

THE JOURNAL
of
Egyptology
AND
ARCHAEOLOGY

THE SOCIETY OF EGYPTOLOGISTS

1900

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *ḥwt bḥsw* *Bḥsw* IN THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU*

By A. M. BLACKMAN AND H. W. FAIRMAN

SHORTLY after we had decided to write this article on the ceremony *ḥwt bḥsw* as depicted and explained in the Edfu temple reliefs, Blackman was informed by Dr. Seele of the Oriental Institute of Chicago that Dr. R. A. Parker, their Field Director at Luxor, had taken a photograph of a very important representation of the ceremony in question, occurring on the great Portal of Ptolemy Euergetes I which stands before the Temple of Khons at Karnak. Through Dr. Seele's and Dr. Parker's kind offices we not only received a copy of the photograph but permission to make full use of it and, if we wished, reproduce it. Needless to say, we have taken full advantage of this kind offer, for not only does the photograph admirably illustrate the ceremony with which we are concerned—the figures in the relief and their accessories are typical—but the texts are most illuminating and their incorporation in our article has greatly added to its value. We feel greatly indebted both to the Director of the Oriental Institute and to Dr. Seele and Dr. Parker for the valuable service they have rendered us, and we tender them our sincere thanks.

Note that Chassinat's *Le Temple d'Edfou, Le Temple de Dendara, and Mammisi d'Edfou*, are in this article referred to respectively as *E.*, *D.*, and *M.*

To make reference to them easy the texts with which we are concerned (see pp. 99–104) are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc., and to these numerals capital letters are attached to denote the position in the relief of each section of the explanatory text. Thus A. denotes the title and introductory formula; B., the names of the four calves; C., the cartouches and epithets of the King; D., the vertical line of text behind the King (which contains usually a further utterance by him and occasionally further titles and epithets); E. 1, name and titles of the god; E. 2, 3, speech or speeches of the god; F. 1, name and titles of the goddess; F. 2, speech of the goddess; G., vertical line of text behind the divine figures.

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS

Category I^b

TEXT I = *E.* III, 168, 9–169, 11; line drawing *E.* IX, pl. 64. Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II before Horus the Behdetite and Ḥathōr.

* It having proved impossible to condense further our Commentary and Conclusions, we have been compelled regretfully to divide our paper. The Commentary, to which the small superior numerals refer, and our Conclusions will be printed in the next number of this *Journal*. Pending the appearance of that commentary it may be helpful to point out that in our opinion the texts of Category I give the earlier version of a pastoral-agricultural rite that originated in predynastic times; that Category II gives the later Osirianized version of the rite, and that the texts of Category III show a confusion of ideas or a complete misunderstanding of the significance of the ceremony.

^b See Conclusions in *JEA* 36.



THE CEREMONY OF DRIVING THE CALVES

Texts of the Rite

Text 1 (E. III, 168,9-169,11)

Handwritten musical notation for Text 1, consisting of 11 lines. The notation includes various rhythmic values (vertical stems with flags, beams, and dots) and melodic contours (horizontal lines with notes). Some lines are enclosed in boxes and labeled: "Eucangelia II" on line 3, "Psalms III" on line 5, and "Psalms III" on line 10. Small numbers in brackets above the notation indicate measure numbers, such as [168,9], [168,10], [169,1], [169,2], [169,3], [169,4], [169,5], [169,6], [169,7], [169,8], [169,9], [169,10], and [169,11].

Text 2 (E. V, 86,16-87,7)

Handwritten musical notation for Text 2, consisting of 2 lines. The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic contours. The first line is enclosed in a box and labeled "Blank" on the left. Small numbers in brackets above the notation indicate measure numbers, such as [86,16], [86,17], [87,1], [87,2], [87,3], [87,4], [87,5], [87,6], and [87,7].

Handwritten musical notation on a staff, including various rhythmic values and notes.

Text 3 (Karnak, Portal of Esmerliet)

Handwritten musical notation for Text 3, consisting of multiple lines of notes and rests.

Text 4 (E.I. 101, 18-102, 12)

Handwritten musical notation for Text 4, including notes and rests.

Notes: a-b Title misplaced in printed text; see E. IX, pl. XX. c-d Omitted from printed text; see E. IX, pl. XX.

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

Text 5 (E. II, 86, 2-11)

^[101,1] ^[101,2] ^[101,3] ^[101,4] ^[101,5] ^[101,6] ^[101,7] ^[101,8] ^[101,9] ^[101,10] ^[101,11] ^[101,12] ^[101,13] ^[101,14] ^[101,15] ^[101,16] ^[101,17] ^[101,18] ^[101,19] ^[101,20] ^[101,21] ^[101,22] ^[101,23] ^[101,24] ^[101,25] ^[101,26] ^[101,27] ^[101,28] ^[101,29] ^[101,30] ^[101,31] ^[101,32] ^[101,33] ^[101,34] ^[101,35] ^[101,36] ^[101,37] ^[101,38] ^[101,39] ^[101,40] ^[101,41] ^[101,42] ^[101,43] ^[101,44] ^[101,45] ^[101,46] ^[101,47] ^[101,48] ^[101,49] ^[101,50] ^[101,51] ^[101,52] ^[101,53] ^[101,54] ^[101,55] ^[101,56] ^[101,57] ^[101,58] ^[101,59] ^[101,60] ^[101,61] ^[101,62] ^[101,63] ^[101,64] ^[101,65] ^[101,66] ^[101,67] ^[101,68] ^[101,69] ^[101,70] ^[101,71] ^[101,72] ^[101,73] ^[101,74] ^[101,75] ^[101,76] ^[101,77] ^[101,78] ^[101,79] ^[101,80] ^[101,81] ^[101,82] ^[101,83] ^[101,84] ^[101,85] ^[101,86] ^[101,87] ^[101,88] ^[101,89] ^[101,90] ^[101,91] ^[101,92] ^[101,93] ^[101,94] ^[101,95] ^[101,96] ^[101,97] ^[101,98] ^[101,99] ^[101,100]

Text 6 (E. IV, 241, 16-242, 11)

^[241,16] ^[241,17] ^[241,18] ^[241,19] ^[241,20] ^[241,21] ^[241,22] ^[241,23] ^[241,24] ^[241,25] ^[241,26] ^[241,27] ^[241,28] ^[241,29] ^[241,30] ^[241,31] ^[241,32] ^[241,33] ^[241,34] ^[241,35] ^[241,36] ^[241,37] ^[241,38] ^[241,39] ^[241,40] ^[241,41] ^[241,42] ^[241,43] ^[241,44] ^[241,45] ^[241,46] ^[241,47] ^[241,48] ^[241,49] ^[241,50] ^[241,51] ^[241,52] ^[241,53] ^[241,54] ^[241,55] ^[241,56] ^[241,57] ^[241,58] ^[241,59] ^[241,60] ^[241,61] ^[241,62] ^[241,63] ^[241,64] ^[241,65] ^[241,66] ^[241,67] ^[241,68] ^[241,69] ^[241,70] ^[241,71] ^[241,72] ^[241,73] ^[241,74] ^[241,75] ^[241,76] ^[241,77] ^[241,78] ^[241,79] ^[241,80] ^[241,81] ^[241,82] ^[241,83] ^[241,84] ^[241,85] ^[241,86] ^[241,87] ^[241,88] ^[241,89] ^[241,90] ^[241,91] ^[241,92] ^[241,93] ^[241,94] ^[241,95] ^[241,96] ^[241,97] ^[241,98] ^[241,99] ^[241,100]

Notes: ^[241,16] Omitted from the printed text; see E. IV, pl. III 7.

Text 8 (E. VII, 155, 12-156, 12 = XIV, pl. DCXXXIII)

[155, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

[156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12] [156, 12]

Text 9 (Mam. 145, 17-146, 7)

[145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17]

[145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17]

[145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17]

[145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17]

[145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17] [145, 17]

Text 10 (E. I, 78, 10-17 = XI, pl. CCCLIV)

[78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10]

[78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10] [78, 10]

Note: See Omitted from printed text; see E. I, pl. CCCLIV

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

Text 11 (E I, 404, 2-11)

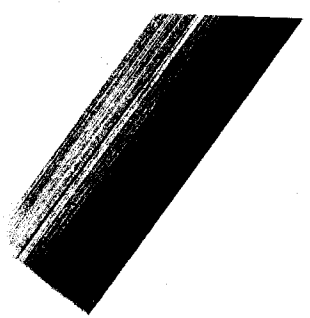
[19,1] [19,2] [19,3] [19,4] [19,5] [19,6] [19,7] [19,8] [19,9] [19,10] [19,11] [19,12] [19,13] [19,14] [19,15] [19,16] [19,17] [19,18] [19,19] [19,20] [19,21] [19,22] [19,23] [19,24] [19,25] [19,26] [19,27] [19,28] [19,29] [19,30] [19,31] [19,32] [19,33] [19,34] [19,35] [19,36] [19,37] [19,38] [19,39]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

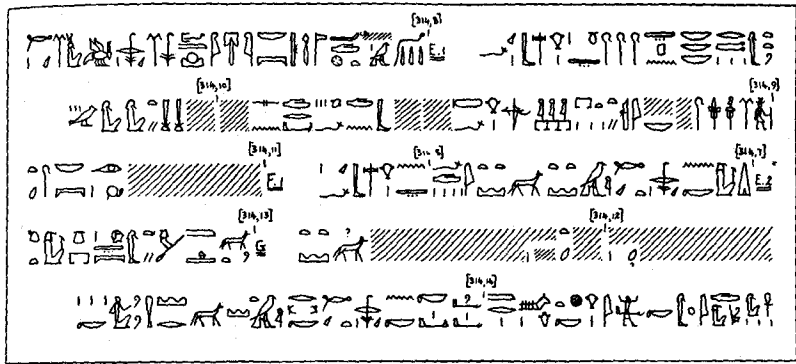
Text 12 (E VII, 313, 16-314, 14)

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

Note: a-k Omitted from published text; see E II, pl. xxxvii b.

t
t
t
o
u
in
th
fil
no
wh
W
t
in t





A. [168, 9] *Driving the calves. For recitation: [168, 10] I have reached thy threshing-floor,¹ thou likeness^{1 bis} of Rêr. I direct² the calves behind [168, 11] thy corn,³ rope(s)⁴ being attached to their feet. Their names are in the four cht -sanctuaries.⁵ [168, 12] I have hacked at the phdy -snakes,⁶ the uraei worth (m-šrw) [168, 13] thousands (?) of gold. The ch -snakes, I have severed their head(s) and cut off⁷ [168, 14] their tail(s), making (unthreshed) corn⁸ into grain (ty).*

B. [168, 16] *The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*

C. [168, 17] *Ptolemy VII, [168, 18] the beneficent god, Horus with careful mind,⁹ guarding his small cattle,¹⁰ watching over¹¹ his calves when treading the threshing-floor.*

D. [168, 18] *Long live the good god, who holds fast to the rope¹² [169, 1] and brandishes¹³ the stick behind the calves; lord of their mother-cow(s) in the House of the Sovereign of the Wsb-cattle,¹⁴ a herdsman with herds in plenty, who threshes¹⁵ the corn [169, 2] countless times; lord of diadems (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-beloved-of-Ptah.)*

E, 1. [169, 4] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, lord of . . . ,¹⁶ making green the leaves, lord of the meadow-land, who makes the herbage grow; who emits the air [169, 5] which is the fiery breath of his mouth; who made the cities and instituted the nomes, who made the (town-)mounds and created the villages,¹⁷ the temples of the gods being inscribed with his name [169, 6]; his wings span¹⁸ the Two Plants.¹⁹*

E, 2 [169, 3] *I give thee the verdure (lit. lapislazuli)²⁰ of the meadow, the runlets²¹ filling the²²*

E, 3 [169, 6] *I nurture thy youths, I feed thy calves, [169, 7] thy herds, their number is not known.*

F, 1. [169, 8] *For recitation by Hathor the great, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Rêr, who sojourns in Behdet, mistress of heaven, queen of all gods, [169, 9] Gold of the gods in Wetjet-Hor, August Lady, Wosret in To-rêret.*

F, 2. [169, 9] *I make manifest thy loveliness among the gods, (and put) the awe of thee in the mind(s) of the common folk.*

TEXT 2 = E, v, 86, 16-87, 7; no line drawing or photo. published. Ptolemy VIII or IX (cartouches left blank) before Horus the Behdetite.

A. [86, 16] *Driving the calves. For recitation: [86, 17] These calves which I usher in before thee, lord of gods, pre-eminent in the Great Seat!*

B. [86, 18] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. [87, 1] Blank cartouches.

D. [87, 1] *I have come unto thee, Falcon, [87, 2] overlord of the gods, Lower-Egyptian King in Seat of Rê. I bring²³ thee the calves correctly coloured. I slay the hnp(t)-snake²⁴ and cut off its head. Thou art the god [87, 3] who is greater than (other) gods, who avenged his father and his mother.*

E. [87, 4] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Falcon of Gold who is upon his throne, Happy-Dweller in Happy-to-dwell-in;²⁵ [87, 5] sovereign of all gods, Upper-Egyptian King in the south, Lower-Egyptian King in the north, under whose authority are the east and west.*

G. [87, 5] *A friendly welcome, [87, 6] O my heir,²⁶ my successor²⁷ among the living! I accept thy work, which thy Majesty doeth for my person, yea I rejoice in thy service.²⁸ I give thee Wsb-cattle at [87, 7] the opening of the flooded basin²⁹ of thy land, and to thresh¹⁵ the corn on thy threshing-floor.³⁰*

TEXT 3 = Karnak relief.* For photo. see accompanying Pl. VII and p. 100. Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, before Min-Amenrê-Kamephis.

A. *I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black and the Red, the White together with the Speckled. I have threshed³¹ countless times for thy ka, making thy (?) granary overflow³² with grain.*

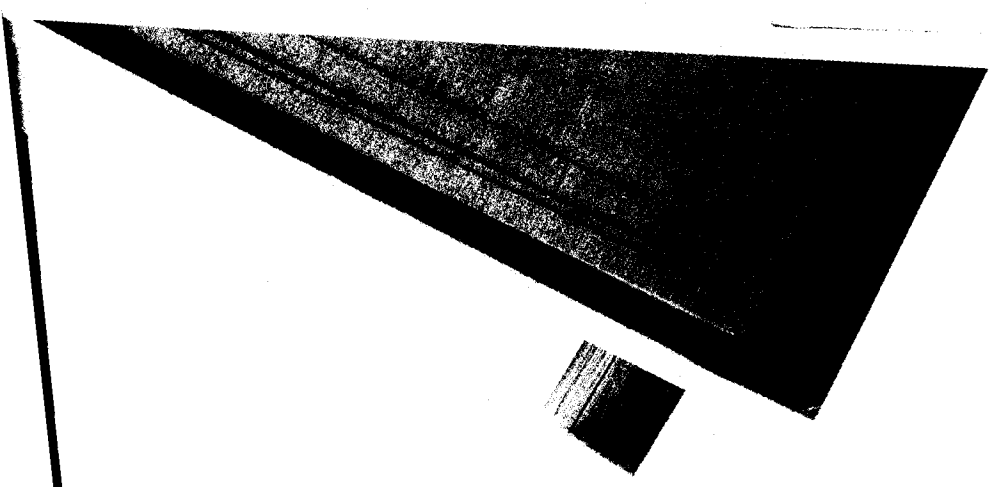
B. *The Red: the White: the Speckled: the Black.*

C. *Ptolemy III, the living embodiment of Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairway,³³ who drives the calves to make goodly his Upper-Egyptian barley.*

D. *I have taken for myself the rope(s)³⁴ complete with the life-symbols, I grip them in my left hand. I have slain the Binder-snake (dm),³⁵ the destroyer (?) of the corn-crop, cutting it in two. I have grasped its head with my right hand, I hold fast³⁶ its tail along with the rope(s).³⁷ (2) I bring³³ to thee the calves of every colour. I drive them for thee at thy coming forth to thy threshing-floor. I make abundant for thee thy harvest³⁸ at [its] (right) season annually³⁹ in order to flood thy hut-shrine⁴⁰ with Upper-Egyptian barley.*

E, 1. *For recitation by Min-Amenrê-Kamephis, who is upon his Great Seat, (2) Him-with-the-lofty-Plumes, Him-with-the-uplifted-Arm, of whose beauteous member men boast; (3) beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, eldest son of Osiris. Amün is he, being the*

* I.e. a relief on the great Portal of Euergetes I in front of the temple of Khons at Karnak, the precise location being Passage, West Wall, left half, 3rd register from top; see Nelson, *Key Plans showing Location of Theban Temple Decorations*, pl. 17, fig. 3, No. 950.



est,
the
d of

II or
er in

gyptian
nake²⁴
s, who

lcon of
reign of
t, under

living! I
vice.²⁸ I
thresh¹⁵

Ptolemy

ether with
overflow³²

who drives

rip them in
e corn-crop,
ts tail along
n for thee at
est³⁸ at [its]
tian barley.
eat, (2) Him-
er men boast;
he, being the
rnak, the precise
showing Locations

ruler when appearing in glory in order to come forth in procession, (5) the gods acclaiming him, the goddesses rattling sistra before his face⁴¹ in awe of whom is the entire Ennead.

E, 2. I give thee all fields (laden) with their goodly harvest year by year.

E, 3. I give thee millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds of the fruits of the field.⁴²

G. For recitation: I accept for myself thy provision. I have seen thy Upper-Egyptian barley, likewise [thy Lower-Egyptian barley (?)], beholding thy beauteous grain. I produce for thee, flooding⁴³ for thee thy threshing-floor, so that thou reapest thy harvest in gladness. I give (thee)⁴⁴ piercing the storm-clouds, thy field doubling its goodly produce.

Category II

TEXT 4 = E. I, 101, 18-102, 12; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 20. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Osiris and Isis.

A. [102, 2] Driving the calves^a [101, 18] I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black, the White, the Green⁴⁵ and the Pale Blue, so that thy Hallowed Ground is free from all that is evil,⁴⁶ thy place of burial hidden from all foes.

B. The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.^b

C. [102, 3] Ptolemy IV, of great dignity like Min upon his stairway,³³ who trod⁴⁷ the grave [102, 4] of him who begat him.

D. [102, 4] For recitation⁴⁷^{b1a}: Take for thyself the calves of every colour which I drive to hide thy upland tomb. (I am)⁴⁸ Horus [102, 5] thy son, one serviceable to his father, who turns away enemies from the sepulchre.⁴⁹

E, 1. [102, 7] For recitation by Osiris Khentamenthes, great god, who sojourns in Behdet, great Pillar in his crypt; king in the sky, ruler of the Two Outpourings, great sovereign in the Hallowed Land.

E, 2. [102, 6] I give thee the dignity of Min upon his stairway,³³ his strength (displayed) in the Ennead.

F, 1. [102, 9] For recitation by Isis in Behdet, queen and mistress [102, 10] of the Two Lands; god's wife and protectress of her brother,⁵⁰ the Wailing Woman, who was the first to wail for her spouse, who wearied not in (uttering) beneficent spells.

F, 2. [102, 9] I give thee the strength of my son Horus, so that thou occupiest his throne in triumph.

F, 3 [102, 10] I give [102, 11] thee the valour of my son Horus, thy dignity being o'er-mastering like his; great thy strength, mighty thy power, and thy fearsomeness⁵¹ like that of Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm.

TEXT 5 = E. II, 86, 2-11; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 40 g. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus the Behdetite.

A. [86, 2] Driving the calves, four times, to turn away the steps of the Perverse One [86, 3] from the graveyard (hrt-ntr).

^a These words misplaced in Rochemonteix's printed text. The line drawing, E. IX, pl. 20, shows, however, that they form a separate phrase in the normal position of the title, above the calves. In our translation and hand copy we have, therefore, restored them to their proper position.

^b These words omitted from Rochemonteix's printed text, but visible in E. IX, pl. 20.

B. *The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*^a

C. [86, 5] *Ptolemy IV, the likeness of Horus, who drove [86, 6] the calves in Heliopolis. [He] is Mins⁵² in his stairway-shrine.*

D. [86, 6] *As long as the good god Ptolemy IV exists, he shall be^b King of the Two Lands, a joyous ruler. He is [86, 7] like Horus after burying his father, who drove the calves to tread his grave.*⁵⁷

E, 1. [86, 8] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god [86, 9] lord of the sky, beneficent heir of Onnophris the Justified, who protects his father and avenges his mother.*

E, 2. [86, 8] *I give thee the (royal) offices of my son Horus, the successor of his father Osiris.*⁵³

G. [86, 9] *The Falcon [86, 10] of Gold upon his throne is King of the Two Lands upon the seat of his father. He is the Most-Victorious-One. After occupying his throne he slays*

TEXT 6 = E. IV, 241, 16-242, 14; line drawing, E. x, pl. 92. Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II, before Amenrē^c-Kamephis.

A. [241, 16] *Driving the calve(s).*⁵⁴ *For recitation: [241, 17] Rmnty⁵⁵ am I, Sovereign of the W8b-cattle,⁵⁶ [241, 18] my choice ones which thou desirest, which I have brought before thee,—the Black for work to do [242, 1] thy will, the White to delight thee, the Speckled likewise [242, 2] who increases thy power, the Red driving away [242, 3] thine enemies.*⁵⁷

B. [242, 4] *The White: the Black: the Red: the Speckled.*

C. [242, 5] *Ptolemy VII, the beneficent god, trusty envoy of the Lord of Kine,⁵⁸ son of the Nile-god, born of the Tiltth-goddess.*⁵⁹

D. [242, 6] *Ptolemy VII is [242, 7] upon his throne as Lower-Egyptian King in Mdt-st,⁶⁰ driving the calve(s), protecting B₁-b₁w,⁶¹ treading the grave [242, 8] of him who begat him. He is like Atum with his horns upon him,⁶² the heir is he of⁶³ the Overseer of the Granary.*

E, 1. [242, 11] *For recitation by Amenrē^c-Kamephis, great god, who sojourns^c in Behdet, Him-with-the-uplifted-Arm, [242, 12] of whose beauteous member men boast, Lusty Bull, Bull who is master of (all) bulls, at sight of whose face women rejoice.*

E, 2. [242, 10] *I give thee the cultivated land filled with food, thy threshing-floors heavy [244, 11] with grain.*

G. [242, 13] *Kamephis is the Bull-with-uplifted-Arm in the place of Harakhti's glorious appearance, impregnating the maidens, copulating with the damsels, causing consternation⁵¹ with his erect member. [242, 14] He is the protector of his sire, at seeing whose face the common folk rejoice.*

TEXT 7 = E. VI, 286, 4-287, 6; no drawing or photo. published. King (probably Ptolemy VIII, Soter II^d) before Horus the Behdetite and Isis.

A. [286, 4] *Driving the calve(s), four times. For recitation: I bring thee [286, 5] the calves⁵⁴ in which thou delightest, the Ennead lives when it sees thee [286, 6] while they (the*

^a These words omitted from Rochemonteix's printed text, but visible in E. IX, pl. 40 g.

^b For this rare use of *m* with future meaning see *JEA* 33, 16, n. (1); Grdseloff, *Ann. Serv.* 42, 50, n. (d).

^c Emending ♂ for ♂.

^d See Chassinat's remarks, E. VI, p. iv.

calves) are in front of thee. Thou rejoicest over them when they are in [286, 7] thy byre. Thou art Min who drove the calve(s) in Heliopolis, [286, 8] and reassembled the divine body⁶⁴ of his father,—making happy the heart(s) of gods and goddesses when thou didst put [286, 9] thy creator together again⁶⁵ and didst tread⁶⁷ his grave.

B. [286, 10] *The Black: the White: the Red: the Speckled.*

C. [286, 11] *The King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Blank), son of R̄r, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), [286, 12] who drives the calve(s) in Heliopolis (like)⁶⁶ Min upon his stairway.*

D. [286, 12] *The son of R̄r, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah) is upon [286, 13] his canopied throne in Mesen, as beneficent ruler of the Two Lands, driving⁶⁷ the calves,⁶⁴ treading the grave of his father, trampling down those hostile to his sire. He is like Horus who buried his father [286, 14] in Heliopolis,⁶⁸ who hid the body of His-Nose-liveth (Fnd-f-nh).^a*

E. 1. [286, 16] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, who is upon his Great Seat; Falcon of Gold, son of Osiris, beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, [286, 17] eldest son of Onnophris the Justified; lord of strength, who overthrows Seth and slays the confederates of [287, 1] the Perverse One; who battles for his father and safeguards his creator; who expels Be from the Fortress,⁶⁹ the Lion [287, 2] pre-eminent in Khentiabet, who makes Seth withdraw into the deserts.⁷⁰*

E. 2. [286, 15] *I give thee the south and the north yielding thee praise, the west and the east [286, 16] acclaiming Thy Majesty.*

F. [287, 3] *For recitation by Isis the Great, the God's Mother, pre-eminent in the Great Seat, beneficent queen, who protects the Two Lands, Mistress of the Universe is she [287, 4] in Khentiabet, who suppresses the robber . . .*

G. [287, 5] *The son of Isis is overlord of his Throne-city, ruling the Two Lands upon the throne of his father, piercing Nēhes, driving⁶⁷ the calves, hiding [287, 6] the crypt of his creator. He is the lord of victory, occupying his father's throne and joining together the Two Lands united in the Double Diadem.*

TEXT 8 = E, VII, 155, 12-156, 12; photo. E. XIV, pl. 633. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Horus the Behdetite and Hathor.

A. [155, 12] *Driving the calve(s). For recitation: Be glad [155, 13] of heart, ye gods of the sky, rejoice, ye who are on the earth! Horus son of Isis has put [155, 14] his father together again,⁶⁵ and has trodden his tomb in⁷¹ Behdet.*

B. [156, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. [156, 2] *Cartouches of Ptolemy VIII only.*

D. [156, 3] *[I have come] unto thee, thou Falcon of great strength, the hero who pierces the Unsuccessful One,⁷² that I may drive for thee the calve(s) in order to gladden thy heart when (?) [156, 4] concealing for thee the vault (dxt) of thy father. Thou art a god more renowned than (any other) gods, with [whose] name the temples are inscribed.*

E. 1. [156, 7] *For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky; beneficent heir of Onnophris the Justified, protector of his father, who exacts [156, 8] vengeance⁷³ for his mother, who puts an end to mourning in this land.*

^a = Osiris.

E, 2. [156, 6] *I give thee great rejoicing (?) in triumph upon my throne in the House-of-Rejoicing.*⁷⁴

F. [156, 9] *For recitation by Hathor, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Rê, who sojourns in Behdet, mistress of the sky, queen of all gods [156, 10] great Female Hawk in House-of-the-Falcon, God's Mother of the Falcon of Gold.*

G. [156, 11] *A friendly welcome, Thou-who-didst-in-due-time-perform-the-Funeral-Rite,*⁷⁵ *my successor upon earth. [I] accept thy service rendered to me,*⁷⁶ *holy, secret. [156, 12] I rejoice in thy ceremony rightly performed.*⁷⁷ *I grant thee abundant byres stocked with cow(s),*⁷⁸ *all their calves being set to work for thee.*

TEXT 9 = M., 145, 17-146, 7; line drawing, M., pl. 39, 3. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Amûn-the-Succourer and Mut(?).

A. [145, 17] [*Driving*] *the calves. For recitation: I am Rmnty,*⁵⁵ *Sovereign of the Wšb-cattle,*¹⁴ *the choice ones which thou desirest [145, 18] and which I have brought before thee.*

[B. [146, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*

C. Lost.

D. [146, 2] *Long live the good god, successor of the Lord of Kine,*¹⁴ *son of the Nile-god,*⁷⁹ [146, 3] *born of the Tilt-goddess, who protects Bꜣ-bꜣw*⁶¹ *and treads the grave of him who begat him, lord of diadems, son of Rê, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah)*

E, 1. Lost.

E, 2. [146, 4] *I give thee the field abundant in its output,*⁸⁰ *thy threshing-floor*⁸¹ *brimming over with corn-heaps.*

F, 1. Lost.

F, 2. [146, 7] *Thy son is he, thou didst create him, (thy) embodiment*⁸² *among the living.*

G, 1. [146, 5] *King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Protector who protects him who made him,*⁸³ *at seeing whose face men rejoice; Falcon, lord of Wetset, who frequents Thebes, Amûn-the-Succourer.*⁸⁴

Category III

TEXT 10 = E. I, 78, 10-17; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 17; photo., E. XI, pl. 244. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet.

A. [78, 10] *Driving the calve(s). For recitation: The vault of thy body is hidden from [78, 11] thy foe; men know not the way to it.*

B. *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the White.*^a

C. [78, 12] *Ptolemy IV, a form*⁸⁵ *like Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairway*³³ (= Min); *at seeing his shape the gods rejoice.*

D. [78, 13] *For recitation: Take for thyself the calves*⁸⁴ *of every colour. I drive them to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals, it being dark [78, 14] and remote*⁸⁶ *from the disaffected.*

E, 1. [76, 15] *For recitation by Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet, [78, 16] but keeps 'Hks*⁸⁷ *hidden, Dwn-nwy,*⁸⁸ *who shines as gold; who spends the day in the sky, who sleeps in Behdet*⁸⁹ *alive for ever, and shows himself in [78, 17] the east.*

^a B. omitted by Rochemonteix, but to be read in E. XI, pl. 244.

E, 2. [78, 15] *I give thee the four ends of the sky, the breadth of the earth, every place that the Two Luminaries⁹⁰ behold.*

E, 2. [78, 17] *For recitation: I give thee the south in adoration, the north in obeisance, the west and east with bowed head, and the whole circuit of the earth upon its foundation; they forsake thee not.*

TEXT 11 = E. I, 404, 2-11; line drawing, E. IX, pl. 32 b. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Min-Kamephis.

A. [404, 2] *Driving the calves⁹⁴ for his father that he may make 'given life'.*

B. *The Speckled;*^a

C. [404, 3] *Cartouches of Ptolemy IV.*

D. [404, 3] *For recitation: Thou⁹¹ art Horus who drove [404, 4] the calves in Heliopolis, Thy Majesty having appeared in glory upon thy stairway. Stand up, Horus, thy inheritance is my inheritance; thou art the lord, the sole heir. [404, 5]. Rejoice thou, O Horus, seize for thee thine eye and lift it up for thee . . . [404, 7] . . . upon earth; thou hast taken the Writ-crown.*

E, 1. [404, 8] *For recitation by Min-Kamephis, [404, 9] who is upon his stairway, great god, who sojourns in Behdet; the Man of the East who describes the marvels of Pwāne, who seeks his eye in God's Land; [404, 10] victorious bull of great strength, who makes an end of his enemies.⁹²*

E, 2. [404, 8] *I give thee the canopy⁹³ (i.e. the clouds) of the sky, the four ends of the earth, and every place that the Horizon-god surveys.*

G. [404, 10] *I take the head-cloth⁹⁴ and array my hair, I traverse all the hill-countries. I give [404, 11] thee the southern lands as subjects*

TEXT 12 = E. VII, 313, 16-314, 14; no line drawing or photo. published. Ptolemy IX, Alexander I, before Horus the Behdetite and Hathōr.

A. [313, 16] *A ruler am I, Sovereign of the Wsb-cattle,⁹⁴ my chosen ones which thou desirest and which I [have brought] before [thee].*

B. [314, 1] *The Speckled: the Red: the Black: the [White].*

C. [314, 3] *Ptolemy IV, the god who loves his mother.*

D. [314, 4] *I have come unto thee, O Behdetite, Thou with the Dappled Plumage, and (thy) Ka, the Gold-goddess, Our Lady of Denderah, bringing [314, 5] you as bond servants the four ends of the entire earth unto the sun's utmost bounds. Ye are the masters of this land, the rulers of the world upon its foundation.*

E, 1. [314, 8] *For recitation [by] Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Him with the Dappled Plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, Upper-Egyptian King in the south, Lower-Egyptian King in the north, [314, 9] sovereign in the west and east, a . . . ruler, lord of Egypt ('Isty),⁹⁵ with whose name the temples are inscribed.⁹⁶*

E, 2. [314, 7] *I give thee the south and the north, the west and the east, the four ends [14, 8] of the earth upon its foundation.*

^a The names of the four calves are not given in Rochemonteix's text, but $\bar{\eta}$ is to be seen in E. IX, pl. 32 b, other names being lost.

UNE REPRÉSENTATION RARE SUR L'UNE DES CHAPELLES DE TOUTÂNKHAMON

Par ALEXANDRE PIANKOFF

PAR l'étude de ces quelques scènes que nous présentons dans cet article nous avons voulu, tout en offrant ce modeste hommage à Sir Alan Gardiner, le remercier pour nous avoir gracieusement laissé publier les représentations et les textes des quatre 'chapelles' de Toutânkhamon. Anticipant en quelque sorte sur la publication *princeps*, nous espérons attirer l'attention des égyptologues sur des textes peu connus, indispensables néanmoins pour la compréhension de la théologie égyptienne.

La figure momiforme dont la tête et les jambes sont encadrées de serpents qui se mordent la queue, est représentée sur la paroi droite extérieure de la deuxième 'chapelle' de Toutânkhamon; la photographie de cette figure a paru pour la première fois dans le journal *The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 7, 1933 (fig. 1).

Cette représentation est unique dans l'iconographie égyptienne, pourtant, comme nous allons le voir plus loin, des figures analogues se rencontrent dans les tombes royales et tout particulièrement dans les tombes de Ramsès VI et Ramsès IX.

La figure sur la 'chapelle' de Toutânkhamon a les traits du pharaon défunt. Dans le cercle qui entoure la tête et qui est formée par un serpent se trouvent deux inscriptions identiques formées de trois signes: *imn wnw*.¹

Au-dessus de la tête du personnage, près de la tête du serpent, une courte inscription *mhn* (pl. VIII, I) indique que ce serpent est le même que celui qui dans le livre de l'Amdouat et le Livre des Portes protège le naos du dieu soleil en l'entourant de ses replis.

Plus bas sur le corps même de la figure est tracé un cercle qui contient un oiseau criocéphale tourné vers la gauche, ayant des bras humains levés en adoration. Une corde sort du disque² et se prolonge vers la gauche au-dessus de sept personnages qui s'avancent les bras levés vers le disque tracé sur le corps de la figure centrale dont les pieds sont placés dans un cercle formé par un serpent qui se mord la queue. Dans le cercle à droite et à gauche deux inscriptions identiques de quatre signes (voir la repré-

¹ Le premier signe est pour *imn*, les deux autres font allusion au verbe *wn*, *Wb.* I, 313 (10), *wnwn*. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux *Wb.* I, 318 (1). Le déterminatif est dû probablement à un jeu de mots avec *wn*, *Wb.* I, 314 (15) — de là: 'Celui qui cache les fuyantes = les heures.'

² Cf. Jung, *Psychology of the Unconscious*, p. 59.



FIG. 1.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY *HWT BHSW* IN THE TEMPLE OF HORUS AT EDFU

By A. M. BLACKMAN AND H. W. FAIRMAN

COMMENTARY^a

1. This passage and Text 3, D, l. 2 (*JEA*. 35, 100, 8) indicate that for the due carrying out of the rite as originally performed, *i.e.* when it was a purely pastoral and agricultural one, the image of the harvest-god was carried in procession to a threshing-floor that he might preside over an actual and not merely a symbolical threshing. This accounts for the fact that an important feature of the ceremony in its earlier form is the killing of snakes, which would not be found haunting a temporary ceremonial threshing-floor.

1 bis. Read $\overline{\text{TT}}\overline{\text{I}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{TT}}\overline{\text{II}}$.

2. Both here and Text 1, D, the sign $\overline{\text{L}}$ is probably to be read *hop* and not *hur* (see below, n. 67) unless the scribe in both these instances has wrongly written $\overline{\text{L}}$ for $\overline{\text{A}}$.

3. To be read *htyur*, see *Wb*. III, 349, 13, and *E*. IV, 26, 5, quoted below, n. 10. As our text and that just referred to indicate pretty clearly, *htyur* means unthreshed corn, *i.e.* the still unseparated grain and straw.

4. See below, n. 34.

5. We know nothing about the 'four *but*'. Have they any connection with the *bt-wt* of Anubis (see *Wb*. I, 176, 4) whom a number of Edfu texts definitely connect with cattle, see below, n. 14. See also $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{I}}\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{S}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$, de Morgan, *Ombos*, I, 59, No. 61; unfortunately the context contains nothing illuminating.

6. We know nothing about the *phdtz*-snakes, which *Wb*. I does not record and we are very dubious about our rendering of $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$ $\overline{\text{I}}$. With regard to the ceremonial killing

a) For the hieroglyphic texts and translation see *JEA*. 35, 98-112.

ex
the
the
fer-
west
nost
haps
ne of
it the
aps as

ion of
d there
he case
t to the
into the
ripts are
נפנ'N,³
icts were
lations.⁴
ing in the
mosis III,
luring the
during the
e reserved
ministrative

yyeh, where the
roposed above,
ively, and many

of snakes in this harvest rite, we must remember that in Egypt these reptiles are a potential danger to animals engaged in threshing, for just as snakes live in old brick walls, so one expects to find them in crevices in, or at the edge of, the threshing-floor, or in the straw and grain heaped upon or around it. In modern Egypt cattle, donkeys etc. are regularly tethered near the threshing-floor to eat husks, sugar-cane and the like, and so, no doubt, they were in ancient Egypt also. Thus snakes could threaten the calves when treading the corn or when feeding. Hence the reference in Text I, C, to the royal herdsman's watchfulness over his calves and small cattle. It is, we feel, not out of place in this connection (see also below, n. 35) to refer to *Pyr.* §§ 225-6 (see Sethe, *Kommentar*, I, 173-180): - 'A snake ($n^c w$) is enveloped ($\dot{s}m$) by another snake ($n^c w$) when the toothless calf ($\dot{s}h$ $\dot{s} b w$) which has come from the pasture ($\dot{s}h p$) is enveloped.' With regard to the 'Binder-snake' ($\dot{s}m$) for which see Text 3, D, and n. 35 below, it should here be pointed out that Sethe has a note on 'Riesenschlangen', op. cit. I, p. 175, and reference should be made to Keimer, *Histoires de Serpents dans l'Égypte ancienne et moderne* (Mém. Inst. d'Égypte, Tome I, Cairo 1947) who points out that though there are no pythons in Egypt now, there were in predynastic times (see figs. 25-8 in Keimer, op. cit., p. 28, showing pythons attacking elephants), and fossil python-like remains (the length of the snake is estimated as having been about 30 feet) have been found in the Fayyum (ibid. 32, n. 4). The Python Sebae (average length 6 metres) still exists in the Sudan. The interesting point is that Python Sebae is water-loving and Keimer rightly stresses that the disappearance of pythons from Egypt must be connected with the steady drying up of the land as a result of the introduction and development of agriculture. The references to pythons in our texts - surely the two wands carried by the King are also reminiscent of a python cut in half - are suggestive of predynastic rites and predynastic conditions; see below, Conclusions. What is puzzling is that normally 'good' snakes, $\dot{s}^c w$, \dot{s}^c , are here treated as dangerous. This is possibly because all snakes were regarded as potentially dangerous, and here note that Sethe, ibid., 175, points out with reference to $n^c w$, considered in the text in question as both 'good' and 'bad', that in ZAS. 18, 88, $\dot{s} w$ = 44 m is the snake in $\dot{s} w$ = Eileithyia



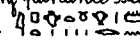
7. $\dot{s} w$ = older $\dot{s} w$, see *Wb.* IV, 242.


8. For the meaning of $\dot{s} w$ see nn. 3 and 10; $\dot{s} w$, therefore, seems to be a word denoting grain after its separation from the straw.

9. $\dot{s} w$ = $\dot{s} w$, the 'Careful' or 'Cautious One', is usually a name for, or epithet of, Thoth,

a
E
i
of
so
Hi
go
we
wi
to
cor

III,
wil
of
iat
her
mot
an
to
god
a) T
b) V
Eq. O
is cor
error
f) S.

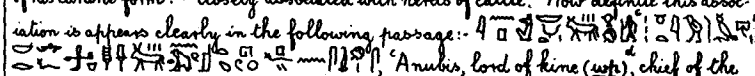
see, e.g. E. IV, 76, 3; D. II, 17, 1; 32, 8; IV, 161, 14; see also D. III, 24, 1; 186, 13; and perhaps E. II, 63, 10. The sign  here reads neither *ihw* nor *mnh* but *ih*,  *ih* acquiring the value *ih* by phonetic change; see Bull. Inst. fr. 43, III, 4 (a). Another instance of *ihy-ih* as an epithet of Horus occurs E. VIII, 105, 8. Finally, for the use of the expression in ordinary parlance see the exhortation addressed to the priestly bearers of Horus' shrine:  'Be ye careful while carrying the Falcon-god', E. I, 571, 10.

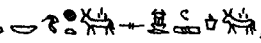
10. *Swt* is hardly an error for *ihw*, for in E. IV, 26, 5-6, we find:  'He brings thee the Territory of the Unanointed (?) with its grain. The small cattle cannot thresh their (quota of the) corn-crop.' This passage both confirms the reading *ihw* and supports our view that the word means corn in its unthreshed state.

11. See Wb. IV, 38. But does *sin* here mean 'urging on'; cf. Wb. IV, 39, 8-9?

12. See below, n. 34.


13. Lit. 'directs'; see n. 2.

14. The 'Sovereign of the wsl-cattle' is Anubis, see, e.g., E. IV, 241, 17; D. II, 105, 2; III, 69, 9. According to M. 163, 5-6 this god is 'son of the Hst-cow, lord of nbt-cows, with wsl-cattle in plenty'. He is therefore for some reason or other - was it because of his canine form? - closely associated with herds of cattle. How definite this association is appears clearly in the following passage:  'Anubis, lord of hime (*wsl*), chief of the herdsmen (?), under whose authority are all small cattle, who offers cows to his mother Isis on that day of putting her head on again', E. II, 168, 8-9. This is evidently an allusion to the legend of the beheading of Isis by Horus. In the version, however, to which this passage refers it seems to have been Anubis not Thoth who gave the goddess a cow's head in place of her own.

According to Mariette, *Dend.*, III, 52 f., the King is .

a) Though *nr-ihw* would be more normal, see Wb. II, 279, 2.

b) *W-hs* (?), the territory (*w*) of the sixth Lower-Egyptian nome, see Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onom.*, II, 185. We are not convinced, however, that the suggested reading of the name is correct, but consideration of this point must be deferred to another occasion.

c)  an error for *A*.

d) See Wb. I, 298, 6; also E. IV, 242, 6; V, 54, 17; M. 145, 17.

e) See Wb. III, 329, 15.

f) See Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Pap.* No. 1, 20, n. 2.

'Lord of the cows, who nurtures (or perhaps 'breeds') the cattle.' As we have already learnt the wp, 'lord of kine', is a title of Anubis. The King, therefore, is not only designated 'son of the Sovereign of the the cattle', D II, 105, 2, but also 'trusty envoy (wp)' of the Lord of Kine (wp), Text 6, C = E IV, 242, 6. However, in the two formulae Text 6, A = E II, 241, 17 and Text 12, A = E VII, 313, 16, the King goes so far as to assert that he himself is 'Sovereign of the the cattle', and in E VIII, 105, 8, he is addressed as such by Harrowlius, the presiding god. What purpose the 'House of the Sovereign of the the cattle served - was it the name of a sanctuary of Anubis? - or where it was situated, we have no idea.

15. The only meaning assigned to the verb wgm by Wb I, 377, 9, is 'grind' (mahlen). But here and in Text 2, G = E IX, 87, 7, as well as in Text 3, A (if our restoration is correct), the word must mean 'thresh'; clearly so, too, in the passage E IV, 26, 5-6, quoted in n. 10. See also E VII, 242, 13.

16. Perhaps restore nb [Mon], which does occur with nb alone. Nb [t3] is impossible, for the phrase nt '3 nb pt nb t3 to the best of our knowledge never occurs.

17. S in the present context is to be rendered whywt 'villages', and not whywt 'cases' (see JEA 27, 57, n. 2, and more fully Gardiner, Arch. Eg. Onom., Text II, 205; The Willous Papyrus, II, 32, 33; and also Fairman's discussion of the sources of wine in Pendlebury, City of Akhenaten, III, 165). Whenever at Edfu whywt and S occur in parallel (e.g. E III, 107, 9; 114, 11; VII, 71, 17) these terms seem to be employed to draw a distinction between the (town)-mounds of the Delta and the villages of Upper Egypt. Thus in E III, 169, 10, below = Text 1, G, iswt hnyw-ib (see also E I, 158, 6; VI, 125, 4) is used as a synonym for iswt hnyw-ib, iswt hnyw-ib (E VI, 125, 3; JEA 21, 34, n. 4), the districts in the centre of the Delta (Schaff, Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikare, p. 28). That the iswt were not mere 'mounds' but inhabited town-mounds is shown by the fact that they are provisioned (E III, 155, 10; I, 46, 11) or restored when found desolate or abandoned (gm ws, E III, 114, 4-5). Of course whywt was not a term applicable only to Upper Egypt, an Edfu text in fact speaks of the cities (niswt) of Upper Egypt and the villages (whywt) of Lower Egypt (E III, 118, 15), but where iswt and whywt occur in parallel our experience is that they

a) Cf. E IV, 272, 15. b) The King is also wp nt nb wp, D I, 115, 3. c) Emending } for d. d) Cf. 'the villages (whywt) which are in the Western River' on an Amarna wine-jar (Pendlebury, op. cit. III, pl. XXXV, 18 and p. 165; and cf. ibid. p. 166 (11)).

invariably refer to the Delta and Upper Egypt respectively.

18. This must be the meaning here, though Wb I, 567 f, does not record it; see also the duplicate passage E, III, 88, 10.

19. J4B7: We do not think that Wb I, 442, 5.6, and Gauthier, Dict. géog. II, 12, are correct in reading bi, bi3 wry. Our view is that the word is a dual from J3B 'bush', 'shrub', Wb I, 416, and that the correct rendering is the 'Two Plants', the reference being to the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. For this word bi3 t see E I, 538, 8. To look at it is like the bushes round about the child, safeguarding Horus in Pe and Dep', E, VI, 16, 14. Other ex. are J4B7 II, E, IV, 282, 8-9; J4B III, E, VI, 226, 2; J4B IV, E, VI, 250, 7.

Here are the spellings of the word in question that are known to us: J4B I, E, VI, 11, 9; J4B I, E, III, 88, 10; J4B I, Mar., Dend., IV, 19; J4B I, Rec. trav., 35, 95, n. 2; J4B I, E, II, 252, 7; J4B I, E, II, 141, 4 (wrongly listed by Gauthier, op. cit., II, 2, as 'la ville des buissons - Localité non identifiée, consacrée au dieu Horus'); J4B I, E, III, 117, 10; J4B I, E, II, 138, 4; J4B I, E, II, 10, 11; J4B I, Brugsch, Dict. géog., 1143; J4B I, Mar., Dend., IV, 19; J4B I, E, III, 172, 18; J4B I, E, VII, 200, 1; J4B I, E, II, 44, 12) or Bi3 wry. The ex. in the text aforesaid are J4B I, E, III, 177, 2; VII, 89, 16; J4B I, E, III, 195, 11; 196, 2; M. 153, 16 (which Gauthier quotes under his ex. of Bi3 wry 'Egypt').

Note that in all but one of these there is no feminine ending. We might, therefore, transliterate bi3 wry. For the play between bi3 and bi compare the spellings of bi3 'copper'. It is significant that in spite of the Ptolemaic preference for an invariable place-name ending 3, it so very rarely occurs in this name.

20. An instance of substitution-apposition introduced by m.

21. Ja III, despite the determinative, to be read Edut (Wb IV, 567, 1) here rather than Edyut (ibid. 567, 9), and can the word in this context mean 'water-channels', 'runlets'?

22. + is hardly a suffix, but rather the first radical of a word now lost, which may be + J4B III.

- a) Cf. the parallel passage, E, V, 6, 1-2, where J4B dyt 'papyrus-thicket' replaces bi3 w(t).
- b) In a duplicate version of our passage.

7
9
2

Of these Pap. Sall. I, 4, 11 = L. Eg. Misc., 81, 9, is very close to our Text 3, G, and uses the term swtȝ smw.

39. With this sentence of 'He makes abundant for thee its harvest yearly.' E. II, 37, 2. Restore, of course, r tr. [ff] n mpt; for n mpt, n nrt, 'annually', see JEA. 29, 24, n. 9. 40. Shnt: see Gauthier, Fèles du dieu Min, 142 ff.

41. Did the last line of E. I, contain a garbled version of nb f;w 's šfyt, 'reversed lord, greatly dreaded'?

42. For prt šht see E. II, 156, 13; VII, 108, 1; 137, 15-16; D. II, 66, 10; III, 4, 4.

43. For the verb hšy 'flood' see Wb. III, 13, 7. In the preceding sentence we would restore [š tr] or possibly [š tr] after š = mitt here rather than mrt.

44. Emending š < š>. We cannot restore the missing noun which forms the direct object of di-i. For our reading of the other damaged signs see JEA. 35, 100 with pl. VII. The sign read š is fairly certain, it is rounded at the left end and straight at the right and cannot be š. Clearly š is the verb thš, thš, written without determinative, to which Fairman, contrary to Wb. V, 331, 2 and 335, 7, would like to assign the meaning 'drive away'. For the passage under discussion we can quote two very close parallels: 'The two (pair of) flagstaffs are beside them in their form <of> the Two Sisters, driving away (?) these storm-clouds of the sky', E. VIII, 67, 14-15; 'The two obelisks stand firm outside (m. nrt) them, driving away (?) the storm-clouds of the sky', E. VII, 19, 8.

45. No other instance is known to us of 'green' and 'pale blue' being included among the colours of the four calves. 46. See Wb. V, 248, 9. 47. See below, Conclusions.
























47 bis. The introductory š has been accidentally omitted from our copy, JEA. 35, 101.

48. We assume that š has been omitted by either the ancient scribe or the modern copyist.

49. For hryt see Wb. III, 323, 18. 50. Emending š š.

51. The numerous examples collected by Fairman show that the compound hšy-šn, employed frequently in connection with Min and the ithyphallic Amūn, has the following usages: (a) As a noun it means 'terror', 'consternation'. (b) As a verb, usually a participle, it means 'inspire fear', 'arouse consternation'. (c) Followed by the preposition m it means 'inspire fear in enemies'. (d) Used with the same preposition and followed, except in ex. 20, by a word for 'phallus' it means 'inspire fear with' or 'through' that member, or, as in the exceptional instance just mentioned,

another agency. The examples are as follows:-

- (a) 1. , 'Lord of terror' (= Min), E.IV, 270, 15; 2.  * III, 'I give thee the dignity of the Living Soul of Re; the terror of Min, the most virile of the gods,' E.II, 270, 10; 3. , 'I put terror for thee into the foe of Thy Majesty,' E.IV, 359, 13.
- (b) 4. , 'strong lion, arousing fear upon the desert-plateau,' E.III, 188, 10; 5. , 'thou inspirest fear like Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm,' E.I, 102, 11-12.
- (c) 6. , 'a sovereign rich in cultivated land, who arouses dread in Dads and Kmnt,' E.III, 152, 15; 7. , 'arousing consternation in thine enemy,' Misc. Grq. 406, Text G.I, 15; 8. , 'great lion, inspiring fear in his foes,' E.III, 271, 14; see also E.I, 82, 8 * XI, pl. ccxlviii; 9. , 'inspiring fear in the game upon the desert-plateau,' E.III, 197, 9.
- (d) 10. , 'inspiring fear with his strong member,' E.I, 82, 11 * XI, pl. ccxlviii; 11. , 'arousing consternation with his erect member,' Misc. Grq. 404, Text F, 8; 12. , 'He-with-the-uptifted-Arm, of whose phallus men boast, who arouses alarm with his erect member,' E.II, 85, 2-3; 13. , 'I give thee strength to smite thine enemies and thou inspirest fear with thine erect member,' E.I, 82, 10 * XI, pl. ccxlviii; see also E.I, 242, 10-11; III, 182, 4; IV, 242, 13; 14. , 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Bull who presides over his cows, who with his phallus inspires fear in the gods,' Ombos I, 21, No. 16; 15. , 'who arouses consternation among the gods with his phallus,' E.I, 375, 14-15 * XII, pl. cccxxix; 16. , 'He-with-the-uptifted-Arm, of whose beautiful member men boast, who inspires fear with his own phallus,' E.I, 374, 3-4; 17. , 'the Falcon who holds aloft the whip and arouses fear with his own phallus,' E.III, 87, 8-9; see also III, 88, 9; X, 241, 15; 18. , 'who inspires fear with his live member,' E.IV, 71, 7-8; see also M, 15, 12; 19. , 'beneficent heir, King of Eternity, who in very truth inspires fear with his beautiful member,' E.IV, 271, 4; 20. , 'with strong hands like Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm, inspiring fear with his handiwork,' E.I, 375, 10 * XII, pl. cccxxix.
- a) The epithet is written , E.IV, 222, 4;  * III, E.IV, 271, 3. b) See Misc. Grq. 418, n. 70.
- c) Emending .

long
T.G.
has
t

66. Emend $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$.

67. Hwt here and below in Text 7, G, is simply a writing of the verb hwti 'drive', the Upper-Egyptians already in Ptolemaic times making no distinction between h and h̄; see our comment on this point JEA 30, 21, middle of page.

68. See Bull. Inst. fr. 43, 103 (E).

69. See Ann. Serv. 43, 280, n. LXXIII; JEA 29, 33, n. 20.

70. See JEA 29, 29, n. 14; E. III, 188, 14; VI, 65, 2; 317, 6.

71. mm for mm̄. 72. Restoring $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$, why: sp. f.

73. in wsb written in wsb̄; the sb̄ due to misunderstanding of sb̄ wrongly used for sb.

74. The words $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$ have been omitted in the copy of the text in JEA 35, 103. Pr-hy is both a name of the royal palace and also a name of the place in which the Hwt was celebrated (N.B. III, 40). The term appears first in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (as a name of the palace of Amenophis III at Malkata) and at el-Amarna, see Ann. Serv. 42, 491, 492; Höfcher, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, fig. (g) on p. 7; and furthermore Fairman's remarks in Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, 193, 195-7. The word occurs in the following contexts in the Edfu inscriptions:-

a. As a name of the Hwt building, of which there are very clear examples.

1. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; 'I give thee the many jubilees of Tanen within his canopied throne in the House of Rejoicing', E. I, 25, 17; 2. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; 'It is his House of Rejoicing for celebrating his jubilees', E. I, 52, 10; 3. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; 'I give thee the House of Rejoicing containing thy canopied throne, that thou mayest celebrate the jubilee in it', E. I, 57, 16; 4. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; 'sovereign, lord (nb) of as many jubilees as Tanen upon the canopied throne in the House of Rejoicing', E. I, 257, 9-10 = XI, pl. CCCIV, of D. I, 41, 10; 5. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; '(Draw near to the sanctuary of the Holy Winged Orb) that thou mayest acquire a jubilee in the House of Rejoicing', E. IV, 206, 7; 6. $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$; 'I magnify thy jubilee (or feast, 'I multiply thy jubilees) in the House of Rejoicing', E. IV, 229, 15; 7. The hyt are represented as $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$, shouting for joy to the great prince (Horus) in his sanctuary, rejoicing over the Lord of the House of Rejoicing, E. V, 39, 3-4 (the context shows clearly that here also Pr-hy refers to the Hwt building).

a) Emend $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$.

b) Emend $\overline{\text{HWT}} \overline{\text{BHSW}}$.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest representations of the ceremony of Driving the Calves cited by *Wb.* I, 469, 8, *Belegstellen*, date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are to be found at Dēr el-Bahri (Neville, *Deir el Bahari*, v, pl. 134; vi, pl. 164) and Luxor (Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pl. 9 = Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, fig. 91). The ceremony is depicted also in the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, II, pl. 35, top), and on New Kingdom coffin (*ZAS* 39, pl. 5). It almost certainly appeared in one of the reliefs adorning the pyramid-temple of Sahurê (see Sethe ap. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, 115 f. and pl. 47). Thus its performance can be traced back anywhere to the Fifth Dynasty.

All reliefs of this ceremony show the king driving four calves, a white, a black, a red and a speckled one, into the presence of a male divinity, who is sometimes accompanied by a goddess (only in Ptolemaic examples). In the Sahurê relief this male divinity unfortunately destroyed, but was presumably Min; at Buhen also the head and name of the god are missing, but he was not ithyphallic; at Luxor the god is the non-ithyphallic Amen-Rê, but in both Dēr el-Bahri scenes the divinity is the ithyphallic Amen-Rê. On the portal of Euergetes I the divinity is Min-Amen-Rê, at Edfu is Horus the Behdetite, Min, Amūn, or, exceptionally, Osiris (Text 4). Osiris is also presiding god in the painted scene on the New Kingdom coffin.

The feature common to all representations of the ceremony is that the King, wearing the *atef*-crown,¹ holds in one hand the coiled ends of four ropes (each term in an ⌘ -symbol and attached to the leg of a calf), and at right-angles to the ground appears to be a wavy rod. In the other hand he carries a straight rod, usually terminated in a snake's head, held parallel with, or at a slight angle to, the ground. The wavy and coiled ropes are always in the hand farthest from the beholder, i.e. in the left when the King faces right, and *vice versa*. The relief on the portal of Euergetes (*JEA* 35, pl. 7) and its accompanying Text 3, D make it clear that the two rods represent a snake that has been cut in half, and this is apparent at Buhen, Dēr el-Bahri, several of the Edfu reliefs (see *E.* IX, pls. 17, 64; *E.* X, pl. 92; *E.* XI, pl. 244; *E.* 633, and see also *D.* I, pl. 83). In *E.* IX, pl. 40g the wand ending in a snake's head has been omitted, and in Gayet's line-drawing of the Luxor relief and in *E.* IX, pls. 32, the snake's head is not shown, while in *M.*, pl. 25, the wand is replaced by a pear-shaped head.²

In all the early reliefs, from that in Sahurê's pyramid-temple to that in the Luxor without exception, each of the four ropes is attached to a calf's foreleg. In Euergetes I's relief likewise the four ropes are fastened each to a foreleg, the King on the left, in faithful conformity with ancient usage.³ At Edfu, however, the

¹ At Luxor and in Text I (*E.* IX, pl. 64), however, the King wears a wig and fillet surmounting the crown.

² All these exceptional features may be due to errors or misunderstandings on the part of the modern artist.

³ In *D.* I, pl. 83, the ropes are attached to the right forelegs, the King being on the left. Note the accompanying text, though belonging to Category II (see below, p. 78), preserves traces of the original character of the rite.

normally fastened to one of the hindlegs, and only in the relief to which our Text 5 belongs (see *E.* ix, pl. 40g) is the older usage preserved and the ropes attached to the left forelegs.¹

The scenes on the New Kingdom coffin² are exceptional. The 'driving of the calves' is depicted on the extreme left of the panel as an addendum to *Heb-sed* scenes in which the King performs what Kees has termed the 'Hebsedlauf' and the 'Ruderlauf'. The King stands on the left and wears a wig only; behind him is an upright *ḏnb*-sign \square . He drives the four calves towards the fetish of Abydos, which faces towards him and behind which come the *Heb-sed* scenes. In his left hand the King holds the wavy wand and the coiled ropes, each terminating in an ♀ -symbol and each attached to the left hindleg of a calf. In his right hand is the straight wand, which passes behind his body; the head of the wand is now missing. The scene shows marked late characteristics, and we doubt whether Möller's early dating is justified, although it cannot be later than the Twenty-first Dynasty. Compare the garbled version of the driving of the calves on another coffin from the second cache at Dēr el-Baḥrī³ in which the *ḏun-mutef* priest, clad in a panther-skin, drives the four calves towards two deities bearing on their heads †† and the emblem of Nefertum respectively; in this scene there are no ropes and the head of the straight wand is indeterminate but may have been intended to represent a snake's head.

A study of our texts clearly shows that *hwt bhsw* was in the first instance a harvest-rite, a ceremonial threshing of corn conducted by the King in the presence of the harvest-god, originally Min (see *Wb.* iii, 47, 1), later the ithyphallic Amūn (cf. *Wb.* i, 469, 8), at Edfu often replaced by Horus the Behdetite, Min having already at a comparatively early date been identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis (see Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 138 ff.). Like most Egyptian religious ceremonies it underwent a process of Osirianization and in consequence of this it was supposed to represent the 'treading on' (*hh*) the grave of Osiris by the four calves (see below, p. 78) with a view to hiding it and so to preventing its violation and profanation at the hands of the god's enemies.

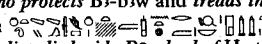
At Edfu the reliefs depicting the 'driving of the calves' fall into three categories, the texts of two of them representing the older version of the rite, those of six others the newer, while those of three display a confusion of ideas or a complete misunderstanding of the significance of the ceremony whether in the form of Category I or II.




CATEGORY I. As already stated, only two of the Edfu reliefs, Texts 1 and 2, are concerned with the earlier version of the rite. We were thus only too glad to avail ourselves of the kind permission of the Oriental Institute of Chicago to make what use we pleased of their admirable photograph of the relief on Euergetes I's gateway, especially as it supplies us with information that seems to occur nowhere else. To the inscriptions accompanying the relief we have given the number 3 and assigned them to Category I where they clearly belong. They will henceforth be referred to as Text 3, A, 3, B, etc.

¹ No photographs or drawings of Texts 2 and 14 have been published.

² Georg Möller, *Das Hb-sd des Osiris nach Sargdarstellung des Neuen Reiches* (ZÄS 39, pp. 71 ff.; pls. 4, 5).

³ Cairo 6016; Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Dēr el-Bahari*, pl. 5.

(7) Text 9, D informs us that the King as *son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilt-goddess is he who protects B3-b3w and treads the grave of his sire*. (8) Finally, it is said of Horus of Edfu  *Thou art he who did tread the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside R3r, lord of Hwt-bnbn, E. VIII, 7, 14.*

As well as the verb  'seek', *Wb. III, 152, 6* cites another word  (var. ) meaning 'tread' or 'set foot upon' a place (*einen Ort betreten*). It is this latter verb, we suggest, that appears in the above-quoted passages, and the evidence seems to favour our suggestion. The texts in Category I certainly speak of a ceremonial threshing of corn on the presiding god's threshing-floor. In the Osirianized version of the rite the threshing-floor, we venture to think, was regarded as the site of the grave of Osiris in his role of dead corn-god, and the calves by their treading of the corn and trampling on the floor were supposed to hide the grave from Osiris's enemies. Certain texts belonging to Category II and one in Category III seem to support this notion. The calves are driven by the King *to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals*, Text 10, D. The King addressing Osiris asserts that he drives the calves *so that thy Hallowed Land is free from all that is evil, thy place of burial hidden from all foes*, Text 4, A. Or, again, his object is *to hide thy upland tomb* and in the guise of Horus *to turn away enemies from the sepulchre*, Text 4, D, *turn away the steps of the Perverse One from the graveyard*, Text 5, A, or *conceal the vault of his father* (Osiris), Text 8, D. Finally, the King is likened to Horus *who buried his father in Heliopolis and hid the body of His-nose-liveth*, Text 7, D, and is described as *driving the calves and hiding the crypt of his creator*, Text 7, G.

The officiating King is sometimes equated with or likened to Min (Text 4, C [cf. Text 4, E, 1], Text 7, A and 7, C) or Horus (Texts 5, C and 7, D). That he impersonates one or other of these two gods, Horus in particular, is implicit in every representation of the Osirianized ceremony.

Despite its Osirianization the rite still shows traces of its original pastoral and agricultural character. Thus the presiding divinity can still be regarded as a fertility-god, the giver of an abundant harvest and full cattle-sheds (Text 6, E, 1 and G; cf. *D. I, 147, 15*), while the King in the role of herdsman is *Sovereign of the wsb-cattle* (Text 6, A; Text 9, A), *trusty envoy of the Lord of Kine, son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilt-goddess* (Text 6, C; Text 9, D; cf. *D. I, 115, 3*). Note also that in Text 7, D the King is described as *driving the calves, treading the grave of his father, and trampling down those hostile to his sire*, where perhaps the 'trampling' is reminiscent of what was originally the main feature of the performance, the treading of corn on the threshing-floor by the four calves; cf. the symbolical trampling on fish by the prophets, fathers of the god and scribe of the sacred books, one of the ceremonies performed at the great festival at Edfu on the occasions of Hath3r's annual visit, *E. V, 134, 2-3 and 5-6*.

In the Osirianized versions of *hwt bhsw* Horus and Min are now and then assigned the attribute *who drove the calves in Heliopolis* (Texts 5, C and 7, A; cf. Text 11, D) and in Text 7, D, it is definitely stated that Horus buried his father in Heliopolis,¹ while the passage *E. I, 51, 13* informs us that the sepulchre of the dead gods of Edfu is *the like of*

¹ See also the passage *E. VIII, 7, 14*, quoted above, (8).

that which is in Heliopolis.¹ This claim on the part of Heliopolis to possess the tomb of Osiris may be older than the similar claim put forward by Memphis (Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 76), a claim which Junker (*Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, 8) would date back not earlier than the Third Dynasty. The Heliopolitan claim, though found in a Ptolemaic text, may nevertheless be derived from an ancient source and date, if not, as Sethe might have maintained, from predynastic times, anyhow from the First to Second Dynasties.

Because the rite was given an Osirian significance and performed to protect Osiris's grave, it was eventually employed as a funerary ceremony for individuals other than Osiris, such as the dead divinities of Edfu,² and possibly, in view of the fragmentary relief in the pyramid-temple of Sahurê (see above, p. 76), dead kings of the Old Kingdom. Apart from the paintings on the two coffins mentioned above, p. 77, we have no indication whatever that the ceremony was performed for private individuals, and it probably never was. In short, the paintings in question may be just the pictures of a rite that it was considered desirable to have portrayed on a coffin, such pictures possessing magical qualities, being in fact substitutes for an actual performance.

Why does the King in all these representations of our rite appear regularly wearing the atef-crown? According to Scharff, *Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des Alten Reiches*, 14, that crown is a combination of two Lower Egyptian crowns and is not to be regarded as an older form of the historic double diadem. If this view is correct, the answer to our question is that, like the Running of the Apis (see Blackman, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1, 7 ff.), this is a Lower Egyptian ceremony. Now Scharff, *Das Grab als Wohnhaus*, 14, maintains that agriculture was practised in the Delta at an earlier date than in Upper Egypt.³ Accordingly, the corn-growing peasants of Lower Egypt may well have been the originators of this ceremony, which would naturally have been performed in the presence of a Lower Egyptian fertility-god. Later on, after the final union of the Two Lands, the dynastic Upper Egyptians took over this Delta ceremony and identified the presiding divinity with their own fertility-god Min. The officiating King, however, continued to wear the two old Lower Egyptian crowns in accordance with that conservatism which Egyptians were ever wont to display in all matters appertaining to the outward observance of a religious rite.

CATEGORY III. Perhaps Text 10 should have been included in Category II. It has been assigned by us to Category III because the priestly compiler of the passages composing it seems to have altogether lost sight of the true significance of the ceremony, assigning the hidden grave to Horus, the presiding god, instead of to Osiris! With regard to Text 11, though the King says to Min *Thou art Horus who drove the calves in Heliopolis*, the purport of the ceremony is completely disregarded. Not only have all the pastoral and agricultural allusions vanished, but no reference whatever is made to the

¹ On the other hand Text 8, A, places the tomb of Osiris in Behdet!

² E. II, 51, 12. E. v. 137, 8 suggests that the ceremony was intended to be performed annually for these dead gods, see below, p. 81.

³ Even if Scharff is mistaken, the *hut dhsu* may have been in the first instance, as we have already suggested (see above, p. 78), a pastoral rather than an agricultural rite, and so may still have originated in the Delta at a very early date (see Commentary, n. 6) among the cattle-keeping section of the population.

grave of Osiris, while Min, the presiding divinity, appears not as a fertility-god, but as a desert-ranger and explorer of the marvels of Pwāne. Text 12 is quite anomalous and once more the original meaning of the ceremony has been forgotten. It is true that in a much abbreviated 'formula' the King claims to be *Sovereign of the wsb-cattle*, but the *driving of the calves* is not mentioned, nor again is there anywhere a reference to the grave of Osiris. The King merely offers Horus and his consort Hathōr the *four cords of the entire earth* and is content to receive in return a vague promise that the inhabitants of the south, north, east, and west shall be his servants! Thus in this and the preceding representation the rite has become practically meaningless, which may possibly be accounted for by the fact that for a long period of time it had fallen into disuse¹ and survived mainly as a pictured ceremony that tradition demanded should have a place among the reliefs adorning the walls of a great Egyptian temple.

POSTSCRIPT

When this paper was already in proof Dr. H. H. Nelson, who is preparing a study of all the reliefs and inscriptions in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, drew our attention to a relief of Sethos I (No. 33 [237] in his manuscript) depicting the offering of milk. The title of the scene reads 'Making offering of the milk of the cows of the estates of Tjeni (𓄏𓄏)'. This god Tjeni, Dr. Nelson points out, occurs as 𓄏𓄏 in a list of gods at the Pyramid of Pepi II,² and in the names of two domains in unpublished scenes from the Causeway of Unis. Dr. Nelson has also shown us an unpublished scene in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak³ in which the King stands before the ithyphallic Amen-Rē with, between them, two bulls and two cows, the name of one of the latter, and also in a parallel scene, apparently being *wsbt*. Behind the King stands a human-headed god 𓄏𓄏𓄏, 'Tjeni, Lord of Kine'. Dr. Nelson is of the opinion that Tjeni was associated with cattle, especially milch-cows. What connexion, if any, existed between Tjeni and Anubis and *Rmnty* we cannot yet say, but it is to be hoped that more information will be available by the time Dr. Nelson publishes this scene and his interesting comparative material.

¹ Except possibly for its yearly performance at Edfu on the first day of the New Moon Festival in the third month of Shōmu (*E. v.*, 125, 4), when Hathōr paid a visit to Horus the Behdetite, where it occurs in what after all may be a purely conventional list of ceremonies. It may also have occurred on the second day of this New Moon Festival (*E. v.*, 131, 8) among the ceremonies performed for the Dead Gods, if *h̄h̄ is in hmw-n̄r* (see above, p. 78) means that the prophets 'trod the grave' by driving the four calves over the place where these divinities were supposed to be interred.

² Jéquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II*, III, 15 and pls. 24, 25.

³ Nelson, *Key Plans showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations*, pl. 7, KF. 284.