strong Armed [. . .].” The desert-god Ha (*H3*) stands at far right and Amun-Re stands at far left.¹¹³

B-7 Location: Abydos, Temple of Sety I, king’s chapel, south wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Amice M. Calverley and Mrytle F. Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, vol. 2, *The Chapels of Amen-Rē‘, Rē‘-Ḥarakhti, Ptaḥ, and King Sethos*, ed. Alan H. Gardiner (London and Chicago: EES and University of Chicago Press, 1935), pl. 36 (top right); *PM VI*, P. 10 (103). King: Sety I, faces left/east, wears the Blue Crown (*Kheprsh*) and holds the crook and flail. At left/east stands Horus wearing the Double Crown and holding a year sign in his left hand while steadying the king’s crown with his right; behind Horus is Wadjet wearing the Red Crown and holding a staff in the form of the plant of Lower Egypt (papyrus) with a cobra wrapped around it and wearing the Red Crown. At right/west

¹¹² Baines reads “White Crown” here (ibid, p. 293) but I cannot see any identifiable parts of the word in the photo (Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 9188); it is a logical restoration.

¹¹³ To save space and time I have only given the texts pertaining to the main actors in the crowning scenes: Horus, Thoth, and when present, Wadjet and Nekhbet.

stands Thoth wearing a moon crescent and disk and holding a writer's palette and year sign in his left hand while steadying the king's crown with his right; behind him stands Nekhbet wearing the *Atef* crown and holding a staff in the form of the plant of Upper Egypt wrapped around which is a cobra wearing the White Crown. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr šsp n=k ḥ'.w nw R' ḥq3=k Km.t Dšr.t* "Statement by Horus: 'Assume for yourself the crowns of Re, that you may rule the Black Land (Egypt) and the Red Land (foreign lands).'" Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb md.w-nṯr nḥb=i n=k gn.wt m whm r ir.t nsy.t Itmw ḏ.t sp sn* "Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hieroglyphs: 'Let me assign annals for you again in order to perform the kingship of Atum forever and ever.'" Text of Wadjet: *ḏd-md(.w) in W3ḏy.t iy.n(=i) ḥr=k r rd.t n=k Mḥw b3k n=k 'wy=sn 3w(.t) ḥtp.n ḥm=i ḥr wp.t=k ḏ.t sp sn* "Statement by Wadjet: 'The reason I have come is to give to you Lower Egypt, that their¹¹⁴ arms might work non-stop¹¹⁵ for you, while My Majesty is pleased forever and ever with your work.'" Text of Nekhbet: *ḏd-md(.w) in Nḥb.t wnn n=k Šm'w ḥr.t=k pw r 'r šhn.t nt p.t iw=i ḥn'(=k ?) ḏ.t ḥr šḥ ḥfty.w=k r ḥ3.t=k ḥr rd.t nrw=k m t3.w nb.w snd=k ḥt ḥ3s.t nb.t* "Statement by Nekhbet: 'Upper Egypt shall be for you this your possession, in order to rise up to the four posts of the sky while I am there with (you) forever causing your enemies to fall in front of you and placing the terror of you in all flatlands and your frightfulness in every hill country.'" Other components of the scene: a sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king with falcons to each side. The uraei have *shen*-rings on their necks; the left/east uraeus wears the White Crown; the right/west uraeus wears the Red Crown. Both falcons hold *shen*-rings. The falcons are not named; below the sun disk is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3* "The Behdetite, the Great God." Above left of the king is *nb t3.wy Mn-M3'.t-R' nb ḥ'.w S3ty Mry-n-*

¹¹⁴ The pronoun must refer to the people of Lower Egypt.

¹¹⁵ Literally "completely" or "entirely."

Pth “The Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre, the Lord of Crowns Sety Merenptah.” Another year sign stands parallel to the year signs held by the gods and between these year signs are the king’s names and gifts of *Sed* festivals, life, etc.

B-8 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall, internal south wall, east half.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 74; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 294; *PM II*², p. 48 (159, II.7). King: Ramesses II, sits upon *serekh*-shaped throne facing left/east, wears the Double Crown and holds the crook and flail. At left/east Nekhbet sits upon a throne like the king’s, facing and embracing him; she wears the vulture-headdress.

Behind Nekhbet is Horus holding the White Crown upon an *nb*-basket in his right hand and steadying the king’s crown with his left hand. At right/west Wadjet sits on a throne like the king’s wearing the vulture headdress, while embracing the king. Behind Wadjet is Thoth holding the Red Crown upon an *nb*-basket in his left hand, while steadying the king’s crown with his right hand. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) smn=i n=k šm’s mḥs mn(.w) ḥr wp.t=k ḥ.ti m Ḥr nb ‘ḥ pr.n=k m ḥq3 ḥd.t m tp=k ḥpr.ti [r] iṯ.t šḥm.ty* “Statement by Horus the

Behdetite: ‘Let me affix for you the Upper Egyptian Crown and the Lower Egyptian Crown, they being firm upon your brow, while you have appeared as Horus of the Palace. It is as ruler that you have come forth (with) the White Crown upon your head, you having come into being [in order] to take possession of the Double Crown.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb md.w-nṯr smn=i n=k šḥm.ty m tp=k r iṯ.t t3.wy m m3’-ḥrw mi it=k Ḥr s3 3s.t ḥ3s.t nb.t dmd(.w) m*

3mm=k rnp.ti mi R “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hieroglyphs: ‘It is in order to seize the Two Lands in triumph like your father Horus Son of Isis that I affix for you the Double Crown upon your head. Every foreign land is united in your grasp and you are rejuvenated like Re.’” Text of

Nekhbet: *gd-md(.w) in Nhb.t hḏ.t Nhn ʿwy=i m s3=k hr hnm hʿ.w=k rnp=k mi itn m p.t*

“Statement by Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen: ‘My arms are your protection guarding your

limbs that you may rejuvenate like the sun disk in the sky.’” Text of Wadjet: *gd-md(.w) in*

W3dy.t ʿwy=i h3=k m ʿnh w3s “Statement by Wadjet: ‘My arms are around you with life and

dominion.’” Other components of the scene: a vulture holding a *shen*-ring hovers above the king

without name or epithets. Also above the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ s3 Rʿ nb*

hpš Rʿ-ms-sw Mry-Imn di ʿnh mi Rʿ “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two

Lands Usermaatse, Son of Re and Lord of the Strong Arm Ramesses Meryamun, given life like

Re.”

B-9 Location: Nubia, Abu Simbel, Temple of Nefertari and Hathor, pillared hall (C), south wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt and Charles Kuentz,

Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel: «Nofretari Pour Qui Se Lève Le Dieu-soleil», CEDAE Mémoires

2 (Cairo: Ministère de la Culture and CEDAE, 1968), vol. 2, pls. 41-42 and vol. 1, pp. 58-59;

Jean-François Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. 1 (Paris: Didot Frères,

1835-1845; reprinted, Geneva: Éditions de Belle-lettres, 1973-1974), pl. 5, no. 1; Hermann Kees,

Horus und Seth als Götterpaar, vol. 1, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatische-Aegyptischen

Gesellschaft (E. V.) 1923, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), p. 11; *PM*

VII, p. 113 (17). King: Ramesses II, faces left/east, wears the Double Crown upon a short wig

with a fillet having pendant uraei at each side and ribbons at the back; he holds the crook and

flail in his left hand. At right/west is Horus wearing the Double Crown and holding a year sign

in his left hand, while steadying the king's crown with his right hand; at left/east is Seth (without

crown) holding a year sign in his right hand, while steadying the king's crown with his left hand. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Hr M'h3 di.n(=i) n=k 'h' n R' rnp.wt m Itmw* "Statement by Horus of Maha: 'It is to you that I have given the lifetime of Re and the years of (?)¹¹⁶Atum.'" Text of Seth: *dd-md(.w) in Stḥ Nbw.ty smn(=i) (n)=k h' hr tp=k mi it(=k) Imn-R'* "Statement by Seth, the Ombite: 'Let me affix (for)¹¹⁷you the crown¹¹⁸upon your head like (your) father Amun-Re.'" Other components of the scene: a sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king; it is not identified and its uraei have no crowns or other accoutrements. Also above the king is written *s3 R' R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn nb ḥpš stp.n R'* "The Son of Re Ramesses Meryamun, Lord of the Strong Arm, whom Re chose."

B-10 Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, court, east wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Epigraphic Survey, *The Temple of Khonsu*, vol. 1, *Scenes of King Herihor in the Court with Translations of Texts*, OIP 100 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1979), pl. 57B, p. 33; LD III, pl. 246b; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 294-295, fig. 167; PM II², p. 230 (20-21, II.4). King: Herihor, sits on a throne with a base in the form of a *ḥb*-sign facing right/south, wearing the Double Crown and holding the crook and flail. At right/south sits Nekhbet wearing the Double Crown; behind Nekhbet is Horus in a striding pose holding the Double Crown in his left hand, while steadying the king's crown with his right hand. At left/north sits Wadjet wearing the Red

¹¹⁶ Literally "as" but the sculptor either carved *m* (𓄠) instead of *n* or placed the *m* of *Itmw* before the rest of the word and did not carve the *n*; for the usual phrase *rnp.wt n Itmw* see *Wb.* I, p. 431, no. 16.

¹¹⁷ See Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel*, vol. 1, p. 186, n. 229.

¹¹⁸ Written with only the sign for the Blue Crown (𓄠: *ḥprš*) but must be a general word for crown; the Blue Crown can be used to write *h'*; see *Wb.* III, p. 241 (bottom right).

Crown; behind Wadjet is Seth in a striding pose, holding a crown in his right hand that is too damaged to identify, while steadying the king's crown with his left hand. Text of Horus: *gd-md(.w) in Hr S3 3s.t hr s3=f Hry-Hr S3-Imn smn=i n=k hđ.t hr tp=k h'w=k mi it=k R' di=i snd=k m-ht h3s.wt nb(.wt) wr(.w)=sn hr(.w) n b3w=k w'f=i n=k t3 nb dmd iw=k h'.ti hr s.t Hr*

“Statement by Horus Son of Isis to his son Herihor Siamun: ‘Let me affix for you your White Crown upon your head, that you may appear in glory like your father Re, while I place your frightfulness throughout all foreign lands. Their chiefs have fallen to your *bau*-power and I defeat for you every land (united) together, you having arose upon the throne of Horus.’” Text

of Seth: *gd-md(.w) in Nbw.ty nb t3 Šm'w mry R' hry-tp t3.wy hr s3=f Hry-Hr smn=i n=k dšr.t hr tp=k šsp=k hkr.w n it=k R' sq3=i šf(y.t)=k m t3.w nb.w hry.t=k phr.ti m ib(.w)=sn*

“Statement by the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt, Beloved of Re, Preeminent Over the Two Lands to his son Herihor, Siamun: ‘Let me affix for you the Red Crown upon your head that you might take the panoply of your father Re, while I exalt your prestige in all lands and your terrifying aspect pervades their hearts.’” Text of Nekhbet: *Nhb.t hđ.t Nhn* “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen.” Text of Wadjet: *W3dy.t nb.t p.t* “Wadjet, Lady of the Sky.” Other components of the scene: above the king is a sun disk with two uraei; the uraei have no crowns but have *ankhs* on their necks and there are five *ankhs* below the sun disk. The names of the king are to either side of the sun disk. At left: *Hry-Hr S3-Imn* “Herihor Siamun.” At right: *Hm-ntr-tpy-n-Imn* “Hemnetjertepyenamun (High-Priest-of-Amun).”

B-11-16 Location: Karnak North, Temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, inter-columnar walls, 6 scenes grouped together, because they are nearly identical.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pls. 57, 63, 65,

72, 76, 78; Leclant, *XXV^e Dynastie*, pl. 52A (=Barguet and Leclant, pl. 63); *PM II*, p. 5. King: Taharqa, faces south in each scene (whether this is right or left), wears the Double Crown (each scene). At the south side of the king is Horus steadying the king's crown, while Nekhbet stands behind wearing the vulture headdress, holding a *w3s*-scepter in her forward hand and an *ankh* in her other hand; at the king's north side is Thoth steadying the king's crown with Wadjet standing behind, who is equipped like Nekhbet. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t* (preserved in two scenes¹¹⁹)/ *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3* (preserved in one scene¹²⁰) *ḏd-md(.w) smn.n(=i) n=k šḥm.ty/nb.ty tp=k mry=sn/mry ḥ.t=sn pw* (name in cartouches lost) *ʿnh w3s mi Rʿ/ʿnh.ti ḏ.t/ʿnh ḏ.t* "The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky/the Great God. Recitation:¹²¹ 'It is for you that I have affixed the Double Crown/Two Ladies¹²² upon you. It is their beloved/the beloved of their body¹²³ (name lost), who lives and has dominion like Re/you living forever/who lives forever.'"¹²⁴ Text of Thoth: *nb ḥmnw nb md.w-nṯr* "The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs";¹²⁵ in one scene is added *di=f ʿnh w3s* "as he gives life and dominion";¹²⁶ the rest of the text is the same as Horus' statement. Text of Nekhbet (in each scene that it is preserved): *Nḥb.t ḥḏ.t Nḥn nb.t p.t*

¹¹⁹ Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pls. 72 and 78.

¹²⁰ Ibid, pl. 65.

¹²¹ The statements of Horus and Thoth are, essentially, the same.

¹²² The word is rendered  in Barguet and Leclant pls. 63 (north/left=Thoth), 65 (north/right=Thoth), 72 (south/left=Horus) and 76 (north/left=Thoth) but is rendered  in pl. 72 (north/right=Thoth) and 76 (south/right=Horus). The former is usually read as *šḥm.ty* (*Wb.* IV, p. 250) and the latter as *nb.ty* (*Wb.* II, p. 233). Note: all further reference to plates in the footnotes to this group of scenes refers to Barguet and Leclant, *Karnak-Nord IV*.

¹²³ *Mry=sn*: pls. 63 (north/left=Thoth), 65 (north/right=Thoth), 76 (north/left=Thoth), 78 (north/right=Thoth); *mry ḥ.t=sn*: pls. 72 (north/right=Thoth), 76 (south/right=Horus).

¹²⁴ *ʿnh w3s mi Rʿ*: pls. 65 (north/right=Thoth), 72 (north/right=Thoth and south/left=Horus), 76 (north/left=Thoth); *ʿnh.ti ḏ.t*: pl. 63 (north/left=Thoth); *ʿnh ḏ.t*: pl. 78 (north/right=Thoth).

¹²⁵ This is the same in every scene in which it is preserved: pls. 63, 65, 72, 76, 78.

¹²⁶ Pl. 72.

“Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, Lady of the Sky.”¹²⁷ Text of Wadjet (in each scene that it is preserved): *W3dy.t P Dp nb(.t) Pr Nw nb(.t) Pr Nsr* “Wadjet of Pe and Dep, Lady of the *Per-Nu*-shrine, Lady of the *Per-Neser*-shrine.”¹²⁸ Other components of the scene: above the king: *ntr nfr nb ir(.t) h.t* (name lost) *di ‘nh* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual (name lost), given life.”¹²⁹

B-17 Location: Karnak, east, temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, southernmost row of columns (fourth row from north=Leclant row a), north face of inter-columnar wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” pp. 125-127, fig. 3 (Eα3); *PM II*², p. 209 (14, 3). King: Taharqa, faces right/west, wears the Double Crown. At right/west is Horus steadying the king’s crown with both hands and behind him is Wadjet holding a *w3s*-scepter in her right hand and holding an *ankh* in her left hand. At left/east is Thoth steadying the king’s crown with his left hand (right hand lost) and behind him is Nekhbet holding a *w3s*-scepter (both hands lost). Both goddesses wear the vulture headdress. Text of Horus: *Bhd.t(y) nb p.t d(d)–md(.w) smn.n(=i) n=k shm.ty tp[=k mr]y=sn pw* (name in cartouche lost) *di ‘nh d.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky. Recitation: ‘It is for you that I have affixed the Double Crown upon [you.]’ It is their [belov]ed (name lost), given life forever.” Text of Thoth: *nb Hmnw nb md(.w)–ntr d(d)–md(.w) smn.n(=i) n=k shm.ty tp=k [mry=sn* (name) *di ‘nh d.t (?)* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs. Recitation: ‘It is for you that I have affixed the Double Crown upon you.’ [It is their beloved (name), who lives forever (?).]” Text of Wadjet: *W3dy.t [P D]p nb(.t) Pr–Nw nb(.t) Pr–Ns(r)* “Wadjet of [Pe and De]p, Lady

¹²⁷ Pls. 72 and 78; pl. 65 just preserves the name “Nekhbet.”

¹²⁸ Pls. 63, 65, 72; pl. 76 only preserves *nb(.t) pr nsr*.

¹²⁹ Pls. 65 and 76; pl. 63 omits *di ‘nh*; pls. 72 and 78 omit *ir(.t) h.t* and *di ‘nh*; nothing is preserved in the other scenes.

of the *Per-Nu*-shrine, Lady of the *Per-Nes(er)*-shrine.” Text of Nekhbet: *Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn 3w(.t)[-]* *ḥ nb.t F’g* “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, She of Long Arm/Wing, Lady of Fag.” Other components of the scene: in front of the king’s crown is a cartouche with the name hacked out followed by (sic)¹³⁰ *nṯr nfr nb ir(.t) ḥ.t* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual.”

B-18 Location: Karnak, east, temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, 3rd row of columns from north (=Leclant row b), south face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” pp. 132-134, fig. 6 (Eβ’3); *PM II*², p. 209 (17, 1). King: Taharqa, faces left/west, wears the Double Crown (image below crown destroyed). At left/west is Horus steadying the king’s crown (only his hand and the back of his head remain); behind him is Wadjet holding a *w3s*-scepter (only part of her upper arm remains). At right/east is Thoth steadying the king’s crown (only his hand remains); behind him was Nekhbet (no part of her image remains). Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nb Msn ḏ(d)-md(.w) smn.n(=i) n=k nb.ty tp=k [mry=sn pw (name lost) di ‘nḥ ḏ.t (?)]* “The Behdetite, Lord of Mesen. Recitation: ‘It is for you that I have affixed the Two Ladies upon you.’ [It is their beloved [(name lost)], given life forever.]” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb md(.w)-nṯr ḏ(d)-md(.w) smn.n(=i) n=k nb.ty tp=k mry=sn pw (name lost) di ‘nḥ ḏ.t (?)]* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs. Recitation: ‘[It is for you] that I have affixed [the Two Ladies upon you.’ It is their beloved (name lost), given life forever (?)].” Text of Wadjet: *W3ḏy.t P Dp nb(.t) Pr-Nw nb(.t) Pr-Ns(r){t}* “Wadjet of Pe and Dep, Lady of the *Per-Nu*-shrine, Lady of the *Per-Nes(er)*-shrine.” Text of Nekhbet: *Nḥb.t ḥd.t Nḥn 3w(.t)[-]* *ḥ nb.t F’g (?)* “Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen, She of

¹³⁰ The hieroglyphs are oriented such that they follow the cartouche contrary to the usual arrangement in which the titles precede the name.

Long [Arm/Wing], Lady [of Fag (?)].” Other components of scene: in front of the king’s crown is *ntr nfr nb ir(.t) h.t* [(name lost)] *di ‘nh* “The Perfect God, Lord of Ritual [(name lost)], given life.”

B-19 Location: Karnak, east, temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, second row of columns from north (=Leclant row c), north face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” p. 137, fig. 10, pp. 139 and 141; *PM II*², p. 210 (22). King: Taharqa, figure and crown lost (if like other scenes he should be facing right/west and wearing the Double Crown). At right/west is Horus (only his back remains); a goddess, probably Wadjet, would have stood behind him but that section is completely lost. At left/east is Thoth (figure completely lost); behind him stood a goddess, probably Nekhbet, but only part of her arm and waist remain, plus her *w3s*-scepter and the word *nb.t* “Lady.” Text of Horus: *Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 d(d)-md(w) smn.n(=i) n=k nb.ty tp=k mry h.t=sn pw Thr-[q3 di ‘nh d.t (?)]* “The Behdetite, the Great God. Recitation: ‘It is for you that I have affixed the Two Ladies upon you.’ It is the beloved of their body Tahar[qa, given life forever (?)].” Text of Thoth: *nb Hmnw nb md(w)-ntr d(d)-md(w) s]mn[.n(=i) n=k nb.ty tp=k mry h.t=sn* [(name lost)] *di ‘nh d.t (?)]* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs. Recitation: ‘[It is for you that I have] affixed [the Two Ladies upon you.’ It is the beloved of their body [(name lost)], given life forever (?)].” Other components of the scene: above and to the right of

where the king originally stood is *nṯr nfr nb [ir(.t) ḥ.t] Th[r-q3] di 'nh* “The Perfect God, Lord [of Ritual] Taha[rqa], given life.”¹³¹

B-20 Location: Karnak, east, temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, northernmost row of columns (first row from north=Leclant, pl. 1 row d), south face of inter-columnar wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” pp. 144-145, fig. 14 (Eδ4), pl. IX B; *PM II*², p. 210 (25, 1).¹³² King: Taharqa, image and names completely destroyed. At left/west is Horus and behind him is Wadjet holding a *w3s*-scepter; at right/east the figure and names of the god, almost certainly Thoth, is destroyed and behind where his image would have been is a goddesses holding a *w3s*-scepter, who must be Nekhbet but only one of her epithets survive, *3w(.t)*-“She of Long Arm/Wing.” No text survives for Horus or Thoth, although they were likely very similar to the texts from B-17-19.¹³³ Above Wadjet is *W3dy.t P Dp nb(.t) Pr-Nw nb(.t) Pr-Ns(r){t}* “State[ment by] Wadjet of Pe and Dep, Lady of the *Per-Nu*-shrine, Lady of the *Per-Neser*-shrine.” Between Wadjet and Horus and between Thoth and Nekhbet is *mry ḥ.t=s[n] pw [(name lost)] 'nh mi R* “It is the beloved one of their¹³⁴ body [(name lost)], who lives like Re.”¹³⁵ Above the *sm3-t3.wy* motif at left is *s3 R' n ḥ.t=f Psmṯk di 'nh w3s mi R' d.t* “The Son of Re of his body Psamtek, given life and dominion like Re forever.”

¹³¹ Another Δ is found just before the text of Thoth, which may belong to this inscription or the artist may have carved another *di 'nh* behind the head of the king positioned as in B-18 by mistake.

¹³² *PM II*², p. 210 (25, 1) describes the scene as “crowning by goddesses”; goddesses (Nekhbet and Wadjet) are present but they are not carrying out the crowning.

¹³³ The tail of the *dd*-snake sign appears just in front of the text of Wadjet as in the other scenes.

¹³⁴ Leclant suggests that it could read =s or =sn, “(son ou leur),” but in the text between Wadjet and Horus in B-17 the text reads =sn.

¹³⁵ The last phrase survives only in the text between Thoth and Nekhbet.

At right is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Nfr-ib-R' di 'nh w3s mi R' d.t* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Neferibre, given life and dominion like Re forever.”¹³⁶

B-21 Location: Kharga Oasis, Temple of Hibis, hypostyle B, west wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 7; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, p. 46; *PM VII*, p. 283 (76). King: Darius I, faces right/north, wears the Double Crown.¹³⁷ At left/south is Horus; at right/north is Thoth. Text of Horus (above Horus): *Hr s3 3s.t* “Horus Son-of-Isis.” Text of Horus in column behind him: *dd-md(.w) in Hr s3 3s.t ntr '3 [.] mry in s3=f mr[(y)=f] s3 R' (no name in cartouche) 'nh d.t smn(=i) n=k shm.t(y) tp tp=k mi R' d.t* “Statement by Horus Son-of-Isis, the Great God, Beloved [of . (?)]; it is his son, [his] beloved, the Son of Re (no name in cartouche): ‘Let me affix for you the Double Crown upon your head like Re forever.’” Text of Thoth (above Thoth): *nb Hmnw nb md(.w)-ntr* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs.” Text of Thoth in column behind him: *dd-md(.w) in nb Hmnw ntr '3 hnty hw.t-ibt.t nb(.t) in s3=f mr(y)=f s3 R' (no name in cartouche) 'nh d.t smn(=i) n=k shm.t(y) tp tp=k mi R' d.t* “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis, the Great God, Foremost of the Mansion of Every Bird trap;¹³⁸ it is his son, his beloved, the Son of Re (no name in cartouche), who lives forever: ‘Let me affix for you the Double Crown upon your head like Re forever.’” Other components of the scene: a goddess, whose figure is mostly destroyed is at the far right and extends a *Sed* festival sign hanging from a year-sign above the king’s face; her

¹³⁶ The two groups of titles and name have opposite orientations with the left group facing left and the right group facing right, however the “given life, etc.” phrase for each text is oriented in the opposite direction as the titles and names.

¹³⁷ Parts of the crown are damaged and the remains could be either the Double Crown or the White Crown but the texts of Horus and Thoth mention the Double Crown.

¹³⁸ For the last title, see *LÄGG*, vol. 5, p. 828.

name is lost and only one of her titles remains: *mw.t ntr* “Mother of the God.” At the top of the scene is a winged sun disk with uraei (no crowns or accoutrements); a vertical line of text extends down from each side from the wing tips and both lines read *Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3h.t* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon.” Between the winged disk and the king is *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R‘ nb h‘.w* (no name in cartouche) *di ‘nh d.t* “The Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands (no name in cartouche), Son of Re and Lord of Crowns (no name in cartouche), given life forever.”

C: Uniting the Two Lands (*sm3-t3.wy*)

C-1 Location: Dendera (now in Cairo), chapel of Mentuhotep II, interior rear wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Georges Daressy, “Chapelle de Mentouhotep III à Dendérah,” *ASAE* 17 (1917), p. 229, pl. 1; Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), pp. 22-23, fig. 6; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 230, fig. 129; Kees, *Horus und Seth*, vol. 1, p. 8; Heinrich Schäfer, “Die ‘Vereinigung der beiden Länder’: Ursprung, Gehalt und Form eines ägyptisches Sinnbildes im Wandel der Geschichte,” *MDAIK* 12 (1943), p. 85, fig. 1. King: Mentuhotep II, appears above the scene wearing the Double Crown smiting the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. At right is “Horus” or, at least, a falcon-headed god, his name is lost and the identity of the plant held cannot be determined. Behind him is one of the

Meret-goddesses (probably that of Upper Egypt). At left the god, his name and the plant he holds are lost;¹³⁹ behind the lost god is the goddess *Mr.t T3-Mḥw{t}* “Meret of Lower Egypt.”

C-2 Location: Lisht, mortuary temple of Senwosret I, 5 of 10 seated statues of the king with Horus and Seth in *sm3-t3.wy*-scenes on both sides of the throne (the other 5 have fecundity figures representing Upper and Lower Egypt performing the *sm3-t3.wy*, see notes), the statues with Horus and Seth faced south with Seth in the southern position by the king’s legs.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: J.-E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, MIFAO 6 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), pp. 30-37, figs. 28-37. King: Senwosret I, figure not present in scenes but his birth name, *Sn-wsr.t*, appears on the right side of each throne on top of the *sm3-t3.wy*-sign and his throne name, *Hpr-k3-R*, appears on the left side of each throne upon the *sm3-t3.wy*-sign. Seth is on the south side of each scene and holds the plant of Upper Egypt and Horus is on the north side holding the plant of Lower Egypt. On one statue Horus and Seth both wear the Double Crown on both sides of the throne¹⁴⁰ but in all other scenes they are without crowns. With the exception of the king’s cartouches, the only texts are the names and epithets of the gods. The names and/or epithets of the gods are as follows: (Statue 1)¹⁴¹ On both sides of the

¹³⁹ Most assume the lost god is Seth: Kees, *Horus und Seth*, p. 8; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 230 (with reservations: “Seth?”); but it has also been suggested that it is another form of Horus: Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp,” pp. 22-23. Two forms of Horus can sometimes appear in situations where one normally finds (one) Horus and Seth; see Kees, *Horus und Seth*, pp. 11-12; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos*, BSAE 38 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1896), pl. 7, no. 16a.

¹⁴⁰ Gautier and Jéquier, *Licht*, p. 35, fig. 33.

¹⁴¹ The numbers refer to the order that the statues’ scenes are presented in Gautier and Jéquier.

throne Seth is *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite” and Horus is *Bḥd.t(y)*.¹⁴² (Statue 2) On the statue’s right Seth is *Wr-ḥk3w imy Nbw.t* “The Great-of-Magic who is in Ombos” and Horus is *Bḥd.t(y) ḥnty itr.t šm’y.t* “The Behdetite, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row.”¹⁴³ On the statue’s left Seth is *Nbw.t(y) nb Sw* “The Ombite, Lord of Su” and Horus is *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky.”¹⁴⁴ (Statue 3) On the statue’s right side Seth is *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite” and Horus is *nṯr ‘3 nb Msn* “The Great God, Lord of Mesen.”¹⁴⁵ On the statue’s left Seth is *nb t3 šm’w* “Lord of Upper Egypt” and Horus is *nṯr ‘3 nb p.t* “The Great God, Lord of the Sky.”¹⁴⁶ (Statue 4) On the statues right Seth is *nb Sw ḥnty itr.t šm’y.t* “Lord of Su, Foremost of the Upper Egyptian Shrine Row” and Horus is *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t ḥnty itr.t mḥy.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, Foremost of the Lower Egyptian Shrine Row.”¹⁴⁷ On the statue’s left Seth is *imy Nbw.t* “He who is (resident) in Ombos” and Horus is *nṯr ‘3 nb p.t* “The Great God, Lord of the Sky.”¹⁴⁸ (Statue 5) On the statue’s right Seth is *Nbw.(ty) nb t3 šm’w* “The Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt” and Horus is *nṯr ‘3 s3b šw.t* “The Great God of Multicolored Plumage.”¹⁴⁹ On the statue’s left Seth is *nb Sw* “Lord of Su” and Horus is *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky.”¹⁵⁰

Notes: The statues with fecundity figures appear to have faced north with the fecundity figure representing Lower Egypt on the north side by the king’s legs. In one of the scenes with

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 35, fig. 33.

¹⁴³ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 34 (left).

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, (right). Seth states *di.n(=i) n=k s.wt=i nb.(w)t* “To you have I given all of my *s.t*-thrones” and the Behdetite says *di.n(=i) iw’.t ns.wt=i* “To you have I given the inheritance of my *ns.t*-thrones”.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 36, fig. 35 (left).

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, (right).

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 36 (left).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, (right).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 37, fig. 37 (left).

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, (right).

fecundity figures the text with the figure identified with Upper Egypt states *di.n n=k Stḥ s.wt=f t3 Šm'w* “It is to you that Seth has given his *s.t*-thrones of Upper Egypt” whereas the text of that of Lower Egypt states *di.n n=k Hr ns.wt=f t3 Mḥw* “It is to you that Horus has given his *ns.t*-thrones of Lower Egypt.”¹⁵¹

C-3 Location: Abydos, Temple of Sety I, King’s Chapel, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vol. 2, pls. 30 and 37; *PM VI*, p. 10 (99). King: Sety I, present in scene, enthroned facing right/east, wearing the *Atef* Crown on top of the *Nemes* headdress and holding the crook and flail. At left/west sits Wadjet wearing the vulture headdress and embracing the king; behind her stands Horus holding the plant of Lower Egypt. At right/east sits Nekhbet wearing the vulture headdress and embracing the king; behind her stands Thoth holding the plant of Upper Egypt; Seshat stands behind Thoth holding a writer’s palette and a year sign with a pendant *Sed* festival sign. She is writing the king’s name in the column of her text. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md.w in Hr Bḥd.t(y) sm3(=i) t3.wy ḥr=k rd.wy Hr nb ‘ḥ iw n=k iwnty.w sty šm'w.w n Ḥnt-ḥn-nfr iw ḥm=k mn(.w) ḥr-tp srḥ mi rwd Itmw m lwnw* (behind Horus) *wnn Hr s3 3s.t [ḥr] sm3 Šm'w ḥn' Mḥw ḥr ns.t s3=f Mn-M3'.t-R' ḏ.t* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘It is under you (at) the feet of Horus Lord of the Palace that I shall unite the Two Lands while the Nubian bowmen and the Upper Egyptians of Khentyhennefer come to you. Your Majesty is established upon the *Serekh*-throne just as Atum is enduring in Heliopolis.’ It is under the throne of his son Menmaatre forever that Horus son of Isis shall join Upper Egypt with Lower Egypt.” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw sm3.n(=i) n=k Šm'w Mḥw r it.t t3.wy m m3'-ḥrw t3.w nb.w ḥ3s.wt nb.(w)t ḥr rd.wy ḥm=k ḏ.t*

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 33, fig. 28 (left).

“Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: ‘It is in order to take possession of the Two Lands in justification that I have united for you Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt; all lands and all foreign lands are under the feet of Your Majesty forever.’” Text of Nekhbet: *ḏd-md(.w) in Nḥb.t ḥḏ.t-Nḥn ‘.wy=i m s3=k ḥr ḥnm ḥ’.w=k nb t3.wy Mn-M3’.t-R* “Statement by Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen: ‘My arms are your protection enfolding your body O Lord of the Two Lands Menmaatre.’” Text of Wadjet: *ḏd-md(.w) in W3ḏy.t P Dp ‘.wy=i ḥ3=k m ‘nh w3s ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mn-M3’.t-R* “Statement by Wadjet of Pe and Dep: ‘My arms are around you with life and dominion O King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menmaatre.’” Other components of the scene: above the king is a winged disk; at the end of each wing is *Bḥd.t(y) ntr ‘3* “The Behdetite, the Great God.” Before the king’s crown is *ntr nfr Mn-M3’.t-R s3 R’ Sty Mry-n-Pth di ‘nh w3s mi R* “The Perfect God Menmaatre, Son of Re Se(t)y Merenptah, given life and dominion like Re.”

C-4 Location: Abydos, temple of Sety I, outer hypostyle hall, east wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: unpublished, a short description and translations of texts (with some transliterations) is found in Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 262; *PM VI*, p. 5 (45). King: Ramesses II usurped from Sety I, crown and direction the king is facing not mentioned and he kneels above the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif with the hook and flail in his right hand and the *mks* in his left. At right/south is Horus; at left/north is Wepwawat, who Baines suggests takes the place of Seth/Thoth for local reasons. Here provided are Baines’ translations and transliterations, which he notes are tentative, because some signs could not be read with certainty from the photograph that he used:

Horus (south): ‘Speech by Horus (?) the father to his son PRENOMEN: I(?) am your father who created your perfection (*nfrwk*); I reinforce your strength (*mk wj hr snht phtik*). I bind the nine bows for you, joined and united (*dmdj zm3*) — [. . . . ’

Wepwawat (north): ‘Speech: Wepwawat ‘(verb)’ the kingship(?) of the two lands to his son NOMEN, dwelling in his temple. I bind for you the two lands (, ‘all?’ foreign lands and banks (*jdbw*) being under you, seized in your grasp, trampled under [your] sandals.’

C-5 Location: Karnak, Temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall, internal south wall, east half.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 69; Schwaller de

Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak*, pl. 75; *PM II*², p. 48 (159, II.2); Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 261-

262. King: Ramesses II,¹⁵² present, kneeling above *sm3-t3.wy* motif, facing left/east, wears short wig with two streamers at back and holds the crook in his right hand. At right/west is Horus

holding the plant of Lower Egypt; at left/east is Thoth holding the plant of Upper Egypt. Text of

Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr nṯr ‘3 nb Msn sm3=n n=k t3.wy ḥr rd.wy=k nṯr nfr pn wnn n=k nsy.t*

*nb.wy psš.t=i psš.t nt sn=i ḥr.t=s(n)*¹⁵³ *n=k m ‘nh w3s t3 Šm‘w t3 Mḥw ḥr=k iw=k mi [R‘/Itmw (?)] m ḥq3 psḏ.t pḏ.wt* “Statement by Horus, the Great God, Lord of Mesen: ‘Let us unite for you

the Two Lands under your feet O You¹⁵⁴ Perfect God! To you belongs the kingship of the Two

Lords; (that is) my portion and the portion of my brother,¹⁵⁵ their shares belong to you with life

and dominion. Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt are under you as you¹⁵⁶ are like [Re/Atum (?)] as

Ruler of the Nine Bows.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in ḏḥwty nb Ḥmnw sm3=n n=k Šm‘w Mḥw*

¹⁵² The relief is original to Ramesses II; see Peter J. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 193.

¹⁵³ Archaic use of dual, 3rd person common suffix pronoun (Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 39, § 34); cf. text of Thoth.

¹⁵⁴ Literally “this.”

¹⁵⁵ Or read *sn(w)=i* “my counterpart”; although Horus and Seth are called brothers in some texts; cf. H. te Velde, “Horus und Seth,” *LÄ* III, col. 26.

¹⁵⁶ The *iw=k* in the speech of Thoth is likely the Late Egyptian use of *iw* as a subordinate clause converter and it is, thus, likely the case here.

twt.n=k st ntk nb.ty=sny psš.w(t) nb.w nb.wy hr(t)=sn tp t3 wn=sn m3' n k3=k di=i Šm'w hr
tbw.ty=k iw Hr hr rd.t n=k t3 Mhw dmd=n n=k t3.wy hr rd.wy=k “Statement by Thoth, Lord of
Hermopolis: ‘Let us unite for you Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt after you assembled them.
Their Two Ladies¹⁵⁷ belong to you and all the portions of the Two Lords and their belongings
upon earth; they rightly belonging to¹⁵⁸ your *ka*. Let me place Upper Egypt under your sandals
for you, while Horus is placing Lower Egypt (under your sandals) for you as we unite for you the
Two Lands under your feet.’” Other components of the scene: above the king is a hovering
vulture with a cobra-head (closed hood) without name.¹⁵⁹ Also above the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty*
Wsr-M3'.t-R' s3 R' R'-ms-sw [Mry]-Imn di 'nh d.t “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt
Usermaatre, Son of Re Ramesses [Mery]amun, given life forever.”

C-6 Location, Nubia, Temple of Wadi el-Sebua, inner court, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Henri Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouâ*, TIN 5
(Cairo: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1912), pp. 100-101, pl. 38A (a terrible photo-plate!);
PM VII, p. 59 (53-54). King: Ramesses II, figure present, seated on throne upon *sm3-t3.wy*
motif, facing left/west, according to Gauthier he wears the Blue Crown but, despite the bad
photo-plate and damage to the crown, the back line of the crown is too long for the Blue Crown
and is either the White Crown or, more likely, the Double Crown; he also holds the crook and
flail. At left/west is Horus. At right/east, according to Gauthier, is “un dieu à tête

¹⁵⁷ This is a reference to the Double Crown rather than the Two Ladies title as suggested, tentatively, by Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 262.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), p. 101.

¹⁵⁹ It is almost certainly to be identified as Wadjet.

d'animal,"¹⁶⁰ however one can clearly see that this animal has the distinctive rectangular shaped ears and head shape of Seth (but see the text of this god below).¹⁶¹ The plants held by the two gods cannot be determined from the plate and are not mentioned in the text. Note on the texts: the scene and its texts have suffered obvious damage; this and the quality of the photo of plate 38A, make it impossible to read the text from the plate and one must rely upon the reproduction of the text on page 101. Text of Horus (Gauthier's "Horus de gauche"): *ḏd-md(.w) in Hr [Bḥ]d.ty n s3=f R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn*¹⁶² *di=i [n]=k Šm'w Mḥw [. .] ir.t sh.t R' . (?)*¹⁶³ [. .] *sp sn* "Statement by Horus [the Beh]detite to his son Ramesses Meryamun: 'Let me give to you Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt [. .] making (?) the field of Re (?) . (?) [. .]' (Say) two times." Text of Seth (Gauthier's "Horus de droit"): *ḏd-md(.w) in Hr (sic) [. .] ty*¹⁶⁴ *nb p.t n [s3]=f Wsr-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-R*¹⁶⁵ *di=i n=k t3[.w]*¹⁶⁶ *nb(.w) [. . .]=k* "Statement by Horus (!?)¹⁶⁷ the [Behd- /Omb]jite,¹⁶⁸ Lord of the Sky to his [son] Usermaatse Setepenre: 'Let me give to you all land[s .] you/your (?) [. .]'" Other components of the scene: above the king is a sun disk with two

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 100.

¹⁶¹ *PM VII*, p. 59 states that the gods are "two figures of Horus"!

¹⁶² Gauthier just shows "N" within a cartouche for "Nomen."

¹⁶³ Gauthier gives the text as ...  (?); p. 101.

¹⁶⁴ Gauthier restores *Bḥd* in the break but it could have been *[Nbw].ty* but if  before this is not an error on his part, it could well have been "Horus [the Behd]jite."

¹⁶⁵ Gauthier just has "P" in a cartouche for "Prenomen."

¹⁶⁶ Two *t3*-signs in the break seem more likely than a single sign, so "lands" and not "Two Lands."

¹⁶⁷ Not visible in the photo-plate; I highly suspect this is an error of the publication; the inability to recognize Seth is telling! Although Seth can appear with a falcon head (such as at Hibis), he obviously is not depicted as such here and even in those cases in which he appears with a falcon head "Horus" is never one of his names.

¹⁶⁸ Gauthier restores the word as *[Bḥd].ty* but it is not stated in the publication whether or not there are traces of the word. If there are no traces, the word could be *[Nwb].ty*.

uraei;¹⁶⁹ placed by Gauthier at the beginning of the inscription identifying the king but belonging to the sun disk is *[Bhd].ty* “The Behdetite.” Also above the king is *nṯr nfr R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn wnn [ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy] Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c Stp-n-R^c s3 R^c nb [ḥ^c.w] R^c-ms-sw Mry-Imn ḥ^c.w ḥr [. . .]* “The Perfect God Ramesses Meryamun. It is upon [the throne of Horus (?)] that [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands] Usermaatre Setepenre, Son of Re and Lord of [Crowns] Ramesses Meryamun shall maintain appearance.”¹⁷⁰

C-7 Location: Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, second court, portico, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: *MH* V, pl. 284B; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 263-264, fig. 155; *PM* II², p. 502 (106, b, II). King: Ramesses III, present, kneels above *sm3-t3.wy* motif facing left/west, wearing the Blue Crown and holding the crook and flail. At left/west is Horus holding the plant of Upper Egypt; at right/east is Thoth holding the plant of Lower Egypt. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bhd.t(y) sm3=i {n}*¹⁷¹ *n=k t3.wy m ḥtpw w^f=i n=k psd.t pḏ.wt nb t3.wy Wsr-M3^c.t-R^c Mry-Imn* “Statement by the Behdetite: ‘Let me unite for you the Two Lands in peace, while I subdue the Nine Bows for you O Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw sm3=i n=k šn n itn t3.w ḥ3s.wt ḥr rd.wy=k dmd=i n=k sw.t n w3ḏ m imy.t-pr n ḥf^c=k s3 R^c R^c-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw di ‘nh* “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis: ‘Let me unite for you the Circuit of the Aten,¹⁷² the

¹⁶⁹ See Gauthier p. 100; only the disk and a line of the right uraeus are visible in the plate.

¹⁷⁰ I take *wnn* to be a 2nd tense prospective; see Pascal Vernus, *Future at Issue: Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian; Studies in Syntax and Semantics*, YES 4 (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Egyptological Seminar, 1990), p. 47, cf. example 100.

¹⁷¹ Based on its placement after the pronoun and its absence in the speech of Thoth, this *n* is probably an error rather than a past tense marker of the *sdm.n=f*.

¹⁷² That is the whole world, which is also implied in the following words.

flat lands and the hill lands¹⁷³ under your feet. Let me join for you the *sut*-plant to the papyrus as a deed of transfer for your grasp O Son of Re Ramesses Heqaiunu, given life.” Other components of the scene: above the king is a sun disk with two uraei. The left/west uraeus wears the White Crown and the right/east uraeus wears the Red Crown; below the sun disk is *Bḥd.t(y)*. To the left of the sun disk is *nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Mry-Imn nb ḥ‘.w R‘-ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw* “The Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatre Meryamun, Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu.”

C-8 Location: Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, royal mortuary complex room 26, west wall, lintel of door. Publications/photos/translations of text: *MH* VI, pl. 471A; *PM* II², p. 512 (154, a-b).¹⁷⁴ King: Ramesses III, figure present, kneeling above *sm3-t3.wy*-motif, facing left/south, wearing *Nemes* headdress and holding the crook and flail. At left/south is Horus holding the plant of Upper Egypt; at right/north is Thoth holding the plant of Lower Egypt. Text of Horus: *ḡd-md(w) in Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 sm3=i t3.w nb.w ḥr ṯbw.ty=k* “Statement by the Behdetite, the Great God: ‘Let me unite all lands under your sandals.’” Text of Thoth: *ḡd-md(w) in Dḥwty sm3=i t3.w nb.w ḥr ṯbw.ty=k* “Statement by Thoth: ‘Let me unite all lands under your sandals.’” Other components of the scene: in front of the king’s face is *Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Mry-Imn* “Usermaatre Meryamun.” Notes: on the doorjambs below the king wears the White Crown on the left/south jamb and the Red Crown on the right/north jamb (*MH* VI, pl. 471B-C).

¹⁷³ Or “the lowlands and the highlands,” also meaning Egypt and foreign lands; again, the whole world.

¹⁷⁴ Note that *PM* classifies the scene as being part of room 27 as the façade of the entrance to this room, while *MH* VI includes the scene as part of room 26.

C-9 Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, corridor surrounding sanctuary, west wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 6010; *LD* III, pl. 222c; *PM* II², p. 235 (37). King: Ramesses IV, figure present, kneels above *sm3-t3.wy*-motif, facing right/north, wearing the *Nemes* headdress, holding the crook and flail in his right hand and an *ankh* in his left hand, which is lowered before his knee. At right/north is Horus holding the plant of Lower Egypt; at left/south is Seth, whose figure is hacked out but appears to have had a human head, holding the plant of Upper Egypt.¹⁷⁵ Text of Horus: [*dd-md(.w) in Hr (?)*]¹⁷⁶ n s3=f mry=f nb t3.wy (?) *Hq3-M3'.t-R' s3 R' n [h].t=f mry=f nb h'.w R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn sm3.n(=i) n=k t3[w m htpw] w'f=i n nb (psd.t) pd.wt* “[Statement by Horus (?) to his son, his beloved the Lord of the Two Lands] Heqamaatre, Son of Re of His [Bo]dy, his beloved the Lord of Crowns Ramesses Meryamun: ‘It is for you that I have united the land[s in peace], while I subdue (them) for the Lord of the (Nine)¹⁷⁷Bows.’”¹⁷⁸ Text of Seth: *dd-md(.w) in Sth Nbw.t[y] nb t3 Šm'w ntr '3 n [s3]=f mry=f nb t3.wy mrr R' Hq3-M3'.t-R' Stp-n-R' s3 R' n h.t=f mry[=f] R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn sm3.n(=i) n=k t3.w m [htpw] Šn-[wr Phr-wr hr tbw.ty=k]* “Statement by Seth, the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt, the Great God to his [son], his beloved the Lord of the Two Lands, whom Re loves, Heqamaatre Setepenamun, Son of Re of [His] Body Ramesses Meryamun: ‘It is for you that I have united the lands in [peace].¹⁷⁹ The Ocea[n and the Sea are under your sandals].” Other components of the scene: above and behind the head of the king was a text that likely

¹⁷⁵ Lepsius’ drawing is imprecise in showing the flowers of both plants as the same but in Chic. Or. Inst. Phot. 6010 the Upper Egyptian plant is visible on the left with Seth and the Lower Egyptian plant on the right with Horus.

¹⁷⁶ Although the beginning of the text is lost, it can be partially restored based on the text of Seth here and the texts of Horus and Seth in C-10.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the speech of Horus in C-10.

¹⁷⁸ The “Lord of the Nine Bows” I assume is the king and not a foreign ruler.

¹⁷⁹ The restorations here and at the end of the text are based on the speech of Seth in C-10.

included his name(s) and titles and promised him divine gifts but all that remains is [. . . .] *nb* [. . .] = *f mi R' d.t* “[. . . .] all [. . .] he/him like Re forever.”

C-10 Location: Karnak, Temple of Khonsu, corridor surrounding sanctuary, east wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Chic. Or. Inst. Photo. 5448; *PM II*², p. 236 (40, 7).

King: Ramesses IV, figure present, kneels above the *sm3-t3.wy* motif facing left/north, wears the *Nemes* or *Khat* headdress, holds the crook and flail in his left hand and *ankh* in his right hand lowered in front of his knees. At right/south is Horus holding the plant of Upper Egypt; at left/north is Seth holding the plant of Lower Egypt.¹⁸⁰ Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Hr Bh[d.ty] (?)*¹⁸¹ *ntr '3 s3b šw.t nb [Msn (?)] n s3=f mry=f [nb h'.w (?) R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn*¹⁸² *sm3.n=i n=k t3.w] m htpw w'f=i n nb psd.t pd.wt* “Statement by Horus the Beh[detite] (?), the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, Lord of [Mesen (?)] to his son, his beloved [the Lord of Crowns Ramesses Meryamun: ‘It is for you that I have united the lands] in peace, while I subdue (them) for the Lord of the Nine Bows.’” Text of Seth: *dd-md(.w) in [Sth]*¹⁸³ *Nbw.ty nb t3 Šm'w ntr '3 n s3=f mry=f nb t3.wy [Hq3]-M3'.t-R' [Stp-n]-Imn [sm3.n=i n=k t3.w] m htpw Šn-wr Phr-wr hr tbw.ty=k* “Statement by [Seth], the Ombite, Lord of Upper Egypt, the Great God to his son, his beloved the Lord of the Two Lands [Heqa]maatre [Setepen]amun: ‘It is for you that I have united the lands] in peace. The Ocean and the Sea are under your sandals.’” Other components of the scene: above the king is a sun disk with two uraei. There in no name associated with it, the uraei

¹⁸⁰ *PM II*, p. 236 (40, 7) incorrectly identifies him as Khonsu. The heads of both gods are lost and the remaining portion of Seth’s figure is severely hacked.

¹⁸¹ Only the back portion of the first sign is extant and is consistent with the tusk-sign; the following titles also support the identification of the word as “the Behdetite.”

¹⁸² Unlike the case in C-9, the space in these columns only allows one name before the speech of the god.

¹⁸³ The name, like the figure, has been intentionally hacked out.

do not have crowns or other accoutrements. Directly to the sun disk's right and continuing in two columns is *s3 'nh dd(.t) w3s nb snb nb 3w.t-ib nb h3=f mi*¹⁸⁴ *R' [d.t]* "The protection of all life, stability and dominion is behind him like Re forever." In front of the king's face is *nb t3.wy [Hq3-M3'.t]-R' [Stp-n-Imn] nb h'.w [R'-ms-sw Mry-Imn]* "The Lord of the Two Lands [Heqamaat]re, Lord of Crowns [Ramesses Meryamun]."

C-11 Location: origin unknown, now in a private collection, rectangular bronze pedestal, back side, according to John Baines the plinth probably was intended to face towards a sanctuary of an east bank temple due to the placement of fecundity figures representing the nomes of the north on the left side of the plinth and those of the south on the opposite side.¹⁸⁵

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 190, fig. 111 (cf. figs. 108-110) and p. 269; Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Egyptian Seals, Scarabs and Signet Rings (The Property of His Grace The Duke of Northumberland, K.G., T.D., F.R.S.), Antiquities (The Property of the Late Colonel N. R. Colville, M.C., F.S.A.)*, 21 April 1975, pp. 69, 71, no. 259.

King: Piye ; the cartouches of Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, Amenirdis I, daughter of Kashta and Pabetjma, wife of Kashta appear upon the *sm3-t3.wy* motif.¹⁸⁶ At right/south (?)¹⁸⁷ is Horus; at left/north (?) is Thoth; the plants that they hold are not clear. Text of Horus: difficult to read

¹⁸⁴ Only the top of the loop is extant.

¹⁸⁵ See *Fecundity Figures*, p. 269.

¹⁸⁶ The names were attacked in the 26th Dynasty but enough must remain to read the names, however I cannot make them out sufficiently enough from the photo to transliterate them.

¹⁸⁷ The nomes of Upper Egypt are on the same half of the plinth.

from the photos but appears to read *Bḥd.t(y)* “The Behdetite.”¹⁸⁸ Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb md(.w) ntr (?)*¹⁸⁹ “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs.”

C-12 Location: Memphis, Temple of Ptah, now in Cairo (CG 655), back of a statue base of a seated statue of Shebitka. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo (Nr. 1-1294, vol. 3, Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 654-950, CGC 1-1294* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1930), p. 2, no. 655; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 237, fig. 137. King: Shebitka, figure not present, *serekh* with his Horus and personal names rests above the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif, the falcon sitting upon the *serekh* wearing the *Atef* crown faces right. At right stands Horus (his figure is lost but the front half of the signs of his name, see below, are identifiable); only his right hand holding an *ankh* remains. At left is Thoth holding an *ankh* in his left hand; his right hand is lost but was raised to his chest. Unlike other *sm3-t3.wy* scenes, the gods do not hold the plants of the Two Lands. The *sm3-t3.wy* motif includes captives tied with the plants; only the flowers of the left plant (on Thoth’s side) are extant and they appear to be the papyrus of Lower Egypt. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t[y . . (?)]* “The Behdet[ite . . (?)].” Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw rḥy.t(yw) nb.w [. .] ḥ3 [. .]* “The Lord of Hermopolis; all the subjects [. .] . (?) [. .].” Other components of the scene: within the cartouche is *Dd(.t)-ḥ'.w šbtk3* “Djedkhou Shebitka.” A sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king’s falcon with *ankhs* on the necks of the uraei.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ The first sign definitely appears to be the up-turned tusk and there is a circle behind it that might be the city-sign; if any text follows the name, I cannot see it.

¹⁸⁹ *Ntr* is not visible in the photo but is likely there.

¹⁹⁰ The drawing in Baines, which is taken from a publication by Mariette, shows a large uraeus in front of the falcon, whereas Borchardt’s drawing does not show this. See Baines’

C-13 Location: origin unknown, from the Salt collection and now in the British Museum

(60042), scene on back of a bronze statue plinth for a statuette of Amun-Re-Kamutef.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Erhart Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*, vol. 1, *Katalog und Materialsammlung*, ÄgAb 37 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), pp. 224-227, pl. 20c (cf. pls. 20b, 21b, 22a-b), no. P24; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 267, fig. 159 (cf. figs. 157, 160-161) and p. 268. King/period: late 26th Dyn.; the object is inscribed with the name of the God's Wife and Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre (there is no king's name or figure in the *sm3-t3.wy*-scene.¹⁹¹ At right is Horus; at left is Thoth; the plants that they hold are not clear. Horus appears on the same (right) half of the plinth as fecundity figures and *Mr.t*-goddesses bearing the plants of Lower Egypt on top of their heads, whereas those on the same half as Thoth (left half) bear plants of Upper Egypt.¹⁹² Also, the *Bas* of Buto appear on the right half and the *Bas* of Hierakonpolis appear on the left half of the plinth.¹⁹³ Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y)* "The Behdetite."¹⁹⁴ Text of Thoth: *nb Ḥmnw nb md.w nṯr* "The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs."

C-14 Location: originally Nubia, Gebel Barkal, temple B 700, room 703, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (23.728), granite altar, front and original west side.

comment on his doubt of the accuracy of Mariette's drawing on p. 417 "Source for figures" no. 137.

¹⁹¹ See Graefe, p. 227, pl. 21a.

¹⁹² See *ibid.*, pp. 225-226, pls. 20b, 21b, 22a-b.

¹⁹³ See *ibid.*, pl. 22a-b.

¹⁹⁴ The texts for both gods are difficult to read; see Graefe's translations on p. 226.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Dows Dunham, *The Barkal Temples Excavated by George Andrew Reisner* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970), pl. 30A; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 253, fig. 147, see also George A. Reisner, “The Barkal Temples in 1916 (continued),” *JEA* 5 (1918), p. 104, pl. 14; *PM* VII, pp. 214-215 (“Room II”). King: Atlanersa (successor of 25th Dynasty king Tanutamani), figure present, standing upon *sm3-t3.wy*-motif performing the “raising the sky” rite facing right/south,¹⁹⁵ wears the Nubian head-band or fillet with double uraei and streamers at the back. At left/north is Horus holding the plant of Lower Egypt; at right/south is Thoth holding the plant of Upper Egypt. Text of Horus: *Bhd.t(y) ntr ‘3 di ‘nh* “The Behdetite, the Great God, who gives life.” Text of Thoth: *nb Hmnw nb md(w)-ntr di ‘nh* “The Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, who gives life.” Other components of the scene: on the cornice above the scene is a winged sun disk with double uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements). Column of text behind Horus: *Hr-nbw Smn-hpw ny-sw.t-bi.ty Hwi-k3-R‘ s3 R‘ Itlnrs3 mry Imn-R‘ nb ns.(w)t t3.wy* “Horus of Gold Establisher-of-Laws, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khukare, Son of Re Atlanersa, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne(s) of the Two Lands.”¹⁹⁶ Column of text behind Thoth: *Hr Grg-t3.wy nb.ty Mry-M3‘t ny-sw.t-bi.ty Hwi-k3-R‘ s3 R‘ Itlnrs3 mry Imn Np.t* “Horus He-Who-Sets-the-Two-Lands-in-Order, Two Ladies He-Who-Loves-Maat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khukare, Son of Re Atlanersa, beloved of Amun of Napata.”¹⁹⁷ Added by Senkamanisken (successor of Atlanersa) directly behind Horus: *ny-sw.t-bi.ty Shpr-n-R‘ mry Imn Np.t di ‘nh d.t* “King of Upper and Lower Egypt

¹⁹⁵ On the original orientation of the altar see Reisner, “The Barkal Temples,” p. 104.

¹⁹⁶ See Reisner, p. 104, fig. 2, col. A.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, col. B.

Sekheperenre, beloved of Amun of Napata, given life forever.”¹⁹⁸ Added by the same king directly behind Thoth: *s3 R‘ Snk3-Imn-skn mry Imn-R‘ nb ns.wt t3.wy di ‘nh d.t* “Son of Re Senkamanisken, beloved of Amun-Re Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, given life forever.”¹⁹⁹

C-15 Location: Kharga Oasis, Temple of Hibis, room L, west wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 26; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 229, fig. 128 and pp. 270-272; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pp. 104-105; *PM VII*, p. 287 (127). King: Darius I, figure present shown sitting on a throne upon the *sm3-t3.wy* motif, facing left/south, wearing the Double Crown and holding the flail in his right hand and the *mks* in his left hand. At left/south is Horus holding the plant of Lower Egypt; at right/north is Thoth holding the plant of Upper Egypt. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Hr s3 3s.t n s3=f mry=f ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb ir(.t) h.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R‘ nb h‘.w* (no name in cartouche) *di ‘nh mi R‘ d.t sm3(=i) n=k Mhw Šm‘w mi w3d.ty(?) n it(=i) R‘* “Statement by Horus Son of Isis to his son, his beloved, the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of Ritual (no name), Son of Re and Lord of Crowns (no name), given life like Re forever: ‘Let me unite for you Lower Egypt²⁰⁰ and Upper Egypt just like the two uraei (?)²⁰¹ of my father Re.’”²⁰² Text of

¹⁹⁸ Ibid, col. A.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, col. B.

²⁰⁰ The unusual placement of Lower Egypt before Upper Egypt is apparently due to Horus’ identification as representative of the north; see Baines, p. 270, textual note h.

²⁰¹ Following Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 171. The text shows the *w3d*-sign (papyrus: ) with a short line that angles down from its right side, which meets another line that curves across the papyrus stalk; it may be, as Cruz-Uribe states (*Hibis*, vol. 1, p. 105, n. 508), that the *m3*-sign () was originally carved by mistake, however it could also be that the sculptor started to write the *mry*-sign () which is used in the word *mr.t*, dual *mr.ty*, another word for “uraeus”

Thoth: *gd-md(.w) in nb Hmnw nb md(.w)-ntr hnty Hw.t lb.t*²⁰³ *n s3=f mry=f ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb ir(.t) h.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R' nb h'.w* (no name in cartouche) *sm3(=i) n=k Šm'w (Mhw) hr=k m ny-sw.t t3.wy hq3 'w (?)*²⁰⁴ *mi R' d.t* “Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, Foremost of the Temple of Hermopolis to his son, his beloved, the Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands and Lord of Ritual (no name), Son of Re and Lord of Crowns (no name): ‘Let me unite Upper Egypt²⁰⁵ (and Lower Egypt) under you as king of the Two Lands and ruler of regions (?) like Re forever.’” A text below the leg of Horus reads *p'.t nb.t rhy.t nb.t h3.w-nb.w [nb.w] htp.w nb(.w)* “All the patricians, all the common folk, all the people of the islands, all *htp*-offerings.” The text below Thoth’s leg is damaged but appears to have been the same as that for Horus except the word *df3.w* is substituted for *htp.w*. Other components of the scene: two fecundity figures kneel grasping the stems of the plants and bear their respective plants upon their heads (Lower Egypt left/south, Upper Egypt right/north). Before the head of the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R' nb h'.w* (no name in cartouche) *di 'nh d.t* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands (no name), Son of Re

(see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 446). Cruz-Uribe’s note 508 is a little confusing, because he states that the writing is “clearly a mistake for” and then he shows the same writing that is in our text; he translates “goddesses” but I’m not certain how he gets this reading from the signs (though one might get this from an extended meaning for *w3d.ty*, since the two uraei represent goddesses; cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 208). Baines’ reading of *w3d.ty* “two uraei” fits the text and the context. The connection with twin uraei goes back farther than the 25th Dynasty, however, contra Baines, to the 18th Dynasty in the offering of the two uraei, who are Nekhbet and Wadjet and symbolize, or magically ensure, the rule of the king over the Two Lands; see Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 208 for references.

²⁰² See Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis*, vol. 1, p. 105, n. 508.

²⁰³ See Ibid, p. 105, n. 509 and cf. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, vol. 4, p. 48.

²⁰⁴ Reading the signs as $\nabla\nabla\nabla\text{||}\text{||}$; cf. Baines’ translation on p. 270.

²⁰⁵ Not “Lower Egypt” as in Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis*, vol. 1, p. 105, n. 510; the plant’s flowers are those of the Upper Egyptian plant in a late writing of the word for “Upper Egypt”: ; see *Wb.* IV, p. 472 (late writings lower right).

and Lord of Crowns (no name), given life forever.” Above the scene centered over the king is a winged sun disk (two uraei without crowns or other accoutrements). Inscriptions at the end of each wing read *Bḥd.[t](y)*²⁰⁶ *nṯr ʿ3 nb p.t s3b šw.t pr m 3ḥ.t* “The Behde[t]ite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, He of Multicolored Plumage, Who Comes Forth from the Horizon.”²⁰⁷ Twin columns of text to each side of the scene record statements by Amun-Re, Lord of Hibis but there is no image of the god in the scene.²⁰⁸

D: Scenes that combine elements of the scenes above

D-1 Location: Karnak, temple of Amun, Great Hypostyle Hall, internal north wall, east half. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Nelson, *Great Hypostyle Hall*, pl. 198; Altenmüller-Kesting, “Reinigungsriten,” p. 98; *PM II*², p. 45 (154, III.2). King: Sety I, faces right/south, wearing short wig, kneeling above *sm3-t3.wy*-sign, which is mostly destroyed but the Upper Egyptian plant is visible on the right/south. This scene includes purification and *sm3-t3.wy* (without the tying of the plants by the gods). At right/south is Horus, at left/north is Thoth. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Bḥd.t(y) ʿb ny-sw.t nb t3.wy M[n-M3ʿ.t]-Rʿ wʿb sp sn wnn=f ḥ[.w m] Gb swʿb.n=i*²⁰⁹ *tw dr=i sb.t=k*²¹⁰ *smn=i qs.w=k m ḥḥ.w rnp.wt nsy.t=k mi Ḥr-3ḥ.ty ʿb(=i) ḏ.t=k wʿb=k sp sn ḥr psḏ.t ʿ3.t stp=sn s3=sn ḥr=k m ʿnḥ ḏd(.t) w3s nb mi Rʿ ḏ.t* “Statement by the

²⁰⁶ The *t*-loaf is destroyed in each inscription; the *d*-hand is destroyed in the left/south inscription.

²⁰⁷ The winged disk is not shown in Baines; refer to Davies, pl. 26.

²⁰⁸ Baines (p. 270) identifies the statement of Amun-Re at left/south as that of Lower Egypt and that on the right/north as that of Upper Egypt based on the plants held by the gods but there is nothing in either statement that identifies them with a specific half of the country. There is some mixing of orientation in this room; on the south wall in the upper register the king wearing the Red Crown offers to Wepwawat of the south and in the lower register the king, wearing the White Crown, receives both the White and Red Crowns from Nekhbet (see Davies pl. 27, cf. Cruz-Uribe’s commentary for pl. 26 west wall pp. 104-105).

²⁰⁹ The reed leaf is actually carved behind the dependant pronoun *tw*.

²¹⁰ Cf. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 823.

Behdetite who purifies the King and Lord of the Two Lands M[enmaat]re, (Be pure! Be pure!).²¹¹ It is [as] Geb that he shall maintain appearance: ‘The reason I have caused you to be pure is so that I might drive out your impurity, so that I might make your bones endure with millions of years (with) your kingship being like Horakhty’s. Let me purify your body that you may be pure, pure before the Great Ennead, that they may make their protection over you with all life, stability and dominion like Re forever.’” Text of Thoth (much of it lost as is the upper portion of the image of Thoth): *dd-md(.w) in nb Hmnw (hr) ‘b s3 [R’] nb h[‘.w Sthy Mry-n-Imn wn]n=f h[‘.w m [ny]-sw.t-bi.ty [. . i]’r.t imy.t wp.t[=f] psd.t-pd.wt di=sn [.]*

“Statement by the Lord of Hermopolis who purifies the Son [of Re] and Lord of Crown[s Sety Merenamun]. It is as King of Upper and Lower Egypt that he [shall mainta]in appearance: [. . . with (?) the u]raeus upon [his] brow [. . .] the Nine Bows, as they give/that they might give (?) [.].” Between Horus and the king (beginning of text lost): [*‘bw/w‘b (?) .] ny-sw.t Mn-M3‘.t-R‘ w‘b sp sn sp fdw* “[Purification of] the king Menmaat: ‘Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four times.” Between Thoth and the king (also mostly lost): [*‘bw/w‘b .] s3 [R‘ Sthy Mry-n]-Imn w‘b sp sn sp fdw* “[Purification of the Son] of Re [Sety Meryen]amun: ‘Be pure! Be pure!’ (Say) four times.” Other components of the scene: a vulture hovers above the king holding *shen*-rings, with accompanying text: *Nhb.t hgd.t Nhn di=s ‘nh nb mi R‘* “Nekhet, the White One of Nekhen, as she gives all life like Re.” Directly above the king’s head is *nb t3.wy [Mn-M3‘.t-]R‘ [di ‘nh (?)]*²¹² “The Lord of the Two Lands [Menmaat]re, [given life].”

²¹¹ These words seem to play the same part as the familiar phrase *‘nh wd3 snb* “Live! Prosper! Be healthy!” that follows the king’s name, so I have placed them in parentheses.

²¹² There was probably room below the cartouche for this usual phrase.

D-2 Location: Thebes/Luxor, West Bank, Tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Norman de Garis Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, PMMAR 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1927), pl. 37; Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, pp. 262-263, fig. 154; *PM I*, part 1, p. 316 (6, III). King: Ramesses II, figure not present but figure of deified Amenhotep I, faces left/west, wears the *Atef* crown above the *Nemes* headdress and holds the crook and flail in his left hand while raising his right hand in adoration. This scene combines the *sm3-t3.wy* with crowning. The scene is part of the decoration of a small shrine shown under construction in a scene on the north wall of Ipuy's tomb. At left/west is Horus holding the plant of Upper Egypt (?)²¹³ in his right hand while steadying the king's crown with his left hand; at right/east is Seth holding the plant of Lower Egypt in his left hand while steadying the king's crown with his right hand. Both gods wear the Double Crown. There are no texts assigned to the gods. Other components of the scene: In front of the king (left/west) is a uraeus cobra sitting upon an *nb*-basket, which is upon the plant of Upper Egypt, whereas behind him (right/east) is a vulture on an *nb*-basket, which is upon the plant of Lower Egypt. Usually, when shown together, the cobra is identified with Wadjet and Lower Egypt, while the vulture is identified with Nekhbet and Upper Egypt but here it is reversed. Above the king is a winged sun disk without names or epithets and with no uraei. A column of text to the left/west of the scene reads *ntr nfr s3 lmn ms n Mw.t [w]r.t nb.t l[š]rw ny-sw.t-bi.ty ḥq3 psd.t-pd.wt nb t3.wy Dsr-k3-R' s3 R' n ḥ.t=f mry=f l[m]n-ḥtp di 'nh mry n lmn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wy ntr '3* "The Perfect God, Son of Amun, Born to Mut the [Gr]eat, Lady of I[sh]jeru, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows and Lord of the Two Lands Djoserkare, Son of Re of his body,

²¹³ The drawing of the scene in Davies (used by Baines) renders the flowers of the plant in dotted lines.

his beloved A[me]nhotep, given life, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the Great God.” A column of text to the right/east of the scene reads *[ntr] nfr nḥt-‘ s3 Imn wd-[md].w (?) n nb.w W3s.t ny-sw.t-bi.ty [. Dsr-k3-R’] s3 [R’] Imn-[ḥtp] di ‘nh mry Imn-R’ nb ns.wt t3.wy (imy ?) Ip.t-s.wt* “The Perfect [God], who commands (?) the lords of Thebes, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [. Djoserkare], Son of [Re] Amen[hotep], given life, beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, (who dwells in ?) Karnak (Ipetsut).”²¹⁴

E: Scenes of Horus and another god leading the king before the main deity of the temple

E-1 Location: Karnak, Chapelle Rouge, vestibule, south wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Burgos and Larché, *La chapelle Rouge*, vol. 1, p. 176; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout*, vol. 1, pp. 289-290, §§ 472-476, vol. 2, pl. 14. King: Hatshepsut, faces left/east, wears the White Crown. At left/east is Horus, who offers life to the nose of the king with his right hand; at right/west is Thoth, who holds an *ankh* in his left hand.²¹⁵ Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t di=f ‘nh ḡd(.t) w3s* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, as he gives life, stability and dominion.” Text of Thoth: *ḡd-md(.w) in Dḥwty n psḡ.t ‘3.t mḡn ny-sw.t-bi.ty M3‘.t-k3-R’ ḡ3=tw r wḥm n=s ḥb.w-sd* “Statement by Thoth to the Great Ennead: ‘Behold the King of

²¹⁴ For *Ip.t-s.wt* the artist appears to written , although the first sign in Davies’ drawing looks like , he then drew the phonetic signs for the word *ip.t* (possibly because he made a mistake in drawing  instead of ?).

²¹⁵ Unless otherwise stated, in these scenes the gods’ other hand holds the hand of the king.

Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare! May One cross over (in procession)²¹⁶ in order to repeat *Sed* festivals for her.” Other components of the scene: behind Horus is a column of text identifying the scene: *pr.t-‘q.t bs ny-sw.t m Hw.t-‘3(.t) Imn ir=s di ‘nh d.t* “Going forth and entering; the introduction of the king into the Great Mansion of Amun that she may make a given-life forever.” Above the king is *ntr nfr M3‘.t-k3-R‘ ‘nh mi R‘* “The Perfect God Maatkare, who lives like Re.” Notes: this scene follows A-2.

E-2 Location: Nubia, temple of Amada, vestibule, south wall. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Mohamad Aly, Fouad Abdel-Hamid and M. Dewachter, *Le temple d’Amada*, vol. 4, *Dessins-index, tables de concordances*, Collection scientifique 34 (Cairo: CEDAE, 1967), H-10-11; *PM VII*, p. 70 (39). King: Thutmose III, faces left/east, wears the *Nemes* headdress. At right/west is Horus embracing the king with his right arm while holding an *ankh* in his left hand; at left/east is Re-Horakhty with a sun disk on his head, who offers life to the king’s nose with his right hand while embracing the king with his left arm. Text of Horus: *dd-md(.w) in Hr nb Mi‘m s3=i Mn-hpr-R‘ mry=i nfr.wy mnw=k n nhh ir.n=k n it=k R‘ di=f n=k ‘nh w3s dd(.t) 3w.t-ib nb hr=f ‘nh(.ti) mi R‘* “Statement by Horus, Lord of Miam: ‘My son Menkheperre, my beloved, how beautiful are your monuments of eternity, which you made for your father Re! May he give to you all life, dominion, stability and joy on his part while (you) live like Re.’” Text of Re-Horakhty: *dd-md(.w) in R‘-Hr-3h.ty nb p.t s3=i Dhwti-ms Hq3-M3‘.t mry(=i) di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh w3s nb r fnd=k m iw‘ mnw=k ir=k ‘nh.t(i) mi R‘* “Statement by Re-Horakhty, Lord of the Sky: ‘My son Thutmose Heqamaat, my beloved, it is as a reward (for) your monuments, which you

²¹⁶ Cf. Lacau and Chevrier, p. 289, § 474.

made²¹⁷ that I have given all life and dominion to your nose as you live like Re.” Other components of the scene: above the king is a winged sun disk with uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements); to each side is *Bḥd.t(y) nb p.t di=f nḥ* “The Behdetite, Lord of the Sky, as he gives life.” Also above the king is *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Mn-ḥpr-R* “The King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre.” To the left/east of the king’s name is a cobra on a *nb*-basket, which is on the heraldic plant of Lower Egypt (papyrus); the cobra extends a *shen*-ring and *was*-sign towards the king’s name and is named *W3dy.t di=s nḥ w3s* “Wadjet, as she gives life and dominion.” To the right/west of the king’s name is a vulture on a *nb*-basket, which is upon the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt (*sw.t*); the vulture extends a *shen*-ring to the king’s name and is named *Nḥb.t di=s nḥ w3s* “Nekhbet, as she gives life and dominion.”

E-3 Location: Nubia, temple of Amada, south side-chapel, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Aly, Abdel-Hamid and Dewachter, *Le temple d’Amada*, vol. 4, L-12; *PM VII*, pp. 72-73 (71-72). King: Amenhotep II, faces left/west, wears the *Nemes* headdress. At right/east is Horus, who embraces the king with his right hand and holds an *ankh* in his left hand; at left/west is Re-Horakhty, who embraces the king with both hands. Text of Horus: *ḡd-md(.w) in Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) s3=i n ḥ.t=i mry(=i) Imn-ḥtp Nṯr-ḥq3-lwnw* (changed to ‘3-ḥpr.w-R’) *wḡ m-ḥt m3 n=k it=k di=f n=k nḥ w3s nb* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite: ‘My son of my body, my beloved Amenhotep Netjerheqaiunu (Aakheperure), be prosperous when your father looks upon you as he gives to you all life and dominion.’” Text of Re-Horakhty: *R-Ḥr-3ḥ.ty sḥtp=f ib* “Re-Horakhty, as he satisfies the heart.” Other components of the scene:

²¹⁷ Literally “make.”

above the king is a sun disk with two uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements); to each side is *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ʿ3*²¹⁸ *nb p.t di=f ʿnh* “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, as he gives life.” Also above the king is *nṯr nfr ʿ3-ḥpr.w-R* “The Perfect God Aakheperure.”

E-4 Location: Medinet Habu, mortuary temple of Ramesses III, 1st hypostyle hall, east wall, south of doorway. Publications/photos/translations of texts: *MHV*, pl. 313A; *PM II*², p. 505 (112.II, 2). King: Ramesses III, faces left/north, wears the Blue Crown with extra uraei on each side. At left/north is Horus offering life to the king’s nose with his right hand; at right/south is Thoth holding up his left hand as a sign of protection. Text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr-ḥnty-ḥ.ty nb Km-wr mrr Rʿ n s3=f Wsr-M3ʿ.t-Rʿ Mry-lmn bs=i tw r Ḥw.t-ʿ3.t n it=k lmn nb nṯr.w di=f n=k t3 nb m dy ḥnmm.t m ḥfʿ=k r ḏ.t* “Statement by Horus-Khentykhety, Lord of Kemwer,²¹⁹ beloved of Re to his son Usermaatre Meryamun: ‘Let me lead you into the Great Mansion of your father Amun, Lord of the Gods that he may give to you every land as a gift and humanity in your grasp forever.’” Text of Thoth: *ḏd-md(.w) in ḏḥwty nb md.w-nṯr n s3=f mry=f nb ḥʿ.w Rʿ- ms-sw Ḥq3-lwnw mk wi ḥnʿ=k ḥr sšm w3.t=k r 3ḥ.t n=k nṯr.w šsp tw it=k wtt tw lmn p3w.ty t3.wy di=f ḥʿ=k mi Rʿ m ḥr.t nsy.t=k ḥr tp-t3 mi Ḥr* “Statement by Thoth, Lord of Hieroglyphs to his son, his beloved the Lord of Crowns Ramesses Heqaiunu: ‘Look, I am with you showing your way for you to the Horizon of the Gods, while your father, who begat you, Amun the Primeval One of the Two Lands receives you that he may cause your lifetime (to be) like Re’s in the sky and your kingship on earth (to be) like that of Horus.’”

²¹⁸ Destroyed at left.

²¹⁹ Athribis.

E-5 Location: Karnak, east, temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty, 25th Dynasty colonnade, 2nd row of columns from the north (=“c” of Leclant), north face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant, “La colonnade éthiopienne,” p. 140, fig. 11

(EY’4); *PM II*², p. 210 (23.1). King: Taharqa, faces right/west, wears the Double Crown. At

right/west is Horus embracing the king with both arms but steadying the back of the king’s

crown with his right hand; at left/east is Thoth embracing the king with both arms. Text of

Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t ḡd-md(.w) di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh w3s nb ḡd(.t) sn[b] nb 3w(.t)-ib nb ḥ‘ m*

[. . .] “The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky. Recitation: ‘It is to you that I have given

all life and dominion, all stability and heal[th], all joy and appearance in [. . .].” Text of Thoth:

nb Ḥmnw nb md(.w)-nṯr ḥnty Ḥsr.t ḡd-md(.w) di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh w3s nb sn[b] nb] “The Lord

of Hermopolis, Lord of Hieroglyphs, Foremost of Hesperet. Recitation: ‘It is for you that I have

given all life and dominion, [all] heal[th].” Other components of the scene: above the king

is *nṯr nfr [(name lost)] di ‘nh mi [R’] ḡ.t* “The Perfect God [(name lost)], given life like [Re]

forever.” Notes: this scene follows B-19.

E-6 Location: Karnak north, temple of Montu, 25th Dynasty colonnade, second row of columns from the east (=“b” of Leclant and Barguet), east face of inter-columnar wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Leclant and Barguet, *Karnak-Nord IV*, pl. 67 (Eβ’4).²²⁰

King: Taharqa, faces left/south, wears the Double Crown. At left/south is Horus; at right/north is

Thoth. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t ḡd-md(.w) di.n(=i) n=k ‘nh w3s nb* “The Behdetite,

the Great God, Lord of the Sky; statement: ‘It is to you that I have given all life and dominion.’”

²²⁰ *PM II*², p. 5 (11-12) does not mention this scene.

Text of Thoth: lost except for *[nb H]sr[.t]* “[Lord of He]ser[et].” Other components of the scene: above and in front of the king is *ntr nfr [(name lost)] di ‘nh w3s d.t* “The Perfect God [(name lost)], given life and dominion forever.”

E-7 Location: Kharga Oasis, temple of Hibis, exterior, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 47 (bottom); Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, p. 153; *PM VII*, p. 289 (147-148). King: Darius I, faces right/west, wears the Blue Crown. At right/west is Horus, who wears the Double Crown and offers life to the nose of the king with his left hand; at left/east is Khnum wearing two tall feathers, a sun disk and ram horns, while holding an *ankh* in his right hand. Text of Horus: *gd-md(.w) in Hr [nd]-it=f ntr ‘3 hry-ib Hb.t ir.n=f di ‘nh mi R’ d.t* (between Horus and the king) *r fnd m ‘nh dd(.t) w3s nb* “Statement by Horus [Who-Protects]-His-Father, the Great God, who dwells in Hibis, he having made a given life like Re forever: ‘To the nose with all life, stability and health.’” Text of Khnum: *gd-md(.w) in Hnm ntr ‘3 hry-ib Hb.t ir.n=f di ‘nh mi R’ d.t* (between the legs of Khnum and the king) *ink(?)²²¹ h3=k s3=k m ‘nh* “Statement by Khnum, the Great God, Who Dwells in Hibis, he having made a given life like Re forever: ‘I am behind you (as) your protection in life.’” Other components of the scene: the title of the scene is between the legs of Horus and the king: *bs ny-sw.t r hw.t ‘3(.t)* “Introduction of the king into the Great Mansion.” Above the king is a winged sun disk with two uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements). Also above the king is *ntr nfr nb t3.wy Mry-Imn-R’ s3 R’ nb h’w Drywš di ‘nh mi R’ d.t* “The Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands Meryamunre, Son of Re and Lord of Crowns Darius, given life like Re forever.”

²²¹ I follow Cruz-Uribe’s translation; in Davies the signs appear to be  with the second sign having cross-hatched lines at top indicating damage.

E-Special I include the following because it should be noted. The Behdetite occurs in a scene of leading the king at Deir el-Bahari, however he appears alone and not paired with another deity.

Location: Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, middle colonnade, north half, north wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, vol. 3, *End of Northern Half and Southern Half of Middle Platform*, EM 16 (London: EEF, 1896-1897),

pl. 63; *Urk.* IV, p. 263, lines 11-12, see note a; *PM II*², p. 348 (20, 3). In Naville's publication

the name of Horus is not shown but Sethe in *Urk.* IV, p. 263, n. provides the text: *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3*

nb p.t "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky." King: Hatshepsut, entire figure

destroyed but she held an *ankh* in her right hand (left held by Horus). At right/east is Horus, who

holds a *w3s* (?)²²² scepter in his left hand. Full text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 nb p.t di=f 'nh w3s*

nb w'b nb 3w.t-ib nb(.t) ḥtp.wt nb(.wt) df3.w nb(.w) t3.w nb(.w) ḥ3s.wt nb(.wt) ḥ'=t [. . .] ḥr [.

. .] "The Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky as he gives all life and dominion, all purity,

all joy, all *hetep*-offerings and all *dfefa*-offerings, all flat-lands and all hill-lands, that you may

appear (?) [. . .] upon (?) [. . .]." To the right of Horus' text is another column of text (with

an opposite orientation): *sšm.t 'q r pr (?) [. . .]* "Guiding and entering the House of (?) [. . .]."

Other components of the scene: above the king is a winged sun disk (pose 1) with a single

uraeus (no crown or other accoutrements). The winged disk is identified as *Bḥd.t(y) nṯr '3 s3b*

šw.t di=f 'nh ḡd(.t) w3s "The Behdetite, the Great God of Multicolored Plumage, as he gives life,

stability and dominion." Between the winged disk and the king is *nṯr.t nfr(.t) nb.t t3.wy nb(.t)*

3w.t-ib nb.t ḥ'.w ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb.t ir.t ḥ.t [M3'.t]-k3-R' s3(.t) R' nt ḥ.t=f mry.t=f [H3t]-šps[wt]

di 'nh ḡ.t "The Perfect Goddess, Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of Joy, Lady of Crowns, the King

²²² The top of the scepter is lost to damage.

of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lady of Ritual [Maat]kare, Daughter of Re of his Body, his beloved [Hat]sheps[ut], given life forever.” Notes: This scene immediately precedes B-4.

F: Miscellaneous Pairings

F-1 Location: Karnak, east, lintel of red granite found re-used in a wall between the east gate of the temenos wall and the temple of Amun-Re-Horakhty. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Labib Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotp: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods,” *MDAIK* 19 (1963), p. 35, fig. 14; Luc Gabolde, *Le «Grand Château d’Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 17 (Paris: Institut de France, 1998), p. 112, § 180; Richard Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägypten von der 0. bis 11. Dynastie: Archäologie und Geschichte einer gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 38, fig. 4.21. King: Mentuhotep II, sits on a throne with the *sm3-t3.wy*-motif as part of the decoration facing right, wears the *Nemes* headdress, holds a staff in his left hand and the so-called “handkerchief” in his right hand. At right are Horus and Wadjet; at left are Seth and Nekhbet. All deities hold a *w3s*-scepter in one hand and an *ankh* in the other.²²³ Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) di=f ‘nh* “The Behdetite, as he gives life.” Text of Seth: *Nbw.t(y)* “The Ombite.” Text of Wadjet: *W3dy.t nb(.t) p.t di=s ‘nh nb* “Wadjet, Lady of the Sky, as she gives all life.” Text of Nekhbet: *Nḥb.t di=s ‘nh nb* “Nekhbet, as she gives all life.” Other components of the scene: above the king is a winged sun disk with two uraei (no crowns or other accoutrements). In front

²²³ Seth and Nekhbet hold the scepter in their left hands; Horus and Wadjet hold the scepter in their right hands.

of and above the king is *ntr nfr nb t3.wy ny-sw.t-bi.ty Nb-hpt-R* “The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands and King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetre.”

F-2 Deir el-Bahari, temple of Mentuhotep II, northern outer wall.

Publications/photos/translations of text: Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 2, *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuaries*, AVDAIK 11 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), front piece and pls. 10, 12 and 58a. King: Mentuhotep II, sits on a throne facing right/west, wears the White Crown, holds a staff in his left hand and flail in his right hand. At right/west was probably Horus but only a hand holding a year-sign with a figure of *Heh* remains; behind him stood Wadjet (figure lost; only her name identifies her; see below). At left/east is Seth holding a year-sign with a figure of *Heh* in his left hand, two *ankhs* in his right hand and another year-sign looped over his right elbow; behind him stands a goddess, likely Nekhbet, with a *w3s*-scepter in her left hand and an *ankh* in her right hand. Of Seth’s text, only *‘nh d.t* remains. A bit of Wadjet’s text remains: *[dd-md.w i]n W3dy.t P Dp [. . . .]=k psd.t m [. . .]* “[Statement b]y Wadjet of Pe and Dep [. . . .] you/your [. . .] Ennead in [. . .].” Other components of the scene: part of the king’s Horus and Son of Re names remain: *Sm3-t3[.wy]* “Semata[wy]” (“Uniter-of-the-Two-Lands”) and *[Mn]tw-[hpt]* “[Men]tu[hotep].” Also, the protection formula is mostly preserved: *s3 ‘nh [nb] h3=f [d.t]* “The protection of [all] life is around him [forever].” Ramesses II added a renewal-of-monument inscription: *[s]m3y mnw ir.n ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy Wsr-M3‘.t-R‘ Stp-n-R‘ n it=f Imn-R‘ nb nhh* “[Re]newal of monument, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt and Lord of the Two Lands Usermaatse Setepenre did for his father Amun-Re, Lord of Eternity.”

F-3 Location: originally Lisht, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: MMA 1907, accession number 08.200.5. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Hermann Kees, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, vol. 1, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft (E. V.) 1923, no. 1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1923), pp. 18-19; the relief can be viewed on the Metropolitan Museum's website: <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100000423?rpp=20&pg=4&ft=Egyptian&whatReliefs&pos=73>. King: Amenemhat I, wears a short wig, faces right, holds the flail in his right hand over his shoulder and the *mks*-document holder in his left hand (bottom of relief lost but appears to be running "race"). At left is Horus holding out an *ankh* with his right hand towards the king and behind him is Nekhbet wearing the vulture headdress and holding a *w3s*-scepter with her left(?) hand. To the right is Anubis, who extends a *w3s*-scepter with an *ankh* at the end towards the king (hand uncertain); behind him is Wadjet wearing a vulture headdress and holding a *w3s*-scepter with her right(?) hand. Text of Horus: *Bḥd.t(y) nb t3.wy di=f 'nh nb* "The Behdetite, Lord of the Two Lands, as he gives all life." Text of Anubis: *tp ḏw=f imy-w.t nb t3.wy di=f 'nh nb* "He who is Upon his Mountain, He of the *Imyut*-fetish, Lord of the Two Lands, as he gives all life." Text of Nekhbet: *Nḥb.t ḥd.t-Nḥn* "Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen." Text of Wadjet: *W3ḏy.t P nb.t t3.wy di=s 'nh nb* "Wadjet of Pe (sic),²²⁴ Lady of the Two Lands, as she gives all life." Other components of the scene: above the king is *nṯr nfr Sḥtp-ib-R' di 'nh ḏ.t* "The Perfect God, Sehetepibre, given life forever."

²²⁴ The name of Pe is usually followed by the name of Dep but has been left out here.

F-4 Location: Kharga Oasis, temple of Hibis, hypostyle hall B, north wall, lintel above door at right, back-to-back offering scenes. Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 10; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis Temple Project*, vol. 1, pp. 54-55; *PM VII*, p. 284 (96). King: Darius I, in the left/west scene, faces right, wears White Crown, kneels offering white bread with a small offering stand and a large flower before him; in the right/west scene, he faces left, wears the Red Crown and kneels offering milk with a small offering stand and a large flower before him. Left/west scene Horus sits with Isis standing behind him; right/east scene Anubis sits with Nephthys standing behind him. Left/west scene texts; text of Horus: *ḏd-md(.w) in Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 nb p.t ḥry-ib Hb.t* “Statement by Horus the Behdetite, the Great God, Lord of the Sky, Who Dwells in Hibis.” Text of Isis: *ḏd-md(.w) in 3s.t ḥw s3=s ḥry-ib Hb.t ir=s di ‘nh mi R’* “Statement by Isis, Who Protects Her Son Who Dwells in Hibis, as she makes a given life like Re.” Text in front of the king: *sqr t-ḥḏ n it=f Ḥr Bḥd.t(y) nṯr ‘3 ḥry-ib Hb.t* “Offering white bread to his father Horus the Behdetite, the Great God Who Dwells in Hibis.” Other components of the scene: above the offering stand between the king and the gods: *nṯr nfr nb t3.wy* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R’ nb ḥ’w* (no name in cartouche) *di ‘nh mi R’ ḏ.t* “The Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands (no name), Son of Re and Lord of Crowns (no name), given life like Re forever.” A sun disk with two uraei hovers above the king; there are no crowns or other accoutrements and no texts. Right/east scene texts; text of Anubis: *ḏd-md(.w) in Inpw tp-ḏw=f nṯr ‘3 ḥry-ib Hb.t ir.n=f di ‘nh mi R’* “Statement by Anubis Who is Upon His Mountain, the Great God, Who Dwells in Hibis, he having made a given life like Re.” Text of Nephthys: *ḏd-md(.w) in Nb.t-ḥw.t sn.t-nṯr ḥry(.t)-ib Hb.t ir.n=s di ‘nh ḏ.t* “Statement by Nephthys, Sister of the God, Who

Dwells in Hibis, she having made a given life forever.” Text in front of the king: *hnk ir.t*
 “Offering milk.” Other components of the scene: text above the offering stand between the king
 and gods: *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* (no name in cartouche) *s3 R' nb h'.w* (no name in cartouche) *di 'nh mi*
R' d.t “The Perfect God and Lord of the Two Lands (no name), Son of Re and Lord of Crowns
 (no name), given life like Re forever.” Above the king is a sun disk with two uraei; there are no
 crowns or other accoutrements and no texts.

F-5 Location: Kharga Oasis, temple of Hibis, sanctuary, south wall.

Publications/photos/translations of texts: Davies, *Hibis*, vol. 3, pl. 4.III; Cruz-Uribe, *Hibis*
Temple Project, vol. 1, p. 28. King: no king’s figure present (carved under Darius I), instead
 there is Osiris facing left/east and wearing a close fitting cap. At left/east is Horus embracing
 Osiris with both arms; at right/west is Thoth embracing Osiris with both arms; Osiris embraces
 both gods in return. Text of Horus: *Hr s3 3s.t* “Horus Son of Isis.” Text of Thoth: *nb (?) Hmnw*
 “The Lord (?) of Hermopolis.” Other components of the scene: to left of this portion of the
 scene is a small sub-scene of Horus, on the left/east, and Thoth, on the right/west, supporting the
 Abydos “Fetish.” Text of Horus: *Hr 3bdw špsy n 3bdw* “Horus of the Thinite Nome, Noble One
 of Abydos.” Text of Thoth: *Dhwty ntr '3 ir.t p.t wr ntr.w nb.w* “Thoth, the Great God, the Eye of
 the Sky, Eldest of all the Gods.” Names and titles of Osiris: *Wsir wrd-ib hnty sh-ntr* “Osiris, the
 Weary-of-Heart, Foremost of the God’s Hall.”

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