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The coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu : tradition and innovation in ancient Egyptian ritual composition

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2 TEXTUAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

2.1 SCENE 1

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Figure 2.1 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 1. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

Scene 1 on the western (left) part of the first register depicts the king, wearing the *hemhem*-crown and holding the ointment-jar, extending his little finger towards the pot.⁵³ The king is accompanied by the queen, wearing the double feather crown, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ꜥnh*-symbol in the other. The sacred falcon is depicted standing under a baldachin upon a pedestal. Horus, Hathor and Harsomtut are depicted standing to the right of the sacred falcon, facing it. Horus wears the Double Crown and holds the *ꜥnh*-symbol and the *wꜥs*-sceptre. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ꜥnh*-symbol in the other. Harsomtut wears the *hemhem*-crown, holding the *mks* in one hand and the *ꜥnh*-symbol in the other. To the left of the scene a hymn is written (Text 6: E VI 100, 14 – 102, 3),⁵⁴ followed by an inscription summarising the ritual programme (Text 7: E VI 102, 3 – 103, 6).⁵⁵

The direction in which the sacred falcon is facing is especially interesting in this scene: the king is not facing the sacred falcon, but is instead directed towards Horus, represented to the right of the falcon. As such, it seems that the ritual is not performed for the sacred falcon, but for Horus. However, the inscription summarising the ritual acts clearly indicates that the rituals are performed for the sacred living falcon: “Reaching *St-Wrt* in order to receive kingship from the hand of his father Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky. Presenting *mdt*-ointment, tying a *wsh*-collar, offering a *hh*-symbol made of gold, giving him (i.e. the falcon) life (*ꜥnh*) and dominion (*wꜥs*), giving him *ꜥnh*-flowers in the name <of> the Ennead that is in this temple. Then, travelling of this god (i.e. the sacred falcon), while the Majesty of this noble god Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the lord of *Msn*, appears behind him (...)” (Text 7: E VI 102, 3 – 103, 6). The direction in which the sacred falcon is facing can be explained on the basis of Text 6 (E VI 100, 14 – 102, 3), where it is said: “May you (i.e. the sacred falcon) protect your father (i.e. Horus Behdeti), who is directed to your face”. The last part of this phrase seems to refer to the accompanying image in Scene 1, where Horus Behdeti is represented standing to the right of the sacred falcon. Based on this text it can be concluded that in reality, Horus Behdeti was facing the falcon and the ritual was carried out by the king for both Horus and the sacred falcon, which is indeed not surprising, since the sacred falcon was the living incarnation of Horus.

⁵³ See paragraph 2.1.1.

⁵⁴ See paragraph 2.1.2.

⁵⁵ See paragraph 5.1.

2.1.1 ANOINTING THE SACRED FALCON

The king holds the ointment-jar in one hand and lifts his other hand, extending the little finger towards the pot, which indicates that he is using this finger to perform the act of anointing.⁵⁶ The accompanying inscriptions confirm that the actual anointing (*ir(t) mdt*) of the sacred falcon is concerned here rather than the more usual presentation or offering of ointment (*hnk mdt*): “Anointing (*ir(t) mdt*). Words to be spoken: The *hknw*-oil is upon your forehead, it makes your face happy!” (Text 1: E VI 100, 2-4). This last phrase refers to the pleasant fragrance of the ointment, which causes rejoicing and pacifies the gods.

The epithets of the king also refer to the act of anointing: he is called “a second Shesemu in the place of cooking the ointments, the son of Horus, the lord of the laboratory” (Text 3: E VI 100, 6-8). Shesemu is the god associated with the production of wine and of fragrant ointments.⁵⁷ The king may be called Shesemu when he is offering ointment (*mdt*) or fragrant resin (*ntyw*).⁵⁸ The “place of cooking the ointments” refers to the temple’s laboratory, where the recipes for the preparation of ointments were written down.⁵⁹ Further references to the anointment are made in the *königliche Randzeile*: “The perfect god, the overseer of *Fkhr*, who gathers tribute in *Bwgm*, the image of Shesemu, the sprout of Wadjet, the heir of Horus, the lord of the laboratory, with capable hands, who cooks ointment for all the gods, the lord of ointment, Ptolemy” (Text 5: E VI 100, 11-13). *Fkhr* and *Bwgm* are both toponyms associated with the region of Punt and with the offering of ointment and fragrant resin as being products of Punt.⁶⁰

The epithets of the accompanying deities also refer to the theme of anointing. Horus is called “the ruler of Punt, who follows his heart in the valley of myrrh”.⁶¹ He presents the king with “Punt with what is in it and the god’s land with what comes forth from it”, a typical *Gegengabe*⁶² for offerings associated with ointment, fragrant resin and incense (Text 8: E VI 103, 7-11). The *göttliche Randzeile* (Text 11: E VI 104, 6-7) refers to “Behdeti, the lord of Punt, who comes forth from the horizon, the great elevated one, who assesses the god’s land”. The epithets of Hathor (Text 9: E VI 103, 12 – 104, 2) also refer to Punt in relation to the act

⁵⁶ See E.M. Pardey, *LÄ V*, 1984, 367-369, “Salbung”.

⁵⁷ W. Helck, *LÄ V*, 1984, 590-591, “Schesemu”; M. Poo, *Wine and wine offering in the religion of ancient Egypt*. London 1995, 151-152.

⁵⁸ In E VII 76, 10 the king presents *mdt*-ointment (*hnk mdt*) to Horus and Hathor, and is called “a second Shesemu, the earthly successor of Horus, the lord of the laboratory, the grinder (of the ingredients for *mdt*-ointment)”; in E VIII 61, 8 the king is also called “Shesemu” in a scene depicting him presenting *mdt*-ointment (*hnk mdt*) to Horus and Hathor. See also Chr. Leitz and D. Budde, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen VII*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 116. Leuven etc. 2002, 121a-b.

⁵⁹ In E I 94, 16 and 430, 13 it is said that *hknw*-oil is prepared in the laboratory (*is*). In fact, the inscriptions from the Edfu laboratory contain recipes for making *hknw*-oil as well as recipes in which it was used to make other substances. See for example E II 207, 5 – 12; M. Chermette and J.-Cl. Goyon, “Le catalogue raisonné des producteurs de styrax et d’oliban d’Edfou et d’Athribis de Haute Egypte”, in: *SAK 23* (1996), 47-82.

⁶⁰ For Punt and its products, see D. Meeks, “Coptos et les chemins du Pount”, in: M.-F. Boussac (ed.), *Autour de Coptos: actes du colloque organisé au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon (17-18 mars 2000)*. Topoi, Supplément 3. Lyon 2002, 267-335. For the location of *Bwgm* in Nubia, see H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende*. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 59, Abh. 1/2. Vienna 1917, 73-78. *Bwgm* and *Fkhr* are referred to only in scenes depicting the presentation of the products associated with Punt, such as incense, fragrant resin and ointment: E VII 55, 1 (*sw^cb m 5 Bw sm^cw <nw Nhb>*); E VII 60, 3 and 6 (*rd(t) ntyw hr sdt*); E VII 76, 13 and 77, 4 (*hnk mdt*); E VII 204, 15 (*k3p sntr*); E VIII 61, 11 (*hnk mdt*); E VIII 66, 3 (*ir(t) sntr*); E VIII 102, 10 (*ir(t) sntr*).

⁶¹ For the expression “who follows his heart in the valley of myrrh”, see S. Martinssen-Von Falck, “Seinem Herzen folgen im Myrrhental – Studien zum Formular der Edfu-Texte”, in: D. Kurth and W. Waitkus (eds), *Edfu: Materialien und Studien*. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Begleitheft 6. Gladbeck 2010, 93-113.

⁶² For a study on the *Gegengaben* in Egyptian temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see Chr. von Pfeil-Autenrieth, *Der Gotteslohn für die Pharaonen: Untersuchungen zu den Gegengaben in ägyptischen Tempeln der Griechisch-Römischen Epoche*. Studien zu den Ritualszenen Altägyptischer Tempel 6. Dettelbach 2009.

of anointing: she is called “the mistress of Punt”. Harsomtut holds the *mks*,⁶³ a document holder symbolising the inheritance of kingship,⁶⁴ and gives “that the love of you is great and spreading amongst the people, without one getting enough of it” (Text 10: E VI 104, 3-5).

2.1.2 THE HYMN TO THE SACRED FALCON

The hymn written to the left of Scene 1 (Text 6: E VI 100, 14 – 102, 3) is addressed to “Ra, who comes in the shape of his *b3*”. Other inscriptions suggest that the *b3* of Ra is to be identified with the sacred falcon. In one of the ritual programme texts summarising the coronation ritual of the falcon,⁶⁵ the sacred falcon is repeatedly described as the *b3* of Ra: it is said that Horus Behdeti unites himself with the *b3* of Ra, that the *b3* of Ra is united with his cult statue and that the *b3* receives kingship at the festival of the establishment of his inheritance (Text 50: E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2).

The main theme of the hymn is the daily cycle of the sun. The phrase “May you fly up to heaven, may you traverse the horizon, may you settle (yourself) on the bank of the sky, may you traverse the earth” refers to the rising of the sun in the morning, the course of the sun during the day, the setting of the sun in the evening, and the course of the sun in the Netherworld.⁶⁶ The epithets “who comes forth in the horizon from the primeval ocean, the illuminator, who illuminates this land” and “when he comes forth from the field of reeds” and “Khepri, who makes exist what has come into existence” in particular refer to the daily rising of the sun, and as such to the daily renewal of creation. This aspect is referred to especially at the start of the hymn, where the primeval aspect of the sacred falcon is praised: “Hail to you, Ra, who comes in the shape of his *b3*, Tatenen, who comes as Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the dappled of feathers, who comes forth in the horizon from the primeval ocean”. This same theme recurs in the *göttliche Randzeile*, where Horus is called “the primeval one, who started kingship of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, Ra-Horakhty, who was the first to have practised kingship” (Text 11: E VI 104, 6-7).

The theme of Horus rising as the renewed morning-sun is associated in this hymn with the theme of Punt and its products. The sacred falcon is praised as “who assesses the god’s land, the ruler of Punt, who rejoices in the valley of myrrh”, and as “Behdeti, lord of Punt and of all the gods and goddesses of the god’s land, your raising (up) is *Fkhr*, your laying (down) is *Wtnt*, and you are mighty in *Bwgm*”. In the *göttliche Randzeile* Horus is called “the lord of Punt” and “who assesses the god’s land” (Text 11: E VI 104, 6-7). Similarly in Scene 3, where the accompanying inscriptions to Horus refer to him as: “the great god, the lord of the sky, the beautiful *gmḥsw*-falcon, about whom *M3ṯt* is satisfied, who assesses the god’s land, the ruler of Punt, who follows his heart in the valley of myrrh, the lord of the gods, the one and only, Khepri, who makes exist what has come into existence, who flies through the sky and who traverses the horizon as Behdeti, lord of Punt” (Text 30: E VI 156, 7-10).

⁶³ For the presentation of the *mks* in ritual scenes of Ptolemaic and Roman temples, see J. Kinnaer, “Le mekes et l’imit-per dans les scènes des temples ptolémaïques et romains”, in: *OLP* 22 (1991), 73-99.

⁶⁴ See M.-T. Derchain-Urtel, *Le dieu Thot à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d’offrandes des temples d’époque gréco-romaine*. Rites égyptiens 3. Brussels 1981, 14-17; S. Cauville, *La théologie d’Osiris à Edfou*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 91. Cairo 1983, 41 n. 3: “Le *mks* et l’*imyt-pr* sont les deux symboles de la royauté, les titres de propriété, cf. de Wit, Opet, III, 127 n. 93 et 142 n. 532. Ce sont les emblèmes que reçoit Horus quand il succède à son père, cf. E. VII, 197, 7; Urk. VI, 11, 13, etc.”; Kinnaer, in: *OLP* 22 (1991), 99.

⁶⁵ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

⁶⁶ D. Kurth, *Edfou VI*. Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu: Abteilung 1 Übersetzungen; Band 3. Gladbeck 2014, 176, n. 10.

2.2 SCENE 2

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Figure 2.2 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 2. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 2 on the eastern (right) part of the first register depicts the king, wearing the *hemhem*-crown and presenting the sacred falcon with the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet.⁶⁷ The king is accompanied by the queen, who wears the double feather crown, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ʿnh*-symbol in the other. The sacred falcon is depicted standing under a baldachin upon a pedestal. Horus, Hathor and Ihy are depicted standing to the left of the sacred falcon, facing it. Horus wears the Double Crown and holds the *ʿnh*-symbol and the *w3s*-sceptre. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ʿnh*-symbol in the other. Ihy wears the *hemhem*-crown, holding the *mks* in one hand and the *ʿnh*-symbol in the other. To the right of the scene a hymn is written (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7).⁶⁸

As in Scene 1, the sacred falcon is represented facing Horus. As the king is directed towards Horus, instead of to the falcon, it seems that the ritual is not performed for the falcon, but for Horus. However, the accompanying hymn indicates that the ritual is performed for the sacred falcon: “Words to be spoken by His Majesty in adoration of the divine *bik*-falcon: (...) Take the *ʿnh*-bouquet (...) Take the *ḥḥ*-symbol (...)” (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7). As pointed out in paragraph 2.1, it can be concluded on the basis of a passage in Text 6 (E VI 100, 14 – 102, 3) that in reality, Horus was facing the falcon and the ritual was carried out by the king for both Horus and the sacred falcon, which is indeed not surprising, since the sacred falcon was the living incarnation of Horus.

2.2.1 PRESENTING THE *ḥḥ*-SYMBOL AND THE *ʿnh*-BOUQUET

The king presents the sacred falcon with a double offering of the *ḥḥ*-symbol and the *ʿnh*-bouquet. The accompanying ritual text reads: “Offering the *ḥḥ*-symbol. Words to be spoken: the *ḥḥ*-symbol of life to your noble nose” (Text 12: E VI 269, 14-15).

The king is referred to as “the successor of Heh, lord of millions” (Text 14: E VI 270, 3-5). This epithet was obviously chosen in consideration of the offering presented by the king: the *ḥḥ*-symbol, representing the number million. The queen presents the falcon with “hundreds of thousands of dominion (*w3s*)” and “ten thousands of endurance (*dd*)” (Text 15: E VI 270, 6-7). Her gift to the falcon complements that of the king: together, they present the sacred falcon with *ḥḥ*, *ʿnh*, *dd* and *w3s*, i.e. eternal life, eternal endurance and eternal dominion.

⁶⁷ See paragraph 2.2.1.

⁶⁸ See paragraph 2.2.2.

The *hh*-symbol represents the concept of eternity and infinity, referring to numerous years of life or reign of the king.⁶⁹ At the same time, the *hh*-symbol is a symbol for the air and wind.⁷⁰ As such it is associated with Shu,⁷¹ the intermediary in the transmission of royal power from Amun-Ra and Atum to Geb, Osiris and Horus.⁷² This explains why the *hh*-symbol is presented here to the sacred falcon as part of the rituals of the confirmation of its royal power. The *hh*-symbol can also be explained as the breath of life.⁷³ As Borghouts remarked: “It (i.e. *hh*) can be smelled and put at the nose.”⁷⁴ For that reason, the *hh*-symbol is often called a ‘bouquet’ (*nh*), mostly that of Re, though it is never represented as such”.⁷⁵ An example⁷⁶ of this can be found in the fourth register of the north interior wall of the pronaos (C’), where the king is depicted presenting Horus with the *hh*-symbol.⁷⁷ The accompanying inscription reads: “I bring you *hh*, the *nh*-bouquet of Ra”.⁷⁸ The word *nh* can thus be used to refer to the *hh*-symbol as well as to the *nh*-bouquet, suggesting that both offerings represent the same concept. This explains not only the close relation between the double offering of the *hh*-symbol and the *nh*-bouquet in Scene 2, but also why the *nh*-bouquet is not mentioned explicitly in the ritual formula spoken by the king (Text 12: E VI 269, 14-15).

2.2.2 THE HYMN TO THE SACRED FALCON

The hymn written to the right of Scene 2 (Text 17: E VI 270, 10 – 273, 7) is addressed to “the divine *bik*-falcon”. The main theme of the hymn is the divine kingship of the sacred falcon and the confirmation of its royal power.

The hymn starts with an exaltation of the solar aspects of the sacred falcon as a bird of prey. The themes of taking royal power, strength and rule over Egypt, over foreign lands and over the entire world, as well as the themes of endurance and protection are central here, as well as the theme of the course of the sun during the day: “You have taken your place in heaven, you have reached the circuit (of the sky) in peace, and (now) <you> traverse this land, as far as the sun shines”. The first part of the hymn ends with an explanation of the names of Horus, Sia and the Occupant of the *nst*-throne by wordplay, followed by a final praise of the falcon: “You remove (*hri*) your form from your followers in this your name of Horus (*Hr*). You know (*si3*) the bodies without lifting your tongue, in this your name of Sia (*si3*). The bedouins are burned (*hryw-s3 nsr*) by your fiery breath in this your name of Occupant of the *nst*-throne (*hry-nst*). Praise to you, welcome in peace! You triumph, your enemies are overthrown!”

The theme of the second part of the hymn is the confirmation of royal power. This part of the hymn consists of four segments, each evolving around the presentation of an *nh*-bouquet to the sacred falcon. These bouquets are presented in the names of the main deities of the Edfu temple, Horus and Hathor, and in the names of Amun-Ra, Ptah Tatenen and Atum.

⁶⁹ S. Cauville, *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*. Leuven etc. 2012, 200-201; Kurth, *Einführung* 2, 691, 1.

⁷⁰ See for example E VII 128, 17; H. Altenmüller, *LÄ II*, 1977, 1082-1083 “Heh”; J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ II*, 1975, 1084-1086, “Heh, Darreichen des”.

⁷¹ H. te Velde, *LÄ V*, 1984, 735-737 “Schu”.

⁷² H. Brunner, *LÄ IV*, 1982, 474-475 “Neunheit”.

⁷³ J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ II*, 1975, 1084-1085, “Heh, Darreichen des”, with reference to E IV 360, 14-15; D III 19, 2; D IV 90, 15-16.

⁷⁴ D IV 63, 5; E VI 269, 14-15.

⁷⁵ J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ II*, 1975, 1084-1085, “Heh, Darreichen des”.

⁷⁶ For more examples, see J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ II*, 1975, 1084-1085, “Heh, Darreichen des”, with references given to E I 497, 4; E II 50, 11; E III 145, 13.

⁷⁷ E III 145, 8 – 146, 2; pl. LXII. See also J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ II*, 1975, 1084-1085, “Heh, Darreichen des”.

⁷⁸ E III 145, 13.

As such, the presentation of the four *ʿnh*-bouquets refers to the transmission and confirmation of royal power: the royal office originated with Amun-Ra and Atum, and was transmitted through Shu and Geb to Osiris and Horus. The presentation of the four *ʿnh*-bouquets symbolises this transmission of royal power from Amun-Ra and Atum to Horus, which is precisely why these deities play an important part in the present hymn. Furthermore, Amun-Ra, Ptah Tatenen and Atum are the main deities of the three dynastic cities of Egypt, Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, associated with the coronation ceremonies.⁷⁹ It is not surprising to find an evocation to the three dynastic cities in this hymn, which celebrates the confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon.

The first *ʿnh*-bouquet is presented as “the *ʿnh*-bouquet of your noble father Horus Behdeti”, and the hymn continues with the themes of life, endurance and strength, triumph over the enemies, and taking royal power. Then follows a refrain, the theme of which is the protection of the sacred falcon by Horus Behdeti and his Ennead: “Living *ʿhm*-falcon, living *bik*-falcon! Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the [sky, is the protection of your limbs and] his Ennead eliminates your enemies!”

Next follows the presentation of the second *ʿnh*-bouquet, “the *hh*-symbol with *ʿnh*, *dd* and *w3s* (...) the *ʿnh*-bouquet of the Majesty of Ra”. After the presentation of this second *ʿnh*-bouquet the hymn continues with the themes of a long lifetime, endurance, strength, and kingship. Then follows a refrain, the theme of which is the protection of the sacred falcon by Ptah Tatenen and his Ennead: “Living *ʿhm*-falcon, living *bik*-falcon! Ptah, south of his wall, the lord of *ʿnh-t3wy*, Ptah Tatenen, the father of the gods, is the protection of your limbs and his Ennead eliminates your enemies!”

Next, the third *ʿnh*-bouquet is presented, “the *ʿnh*-bouquet of your mighty mother Hathor”, and the hymn continues with the themes of life, endurance, strength, love, rejuvenation, triumph over the enemies, and taking royal power. Then follows the third refrain, the theme of which is the protection of the sacred falcon by Hathor and her Ennead: “[Living] *ʿhm*-falcon, living *bik*-falcon! Hathor, [the great, the mistress of Dendera], is the protection of your limbs and her Ennead annihilates your enemies!”

Then follows the presentation of the fourth *ʿnh*-bouquet, “the *ʿnh*-bouquet of your *b3*, (namely) Atum”, after which the hymn continues with the themes of endurance, prosperity, joy, together with references to the setting of Horus in the western sky and his journey through the netherworld, associated with Atum. Then follows the final refrain, the theme of which is the protection of the sacred falcon by Atum and his Ennead: “Living *ʿhm*-falcon! Atum is the protection of your limbs and his Ennead annihilates your enemies!”

The epithets and *Gegengaben* of Horus, Hathor and Ihy in Scene 2 are closely associated with the main theme of the hymn, i.e. the divine kingship and confirmation of royal power of the sacred falcon. Horus is called “the great god, the lord of the sky, the great of triumph in *Wtst-Hr*, the Upper-Egyptian king of the Upper-Egyptian kings, the Lower-Egyptian king of the Lower-Egyptian kings, the excellent ruler, the ruler of rulers, who sits upon the *st*-throne of his father as king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt since (the time of) the ancestors until the end of *dt*-eternity” and he gives “Your Majesty is high (i.e. enduring) in *Wtst-Hr*, as your lifetime is the length of *dt*-eternity” (Text 18: E VI 273, 8-10). Hathor is referred to as “the great, the

⁷⁹ See S. Cauville, *Essai sur la théologie du temple d'Horus à Edfou*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 102. Cairo 1987, 18 with reference to S. Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem memphitischen Tempel* (Berlin P 13242). Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Jg. 1957, Nr. 3. Göttingen 1957, 68 ff.; J.-Cl. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An*. Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50. Bibliothèque d'Étude 52. Cairo 1972, 15-16; P. Barguet, “La structure du temple Ipet-Sout d'Amon à Karnak, du Moyen Empire à Aménophis II, in: *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 145 ff. and 152. See also S. Cauville, “Les trois capitales – Osiris – le roi”, in: *RdE* 61 (2010), 1-42.

mistress of Dendera, the Eye of Ra, who resides in Behdet, the mistress of the sky, the sovereign of all the gods, the sacred female *ḥm*-falcon in the place of Horakhty, the golden one of the gods, the mistress of the god's land" and she gives protection to the sacred falcon: "I protect your body, I protect your limbs; I give your protection, I make your protection" (Text 19: E VI 273, 11 – 274, 2). Like Harsomtut in Scene 1, Ihy is holding the *mks*. He is called "the great, the son of Hathor, the noble child, who came forth from Isis, the lord of the *bḥdw*-throne, who is upon the *srḥ*, the great child, the excellent heir of Onnophris, justified". His *Gegengabe* consists of "the lifetime of Amun-Ra, with the Double Crown raised upon your head" (Text 20: E VI 274, 3-5).

2.3 SCENE 3

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Figure 2.3 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 3. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

Scene 3 on the western (left) part of the second register depicts the king, wearing the *hemhem*-crown and presenting choice portions of meat to the sacred falcon and Horus.⁸⁰ The king is accompanied by the queen, wearing the double feather crown, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ḥnḥ*-symbol in the other. The sacred falcon is depicted standing on a pedestal. Horus, wearing the Double Crown and holding the *ḥnḥ*-symbol and the *w3s*-sceptre, is sitting on a throne. Hathor and Harsomtut are depicted standing to their right, facing the king and the queen. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ḥnḥ*-symbol in the other. Harsomtut wears the Double Crown, holding a finger to his mouth and the crook and flail in the other. To the left of the scene a hymn to the sacred falcon (Text 26: E VI 153, 8 – 155, 8)⁸¹ and an invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet (Text 27: E VI 155, 8 – 156, 3)⁸² are written, followed by a final apotropaic formula (Text 28: E VI 156, 3).⁸³

2.3.1 PRESENTING CHOICE PORTIONS OF MEAT

The accompanying inscriptions to Scene 3 describe the ritual as *ḥnp stpwt* "offering choice portions of meat" (Text 22: E VI 152, 14-16). The offering of meat to the falcon is equated with the butchery of its enemies: "The choice portions of meat of your enemies lay cut up before you, great *si3*-falcon in *St-Wrt*" (Text 22: E VI 152, 14-16). The sacrificial animals are the embodiments of Seth, and as such, the slaughtering of these animals symbolises the

⁸⁰ See paragraph 2.3.1.

⁸¹ See paragraph 2.3.2.

⁸² See paragraph 2.3.3.

⁸³ See paragraph 2.3.4.

annihilation of the evil power of Seth.⁸⁴ Blackman argued that the slaughtering of animals symbolising the enemies and the subsequent serving of portions of meat to the falcon suggest that the present scene should be interpreted as a “triumphal banquet”, marking the successful completion of the ceremonies of the renewal of royal power.⁸⁵

Other scenes depicting the offering of choice portions of meat from the Edfu temple confirm the equation of the butchered animals to the enemies of the god. For example, in a scene on the western face of the exterior enclosure wall (J'), the king presents Horus and Hathor with choice portions of meat on the fire (*rdt stpwt hr ht*). The accompanying inscription reads: “These are the choice portions of meat of the images of the foes that are put as roast pieces of meat upon your altar”.⁸⁶ As his *Gegengabe*, Horus presents the king with: “I give you that the enemies are struck by your knife and that your adversary does no longer exist”.⁸⁷ The slaying of enemies, of hippopotami and of sacrificial bulls represents the annihilation of foes, also symbolised by the offering of choice portions of meat representing the slain enemies.⁸⁸

The reference in Text 22 to the meal of the falcon as consisting of the meat of its enemies does not seem to be purely symbolic. In P Berlin 13547, a demotic administrative document, it is written concerning “the requirements of the falcon” that the meat of ten donkeys was delivered, apparently to be fed to the sacred falcons of Edfu.⁸⁹ This reference to meat of donkeys is especially interesting considering the fact that the donkey is a manifestation of Seth, the ultimate adversary of Horus.

In Scene 3 the king is referred to as “the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon, who carries out the offering-rituals for his father (i.e. the sacred falcon), and who draws the attention of the god to his offering-gifts” (Text 23: E VI 153, 1-2). The same identification of the king with Shu as the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon is made in one of the ritual programme texts⁹⁰ summarising the events that took place: “... (the sacred falcon is) being offered all the good things by his son Shu in his embodiment of servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon” (Text 7: E VI 102, 11 – 103, 2). The inscription of the *bandeau de la frise* of the exterior face of the enclosure wall (J') also describes the temple of Edfu as the place where offerings are presented to the sacred falcon by a priest who is identified with Shu: “The place where Shu settled himself since primeval times (i.e. the temple of Edfu) and where he offers to his father, while he is in his form of the priest of the *gmḥsw*-falcon, who brings food-offerings to the *bik*-falcon that is in Behdet, (namely) his living *b3* in the window of the *si3*-falcon, and who carries out the rituals forever”.⁹¹ The identification of the king with Shu as the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon is also confirmed in the *königliche Randzeile* written to the left of Scene 3: “The king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (empty cartouche) is upon his *ḥndw*-throne in the great window of

⁸⁴ Cauville, *Offerings*, 77. For the enemy as the sacrificial animal, see S. Schoske, *Das Erschlagen der Feinde. Ikonographie und Stilistik der Feindvernichtung im alten Ägypten*. Heidelberg 1982, 433-441.

⁸⁵ A.M. Blackman, “The king of Egypt’s grace before meat”, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 72.

⁸⁶ E VII 61, 15 – 16; pl. XIX.

⁸⁷ E VII 62, 10.

⁸⁸ See S. Schoske, *LÄ* VI, 1986, 1009-1010, “Vernichtungsrituale”; F. Labrique, “Transpercer l’âne à Edfou”, in: J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1999*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 55. Leuven etc. 1993, 175-189; C. Bouanich, “Mise à mort rituelle de l’animal, offrande carnée dans le temple égyptien”, in: S. Georgoudi, R. Koch Piettre and F. Schmidt (eds), *La cuisine et l’autel: les sacrifices en questions dans les sociétés de la Méditerranée ancienne*. Bibliothèque de l’École des Hautes Études – Sciences Religieuses 124. Turnhout 2005, 149-162.

⁸⁹ J.F. Quack, “Opfermahl und Feindvernichtung im Altägyptischen Ritual”, in: *MGAEU* 27 (2006), 74, with reference to P Berlin 13547; K.-Th. Zauzich, *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*. Demotischen Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin I. Berlin 1978.

⁹⁰ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

⁹¹ E VII 25, 13 – 15.

the dappled of feathers, cutting into pieces the sacrificial ox, catching migratory birds and bringing their choice portions of meat to the *Hwt-Bik*. He is like Shu, who brings offerings to his creator, (like) *Sm3-M3ʿt*,⁹² who provides for his (i.e. the creator's) altar" (Text 25: E VI 153, 5-7). The same reference to the king as "the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon in his form of Shu" can be found in the accompanying hymn to Scene 3.

2.3.2 THE HYMN TO THE SACRED FALCON

The hymn written to the left of Scene 3 (Text 26: E VI 153, 8 – 155, 8) is addressed to *3ḥty* "horizontal one". Blackman identified the invoked deity as *Tty*, which he translated as "Table-god", interpreting this deity as "the royal dinner-table personified as a divinity".⁹³ On the basis of the contents of the hymn, he identified *Tty* as "Atum, the creator-god of the Heliopolitan mythology".⁹⁴ Indeed, the first phrase of the hymn refers to the spitting of the creator-god Atum, which brought about the creation of Shu and Tefnut (E VI 153, 8). This speaks however in favour of a translation of *3ḥty* instead of *Tty*.⁹⁵ In fact, *Tty* is known only from the present hymn,⁹⁶ whereas *3ḥty* is a common epithet of several deities, amongst which Atum and Ra-Atum.⁹⁷ It is interesting to note that the name of Atum is not mentioned explicitly in the hymn. Reference is only made to *3ḥty*.

The last phrase of the hymn refers to the king as "the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon in his form of Shu, the son of Ra", which suggests that *3ḥty*, who created Shu, can be equated with Ra. As mentioned in paragraph 2.3.1, several other inscriptions also identify the king with Shu as the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon.⁹⁸ The epithets of the falcon in Scene 7 confirm again the identification of Shu as the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon with the king: "The living *bik*-falcon upon the *srḥ*, with great appearance in *St-Wrt*, the *b3* of Ra in the window of *Wtst*, the heir of the Two Lands in *Nst-Rʿ*, to whom the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon offers in his form of Shu, the son of Ra" (Text 85: E VI 152, 1-2). Furthermore, the epithets of the king in Scene 2 refer to him as "whom Shu spat out" (Text 14: E VI 270, 3-5). This same epithet recurs in the *königliche Randzeile* to Scene 4 (Text 38: E VI 305, 10-12). The epithets of the king in Scene 6 further explain the relation between the sacred falcon and the king as Shu: "The king of Upper- and Lower Egypt (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, Ptolemy, the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon, who carries out the rituals for his father (i.e. the sacred falcon) and who censures Horus with his Great Eye" (Text 62: E VI 262, 13-14). The epithets of the king in Scene 5 confirm this role of the king as the son of the sacred falcon: "The king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, Ptolemy, the overseer of the first place, who censures for his father (i.e. the sacred falcon), who offers incense to the Good Year" (Text 49: E VI 93, 6-7).

In summary, *3ḥty* "the horizontal one" created Shu: "O horizontal one (*3ḥty*), you have spat Shu from your mouth" (E VI 153, 8). The king is identified repeatedly with Shu, the son of Ra. In his form of Shu as the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon he offers choice portions of meat to his father the sacred falcon. As the king is Shu, the son of Ra, it follows that *3ḥty*, who

⁹² For the epithet *Sm3-M3ʿt*, "who unites (himself) with *M3ʿt*", see Leitz, *LGG* VI, 310b-c. This epithet can also be found in a scene on the western face of the exterior enclosure wall depicting the king presenting Horus with the field (*ḥnk šḥt*) (E VII 86, 6; pl. XLI). In both this scene and in Scene 3 *Sm3-M3ʿt* is an epithet of the king as Shu, associated with the offering of nourishment.

⁹³ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 63 n. 28.

⁹⁴ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 64 n. 28.

⁹⁵ See also Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 261, n. 7.

⁹⁶ See Leitz, *LGG* VII 447c.

⁹⁷ See Leitz, *LGG* I, 53c.

⁹⁸ Text 7: E VI 102, 11 – 103, 2; Text 23: E VI 153, 1-2; Text 25: E VI 153, 5-7.

created Shu, can be equated with Ra. Furthermore, as the sacred falcon is the father of Shu, it follows that the sacred falcon can be equated with Ra.

As pointed out above, Atum is not mentioned in the present hymn but it is clear that the Heliopolitan mythology is central to the hymn. The hymn starts with the creation of Shu, i.e. the king, from the spittle of *3hty*: “O horizontal one, you have spat Shu from your mouth, without him being eaten, (namely) Shu, so that he came through”. Next, Shu becomes Hu: “He consecrates for you everything he has recited, after he has become Hu” (E VI 153, 10); “O horizontal one, you have spat him (i.e. Shu) out, he came forth from your mouth and he has become Hu, who prospers at your mouth” (E VI 153, 11). Hu is the personification of authoritative utterance, representing the creative force through the spoken word. Besides being the personification of the creative word, Hu also is the personification of food-offerings.⁹⁹ The close relation between Hu as ‘creative utterance’ and Hu as ‘food-offerings’ may be explained by the concept of reciting offering-formulae which brought about the coming into existence of food-offerings.¹⁰⁰ In the present hymn, these two aspects of Hu merge together:¹⁰¹ Shu, who provides the food-offerings for the sacred falcon is identified with Hu, who created the food by means of his creative utterances: “He (i.e. Shu) consecrates (*hw*) for you (i.e. the sacred falcon) everything he has recited, after he has become Hu” (E VI 153, 10). In short, after Shu was spat out he became Hu, who produced the food-offerings for the sacred falcon by means of his creative utterances.¹⁰² In this respect also the equation of Shu with Heqa, the personification of magic, closely associated with Hu, can be explained:¹⁰³ “He dedicates to you all the good things that you give him, after he has become Heka” (E VI 153, 12). The creative utterances of Hu and the magical spells of Heqa enabled Shu to create food-offerings. The identification in the present hymn of Shu with Heqa (E VI 153, 12), Ptah (E VI 154, 13; 155, 1), Khnum (E VI 154, 14; 155, 1) and Thoth (E VI 155, 5) stems from the creative powers associated with these deities¹⁰⁴ and is aimed at ensuring the continued provision of food-offerings to the sacred falcon.

In the present hymn, Shu is twice referred to as “the overseer of the shoreland”: “May you pass to him (i.e. Shu) the offering that was brought to you at the First Occasion, in his (i.e. Shu) name of overseer of the shoreland” (E VI 155, 2-3 and 155, 6-7). In both cases, a reference is made to the reversion of offerings that is passed to Shu. In the temple inscriptions of Ptolemaic and Roman times, the epithet *hry-idb* “overseer of the shoreland” is often associated and equated with the title *hry-wdb* “overseer of reversion”.¹⁰⁵ The title *hry-wdb* was originally associated with officials connected with the administration and supervision of land, as well as with officials in charge of the funerary and alimentary offerings.¹⁰⁶ The epithet *hry-idb* occurs in a number of other scenes from the Edfu temple where the king as Shu is presenting offerings related to nourishment, such as *hnk sht*, *hnk irp* and *hnk iht nbt nfrt*.¹⁰⁷ The final phrase of the hymn to Scene 3 explains the relation between the king in his

⁹⁹ H. Altenmüller, *LÄ III*, 1980, 66, “Hu”.

¹⁰⁰ See Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 623 with reference to J. Zandee, “Das Schöpferwort im alten Ägypten”, in: Th. P. van Baaren (ed.), *Verbum. Essays on some Aspects of the religious function of words dedicated to Dr. H.W. Obbink*. Studia Theologica Rheno-traiectina 6. Utrecht 1964, 33-66; A.H. Gardiner, “Some Personifications: II. Hu and Sia”, in: *PSBA* 38 (1916), 83-95.

¹⁰¹ For the equation of Shu with Hu from the Middle Kingdom onwards, see H. Altenmüller, *LÄ III*, 1980, 66, “Hu”.

¹⁰² Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 70.

¹⁰³ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 65 n. 35.

¹⁰⁴ Blackman, in: *JEA* 31 (1945), 67-68 (n. 69) and 70.

¹⁰⁵ D. Inconnu-Bocquillon, “Les titres *hry-idb* et *hry-wdb* dans les inscriptions des temples gréco-romains”, in: *RdE* 40 (1989), 65-89; Leitz, *LGG V*, 357c-358b and 361c-362a.

¹⁰⁶ Inconnu-Bocquillon, in: *RdE* 40 (1989), 65-66.

¹⁰⁷ See for example, E VII 71, 11 (*hnk sht*); E VII 75, 9 (*hnk irp*); E VII 86, 6 (*hnk sht*); E VII 151, 8 (*hnk iht nbt nfrt*); E VII 212, 5 (*hnk irp*); E VII 247, 10 (*hnk sht*). See also Leitz, *LGG V*, 357c-358a.

role of Shu as the “overseer of the shoreland” and the meat-offering that is presented to the sacred falcon: “This is a secret of the king, this is a secret of the living *ḥm*-falcon, namely a reversion of offerings that was brought by the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon in his form of Shu, the son of Ra” (E VI 155, 7-8).

2.3.3 THE INVOCATION TO SAKHMET-WADJET

The hymn accompanying the meat-offering to the sacred falcon is followed by an invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet (Text 27: E VI 155, 8 – 156, 3). The invocation is addressed to “Sakhmet of yesterday, Wadjet of today”, referring to the double nature of the goddess, i.e. her beneficial aspect as Wadjet and her dangerous aspect as Sakhmet.¹⁰⁸

The first part of the invocation focuses on the beneficial aspect of the goddess in her form of Wadjet. She is said to “have made prosperous this offering-table of the living *ḥm*-falcon, of the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (empty cartouche)”. She is asked to “protect the living *ḥm*-falcon, the son of Ra, Ptolemy, with this papyrus-sceptre (*w3d*) of life in your hand in this your name of Wadjet (*W3dt*)”. These functions of protection and provision of nourishment feature also prominently in the invocations to the Good Year in Scene 5.¹⁰⁹ In Scene 3, the themes of nourishment and protection take a central place in the words to be spoken by the sacred falcon, Horus, Hathor and Harsomtus. The sacred falcon says: “I take care of your offering-table in the morning and in the evening (...)” (Text 29: E VI 156, 4-6). Horus says: “I give you cows and birds upon your offering-tables, without the son of a god being amongst them” (Text 30: E VI 156, 7-10). Hathor says: “I give you all the things that the sky gives, that the earth produces and that the Nile-flood brings forth from its cavities” (Text 31: E VI 156, 11-12). Harsomtus says: “I give you offerings and sustenance upon your offering-table and all the good things according to your needs” (Text 32: E VI 156, 13-14).

The second part of the invocation focuses on the dangerous aspect of the goddess in her form of Sakhmet. She is asked to render inedible the nourishment of those who try to harm the sacred falcon: “May you shoot your arrow into the offering-meat of the one that evokes the living *ḥm*-falcon with all the evil words”. She is also asked to destroy the enemies of the sacred falcon: “<O> Sakhmet, may you shoot your arrow to all the enemies of the living *ḥm*-falcon, Bastet, may you tear out their (i.e. the enemies) hearts, which are placed upon the brazier of Horus-*imy-Ṣnwt*”. This phrase in particular refers to the accompanying ritual scene, where meat-offerings symbolising the slaughtered enemies of the god are presented to the sacred falcon: “The choice portions of meat of your enemies lay cut up before you, great *si3*-falcon in *St-Wrt*” (Text 22: E VI 152, 14-16). In the final phrase of the invocation Sakhmet speaks, assuring the protection of the sacred falcon: “No arrow will miss its target amongst them (i.e. the enemies), for I am Sakhmet, who is mighty over millions; I have shot at all the enemies of the living *ḥm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon”.

2.3.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet ends with a final apotropaic formula: “Horus, Horus, sprout (*w3d*) of Sakhmet, surround the flesh of the living *ḥm*-falcon with the completeness of life!” (Text 28: E VI 156, 3). The same formula is also used in conclusion to the invocations

¹⁰⁸ J. Yoyotte, “Sekhmet hier, Ouadjyt aujourd’hui: le bilan annuel des péchés et la conjuration des périls de l’année dans l’Égypte ancienne”, in: I. Guérmeur (ed.), *Histoire, géographie et religion de l’Égypte ancienne. Opera selecta par Jean Yoyotte*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 224. Leuven etc. 2013, 125-126.

¹⁰⁹ See paragraph 2.5.3.

to the Good Year in Scene 5¹¹⁰ and to the invocations to Sakhmet in Scene 6.¹¹¹ In the formula Horus is equated with the son of Sakhmet, for as her son he is safe from her destructive forces. His protection is extended to that of the sacred falcon. The use of the term *w3d* in this formula is especially interesting: *w3d* represents the papyrus plant and as the symbol of Lower-Egypt it refers to the papyrus swamps where Isis hid her son Horus to protect him against Seth. As such, the term *w3d* symbolises the protection of kingship,¹¹² which is a prominent theme in the coronation ritual of the falcon. The formula has many parallels in Egyptian texts, ranging from the New Kingdom to contemporary Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions, and shall therefore be further analysed in paragraph 3.3.4.

2.4 SCENE 4

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Figure 2.4 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 4. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 4 on the eastern (right) part of the second register depicts the king, wearing the *hemhem*-crown and fumigating fragrant resin for the sacred falcon and Horus.¹¹³ The king is accompanied by the queen who wears the double feather crown, raising one hand in adoration and holding the *ꜥnh*-symbol in the other. The sacred falcon is depicted standing on a pedestal. Horus, wearing the Double Crown and holding the *ꜥnh*-symbol and the *w3s*-sceptre, is sitting on a throne. Hathor and Ihy are depicted standing to their left, facing the king and the queen. Hathor wears the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ꜥnh*-symbol in the other. Ihy wears the Double Crown, holding a finger at his mouth, and the flail and crook in the other hand. To the right of the scene a hymn to the sacred falcon is written (Text 39: E VI 305, 13 – 308, 8).¹¹⁴

2.4.1 FUMIGATING FRAGRANT RESIN

The accompanying inscriptions describe the ritual as *k3p ꜥntyw in(t) ntr r šbw=f* “fumigating fragrant resin and bringing the god to his food-offerings” (Text 35: E VI 305, 2-4). This text explains the relation between the present scene and the symmetrically placed Scene 3: “The scent of fragrant resin to your nose! When it unites with your nostrils, your hearts receives its offerings because of its (i.e. the resin) fragrance” (Text 35: E VI 305, 2-4). As Alliot

¹¹⁰ See paragraph 2.5.4.

¹¹¹ See paragraph 2.6.4.

¹¹² J. Dittmar, *Blumen und Blumensträuße als Opfergabe im alten Ägypten*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 43. Berlin 1986, 133-143.

¹¹³ See paragraph 2.4.1.

¹¹⁴ See paragraph 2.4.2.

explained: “Les expressions employées sont de celles qui montrent bien l’idée qu’on se faisait du rôle de la fumée, dans le sacrifice alimentaire. Elle était le véhicule, à la fois matériel et surnaturel, qui portait l’offrande vers le dieu, et la faisait saisir par lui”.¹¹⁵ The relation to the neighbouring Scene 3 is also stressed in the *königliche Randzeile* to Scene 4: “The son of Ra, Ptolemy, is on his *nst*-throne as successor of Atum in *P-Wr*, fumigating fragrant resin and offering on the fire what was brought on the arms of the gods, for he is the living lion, whom Shu spat out, who created the Gold of the Gods (i.e. Hathor)” (Text 38: E VI 305, 10-12).

2.4.2 THE HYMN TO THE SACRED FALCON

The hymn written to the right of Scene 4 (Text 39: E VI 305, 13 – 308, 8) is addressed to the living falcon and Horus Behdeti. The hymn starts as follows: “O Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the living *ḥm*-falcon, the divine *bik*-falcon, who comes forth from Punt, come to this your incense, which is the scent of Your Majesty, which comes from your limbs in Punt”. Here, the fumigation of fragrant resin is associated with Punt, similar to the association of ointment with Punt in Scene 1. The themes of Punt and the god’s land recur in the accompanying inscriptions to Scene 4. For example, the king is called “the excellent ruler, the head of Punt, the lion, the lord of the god’s land” (Text 36: E VI 305, 5-7), and Horus says: “I give you *ḥf*-incense of the Two Lands of the Gods as well as all the incense-products of the god’s land” (Text 41: E VI 308, 11-13).

Similar to the hymn of Scene 1, Horus is praised here as the renewed sun-god: “The *k3* of Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, and of the living *ḥm*-falcon is as a shining one upon the shorelands of the sky, while he has grasped the years as the shining one, when he proceeds to the west. It is [his] *b3* that passes the day and for whom the earth is broken up, in order to present him with offerings. He (i.e. the *b3*) rises in the sky because of the scent of fragrant resin and he descends to earth because of the scent of incense”. This last phrase suggests that it is the smell of the fragrant resin that brings the sun-god to the sky. This same theme recurs in the Edfu temple in several other inscriptions associated with the fumigating of fragrant resin.¹¹⁶ For example, in E VII 60, 7 it is said of Horus: “the divine *bik*-falcon, who comes from Punt, [the winged disc], who enters the sky upon the smell of fragrant resin”. In E VII 324, 14-17 it is said: “Fumigating fragrant resin. Words to be spoken: fragrant resin for your *k3*, Behdeti, dappled of feathers. Your *b3* [...]. May you reach the horizon as the winged disc, after you have opened your wings [...]”. In the accompanying *göttliche Randzeile* to the same scene it is said: “Come in peace, ruler of [...]. I have [received] your fragrant resin and I unite with the sky upon its smell” (E VII 325, 10-11). In E VIII 65, 14-15 it is said in the context of censuring: “Incense for your *k3*, may you smell the Upper-Egyptian incense, may your *b3* go up to the sky upon its smell, may <you> unite with Mesen (i.e. Edfu) in happiness”.

The function of the fumigation of fragrant resin is stressed in the present hymn: “May Your Majesty unite himself with their scent. Your heart becomes pleasant because of the scent of your sweat and (that of) the Ennead in your entourage. Your heart flourishes because of the scent of Your Majesty, and your nose is full of (the scent of) your sweat. Hail to you, Ra, every day, may you be pleased with the living *ḥm*-falcon, may you be pleased with his complete Ennead, and his divine ancestors, the gods in his entourage, so that they listen to him, come to him and act according to all his commands”.

In the hymn to Scene 4, the relation with the presentation of choice portions of meat as depicted in the symmetrically placed Scene 3 is also stressed: “Words to be spoken by His

¹¹⁵ Alliot, *Culte*, 657 n. 1.

¹¹⁶ See for example Kurth, *Edfou VII Übersetzungen*, 740-741 (Index).

Majesty as praise of the mighty one, after (he) put fragrant resin on the flame: (...) The living *ḥm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon shall be mighty forever through its choice portions of meat in its (i.e. the falcon) body and through its cows and its fowl and through all its sweet food at each of its festivals that take place in it (i.e. the temple), forever. (...) Raise up your face to this your food in this your temple, which are a god's offering of beautiful choice portions of meat of cows and birds, food-offerings, sustenance, and all the good, pure, sweet things that a god lives by and that are offered to your *k3*, Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, and (for your *k3*), living *ḥm*-falcon, you (both) being perfect gods on this day!"

The final part of the hymn (E VI 307, 3 – 308, 8) stresses the divine kingship of the sacred falcon. This same theme recurs in the epithets of Horus: "Words to be spoken by Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the *bik*-falcon of gold, the son of Osiris, who wears the White Crown, who wears the Red crown, with the high Double Feather Crown, the ruler of the Double Crown" (Text 41: E VI 308, 11-13). At the same time, Ihy is referred to as "the great, the son of Hathor, the divine *bik*-falcon with the great kingship" and he says: "I surround Your Majesty with life, endurance and dominion, every morning, when you are rejuvenated" (Text 43: E VI 309, 3-4). The theme of the divine kingship of the sacred falcon is repeated again in the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 4: "Behdeti is resting in his shrine as the great falcon in *P-Msn*, and he seizes the shorelands, he elevates himself above the gods, and he unites the *swt*-plant with the *snb*-plant. He is Horus, the strong one, who took possession of the Two Lands in the nest, who is raised by his mother to (become) king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt" (Text 45: E VI 309, 6-7).

2.5 SCENE 5

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Figure 2.5 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 5. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

Scene 5 on the western (left) part of the first register depicts a procession, showing the sacred falcon and Horus seated under a baldachin in a carrying-chair supported by the falcon-headed souls of Pe and the jackal-headed souls of Nekhen. The sacred falcon is depicted standing on a pedestal and Horus is seated upon a throne. Horus is wearing the Double Crown and holds the *ḥk3*-sceptre and the *w3s*-sceptre. The Nine Bows, the traditional metaphor of royal supremacy over the enemies of Egypt, are depicted under the carrying-chair. The procession with the king preceeding it is facing left, towards to goddess of the Good Year. The king wears the White Crown of Upper-Egypt and is standing in front of the procession, censing before the Good Year. The Good Year wears the White Crown and holds five palm ribs in her hands.¹¹⁷ The inscription written above the carrying-chair summarises the ritual programme (Text 50: E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2).¹¹⁸ On the far left of the scene, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human wearing the Atef Crown, engraving a palm rib with the royal annals.¹¹⁹ The text written in between the figure of Thoth and the procession with the sacred falcon and

¹¹⁷ See paragraph 2.5.2.

¹¹⁸ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

¹¹⁹ See paragraph 2.5.1.

Horus consists of a series of invocations to the goddess of the Good Year¹²⁰ followed by a final apotropaic formula¹²¹ (Texts 57 and 58: E VI 94, 15 – 99, 13 and E VI 99, 14 – 16).

2.5.1 THOTH ENGRAVING THE PALM RIB

On the far left of the scene, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human, wearing the Atef Crown. Alliot suggested that this figure of Thoth symbolises the “hiérogrammate directeur des prières”¹²² who recited the invocations to the Good Year, written to his right. Thoth is depicted engraving a palm rib with the royal annals for the sacred falcon. The final phrase of the ritual programme text¹²³ written above the carrying-chair refers to this figure of Thoth: “His heart comes and assigns his years, Thoth, the great, assigns his annals with millions of *sd*-festivals, hundreds of thousands of years, ten thousands and thousands of months, hundreds and decades of days, so that his hours are infinite and his years are eternities” (Text 50: E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2). Thus, the ritual of engraving the palm ribs seems to symbolise the “establishment/assignment of the annals” (*smn gnwt*). Given the connotation of the palm rib with the counting of regnal years, the Egyptian word *rnpt* “year” is written with a palm rib. A bundle of engraved palm ribs (*gnw*) refers to the Egyptian word *gnwt* “annals”.¹²⁴ One of the epithets of Thoth in Scene 5 describes him as “who engraves the years of the kings” (Text 46: E VI 92, 13-16), referring to the act of engraving the palm rib with the royal annals. Thoth determines the length of the king’s reign, he records the years of his reign by establishing the annals and he allows him to celebrate many *sd*-festivals.¹²⁵ Hence the reference to the *sd*-festival in the symmetrically placed Scene 6, where Thoth is called “the great of awe in the houses of the *sd*-festival” (Text 59: E VI 262, 5-7).

In Scene 5, Thoth’s epithet “the judge, who separates the two fighters in *Pr-Wnh*” refers to his role as the supreme judge who intervened in the struggle between Horus and Seth for the throne of Egypt, assuring the succession of Horus as the son of Osiris.¹²⁶ This Osirian connotation is also alluded to in the reference to *Pr-Wnh*, a sanctuary of Osiris in the 15th Lower-Egyptian nome.¹²⁷ The use of this epithet in the context of the coronation ritual of the falcon is very appropriate, as the ritual celebrated the succession of Horus upon the throne of his father Osiris. The same epithet recurs twice in the symmetrically placed Scene 6 (Text 59: E VI 262, 5-7 and Text 60: E VI 262, 8-9).

One of the epithets of Thoth in Scene 5 refers to him as “the heart of Ra in *St-Wrt*”, referring to the creative powers of Thoth: he created as the heart of Ra or Atum, and he commanded his thoughts into being as the tongue of Ra.¹²⁸ This same theme of creation recurs in the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 5: “the great mighty power [in] *St-R^c*, who created Shai in the primordial beginning on his potter’s wheel and according to whose plan existence came into being” (Text 47: E VI 92, 16-18). Previously, Wilson had assumed: “In a unique text (E

¹²⁰ See paragraph 2.5.3.

¹²¹ See paragraph 2.5.4.

¹²² Alliot, *Culte*, 615.

¹²³ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

¹²⁴ W. Helck, *LÄ III*, 1980, 236-237 “Jahresrispe”; D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic king-lists, annals and day-books. A contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history*. Mississauga 1986, 65-96.

¹²⁵ For these functions of Thoth, see C.J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth. Two key figures of the ancient Egyptian religion*. Studies in the History of Religions 26. Leiden 1973, 144-145.

¹²⁶ See P. Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt: a study of some aspects of theological thought in ancient Egypt*. Oxford etc. 1922, 37 ff.; Derchain-Urtel, *Thot*, 11-12.

¹²⁷ See H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques, contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques II*. Cairo 1925-1931, 67.

¹²⁸ See Boylan, *Thoth*, 120.

VI 92, 17), Horus is one who first created Shai upon the potter's wheel",¹²⁹ following Quaegebeur: "Le pouvoir d'Horus d'Edfou y est encore exprimé par une formule qui ne se trouve pas ailleurs: celui qui crée Shai au commencement sur son tour de potier".¹³⁰ However, it is clear from the inscription and its context that Thoth is concerned here, as the text continues with a clear reference to Thoth: "who assigns the annals and who inscribes the cartouche, Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis" (Text 47: E VI 92, 16-18). Furthermore, the inscription forms the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 5, associated directly with the figure of Thoth.

2.5.2 CENSING BEFORE THE GOOD YEAR

The king is depicted standing in front of the procession, censing before the goddess of the Good Year. His actions are described in the accompanying inscriptions: "The king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (...) offers incense to the Good Year" (Text 49: E VI 93, 6-7) and "Censing. Words to be spoken: I have taken the censer, as my arms are Horus and my hands are Thoth. His <incense> has risen from the flame, purifying Horus with his Great Eye (...)" (Text 48: E VI 93, 2-5).

The Good Year wears the White Crown and holds five palm ribs in her hands, each with a suspending symbol: *snb* (health), *hfn* (100.000), *hh* (1.000.000), *nfr* (perfection) and *3wt-ib* (happiness). The offering of palm ribs by a deity symbolises the donation of years of life or reign.¹³¹ Therefore, the palm rib is often combined with other symbols referring to an endless reign, such as the frog *hfn* (100.000), the *hh*-symbol (1.000.000), and the *šn*-ring (10.000.000). Besides being a symbol of many years of life or reign, the palm rib also symbolises the *hb-sd*-jubilee and as such it may be combined with the *hb-sd*-symbol.¹³² This can be seen on the far left of Scene 5, where Thoth is depicted holding a palm rib with a suspending *hb-sd*-symbol, engraving the palm rib with the royal annals.¹³³ At Edfu, the Good Year represents the favourable aspect of the goddess Hathor. Her dangerous aspect is represented in the form of Sakhmet in the symmetrically placed Scene 6.¹³⁴ The Good Year became an independent deity only in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods,¹³⁵ personifying the year and symbolising the annual renewal of the year.¹³⁶ Her function and role in the coronation ritual of the falcon are clearly illustrated by the invocations addressed to her.

2.5.3 THE INVOCATIONS TO THE GOOD YEAR

The main accompanying inscription to Scene 5, written in between the procession with the sacred falcon on the right and the figure of Thoth on the left, consists of a series of invocations to the Good Year (Text 57: E VI 94, 15 – 99, 13). The 39 invocations are written

¹²⁹ Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 534.

¹³⁰ J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 2. Leuven 1975, 84.

¹³¹ R.H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: a hieroglyphic guide to ancient Egyptian painting and sculpture*. London 1992, 119.

¹³² See W. Helck, *LÄ III*, 1980, 236-237, "Jahresrispe"; O.E. Kaper, *Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh. Studies in the indigenous cults of an Egyptian oasis*. Groningen 1997, 167.

¹³³ See paragraph 2.5.1.

¹³⁴ See Germond, *Invocations*, 2-3.

¹³⁵ For a discussion of the Good Year in sources predating the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, see paragraph 3.5.3.

¹³⁶ Germond, *Invocations*, 89.

in 39 vertical columns of text. The Good Year is invoked “in all her names” (Text 56: VI 94, 12-14) to perform the beneficial functions¹³⁷ mentioned in each of the invocations addressed to her. The beneficiaries are Harsomtus, Ihy, Horus of Behdet, the living *ḥm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon, and the king, who can all be identified as aspects of Horus.

Germond’s analysis of the invocations to the Good Year is still valid today and therefore only a summary of his conclusions shall be presented here. The goddess of the Good Year is asked to be “completely favorable” towards the beneficiaries mentioned above (E VI 94, 15-17; No.1), to give them “<another year anew> in happiness” (E VI 95, 7-9; No.5), and to give them health, so that “the evil impurity of this year” may not reach them (E VI 95, 10-12; No.6). In addition, the Good Year is asked to protect divine and royal kingship and to fight the negative forces.¹³⁸ She is invoked as the “Eye of Ra” (E VI 97, 9-10; No.22) and the “Eye of Horus” (E VI 97, 11-12; No.23) in order to give her protection to Horus, Harsomtus, the living falcon, and the king. The aim of the invocations to the Good Year is also to ensure the annual renewal of creation, the visible manifestation of which is the arrival of the inundation and the following renewal of vegetation.¹³⁹ As such, the Good Year is invoked to “give all the *dfw*-provisions” to Harsomtus, the living falcon, and the king (E VI 95, 5-6; No.4), and to give them “all the *k3w*-provisions” (E VI 96, 1-2; No.9). Her role in the creation of time and its subdivisions is also stressed in the invocations.¹⁴⁰ She is invoked as “year that gives birth to the days” (E VI 98, 2-3; No.27), “year that gives birth to the months” (E VI 98, 4-5; No.28), “year that gives birth to the seasons” (E VI 98, 6-8; No.29), “year that gives birth to the *3ht*-season” (E VI 98, 9-10; No.30), “year that gives birth to the *pri*-season” (E VI 11-12; No.31), “year that gives birth to the *šmw*-season” (E VI 98, 13-14; No.32). Her role in the creation of life and renewal is stressed in particular in some of the invocations:¹⁴¹ as the “year that rejuvenates itself” (E VI 99, 3-4; No.36) and the “year that renews itself” (E VI 99, 5-7; No.37), she is invoked to give rejuvenation and renewal to Horus, Harsomtus, Ihy, the living falcon, and the king.

In particular the invocations in which the Good Year is asked for protection indicate the close relation between the symmetrically placed Scenes 5 and 6: the invocations to both aspects of Hathor, the Good Year on the left and Sakhmet on the right, complement one another. This is especially clear in the case of the protective function of the Good Year, fighting off the negative forces, as clearly illustrated in E VI 96, 11-12; No.14 : “O year that is free from evil! May you give that Harsomtus, the child, the son of Hathor, and Ihy, the great, the son of Hathor, and the living *bik*-falcon, and the king of Upper- and Lower- Egypt (empty cartouche), is free from all evil impurity, from every evil breath and from every evil <affliction> of this year”. Germond concluded: “Dans le cadre des cérémonies du Nouvel An, la Bonne Année renforce (...) par son action celle qu’exerce parallèlement Sekhmet, la grande protectrice du renouveau royal annuel. (...) [La Bonne Année est] chargée du maintien et du renouvellement du cycle vital, en collaboration avec Sekhmet (...). Son action apparaît essentielle au maintien et à la continuation de l’oeuvre de la Première Foix, au travers du règne annuellement renouvelé du roi-dieu”.¹⁴² It should be mentioned here that even though Germond acknowledged that two aspects of the goddess Hathor are concerned here, complementing one another in the symmetrically placed Scenes 5 and 6, he studied the invocations to the Good Year and to Sakhmet in two separate publications in which the

¹³⁷ Germond, *Invocations*, 83-90.

¹³⁸ Nos. 6, 10, 12, 14, 22, 23, 26, 35, 38, 39. Germond, *Invocations*, 83-87.

¹³⁹ Nos. 4, 9, 34. Germond, *Invocations*, 87.

¹⁴⁰ Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32. Germond, *Invocations*, 88.

¹⁴¹ Nos. 7, 21, 24, 36, 37. Germond, *Invocations*, 88-89.

¹⁴² Germond, *Invocations*, 89-90.

relations between the two texts as well as their placement and function in the broader context of the coronation ritual of the falcon have not been given sufficient attention.¹⁴³

The 39 invocations to the Good Year form an important part of the coronation ritual of the falcon as described on the interior face of the northern enclosure wall. Alliot suggested that the invocations to the Good Year were intended to assimilate the king to the sacred falcon and to protect the living falcon – and at the same time also the king – from the evil forces that could threaten it during its new year of reign. This assimilation was obtained by adding the name of the king to the names of the falcon, thus ensuring that the favours given by the goddess to the sacred falcon were extended to the king.¹⁴⁴ Germond added: “La récitation des prières a effectivement pour fonction de faire passer sur la personne du roi les grâces accordées par la déesse au dieu renouvelé, en ajoutant aux noms du faucon celui du souverain. Cette identification du roi régnant au roi-dieu intervient fréquemment au moment du Nouvel An; ainsi la plupart des cérémonies accomplies en faveur des divinités majeures d’Edfou profitent également aux souverains régnant effectivement sur le pays à ce moment-là.”¹⁴⁵ Kurth concluded: “Jede Anrufung widmet sich einem Aspekt, unter dem man das noch unbekannte Jahr und seine Göttin betrachten kann. (...) Nutznießer [der Anrufungen] sind die Triade Edfus, also Horus Behedeti, Hathor, Harsomtus und Ihy, sowie der lebende Falke und der regierende König. Horus, der Falke und der König sind dabei nur verschiedene Erscheinungsformen des ägyptischen Horus-Königs (...)”.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, the majority of the invocations use a grammatical construction with the suffix =*f*, suggesting that the beneficiaries, i.e. Horus of Behdet, Harsomtus, Ihy, the living falcon, and the king, are all aspects of Horus. For example, E VI 95, 7-9; No.5 reads: “O year of happiness! May you give all happiness to Harsomtus (...), and Ihy (...), and the living *bik*-falcon, and the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (...), so that **he** may receive (*šsp=f*) you in happiness, and may you give that **he** receives (*šsp=f*) <another (year) anew> in happiness”. The equivalence of the beneficiaries is also apparent from the accompanying inscription to the Good Year: “The Good Year in all her names, who gives life, well-being and health to Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, and Harsomtus, the child, the son of Hathor, and Ihy, the great, the son of Hathor, and the living *ḥm*-falcon, <the> living *bik*-falcon, and the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, the lord of the crowns, Ptolemy” (Text 56: E VI 94, 12-14).

2.5.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The invocations to the Good Year are followed by a final apotropaic formula: “Horus, Horus, sprout of Sakhmet, surround (his) flesh with the completeness of life!” (Text 58: E VI 99, 14-16). The same formula is used in conclusion to the invocations to Sakhmet in the symmetrically placed Scene 6¹⁴⁷ as well as in conclusion to the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3.¹⁴⁸ The formula has many parallels in Egyptian texts, ranging from the New Kingdom to contemporary Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions, and shall therefore be further analysed in paragraph 3.3.4.

¹⁴³ For an analysis of the spatial arrangement of the eight ritual scenes and of their interrelations with the decoration-programme of the interior face of the northern enclosure wall, see Chapter 4.

¹⁴⁴ Alliot, *Culte*, 616.

¹⁴⁵ Germond, *Invocations*, 71 (2) with reference to Alliot, *Culte*, 616. See also Germond, *Sekhmet*, 11-12.

¹⁴⁶ Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 234.

¹⁴⁷ See paragraph 2.6.4.

¹⁴⁸ See paragraph 2.3.4.

2.6 SCENE 6

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Figure 2.6 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 6. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 6 on the eastern (right) part of the first register depicts a procession, showing the sacred falcon and Horus seated under a baldachin in a carrying-chair supported by the falcon-headed souls of Pe and the jackal-headed souls of Nekhen. The sacred falcon is depicted standing on a pedestal and Horus is seated upon a throne. Horus is wearing the Double Crown and holds the *ḥk3*-sceptre and the *w3s*-sceptre. The Nine Bows are depicted under the carrying-chair. The procession with the king preceeding it is facing right, towards a lion-headed Sakhmet. The king wears the Red Crown of Lower-Egypt and is standing in front of the procession, presenting incense and a sistrum to Sakhmet.¹⁴⁹ Sakhmet wears the sun-disc and holds the *w3d*-sceptre and the *ʿnh*-symbol. The inscriptions written above the carrying-chair summarise the ritual programme (Text 63: E VI 262, 15 – 263, 6).¹⁵⁰ On the far right of the scene, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human wearing the Atef Crown, and holding the *w3s*-sceptre and the *ʿnh*-symbol.¹⁵¹ The text written in between the figure of Thoth and the procession with the sacred falcon and Horus consists of a series of invocations to the goddess Sakhmet (Text 70: E VI 264,1 – 269, 4)¹⁵² followed by a final apotropaic formula (Text 71: E VI 269, 5 - 7)¹⁵³ and a hymn to Horus (Text 72: E VI 269, 8-12).¹⁵⁴

2.6.1 THOTH HOLDING *ʿnh* AND *w3s*

On the far right of the first register, Thoth is depicted as an ibis-headed human, wearing the Atef Crown and holding the *w3s*-sceptre and the *ʿnh*-symbol. Alliot suggested that this figure of Thoth symbolises the “hiérogrammate directeur des prières”¹⁵⁵ who recited the invocations to Sakhmet written to his left. The final phrase of the ritual programme text¹⁵⁶ written above the carrying-chair refers to the figure of Thoth: “The lord of the reed-brush for writing comes with the books for his protection and with the spells for repelling the <evil> eye, preparing his path until entering the *Hwt-Bik*, announcing his stride to his *Pr-Bik*” (Text 63: E VI 262, 15 – 263, 6). Thoth addresses Hathor in her form of Sakhmet, who is depicted to the left of the large inscription separating the two figures: “How perfect is your face for the living *ʿhm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon, when you have come and when you have appeared as Hathor with these four faces, that Ra wishes to see!” (Text 59: E VI 262, 5-7). The reference to the

¹⁴⁹ See paragraph 2.6.2.

¹⁵⁰ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

¹⁵¹ See paragraph 2.6.1.

¹⁵² See paragraph 2.6.3.

¹⁵³ See paragraph 2.6.4.

¹⁵⁴ See paragraph 2.6.5.

¹⁵⁵ Alliot, *Culte*, 615.

¹⁵⁶ For an analysis of the ritual programme texts, see paragraph 5.1.

“four faces” of Hathor¹⁵⁷ recurs in the invocations to Sakhmet written to the left of the figure of Thoth: “O Sakhmet, mistress of the massacre according to her wish, who turns her face to the south, the north, the west and the east, so that they (i.e. the residents of the four winds) fear [her]” (E VI 265, 10-11; Inv. 12). The phrase “How beautiful is your face ...” recurs in an inscription from the architraves of the pronaos (C’), where it forms the introductory section of a hymn to the goddess with the four faces: “How beautiful is your face for Ra when you have appeared as Hathor with these four faces that Ra loves when he sees them! (When) you turn your face to the west, it is (you) Temet, who is the mistress of Sais. (When) you turn your face to the east, it is (you) Temet the [mistress] of Bubastis. (When) you turn your face to the north, it is (you) [Temet], Wadjet, the mistress of Dep, the mistress of life of Pe, Wadjet, who grants life. (When) you turn your face to the south, it is you, Temet, Nekhbet, the mistress of Elkab” (E III 296, 4-6).¹⁵⁸ This hymn forms part of a ritual of appeasing Sakhmet which is written on the architraves of the pronaos (C’).¹⁵⁹ As the theme of appeasing Sakhmet is also central to Scene 6¹⁶⁰ it is not surprising to find a reference to the hymn “How beautiful is your face ...” in Text 59.

As in Scene 5 (Text 46: E VI 92, 13-16), the accompanying inscription to Thoth in Scene 6 refers to his role as the supreme judge who intervened in the struggle between Horus and Seth for the throne of Egypt, assuring the succession of Horus as the son of Osiris: “Thoth, the twice great, who separates the two fighters” (Text 59: E VI 262, 5-7). The use of this epithet in the present scene stresses the theme of the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon, which celebrated the succession of Horus upon the throne of his father Osiris. The same epithet recurs in the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 6 (Text 60: E VI 262, 8-9).

The epithets of Thoth in Scene 6 also refer to his role in the ceremonies related to the royal jubilee festival: “the great of awe in the houses of the *sd*-festival” (Text 59: E VI 262, 5-7). The use of this epithet refers to the coronation ritual of the falcon as a ritual of renewal of royal power. The allusion to the *sd*-festival also refers to the symmetrically placed Scene 5, where Thoth is depicted holding a palm rib with suspending *hb-sd*-symbol, engraving it with the writing reed that he holds in the other hand.¹⁶¹

The main theme of the *göttliche Randzeile* is the role of Thoth as the creator of the script and the sacred literature. This same role is also expressed in the reference to “his wisdom”: Thoth’s wise thoughts and creative utterances as the “heart of Ra” and the “tongue of Atum”.¹⁶²

2.6.2 PRESENTING INCENSE AND A SISTRUM TO SAKHMET

The king is depicted standing in front of the procession, presenting incense and a sistrum to Sakhmet. He is referred to as: “The king of Upper- and Lower Egypt (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, Ptolemy, the servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon, who carries out the rituals for his father (i.e. the sacred falcon) and who censures Horus with his Great Eye (i.e. incense)” (Text 62: E VI 262, 13-14). As in Scene 3, the king is identified as the “servant of the *gmḥsw*-falcon”. His

¹⁵⁷ For the goddess with the four faces, see Ph. Derchain, *Hathor quadrifrons: recherches sur la syntaxe d’un mythe égyptien*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 28. Istanbul 1972.

¹⁵⁸ See J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le rituel du sḥtp Shmt au changement de cycle annuel: d’après les architraves du temple d’Edfou et textes parallèles, du Nouveau Empire à l’époque ptolémaïque et romaine*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 141. Cairo 2006, 69-73. A parallel hymn is known from the Ptolemaic hemispeos at Elkab, see Ph. Derchain, *Elkab I. Les monuments religieux à l’entrée de l’Ouady Hellal*. Brussels 1971, 55.

¹⁵⁹ For this ritual, see Goyon, *sḥtp Shmt*.

¹⁶⁰ See paragraph 2.6.2.

¹⁶¹ See paragraph 2.5.1.

¹⁶² For the role of Thoth as a creator-god, see Boylan, *Thoth*, 107-123.

actions are described as follows: “I cense Ra after I praised his uraeus (i.e. Sakhmet) and I invoked (her) with her names in order to make his protection” (Text 61: E VI 262, 11-12). Reference is made here to the protective function of Sakhmet, who is invoked (Text 70: E VI 264, 1 – 269, 4) in order to obtain the assurance that she will not unleash her evil forces against the falcon and the king.

The accompanying inscriptions to Sakhmet in Scene 6 stress her protective function: “(...) the protectress, who protects all the gods, who makes the protection of the *bik*-falcon <every 30 days>, the eye of Ra in all [her] names: “I protect Your Majesty against all evil things; I protect your body against the arrow(s)” (Text 69: E VI 263, 15-17) and “The king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt is before him (i.e. the sacred falcon) with the incense-vessel, praising her Majesty (i.e. Sakhmet) in order to protect him” (Text 63: E VI 262, 15 – 263, 6). The *w3d*-sceptre that Sakhmet holds in her hand and which symbolises the protection of kingship¹⁶³ further refers to her protective role in the ritual. In the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3 Sakhmet is invoked as follows: “May you protect the living *hm*-falcon, the son of Ra, Ptolemy, with this papyrus-sceptre of life (*w3d n hm*) in your hand in this your name of Wadjet (*W3dt*)” (Text 27: E VI 155, 8 – 156, 3).

2.6.3 THE INVOCATIONS TO SAKHMET

The main accompanying inscription to Scene 6, written in between the procession with the sacred falcon on the left and the figure of Thoth on the right, consists of a series of invocations to Sakhmet (Text 70: E VI 264, 1 – 269, 4). The 38 invocations are written in 38 vertical columns of text. Germond’s analysis of the invocations to Sakhmet is still valid today and therefore only a summary of his conclusions shall be presented here. The central theme of each of the first 30 invocations is the protection of the king, the living *hm*-falcon and the living *bik*-falcon against the evil forces of Sakhmet, such as the evil arrows of the year, the evil impurities of the year, the stroke, the evil fever, the pestilence of the year, as well as a variety of demons. In the final eight invocations Sakhmet is invoked to protect the king, the living *hm*-falcon, and the living *bik*-falcon against the arrows of the year. The first of these final eight invocations is aimed at “any evil arrow of this year and of this month, in this season”, whereas the final seven invocations are each aimed specifically at the protection against one of the seven arrows of the year. The arrows symbolise the destructive forces of Sakhmet, representing the violent attack of the raging goddess.¹⁶⁴ This reminds one of the hymn in Scene 3 which accompanies the offering of choice portions of meat to the falcon, where Sakhmet is asked to fire arrows at the enemies of the falcon: “May you shoot your arrow into the offering-meat of the one that evokes the living *hm*-falcon with all the evil words, so that they become animals for slaughter (...) <O> Sakhmet, may you shoot your arrow to all the enemies of the living *hm*-falcon, Bastet, may you tear out their (i.e. the enemies) hearts, which are placed upon the brazier of Horus-*imy-Šnwt*. No arrow will miss its target amongst them (i.e. the enemies), for I am Sakhmet, who is mighty over millions; I have shot at all the enemies of the living *hm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon” (Text 27: E VI 155, 8 – 156, 3).

¹⁶³ See paragraph 2.3.4.

¹⁶⁴ For the seven arrows, see D. Meeks, “Génies, anges, démons en Egypte”, in: *Génies, anges et démons: Égypte, Babylone, Israël, Islam, Peuples Altaïques, Inde, Birmanie, Asie du Sud-Est, Tibet, Chine*. Sources Orientales 8. Paris 1971, 44-49; J.-Cl. 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 I*. Bibliothèque d’Étude 93. Cairo 1985, 188; V. Rondot, “Une monographie Bubastite”, in: *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 249-270; V. Rondot, “Le Naos de Domitien, Toutou et les sept flèches”, in: *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 303-337.

The theme of the invocations to Sakhmet clearly shows that their recitation was aimed at the protection of the king and the sacred falcon: the goddess was invoked not to unleash her destructive powers against the king and the sacred falcon. Germond concluded: “Les textes des litanies de Sekhmet sont (...) à mettre en parallèle avec ceux des prières adressées à l’Année parfaite (Hathor-Mout), prières qui avaient pour but de faire passer les grâces, accordées par la déesse au dieu renouvelé, sur la personne du roi, en ajoutant aux noms du Faucon celui du souverain régnant. L’assimilation du roi au Faucon Vivant ainsi obtenue par ce processus de magie opératoire, il devient alors possible d’obtenir en faveur du souverain la protection accordée par Sekhmet au Faucon Vivant : c’est tout simplement un exemple de mise en oeuvre du procédé magique du transfert positif. (...) Ainsi les litanies récitées dans un premier temps à l’adresse de l’Année parfaite (Hathor-Mout) ont pour fonction d’assimiler le roi au Faucon Vivant ; puis, dans un deuxième temps, les suppliques dites à Hathor-Sekhmet (Oeil de Rê) amèneront sur la personne du souverain régnant la protection accordée au Faucon Vivant par Sekhmet (l’aspect maléfique d’Hathor, maintenant apaisé)”.¹⁶⁵

2.6.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The invocations to Sakhmet end with a final apotropaic formula: “Horus, Horus, sprout of Sakhmet, surround the body of Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, the dappled of feathers, who comes forth from the horizon, and of the living *ḥm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon, the living ibis, and of the gods of the *Pr-Bik*, and of Harsomtus, the child, the son of Hathor, and of Ihy, the great, the son of Hathor, the great god, and of the king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the son of Ra, the lord of the crowns, Ptolemy, with the completeness of life!” (Text 71: E VI 269, 5-7). The first part of this formula is also used in conclusion to the invocations to the Good Year in the symmetrically placed Scene 5¹⁶⁶ as well as in conclusion to the invocation to Sakhmet-Wadjet in Scene 3.¹⁶⁷ In Scene 3, the beneficiary of the formula is the living *ḥm*-falcon. In Scene 5, the beneficiaries are the living *ḥm*-falcon and the king. In the present scene, the beneficiaries are Horus Behdeti, the living *ḥm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon, the living ibis, the gods of the *Pr-Bik*, Harsomtus, Ihy, and the king. The formula has many parallels in Egyptian texts, ranging from the New Kingdom to contemporary Ptolemaic and Roman inscriptions, and shall therefore be further analysed in paragraph 3.3.4.

2.6.5 THE HYMN TO HORUS

The theme of the hymn to Horus (Text 72: E VI 269, 8-12) written to the right of the invocations to Sakhmet is the glorification of Horus as the righteous heir. The same theme of exaltation of the kingship of the falcon recurs in the *göttliche Randzeile*: “The one of distinguished births, the beginning of the titulary of every god, the eldest son of the primeval gods, the chief of the first primeval gods, the heir of the Two Lands, who seized the *mks*, Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky” (Text 64: E VI 263, 7-8). Reference to this theme is also made in the accompanying inscriptions to the falcon in Scene 6: “The great *bik*-falcon, who is upon the *srh*, who initiated kingship, with enduring kingship” (Text 65: E VI 263, 9).

¹⁶⁵ Germond, *Sekhmet*, 6-7.

¹⁶⁶ See paragraph 2.5.4.

¹⁶⁷ See paragraph 2.3.4.

2.7 SCENE 7

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Figure 2.7 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I'), scene 7. From: E X, pl. CXLIX.

Scene 7 on the western (left) part of the second register depicts an ibis-headed Thoth wearing the *hemhem*-crown and presenting the *hh*-symbol to the sacred falcon and Horus.¹⁶⁸ Thoth holds up the other hand as a fist; due to damage to the image it is unclear which object was depicted here. To the left of Thoth are depicted the king, the queen and Seshat. The king is wearing the Double Crown and presents *gs*-ointment to the sacred falcon and Horus.¹⁶⁹ The queen is wearing the double feather crown with the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *nh*-symbol in the other. Seshat is wearing the Seshat-symbol and holds two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd* symbols. The sacred falcon and Horus are seated upon lion-thrones.¹⁷⁰ Horus wears the Double Crown and holds the flail and crook in one hand and the *mks* in the other. The goddesses Menbit and Set-Weret are depicted to their right, both raising one hand in adoration and holding an *nh*-symbol in the other. Menbit is depicted as a lion-headed goddess wearing the Red Crown. Set-Weret wears the sun-disc between horns surmounted by the sign for *St-wrt*. On the far left, Onuris-Shu is depicted wearing the four feather crown and piercing a snake.¹⁷¹ The inscriptions between Seshat and Onuris-Shu describe the ritual for the protection of the bedroom (Text 82: E VI 144, 15 – 145, 11).¹⁷² To the left of this text the spells for the protection of the house are written (Text 83: E VI 146, 1 – 151, 1),¹⁷³ followed by a final apotropaic formula (Text 84: E VI 151, 2 – 151, 11).¹⁷⁴

2.7.1 ONURIS-SHU PIERCING A SNAKE

On the far left of the second register, Onuris-Shu is depicted piercing a snake. Onuris is known for his role as annihilator of the enemies of the sun-god, assisting Horus in his battle against Seth.¹⁷⁵ The snake represents Apophis, who hinders the course of the sun and is as such the enemy of Ra and one of the forces of evil.¹⁷⁶ The piercing of Apophis forms part of a series of rituals of annihilation, often carried out as a part of other rituals. As Schoske pointed out: “Das Vernichtungsritual ist kein selbständiges Ritual, sondern Bestandteil von Ritualhandlungen die entweder regelmäßig zu einem bestimmten Anlaß (z.B. Ernte, Neujahr) oder zu einem zeitlich nicht exakt vorherbestimmbaren Ereignis (Bestattung, Sedfest, Krönung) durchgeführt werden. (...) Mit der Tötung von Antilope, Esel, Krokodil, Nilpferd,

¹⁶⁸ See paragraph 2.7.2.

¹⁶⁹ See paragraph 2.7.2.

¹⁷⁰ See paragraph 3.7.1.

¹⁷¹ See paragraph 2.7.1.

¹⁷² See paragraph 2.7.3.

¹⁷³ See paragraph 2.7.3.

¹⁷⁴ See paragraph 2.7.4.

¹⁷⁵ See W. Schenkel, *LÄ* IV, 1982, 573-574, “Onuris”.

¹⁷⁶ See J.F. Borghouts, “The evil eye of Apophis”, in: *JEA* 59 (1973), 114-150.

Schildkröte, Schwein, Stier als Verkörperung des Gottes Seth wird das Böse schlechthin vernichtet wie auch im Erstechen oder Zerstückeln der Schlange (Apophis).¹⁷⁷ The symmetrically placed Scene 8 on the eastern (right) part depicts Onuris-Shu stabbing the Seth-animal.¹⁷⁸ Similar scenes depicting the annihilation of Apophis can be found elsewhere in the temple of Edfu.¹⁷⁹ In many cases the scenes are symmetrical with or placed next to other scenes of annihilation, such as the annihilation of the tortoise, of the antelope, of enemies and of the Seth-animal.¹⁸⁰ The accompanying inscription to Onuris-Shu in Scene 7 confirms his function as the annihilator of the enemies of the sacred falcon: “Onuris has <appeared> in Behdet as the one that is high upon his standard, whose sharp <*m^cb3*-spear> pierces the <evil one>, who slaughters the eldest of roaring¹⁸¹ (i.e. Apophis) and <who purifies> the window of the dappled of feathers. He is the lord of the *m^cb3*-spear, who overthrows the rebel and <who purifies the place> of Ra for him” (Text 74: E VI 143, 8-10).

2.7.2 PRESENTING THE *hh*-SYMBOL AND *gs*-OINTMENT

Thoth presents the sacred falcon and Horus with the *hh*-symbol and an object that is now lost, whereas the king presents them with *gs*-ointment. The accompanying ritual text reads: “Tying the *snb* and reciting the writing that makes the protection of the house. Words to be spoken: I have mixed the *gs*-ointment and I have tied a knot of the *snb* and a corpus consisting of <the cords> of any god, making your protection. [I] have placed [...] as a knot to your neck, while the *gs*-ointment of the House of Life protects your body and the *snb* makes your flesh stay healthy” (Text 75: E VI 143, 12-16). The apotropaic function of the ritual is clear: it seems that the *snb* can be identified as a plant¹⁸² of which a cord could be knotted,¹⁸³ to be tied

¹⁷⁷ S. Schoske, *LÄ VI*, 1986, 1009-1010, “Vernichtungsrituale”.

¹⁷⁸ See paragraph 2.8.1.

¹⁷⁹ For example, E II 54; E III 29; 137; 218; 220; 221; 252; E IV 80; 237; E V 79; 175; E VI 179; 332; E VII 112; 156; 200; E VIII 20.

¹⁸⁰ For example, E III 29 annihilation of Apophis is symmetrical with E III 4 killing the tortoise; E III 252 annihilation of Apophis is symmetrical with E III 282 killing the antelope; E III 137 annihilation of Apophis is placed next to E III 138 killing the antelope; E III 218, E III 220 and E III 221 annihilation of Apophis are placed next to E III 217 killing the enemy and E III 216 killing the tortoise; E IV 237 annihilation of Apophis is placed next to E IV 234 stabbing the Seth-animal, E IV 235 killing the enemy, E IV 236 killing the enemy and E IV 238 killing the antelope; E IV 80 annihilation of Apophis is placed next to E IV 77 stabbing the Seth-animal, E IV 78 annihilation [destroyed subject] and E IV 79 annihilation of foreign lands; E V 175 annihilation of Apophis is symmetrical with E V 79 annihilation of Apophis; E VII 200 is placed next to E VII 201 offering of the harpoon, E VII 263 killing of the antelope and E VII 263 killing of the enemy; E VII 112 is symmetrical with E VII 274 annihilation of Seth; E VII 156 is symmetrical with E VII 316 annihilation of the bull symbolising Seth; E VIII 20 is placed next to E VIII 19 annihilation of the hippopotamus and symmetrical with E VIII 12 annihilation of the tortoise and E VIII 11 annihilation of the crocodile; E II 54 annihilation of Apophis is placed next to E II 45 annihilation of the hippopotamus and symmetrical with E II 74 annihilation of the tortoise and E II 74 annihilation of the antelope. The theme of annihilation is especially prominent on the pylon, where we also find two large scenes depicting the killing of the enemies on the façade (E VIII 76 and 117); on the scenes bordering the bridge of the pylon we find the annihilation of Seth (E VIII 143, 16 – 144, 9), the annihilation of the antelope (E VIII 105, 12 – 106, 6); the scenes on the thickness of the gateway depict the annihilation of the hippopotamus (E VIII 26), another scene of annihilation [destroyed subject] (E VIII 28), the annihilation of the antelope (E VIII 28), of the crocodile (E VIII 34), and of Seth (E VIII 35).

¹⁸¹ *Smsw-hrw*, see Leitz, *LGG VI* 347a where it is translated as “Der den Aufruhr entstehen läßt”. The same epithet of Apophis recurs in the western part of the bandeau de la frise of the northern enclosure wall: <*shr*> *3pp sbbsb smsw-<hrw> twr Bw n R^c n=f* “Apophis <is driven away>, the eldest of roaring is driven away, the Place of Ra (i.e. Edfu) is purified for him (i.e. Ra)” (E VI 14, 5). The epithet also recurs in E VII 156, 15 in a scene of *sm3 3pp* “killing Apophis”.

¹⁸² The *snb*-plant may be botanically identified with the papyrus, see Dittmar, *Blumen*, 52-53.

¹⁸³ For the *snb*, see P.P. Koemoth, “*Snb*, le papyrus ou le cordon en papyrus de Pe”, in: *GM* 130 (1992), 33-43.

around the neck of the sacred falcon in order to ensure its good health (*snb*). In addition, *gs*-ointment was used to protect its body. The protective function of the *snb*-cord most probably derives from a word-play with the verb *snb* “to be healthy”. At Edfu, the *snb*-plant is mentioned repeatedly in the context of the rituals of the protection of the house and of the body.¹⁸⁴

Considering the prominent role of the *snb*-cord in the accompanying inscriptions to Scene 7, I would like to hypothesise that originally Thoth was depicted holding the *hh*-symbol in one hand and the *snb*-plant or the *snb*-cord in the other. As such, the *hh*-symbol was tied around the neck of the falcon by means of the *snb*-cord mentioned in the ritual text. The use of the *hh*-symbol as a protective amulet to be tied around the neck is confirmed by the accompanying inscriptions to Thoth: “Words to be spoken by Thoth, the twice great, the lord of Hermopolis, the great protective baboon in *St-R*, the great chief of the five gods, upon whose instructions the king is crowned, the mighty spirit, who gives instructions in the palace, who controls the *nst*-throne of Ra and Horus: The *hh*-amulet is upon your throat, *drty*-falcon, lord of the *drtyw*-falcons, as protection in *Ndit*, as your protection” (Text 76: E VI 144, 1-3). It follows that the lacuna in Text 75 may be restored as follows: “Tying the *snb* and reciting the writing that makes the protection of the house. Words to be spoken: I have mixed the *gs*-ointment and I have tied a knot of the *snb* and a corpus consisting of <the cords> of any god, making your protection. [I] have placed [the *hh*-amulet] as a knot to your neck, while the *gs*-ointment of the House of Life protects your body and the *snb* makes your flesh stay healthy” (Text 75: E VI 143, 12-16). The protective function of the *hh*-symbol is also expressed in the final formula to the spells for the protection of the house: “the arms of *hh* are his (i.e. the falcon) protection, the arms of *hh* rescued him from the hand of his enemies and the arms of *hh* are around him, while you <act> and do not see him buried. This is this [protection] of Ra, that is this protection of Atum” (Text 84: E VI 151, 2 – 151, 11).¹⁸⁵

The king is depicted holding a jar of *gs*-ointment in his hand. The text states that the ointment is used for the protection of the body of the sacred falcon. The accompanying inscription to the king reads: “The king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, Ptolemy, the protector, the lord of protection, who ties the knot in the most excellent way, the heir of Ra, the lord of the Ra-gods” (Text 77: E VI 144, 4-6). This text refers to the role of the king in the ritual, in which the tying of knots seems to play an important role. This role of the king is also described in the ritual for the protection of the bedroom, where the king says: “I bind (a band of cloth around) your head, after I have adorned your neck with a band of royal *šs*-linen, adorned with images. I tie for you fine *p3kt*-linen with a piece of white *hdt*-linen and *h3tyw*-linen with black threads. I apply for you the amulets (in the shape of) the *wd3t*-eye, the two eyes together with green beads of precious stone. I tie gold amulets around your neck and a necklace of carnelian stones around your throat. A falcon, [...], together with a lion, (all) made of faience, make your protection and repeat your protection” (Text 82: E VI 144, 15 – 145, 11).¹⁸⁶

The queen is depicted to the left of the king, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *nh*-symbol in the other. Also in the accompanying inscriptions to the queen the theme of protection is central and reference is made again to the protective function of the *snb*-plant: “The female ruler, the mistress of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, the god’s mother of the son of Ra, Ptolemy: “Your protection, the protection of your *st*-throne, the protection of your house is done through the *snb*, and the arms of the strong one are your protection” (Text 79: E VI 144, 7-8).

¹⁸⁴ Text 75: E VI 143, 12-16; Text 79: E VI 144, 7-8; Text 93: E VI 298, 2-5; Text 98: E VI 299, 6 ff.; Text 99: E VI 301, 2 ff.. For the role of the *snb* in the context of the protection of the body, see paragraph 2.8.2.

¹⁸⁵ See paragraph 2.7.3.

¹⁸⁶ See paragraph 2.7.3.

Seshat is depicted to the left of the queen, holding two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols. The accompanying inscriptions to Seshat read: “Words to be spoken by Seshat, the great one, who establishes the years, the mistress of writing in the House of the Books, the mistress of (free) striding in the palace, who is much respected in the House of the *sd*-festival, the primeval one, the mistress of writing in the House of the Rituals, the perfect Renenet in the House of Horus: Take millions of *sd*-festivals and hundreds of thousands of years. Your lifetime is *nḥh*-eternity, your kingship is *dt*-eternity, and you rule the *sd*-festivals like Tatenen” (Text 80: E VI 144, 9-11). The offering of palm ribs symbolises the offering of many years of life or reign, as expressed in Seshat’s speech.¹⁸⁷ The goddess Seshat is closely associated with kingship: together with Thoth, she determines the length of the king’s reign and grants him many *sd*-festivals.¹⁸⁸ It is therefore not surprising that her epithets are very similar to those of Thoth in Scene 5, where he is depicted engraving a palm rib for the sacred falcon, and to those of Thoth in Scene 6.

Standing to the right of the sacred falcon and Horus are the goddesses Menbit¹⁸⁹ and Set-Weret.¹⁹⁰ They both raise one hand in adoration and hold an *ḥnh*-symbol in the other. Menbit is the personified *mnbit*-throne in the shape of a lion-throne¹⁹¹ and is depicted here as a lion-headed goddess wearing the Red Crown. The accompanying inscriptions to Menbit suggest that her main function is to rejuvenate the sacred falcon and to establish him as king of Egypt: “Words to be spoken by Menbit of Behdet, the *bḥdw*-throne of Behdeti, the *isbt*-throne in *Hwt-Isbt* (i.e. Edfu): I establish Your Majesty between my thighs as king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt in your great *st*-throne” (Text 87: E VI 152, 7-8). The word for ‘thighs’ mentioned here is *iḥty*, which usually refers to the ‘thighs’ of the sky goddess Nut, from which she gives birth to the sun-god.¹⁹² In the Edfu inscriptions, the sacred falcon is repeatedly referred to as the *b3* of the sun-god Ra¹⁹³ and Horus Behdeti is described as the winged sun-disc appearing between the thighs of Nut at sunrise.¹⁹⁴ In the *göttliche Randzeile* to Scene 7 the sacred falcon is also referred to as the sun-god who is reborn on his *mnbit*-throne at Edfu:¹⁹⁵ “Horus of the Horus-gods has settled down upon his *mn-bit*-throne in *St-R* (i.e. Edfu), and he gives light, brightens the darkness and illuminates the faces with his rays. He is the *snbtj*-falcon, who carries the flagellum with his raised arm, the lord of *M3t* with the strong throat” (Text 89: E VI 152, 11-12).

Set-Weret is the personified *St-Wrt*-throne and is depicted here as a goddess wearing the sun-disc between horns surmounted by the sign for *St-Wrt*. In the Edfu inscriptions, the term *St-Wrt* refers to the temple as a whole as well as to the sanctuary of Horus, which is at the same time the throne of Horus.¹⁹⁶ The accompanying inscriptions to Set-Weret suggest that her main function was to protect the sacred falcon: “Words to be spoken by Set-Weret, the *Bw-ḥmr* of Ra, the house of appearing of Horakhty: I am in your (i.e. the falcon) vicinity as the protection of your image, as a great wall that can not be thrown over” (Text 88: E VI 152, 9-10).

¹⁸⁷ For the palm ribs see also paragraphs 2.5.1 and 2.5.2.

¹⁸⁸ For these functions of Seshat, see D. Budde, *Die Göttin Seshat*. Kanobos 2. Leipzig 2000, 86-141.

¹⁸⁹ See Leitz, *LGG* III 280a f.

¹⁹⁰ See Leitz, *LGG* VI 62a.

¹⁹¹ See paragraph 3.7.1.

¹⁹² Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 259, n. 5.

¹⁹³ See for example Text 54: E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2; E VIII 109, 15; E VIII 148, 8.

¹⁹⁴ Wilson, *Ptolemaic lexikon*, 105 with reference to E I 151, 18; E IV 2, 11; E Mamm 5, 8. For the theme of the sacred falcon rising as the renewed sun-god, see also paragraphs 2.1.2, 2.4.2 and 3.4.1.1.

¹⁹⁵ Also noted by Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 259, n. 5.

¹⁹⁶ See K. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zur Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 10. Glückstadt 1977, 28-34.

2.7.3 THE PROTECTION OF THE BEDROOM AND OF THE HOUSE

The main accompanying inscriptions to Scene 7, written in between the scene depicting the presentation of the *hh*-symbol and of *gs*-ointment to the sacred falcon and Horus on the right and the figure of Onuris-Shu on the left, consist of the ritual for the protection of the bedroom (Text 82: E VI 144, 15 – 145, 11) and the spells for the protection of the house (Text 83: E VI 146, 1 – 151, 1). The ritual for the protection of the bedroom is described as follows:

“Words to be spoken by his Majesty: I have come to you, great *bik*-falcon, dappled of feathers, when Ra sets in the land of life, equipped with the ritual (book) of the protection of the bedroom, so that I make the protection of your house, of your seat and of your bedroom. I light for you the torches in order to make the protection of your *srh*. I encompass your house with the noble ones. I bind (a band of cloth around) your head, after I have adorned your neck with a band of royal *šs*-linen, adorned with images. I tie for you fine *p3kt*-linen with a piece of white *hdt*-fabric and *h3tyw*-linen with black threads. I apply for you the amulets (in the shape of) the *wd3t*-eye, the two eyes together with green beads of precious stone. I tie gold amulets around your neck and a necklace of carnelian stones around your throat. A falcon, [...], together with a lion, (all) made of faience, make your protection and repeat your protection. A Taweret made of faience, a Khepri-beetle made of turquoise, and the two children made of *b3k*-wood protect you. I make your Majesty strong against the rebels with the *w3s*-sceptre, while the White crown upon your head is made of ebony. I make the protection of your *k3* with these gods that are drawn in the sand under your bed. I surround your bedroom with an arm-amulet of tamarisk wood, and with the stick-amulet that strikes your rebels. I have drawn a *wd3t*-eye in ochre upon the ground so that your Majesty sleeps in it. I protect your bed and I have given the protection of your headrest with the protective spells for them according to this book. I anoint your body with the water of your mouth. I tie a knot in your garment and untie it. I summon the gods, while making your protection, so that they make the protection of your house until the sky is opened. I do this continuously in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry* (so that) protection is made in the night until the end of *dt*-eternity. Thoth is with me, equipped with his protective spells, making the protection of your house with his spells” (Text 82: E VI 144, 15 – 145, 11).

The magical practice associated with the ritual for the protection of the bedroom consisted of the recitation of the spells for the protection of the house. The 96 spells are written in 30 vertical columns of text with the introductory phrase E VI 146, 1-5 being written as a single horizontal line of text over the 30 vertical columns. The recitation of the spells for the protection of the house ensured the protection of the god by means of magic of analogy: in each spell the three manifestations of the Horus-king, i.e. the living falcon, the god Horus and the king, are equated with a god to ensure their protection.¹⁹⁷ The following great gods are invoked: Horus, Thoth, Anubis, Wepwawet, Sakhmet, Bastet, Min, Khnum, Neith, Nut, Osiris, Haroeris, Isis, Nephthys, Ra, Atum, Ptah, and Geb, along with a long list of lesser-known and obscure deities.

The ritual for the protection of the bedroom as described in Text 82 forms part of a wider tradition of rituals for protection during the night. Many elements from this ritual are also found in other ritual texts, mostly in apotropaic texts dating to all periods of Egyptian history. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the ritual, including the parallels with earlier texts and with contemporary inscriptions, shall be presented in paragraph 3.7.3.

¹⁹⁷ See Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 240.

2.7.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The theme of protection recurs at the end of the spells for the protection of the house in the final apotropaic formula (Text 84: E VI 151, 2-11): “O you gods, may you unite yourselves for Horus Behdeti, the great god, the lord of the sky, while you are his protection, while you are the protection of his house, while you are the protection of his *st*-throne, while you are the protection of his bedroom, while you are the protection of all the rooms in which he is”. Next, the hieroglyphic text reads: *i drty pf m ꜥꜥ m ꜥꜥ pn n sꜣ Rꜥ Ptwtlmys ꜥnh dt mry Pth m [t]ꜥꜥ m ꜥwt=f*. This phrase was translated by Jankuhn as follows: “Oh jener Falke, gehe nicht ein in dieses Fleisch des Sohnes des Re, Ptolemäus, der ewig lebe, geliebt von Ptah, tauche nicht ein in seine Glieder”.¹⁹⁸ Clearly, he read the *m* as a vetitive and interpreted *drty* as an evil entity, remarking “Mit dem hier angerufenen Falken ist sicherlich ein Krankheitsdämon gemeint”.¹⁹⁹ However, this interpretation does not seem to make sense, since in the Edfu inscriptions, the word *drty* repeatedly refers to the sacred falcon.²⁰⁰ Taking into consideration the role of the sacred falcon with regard to the king during the coronation ritual of the falcon, the phrase may be translated as follows: “O you *drty*-falcon, being the one who enters into this body of the son of Ra, Ptolemy, being the one who immerses into his limbs”.²⁰¹ Translated as such, the entering of the sacred falcon into the body of the king and the following immersion into his limbs clearly refers to the concept of *Einwohnung* of the god in the king.²⁰² This concept was defined by Assmann as follows: “eine temporäre Verbindung zweier Wesenheiten, von denen in der Regel die eine relativ fern, verborgen oder sonst wie unzugänglich, die andere dagegen relativ nah, manifest und zugänglich ist”.²⁰³ The clearest example illustrating the concept of *Einwohnung* is the cult-statue, in which the deity could manifest itself and through which it could receive worship and offerings. The god’s divine life force (*kꜣ*) and manifestation (*bꜣ*) could take up residence in the cult-statue. Like the cult-statue, the sacred falcon at Edfu was considered to be a manifestation of the god Horus. It was regarded as his living cult image, in which the *bꜣ* of the god could take up residence. As mentioned before, the sacred falcon is repeatedly referred to as the living *bꜣ* of Ra in the Edfu inscriptions.²⁰⁴ Assmann concluded: “Der Gott inkarniert sich in einem heiligen Tier, das aufgrund seiner Form und Färbung vom Priester als solches erkannt wird und begibt sich in solcher Inkarnation seiner Allmacht und Größe, wie sie etwa in den Hymnen gepriesen wird. Er fällt unter die Gesetze und Gefahren dieser Welt, vor denen ihn der sorgfältige und unablässige Vollzug mächtiger Riten zu schützen hat. Indem die Riten den inkarnierten Gott schützen, bewahren sie zugleich den König und das ganze Land vor Unheil, denn durch seine Inkarnation verbindet der Gott sein Schicksal mit dem des Landes. Durch die Inkarnation in heiligen Tieren und im König (beides hängt untrennbar zusammen²⁰⁵) sowie durch die Einwohnung in heiligen Bildern und Riten läßt sich das Göttliche sehr weit in die Menschenwelt ein (...) um sie in Gang zu halten. Der

¹⁹⁸ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 124.

¹⁹⁹ Jankuhn, *Schutz*, 124.

²⁰⁰ See for example Texts 42 (E VI 309, 1-2); 50 (E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2); 54 (E VI 94, 8-9); 55 (E VI 9, 10-11); 68 (E VI 263, 13-14); 76 (E VI 144, 1-3); 86 (E VI 152, 3-6); 90 (E VI 297, 12-14); 105 (E VI 304, 10-12). See also Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 257, n. 3.

²⁰¹ See also Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 257.

²⁰² Kurth, *Edfou VI Übersetzungen*, 257, n. 4.

²⁰³ J. Assmann, “Einwohnung”, in: T. Hofmann and A. Sturm (eds), *Menschenbilder – Bildermenschen: Kunst und Kultur im Alten Ägypten*. Norderstedt 2003, 1.

²⁰⁴ See for example Texts 7 (E VI 102, 3 – 103, 6); 29 (E VI 156, 4-6); 40 (E VI 308, 9-10); 50 (E VI 93, 8 – 94, 2); 85 (E VI 152, 1-2).

²⁰⁵ Assmann, in: Hofmann and Sturm (eds), *Menschenbilder*, 4 with reference to D. Kessler, *Die heiligen Tiere und der König. Tl. 1: Beiträge zu Organisation, Kult und Theologie der spätzeitlichen Tierfriedhöfe. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 16. Wiesbaden 1989.

“Einstrom göttlicher Gegenwart” erscheint als eine Energie, die die Statuen belebt und im Falken (sowie im König) Fleisch wird”.²⁰⁶

In the final apotropaic formula to the spells for the protection of the house it is said that the protection of the sacred falcon is made by “the arms of *ḥḥ*”: “the arms of *ḥḥ* are his (i.e. the falcon) protection, the arms of *ḥḥ* rescued him from the hand of his enemies and the arms of *ḥḥ* are around him, while you <act> and do not see him buried”. This phrase refers to the figure of Thoth, depicted to the right of the inscription, presenting the *ḥḥ*-symbol to the sacred falcon and Horus, saying: “The *ḥḥ*-amulet is upon your throat, *ḏrty*-falcon, lord of the *ḏrtyw*-falcons, as protection in *Ndit*, as your protection” (Text 76: E VI 144, 1-3).

2.8 SCENE 8

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Figure 2.8 Edfu, interior face of the northern enclosure wall (I’), scene 8. From: E X, pl. CLIV.

Scene 8 on the eastern (right) part of the second register depicts an ibis-headed Thoth wearing the *hemhem*-crown and presenting a cord-like object and a uraeus to the sacred falcon and Horus.²⁰⁷ To the right of Thoth are depicted the king, the queen and Seshat. The king is wearing the Double Crown and presents an object that is now lost.²⁰⁸ The queen is wearing the double feather crown with the sun-disc between horns, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ḥḥ*-symbol in the other. Seshat is wearing the Seshat-symbol and holds two palm ribs with suspending *ḥb-sd* symbols. The sacred falcon and Horus are seated upon lion-thrones.²⁰⁹ Horus wears the Double Crown and holds the flail and crook in one hand and the *mks* in the other. The goddesses Menbit and Wetjeset-Her are depicted to their left, both raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ḥḥ*-symbol in the other. Menbit is depicted as a lion-headed goddess wearing the Red Crown. Wetjeset-Her wears the sun-disc between horns surmounted by the sign for *Wtst-Hr*. On the far right, Onuris-Shu is depicted wearing the four feather crown and stabbing the Seth-animal.²¹⁰ The inscriptions between Seshat and Onuris-Shu describe the ritual for the protection of the body (Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10).²¹¹ To the right of this text the spells for the protection of the body are written (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 – 302, 3),²¹² followed by a final apotropaic formula (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14).²¹³

²⁰⁶ Assmann, in: Hofmann and Sturm (eds), *Menschenbilder*, 4.

²⁰⁷ See paragraph 2.8.2.

²⁰⁸ See paragraph 2.8.2.

²⁰⁹ See paragraph 3.7.1.

²¹⁰ See paragraph 2.8.1.

²¹¹ See paragraph 2.8.3.

²¹² See paragraph 2.8.3.

²¹³ See paragraph 2.8.4.

2.8.1 ONURIS-SHU STABBING THE SETH-ANIMAL

On the far right of the second register, Onuris-Shu is depicted stabbing the Seth-animal. As pointed out in paragraph 2.7.1, Onuris is known for his role as annihilator of the enemies of the sun-god, assisting Horus in his battle against Seth.²¹⁴ Just like the piercing of Apophis in the symmetrically placed Scene 7 on the western (left) part, the stabbing of Seth in the present scene forms part of a series of rituals of annihilation, often carried out as a part of other rituals. The placement of both of these scenes of annihilation at the edge of the register stresses its apotropaic function as part of the coronation ritual of the falcon. The accompanying inscriptions to Onuris-Shu in Scene 8 confirm his function as the annihilator of the enemies of the sacred falcon: “The evil is driven away, the *Tbh* (i.e. Seth) is slaughtered. Great *drty*-falcon, your shrine is purified” (Text 90: E VI 297, 12-14) and “The lord of the *m^cb3*-harpoon is strong in *Wtst*, stabbing the enemy in *St-Wnp*, drives away the rebels from the window of the *si3*-falcon, and protecting *St-R^c* for [his father]. He is the lord of *S^ct*, the one with the virile arm, the lord of *T3r*, Horus with the strong arm in *St-Wrt*” (Text 92: E VI 297, 16-17).

2.8.2 PRESENTING A CORD AND A URAEUS

Thoth presents the sacred falcon and Horus with a cord-like object and a uraeus, whereas the king presents them with an offering that is now lost. The accompanying ritual text reads: “Tying the amulet. Words to be spoken: The amulet is in front of you as (something) that I made myself, the one that came into existence in Khemmis (i.e. the uraeus) is in front of you. The *snb* is destined for your head, the uraeus belongs to the top of your head. The gods are united with you, the uraei are lifted up high. The piece of *idmi*-cloth is tied to your neck. Your protection is the protection of the gods” (Text 93: E VI 298, 2-5). The same ritual actions are repeated in the text describing the ritual for the protection of the body: “[... ..] your [... ..]”²¹⁵ <for> your head. He (i.e. Thoth) ties the *wrt-ḥk3w*-snake (i.e. the uraeus) around the top of your head. I assemble for you a falcon made of [...] and a beetle made of faience. He (i.e. Thoth) gives you a piece of *idmi*-cloth around your throat” (Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10). These texts suggest that the main components of the ritual for the protection of the body consist of tying the *snb* and the uraeus at the head of the falcon and tying the *idmi*-cloth around its neck. Based on the apparent prevalence of these ritual acts and the depiction of the uraeus being held by Thoth in the accompanying image, I would like to hypothesise that the other object held by Thoth can be identified as the *snb*. As shown in paragraph 2.7.2, the *snb* can be identified as a cord which was used to tie protective amulets to the neck or throat. Based on Text 76, it was argued that in Scene 7 the *snb*-cord was used to tie the *ḥḥ*-amulet to the neck of the falcon. In Scene 8 the *snb* seems to have been used to tie the uraeus around the head of the falcon.

The king is depicted presenting the sacred falcon and Horus with an offering that is unfortunately now lost. The accompanying inscriptions to the king read: “The king of Upper- and Lower Egypt (empty cartouche), the son of Ra, Ptolemy, Horus in his childhood in the innermost of Khemmis, who is hidden by his mother [... ..]. [Words to be spoken] the first knot. The divine beetle is destined for your throat. These your limbs are the limbs of Ra. Protection upon protection; protection [comes]” (Text 95: E VI 298, 8-11). Based on this text I would like to hypothesise that the object originally depicted in the hand of

²¹⁴ See H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. Berlin 1952, 545.

²¹⁵ Unfortunately the text is broken off here, with only the last sign of the word (Gardiner M4) still being visible. For a further discussion of this passage, see paragraph 3.8.2.2a.

the king was the winged scarab referred to in the inscriptions and said to be applied to the throat of the sacred falcon as a protective amulet. A Khepri-beetle (i.e. winged scarab) is in fact mentioned as one of the protective amulets in the ritual for the protection of the body.²¹⁶

The queen is depicted to the right of the king, raising one hand in adoration and holding an *ḥh*-symbol in the other. The accompanying inscriptions to the queen read: “The female Horus, the mistress of the Two Lands [Cleopa]tra, the god’s mother of the son of Ra, Ptolemy: As your face lives for me, it is this child, that was hidden by Isis in the marshes of Khemmis” (Text 96: E VI 299, 1-2). Here, the theme of the protection of Horus in the marshes of Khemmis recurs, as mentioned in Texts 93, 95 and 99, as well as in the spells for the protection of the house (Text 83).

Seshat is depicted to the right of the queen, holding two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols. The accompanying inscriptions to Seshat read: “Words to be spoken by Seshat, the great, the primordial goddess, the mistress of writings in *St-[Wrt]* (i.e. Edfu), the pre-eminent in the house of the rituals, the perfect Renenet, the female sovereign of the house of the books, wide of strides in the palace: Your [...] in the sky and the kingship of your Majesty is upon the *srh*” (Text 97: E VI 299, 3-5). Her epithets are similar to those in Scene 7, Text 80. As in Scene 7, she holds two palm ribs with suspending *hb-sd*-symbols, symbolising many years of life or reign, as expressed in her speech.

Standing to the left of the sacred falcon and Horus are the goddesses Menbit²¹⁷ and Wetjeset-Her.²¹⁸ They both raise one hand in adoration and hold an *ḥh*-symbol in the other. Menbit is the personified *mnbit*-throne in the shape of a lion-bed and is depicted here, as in the symmetrical Scene 7, as a lion-headed goddess wearing the Red Crown. As in Scene 7, the accompanying inscriptions to Menbit suggest that her main function was to rejuvenate the falcon and to establish him as king of Egypt: “Words to be spoken by Men[-bit] of Behdet, the *sp3*-carrying-chair of the Lower-Egyptian king Ra, this great *p*-seat in *P-Msn*, who nurses his Majesty between (i.e. on) her thighs: [I have] nursed your Majesty on my thighs, I have nursed you as king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt” (Text 103: E VI 304, 5-7).

Wetjeset-Her is the personified *wtst*-throne and is depicted here as a goddess wearing the sun-disc between horns surmounted by the sign for *Wtst-Hr*. At Edfu, the term *Wtst-Hr* refers to the temple as a whole as well as to the carrying-chair of Horus.²¹⁹ The accompanying inscriptions to Wetjeset-Her suggest that her main function was to protect the sacred falcon: “Words to be spoken by Wetjeset-Her, the strong one, the first of the cities, Isis, the great, who protects her son: I am behind you as a wall of copper, protecting of your Majesty all around you” (Text 104: E VI 304, 8-9). As such, her protective function parallels and completes that of Set-Weret, who is depicted in parallel position in the symmetrically placed Scene 7.

2.8.3 THE PROTECTION OF THE BODY

The main accompanying inscriptions to Scene 8, written in between the scene depicting the presentation of the uraeus and the *snb*-cord to the sacred falcon and Horus on the left and the figure of Onuris-Shu on the right, consist of the ritual for the protection of the body (Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10) and the spells for the protection of the body (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 – 302, 3). The ritual for the protection of the body is described as follows:

²¹⁶ See paragraph 3.8.2.2b.

²¹⁷ See Leitz, *LGG* III 280a f.

²¹⁸ See Leitz, *LGG* II 616b-c.

²¹⁹ See Kuhlmann, *Thron*, 10-11.

“The son of Ra, Ptolemy, is upon his *p*-throne as great ruler in *P-Msn*, and he ties the knot, he ties the *ntrw*-flowers and he makes the protection of Ra and his living *b3*. He is like [the knowing] (i.e. Thoth), who protects the eye of Ra with his utterances, and (like) Thoth, the great, whose protection is (effective) (also) when he is far away. [Words to be spoken by His Majesty]: I have [come] to you, great *bik*-falcon, dappled of feathers, divine *si3*-falcon, [who is upon] the *srh*, while [Thoth, the twice great,] is in front of (me) and Seshat, the great, is behind (me), while I understand what protects you, while I am equipped with the spells of the ritual for the protection of the <body>, of which it is said to its time in each month. [... ...] your [...] <for> your head. He (i.e. Thoth) ties the *wrt-hk3w*-snake (i.e. the uraeus) around the top of your head. I assemble for you a falcon made of [...] and a beetle made of faience. He (i.e. Thoth) gives you a piece of *idmi*-cloth around your throat. I bring you a (figure of a) ram and a child made of lapis lazuli and a (figure/amulet of) Kherty and Khnum made of faience. [... ...] beautiful [...] made of semi-precious stone and papyrus-amulets made of lapis lazuli and turquoise. I string for you beads made of real semi-precious stone, a Taweret made of flint and copper, an image of Ra made of gold which watches over your limbs and a baboon-amulet made of faience that makes your protection. [... ...] heart-amulets made of *s3wy*-gold, a frog-amulet made of silver, protective amulets made of [... ...] and lapis lazuli. I create images of gods in drawing. I anoint your head with myrrh from Punt. I anoint your body with fragrant fat. I have made your protection with the reed of Upper-Egypt, with the papyrus of Lower-Egypt, with the doum palms and date palms of Hathor. I tie for you an inscribed knot, according to its time, made of *s3d*-band, *nwt*-yarn and *p3kt*-linen. I purify your face, I spit for you on the ground, (while) you make the *rmn*-gesture four times and (while you) spit. I draw for you images on bowls with ink and ochre, washed under jublations. [... ...] [natron]. (I) rub for you your limbs with the substance of god. I tie for you the knot at the top of your *dr*-garment, after I have loosened <it at> dawn. [I] have broken the [...] that are painted with ochre. I have brought to your mouth (a) milk (vessel) that was <filled> over the edge. I have triumphed over the confederates, so that you walk upon the foreign land of all the foreigners. I have preserved your limbs when you come out (in procession), so that your love is great among those who are upon earth. I invoke for you her Majesty (i.e. Sakhmet) at the start of (every) 30 days, so that she protects your Majesty against her (ominous) seal. I recite for you the spells of repelling the evil eye in the early morning without ceasing, as their magic is effective in it (i.e. in the early morning). Their protection makes your protection and repeats your protection. I do this, remaining and enduring in the *Pr-Bik-Ntry*, without end and without interruption, forever. Thoth is at my side, unfolding his papyrus-rolls, reciting for you the spells that belong to it as magic, invoking the magical creative power of the (spells for the) protection of the body, spitting out (i.e. uttering) his choice of creational words” (Text 98: E VI 299, 6 – 300, 10).

The magical practice associated with the ritual for the protection of the body consisted of the recitation of the spells for the protection of the body (Text 99: E VI 300, 10 - 302, 3). The 29 spells are written in 14 vertical columns of text, followed by an elaborate final ritual formula (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14). The recitation of the spells ensured the protection of the god by means of magic of analogy: in each spell the protection of the sacred falcon is equeated with the protection of a specific deity. The following great deities are invoked: Hathor, Isis, Nut, Sakhmet, Neith, Sokar, Geb, Thoth, Nefertem, Montu-Ra-Atum, Ra, and Nehebkau, along with lesser-known and obscure deities.

The ritual for the protection of the body as described in Text 98 forms part of a wider tradition of rituals for the protection of the body. Many elements from the ritual for the protection of the body are also found in other ritual texts, mostly in apotropaic texts dating to all periods of Egyptian history. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the ritual, including the parallels with earlier texts and with contemporary inscriptions, shall be presented in paragraph 3.8.2.

2.8.4 THE FINAL APOTROPAIC FORMULA

The theme of protection through equation with various deities recurs at the end of the spells for the protection of the body in the elaborate final formula (Text 100: E VI 302, 3 – 303, 14): “His protection is like (the protection of) the sun-disc, forever. The body of the living *ʿhm*-falcon is the body of Ra-Horakhty. His body is the body of every god, of every goddess, of the big Ennead and of the small Ennead. O Ra-Horakhty, great Ennead, small Ennead, o Isis, Nephthys, Sothis, Sakhmet and Seshat, whose intactness is the intactness of Ra. (O) Hathor, mistress of Dendera, [mistress] of the Hathors that are in the horizon, gods in the sky, gods on earth, gods in the netherworld, gods in the water, in the south, the north, the west and the east, when one inclines against the living *ʿhm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon, one inclines against you, [so that he is protected] like Ra, forever”. In this final formula, reference is also made to the tying of the uraeus around the head of the falcon. It is said that the uraeus will protect the sacred falcon: “He can not be taken to the slaughter, as the protectress of Ra (i.e. Sakhmet)²²⁰ has appeared at his brow. The mistress of the messengers (i.e. Sakhmet) is his uraeus with her <strength>, the one with violent rage against the one that causes it, who is smeared with the blood of Seth. O divine eye, [...] the living *ʿhm*-falcon, the living *bik*-falcon! Come before him, so that you are the protection of his limbs, while you are full in life (because of that). Your pestilence is (directed) against his rebels and his enemies; your evilness is against those who arise against him. May you give your protection to the [living] *ʿhm*-falcon, [the] living [*bik*-falcon], may [you] give him life like Atum, so that he does not die because of the pestilence of the year”. The final formula ends with an invocation to the uraeus: “May you raise up to him in this your name of Uraeus. May you protect him in this your name of Protectress”.

2.9 CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the texts and iconography of the eight ritual scenes has demonstrated the close and often intricate interrelations between texts and iconography in each of the individual ritual scenes. The same is true for the textual and iconographic interrelations between the eight ritual scenes, which had been largely overlooked in previous studies. The in-depth analysis of the eight ritual scenes provides us with a clear understanding of the function and meaning of the ritual, but before addressing this matter, one should first take into consideration the definition and classification of the ritual.

The main ritual acts which comprised the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon on the date of 1 Tybi are depicted in the two central scenes in the first register (Scenes 1 and 2), and consist of the anointment of the sacred falcon and the presentation of a *hh*-symbol and an *ʿnh*-bouquet, the latter standing for the *ʿnh-dd-w3s*-symbols. The second part of the hymn accompanying the presentation of *hh*-symbol and *ʿnh*-bouquet consists of four segments, each evolving around the presentation of an *ʿnh*-bouquet to the sacred falcon. These bouquets are presented in the names of the main deities of the Edfu temple, Horus and Hathor, and in the names of Amun-Ra, Ptah Tatenen and Atum, referring as such to the transmission and confirmation of royal power: the royal office originated with the creator-gods and was transmitted through Shu and Geb to Osiris and Horus, whose living embodiment was the sacred falcon of Edfu. Even though these two scenes do not depict the actual act of crowning the falcon, the hymn accompanying the presentation of *hh*-symbol and *ʿnh*-bouquet refers to

²²⁰ See Leitz, *LGG IV*, 587a-b.

the presentation of a variety of non-material and material gifts to the falcon. With each presentation of an *ḥnh*-bouquet, a variety of gifts are bestowed upon the falcon, such as life, power, health, a long reign, strength, prestige, the annihilation of foes, as well as a variety of crowns and regalia. As such, the presentation of the *ḥnh*-bouquets symbolises not only the transmission of royal power, but also the coronation and investiture. The fact that Scenes 1 and 2 represent the transmission of kingship from Horus Behdeti to the sacred falcon may explain the unique orientation²²¹ of Horus Behdeti and the sacred falcon facing each other in these scenes.

The textual sources refer to the ritual as “ritual of the installation of the living *b3* of Ra as king of Upper- and Lower-Egypt upon the *srḥ* as the great *bik*-falcon, the dappled of feathers” (E VI 102, 3-4), “royal appearance” (E VI 103, 4), “festival of the establishment of the inheritance” (E VI 93, 15 and E VI 263, 1), “festival of the opening of the (regal) year of Horus of Edfu” (E V 399, 7), and “festival of the opening of the (regal) year of Horus (...) and royal appearance of Horus of Edfu” (E V 351, 3-4). It seems that defining the ritual of 1 Tybi is not as straightforward as it may be assumed. Based on the source material, the ritual may be defined as a coronation ritual in the sense that crowns are presented (symbolically) to the sacred falcon, but also as an enthronement (the falcon was installed as king upon the *srḥ*) and an investiture (the falcon was presented with royal regalia), its main aim being the transmission, renewal, and confirmation of royal power.

The inscriptions clearly indicate that the sacred living falcon was subjected to the ritual acts, but the practicalities of actually carrying out these rituals on a living raptor seem to be rather problematic. Therefore I would like to hypothesise that the rituals may have been carried out on a statue of Horus.²²² In the inscriptions, the sacred falcon, Horus, and the king are equated and they are all considered to be manifestations of the Horus-king.²²³ Therefore, the king could be substituted in the ritual by the sacred falcon, which was the living incarnation of Horus of Edfu, and the latter may have been substituted by a statue of Horus.

The analysis of the texts and iconography of the eight ritual scenes provides ample material for a classification of the ritual. Throughout the eight ritual scenes – and in particular in Scenes 5, 6, 7 and 8 – great emphasis lies on the protective rituals and spells, which suggests that we are dealing with a rite of passage, during which divine protection was needed. This is also clear from the date on which the ritual was carried out: 1 Tybi, i.e. the first day of the *prt*-season. As the date marked the change of seasons, it was regarded by the ancient Egyptians as a second New Year’s Day.²²⁴ For this reason the date of 1 Tybi was considered to be fit for the celebration of royal jubilees, bringing about the renewal of kingship.²²⁵ At Edfu, the coronation ritual of the sacred falcon was celebrated on this date, marking a rite of passage on various levels.²²⁶ The ritual marked the “establishment of the inheritance” (*smn iwḥt*), i.e. the succession of Horus to the throne of Osiris. The Khoiak festival, which celebrated the death,

²²¹ Horus Behdeti and the sacred falcon are only facing each other in Scenes 1 and 2, which express the transmission of kingship from Horus to the falcon. In each of the other scenes, the sacred falcon is facing the king.

²²² I proposed this hypothesis earlier in: C. van den Hoven, “The coronation ritual of the sacred living falcon at Edfu: a divine, royal and cyclical rite of passage”, in: A. Mouton and J. Patrier (eds), *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity: Individual Rites of Passage in the Ancient Near East and adjacent Regions*. Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 124. Leiden 2014, 159-177.

²²³ See also Kurth, *Treffpunkt*, 234.

²²⁴ W. Barta, *LÄ* IV, 1982, 388-390, “Nehebkau (-fest)”.

²²⁵ S. Schott, *Altägyptische Festdaten*. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1950, Nr. 10. Wiesbaden 1950, 93, nrs. 85 and 86; 93-94, nr. 87; F.L. Griffith, “The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri”, *JEA* 13 (1927), 196.

²²⁶ For an analysis of the ritual of 1 Tybi as a rite of passage, see Van den Hoven, in: Mouton and Patrier (eds), *Individual Rites of Passage*, 159-177.

burial and resurrection as ruler of the Netherworld of Osiris, took place in the last month of the first season. The coronation ritual of the falcon took place immediately afterwards, on the first day(s) of the following month Tybi, the first month of the second season, celebrating as such the assumption of kingship by Osiris's son Horus, the latter taking the place of his father as ruler on earth. As the same time, the ritual also marked the transmission, confirmation and renewal of royal power, although the physical presence of the human ruler was apparently not required. The ritual was carried out on the symbol of kingship, the living incarnation of Horus of Edfu.²²⁷ It is conceivable that a statue of the king himself was present during the ceremonies, but this is not mentioned or depicted in the eight ritual scenes. As a cyclical rite of passage, the ritual marked the change of seasons. The sprouting of new grain at the start of the *pṛt*-season marked the renewal of agricultural life, symbolising also the resurrection of Osiris. At the same time, the coronation of the sacred falcon symbolised the transmission of the primordial kingship that had originated with the creator-gods to Osiris and Horus, guaranteeing as such the continued existence of Egypt and the renewal of the entire creation.

²²⁷ The analysis of the ritual scenes of the third register further enriches our understanding of the coronation ritual of the falcon, and in particular of the role and function of Horus, the sacred falcon and the king, which shall therefore be further explored in Chapter 4.

