

THE GOD PTAH

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PREFACE

The subject of this thesis was suggested to me in 1937 by Dr. H. O. Lange, Copenhagen, my dear and venerated teacher in Egyptology at that time. That my work has been delayed is due i. a. to the impossibility during the war of using the Egyptian Dictionary in Berlin, which till then I had only had time to go through summarily for my purpose. I have myself had to gather the majority of the excerpts which have been necessary.

Other teachers to whom I am greatly indebted are, among Egyptologists, the late Professor Kurt Sethe, Berlin, Professor Alexander Scharff, Munich, and Professor A. M. Blackman, Liverpool; among historians of comparative religion, Dr. Tor Andrae, Bishop of Linköping.

With the greatest readiness my friend Docent Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, Upsala, has discussed with me several of the problems of my thesis, never hesitating to let me profit by his erudition, acumen, and power of combination. I am deeply grateful to him for this generosity.

I heartily thank Professor C. E. Sander-Hansen, Copenhagen, for his great kindness in reading my thesis in manuscript, and for his valuable observations.

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I wish further to express my thanks to the officials of Lunds Universitetsbibliotek, Upsala Universitetsbibliotek, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, and Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, for great helpfulness and kindness.

The translation of this thesis into English has been aided by a grant from the British Council, Stockholm, and I should also like to thank one of the officials there, Mrs F. Cameron, for generous help in revising part of the translation.

As to the transcription of Egyptian words it will be noted that the system of the Berlin Dictionary has here been followed. An exception is, however, the transcription of the sound *aleph*, which, for technical reasons, is here printed as '.

Wherever translations from the Egyptian are followed by numerals in fat type, these refer to the numerals in the plates at the back of the book.

Lund, September 1946.

Maj Sandman Holmberg.

The Name of Ptah

The name of the god Ptah occurs in many different forms in the Egyptian texts. Usually it was written $\square \text{𓆎} = \text{pt}h$, without a determinative, and this was the general rule in the Old Kingdom.

In some few cases in the Pyramid texts the name was written $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$,¹ and on the Palermo stone from the 5th dynasty, Ptah is called $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$,² but these are exceptions from the form that was usual in the Old Kingdom.

Also in later texts the form $\square \text{𓆎}$, without a determinative, was the most usual. In the material of the Berlin Dictionary the form $\square \text{𓆎}$ occurs in about 80 % of the cases in the Middle Kingdom, in about 55 % of the cases in the New Kingdom and in about 88 % of the cases in the Greek period. The Greek period thus reverts to a large extent to the most ancient form.

The next commonest way of writing the name of Ptah, was to place the divine determinative 𓆑 after the name of the god. This occurs only now and then in texts from the Middle Kingdom and the Greek era, but was relatively common in the New Kingdom.

In addition, there are a large number of other ways of writing the name, among which the following may be cited:

$\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$,³ $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$,⁴ $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$,⁵ $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$,⁶ $\square \text{𓆎} \text{𓆑}$,⁷

¹ See *e. g.* Pyr. 560. (M. and N.) Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 288.

² Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück altägypt. Annalen, p. 41.

³ Leyden V. 72. Middle Kingdom. Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

⁴ Louvre C. 12. Dyn. 13. Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

⁵ Memorial stèle in the temple of Ptah at Karnak. Urk. IV, p. 765.

⁶ Coffin. Cairo 61034. New Kingdom. Daressy, Cercueils des cachettes royales, p. 216.

⁷ The colonnade of Haremheb at Louxor. Sethe's unpublished notes, 2, 33. Slip of the Dictionary.

𓂏𓂏𓂏, ⁸ 𓂏𓂏𓂏, ⁹ 𓂏𓂏𓂏, ¹⁰ 𓂏𓂏𓂏, ¹¹ 𓂏𓂏, ¹² 𓂏𓂏, ¹³ 𓂏𓂏, ¹⁴ 𓂏𓂏, ¹⁵ 𓂏𓂏.

In Coptic the god was called $\pi\tau\alpha\gamma$ in the Sahidic dialect.¹⁶ The name Ptah occurs also, as Stolk has pointed out, in the Babylonian-Assyrian and Hebrew languages. The word is found in Middle Babylonian, accentuated in *e. g.* the name *bi-ku-[p]tah* = *h-t-k'-pth* = Memphis, and unaccentuated in *e. g.* the names *tab-mašši* = *pth-mš* = Ptahmes, and *tab-maja* = *pth-mjj* = Ptahmi.

In Assyrian the name of Ptah occurs in the name *iptih-ar-tē-su* = *pth-ir-dj-s* = »Ptah has given her».¹⁷

The word Ptah is presumably included in the Hebrew place name *Ma'jan-mē-naeftōah* = »The Well of Merenptah».¹⁸

In Greek Ptah was named $\Phi\theta\alpha\zeta$,¹⁹ $\Phi\theta\alpha$,²⁰ He was called Hephaistos by Herodotos, who like the Hellenes in Egypt identified Ptah with the Greek god of smithying.²¹

In Latin Ptah was called Phthas by Cicero, as Stolk has shown.²²

The Sahidic form indicates that the name was pronounced Ptah.

The problem regarding the significance of the name is extremely difficult, indeed for the present insoluble.

The consonant combination *pth* occurs, besides in the name of the god, only in two Egyptian words from late times, namely 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏 = »to sculpture», and 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏𓂏 = »to open».²³

Many students have discussed the question regarding the signific-

⁸ The temple at Edfu. Ptol. Piehl, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques II, p. 85.

⁹ The temple at Edfu. Ptol. Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou II, p. 270.

¹⁰ The temple at Esne. Ptol. L. D. IV, p. 89 c.

¹¹ The temple at Ombos. Ptol. De Morgan, Cat. d. Mon. I, 2, p. 89.

¹² The temple at Karnak. Sethe's unpublished notes, 7, 30.

¹³ Pillar in the temple of Hathor at Dendera. Ptol.-Rom. L. D. IV, p. 83 b.

¹⁴ South temple of Osiris at Dendera. Ptol.-Rom. Brugsch, Thes. p. 749.

¹⁵ The temple of Hathor at Dendera. Ptol.-Rom. Mariette, Dendérah I, pl. 26 e.

¹⁶ See *e. g.* Amélineau, Oeuvres de Schenoudi I, p. 385.

¹⁷ Ranke, Keilschriftliches Material zur ägyptischen Vokalisation, p. 50. — See Stolk, Ptah, p. 3.

¹⁸ Jos. 15, 9; 18, 15. See Stolk, Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁹ See Stolk, Ibid., p. 3.

²⁰ Pap. Ox. III, 412, 27. Papyri Graecae Magicae 5, 358.

²¹ Herodotos, III, 37. See p. 49.

²² Cicero, De natura deorum, 3, 22. Stolk, Ibid., p. 3.

²³ Wb. I, p. 565.

ance of the name of Ptah, and as a rule they have tried to associate it with one of the said verbs »sculpture» and »open».

The view that the name of Ptah is derived from the verb *pth* = »open», has been advanced, among others by Wiedemann²⁴ and Sayce,²⁵ who considered that the name alluded to the opening of the mouth. Hall likewise considers that the name Ptah meant »the opener», and that the word was Semitic.²⁶

Stolk, on the other hand, writes that the name Ptah is probably a derivation of the root *pth* in the sense of »sculpture», a word which expressed one of the principal functions of the god.²⁷

Seeing that there are two Egyptian verbs *pth*, one is, of course, tempted to derive the name of the god from one of them. We must begin by investigating the age and origin of the two words.

The verb *pth* = »open» and the verb *pth* = »sculpture» both have parallels in Semitic languages.

The verb »open» in Assyrian is *petû*, in Hebrew *pātah*, in Syrian *p^otah*, in Arabian *fataha*, in South Arabian *pth*, and in Ethiopian *fatha*.

The verb *pth* = »sculpture» has an equivalent in Accadian in the verb *patâhu* = »bore into». In South Arabian »engrave» is *pth* and in Arabian »engraved ring» is *fatha*.

In Hebrew there is a verb for sculpture = *pth*, which occurs only in the forms *pi^eel* and *pu^eal*.²⁸

The two Egyptian verbs *pth* thus had equivalents in many Semitic languages, which indicates that the root was Original Semitic. In Egyptian texts, however, neither of the verbs *pth* occur until late times. Grapow in *Ä. Z.* 49, p. 47 writes that the verb *pth* = »open» is not found in Egyptian texts before the Greek period, nor has the verb *pth* = »sculpture», according to *Wb. I*, p. 565, been recorded before the Greek period. As the Egyptian verbs *pth* thus do not seem to have come into use before a time when there was a brisk linguistic

²⁴ Wiedemann, *Die Religion d. alten Ägypter*, p. 73.

²⁵ Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 138.

²⁶ Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 85.

²⁷ Stolk, *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁸ Cf. Stolk, *Ibid.*, p. 5. Stolk thinks, perhaps erroneously, that this is the same verb as the Hebrew verb *pātah* = »open».

exchange with other peoples, it is possible that the Egyptian verbs had been borrowed from some other language.

It is, however, also conceivable that one of the verbs *pth* had been introduced into Egypt in pre-dynastic times in connection with other semitizings of the Egyptian language, and that this word had given Ptah his name. This, however, is not very probable. If *pth* were an old verb root in Egyptian, with the meaning »open» or »sculpture», it would be a remarkable coincidence that it has not been found in any text during the at least 3000 years which had elapsed between the origin of the name Ptah and the appearance in the literature of the two verbs *pth*. Such coincidences are, of course, quite possible, but it seems to me more probable that the two Egyptian verbs *pth* are late loans from Hebrew or Accadian, which had nothing to do with the name Ptah.

This applies at any rate to the verb *pth* = »open». It certainly can have had nothing to do with the name of Ptah. If the word *pth* = »open» could be conceived to have had the connotation »begin», it might have had some connection with Ptah's creative powers, but there is nothing that indicates such a significance in the word. Ptah, in certain texts dating as from the Middle Kingdom, is said »to open the mouth» of the dead, but it is a relatively late phenomenon in his history, and the verbs used in these texts are usually *wp* = »open» and *wn* = »open», but never *pth*.²⁹

It may rather be supposed that the verb *pth* = »sculpture», »engrave», might have something to do with Ptah. But this verb root has the meaning »sculpture» only in Hebrew and in the late Egyptian language. In certain Semitic languages, also in Accadian, which must be older than Hebrew and nearer Original Semitic, this root has the meaning »bore into» »engrave». »Sculpture» seems to be a secondary meaning of the root. It is probable that the Original Semitic verb which possibly may have given Ptah his name had the significance of »bore», »engrave» and the name of the god Ptah would then have had the original meaning »the Borer», »the Engraver», not as Stolk proposes »the Sculptor».³⁰

²⁹ See p. 95 seqq.

³⁰ As we shall see, the sign 𓂏 , which is included in the title of Ptah's priest *wr hꜣp hmw-t*, represents a stone-borer. But it is hard to see any connection

With this scanty material available for the elucidation of these questions, we cannot for the present get further than vague speculations. Certainly a name without a significance has never yet been given to a god, but it is possible that the name of Ptah had nothing to do with any of the words suggested by previous students. The solution of the problem regarding the name of Ptah will perhaps be found in the future in still undiscovered texts.

between the word *pth* and the sign which is part of the title, as the sign † apparently only had the phonetic value *hmj*, never the value *pth*.

As there are, in Semitic languages, words corresponding to the Egyptian verb *pth* = »to sculpture», it can probably not have been formed, as Sander-Hansen suggests, from Ptah's name, owing to his most conspicuous qualities. See Sander-Hansen, *Ægyptiske Forestillinger om Verdens Skabelse*, p. 62.

Ptah's Appearance

Pictures or statues of Ptah are rare before the New Kingdom, probably because the Ptah temple in Memphis is destroyed and because representations of gods dating from the Old and Middle Kingdoms are unusual in any case.

In his book »Tarkhan I and Memphis V», pl. 3, Petrie shows an alabaster bowl from Tarkhan (about 60 km south of Cairo) dating from approximately the first dynasty, on which Ptah is represented as standing, with a smooth head and beardless, in an open chapel. He wears a tightly fitting garment with a stand-up collar from which a tassel hangs. His arms, stretched forward out of his cloak, hold a uas-staff. $\square \leftarrow \text{𓆎}$ is engraved above the picture in primitive hieroglyphics. (Fig. 1.)

One finds the same type of picture on the Palermo stone dating from the fifth dynasty. There too Ptah stands, beardless, in an open chapel, holding a uas-sceptre. (Fig. 2.)

We know of no other way in which Ptah was represented during the Old Kingdom.

Representations of Ptah dating from the Middle Kingdom are also rare. From that time, however, one finds Ptah depicted with a beard, and a straight beard, not the curved type with which the gods were usually represented. There may have been a beard on older pictures of Ptah also, but there is not enough material to justify an opinion on that subject. There is so little material that one cannot attempt to date the pictures of Ptah on the basis of the presence or absence of certain details, such as whether or not he has a beard, whether he stands in an open or closed chapel, and the like.

On a relief from the kiosk of Sesostris I at Karnak, one sees Sesostris I in the embrace of Ptah, the latter standing in an open chapel of the

same type as that shown in Fig. 1 and wearing a straight beard. He has a smooth head and a tightly fitting garment without any ornament. Here the god is called »Ptah, he who is south of his wall». (Fig. 3.)

From the time of the Middle Kingdom on, there are also representations of Ptah in a closed chapel. For example, on a stele from the Middle Kingdom from Abydos, Ptah is shown standing on a podium in a closed chapel, dressed in a tightly fitting garment with a tassel at the neck. He has a smooth head, a straight beard, and holds a was-sceptre. (Fig. 4.)

For the sake of curiosity, the first Ptah picture we have from a place outside of Egypt — Serābit el-Khādīm on the Sinai peninsula — is also reproduced here. In the temple there, there are pictures of Ptah dating from the Middle Kingdom. He wears a tightly-fitting garment and has a straight beard. He has a smooth head, holds a was-sceptre, and is standing in a closed chapel. (Fig. 5.)

From the time of the 18th dynasty it became more usual to draw pictures of the gods, including Ptah. Ptah was still represented with a smooth head and dressed in a tightly fitting garment, but there were many variations in the ornaments he wore, the kind of sceptre he held, the style of the chapel, and so on.

From the time of the New Kingdom, Ptah was often depicted standing in a chapel, just as he had been in earlier times. During the New Kingdom and likewise afterwards, the chapel was mostly of a closed type and had a vaulted roof, as in Fig. 4. There were small variations in the design of the roof. For example, the angle between roof and wall could be in the form of a flower or a djed-symbol, but one does not find any variations which were characteristic of a particular period or place.

The open chapel was still shown in the New Kingdom,¹ but it does not appear in later pictures.

From the time of the New Kingdom, however, it became usual to represent Ptah without any chapel, sometimes standing (Fig. 6), sometimes sitting. When shown sitting, he was usually on a low-backed stool. (Fig. 7.)

Sometimes Ptah has a sceptre of a type not found in pictures which date from the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Thus from the time of the

¹ See *e. g.*, Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 11, 19.

New Kingdom, at least, a sceptre made of the combined uas-, ankh-, and djed-signs was used in pictures of Ptah (Fig. 8); such a sceptre is always shown in the Ptah pictures in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu.²

The simple uas-sceptre was still used in Ptolemaic times side by side with other kinds, however.³

One sometimes sees slight variations in the style of the sceptre; for example, one type lacks the ankh-symbol,⁴ while another consists only of a djed-symbol.⁵ In a picture in the cliff chapel at Surarīeh (Nubia), dating from Ramesside times, Ptah holds in one hand a sceptre which consists partly of a uas-symbol and an ankh-symbol, in the other a palm branch. (Fig. 9.)

On a pillar in the hypostyle of the Ramesside temple of Amun at Karnak, one sees Ptah holding a palm sceptre with the sign of the sed-festival attached to it. A symbol for 100.000 hangs at the bottom, referring to Ptah's rôle in the sed-festivals. (Fig. 10.)

It was most usual to show Ptah with a sceptre in his hands, and only in exceptional cases was he shown without a sceptre, as in Fig. 3 where he is embracing Sesostris I.

From the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards, Ptah appears wearing a beard of a thick, straight type, sometimes growing wider toward the bottom. It is exceptional to see him without a beard or with the customary curved beard of the gods. (Fig. 11.)

The tassel at the neck which has already been mentioned in connection with the bowl from the first dynasty described above,⁶ is found almost without exception on every representation of Ptah from all times.

It is clear that Ptah's costume was from the beginning a tightly fitting garment, standing up somewhat at the neck and bearing some resemblance to the dress of the King at the royal jubilees (see, for example, Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, Pl. 25b). But the garment was not a mummy's dress from the beginning, although in the New Kingdom it was not unusual to show Ptah as a mummy. In Ramses IX's tomb near Thebes, in the chapel to the right, the third corridor, Ptah is

² See *e. g.*, Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou III, pl. 61; XI, pl. 288.

³ See *e. g.*, Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari V, pl. 150.

⁴ See *e. g.*, Hieroglyph. Texts. Brit. Mus. VII, pl. 41. 18 dyn.

⁵ Loat, Gurob, pl. 16, 5. 18 dyn.

⁶ See p. 12.

represented in the costume of a mummy and wrapped in feathers. He has a uas-sceptre in each hand and a sun disc and two feathers on his head. His name is here:

»Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of the two lands, he with the beautiful face«, etc. (Fig. 12.)

Ptah was almost always shown with a smooth head without a crown. It was probably thought that he had short hair, although the absence of elaborately drawn curls or hair may indicate that he was considered to have a tightly fitting cap. The oldest representations of Ptah are so indistinct that one cannot make out what the earliest ideas were in this connection.

Now and then Ptah stands with his back to some kind of a pillar. Sometimes he leans toward a Djed-object, as on a statue dating from the 19th dynasty in the Cairo museum, where the Djed is crowned by a pyramid called »Memphis«, flanked by two ba-birds with sun discs on their heads. (Fig. 13.)

A phenomenon which, as far as I know, is unique, is the way in which Ptah is represented on a Ramesside stele from Horbēt in the East delta. He stands with a smooth head, with straight beard, collar, and tassel, on a socle in an open chapel with a straight roof, holding a uas-ankh-djed-sceptre in his hands. His back is turned to a pillar of an unusual kind, and his name is here: *pth-n-p'-wh*' = »Ptah of the Ukha-column«. (Fig. 14.)⁷

When Ptah was shown standing, it was most usual, at least from the time of the Middle Kingdom, to show him on a podium of the —-type. This was not shown when he was represented as sitting. As early as in the above mentioned representation of Ptah from the first dynasty (Fig. 1) it seems possible to distinguish such a podium. Sometimes the podium had the form of a staircase, as, for example, on a statue of Ptah in Cairo which dates from the 18th dynasty and comes from the Valley of the Kings. (Fig. 15.)

It was not unusual to show Ptah with a head-cloth and a feather crown, in the same way that otherwise Tatenen was represented. Such a picture is seen in the southern temple of Osiris at Dendera, in which Ptah sits with a feather crown and a cloth on his head.

⁷ See p. 241.

His name is here: »Ptah, he who is south of his wall, mighty power, Lord of Ankhtau». (Fig. 16.)

In one place in the temple of Hathor at Dendera a row of gods in the form of birds is shown. Among these one sees Ptah with a feather crown, human face, and the body of a bird. He also has a cloth on his head. He is called: »Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau». (Fig. 17.)

Since the type of Ptah representation with a cloth on the head and a feather crown, appears several times in Dendera, there was probably a Ptah statue of this type in the Dendera temple.

In Pennut's tomb at Anibe in Nubia, dating from the time of Ramses VI, Ptah has a head decoration which he does not have elsewhere, consisting of a sun disc and two feathers far down on his head. (Fig. 18.)

On a Ptolemaic house stele a god is shown standing with crooked, far-apart legs and hanging arms on a podium in the shape of a staircase. He is called $\square \frac{3}{2} \text{h}$, which may possibly be translated: »Ptah, the killer of snakes». (Fig. 19.)


This appears to be a representation of Ptah in the shape of a dwarf, *i. e.* the same shape which he has in the small figures of Ptah which generally, because of a misunderstood passage in Herodotos (III, 37), have been given the name Pataeci.⁸

From late times there are many Ptah figures of this kind. They always have bent arms and legs, big bellies, and large beardless heads. Often they hold snakes in their hands. (Fig. 20.)

Tatenen or Ptah-Tatenen was usually shown wearing a feather crown. The first real pictures we have of this god date from the New Kingdom, as on a stele in the large Ramesside temple at Abusimbel, where Ptah-Tatenen stands with a feather crown on his head, a short kilt, a staff in his right hand, and a scourge in his left. He has a curved beard. He is called $\square \frac{3}{2} = \text{h} \frac{1}{2} \text{h}$ = Ptah-Tatenen. (Fig. 21.)

This way of representing Ptah-Tatenen, with the curved beard of the gods, a feather crown consisting of a sun disc flanked by feathers and resting on horns, and in a short kilt instead of Ptah's tightly fitting garment, was almost the only type of representation up into Ptolemaic times.

⁸ See p. 182 seqq.

Only seldom Ptah-Tatenen is shown in Ptah's usual form, *e. g.* on a Ramesside door from Memphis on which one sees two identical figures with Ptah's smooth head, holding the was-ankh-djed-sceptre, and wearing the tightly fitting garment. Each is standing in a closed chapel with vaulted roof and on a  socle. One is called »Ptah on the great throne» and the other Ptah-Tatenen. (Fig. 22.)

III

The Oldest Documents about Ptah

To obtain an idea about the original character and history of Ptah presents great difficulties, because from the era before the New Kingdom there are so few texts preserved in which he is described explicitly. He occurs often in names and titles in the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, now and then in sacrificial texts in tombs and also in a few other Old Kingdom texts and Middle Kingdom texts. The names, however, are usually of a type which does not give us any information about the nature of the god, *e. g.* *pth-ḥtp* = »Ptah is well pleased», *pth-wsr* = »Ptah is strong», and so on. The same can, of course, be said about any god whatever. As regards the Ptah priest titles and the sacrificial formulae, they often give us nothing but the name of Ptah without any epithet. From the New Kingdom on, however, Ptah is named in a number of texts, is given numbers of epithets, is implicated in mythic connections and receives hymns in his honour; but we must be cautious in making inferences from these texts in regard to Ptah's original nature. The cult of Ptah by that time had in fact been spread over the whole of Egypt and the conceptions of Ptah had been exposed to influence from a number of other cults. Many of Ptah's epithets and many of the descriptions of him which we find in texts from the New Kingdom and later, owe their origin to influences from cults of other gods. Even the oldest texts still preserved have probably been written considerably later than the time of the origin of the Ptah cult, and in the meantime he was certainly exposed to influences from several other gods. Thus not even these earliest documents give us a reliable picture of Ptah's original character. But the secondary additions at that time must at any rate have been fewer than was the case in later texts.

I will now give a survey of the oldest texts in which the name of Ptah occurs.

1. The oldest preserved text which mentions Ptah in some detail is that which Erman called »Denkmal memphitischer Theologie».¹

This text is preserved in a copy of it on a stone from Ethiopian times (25th dynasty) and on this stone it is mentioned that King Shabaka had ordered the copying of an old text which had been destroyed by worms. Because of this mentioning of King Shabaka the text has often been called the Shabaka text, a name which will be adopted here.

Sethe, for linguistic reasons, has dated this text to an early dynastic period.² But Junker, on historical grounds, has shown that it is in all probability from the Old Kingdom, when tension and rivalry arose between Memphis and Heliopolis, as was manifested by the polemics against Heliopolis in this Memphite text.³

Those parts of the text which deal with Ptah run as follows:

»... it is this Ptah, who is called by the great name [Tatenen]⁴ . . . He is [the binder] of the Upper and Lower land of Egypt, this uniter, who has risen as the King of Upper Egypt and as the King of Lower Egypt. . . 'He who begot himself', says Atum, 'he who gave birth to the company of nine gods'.»⁵ (1.)

Then follows a description of how Geb judged between Horus and Seth and set Seth as King over Upper Egypt and Horus as King over Lower Egypt, but how he then regretted it and gave the whole country to Horus.⁶

The text continues:

»Then Horus rose [as King] over the country.

He is the uniter of this land, named with the great name 'Tatenen, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of eternity'.

¹ Erman, Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie.

² Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 2 seqq.

³ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 6 seqq.

⁴ Sethe's emendation. Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵ Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 20 seqq.

⁶ Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 23 seqq.

The two sorceresses [the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt]⁷ grew on his head. He is Horus, who has risen as King over Upper and Lower Egypt, he who united the two lands in the Memphis district, at the place where the two lands were united. Rushes and papyrus were placed at the double door of the temple of Ptah: It signifies Horus and Seth who were reconciled and united . . . united in the temple of Ptah, 'The scales of the two lands', on which Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt balance one another.»⁸ (2.)

The following text⁹ is very corrupt, but seems to deal with the death of Osiris and the contest between Horus and Seth. From line 48 follows a description of Ptah as a creator: .

»The gods which have their shape in Ptah:
Ptah on the great throne . . .
Ptah-Nun, the father, who [begot] Atum.
Ptah-Naunet, the mother, who bore Atum.
Ptah, the great one — it is the heart and tongue of the
nine gods.
[Ptah] . . . who gave birth to the gods.
[Ptah] . . . who gave birth to the gods.
[Ptah] . . .
[Ptah] . . . Nefertum at the nose of Rē every day.¹⁰

It arose as heart, it arose as tongue, as a symbol of Atum.¹¹ Ptah is the very great one, in that he delivered . . . and their kas through this heart from which [possibly: in which] Horus has arisen as Ptah and this tongue, from which [possibly: in which] Thoth has arisen as Ptah.¹² °The heart and tongue have power over all limbs because of the doctrine that it¹³ [the heart] is in every body and

⁷ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 32; Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 32.

⁸ Junker, *Ibid.*, pl. 1; p. 31 seqq.

⁹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 36 seqq.

¹⁰ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 16 seqq.

¹¹ Junker translates: »Es hat etwas Gestalt als Herz, es hat etwas Gestalt als Zunge als Sinnbild des Atum». *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹² Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 39 seq.

¹³ Sethe, in *Dramatische Texte*, p. 55, states that the pronoun *f* after *wn-t* refers to Ptah and should be translated »he». (See App. 3.) Even if we

that it [the tongue] is in every mouth of all gods, all men, all cattle, all reptiles, all that lives, in that it thinks all that it [the heart] will and commands all that it [the tongue] will.¹⁴

His nine gods are before him as teeth and lips. Those are Atum's seed and hands. Atum's nine gods have indeed arisen from his seed and his fingers. Yet the nine gods are the teeth and the lips in this mouth [of Ptah], which told the name of all things, from which Shu and Tefnut proceeded, and which created the nine gods.¹⁵ *The sight of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, the breathing of the nose, it is communicated to the heart. This it is which lets all knowledge come forth and it is the tongue that repeats what the heart thinks.*¹⁶ Thus all gods were born and his [Ptah's] nine gods were completed. Every god's word came forth from what the heart had thought and the tongue had commanded. In this way also Kas were created and Hemsut determined, which bring forth all nourishment and all food through this word.

... He who does that which is loved, and he who does that which is abhorred: life is given to the peaceful man and death to the wrongdoer.¹⁷ *Thus all work is done and all handicraft, the work of the hands and the walking of the legs, and the movement of all [other] limbs according to this command which the heart has thought out and which comes forth through the tongue, which is the being

translate this / with »it«, as Junker does, the text here marked °—° is certainly to be interpreted to mean that it is Ptah who works in every body as heart and in every mouth as tongue, and it should probably not be regarded, as by Junker, as an independent philosophical explanation about the power of the heart and tongue, intercalated in the doctrine of Ptah and without connection with it. See Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 49. This interpretation of Junker's is unnecessarily involved, as the text can very well be supposed to refer to Ptah.

¹⁴ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 48 seqq.

¹⁵ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁶ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 58 seq. The passage *—* is also supposed by Junker to belong to a free-standing doctrine of the importance of the heart and the tongue in the organism.

¹⁷ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 59.

of all things.¹⁸ αPtah is called 'He who created the All and brought forth the gods'. He is indeed Tatenen, who created the gods, and from whom all things have come forth in the form of food and nourishment, divine offerings, all good things.^β Thus it was determined and recognized that his power is greater than that of the other gods. Thus Ptah was content after he had made all things and all god's words.¹⁹ αHe had indeed born the gods, made the towns, founded the provinces, and placed the gods at their places of worship. He had determined their offerings and founded their sanctuaries, he had made their body as they desired. Thus the gods entered into their bodies of all kinds of wood, all kinds of minerals, all kinds of clay and all kinds of other things that grow thereon, in which they had taken shape.²⁰ Thus all gods are assembled with him with their kas, content and united with the 'Lord over the two lands'.^β²¹ (3.)

Then follows a description of how Osiris was drowned in the Nile, but was rescued at Memphis by Isis and Nephthys. The text continues:

»He entered the palace of Ptah, the Lord of the years, and joined the gods of Tatenen. And thus Osiris was buried in the King's palace at the north side of this place, which he had reached.»²² (4.)

In this text Ptah is identified with a number of gods, with Horus as the uniter of Upper and Lower Egypt, with Tatenen, who is described as an earth-god, and with Nun, Naunet and probably Nefertum. Moreover, the text dwells on the relation between Ptah and Atum. Ptah is said to have begotten and borne Atum and is said to act through his heart and his tongue, which were symbols of

¹⁸ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

κ—κ Also this part, according to Junker, belongs to the treatise of the importance of the heart and the tongue. Junker thinks that the parts of the text here marked κ—κ and α—β were not put in their right place by the scribes in the time of Shabaka.

²⁰ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 65.

²¹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²² Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 36 seqq.

Atum. Atum's seed and his hands, with which he created the company of nine gods, are at bottom nothing but the teeth and lips in the mouth of Ptah. The description of how Ptah creates through his heart and his tongue and how he acts in every body as heart and in every mouth as tongue takes up a large space in the text.

With his word thought out by the heart and pronounced by the tongue, Ptah has created the gods and also Kas and Hemsut, beings which were to provide for nourishment and which were protective forces. Also the order of justice Ptah is said to have created with his word, so that he who acts rightly is rewarded as he deserves: the peaceable man receives life and the unrighteous one receives death. All work, all movement has been produced by Ptah through his word. His power and importance were greater than that of the other gods.

Part of the text describes how Ptah creates in the capacity of Tatenen, out of which food, offerings and other things grow forth.

This old text is, in certain points, very obscure owing to its concentrated style and its unusual and barely intelligible phrases. The right interpretation of several sections in the text has certainly not yet been found. The substance, however, is clear. Junker considers that those parts of the text which have been marked here $\circ-\circ$, $*-*$, $\times-\times$ and $\alpha-\beta$ had not been put in their right place during the copying of the text in the time of Shabaka. He thinks that these sections do not fit into the description of how Ptah creates with heart and tongue, but upset the elaborate thought-structure. According to him this Memphite text consists of three different texts, all mingled up by the scribes of the Ethiopian time, who have misunderstood them.²³

As to the last sections referred to by Junker, and here marked $\alpha-\beta$, they might, as Dr. Säve-Söderbergh has suggested to me, quite well be regarded as an explanation of the preceding section. Their from our point of view still apparent lack of consistency, however, need not be explained by a misinterpretation in Ethiopian times, but may just as well be due to the tendency of the Egyptians to vary the expressions in a text. The sections $\circ-\circ$, $*-*$ and $\times-\times$ seem to me to fit well into the description of the power of Ptah.²⁴

2. In the Pyramid texts Ptah is scarcely mentioned. His name,

²³ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 69 seqq.

²⁴ In regard to the nature of this text as a Memphite polemic against Heliopolis, see p. 122.

however, occurs in a few places. One of them is passage 560 a—c, where we read:

»[To recite]: O thou whose ka is great, the cup-bearer of Horus, the leader of Rē's eating tent [possibly council hall or the like], the Elder of the kitchen [possibly the Elder of the palace] of Ptah. Give Teti enough! Teti will eat if thou givest him.»²⁵ (5.)

This text, which deals with the way in which the dead King was to get food in the Kingdom of Death, mentions, then, that this was to be achieved by means of a being that was the »cup-bearer of Horus», »*hrp sh* of Rē» and »*śmśw is-t* of Ptah». *hrp sh* and *śmśw is-t* are translated in Wb III, 464 and Wb I, 127 by »leader of the eating-tent» and »*śmśw* [Elder?] of the kitchen», but the titles in the pyramid text might perhaps be rendered by »leader of Rē's council hall» or the like, and by »Elder of the palace of Ptah». The titles *wdpc*, *hrp sh* and *śmśw is-t* were court titles in the Old Kingdom, and were evidently connected with Horus, Rē and Ptah to show, that these gods lived like the Kings of the earth, but the text does not give us any definite information about the nature of Horus, Rē and Ptah.

Another pyramid text, where Ptah is mentioned, is passage 1482, c—d, where Rē is addressed in the following way:

P. »Commend this Pepi to 'Him who has great renown', the beloved of Ptah [variant N: he who makes Ptah well pleased], the son of Ptah, so that he may say: 'Pepi is a prince'.»²⁶ (6.)

Thus, an otherwise unknown divinity is mentioned here, with the by no means enlightening name »He who has great renown», and he is said to be the son of Ptah and his beloved and one who makes him well pleased.

The Pyramid texts are interesting for the study of Ptah — not for what they contain about Ptah, as they are scarcely enlightening on the subject, but because Ptah is mentioned only in the two cases cited above in this large collection of religious texts which were used

²⁵ Sethe, *Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte* I, p. 288. The same text also in passage 566 a—c. Sethe, *Ibid.* I, p. 291 seq.

²⁶ Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 311.

in royal tombs in the necropolis of Memphis and at a time when Ptah was the chief god in the residential town of the country, Memphis.

3. The priests of Ptah had very special titles, which no other priests had. Some priests of Ptah were called *wr hrp hmw-t* = »supreme leader of handicraft», which occurs already in texts from the fourth dynasty,²⁷ or sometimes *wr hrp hmw-t nb-t* = »supreme leader of all handicraft», as the priests of Ptah Shepsesptah and Sabu in the Old Kingdom were sometimes called. They also had the title *hrp hmw-t nb-t* = »leader of all handicraft».²⁸ Possibly this was an office which these two priests had had before they became »supreme leaders of handicraft».

4. In the tomb of Persen at Sakkara from the fifth dynasty mention is made of: *h-t-ntr n-t pth rs inb-f* = »the temple of Ptah, he who is south of his wall».²⁹

5. Ptah occurs in a few burial texts from the Old Kingdom. In some texts the dead man is called *lm'h-w hr pth* = »he who is venerable with Ptah»,³⁰ and in the mastaba of Idout at Sakkara from the sixth dynasty one sees the mummy lying in a boat and below it we read the text:

»Ptah is making, Ptah has made a funeral for Ihi.»^{30a} (7.)

This is the not very abundant collection of texts from the Old Kingdom, where Ptah is mentioned in other contexts than in meaningless titles and names etc.

In texts from the First Intermediate and the Middle Kingdom, Ptah is also mentioned rather seldom in contexts which give us more special information about his character. The principal religious texts preserved from these times are the so-called Coffin texts, *i. e.* the texts on the coffins from non-royal tombs, chiefly from Upper Egyptian places such as Assiut, Bershe, Meir etc.

The nucleus of the Coffin texts is, as Kees points out, Heliopolitan.³¹ Memphite gods are also mentioned here and there in the Coffin texts, among others, though rarely, Ptah.

²⁷ See *e. g.* Tomb of Debhen. Urk. I, p. 18, 20.

²⁸ Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 29.

²⁹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 300.

³⁰ See *e. g.* A. S. A. 17, p. 131. Tomb of Pepinefer at Edfu. Sixth dyn.

^{30a} Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

³¹ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 326 seq.

1. On the coffin of Mes-het from Assiut (ninth to tenth dynasty) the dead man says:

»I have gone in with Maat, in that my shoulder is Maat. I am the Lord of Maat, and I have gone out with Maat with exalted shape. I am Khenttenent and I have gone in with Maat after I had reached its border. I am Ptah who have made the way of joy.»³² (8.)

This is thus a coffin text intended to be recited by the dead person. He says that he has free liberty of movement in that he can appear as different gods, for example as the Memphite local god Khenttenent and as Ptah.

2. On the coffin of Amenemhet from Bershe from the twelfth dynasty, there are a number of versions of the following text, where the dead man is addressed thus:

»Hail to thee, father Osiris! See I have come. I am Horus, who opens thy mouth together with Ptah and makes thee, together with Thoth, a blessed soul.»³³ (9.)

This text is probably based on an original royal ritual text and was pronounced by the King who before the dead King identified with Osiris, identified himself with Horus.³⁴ It gives a variant of a pyramid text where, however, Ptah does not appear.³⁵

3. On the same coffin, and also on the coffin of Sathedhetep from Bershe, likewise from the twelfth dynasty, the dead person is addressed in the following words:

»Thou art clad in the garb of Ptah, in the robe of Hathor.»³⁶ (10.)

This text too had probably been recited in the death ritual before it was used as a coffin text.

4. Earlier in the last-mentioned text it is described how Ptah-Sokaris, sitting at the prow of the dead man's boat, scares away Seth:

»Seth when he sees thee [the dead man] ... his fear falls into his own body. He who has a beautiful [gracious]

³² Cairo 28118. Rec. de trav. 31, p. 16.

³³ Cairo 28092. Rec. de trav. 29, p. 144.

³⁴ See Kees, Totenglauben, p. 336.

³⁵ See p. 95.

³⁶ Cairo 28092; 28086. Rec. de trav. 27, p. 223 (copy from the coffin of Sathedhetep).

face among the gods, Ptah-Sokaris, is at the prow of thy boat.»³⁷ (11.)

This text was also doubtless originally used in the tomb ritual before it became a coffin text.

5. On the coffin of princess Nebhetepi-kherd, of the twelfth dynasty, from her tomb in Dahshūr we read speeches of Duamutef, Kebeh-sennuf, Ptah etc., introduced by the expression »to be recited by». The text to be recited by Ptah reads:

»To be recited by Ptah: 'I have given a gracious venerableness ...'»³⁸ (12.)

6. Of the same type as the Coffin texts, is the text on a mummy-mask of the twelfth dynasty from Meir, where Ptah-Sokaris occurs in the following context. The mummy-mask is addressed thus:

»Thou art greeted, thou of the beautiful face, the Lord of vision, whom Anubis has put together and Ptah-Sokaris lifted up.»³⁹ (13.)

7. Moreover, we read the following words about Ptah on a tomb stele from the Middle Kingdom, now at Leyden:

»Ptah has made him [the dead man] blessed in his tomb.»⁴⁰ (14.)

Also apart from the Coffin texts Ptah is occasionally mentioned in texts from the Middle Kingdom.

1. In the tomb of the prince Khetii at Assiut in Middle Egypt from the ninth or tenth dynasty, the events of his life are recorded and it is described how he restored the temple of the local god Upuaut. The text is extremely corrupt, but it is probably about this temple that the following statement is made:

»Which Ptah built with his fingers and which Thoth founded.»⁴¹ (15.)

The text indicates that Ptah is conceived as a builder who works with his fingers.

2. In the tomb of Antefoker, vizier of Sesostris I of the twelfth

³⁷ Cairo 28092; 28086. Rec. de trav. 27, p. 228 seq. The text is copied from the coffin of Sathedhetep and emended from the coffin of Amenemhet.

³⁸ Cairo 28104. Lacau, Sarcophages ... II, p. 82.

³⁹ Rec. de trav. 14, p. 165.

⁴⁰ Leyden V, 72. Unpublished.

⁴¹ Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siüt and Dēr Rifeh, pl. 13.

dynasty, found at Thebes, one sees on the north wall servants bringing gifts to the dead man. In one place a servant carries a jar of oil with the words:

»For thy [the dead man's] kas! Myrrh and ointment which Ptah has prepared and Punt's mistress transported, and . . . Sokaris melted with his fingers, silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite . . . and every kind of precious stone from the house of Osiris.» (16.)

A little further down we see servants carrying collars saying:

»To thy kas! Thou art greeted by Ptah-Sokaris with . . . all his . . . of lapis lazuli.»⁴² (17.)

Ptah is spoken of here as a preparer of ointments and Sokaris as a metal worker, and the connection between picture and text as well as the fragmentary inscription indicate that Ptah-Sokaris was conceived as a giver and probably also as a maker of the dead man's jewelry.

3. Already from the first dynasty the Egyptians were engaged in copper-mining in the Sinai peninsula, and in rock inscriptions at Wādi Maghara in that peninsula we find descriptions of expeditions etc.⁴³ In an inscription from the time of Amenemhet III it is mentioned that a high official named Sobekdidirenefseneb led an expedition to Sinai, and here the name of Ptah also occurs. The text runs:

»The real King's confidant, his beloved, his favorite, conductor of the palace, Sobekdidirenefseneb.»

Further:

»He whom Ptah, he who is south of his wall, loves, and likewise Hathor, mistress of the malachite, may he say: 'May the King be gracious to NN:s ka'.»⁴⁴ (18.)

The text in itself gives us no real information about Ptah, but it shows that Ptah and a Hathor goddess were regarded as protective deities in the region, which is particularly indicated by the fact that Ptah and this Hathor as from the twelfth dynasty had a temple in the neighbouring Serābit-el-Khādīm.⁴⁵ This function as a protective

⁴² Davies, *The tomb of Antefoker*, pl. 10; p. 16.

⁴³ Gardiner-Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, p. 7 seq.

⁴⁴ Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, pl. 11, 27.

⁴⁵ See p. 220 seq.

deity for the said district must be connected with Ptah's capacity as an artisan.

Ptah occasionally occurs in texts from the Middle Kingdom, with epithets which he had not had in previous texts.

1. On a statue found in the pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dahshūr near Gīzeh one reads the following sacrificial formula:

»May the King be gracious and give, may Ptah — He who is under his olive tree, be gracious and give. May he give offerings . . .»⁴⁶ (19.)

Here we thus see a combination not found in earlier texts: Ptah — He who is under his olive tree.

2. On an obelisk from the time of Sesostris I in Medīnet-el-Fayūm (Crocodilopolis) in the Fayūm district, we see Sesostris praying in front of a number of gods represented in different fields. In the uppermost field the King stands in front of Month, followed by Amun, and on the other side in front of Ptah, followed by Rē-Harakhte. Ptah is called: »Ptah, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of Ankhtai.» (20.)

On the south and north sides of the obelisk Sesostris is called, respectively *mrj mnṭw nb w's-t* = »loved by Month, the Lord of Thebes», and *mrj pth rs inb-f* = »loved by Ptah, he who is south of his wall».⁴⁷

On this obelisk Ptah has an epithet which he does not have in inscriptions before the Middle Kingdom, namely: *nb 'nh t'wj* = »Lord of Ankhtai» (place or province in the Memphis area),⁴⁸ and this text is of historico-cultural interest in that it shows Ptah alongside of Month as an important god on a monument from the Middle Kingdom. Possibly Ptah and Month here stand as the head gods for the North and South, respectively.

3. On a stele from the Middle Kingdom, belonging to the high priest of Hermopolis, Ipu, and found at Abydos, we read:

»May Ptah, ruler of 'The great throne' [Memphis], be gracious and give.»⁴⁹ (21.)

The epithet »ruler of 'The great throne'» does not occur at an earlier date than in texts from the Middle Kingdom.

⁴⁶ De Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour 1894—1895, p. 36.

⁴⁷ L. D. II, p. 119.

⁴⁸ See p. 214 seq.

⁴⁹ Cairo 20 025. Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs, I, p. 30.

4. On another stele from the Middle Kingdom, found at Abydos, Ptah is invoked as follows:

»May the King be gracious and give, may Ptah, the representative [successor] of Rē, be gracious and give» etc.⁵⁰ (22.)

5. In the tomb of Amenemhet II from the twelfth dynasty at Benihasan in Central Egypt the dead man is called on the eastern wall:

»He who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris, the Lord of the sky . . . N. N.»⁵¹ (23.)

The epithet *nb p-t* = »the Lord of the sky» so far as I am aware, does not occur as an epithet of Ptah-Sokaris earlier than in this text.

6. In a fragment from the time of Amenemhet I, found at Memphis, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, the Lord of Maat, the King of the two lands.»⁵² (24.)

Here we find for the first time two epithets attached to Ptah, which were to become extremely usual Ptah epithets, namely »the Lord of Maat» and »the King of the two lands».

As we have found there are comparatively few texts dating from the Old and the Middle Kingdoms where Ptah is mentioned otherwise than by mere titles, names and so on, but in these texts we can already discern those essential qualities which also characterize him in later texts, as well as most of his usual epithets.

In the New Kingdom and later, Ptah is mentioned very often in the Egyptian texts, in fact so often that it is impossible here to present the entire material.

In the following investigation I shall try to describe the qualities of Ptah, and as far as possible to discern which of them have been attributed to him by influence from other gods, further which are of such a generally divine character that they need not have been attributed to him by special influences from other cults and finally which qualities possibly belong to him alone and are his exclusively.

⁵⁰ Cairo 20062. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* I, p. 75. For the epithet *š.tj r'* see also Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, p. 513. — *Mitt. Deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumsk.* in Kairo II, p. 57.

⁵¹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, p. 34.

⁵² Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie*, pl. 34 seq.

IV

Ptah as Creator

Ptah's most characteristic quality, such as he is described in the texts, was that of creator. This idea is met with in different variations. Throughout Egyptian literature we find Ptah conceived as an anthropomorphic being, often androgynous, who had begotten and borne the world and also created himself, and who had then brought order into the world. As anthropomorphic world organizer he was believed to produce vegetation. Along with this idea we find in the Shabaka text and occasionally in later texts the idea that Ptah had created the world by the thought of his heart and the word of his tongue. Another idea, which is met with in texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards, but which may be older, is that Ptah created as an artisan. Besides we find already in the Shabaka text the idea that Ptah was Tatenen, the primordial earth, which caused vegetation to come forth out of itself. This view occurs occasionally in later texts, too. It appears both from Tatenen's name = »The rising earth» and from certain passages in the Shabaka text that originally Tatenen was the name of the primordial earth and something different from the anthropomorphic Ptah. From the New Kingdom onwards, however, there was seldom any distinction made in describing Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen, even if they were often represented differently, these two forms being both described as androgynous creative being, as artisans etc.

1. Ptah as Androgynous Creator and Primordial God and as World creator and World organizer in General

We meet accounts both in the Shabaka text and later, of Ptah as a bisexual creative being who had begotten and borne everything,

including himself, and as an anthropomorphic creator and settler of the world in more undefined terms.

Thus in the Shabaka text we see that Ptah was called »He who gave birth to the company of nine gods».²

Moreover Ptah is identified in one place with Nun, the primeval water, and is called »the father who [begot] Atum» and in another place with Naunet, the wife of Nun, when he is called »the mother who bore Atum».³ In another place Ptah is called »He who gave birth to the gods».⁴

Finally, mention should be made of a passage running as follows: »Ptah is called 'He who created the All and brought forth the gods'.»⁵ These words immediately follow the description of Ptah as creator with his heart and his tongue, but to judge by the wording, it is possible that we have here older epithets of Ptah, epithets which had been adopted by the Memphite theologians in composing the Shabaka text.

Ptah is thus stated in this text to have created both as a father and as a mother and to have created the universe.

Again and again Ptah is described in the Egyptian texts as a bisexual creative being (androgynous) and as a creator and settler of the world in general. The following passages may be cited.

1. In the Ptah hymn in Berlin (Pap. Berlin 3048. New Kingdom) much space is devoted to descriptions of Ptah's, or as he is called alternatively, Ptah-Tatenen's, creative power. On pl. 3, 2 we read:

»Thou [Ptah-Tatenen] art the one» [possibly: — »Thou beautiful one»] »who gave birth to everything that exists and who begot and fashioned things that be.»⁶ (25.)

Here Ptah-Tatenen's different methods of creation, as a woman, as a man and as a craftsman are described.

In the same hymn, pl. 3, 3 seq., we read the following descriptions of Ptah-Tatenen:

»Father of the fathers of all the gods . . . He who raised Nut and [extended] Geb. He who began everything on the

² See p. 19.

³ See p. 20.

⁴ See p. 20.

⁵ See p. 22.

⁶ A. Z. 64, p. 18 seq.

surface of the earth. . . . The Fashioner, the Mother who gave birth to the gods. He who begot all Mankind and created their sustenance of life.»⁷ (26.)

That Ptah-Tatenen is called »father of the fathers of all the gods» seems to refer to the idea that he had created the Hermopolitan group of primordial gods, the members of which were sometimes called »the fathers of all the gods».⁸

Thus in the above-cited text Ptah-Tatenen is described as an androgynous being who had begotten all men and had given birth to the gods, as well as a settler of the world who had separated heaven and earth and created what exists between them.

In plate 10, 3 seq. in the same papyrus, the sun says about Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen, whom he calls his father:

»My father is glorious, he from whom I proceeded, the Lord of Mankind, who created me in Nun. He who raised for me the sky and lifted up the earth for me.»⁹ (27.)

Here the god is described as father of the sun and creator of the world.

On pl. 10, 8 seq. in the Berlin hymn to Ptah, he is invoked in the following way:

»Hail to thee, Ptah! Hail to the gods who came forth from thy body!»¹⁰ (28.)

Here too Ptah is said to have created the gods from his body.

2. In Pap. Harris I, where Ramses III's buildings and foundations for different gods are enumerated, Ptah-Tatenen is called:

»Father of the gods, the great god from the first primordial time, who fashioned Mankind and made the gods.» (44, 4.)¹¹ (29.)

Ptah-Tatenen is thus father of the gods and creator in general of men and gods. The appellation »father of the gods» is one of the commonest epithets of Ptah, especially as Ptah-Tatenen.

3. In Pashed's tomb at Thebes from the twentieth dynasty, Ptah is mentioned in the following way:

⁷ Ä. Z. 64, p. 20 seq.

⁸ Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, p. 55.

⁹ Ä. Z. 64, p. 37 seq.

¹⁰ Ä. Z. 64, p. 39.

¹¹ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

»Ptah, Lord of Maat ... who lifted up the sky and created things that be ... who made the human beings and gave birth to the gods.»¹² (30.)

4. On a fragment from the New Kingdom, found at Bubastis, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, Lord of Maat ... he who raised the sky, who found that which exists and gave birth to all that is.»¹³ (31.)

Here Ptah is thus described as the one who has given birth (in a concrete feminine sense) to the gods and the universe, as well as the one who has set the world in order.

5. On a palette of the nineteenth dynasty from Thebes, belonging to an artist, Ptah is also mentioned with general attributes as the world creator:

»Ptah, Lord of Maat ... who created things that be and made that which exists, the Lord of Mankind, he who made the gods.»¹⁴ (32.)

6. In the introduction to Pap. Hood, a school manuscript from about the 20th—21st dynasty, we read the following:

»The commencement of a thorough instruction of the ignorant as well as the learned regarding all things that Ptah has created and Thoth has recorded, the sky with the stellar system, the earth and that which is therein, that which the mountains bring forth and that which Nun waters.» (33.)

Then follows an enumeration of a number of phenomena, the sun, the moon, the stars, light, the Nile, the gods, etc., and finally a long list of priest titles. The meaning is thus that Ptah has created everything in the world, every natural phenomenon, every god, every human being.¹⁵

Similar descriptions of Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen are found abundantly in the temples of later data at Edfu and Dendera.

7. In the naos of the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu Ptah-Tatenen is mentioned as follows:

¹² Sethe's unpublished notes 13, 83.

¹³ Naville, Bubastis, pl. 38, F.

¹⁴ Berlin 6764. *Ä. Z.* 30, p. 44.

¹⁵ Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, II, p. 3.

»Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, great god at Edfu, who became pregnant with, formed and begot the gods, father both of men and women.»¹⁶ (34.)

Ptah-Tatenen's androgynous nature is here thrown into sharp relief.

8. In the second hypostyle in the temple at Edfu, Ptah is mentioned thus:

»Ptah, he with the beautiful face . . . Tatenen, Khent-tenent, he who raised the sky and made secret its sun-mountain and placed the bas of the gods therein.»¹⁷ (35.)

9. In the north chapel of the first western room in the same temple, Ptah, represented with a smooth head and close-fitting garb, is described in the following way:

»Ptah in Shemit, at the head of Edfu . . . who raised the sky and placed the earth on its *b't*, and who created all things between them.»¹⁸ (36.)

10. In a Ptolemaic-Roman chapel of Osiris at Dendera, room 2, Ptah-Tatenen is called:

»Ptah-Tatenen, father of the gods, great god at the head of Dendera, he who created Mankind and caused the gods to arise.»¹⁹ (37.)

Thus it is said of Ptah in his name Ptah as well as in his name Ptah-Tatenen, that he created both as a man and a woman, and his creating and organizing the world is spoken of in general terms.

Otto has drawn attention to the androgynous character of the Egyptian creator gods in general, for example Atum, Amun and Ptah. In »Die beiden Länder Ägyptens in der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte«, p. 28 (Analecta Orientalia 17, Roma 1938) he writes: »So personifiziert der mann-weibliche Typ klärlich die vor der eigentlichen Welschöpfung bestehenden Urgötter . . .»

Other theological systems, *e. g.* the Heliopolitan, had similar descriptions of the creative qualities of their head gods,²⁰ but the idea that the world, the gods and men were begotten and borne by a god does not seem too far-fetched to have been formed independently at

¹⁶ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 85, pl. 15.

¹⁷ Chassinat, *Ibid.* II, p. 57, pl. 40 b.

¹⁸ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 133, pl. 21 a.

¹⁹ Mariette, Denderah IV, pl. 58 a.

²⁰ See Sander-Hansen, *Ibid.* p. 66.

many places, and it is probable that these simple notions about Ptah as father and mother existed at a very early stage in his history, before he had been subjected to influence from other cults.

An idea which is met with now and then is that Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen had created himself.

In the Shabaka text Ptah is represented as a being who existed before anything else and created himself. In this text Atum is said to call Ptah: »He who begot himself».²¹

1. In the Ptah hymn in Berlin (Pap. Berlin 3048), this idea recurs often. So on pl. 3, 1:

»He who begot himself, before any being existed.»²² (38.)

In Pap. Berlin 3048, 4, 3 seqq. Ptah, or as he is called alternatively in this text, Ptah-Tatenen, is addressed in the following way:

»... Hail to thee, thou who art before thy Primordial gods, whom thou didst create after thou thyself hadst become god. Body which made its own body, before heaven came into being and before earth came into being and before water ran forth. ... In that thou didst put thy flesh together and didst count in thy limbs. Thou didst find thyself alone, a being who created his own place. ... There is not thy father who begot thee, at thy coming into being, and there is not thy mother who bore thee. Thou didst form thyself.»²³ (39.)

2. On an ostrakon from Dēr el Medīne from the New Kingdom »Ptah, he who is south of his wall» is called, among other things:

»Great god, who created himself.»²⁴ (40.)

3. In the second hypostyle in the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu, Ptah is described, among other things, as:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall... , who created in the beginning in his loneliness, when there was no one beside him. Who came into existence by himself and fashioned in the beginning, in that neither father nor mother had made his body. The truly lone one. He who

²¹ See p. 19.

²² *A. Z.* 64, p. 18.

²³ *A. Z.* 64, p. 23, 26.

²⁴ Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca ... de Deir el Médīneh*, pl. 49. Nr. 1088.

made the gods and who created, but who indeed was not created.»²⁵ (41.)

4. In the sanctuary in the same temple there is written:

»Ptah-Tatenen, the father of the gods, great god at Edfu. . . Who arose of himself, great god, who came out of Nun. Who arose in the beginning, when there was no one beside him.»²⁶ (42.)

5. In the eastern staircase in the same temple we read:

»Ptah, he with the beautiful face, . . . he who came forth from Nun as the ruler of *'jnt* before heaven and earth came into existence out of Nun.»²⁷ (43.)

Here we find the notion that Nun existed before Ptah. We shall see that the ideas of Ptah's connection with Nun were fluctuating. Sometimes, for example in the Shabaka text, Ptah was identified with Nun and sometimes as is the case in the above-cited Edfu texts and many other texts he was considered to have come out from, or created out of, Nun.

6. In the pronaos in the Ptolemaic-Roman temple at Dendera Ptah is called:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall . . . Tatenen, the oldest of the Primordial gods, the first primordial god, who created that which exists and after whose coming into existence everything else came into being.»²⁸ (44.)

In some cases it is Ptah-Tatenen who is described as a primordial god, but in some cases Ptah in such descriptions has the name »Ptah, he who is south of his wall» or »Ptah, he with the beautiful face».

The principal gods in the different religious systems were almost always regarded as primordial beings and ancient gods who existed before anything else and were not created by any other. We see this in the case of Atum in the Pyramid texts. In Pyr. 1587 b—c Atum is addressed thus:

»Hail to thee, Scarab, who came into existence of itself.
Thou art lofty in thy name '*'k'*.'»²⁹

²⁵ Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou II*, p. 37, pl. 40 d.

²⁶ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 85, pl. 15.

²⁷ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 574, pl. 38 r.

²⁸ Brugsch, *Thes.* p. 763.

²⁹ Sethe, *Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte II*, p. 344.

In a hymn to Amun in a papyrus in Leyden from the time of Ramses II, Amun is called, among other things:

2, 3: »He who fashioned himself»³⁰ . . .

4, 9: »First coming into being at the First Occasion, Amon who came into existence at the beginning none knoweth the form of his emergence. No god came into being before him. There was no other god with him, that he might tell[?] his shapes. He had no mother for whom his name was made. He had no father who begot him. »He who says: 'I am one who shaped his own egg',^b Force[?] mysterious of births, creating his beauties. . . . Coming into existence by himself: all gods were created after he began to be.»³¹

Kees points out the fact that local gods often came to be regarded as primordial gods, but he places this phenomenon in a historical scheme of evolution, which, following Sethe, he works out from the local god to the universal god, the latter with features of the god of the sky, of the world organizer, and of the primordial god.³² This suggested development is, however, disputable.³³

Sander-Hansen mentions that the designation of Ptah as primordial god and organizer of cosmos shows a marked resemblance to ideas about the Heliopolitan principal god, and suggests hypothetically that the Memphite theology may have been taken over from Heliopolis.³⁴ The idea that the head god of a district had organized cosmos, seems, however, so easy to hit upon, that it is not necessary to suppose that it was taken from some other theology. Further, the idea that Ptah was alone in the beginning and created himself seems naturally connected with the other qualities of world creator and world organizer proper to him, and it also seems to be of a type which may arise in several places independently.

Sander-Hansen points out that the name of the Memphite principal god in his cosmogonic rôle often was Ptah-Tatenen.³⁵

³⁰ A. Z. 42, p. 19 seq.

³¹ A. Z. 42, p. 32 seq. Gardiner's translation except passage a—b.

³² Kees, Götterglaube, p. 143 seq.

³³ See p. 263 seqq.

³⁴ Sander-Hansen, *Ibid.*, p. 65 seq.

³⁵ Sander-Hansen, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

To this it should be added that most texts where Ptah is described as creating and organizing the world, and where he is described as a primordial god who created himself, are from the New Kingdom or later, when the name Ptah-Tatenen was a usual name of the principal god of Memphis in most of his functions, for instance, as a King, as an artisan, as a god of destiny etc. It seems that in the Shabaka text we can discern among others two ideas of the Memphite god described there, sometimes called Ptah, sometimes Tatenen, one the idea of the god Ptah conceived anthropomorphically, and the other the idea of the primordial land conceived as something impersonal, Tatenen, which caused things to come out of itself. It seems likely to me that the cosmogonic quality and the quality of primordial god, who had begotten or borne himself, characteristic of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen, originally belonged to the anthropomorphically conceived Ptah and not to Tatenen.

When Ptah had created the world he did not cease to care for it, but he took care of the creatures on earth by producing vegetation.

De Buck thinks that Ptah was given this quality because he was identified with Tatenen, the primordial earth. He thinks that the rôle of vegetation god did not fit in with Ptah, who was conceived as an artist and a smith.³⁶

De Buck disregards, however, the general rôle of world creator and world organizer proper to Ptah, which fits in well with the idea that he kept the world alive by producing crops. As a matter of fact we can make out the following regarding Ptah's and Ptah-Tatenen's relations to vegetation:

The thought is found in the Shabaka text that (Ptah-)Tatenen let the crops grow out of his body because he was the earth, and this idea recurs occasionally in later texts also.³⁷

Along with this thought one also finds in the Shabaka text the idea that Ptah as an anthropomorphic being brought forth with his word the so-called Kas and Hemsut, who in their turn brought forth all nourishment and all food.³⁸ Kas and Hemsut were regarded as beings whose special care was the continual existence of sustenance

³⁶ De Buck, *De egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oerhevel*, p. 52.

³⁷ See p. 58.

³⁸ See p. 21.

and who were guardian spirits.³⁹ They are mentioned in the Pyramid texts, which are full of Heliopolitan lines of thought, as guardian gods for the King.⁴⁰ It is possible that the idea that Ptah through the agency of Kas and Hemsut brought forth vegetation is one of the speculations of Heliopolitan inspiration of which the Shabaka text is full.

From the time of the New Kingdom onwards, there are many texts relating how Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen as an anthropomorphic being takes constant care to bring the crops forth, among other ways by letting the rain come, and how he gives Mankind its food. The following texts may be cited as examples:

1. In the hymn to Ptah in Berlin (Pap. Berlin 3048) Ptah, or as he is named alternatively, Ptah-Tatenen is called:

3, 9: »He who founded the two lands, the mountains, and the foreign lands and lets them grow green by means of the water which comes from the sky.»

4, 1: »Lord of nourishment, who gives food to whom he will.»⁴¹ (45.)

8, 4: »He who lets Nun climb up to the sky [= brings forth the rain], who lets the water come down upon the mountains in order to keep alive the other human beings [= those who do not have the Nile] in his name: 'The creator of Life'.»⁴² (46.)

In these cases Ptah is described as the anthropomorphic world creator and world organizer who cares for the living beings by producing vegetation.

2. On Ramses II's big stele in Abusimbel, dedicated to Ptah-Tatenen, this god says to the King:

»I give thee a great Nile, and the two lands are united for thee with riches, nourishment, wonderful provisions, and food in all the places where thou goest. I give thee crops to provide for the two lands at all times. Their . . . are as the sand upon the shore and their barns reach up

³⁹ See *e. g.* Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 61. — Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 103 seq.

⁴⁰ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 103, note 5.

⁴¹ *A. Z.* 64, p. 21 seq.

⁴² *A. Z.* 64, p. 31 seq.

to the sky and their piles of grain are as high as mountains.»⁴³ (47.)

3. In Pap. Harris I, which describes Ramses III's good deeds in behalf of Egypt's leading gods and also contains songs in their praise, the following, among other things, is addressed to Ptah-Tatenen:

»He who lets the throat breathe and gives air to every nose. Who with his food keeps all Mankind alive.»⁴⁴ (46, 6.) (48.)

4. In a funerary inscription in Sedment from the New Kingdom Ptah is called:

»Ptah, who exists throughout eternity and everlastingness. . . . who gives food as he will.»⁴⁵ (49.)

5. On a Ramesside pillar in the hypostyle in the Amun temple in Karnak it is said of Ptah:

»Ptah, . . . who keeps everybody alive with his food, every day.»⁴⁶ (50.)

6. On an amulet from the nineteenth dynasty, now in Cairo, and probably of Memphite origin, there is a series of nine figures of Ptah in shrines, all with smooth heads and close-fitting garments, and there is an inscription which runs:

»Homage to thee, Ptah-Tatenen, Lord of Offerings, who art in the Tenent-house, who causest heaven[?] to abound in food, who providest for the Living Soul that is in Memphis, thou in whose mouth is food-creating utterance and whose hands are on abundant fare, that thou mayest enrich men and gods, who comest forth with[?] all good things at all thy times of rising!»⁴⁷ (51.)

The god is called Ptah-Tatenen, although he is not depicted as Tatenen.

Many of the texts quoted above are not very different from others

⁴³ L. D. III, pl. 194.

⁴⁴ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Petrie-Brunton, Sedment II, pl. 69.

⁴⁶ Sethe's unpublished notes 19, 70/71.

⁴⁷ A. S. A. 29, p. 131, pl. 1. Gunn's translation. — It should be noted that Ptah-Tatenen is here addressed as the sun, a quality which was certainly not one of his primary ones.

which one encounters in New Kingdom hymns to other gods. The excerpt quoted above from Papyrus Berlin 3048, 8, 4 closely resembles a passage in the great hymn to Aton in Eje's tomb at El Amarna, in which Aton is described in the following way:

»All the remote, foreign, mountainous countries, thou dost create their means of living, for thou didst set the Nile in the sky, and it comes down on them and it forms a water on the mountains like the ocean.»⁴⁸

In other hymns from the New Kingdom, too, dedicated to creating and world-ordering gods such as Amun and Osiris, one finds similar expressions. These expressions belonged to the hymn style of the period and were the prevalent terms in which one described the great gods. The fact that Ptah is described as a god giving vegetation in words similar to those used about many other gods does not, however, necessarily indicate that Ptah originally acquired this characteristic through the influence of other gods. The quality of caring for the creatures on earth by creating vegetation is most suitable for all creating and world-ordering gods, and it may therefore have been attributed to Ptah, Amun, Aton, Osiris and other gods independently of one another and without their having had to exert influence on one another from the beginning.

Thus it is a fact that side by side with the idea of Ptah, Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen as the earth that lets the crops grow forth out of itself, an idea evidently from the beginning connected with the conception Tatenen = »The rising earth», there was a belief in Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen as producer of vegetation in his quality of anthropomorphic world creator and world organizer. I do not think that this last idea had any connection with the idea of Tatenen as the »rising earth».

2. Ptah as Creator with his Heart and his Tongue

The notion predominant in the Shabaka text, that Ptah had created the world by the thought of his heart and the word of his tongue is very rarely met with, and similar thoughts are also very uncommon about other Egyptian gods.

⁴⁸ Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, p. 95.

Gardiner has shown that there are certain resemblances between the doctrine of Ptah as a creator with his heart and his tongue, and the conceptions Sia = »Understanding» and Hu = »Utterance», occurring in certain Egyptian texts, and he thinks that the ideas of Sia and Hu provided the model for the speculations on »Heart» and »Tongue» in the Shabaka text.⁴⁹

Kees says that these ideas of Hu and Sia, which he thinks were originally Heliopolitan, occur in reflected image in the Shabaka text. According to him this is the only Egyptian text where these conceptions are used in a uniform story of the creation.⁵⁰

This wording of Kees is very misleading, however. In point of fact neither the word Sia nor the word Hu is mentioned in the Shabaka text, and on the other hand Hu and Sia occur as creative beings only in texts later than the Shabaka text.

In the material collected by Gardiner about the conceptions Hu and Sia we do not find it expressly stated that Sia and Hu were creative beings until we get to Ramesside texts.

Sia and Hu are two ideas, which one often meets in Egyptian texts, and as far back as the Pyramid texts they appear as gods. Gardiner points out passages 267—8 in the Pyramid texts where it is said about Sia, that he is on the right hand of Rē, and where he is qualified by the epithet »holding the divine book» and where the dead King Unas is identified with him. His name is written with a god's determinative.⁵¹ Also Hu is mentioned in the Pyramid texts with a god's determinative,⁵² but we do not learn any further particulars about his nature, and neither about Sia nor about Hu is anything said in the Pyramid texts which resembles the doctrine about Ptah's heart and tongue in the Shabaka text.

There are texts from the Old Kingdom, quoted by Gardiner, which indicate that Hu meant something like »Command», »Utterance»,⁵³ and Sia seems to have meant »Understanding»,⁵⁴ but in texts from the Old Kingdom there are no indications that Hu and Sia had anything to do with the creation.

⁴⁹ P. S. B. A. 38, p. 53.

⁵⁰ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 228.

⁵¹ P. S. B. A. 38, p. 45. Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 145.

⁵² See *e. g.* Pyr. 1876 a. Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 457.

⁵³ P. S. B. A. 38, p. 50. See *e. g.* Urk. I, p. 38.

⁵⁴ See Wb. IV, p. 31.

In later texts it is mentioned that Sia and Hu had been created by the sun god. Gardiner thus draws attention to a passage in the seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead, where the dead man says: »O ye ancestor-gods,⁵⁵ give to me your hands; it is I who took form in you.» — A commentary from the time of the Middle Kingdom runs: »Who are these ancestor-gods? They are Hu and Sia.» A commentator from the time of the New Kingdom interprets this as follows: »They are the blood which fell from the phallus of Rē, when he was going to mutilate himself. Then there came into existence those ancestor-gods of Rē, namely Hu and Sia.»⁵⁶

Gardiner also points to a very obscure coffin text from the Middle Kingdom, where he reads a description of how Rē-Atum appeared in a lotus and how Hu then manifested himself as a being with great power whose every word had great effects.⁵⁷

In Pap. Leyden I 350 from Ramesside times it is said of Amun-Rē that »Sia is his heart. Hu is his two lips» and the text continues: »he thought out everything that exists, as something that is in his mouth.»⁵⁸

Only in this last text do we find a real likeness between Sia and Hu on the one hand and the heart and tongue of Ptah on the other, but we cannot know if the statements about Sia and Hu in this text are based on ancient Heliopolitan traditions or are independent ideas, or have actually originated under the influence of Memphite conceptions.

As a matter of fact there are no certain proofs that the doctrine about Ptah's heart and tongue was created according to Heliopolitan patterns. It might quite well be an independent product of Memphite thought.

Whether the doctrine about Ptah as creator with heart and tongue was due to influence from Heliopolis or not, it cannot be an expression of any simple popular belief. It is too abstract and complicated to permit the supposition that it had other origins than a purely theological speculation and most likely the belief in Ptah which

⁵⁵ Gardiner has »O ye gods who are in the Presence». P. S. B. A. 38, p. 44.

⁵⁶ P. S. B. A. 38, p. 44.

⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 45 seqq.

⁵⁸ A. Z. 42, p. 38 seq. — Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 44.

probably existed before the Shabaka text, was not so special and theoretical as to admit of such notions.

The conceptions about Ptah's heart and tongue are hardly ever found outside this text. Ptah is repeatedly described as a creator, but it is only occasionally that he is spoken of as a creator with his word. Only in a few texts can we find reminiscences of this idea, *e. g.* in Pap. Harris I, where Ptah-Tatenen is called:

»He who has made the sky, as something that his heart has created.» (44, 4.)⁵⁹ (52.)

3. Ptah as Craftsman

One of Ptah's most distinctive features was his capacity as a master craftsman. It is possible that this idea occurs as early as in the Shabaka text. There we read that Ptah had determined the offerings of the gods and founded their sanctuaries and the text continues: »he had made their body as they desired. Thus the gods entered into their bodies of all kinds of wood, all kinds of minerals, all kinds of clay and all kinds of other things that grow thereon, in which they had taken shape.»⁶⁰

Thus it is said that Ptah had made (*stwt*) the bodies of the gods. It is not clear from the text if he was thought to have made the gods with his heart and his tongue or with his hands, but it is possible, though in my opinion not probable, that the text is to be understood in the last-mentioned way.

As from the time of the Middle Kingdom Ptah often appears as a god who creates with his hands.

A couple of texts from the time of the Middle Kingdom, showing Ptah as a craftsman have been cited above. In one of these texts, found in the tomb of the prince Khetii at Assiut, from the ninth—tenth dynasty, it is stated that Ptah had built a temple with his fingers,⁶¹ and in the other, found in Antefoker's tomb at Thebes, from the twelfth dynasty, mention is made of myrrh and ointment which Ptah had prepared.⁶²

⁵⁹ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

⁶⁰ See p. 22.

⁶¹ See p. 27.

⁶² See p. 27 seq.

In the New Kingdom and later, when Ptah is frequently mentioned in the texts, we find him extremely often described, in various ways, as a craftsman. An expression which is frequently used, in many different places, in such texts about Ptah was *nbtj* = »melt», »mould», »carve», »fashion». The following examples may be adduced.

1. In the Book of the Dead Ch. 64, 8 (A. a.) we read the words:

»The pottery which Ptah moulded on his *btj*.»^{62a} (53.)

btj seems to be a designation of some copper instrument used by Ptah in making pottery.⁶³ This text is taken from Pap. Brit. Mus. 9900, which is of Memphite origin and dates from the New Kingdom.⁶⁴ There are also parallel texts with the same inscription, e. g. Ch. 64 I. e. in the Book of the Dead (Pap. Museom Archiginnasio, Bologna),⁶⁵ and Ch. 64 P. b. in the Book of the Dead (Pap. Louvre No. 3092),⁶⁶ both of uncertain origin, but at any rate from the time of the New Kingdom.

2. In a sepulchral inscription dating from the New Kingdom, probably found at Abydos, it is said to the dead man:

»May Hapi give thee fresh water in a jar which Ptah has fashioned.»⁶⁷ (54.)

3. In a text in the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu, Horus is invoked with the following words:

»Grasp the harpoon which Ptah, the goodly guide, fashioned for the Fen-goddess, which was fashioned in copper for [thy] mother Isis.»⁶⁸ (55.)

The expression *nbtj* is often used in connection with Ptah also in regard to the creation of human beings.

4. In room C in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, Khnum is seen fashioning the King on a potter's wheel in front of Ptah. Khnum

^{62a} Naville, Das aegyptische Totdenbuch II, pl. 132.

⁶³ See Wb. I, p. 436 seqq.

⁶⁴ Naville, Ibid., Einleitung, p. 48 seq.

⁶⁵ Naville, Ibid., p. 55.

⁶⁶ Naville, Ibid., p. 97 seq.

⁶⁷ Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling ... Leiden IV, p. 9, pl. 35.

⁶⁸ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou VI, p. 67. J. E. A. 29, p. 10. Translation Blackman-Fairman.

says that he is forming the King's limbs on a potter's wheel with his hands, whilst Ptah, evidently as a contrast to this, declares:

»See, I am moulding [possibly »sculpturing»] thy body.»⁶⁹

5. The same conception of Ptah as a smith or sculptor, in contrast to Khnum, who was supposed to fashion men and gods on a potter's wheel, is met with in a picture in the Ptolemaic-Roman temple at Dendera, where we see Khnum and Ptah engaged in different ways in fashioning the god Ihi, the son of Hathor. Khnum is turning him on a potter's wheel, whilst Ptah, seated, is sculpturing him with a chisel in his hand and saying:

»Lo, I am moulding [sculpturing?] thy body.»⁷⁰

6. On Ramses II's large Ptah stele at Abusimbel, Ptah-Tatenen says to the King:

»I have moulded thy body of electrum, thy legs of copper and thy limbs of iron.»⁷¹

7. In the above-cited Pap. Berlin 3048, it is said in regard to Ptah:

»He who has fashioned [as a smith or sculptor] all gods, men and animals, in his name, »the one who has fashioned the country'.»⁷²

8. In Theban temple inscriptions from Greek times, as Sethe points out, we often find the statement that the Hermopolitan Ogdoad had been sculptured or moulded by Ptah-Tatenen. Thus, for example, in Theb. T. 90 c, where it is said about the Ogdoad:

»Sculptured [moulded] by their father Tatenen in his workshop from primordial times.»⁷³

9. In the second hypostyle in the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu, Ptah is represented and it is said about him:

»He who arose of himself and created in the beginning.»⁷⁴

Thus, the verb *nby* = »mould», »sculpture», was used about Ptah, both in the strictly literal sense that he fashioned pottery-ware and offering-vessels and in the meaning that he moulded or sculptured gods, men, animals and countries. In texts both from the New King-

⁶⁹ Wb. unpubl.

⁷⁰ L. D. IV, pl. 70 e.

⁷¹ L. D. III, pl. 194.

⁷² Ä. Z. 64, p. 30.

⁷³ Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, pl. 3, p. 51.

⁷⁴ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou II, p. 37.

dom and Ptolemaic times, found in a number of different places, and both in his principal form and as Ptah-Tatenen he appears in this way as an artist and as one who fashions with his hands.

The verb *nbj* often means »gild» and is connected with the word *nb* = »gold», but, so far as I know, there is no text that directly describes Ptah as working with gold.

The verb *nbj* is occasionally used also about the creative activities of other gods, but much oftener about Ptah than other divinities.

Another expression of the same idea of Ptah as a fashioner with his hands is seen in the tomb of the vizier Paser at Thebes from Ramesside times, where, in one place, we read:

»May Ptah, the fashioner, praise thee.»⁷⁵ (61.)

It is occasionally said about Ptah that he created as a potter at his wheel. The following passage may be recorded:

In a text in the temple of Horus at Edfu, it is said about the King that he:

»had created Edfu on a potter's wheel, like »Him who is south of his wall'.»⁷⁶ (62.)

Generally speaking, it was the Khnum gods that were considered to create as craftsmen with a potter's wheel.⁷⁷ The rather rare cases where Ptah appears in this capacity are doubtless due to influence from some Khnum cult.

Connected with the conception of Ptah as a craftsman is the frequently occurring expression that Ptah had fashioned men and things with his hands. Thus, in a text in the temple at Medinet Habu, it is said about Ramses IV:

»One whom Ptah has created with his hands in order to protect the two lands.»⁷⁸ (63.)

An epithet which was rather often used about Ptah was *mš hmw-w* = »he who created the arts».

Thus, on a pillar in the hypostyle of the temple at Karnak, we read a Ramesside inscription where Ptah is called:

»Ptah, he who created the arts.»⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Notes of Sethe 11, 29. Unpublished.

⁷⁶ Slip of the Dictionary. Unpublished.

⁷⁷ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 438.

⁷⁸ Notes of Sethe 14, 40. Unpublished.

⁷⁹ Sethe's unpublished notes 19, 70/71.

Ptah's artistic skill is mentioned also in stray expressions:

1. On a Theban stele from the time of Amenhotep III, it is said about the King:

»[His Majesty] is . . . like Ptah and skilled in art, like 'Him who is south of his wall'.»⁸⁰ (64.)

2. In Ahmes' tomb at Thebes from the 18th dynasty, the dead man is addressed as follows:

»Thou art greeted by Ptah-Sokaris with the hands of all his artistry.»⁸¹ (65.)

3. On a stele from Gebel Silsileh, it is said about Amenhotep III:

»He is skilled in artistic work, more than 'He with the beautiful [gracious] face'. (66.)

»He with the beautiful face» is, as we shall see, one of Ptah's most usual epithets.

Finally we can point to the fact that the great similarity between Ptah and the Greek god of smithying, Hephaistos, was pointed out to Herodotos in Egypt, and that he called the temple of Ptah at Memphis, the sanctuary of Hephaistos and Ptah himself Hephaistos.⁸²

The god Sokaris, who was identified at an early date with Ptah, is likewise represented as a craftsman, as far back as in the Pyramid texts. Such conceptions are found, for example, in the following places:

1. In Pyr. 1958 the following is said about Sokaris:

»He has moulded his [the King's] bones.»⁸³ (67.)

2. Furthermore, Sokaris, in a number of texts from the Old Kingdom appears as a kind of patron of certain artisans. On a picture from the Old Kingdom, showing how ointment is made, a preparer of ointment says, for example:

»May Sokaris make thy scent mild.»⁸⁴ (68.)

This craftsman thus requests Sokaris for help in his work.

3. In the Book of the Dead, Ch. 172, 33 (A. a.), it is said to the dead man:

⁸⁰ Rec. de trav. 20, p. 40.

⁸¹ Sethe's unpublished notes 9, 41.

⁸² Herodotos II, 101; III, 37.

⁸³ Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte II, p. 474.

⁸⁴ Erman, Reden, Rufe u. Lieder . . . p. 47.

»Thou [the deceased] art washing thy feet in silver bowls, in goldsmith's work of Sokaris' craft guild.»⁸⁵ (69.)

Here Sokaris is conceived as a patron or head of a craft guild.

4. On the left wall in room 16 in the great Ptol.-Roman temple at Dendera, the King is seen offering a mirror to the goddess Hathor with the words:

»Take to thee the mirror which Ptah fashioned, the mirror which Sokaris moulded.»⁸⁶ (70.)


Thus, Sokaris is represented here as a craftsman on a par with Ptah.

It may be asked when and how Ptah came to be regarded as a craftsman, and whether this was connected with the fact that Sokaris was viewed in that light.

In »Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter» (p. 182) Sethe writes: »Ptah, der in einem menschengestaltigen Idol verehrt wurde, und im A. R. bereits den Beruf eines Gottes der Künste, speziell der Goldschmiedekunst hatte (griechisch dem Hephaistos gleichgesetzt . . .)» Against this it must be said that there is no text from the Old Kingdom with certainty representing Ptah as a god of arts, and there is nothing to indicate that Ptah was supposed to have anything to do with goldsmithwork.

In texts from the Old Kingdom the only thing indicating with certainty that Ptah was already then concerned with artisans and crafts was that the Ptah priests already then are often given the title *wr hrp hmwt* = »supreme leader of handicraft»⁸⁷; it should be noted that in the New Kingdom this title distinctly refers to the highest priests of Ptah.

There is no large material available for a study of the earliest functions of these »supreme leaders of handicraft», nor of the original significance and early history of that title. Their functions are mentioned merely *en passant* in some historical inscriptions from the Old Kingdom, besides which this designation occurs in the enumeration of titles in some tombs from the Old Kingdom and on Memphite statues from that period.

The sign  included in this title represents a drill for rock-boring

⁸⁵ Naville, Das ägyptische Tottenbuch I, pl. 194.

⁸⁶ Mariette, Dendérah II, pl. 81 a.

⁸⁷ See p. 25.

and had the phonetic value *hmj*.⁸⁸ It was sometimes used as an abbreviation for *hmww* = »artisan» or »craftsman» as well as for *hmw-t* = »craft», which included joinery, the making of stone vessels, boatbuilding, the fashioning of statues, etc.⁸⁹ It is probably this word *hmw-t* = »craft» of different kinds, that is alluded to by the sign 𓆎 in the title $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} = wr \text{ hrp } hmw-t$.

$\text{𓆏} = hrp$, since the time of the Old Kingdom, means »leader», »superintendent», »master» (from the verb *hrp*, »to lead»).⁹⁰

$\text{𓆐} = wr$ may mean »the great», »the greatest», »the chief» and occurred rather often in titles of the type: *wr swmw* = »the chief of the physicians», »the head physician», or *wr 5*, »the greatest of five», being the title of the high priest of Hermopolis, and so on. The title *wr hrp hmw-t* is in fact usually rendered by »the supreme leader of handicraft».⁹¹

Junker, however, in »Die Götterlehre von Memphis» (p. 29) suggests that *wr* in the title *wr hrp hmw-t* should be regarded as the name of a god, »The great one», who might be fused with, or appear in the guise of, other gods, and who in this case appears in the guise of Ptah. The title would thus signify »the leader of Wr's [Ptah's] handicraft» (or craftsmen).

This, according to Junker, would explain the otherwise curious fact that Shepsesptah and Sabu in the Old Kingdom were called both *hrp hmw-t nb-t* = »leader of all handicraft» (»craftsmen?»), and *wr hrp hmw-t*. If it had been merely intended to signify their superintendence of all handicraft, the first of these titles would have been quite sufficient; the second title, in Junker's opinion, must therefore mean something else. Otherwise the two titles, placed in immediate succession, would involve a needless repetition.⁹²

As Junker's hypothesis about the god Wr, though interesting enough, can scarcely be regarded as sufficiently well established, and as the title »*wr hrp hmw-t*» can be translated in correspondence with the titles *wr 5* = »the greatest of five» and *wr swmw* = »the chief of the physicians», the translation »supreme leader of handicraft»

⁸⁸ Wb. III, p. 82.

⁸⁹ Wb. III, p. 83 seq.

⁹⁰ Wb. III, p. 328.

⁹¹ Wb. I, 329.

⁹² Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 29.

will be retained here as a rendering of the title *wr hrp hmwt*. In the cases cited by Junker, the office of »supreme leader of handicraft» may involve a promotion from that of »*hrp hmwt nb-t*», so that Shepsesptah and Sabu at first had the title »leader of all handicraft» and afterwards »supreme leader of handicraft».⁹³

In the Old Kingdom there were as a rule two »supreme leaders of handicraft». That there were not more than two of them in office at the same time is indicated by a text from the sixth dynasty in Sabu Teti's tomb at Sakkara, where a reference is made to »every divine ritual and every duty performed by the two supreme leaders of handicraft», and where the context shows that these duties, normally discharged by two officials, were taken over by Sabu Teti alone.⁹⁴

The *wr hrp hmwt* title occurs during the Old Kingdom only in Memphite inscriptions.

In the earliest texts where these officials are mentioned, their functions are in complete correspondence with the title *wr hrp hmwt* = »supreme leader of handicraft».

In a text in Debhen's tomb at Gizeh, from the time of King Menkaure, it is described how that King inspected the work on his pyramid and we read:

»[His Majesty commanded] that stone should be fetched from Turra in order therewith to face the walls of the temple [presumably the pyramid temple], and also two false doors and a sepulchral door for this tomb [Debhen's] by [the inspector] of the fleet and the two supreme leaders of handicraft and the King's architect[?], who had come . . .»⁹⁵

The next dated inscription where these »supreme leaders of handicraft» occur is in the tomb of the chief physician Niankhsekhetmet at Sakkara from the time of Sahure, where it is described how the King Sahure caused two false doors to be fetched from Turra for Niankhsekhetmet's account. The text continues:

»[His Majesty commanded] . . . that they [the false doors] should be placed in the hall in the house »Sahure

⁹³ Compare Helck, *Der Einfluss d. Militärführer in d. 18. ägypt. Dynastie*, p. 25.

⁹⁴ Urk. I, p. 84.

⁹⁵ Urk. I, p. 20.

rises with crowns» and that the two supreme leaders of handicraft and workshop men should be directed to them, so that the work on them could be executed in the immediate vicinity of the King himself. . . . An inspection of them was made in the Palace daily.»

Then follow the words of the King and Niankhsekhmet on the presentation of the false doors.⁹⁶

In none of these inscriptions is there any indication that the two »supreme leaders of handicraft» were associated with the cult of Ptah. In one of them they are said to superintend the work at the King's pyramid and to take part in the conveyance of sepulchral equipment from the quarry at Turra to the tomb of a private man, whilst in the other inscription they are ordered by the King to take part in, or superintend, the artisan-work for the tomb of a private man, carried out within the royal palace.

Not until we come to texts from the fifth and sixth dynasties, all of which may be of later date than the above cited text in the tomb of Niankhsekhmet, is the *wr hꜣp hmw-t*-title regularly associated with the designations »the hem-priest of Ptah, the hem-priest of Sokaris». This was the case, for example, as regards the »supreme leaders of handicraft» Ranefer,⁹⁷ Setu⁹⁸ and Sabukem,⁹⁹ who are believed to have lived during the fifth dynasty and were buried at Sakkara (at any rate Ranefer and Sabukem); also as regards Shepsesptah I,¹ Shepsesptah II² and Sabu Ibbi,³ whose tombs at Sakkara date from the end of the fifth dynasty and from the sixth.

From the said inscriptions on statues and in tombs we see that the »supreme leaders of handicraft» in the fifth and sixth dynasties were often priests of Ptah and Sokaris. In these inscriptions, however, the actual title *wr hꜣp hmw-t* is throughout given without comment. There is no description of the functions of these Memphite men as »supreme leaders of handicraft».

⁹⁶ Urk. I, p. 38 seqq.

⁹⁷ Borchardt, Statuen I, p. 19, 20. — Mariette, Mastabas, p. 123.

⁹⁸ Borchardt, Ibid. I, p. 130.

⁹⁹ Borchardt, Ibid. I, p. 105. — Mariette, Mastabas, p. 157.

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 110 seqq. — Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 26.

² Mariette, Ibid., p. 377.

³ Mariette, Ibid., p. 375. — Urk. I, p. 81 seq.

From the above quoted texts in the tombs of Debhen and Niankh-sekhmet it might be supposed that the title »supreme leader of handicraft» should be interpreted quite literally: that its holders were nothing but surveyors of skilled work executed by order of the King. There is, however, a very corrupt text in Sabu Teti's tomb at Sakkara, from the sixth dynasty, which shows that the title *wr hꜣp hmw-t*, at any rate during that period, might have a sacerdotal significance. We read there:

»His Majesty appointed me [to be supreme leader of handicraft, and to be the sole holder of that office]. The temples of Ptah, he who is south of his wall, in all his places were under my superintendence, although there had never been [a single sole supreme leader of handicraft before] . . . Sokaris in Shetit. Every divine ritual and every duty performed by the two supreme leaders of handicraft . . . Never has the like been done in regard to any supreme leader of handicraft at [any] time.»⁴ (71.)

Even if the emendations made by Sethe in this text should not be quite correct, the text clearly shows that the two »supreme leaders of handicraft», in this capacity, performed certain divine rituals, and it may be inferred from the context, with comparative certainty, that they were associated with the cult of Ptah and the cult of Sokaris.

The fact, which became evident in the New Kingdom, that the »supreme leader of handicraft» was the high priest of Ptah may thus be traced back at any rate to the sixth dynasty.

This raises the question, in what degree, and in what way, Ptah's capacity as master craftsman, which is revealed with certainty in texts from the Middle Kingdom on, is connected with the fact that his high priests had the title of »supreme leader of handicraft».

Kees supposes that it was owing to the proximity of the Turra limestone quarries to Memphis, and the dressing of the stone in the workshops of the capital, that Ptah came to be the patron of craftsmen, and his high priests to be »supreme leaders of handicraft», which he thinks, should be regarded mainly as an honorary title.⁵

We must not overlook the fact, however, that »the supreme leaders

⁴ Urk. I, p. 84 seq. Sethe's emendation.

⁵ Kees, Ägypten, p. 137; 152.

of handicraft» in the oldest preserved texts act as real leaders of skilled work and that they are not mentioned at all in connection with the cult of Ptah before the sixth dynasty. There is nothing to indicate that the course of development had been the reverse; that the priests of Ptah came to be called leaders of handicraft merely as an honorary title. Besides, it seems more likely that the artisans should become priests than that the priests should become artisans.

In my opinion, the most probable explanation is that the title *wr hrp hm-t* originally involved nothing more than what is implied in the term, thus that it was the designation of a chief surveyor of handicraft, and that the master craftsmen who held it were secondarily entitled to take part in the cult of Ptah and Sokaris.

This may have been due to several different reasons, but the following explanations are conceivable.

1. Ptah may have become the patron of artisans because the limestone quarried in the vicinity of Memphis was dressed in the workshops of that capital, so that the artisans must have played a great part in the city of Ptah. This is the view which, as we have seen above, was advanced by Kees. When Ptah became the patron of artisans, it was natural that they should take charge of his cult. It is then possible that Ptah himself came, secondarily, to be regarded as a master craftsman, in view of his close connection with the artisans.

2. Ptah may have become the patron of artisans and the latter may have taken charge of his cult because Ptah himself at an early date had been regarded as a master craftsman. It should be noted, however, that there are no documents before the Middle Kingdom, showing with certainty that Ptah was supposed to be a craftsman.

3. Sokaris might have become the patron of artisans because as a god worshipped at Rosetau, the Memphite necropolis, the artisans working in the necropolis might have adopted him as their special patron god, because they came frequently into touch with him. It may further have followed from this that the artisans in the necropolis became the priests of Sokaris and, in view of the close connection which was established between Sokaris and Ptah and between their cults,⁶ the artisans may have come to take charge also of the cult

⁶ See p. 123 seqq.

of Ptah, so that his character was influenced correspondingly. This possibility has been pointed out to me by Dr. Säve-Söderbergh.

4. Sokaris might have become the patron of artisans with the consequence that they acquired an influence on his cult, because he was himself regarded as a craftsman: as a god who created with his hands. Here the artisans may have seen a point of contact which befitted him as their patron god.




There is something to be said in favour especially of the two last alternatives. We have seen that Sokaris is already represented as a craftsman in the Pyramid texts.⁷ It is indeed quite possible that it was Sokaris who was first regarded as a craftsman and that Ptah acquired this character owing to influence from him; also that the artisans took charge of the cult of Ptah in view of the fact that these »supreme leaders of handicraft», in cases where their other offices were mentioned, were always designated as priests of Ptah, but always as priests of Sokaris too. It is thus scarcely possible to know which was the primary factor.

Seeing that the material is so scanty, we cannot get further than hypotheses; but we cannot overlook the possibility that it was from Sokaris that Ptah acquired his character of master craftsman, instead of the development, at hitherto supposed, having gone in the reverse direction.

4. Ptah and Tatenen.

In dealing with the question of Ptah as a creator we are confronted with the problem of Ptah's relation to Tatenen, »The rising earth», and of Ptah's creating as Tatenen.

In the Shabaka text the god in whose honour the text is written is sometimes called Tatenen, which means »The rising earth».

In the introductory phrases we read the words:  [----]  which Junker renders by: »This Ptah... who is called by the great name Tatenen», taking the signs  to be an error for the name Tatenen.⁸ Further on we read the

⁷ See p. 49.

⁸ Junker, Die politische Lehre von Memphis, p. 20.

words cited above: »Then Horus rose [as King] over the country. He is the uniter of this land, named with the great name Tatenen, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of eternity.» — Later on in the text there is a description of how Ptah created everything with his heart and his tongue, and the text continues: »Ptah is called 'He who created the All and brought forth the gods'. He is indeed Tatenen, who created the gods, and from whom all things have come forth in the form of food and nourishment, divine offerings, all good things. . . . Thus Ptah was content after he had made all things and all god's words.»⁹

We see that in this text the name Tatenen, »The rising earth», is used as an alternative name for Ptah. In one place it is said of Tatenen that food and nourishment have »come out» of him, an expression which seems to hint that Tatenen was here thought of as the earth.

As we have seen above, the god who is described in the Shabaka text is said to create as an anthropomorphic being, but the lines of the text last cited show that he was also supposed to create as the earth out of which things grow. It is, however, important that in both these functions the god is called now Ptah, now Tatenen, »The rising earth». No such division has been made as calling the god as an anthropomorphic being Ptah, and as the earth Tatenen.

It would seem that two ideas have been mixed up here, one the idea of an anthropomorphic god Ptah, the other the idea of Tatenen = »The rising earth», from which vegetation germinates.

In later Egyptian texts the name Tatenen is often used as a subsidiary or alternative name of Ptah in his rôle of anthropomorphic creator, artisan etc., but very rarely Tatenen is described there as the earth which, as the name indicates, he must have been originally. Some texts, however, have come down to us, in which Tatenen or Ptah-Tatenen is represented as the earth, among them the following:

1. On a memorial stele from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, the benefits bestowed on the temple by Tuthmosis I are mentioned, and the courtiers are said to praise the King, uttering among other things:

»Geb opens up his interior to thee [the King], and Tatenen gives his things to thee.»¹⁰ (72.)

⁹ See p. 19 seqq.

¹⁰ Urk. IV, p. 96. — De Buck, *De Egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den*

This means no doubt that Geb and Tatenen gave the King the riches they could produce as being the earth.

2. In Pap. Berlin 3048, pl. 5, 2 seq. the rising and setting of the sun is mentioned, and in that connection Ptah-Tatenen is addressed in this way:

»He [the sun] rises on thine head and sets on thine two arms.»¹¹ (73.)

Here Ptah-Tatenen must have been thought of as lying as the earth, while the sun ran its course over him.

3. In the same text, pl. 5, 6 seq. Ptah-Tatenen is thus addressed:

»The sky is over thee, and the underworld is under thee. Geb is glorious owing to what thou hast hidden, it being unknown what has arisen in thine body.»¹² (74.)

Here Ptah-Tatenen is evidently understood to be the earth, and probably minerals and other things in its interior are referred to.

4. In the same text, pl. 6, 3 Ptah-Tatenen is further addressed in this way:

»The vegetal food grows on thee.»¹³ (75.)

In most of these cases Tatenen's rôle as the producing earth is strongly stressed.

Many different hypotheses have been put forward about the real meaning of the expression Tatenen = »The rising earth» and about its relations to Ptah.

De Buck has dealt with the question of what Tatenen really was from the beginning, and he thinks that it was a Memphite counterpart of the Heliopolitan and Hermopolitan »primordial hills», but the only text in his material which admits of such an interpretation, is a passage in Pap. Berlin 3048, pl. 4, 3 seq., running as follows:

»Pharaoh comes to thee, oh Ptah, he comes to thee, oh God of exalted shape. . .

Thou hast arisen on the land during its weariness, from which it recovered later, being in thy shape of Tatenen,

Oerheuvél, p. 49. — Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 33. Sethe also quotes a badly damaged Sinai-text from the Middle Kingdom, in which, as he thinks, he can read a description of Tatenen as a giver of minerals.

¹¹ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 24, 26.

¹² *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 24, 27.

¹³ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 25, 27. De Buck, *Ibid.*, p. 51.

in thy nature of joiner of the two countries. What thy mouth has begotten and thy hands have created thou tookst out of Nun.

The work of thy hands is like thy beauty.»¹⁴ (76—77.)

Here de Buck thinks that Tatenen is the primeval land itself and that he also raised this land out of the water in the primeval ages.¹⁵

The text admits of this interpretation but not, as being a theological and speculative text, of any conclusions as to the conception of Tatenen at the time when he was first worshipped or when his name originated.

Sethe writes, p. 21 in »Dramatische Texte», that Tatenen was an embodiment of the country of Egypt.

In »Urgeschichte und älteste Religion d. Ägypter», p. 183 Sethe calls Tatenen an earth-god and in a way the equivalent of Geb.

Junker, too, has dealt with the meaning of the name of Tatenen, and he thinks that Tatenen was from the beginning the embodiment of the Memphite land, more definitely the arable land reclaimed by ditching and rising out of the swamps. In Memphis this reclaimed land, according to Junker, was thought to be the primeval land rising out of the primeval ocean.

Junker does not think that Tatenen was in the first place a personification of the land as a whole, since in that case he would be the same as Geb, with whom, according to Junker, he was rarely identified. Junker thinks that the primary thing was that he was supposed to be the primeval land and that he could only in the second place and in a rather figurative sense be conceived more generally as the land giving fertility or riches.¹⁶

It may be said, however, that neither in the Shabaka text nor in any other text is there any indication that Tatenen should be reclaimed land at Memphis, and there is nothing in the Shabaka text to show that Tatenen was looked upon as a primeval hill rising out of the primeval water Nun. The Shabaka text gives us the name Tatenen = »The rising earth», and from the passage: »Tatenen . . . from whom all things have come forth in the form of food and nourishment, divine offerings, all good things», it seems to be evident

¹⁴ De Buck, *Ibid.*, p. 53 seqq. — *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 23, 26.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

¹⁶ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 21 seqq.

that Tatenen was conceived there in a purely concrete sense as earth giving fertility.


It seems to me that the most natural and the most concrete interpretation of the name »The rising earth» is that it was the land which was seen to rise every year out of the Nile at Memphis or at some other place or that it was the name of some hill at Memphis or at some other place. The text quoted by de Buck and cited above seems to indicate that sometimes Tatenen came to be looked upon as a primeval hill rising out of the primeval water Nun, but I do not think that this was the primary idea.

There have been different opinions about the original relation of Tatenen to Ptah.

Stolk writes, in »Ptah» p. 16: »The old Memphite local god *t'tnn*, too, is identified with Ptah.» This view of Tatenen as a local god at Memphis, different from Ptah and later identified with him, is held by Junker and others.¹⁷

Erman, on the other hand, thinks that Tatenen was a name for Ptah invented by the priests at Memphis.¹⁸

The name Tatenen does not occur in any text from the Old Kingdom other than the Shabaka text, and there the notion Tatenen is already so intimately linked up with Ptah that it is impossible to make out whether Tatenen was originally a god different from Ptah, and later identified with Ptah, or a name given to Ptah in one of his functions.

There is one fact which seems to indicate that Tatenen was not merely another name for Ptah, but was at an early date a god separate from Ptah and represented in a different way — the fact that in Egyptian texts the name of Tatenen was often followed by a god-image of an appearance quite different from that of Ptah, viz.  This sign shows a sitting god with the beard of a god, and on his head a feather-crown made up of two maat-feathers on rams' horns. The god often holds a scourge in front of him. Also in the Shabaka text, in a copy from Ethiopic times, the name of Tatenen is determined in one place by a god-image of this appearance. This may be an addition made in Ethiopic times and may not have occurred in the original text. It seems, however, to be apparent from some texts on coffins from Assiut that this way of representing Tatenen is met with

¹⁷ Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 21.

¹⁸ Erman, Die Religion der Ägypter, p. 89.

at least from the Middle Kingdom onwards. There we often find *t'-tm* = »the whole country», and *t'-wj-tm-wj* = »the two countries altogether», and *t'-nn* = »this country», mentioned as gods who are asked for offerings.¹⁹ As de Buck points out,²⁰ these gods must be deifications of the country. In the last case there is an apparent resemblance to the name of Tatenen, and the determinative very much resembles the sign which usually follows the name of Tatenen. This may indicate that Tatenen was worshipped in that shape as early as in the Middle Kingdom.

From the New Kingdom onwards Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen was often represented as the god-image which usually determines the name of Tatenen, and not in Ptah's usual shape.

This distinction, which was made between the shape of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen, is probably due to the fact that, even at an early date, Ptah and Tatenen were different gods. It is impossible to decide, however, whether Tatenen was originally a god who was identified with Ptah, or whether the development was rather that one of Ptah's functions was detached and deified, a cult being devoted to it under the name of Tatenen.

It is by no means certain that Tatenen was a Memphite local god, or the embodiment of the Memphite land, or some land or hill visible just at Memphis. Sethe has pointed out that the feather crown characteristic of Tatenen enters as an element into the coat of arms of the Thinitic province and its capital This (Egypt. *tnj*), and he has shown the resemblances between the name of this capital and the name of Tatenen.²¹ It is quite possible that Tatenen was from the beginning a Thinitic god, *e. g.* the land which was seen to rise out of the Nile at This or some deified hill at This. This god might have been transferred to Memphis in connection with the union of Egypt emanating from This and might have been identified at Memphis with Ptah, who was probably indigenous there.²²

¹⁹ See *e. g.* A. S. A. 23, p. 19. A. S. A. 34, p. 52.

²⁰ De Buck, *Ibid.* p. 59, note 2.

²¹ Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 34 seq.

²² I do not share the view of Kees (*Götterglaube*, p. 345, note 3) that Tatenen was only a variant appellation of the old Memphite local god Khenttatenen, »He who is at the head of 'The elevated place'». (See p. 217 seq.) Tatenen and Khenttatenen are in my opinion two gods of different origin.

It was mentioned above that the conceptions Ptah and Tatenen are so mixed up in the Shabaka text that we can hardly discern Tatenen's primary quality of being an earth-god. This became still more the case in later texts. From the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the New Kingdom there are not many texts mentioning Tatenen or Ptah-Tatenen, but from Ramesside times onwards these names occurred frequently. The Ramessides let a triad represent the Egyptian gods, a triad consisting of Amun-Rē, Rē-Harakhte and Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen.²³ The texts from that time often call the head god of Memphis Ptah-Tatenen instead of Ptah and the names Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen could sometimes be used without discrimination.²⁴ When Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen was depicted it was nearly always as a man with a feather crown, a bent beard and a kilt. Also after Ramesside times Ptah-Tatenen was often represented and invoked.

Judging by available texts and representations it seems to me that the head god of Memphis came to be called now Ptah, represented with a smooth head and a tight-fitting garb, now Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen, depicted with a feather crown on his head and a kilt, but that excepting the few cases when Tatenen appears in his primary rôle of the producing earth, these gods were not looked upon as different with regard to their qualities. We saw above that both Ptah in his shape with a smooth head and a tight-fitting garb and Ptah-Tatenen with the feather crown were described as world-creating gods, primeval gods and craftsmen, and we shall see that both were described as gods of destiny, Kings and helpers of the dead. Especially in certain times, *e. g.* Ramesside times, the name Ptah-Tatenen was popular as a variant-name for the head god at Memphis in all his aspects and Ptah-Tatenen with his feather crown was represented parallelly with Ptah in his primary shape as two ways of representing the same god, the head god of Memphis. The cause for the predilection of the form Ptah-Tatenen in Ramesside times can simply be that by using the double name Ptah-Tatenen for the head god in Memphis a parallelism was obtained with the names of the head gods in Heliopolis and Thebes, Rē-Harakhte and Amun-Rē. In this

²³ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 379.

²⁴ See *e. g.* in Pap. Harris I. Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 49 seqq.

way there was brought about a conformity between the names of the gods of the state-triad.

Sethe²⁵ and Sander-Hansen²⁶ hold that Tatenen was a subsidiary name specially given to Ptah in his cosmic (Sander-Hansen: cosmogonic) rôle, but I do not believe this was the case. It seems more probable that from being a designation for the earth, Tatenen developed into a variant-name for Ptah in all his functions.

We have seen that Ptah was looked upon as a creator, both as a begetter and a mother, further as a creator with his heart and his tongue, and as a craftsman, and that he was also described as a creator in more general terms. In some cases he was looked upon as a creator in his capacity of the earth.

It is probable that the idea of Ptah's creating with his heart and his tongue was a comparatively late phenomenon in his history, and it is possible that the idea of his creating as a craftsman is also secondary, due perhaps to influences from Sokaris or to local circumstances in Memphis.

²⁵ Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 183.

²⁶ Sander-Hansen, *Ægyptiske Forestillinger om Verdens Skabelse*, p. 66.

Ptah as a God of Destiny

In the Shabaka text we meet with Ptah as a god who dispenses good and evil, and who metes out time.

Mention is made there of the different fate of »him who does that which is loved» and »him who does that which is abhorred», and it is stated that the god gives life unto the »peaceful man» and death to the »wrongdoer».¹

Ptah is also said to be »the Lord of the years» (☩ {{{}).²

Thus, according to this ancient text, Ptah is the one who distributes good and evil among Mankind, on the principle: good to the good and evil to the wicked.

The text refers to the just dispensation of good and evil during the life of men, not mentioning what happens to the peaceful man or the wrongdoer after death.

The idea of Ptah as a dispenser of good and evil in the world recurs in later Egyptian texts. Pap. Berlin 3048, 12, 1 seq., for example, contains the following characterization of Ptah:

»He who has smitten Injustice and brought to nought the liars.»³ (78.)

Ptah is thus regarded here as the just judge who punishes evil-doers.

In the same papyrus, pl. 4, 1, Ptah is called:

»he who gives food to the one whom he loves.»⁴ (79.)

¹ See p. 21.

² See p. 22.

³ Ä. Z. 64, p. 41.

⁴ Ä. Z. 64, p. 21.

And in the same text pl. 9, 11 a he is called:

»the soul of the Lord of the years, who gives life to the one whom he loves[?].»⁵ (80.)

The two last passages might seem to indicate that Ptah quite arbitrarily dispensed his grace to those whom he »loved». In reality, however, these texts probably implied that Ptah gave life and sustenance to those who were upright towards their fellow-men and faithful towards the god himself (for example, with prayers and offerings), and that it was those whom the god loved.

There is a stele from the nineteenth dynasty, found at the workmen's settlement at Dēr el Medīne, where a man named Neferabu says:

»I am a man who has sworn falsely by Ptah, the Lord of Maat and he has caused me to see darkness by day [to become blind]. . . . Beware of Ptah, the Lord of Maat, he does not overlook any guilt in any man, etc.»⁶ (85.)

This text is included in a series of religious texts from the New Kingdom, found at the same place, Dēr el Medīne, and devoted to different gods, such as Amun, Mert Seger and Ptah. A feature which these texts have in common is that they express the sense of guilt and penitence towards the gods in a way which was not consonant with Egyptian usage. It would carry us too far to enter into the question as to the reason for this departure from the Egyptian custom of portraying oneself and representing one's actions — at any rate in writing —, in the form of »ideal biographies»⁷: whether it was due to Semitic influences⁸ or perhaps to the fact that those who gave expression to such a sense of guilt were living in such low social conditions that they either did not know, or paid no regard to, the requirements of custom in this case.⁹ The last explanation, however, does not seem convincing.

⁵ Ä. Z. 64, p. 35, seq. Possibly: »who gives the life he loves.» The text has: *djj 'nh mr.n.f.*

⁶ See p. 70 seq.

⁷ See Spiegel, *Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion*, p. 25 seq.

⁸ See e. g. Gunn in *J. E. A.* 3, p. 93.

⁹ See Säve-Söderbergh, *Egyptisk egenart*, p. 124, seqq.

It is of interest that Ptah, as in the Shabaka text, is considered in this text to be the dispenser of good and evil to Mankind and, as in that text, is believed to act according to principles of justice.

Ptah, as we shall see¹⁰ — at any rate from the time of the New Kingdom —, was like many other gods, considered to be *nb m^r.t*, *i. e.* »Lord of Maat«, an expression where *m^r.t* had the significance »the right«, »the true«, or the like. The expression had presumably a manifold significance, but, as many investigators have pointed out, it probably implied among other things that the god or King in question was a just judge and dispenser of rewards and penalties.¹¹ That the expression in certain cases is to be so interpreted, may be inferred from Neferabus stele, where Ptah so demonstratively is repeatedly called »Lord of Maat«, in close connection with emphasis on his justice.

There are no texts describing Ptah as a dispenser of rewards and punishments in the capacity of judge of the dead. This may be due to the fact that the idea of the judgment in the Kingdom of Death was not developed seriously until towards the end of the Old Kingdom¹² and was then closely connected with Rē, who at that time played an incomparably greater rôle in Egypt than Ptah.

The idea of the god as a dispenser of rewards and punishments among men occurred at a very early date in Egypt: it was also applied to gods other than Ptah and it referred both to earthly conditions and to the hereafter.

In Ptahhotep's teaching, a collection of wise sayings or maxims, preserved in a copy dating from the Middle Kingdom, but probably composed during the period of the Old Kingdom and thus reflecting ideas current at that time,¹³ we find the utterance: »God is the one who bestows the foremost place.¹⁴ Here it is not mentioned whether the »god« — who, as Kees points out, should be understood to mean »every god«¹⁵ — was supposed to bestow »the foremost place«, that is, a good position, on a person in virtue of his merits, or whether

¹⁰ See p. 75 seqq.

¹¹ See *e. g.* Spiegel, *Ibid.*, p. 18; Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 249.

¹² Spiegel, *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹³ Anthes, *Lebensregeln und Lebensweisheit d. alten Ägypter*, p. 10.

¹⁴ Ptahhotep, I, 229. Anthes, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 273.

he was conceived to act as a blind fate, but the whole tenor of the text is that one ought to act according to certain principles, for then one will prosper and be loved by the god. This, as Anthes shows, is expressed in the concluding utterance: »He who hearkens [presumably to the teaching in the text] will be loved by the god, but the one whom the god hates will not hearken to it.»¹⁶

Still more marked is the conception of the god as rewarder and punisher in Merikarē's teaching from the tenth dynasty, which contains the following passage regarding the god: »He rises [as the sun] in the heavens . . . He slays his enemies and confounds his children because of their thoughts, when they act frowardly. . . . He has slain the rebellious among them, as a man smites his son and his brother.»¹⁷

Here the god who administers justice is the sun god.

Similar conceptions about the god as rewarder and punisher during the life of man are also found in a number of texts regarding different gods after the time of the Middle Kingdom. When the idea of the judgment in the Kingdom of Death arose, it was associated first with Rē and afterwards, secondarily, with Osiris, too.¹⁸

Breasted and, following him, Spiegel, explain Ptah's appearance in the Shabaka text as a dispenser of good and evil as an influence from sun worship, notably the cult of Atum.¹⁹ The Shabaka text indeed shows many influences from the Atum creed, but it is not necessary to explain everything in it as loans from other sources. As has been pointed out here before, there must have been a cult of Ptah at Memphis before the composition of the Shabaka text. The idea of the god as a dispenser of good and evil is by no means so closely associated with the Atum creed that this conception in the Shabaka text must necessarily be derived from that creed. It could doubtless be associated with any god who was considered to be the supreme divinity within a certain area. The assignment of this attribute to Ptah may therefore be considered to be connected with his position as the supreme god in the Memphis district.

¹⁶ Ptahhotep, I, 545 seq. Anthes, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Anthes, *Ibid.*, p. 19. Merikarē l. 132 seqq. Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften* (Analecta Aegyptiaca IV), p. 38.

¹⁸ Spiegel, *Ibid.*, p. 17 seqq; 44 seqq.

¹⁹ Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 43 seqq.; Spiegel, *Ibid.*, p. 17 seq.

A conception associated with the idea of Ptah as the supreme dispenser of good and evil among men is the idea that it was he who meted out the time and determined the length of life. This conception is expressed in Pap. Berlin 3048, 9, 7 b, where it is said to Ptah:

»Thou givest life, thou determinest the years among men and gods»,²⁰ (81.)

and we find it also in all the texts where Ptah-Tatenen, like many other gods, is said to »grant the King jubilee festivals». ²¹ Also the ritually represented idea, taken from Heliopolis, that Ptah inscribed the years of life of the Kings on the leaves of the ished-tree,²² an idea which occurred also in the Amun theology,²³ and which will be dealt with more fully in another connection,²⁴ is based on the conception that Ptah meted out the years.

Thausing adduces a number of examples of similar conceptions regarding various other gods, especially in the time of the New Kingdom.²⁵

Consequently, when Ptah is represented as the time-measurer, he does not differ from a number of other gods.

As to the expression *nb rnpwt* = »the Lord of the years» which is used of Ptah as early as in the Shabaka text,²⁶ this might have arisen from the same idea of the god as a time-measurer, but it is possible that the epithet was a variant of the expression *nb rnp-t* = »the Lord of the year» which was used in the Pyramid texts as a god's epithet, and which probably has some reference to the New Years festival, and to the part played in it by the King.

Thus in the Pyramid texts the epithet *nb rnp-t* occurs in one place about a god named Nḥjj,²⁷ a designation which Sethe, partly on the ground of the epithet *nb rnp-t*, regards as another appellation of Ptah,²⁸ but which, as we shall see, was probably there a name of

²⁰ Ä. Z. 64, p. 37 seq.

²¹ See p. 88.

²² Kees, Götterglaube, p. 380.

²³ Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo 8, p. 56.

²⁴ See p. 212.

²⁵ Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo 8, p. 56.

²⁶ See p. 22.

²⁷ Pyr. 449. Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 232.

²⁸ Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 76.

Horus.²⁰ The epithet also occurs in Pyr. 1520 a—b about a god who is called merely »Lord of Maat«. This passage in fact runs:

»High is the Lord of Maat at the New Year's feast, in that he is the Lord of the year.«²⁰ (87.)

This text, as will be shown further on, seems to refer to Rē or Osiris rather than to Ptah. The text indicates a connection between the epithet »the Lord of the year« and the New Year's feast, and Kees thinks that the expression »the Lord of the year« has reference to the fact that the god was the tutelary god of this festival.²¹

It is possible that the epithet of Ptah »the Lord of the years« alludes to some rôle played by him at the New Year's feast, but it is more likely that the allusion is to his general character of time-measurer.

Summing up, it may be stated that Ptah, like many other gods, had the function of dispensing good and evil and of meting out the time among men, and that the assignment of this character to him was not necessarily due to influence from other gods.

In this connection we have to enter upon the question why Ptah's name often occurs on such stelae from the New Kingdom on which ears are depicted.

In the time of the New Kingdom it happened rather frequently that stelae were raised to different gods and that one or several ears were carved on them. These stelae were often provided with inscriptions, stating, for example, the name of the donor and giving the name, or possibly a picture, of the god to whom the stele was dedicated.

Petrie has found in Memphis a number of stelae, probably from some temple, showing Ptah and, beside him, two or more ears. The stelae date from the New Kingdom, some of them, at any rate, from the time of Tuthmosis IV.²²

The following examples may be adduced:

1) On one of the said stelae we see Ptah standing with a uasceptre in his hands and bearing the name:

²⁰ See p. 179.

²⁰ Sethe, *Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte II*, p. 328.

²¹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 296.

²² Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 7; pl. 8—13.

ptḥ nb m^r.t nfr hr ... = »Ptah, the Lord of Maat, he with the beautiful [gracious?] face...».

In front of him stands an offering table and at the top of the stele we see two ears. Under the picture we read the following text:

»May the King be gracious and give, and likewise Ptah, who hears prayers.»³³ (82.)

2) On another stele from the same place the text runs:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, glorious god, who hears prayers. [The stone was] made by ...» (83.)

On either side of the inscription we see five ears.³⁴

3) Another of these stelae bears the inscription:

»Praise be to the ka of Ptah, the Lord of Maat, with great strength, he who hears prayers.» (84.)

On either side of the inscription altogether twenty-two ears are carved. At the bottom the name of the person who had dedicated the stele is mentioned.³⁵

There are also from Memphis stelae of this type on which we find the name of Ptah without the epithet »he who hears prayers»,³⁶ or where there are merely ears, without any inscription.³⁷

There are ear stelae from Memphis with or without text, but when they are expressly dedicated to a god, it is always to Ptah.

There are also ear stelae dedicated to Ptah from other places. Erman, for example, has published a stele from Dēr el Medīne, partly cited above, belonging to a man called Neferabu, where Ptah is seen sitting in a chapel in a tight-fitting robe and with smooth head, and bearing the name:

»Ptah, the Lord of Maat, King of the two lands, he with the beautiful face, at his great place.»

On the stele four ears and two eyes are carved, and it is provided with a lengthy text, running thus:

»Beginning of the story of Ptah's power, he who is south of his wall, by ... Neferabu. He says: 'I am a man who has sworn falsely by Ptah, the Lord of Maat and he

³³ Petrie, *Ibid.* I, pl. 11, 15.

³⁴ Petrie, *Ibid.* I, pl. 12, 25.

³⁵ Petrie, *Ibid.* I, pl. 13, 30.

³⁶ See *e.g.* Petrie, *Ibid.* I, pl. 10.

³⁷ See *e.g.* Petrie, *Ibid.* I, pl. 13.

has caused me to see darkness by day [*i. e.* to become blind]. I shall proclaim his power to him who does not know him and to him who does know him, to high and low. Beware of Ptah, the Lord of Maat, he does not overlook any guilt in any man. Refrain from falsely naming the name of Ptah. Lo, the one who names him falsely, he breaks down[?]. He caused me to be like the dogs in the street, in that I was in his hand. He made men and gods look askance upon me, in that I was as a man who had done evil to his lord. Ptah, the Lord of Maat, has been just to me, in that he has punished me. Be gracious to me, look upon me and be gracious . . . »³⁸ (85.)

Here we see an ear stele containing a prayer for mercy.

It is presumably a mere coincidence that a larger number of stelae with ears on them have been found dedicated to Ptah than to other gods. There are ear stelae of exactly the same type, however, dedicated to a number of other divinities, such as Horus, Amun, Queen Nefertari as a goddess, and Ramses II as a god. Stelae of this type are mostly derived from the Theban necropolis at Dēr el Medīne, and probably come from the grotto chapels found there, which will be described further on.

The following are some examples of ear stelae dedicated to other divinities than Ptah:

1) On a stele from the New Kingdom, found in the Theban necropolis, we see Haroueris seated with a sacrificial table in front of him. Behind him four eyes and two ears are depicted. It is provided with the following inscription:

»Praising of Haroueris, kissing the ground before 'him who hears prayers'. May he grant me to see . . . the way on which I am going. For the ka of . . . Nebra.»³⁹

On this stele we thus read a prayer to the god Haroueris.

2) Ear stelae were often dedicated to Amun-Rē. On a stele in the British Museum from the New Kingdom we see Amun-Rē, seated. He is called: »Amun-Rē, his mother's bull, King of the gods».

³⁸ Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1911, p. 1100 seqq. Brit. Mus. 589. (Erman); Rec. de trav. 2, p. 110 seqq. (Maspero).

³⁹ Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae . . . in the British Museum V, pl. 43. Brit. Mus. 467.

In front of the god we see a man praying and two ears.⁴⁰

3) On a stele from the New Kingdom, now in Berlin(?), is inscribed the name:

»Amun-Rē, the Lord of the sky», and on either side of this an ear is depicted. Under it we read:

»[the stele] dedicated by Nebmehit».⁴¹

4) An ear stele from the New Kingdom, found in the Theban necropolis and now in Paris, is dedicated to the deified Queen Ahmes-Nefertari. The Queen is seen seated in front of a sacrificial table and a priest, and bears the name:

»the divine consort of Amun, Ahmes-Nefertari».

Near the bottom of the stone we see four ears and the inscription:

»Praising of her 'who hears prayers'. Kissing of the ground before the great kingly consort, before her who hears when one calls.»⁴²

5) On a stele which, according to Säve-Söderbergh, is from Horbēt,⁴³ now in Munich(?), one sees Ramses II worshipping before his own statue. Behind the statue there are four large ears. Under it the donor of the stele, the vizier Rahotep, kneels; there is also an inscription in which the statue of Ramses II is called:

»the great god, who hears prayers».⁴⁴

As ear stelae were devoted to many gods, it is often impossible to determine to which god such a stele was dedicated, as sometimes it has no carving other than ears and does not bear the name of any god. In such cases inferences may be drawn from the circumstances in which the stelae were found. It may be presumed that Petrie's entire finding of ear stelae at Memphis is derived from the same place and that all of them were dedicated to Ptah.

Now, what was the object of these ear stelae?

Various explanations have been given. Wilkinson considered that the ear stelae were given as a token of gratitude for the healing of ear diseases,⁴⁵ a hypothesis which can scarcely be correct. It would

⁴⁰ Ibid., pl. 43, Brit. Mus. 498.

⁴¹ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 145, fig. 53. Berlin 7354.

⁴² Maspero in *Bibliothèque égyptologique* 4, p. 152 seqq.

⁴³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Einige Denkmäler ...* p. 21 seqq.

⁴⁴ *Ä.Z.* 70, p. 47 seqq.

⁴⁵ Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, New Edition 1878, II, p. 358.

be curious if stelae of this type should have been dedicated to the gods specially after recovery from diseases of the ear and not after other diseases.

Petrie puts forward the hypothesis that the ears represented those of the god and were intended for praying into.⁴⁶

Scharff, with reference to the above-mentioned ear stele at Munich, dedicated to Ramses II as a god, supposes that the ears were intended to exercise magic power on the god represented on the stele, so that the fulfilment of the prayer would automatically follow from the fashioning and erection of the stele.⁴⁷

Erman thinks that the ears indicate that the god had heard a prayer.⁴⁸ He evidently means that the ear stelae had been set up as a token of gratitude for the hearing of a prayer.

Among the ear stelae which are available for examination, there are none containing an expression of thanks for a fulfilled prayer. On the other hand, there are a number of stelae of this type in which the god represented is asked for certain favours.

There are, however, some stelae preserved, similar in appearance to the ear stelae and with similarly worded inscriptions, but without any ears on them, where the god is called »he who hears prayers«, a divine epithet, which, as we have seen, was commonly used on ear stelae.⁴⁹

Some of these stelae have without doubt been raised *after* the god having heard the prayer and express the gratitude of the suppliant. It is possible that the stelae provided with ears had the same purport as these stelae of gratitude. The inscriptions on some of the ear stelae are so formulated, however, that it is clear, that they were meant to influence the will of the god in the future, not only to offer thanks for something that had happened in the past. It is impossible to give a uniform interpretation of all the stelae of this kind. Some of them can have had the expression of gratitude as their main purpose, others the prayer, and in many cases people have undoubtedly wanted both to thank the god who had heard a prayer and — with a piously instructive intention — to persuade him not to cease hearing prayers.

⁴⁶ Petrie, Memphis I, p. 7.

⁴⁷ *Ä. Z.* 70, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 145.

⁴⁹ See *e. g.* Berlin 23077. *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1911, pl. 16; p. 1087 seqq.

In connection with these questions, attention may be drawn to an article by Spiegelberg, in which he states that on some Greek papyri from about 100 B. C. found at Tebtynis in Fayūm, a god named Μεστασύτμιος occurs.⁵¹ In Pap. Tebtunis 72, col. II we read:

της εις το δ (ετος) [μ]εμισθωμένης
 υπό του διεξαγοντος τα κατά [τή]ν
 σ[τ]ρατηγίαν και τὰς προσόδους
 Φαιεῖ και Μαρρεῖ και Ὡρωι και
 τοῖς μετόχοις παστοφόροις Μεστα-
 [σύτ]μιος[ς] θεοῦ μεγάλου μεγάλου---

»Land which has been leased for the fourth year by the person who exercised the functions of strategus and overseer of the revenues to Phaias, Marres, Horus and their associates, shrinebearers of the great great god Mestasytmi.« . .⁵²

In Pap. Tebtunis 105 mention is made of a »lease« of land at Kerkeosiris in the Arsinoe district. The area adjoining part of the leased land is stated to be:

13 - - - Μεστασύτμιος [θεοῦ]
 μεγάλου γῆι και Ὡρου τοῦ Πεκωῦτος
 . . . βασιλικῆ γῆι.

»the land of the great god Mestasytmi and the crown land belonging to Horus, the son of Pekous«, etc.⁵³

Unfortunately, we have no particulars about this god Mestasytmi. He was called »great great god«, but otherwise nothing is said about him.

Spiegelberg supposed that the word Mestasytmi was derived from an Egyptian expression *mśdr-śdm*, but, with reference to the god Mestasytmi he writes: »Der aus den Papyrus von Tebtynis bekannt gewordene Gott fehlt bislang noch in dem Pantheon der hieroglyphischen Texte.«

In studying the epithets of Ptah, however, I believe I have discovered the missing hieroglyphical basis for the Greek god's name.

In a tomb from the New Kingdom at Thebes, Ptah has a name which he otherwise never bears, namely:

pth . . . n mśdr-śdm ntr ⁵³ *nb m³.t* = »Ptah, the Ears which hear, great god, Lord of Maat« [possibly: »Ptah of the Ears, he who hears«, etc.⁵⁴ (86.)

⁵¹ Rec. de trav. 26, p. 56.

⁵² Greenfell-Hunt-Smyly, The Tebtunis Papyri I, p. 298 seq.; 316.

⁵³ Greenfell-Hunt-Smyly, Ibid. I, p. 456; 459.

⁵⁴ The tomb of Khabekht and Khensu. Unpublished notes of Sethe, 17, 67.

Unfortunately, the text is somewhat corrupt, so that it is not quite certain how it should be translated and whether the expression *mšḏr-šḏm* actually is a Ptah epithet; it is most probable, however, that this is the case and that it should be translated »Ptah, the Ears which hear» or »Ptah of the Ears, he who hears». The epithet presumably has the same meaning as *šḏm-nḥt* = »he who hears prayers».

As ear stelae were dedicated also to other gods than Ptah, the expression *mšḏr-šḏm* is probably not confined to Ptah. In course of time we shall perhaps find the epithet referring to some other god, and we shall possibly have the explanation of why *mšḏr-šḏm* developed into the designation of a special god in Greek times who certainly had nothing to do with Ptah, whom the Greeks called Hephaistos.

Ptah had an epithet which was closely connected with his rôle as a dispenser of good and evil and as a meter out of time, but which probably had a still wider sense, namely $\sum = nb m^{\prime}t =$ »Lord of Maat». This epithet became more common than even the epithet »he who is south of his wall».

The expression *m^{\prime}t* = »Maat» is not easy to translate and there is hardly a word for it in modern English. Wörterbuch f. ägyptische Sprache renders it as follows: »the right», »the true», more exactly »truthful talk», »right», »guiltlessness», »justice», »right-doing», »virtue», »right polity».⁵⁵

In the Pyramid texts the expression occurs a few times, but not in very elucidative contexts. The following instance may be given: Pyr. 265, b—c:

»Unas has come from 'The island of Fire'. Unas has placed *m^{\prime}t* there instead of *isf.t.*»⁵⁶

isf.t is a noun, which means, according to Wörterbuch f. ägyptische Sprache, »wrong», »sin», »lie», »evil», »rebellion».⁵⁷ Both *m^{\prime}t* and *isf.t* are vague expressions, and in this Pyramid text both nouns can be rendered by any of the interpretations suggested in the Dictionary without causing incoherence.

⁵⁵ Wb. II, p. 18 seqq.

⁵⁶ Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 144.

⁵⁷ Wb. I, p. 129.

The expression $m^{\cdot}t$ is also found in Pyr. 1219 a—b:

»Grant that Merenrē sits down with his $m^{\cdot}t$ and that Merenrē rises with his $im^{\cdot}h$.⁵⁸

Here too, nothing more definite can be found than that $m^{\cdot}t$ was a good quality, placed side by side with the expression $im^{\cdot}h$, which is likewise difficult to translate, but which may perhaps be rendered by »venerableness».

In Pap. Prisse p. 16, 2 from the Old Kingdom there is a passage about:

»He who does $m^{\cdot}t$ and is free from *grg*.»⁵⁹

grg seems to mean usually »lie», but also sometimes »wrong».⁶⁰ Here again we cannot say anything but that $m^{\cdot}t$ seems to represent something good.

It is not easy to find a text, where the word $m^{\cdot}t$ enters and where it can be decided with certainty whether it means »right», »truth», »virtue», »justice» or some other good quality.

In texts from the Old Kingdom onwards we meet with the expression $nb m^{\cdot}t$ = »Lord of» or »owner of Maat». That was an epithet given to the Kings, e. g. Snofru (fourth dynasty), who used the epithet as his Horus-name,⁶¹ but also to certain gods, e. g. Rē-Harakhte who is called in Neuserrē's sun-temple at Abu Gurab (fifth dynasty):

»Lord of Maat, Lord of the two countries, at the head of the gods»,⁶²

and to Osiris, who is called, in a tomb at Sakkara from the sixth dynasty, among other things:

»Osiris . . . the great god, Lord of Maat.»⁶³

In course of time it came to be used of a great many gods, for instance Thoth, Khons, Min, Amun and especially Ptah.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 185 seq.

⁵⁹ Wb. II, Belegst. p. 27.

⁶⁰ Wb. V, p. 189.

⁶¹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 250.

⁶² v. Bissing-Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, Text, p. 41. See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 294, note 1.

⁶³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 130. See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 294.

⁶⁴ Wb. II, Belegst. p. 29.

Sethe thinks that Ptah, too, was called *nb m^r.t* as early as the Old Kingdom. In support of this opinion he mentions the Pyramid text 1520 a—b, quoted above, which runs:

»To be recited: 'Osiris rises, pure, mighty. High is the Lord of Maat at the New Year's feast, in that he is the Lord of the year'.»⁶⁵ (87.)

Sethe thinks that here »the Lord of Maat» is Ptah.⁶⁶ It is uncertain, however, what god is referred to in this case. It is more likely that in this text »the Lord of Maat» is Osiris, which suits the context best, or possibly Rē, both of whom had this epithet in the Old Kingdom, than that it is Ptah, who is hardly mentioned elsewhere in the Pyramid texts. It is true that here »the Lord of Maat» is also called »the Lord of the year», and Sethe lays special stress upon this, for Ptah had a similar epithet (»the Lord of the years») already in the Shabaka text, but we do not know with certainty if the epithets »the Lord of the year» and »the Lord of the years» had any real connection.⁶⁷

In the Middle Kingdom Ptah undoubtedly had the epithet *nb m^r.t*, because on a fragment, cited above, found at Memphis, from the time of Amenemhet I, Ptah is called *nb m^r.t nšw.t t.wj* = »Lord of Maat, King of the two countries».⁶⁸

The fact that we do not find the epithet as an indubitable epithet of Ptah until the Middle Kingdom, may quite well be due to the scantiness of the material. It is possible that this epithet began to be used about Ptah as early as in the days of the Old Kingdom, at the same time as it was used about other gods and about the Kings, though the proof of this suggested by Sethe does not seem conclusive.

From the New Kingdom the epithet »Lord of Maat» is used consistently about Ptah, in all periods and at different places, and more about Ptah than about any other god.

It was used principally of Ptah in his form with a smooth head and a close-fitting garb, and it occurs very often along with the epithets »he who is south of his wall», »King of the two lands» and »he with the beautiful face».

⁶⁵ Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 323.

⁶⁶ Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 76.

⁶⁷ See p. 68 seq.

⁶⁸ Mariette, *Monuments divers* ... pl. 34 seq.

Kees whose treatment of the problem is the most recent, thinks that *nb m^s.t* = »Lord of rightness [Richtigkeit]» signified that its holder was the equitable judge on earth and in the Kingdom of Death and »the incarnater of this intrinsic legality [Gesetzmässigkeit], on which the state and the world were built in the same way». He believes that the popularity of the expression in the Old Kingdom was due to the striving for peacefulness and lawfulness which was characteristic of this period and the preceding one. In his opinion the political system of the first dynasties left its mark upon religion, as for instance in this epithet at the same time divine and royal: *nb m^s.t* = »Lord of rightness». ⁶⁹

Kees is probably right in supposing that the expression *nb m^s.t* was connected with the function of equitable judge and of incarnater of the legality of the world, which was proper to the highest gods and the Kings of Egypt. But it seems to me that in his analysis of the conception *nb m^s.t*, he lays too much stress upon the connection between internal political conditions in Egypt and the divine epithets, this in conformity with a tendency not unusual in his works on Egyptian religion, somewhat to overestimate the political influences on religious matters.

Whether the epithet *nb m^s.t* had chiefly a legal meaning intimating that its bearer was an equitable judge, or it had a wider meaning, it was applicable to many of the greater Egyptian gods, and was in fact applied to many gods. It is not likely, therefore, that this epithet was so often given to Ptah, from the New Kingdom onwards, because he was considered a more just god or was thought to have a more intimate relation to *m^s.t* than other great gods, for instance Amun and Rē-Harakhte. The frequent application of this epithet to him must be a mere coincidence.

From the time of Amenhotep III onwards the conception *m^s.t* came to play a greater part than before.⁷⁰ Great stress was laid in the texts on the relations of the gods to *m^s.t* and we can read, for instance, in the Amun ritual, pl. 21, 4:

»Thou enterst with *m^s.t*, thou livest on *m^s.t*, thy body is united with *m^s.t*, thou lettest *m^s.t* rest on thy head.

⁶⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 248, 277, 294.

⁷⁰ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 367.

... Thou eatest $m^c.t$ and drinkest $m^c.t$ and thy bread is $m^c.t$ and thy ale is $m^c.t$.⁷¹

Here the conception $m^c.t$ has no doubt become more comprehensive than it originally was and it seems to mean some kind of fluid representing the height of everything good, beautiful, right, strong and venerable that the Egyptians could imagine, which gods and Kings were believed to possess in abundance, and which could be offered up to the gods symbolically, and which they ate and drank and which was transformed into their limbs.

Ptah, too, was mentioned in such phrases, for instance in the list of Ptah names in the Ramesseum, where Ptah's 13th name is: »Ptah, the Lord who confirms $m^c.t$ «, his 22nd name is: »Ptah, father of $m^c.t$ «, his 23d: »Ptah, firm in $m^c.t$ «, his 24th: »Ptah who has fortified $m^c.t$ «, his 25th: »Ptah who has lifted up $m^c.t$ «, and his 26th: »Ptah who is pleased with $m^c.t$ «. ⁷² (88.)

In the first pillar hall in the temple of Seti I at Abydos (hall C) Ptah is called among other things: »Ptah, Lord of $m^c.t$ « and »Ptah who has brought forth $m^c.t$ «. ⁷³ (89.)

These phrases were part of the religious terminology of the period and were not used exclusively of Ptah.

⁷¹ Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I, pl. 21.

⁷² Champollion, Not. I, p. 905.

⁷³ Unpublished. Slip of the Berlin Dictionary 22/35.

Ptah as King

In Egypt there was a very close connection between gods and Kings, in that, for example, on the one hand, many gods, especially Osiris and Horus, were represented according to the model of earthly rulers, whilst, on the other hand, the Kings were regarded as divinities, and were identified with different gods, especially with Horus and, after death, with Osiris, but also with other gods, such as Rē etc.¹

Among the gods who, in a particularly high degree, had a royal character was Ptah, and this was manifested both in his epithets and in the representations of him.

The regal character is already noticeable in the Shabaka text, where Ptah is sometimes represented as an earthly King.

Thus, in line 4 of that text, it is said about Ptah:

»He is [the binder] of the Upper and Lower land of Egypt, this uniter, who has risen as the King of Upper Egypt and as the King of Lower Egypt».²

And in line 13 c we read the following:

»Then Horus arose [as King] over the country. He is the uniter of this land, named with the great name 'Tatenen, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of eternity'. The two sorceresses [the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt] grew on his head. He is Horus, who has risen as King over Upper and Lower Egypt, he who united the two lands in the Memphis district at the place where the two lands were united.»³

¹ See *e. g.* Kees, Ägypten, p. 172 seqq.; Kees, Götterglaube, p. 142; Engnell, Studies, p. 6 seq.

² See p. 19.

³ See p. 19 seq.

These two sections of the Shabaka text doubtless give a symbolical description of how Egypt was united into one land under a single King and how an important place was founded on the border between Upper and Lower Egypt, namely the city of Memphis, which became the capital from the third dynasty and had Ptah as its principal god.

The name Horus here is a designation of the principal god in that part of Egypt from which the uniter of Egypt came, and at the same time a designation of the earthly ruler of Upper Egypt, who brought about the uniting of Upper and Lower Egypt. The god Horus and the King have here been identified.

The Shabaka text, however, was composed at Memphis in honour of that city and its principal god Ptah. It is therefore stated in the text, that, though it was indeed the god-king Horus that rose to be the ruler of the whole of Egypt, this god was in fact no other than (Ptah-) Tatenen, he who is south of his wall. He is said to have risen as a King over the whole of Egypt and to have united the whole land.

In this way the Memphite theologians more or less consciously and more or less successfully tried to transfer to Ptah the nimbus attaching to Horus as the principal god of the victorious part of the country.⁴

All the royal epithets which are assigned to Ptah in the Shabaka text can be explained by this identification between Horus and (Ptah-) Tatenen and all of them must be of younger date than the uniting of the two Egyptian lands, seeing that they imply that the (Ptah-) Tatenen identified with Horus had risen to be the King of both Upper and Lower Egypt and that he had united the two lands in the Memphis district.

We are going to discuss later whether Ptah may have had regal traits from the beginning. Here it can only be laid down that the identification of (Ptah-) Tatenen with the earthly King and Horus in the Shabaka text can very well be due to religious policy and meant to transfer to the Memphite god some of Horus' glory and power.

⁴ An identification between Ptah and Horus is found also in line 53 seq. of the Shabaka text where we read:

»this heart from which [possibly: »in which»] Horus has arisen as Ptah and this tongue from which [possibly: »in which»] Thoth has arisen as Ptah.» See p. 20.

The identification between Horus and Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen, as well as the descriptions of Ptah, Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen as an earthly King, recur in later Egyptian texts.

Sethe points to a text on a rock stela from the time of Ramses II outside his temple at Abusimbel, where the names of Tatenen and Horus have been merged into a single conception.

It is in fact stated about the King:

»He has united the two lands in peace, like his father,
Horus-Tatenen.»⁵ (90.)

The text continues further on with the following statement regarding the King:

»He rises up like Shu and Tefnut on the arms of Horus-Tatenen, in order to found Egypt.»⁶ (91.)

It seems as though the word Horus stands here as a title before the name of Tatenen, with the meaning »King», which was not an unusual use of the word.⁷

In a text in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, pointed out by Junker, Ptah is identified with Horus at Edfu, the falcon god who was worshipped as the principal god at Edfu. There we read the following:

»Long live Rē-Horus, who illumines the two lands, . . . the mother of mothers, the being who created that which exists, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptah, father of the gods, is his real name.»⁸ (92.)

In regard to this text and the above cited Abusimbel text pointed out by Sethe, Junker remarks that they distinctly show that Ptah-Tatenen was identified with Horus and that there is an obvious connection between these fusions of Horus and Ptah-Tatenen on the one hand, and the identification of Horus with [Ptah-]Tatenen in the Shabaka text on the other.⁹

⁵ Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 22; *A. S. A.*, 25, p. 191.

⁶ *Rec. de trav.* 18, p. 162.

⁷ See *Wb.* III, p. 124.

⁸ Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* II, pl. 85; See Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 34.

⁹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 34. — Junker thinks that the fourteenth god in the list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos named »Horus in the Residences», (*Rec. de trav.* 37, p. 74) was included among the gods who were looked upon as identical with Ptah, but this is a mistake, because in that list the Ptah-forms only occupy the twelve first places.

It is not certain, however, that there is any connection between these texts, implying the transmission of a tradition from early Old Kingdom times at Memphis to Ptolemaic times at Edfu, to the effect that Horus was a form of Ptah-Tatenen or vice versa. It is a far cry from the Shabaka text to the temple texts at Edfu, and the fact that Ptah is identified with Horus at Edfu may be explained as a manifestation, completely independent of the Shabaka text, of the tendency observable in most Egyptian temples of letting the principal god be fused and identified with other gods.

The idea of Ptah as an earthly King recurs again and again in Egyptian texts.

One of the most common epithets of Ptah as from the time of the New Kingdom was $\frac{\text{𓂏}}{\text{𓂏}} \frac{\text{𓂏}}{\text{𓂏}} = nšwt t'wj = \text{»King of the two lands»}$.

It was almost as common as the epithet »he who is south of his wall». The first text, where we find this expression used of Ptah is a fragment, cited above, from the time of Amenemhet I and found at Memphis. Here Ptah is called:

»Ptah, the Lord of Maat, the King of the two lands.»¹⁰ (24.)

The epithet, »the King of the two lands» was used as from the New Kingdom about the King of Egypt and could now and then be given to other gods than Ptah,¹¹ but was used about Ptah more often than about any other god.

We meet it principally about Ptah in his form with a smooth head and a close-fitting dress, and it occurs very often together with the epithets »he who is south of his wall», »Lord of Maat» and »he with the beautiful face».

In the hymn to Ptah in Pap. Berlin 3048 we find several examples of the conception of Ptah as an earthly King.

On plate 8, 5 seqq. in this papyrus, the god is called:

»He who dispels the heat for the souls in their pit, in his name of 'King of the two lands' . . . King for ever and ever . . . He who has united the countries, and who has captured the *h'w-nbw't* people, he who has . . . injustice by that which he has determined, in his name of 'Uniter of the lands'.»¹² (93.)

¹⁰ See p. 30.

¹¹ Wb. II, p. 327.

¹² A. Z. 64, p. 31 seq.

On plate 12, 5 seqq. in the same papyrus, Ptah is thus invoked:

»Hail to thee! Come and protect King Ramses IX, as thou didst protect the gods who have arisen in [this land], whose King thou wast. Thy dominion was in all countries, in that thou werst the Kingdom of the two lands.»¹³ (94.)

Ptah is thus represented as the King who had united Egypt into a single Kingdom and as the ruler of the united country.

We understand the meaning of these intimations about Ptah's reign on earth when we find enumerated, in a chronological papyrus, now at Turin, which derives its origin from Ramesside, Memphite sources, the ten members of the first dynasty of gods, who were believed to have reigned as Kings on earth before the earthly Kings. It has as its first member Ptah, followed by Rē, Shu, Geb, Osiris, Seth, Horus, Thoth, Maat and Horus, Isis' son.¹⁴

Ptah's epithet »King of the two countries» may refer to his primeval reign on earth but it may just as well mean that Ptah was considered a mighty power, a King of Egypt.

Ptah thus had royal epithets. In this, however he differs in no way from many other Egyptian gods. As mentioned above, Osiris and Horus were represented, to a particularly marked degree, according to the model of Egyptian rulers.

Sethe also points out that Herishef at Herakleopolis magna had the epithet »the ruler of the lands», and that Atum, as a regular title, had the epithet »the Lord of the two lands of Heliopolis».¹⁵ Many other gods now and then were given royal epithets of similar type.

I do not agree with Sethe, however, when he suggests that the regal epithets of the gods must be regarded as reflexes of the part played in the history of Egypt by the domicile of the god in question. The royal epithets of the gods probably have their origin in a tendency prevailing in the high-cultures, to regard the supreme god of a place as a King or to compare him with Kings. It is likely that these royal epithets originate in the fact that it was thought natural to look upon the principal god of a place as a King, whether that

¹³ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 42.

¹⁴ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 380. — G. Farina, *Il papiro dei Re restaurato*, p. 16 seq.

¹⁵ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 12.

place played an important political part or not, and that a resemblance was felt to exist between the divine and the regal, rather than in the fact that the royal god belonged to a town which played or had played an important part politically. It is possible that Herishef was given his title of »the ruler of the lands» before the rise of Herakleopolis magna in the First Intermediate, and that he was given it because he was considered to be the most powerful god at Herakleopolis magna and like a King. At the creation of the royal epithets for the gods of Egypt the especially Egyptian notion has certainly often been predominant that the gods had reigned as primeval earthly Kings, and in some descriptions of the gods acting as Kings, for instance the description of Ptah as King in Pap. 3048, 8, 5 seq. and 12, 5 seq., this is clearly referred to. Often, however, the intention was no doubt only to say that the god resembled an earthly King.

In the first text where Ptah is described as an earthly King, viz. the Shabaka text, the formulation of the notion about his regal character is influenced by the Horus theology, and all Ptah's regal epithets in this text can be explained by this identification of Ptah with Horus. But it does not seem likely to me, that a quality so characteristic of Ptah both in his form Ptah and his form Ptah-Tatenen as his regality, was attributed to him only because he is identified with the King-god Horus in the Shabaka text, a work of polemic, theological speculation. Ptah was imagined probably as early as that, or came to be imagined, independently of the notions contained in this text about the identity of Horus and Ptah, as a King of Egypt, as a »King of the two lands», because he was the greatest god at Memphis, whose power and greatness made it a natural thing that he should be compared with the powerful King of Egypt.

In this connection mention may be made of the remarkable fact that Ptah is the only one of the Egyptian gods who is represented with a straight royal beard, instead of with a bent beard. It is merely in a few isolated cases that Ptah is depicted with a bent beard.

On the oldest representation of Ptah that has been preserved, namely the above-mentioned engraving on a first-dynasty bowl from Tarkhan, Ptah does not appear to have any beard at all.¹⁶ But on

¹⁶ See p. 12.

all known representations of Ptah from the time of the Middle Kingdom on, he wears a straight beard.¹⁷

The fact that Ptah was represented with a straight royal beard must also imply that he was regarded as a King similar to the earthly Egyptian monarchs.

¹⁷ See Gardiner-Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, pl. 47, 49, 50; Capart, *L'art égyptien I*, pl. 44.

VII

Ptah and the Sed-feast

As from Ramesside times, Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen, in the Egyptian texts, were very often associated with the Kings' jubilee festivals, the so-called sed-feasts. They were celebrated at regular intervals during the reign of the Kings as festivals in commemoration of the first founding of a united Egypt, and with the supposed participation of a number of gods, whose statues were carried to the scene of the festivals, and there received offerings from the King.¹ To this known fact the following can be added.

Doubtless owing to this imaginary participation of the gods at the royal sed-feasts, there are numbers of temple pictures, from the time of the New Kingdom and later, in which the King is seen making offerings before different gods, who are represented as addressing him and saying that they will give him many sed-feasts, that is to say, a long life. It is not always clear whether these pictures are intended to represent the offerings at the actual sed-feasts or whether they refer also to other offerings.

In the chapel of Anubis at Dēr el Bahri, for example, Hatshepsut is seen making offerings to Anubis, who says: »I have granted to thee that thou mayest celebrate millions of sed-feasts, many, many ...»²

In Ramses III's temple of Amun at Karnak, both on the outer wall and inside the temple, there are a number of representations of gods holding out the sed-feast sign to the King and telling him that

¹ v. Bissing-Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, Text, p. 3.

² Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari II*, pl. 37.

they will grant him many sed-feasts. There are such representations of Amun,³ Month,⁴ Nekhebet,⁵ Mut,⁶ Ih,⁷ Ptah-Tatenen and others.

Ptah-Tatenen occurs in such a connection, for example, on the southern outer wall of the temple, where the King is seen making offerings before Amun at Louxor, whilst Ptah-Tatenen stands behind him with the sed-feast sign in his hand and says:

»I have granted thee millions of sed-feasts and hundreds of thousands of years.»⁸ (95.)

Other gods depicted in a similar connection are represented as saying much the same thing; Ptah-Tatenen, in the texts that have been preserved, does not occur more frequently than other gods as a giver of sed-feasts.

The royal titles of Ptolemy XIII include a formula which refers to Ptah-Tatenen's rôle as one of the granters of numerous sed-feasts to the Kings, namely:

»A great many sed-feasts are granted to him by Ptah-Tatenen, the father of the gods.»⁹ (96.)

In the above-mentioned temple-inscriptions, in which the gods are represented as saying that they grant the King sed-feasts, they usually state that these feasts are similar to those of Rē or to those of Ptah-Tatenen or Atum. Thus Nekhebet, in a text on the southern outer wall of Ramses III's temple of Amun at Karnak, says that she had granted the King Rē's sed-feasts,¹⁰ and in a text in room 6 in

³ The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXV, pl. 10 seq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, pl. 99.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, pl. 97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, pl. 107.

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. XXV, pl. 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. XXXV, pl. 99. — Similar representations are to be seen *e.g.* in the rock chapel of Ramses III at Surarieh, where the King is given a sed-feast symbol by Ptah-Tatenen (L. D. III, pl. 207) and on the first pylon in the Medinet Habu-temple of Ramses III, where we see Ramses III slaying enemies in front of Ptah-Tatenen, who says: »I have given thee many sed-festivals.» (L. D. III, pl. 209.)

⁹ See *e.g.* Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* IV, p. 401.

¹⁰ The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXXV, pl. 97.

Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu, Khons states that he had granted the King sed-feasts like those of Atum.¹¹

On the south outer wall of Ramses III's temple of Amun at Karnak, the King is seen making offerings to Amun, who says:

»I have granted thee a great number of sed-feasts, like those of Tatenen.»¹² (97.)

In these texts the King's sed-feasts were usually compared with those of Rē or Ptah-Tatenen. The reference doubtless is primarily to the feasts which those gods celebrated when they were Kings of the first divine dynasty in primordial times,¹³ it being probably also supposed that the King-gods repeated their jubilees when the Kings celebrated their sed-feasts.

The idea that the head god of Memphis had celebrated or was celebrating sedfeasts occurs, in somewhat greater detail, in a number of texts from the time of the New Kingdom and later. The following may be adduced:

1. On a rock stèle from the time of Ramses III behind the temple at Medinet Habu, we see the King receiving from Amun and Rē-Harakhte emblems symbolizing the sed-feast, whilst the goddess Mert Seger says to him:

»I have granted thee Tatenen's jubilee throne-hall and Horus' Kingdom at Pe.»¹⁴ (98.)

The reference is to the Royal jubilee hall where the jubilees of Ptah-Tatenen were celebrated.

2. In a chapel in the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu, Khons is represented as saying to the King:

»Tatenen's sed-feasts are concentrated on thee, for ever.»¹⁵ (99.)

3. In another chapel in the same temple, the King is represented as saying:

»May I repeat Tatenen's sed-feast.»¹⁶ (100.)

¹¹ Ibid., vol. XXIII, pl. 179.

¹² Ibid., vol. XXXV, pl. 98.

¹³ See p. 84.

¹⁴ L. D. III, pl. 218 c.

¹⁵ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 262.

¹⁶ Chassinat, *Ibid.* II, p. 237.

4. In the second hypostyle in the same temple, the goddess Satis says to the King:

»I grant to thee great sed-feasts like Tatenen in his jubilee hall at Akhettaui.»¹⁷ (101.)

5. In another text in the same temple, the goddess Satis says to the King:

»Thy Kingdom is destined, in the scriptures, to endure longer than Tatenen's sed-feasts in his jubilee hall at Akhettaui.»¹⁸ (102.)

Akhettaui here is probably another name for Memphis or some temple there,¹⁹ and the texts refer to the sed-feasts celebrated in the past and the present by (Ptah-)Tatenen at Memphis.

The expression *nb hbšd mj itfj pth-t'nn*, = »Lord of sed-feasts like his father Ptah-Tatenen», and similar expressions were included in many royal titles in Ramesside and Ptolemaic times.

In Ramses II's official titles, his Horus name ran as follows:

»Strong bull, Maat's beloved, Lord of sed-feasts like his father Ptah-Tatenen.»²⁰ (103.)

Ramses III's royal titles included, as a Nebti-name, the expression:

»With many sed-feasts, like Tatenen.»²¹ (104.)

In Ramses IV's royal titles the Horus name was:

»Strong bull, who lives by Maat, Lord of sed-feasts, like his father Ptah-Tatenen.»²² (105.)

The royal titles of Ptolemy III, Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI included the following item:

»Lord of sed-feasts like Ptah-Tatenen, King like Rē.»²³ (106.)

Thus, in all these cases Ptah-Tatenen is said to be »Lord of sed-feasts» or »to have many sed-feasts», and this evidently refers to the sed-festivals which Ptah-Tatenen had celebrated or celebrated as

¹⁷ Chassinat, *Ibid.* II, p. 89.

¹⁸ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 298.

¹⁹ Compare Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, p. 11. — Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 564.

²⁰ See *e. g.* L. D. III, pl. 195 b.

²¹ See *e. g.* The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. VIII, pl. 44.

²² See Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte* III, p. 179 seqq.

²³ See Gauthier, *Ibid.* IV, p. 254, 268, 282, 294.

King. It is not clear from the texts quoted above whether these sed-feasts celebrated by Ptah-Tatenen are imagined as having taken place during Ptah-Tatenen's primeval reign or in connection with the King's own sed-festivals.

But there are texts, which will be quoted below, from which it seems clear that the sed-festivals, as they were celebrated at Memphis in Ramesside times, were regarded as Ptah-Tatenen's own royal jubilee-festivals.

Kees points out that the choice of gods who were particularly honoured at the sed-festivals, varied according to the religious-political situation and in different places. He also points out that Amun was greatly honoured at the sed-feasts in the New Kingdom and that in Ramesside times at Memphis Ptah-Tatenen played an important part at these festivals.²⁴

In this context he calls attention to a passage in Pap. Harris I which alludes to conditions during the reign of Ramses III, but as a matter of fact the striking connection between Ptah and the sed-festival at Memphis is seen already in a section of the text on the big stèle at Abusimbel from the time of Ramses II, where Ramses II, talking of the building of temples, sacrifices and other things arranged in honour of Ptah at Memphis, says to Ptah-Tatenen:

»Your great sed-festival is celebrated.»²⁵ (107.)

From this text it seems as if in the time of Ramses II Ptah-Tatenen was not only considered to be the patron god of the sed-festival at Memphis but was also believed to celebrate the festival himself as King.

The text to which Kees draws attention when dealing with Ptah-Tatenen's important part in the sed-feasts at Memphis in Ramesside times, a text referred to already by Sethe,²⁶ is Pap. Harris I, 49, 10 seqq., in which Ramses III relates what he had done in honour of Ptah-Tatenen at Memphis and says among other things:

»I have dedicated to thee [Ptah-Tatenen] my first sed-festival as a very great festival in honour of Tatenen. I have multiplied the sacrifices to thee in the jubilee festival hall. . . . I have restored thy temple and the

²⁴ v. Bissing-Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, Text, p. 9.

²⁵ L. D. III, pl. 194.

²⁶ Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 136.

jubilee festival halls which had been falling into ruin since the times of former Kings.»²⁷ (108.)

So the first sed-feast of Ramses III was celebrated at Memphis in great state as a festival in honour of Ptah-Tatenen. This state of things at Ramesside Memphis existed at the same time as the sed-feast at other places, for instance Thebes, was celebrated as a festival in honour of Amun, but it is worthy of note that the interest of the Ramessides in Ptah-Tatenen, whom they made a national god together with Amun-Rē and Rē-Harakthe, also manifested itself in their making the sed-feast at Memphis a festival in honour of Ptah-Tatenen.

In the jubilee festival hall from the 22nd dynasty in the Bubastis-temple there is a text inserted among images from the King's sed-feast which might suggest that also outside Memphis and later than Ramesside times Ptah-Tatenen was looked upon as the special patron of the sed-feast. For the text says that:

»Ptah-Tatenen's sed-feast takes place.»²⁸ (109.)

This text may indicate that here at Bubastis, too, the sed-festival was regarded as Ptah-Tatenen's special festival, but on the other hand it should be noted that the context does not show whether the passage mentioning that »Ptah-Tatenen's sed-feast» was celebrated, refers to some special moment in the festival devoted to Ptah-Tatenen in particular, as one of the patrons of the festival, or whether it refers to the whole festival.

Kees thinks that the fact that in Ramesside times the sed-festival was put under the special patronage of Ptah-Tatenen was due to very old traditions.²⁹

It is impossible to make out how great a part and what part Ptah played in the sed-feasts at Memphis during the Old Kingdom. In the jubilee festival pictures in the Rē-temple at Abu-Gurāb from the fifth dynasty Ptah is not represented among the gods who played a part at the royal jubilees in the Old Kingdom. But this may be due to the defective state of these jubilee pictures. Ptah, as the god of the royal residence, was probably worshipped in connection with the sed-feasts in the Old Kingdom, but it is not certain whether at that time, when

²⁷ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 56.

²⁸ Naville, The Festival-hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis, p. 5; pl. 14.

²⁹ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 296.

perhaps an older Thinitic coronation ritual was still used, he was supposed either to be the special patron of the feast or himself to celebrate sed-feasts in his capacity as King.²⁰

To sum up, we may say that from Ramesside times onwards Ptah-Tatenen was one of the many gods who are represented in the temple-pictures as giving sed-festivals to the Kings but that he did not occur in such connection more often than other gods. Further it is often said, both in Ramesside and in Ptolemaic texts, that Ptah-Tatenen had celebrated or was celebrating sed-feasts himself but sometimes the sed-festivals of Rē and Atum are also spoken of. There was no fundamental difference here between Ptah-Tatenen and Rē and Atum. There are also texts which show that the sed-festivals were celebrated as Ptah-Tatenen's special festivals at Memphis, at least in Ramesside times, but on the other hand there are texts showing that the festival was celebrated, for instance, in honour of Amun at other places during the same period.

It is noteworthy that it was more usual to compare the King's sed-festival with the sed-festival of the head god of Memphis than with that of other gods, but this is very probably accidental.

We have seen in this chapter, that when the head god of Memphis was mentioned in connection with the sed-feast, it was generally in the form Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen. This is probably due to the fact that phrases of the type cited in this chapter became usual as from the New Kingdom, and that on the other side it was usual from the New Kingdom onwards to call the head god at Memphis Ptah-Tatenen and not only Ptah.²¹ I do not believe that there is any primary connection between the sed-feast and Tatenen = »The rising earth». The connection of the Memphite head god with the sed-feast fits in well with the general regality of Ptah, treated in the foregoing chapter.

²⁰ Compare Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Neue Folge III, p. 24 seq.

²¹ See p. 62.

Ptah as a God of the Dead

Ptah does not occur very often in funerary texts as helper of the dead. He does occasionally, but not by far so often as is the case with Osiris, Anubis and other typical funerary gods. In texts from the Old Kingdom we hardly meet with him at all in that capacity. We have seen above a text from the Old Kingdom, where it is said, that Ptah arranged the funeral for a dead man, but that is exceptional.¹

A subsidiary reason of Ptah's occupying so little space in the Egyptian funerary literature is no doubt to be sought in the fact that for religious-political reasons he is hardly mentioned at all in the Heliopolitan Pyramid texts, the royal funerary texts from the Old Kingdom. These Pyramid texts, and probably other texts too, unknown to us, of the same type, origin and antimemphite tendency, have greatly influenced later funerary literature in Egypt, which perhaps accounts for the fact that Ptah is not often mentioned in it.

But the main reason for the rare occurrence of Ptah in funerary texts will be that originally Ptah was a god of non-funerary type, and that there were other funerary gods in the vicinity, *e. g.* Osiris, Sokaris and Anubis, and so there was no great need to assign to Ptah the function of helper and protector of the dead.

In texts from the Middle Kingdom onwards we find the opinion that Ptah took part in the so-called »Opening of the mouth».

It was thought that the deceased was dependent on his mouth being opened to be able to speak and eat: eat his offerings and plead his cause in the Kingdom of Death, just as it was thought necessary symbolically to open the mouths of the god images and funerary statues to enable them to eat and speak.

¹ See p. 25.

The way of doing this was that a priest touched the mouth of the mummy or the statue with various metal instruments while he pronounced formulae intended to facilitate the opening of the mouth.² In these formulae we find descriptions of how different gods helped to open the mouth of the mummy or the statue. Such ritual formulae for the »Opening of the mouth» are found in the Pyramid texts as well as in the Coffin texts and in the texts of the Book of the Dead; evidently they were intended to be preserved in writing as a help to the deceased, and to work without the assistance of a priest, by the power of the written word.

In the Pyramid texts it is chiefly Horus who is said to be concerned with the »Opening of the mouth», presumably because he was believed to have opened the mouth of Osiris, his father, after the latter's death, and so was believed to render the same service to the dead King.³

In the Coffin texts from the Middle Kingdom, Ptah and Horus are thought to be in charge of the »Opening of the mouth», and in the funerary texts from the 18th dynasty onwards chiefly Ptah and Sokaris. The view expressed by Kees may be correct, that Ptah was brought into the formulae, because being the god of the craftsmen, he was patron god of the statue manufacturers and so was considered to be closely bound up with the statues of the gods and the funerary statues and what was undertaken with them.⁴ Secondly he might have been associated with the mouth-opening of the mummies.

Thus from the Middle Kingdom onwards Ptah was put in connection with the mouth-opening, and there are many texts to illustrate this, of which the following may be quoted:

1. Above we have cited a coffin text from Bershe, from the Middle Kingdom, where Horus tells the deceased that he opens his mouth together with Ptah, and makes him a blessed soul together with Thoth.⁵

2. In chapter 23, 1 seq. (A. a.) in the Book of the Dead the mouth-opening is spoken of in the following terms, evidently meant to be recited by the deceased in the Kingdom of Death:

² Kees, Totenglauben, p. 52.

³ See e. g. Pyr. 13—14. Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 7 seq.

⁴ Kees, Ibid., p. 53.

⁵ See p. 26.

»Words for opening the mouth of so-and-so in the Kingdom of Death. He says:

'My mouth is opened by Ptah, the ties of my mouth are undone by my town-god'.⁶ (110.)

3. A statue in the Cairo museum from the 22nd dynasty has the inscription:

»Rē in heaven, he makes thy [the dead person's] ba divine, and Atum at the head of the Phoenix-house, he protects thy body and Ptah opens thy mouth.»⁷ ((111.)

4. Another inscription, on an object now in the Cairo museum, reads as follows:

»Thy mouth [the dead person's] is opened by Ptah, thy mouth is opened by Sokaris, Thoth puts thy heart in thy body.»⁸ (112.)

In some texts it states that Ptah has also opened the mouths of the gods, that is: the statues of the gods.

1. In Petosiris' tomb (about 330 B. C.), for instance, the deceased in one place is addressed thus:

»Thy mouth is opened by Ptah, thy mouth is opened by Sokaris, with this instrument of copper, with which he opened the mouth of the gods. . . . o, this glorious god Osiris, . . . Petosiris, who is blessed: I open thy mouth, for I am Ptah, and I open thy mouth, for I am Henu, and I give to thee thy two arms.»⁹ (113.)

The text must be based upon a ritual text recited in the funerary rites.

Occasionally, it seems to have been imagined that Ptah could cure a person of illness by opening his mouth. That is probably how a passage in the medical Pap. Berlin 3038, pl. 20, 9 seqq. is to be interpreted. It is a formula intended to be recited at the giving of a remedy:

»Words for drinking a remedy: 'May thou wake up pleasantly and remain eternally. Every illness that cometh before thee will be driven away. Thy mouth is opened by

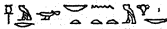
⁶ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch* II, pl. 85.

⁷ Cairo Wb. 421. Unpublished notes of Sethe, 24, 95.

⁸ Unpublished notes of Sethe, 24, 107.

⁹ A. S. A. 20, p. 221.

Ptah, thy mouth is opened by Sokaris, with this copper instrument of his'.¹⁰ (114.)

After that come incomprehensible magical formulae. Nothing in the following suggests that the person in question was afflicted with dumbness, but the expression  may mean: »every illness that is in your face», and not »every illness that cometh before thee», and denote that the patient suffered from dumbness, which would agree with the idea that Ptah and Sokaris opened his mouth to enable him to speak. But the most probable interpretation of the text is that the sick person, whatever he was afflicted with, needed the stimulant, which the mouth-opening was generally considered to be.

Also in some other funerary texts and in other connections Ptah occurs as helper and protector of the dead, though not very often. Thus in the following instances:

1. On a funerary stele at Leyden, from the Middle Kingdom, quoted above, it is said of the deceased that Ptah has made him »blessed in his tomb».¹¹

2. In another text, quoted above, on the coffins of Amenemhet and Sathedhetep from Bershe, twelfth dynasty, which seems to be based upon a formula, recited at the funerary cult, the deceased is told that he is clad in the garment of Ptah, a fact which was evidently meant to increase the dead person's chances of happiness in the Kingdom of Death.¹²

3. Above has also been cited a text on the coffin of Princess Nebhetepti-kherd from the twelfth dynasty, from Dahshūr, where we find, among speeches by the canopy-gods Duamutef and Kebehsennuf and others, a speech by Ptah directed to the deceased, where he says that he has given him venerableness after death.¹³ The text shows that in this case Ptah has been considered a patron god of the deceased, on equality with, *e. g.*, the canopy-gods.

4. It was believed that the dead person was menaced in the Kingdom of Death by various dangerous beings, who could also menace the gods, and that one could expect help from the gods against the

¹⁰ Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, p. 43; 102.

¹¹ See p. 27.

¹² See p. 26.

¹³ See p. 27.

dangerous enemies. Also Ptah occurs occasionally in the Egyptian funerary texts as helper of the dead in this way.

Above a text on a coffin from Bershe from the twelfth dynasty was quoted, with a description of how Ptah-Sokaris, »he who has a beautiful face among the gods», sits in the bow of the dead person's boat, evidently to scare away enemies, and a little earlier it is related that Seth is frightened when he sees the deceased. The deceased, then, imagined as Osiris, is threatened by Seth, the particular enemy of Osiris, and is assisted by Ptah-Sokaris. Ptah-Sokaris is probably imagined in the shape of Ptah, as he is called »he who has a beautiful face among the gods».¹⁴

A similar conception is found in Ch. 172, 9 seq. (A. a.) of the Book of the Dead, where it is told that Ptah strikes down the dead man's enemies:

»Thine [the dead man's] enemies fall down, Ptah strikes thine enemies down.»¹⁵ (115.)

As usual the dead person is no doubt here identified with Osiris, his enemies are Seth and his band, and Ptah is imagined as the dead man's helper. The text, with its use of »thou», seems to be based upon a ritual text.

Also in Ch. 166, 3 seq. (A. a.) of the Book of the Dead it is said that Ptah strikes down the dead man's enemies:

»Thou [the deceased] art blessed because of what is done for thee. Ptah has stricken down thine enemies. . . . For thou art Horus, Hathor's son.»¹⁶ (116.)

The dead person, who, as we shall see,¹⁷ was often also identified with other gods than Osiris, is here identified with Horus and the enemies are not expressly named.

5. In a text from the New Kingdom, Pap. Chester Beatty IX, verso, pl. 15, 1 seq., Horus and Ptah are said to protect and purify the dead man:

»Horus at Edfu purifieth thee, Horus who protecteth his father protecteth thee.

¹⁴ See p. 26 seq.

¹⁵ Naville, *Das aegyptische Tottenbuch I*, pl. 193.

¹⁶ Naville, *Ibid.* I, pl. 185.

¹⁷ See p. 102.

Ptah, Lord of Maat, purifieth thee, Khenttenent protecteth thee.»¹⁸ (117.)

6. Another description of Ptah's relations with the dead is found in the tomb of Ahmes at Thebes from the eighteenth dynasty, where a funeral procession is depicted and the deceased is mentioned in the following terms:

»Thou [the deceased] art greeted by Ptah-Sokaris with his artistic arms [art embraced]. . . 'He who is south of his wall' praises him [the deceased] and those who are in the Netherworld make him blessed, their hands being filled with food.»¹⁹ (118.)

Ptah here appears as the protector of the deceased in his form »He who is south of his wall» and Ptah-Sokaris is also mentioned.

7. Ptah's name is part of a fixed formula, which was usual on the canopies from the New Kingdom onwards, and in which he is said to have ordered the canopy-gods to protect the deceased. The formula enters into Chap. 151 (A. f.) of the Book of the Dead.

Thus, in a text in tomb 40 in the necropolis of Thebes, from the end of the eighteenth dynasty, Kebehennuf says to the deceased:

»I have come in order to be thy protection, and I have fortified thy house [made it flourish?] so that it remains, remains, as Ptah has ordered, as Rē himself has ordered.»²⁰ (119.)

8. Further there are texts describing how Ptah, fused with Sokaris into Ptah-Sokaris, helps the deceased to lift the mummy-mask from his face or to join the mask together. Above a text on a mummy-mask from Meir from the twelfth dynasty was quoted, where the mask is said to have been joined together by Anubis and lifted up by Ptah-Sokaris.²¹

In a somewhat changed form this text has later been included in Chap. 151 a ter (A. a.) of the Book of the Dead. In line 2 seqq. we read the following:

¹⁸ Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Ser. III, T. II, pl. 61. T. I, p. 112.

¹⁹ Unpublished notes of Sethe, 9, 41.

²⁰ Mém. Miss. arch. franç. au Caire I, p. 25. See Naville, Das aegyptische Totenbuch I, pl. 173 n.

²¹ See p. 27.

»Hail to thee beautiful face, Lord of vision, which Ptah-Sokaris has put together and Anubis has lifted up... Thy hair-tress being Ptah-Sokaris.» [Var. »Thy hair-tress being beautiful before Ptah-Sokaris.»]²² (120.)

Here the text has been reversed so that Ptah-Sokaris put the mask together and Anubis lifted it up, perhaps owing to a feeling that this agreed better with Ptah's quality of god of artificers.

The texts cited above have shown the cases where Ptah as a funerary god was believed to help and protect the dead, who were generally imagined in the shape of Osiris.

From the New Kingdom onwards some texts occur, where Ptah has evidently been identified with Osiris himself and appears as ruler of Duat, the Netherworld. But this is surprisingly seldom considering the strong connection which existed between Ptah and Osiris through the fusion of Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris, from the Middle or New Kingdoms onwards, into Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.²³

In the strongly syncretistic Ptah-hymn Pap. Berlin 3048 where Ptah has borrowed traits from many gods, he has also some epithets of Osiris.

Thus Ptah is called, pl. 8, 6:

»Lord of life on the 'Island of Desdes', the chief of the judgment-court in the Kingdom of Death, in his name: 'the Lord of Duat'.²⁴ (121.)

The expression *nb 'nh* = »Lord of life» was generally applied to Osiris, who had this epithet already in the Middle Kingdom,²⁵ and was only later used about other gods, such as Horus, Amun, Ptah, etc.

The »Island of Desdes» is another name for the Kingdom of Death.²⁶

In Pap. Berlin 3048, Ptah appears, then, like Osiris as »Lord of life» in the Kingdom of Death, as judge in the Netherworld, and as »Lord of Duat».

A text on a stele at Vienna (eighteenth dynasty) is also about Ptah at Duat. Here the deceased asks to be allowed to join Ptah in Duat:

²² Naville, *Das aegyptische Tottenbuch* I, pl. 175, 174.

²³ See p. 138 seqq.

²⁴ *A. Z.* 64, p. 31.

²⁵ See *e. g.* Louvre C. 25. *Wb. I. Belegst.* p. 35.

²⁶ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* I, p. 50.

»May my ba follow 'the great god' [Osiris] and may my memory remain in his temple and [may I be allowed to] join Ptah in Duat.»²⁷ (122.)

Another expression which was occasionally used about Ptah, and which was probably also taken over from Osiris, was *m^r hrw* = »justified».

In Pap. Berlin 3048, 11, 1 it is said about Ptah:

»Thou art justified by thy veracity.»²⁸ (123.)

In a text in Room C in the temple of Seti I at Abydos Ptah is called:

»Ptah, the justified.»²⁹ (124.)

From the Middle Kingdom onwards every dead person was given the epithet *m^r hrw* = »justified». Originally the expression refers to the justification of Osiris at Rē's court.³⁰

Some non-funerary epithets will be quoted below, which Ptah probably borrowed from Osiris,³¹ but on the whole the influence from Osiris on the epithets of Ptah is extremely insignificant. The custom of representing Ptah in mummy-clothes, covered with feathers and swathed, which is met with occasionally from the New Kingdom onwards, must be put down as an influence from Osiris.³²

In funerary texts we sometimes meet with Ptah's name in other connections too, though he does not there himself come to the assistance of the deceased, but his power is taken advantage of in other ways for the benefit of the deceased in the Kingdom of Death.

As early as the Pyramid texts we find that the dead King was believed to be able to overcome difficulties in the Kingdom of Death by identifying himself with various gods, which, as Kees has pointed out, was of course made easier by the King's own presupposed divineness.³³ After the fall of the sixth dynasty general chaos set in, resulting in the extreme weakening of the royal power and

²⁷ Imperial Museum, Vienna, 57. Rec. de trav. 9, p. 37.

²⁸ A. Z. 64, p. 39.

²⁹ Unpublished.

³⁰ See latest: Spiegel, Die Idee vom Totengericht in der ägyptischen Religion, p. 43.

³¹ See p. 181 seq.

³² See p. 14 seq.

³³ Kees, Totenglauben, p. 109.

the splitting up of the country in small principalities. This, again, caused the respect for royal privileges to disappear, and so the funerary customs and texts which under the Old Kingdom had been strictly reserved for the Kings were taken over by non-royal persons. The ideas mentioned above, about the possibility for the dead of identifying themselves with various gods, and chiefly Osiris, play a very important part in the funerary texts from the period immediately following the Old Kingdom and from the Middle Kingdom (the Coffin texts), made up partly of retouched or unretouched Pyramid texts, partly of other texts, and these ideas also play an important part in the texts in the Book of the Dead and in other funerary texts of later date. It was a natural thing that special attention should be given to the above-mentioned ideas in the Pyramid texts of a man's being able to overcome dangerous hindrances in the Kingdom of Death by claiming to be a god, as being of great practical value to the deceased.

Ptah is one of the gods who were thus taken advantage of in the funerary texts by identification magic. To my knowledge there is only one instance in the so-called Coffin texts, but several in later funerary texts.

1. The first time we find Ptah in this connection is on a coffin from the ninth-tenth dynasty, quoted above, where the deceased says that he is identical with Khenttenet, but also with »the Lord of Maat» (probably Osiris), and with Ptah, and that, therefore, he has full freedom of movement into and out of the Kingdom of Death and the tomb.³⁴

2. Among the texts of the Book of the Dead, Chapter 82 has the heading: »Words for becoming Ptah» without any other mentioning of Ptah than the deceased saying later in the text (l. 8.):

»I have gone out, my tongue being Ptah[?s?] and my throat being Hathor[?s?]».³⁵ (125.)

The lack of coherence between the heading and the rest of the inscription makes the assumption likely that the heading is a secondary addition to an older text, a practise, which, as Kees points out, was not unusual from the First Intermediate on, from which time

³⁴ See p. 26.

³⁵ Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch I*, pl. 94.

the funerary texts were often provided with headings, telling the purpose of the inscription.³⁶ After the Old Kingdom there was evidently but little creative power in religious literature and, when one wanted a formula suitable for transforming the dead person into the god Ptah, one looked for an already existing inscription which seemed tolerably to answer the purpose and then called it »words for becoming Ptah».

3. In Chapter 11, 4 in the Book of the Dead, the dead man says:

»I rise as Horus and sit down as Ptah and am strong as Thoth.»³⁷ (126.)

4. In a sepulchral text from the New Kingdom, found at Karnak, the dead man says:

»I [walk] on the water, my feet are on the earth. I am Ptah, I have come from Heliopolis as a falcon.»³⁸ (127.)

As Ptah otherwise has no connection with Heliopolis, the dead man is here evidently supposed to be identified with the falcon god Rē-Harakhte as well as with Ptah.

5. In a Saitic sepulchral text on the coffin of Princess Ankhnesneferibrē, the dead woman is identified with a number of gods, *e. g.* as follows:

»For she is the one who is concealed in the chapel. She is Ptah, he with the beautiful [gracious?] face, Lord of the many divine faces. She is the one who lifts her arm, the bull of her mother, whom she loves [Amun at Louxor]. She is Ptah-Sokaris in Shetit. . . . She is Atum, who took the form of Ptah. She is Ptah, who made his form as the earth. She is Rē.»³⁹ (128.)

The dead woman is thus conceived to identify herself with Ptah, who has »many divine faces», which presumably means that he appears in many guises and has many different appearances. She is also identified with the ithyphallic Amun at Louxor, who was often identified with Ptah-Tatenen, as well as with Ptah-Sokaris and with

³⁶ Kees, Totenglauben, p. 253 seq.

³⁷ Unpublished. Slip of the Berlin Dictionary 44.

³⁸ Unpublished notes of Sethe 24, 52.

³⁹ Sander-Hansen, Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre, p. 127, 129.

Atum, manifesting himself as Ptah, and with Ptah in the form of the earth.

On the same coffin the dead woman is called:

»Osiris, ruler of eternity, high with the atef-crown, who [made] men and created the gods, the Lord of heaven and the Lord of earth, who made the gods, Tatenen, Lord of the Ennead, divine ba, who has brightened the Netherworld with his beams, the one glorious god, the King of gods, who created that which exists and created [that which exists not].»⁴⁰ (129.)

The dead woman is identified here both with Osiris and Tatenen, but with the latter in the form of the sun who illumines the earth with his rays. The whole text is extremely syncretistic.

In the Book of the Dead, Chapter 42, 9, (C. a), there is a passage in which the deceased says that all his limbs are identical with various gods. He also says that his feet or soles are identical with Ptah:

»My [the dead man's] feet [var. soles] are Ptah.»⁴¹ (130.)

Evidently this is another manifestation of the idea that the dead man improved his chances in the Kingdom of Death by claiming to be identical with various gods.

When we survey the texts where Ptah appears as a funerary god, we see that he did not play an important and many-sided rôle as helper of the dead, but that he was thought, during some periods, to have charge of the opening of the mouth, and that he was described, in some other cases also, as a god of the dead.

⁴⁰ Sander-Hansen, *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁴¹ Naville, *Das aegyptische Tottenbuch II*, pl. 115.

Ptah as a God of the Sky

It so happens that there are no texts before the Middle Kingdom which indicate that Ptah was considered to have some connection with the sky. From the Middle Kingdom onwards, however, Ptah was occasionally given the epithet $\overline{\text{nb p-t}}$ = nb p-t = »Lord of the sky«. Thus in the tomb of Amenemhet II from the twelfth dynasty at Beni-hassan we read:

»Ptah-Sokaris, Lord of the sky«,¹

On the east wall of room F in the big Abusimbel temple Ptah is called *pth nb p-t nsw-t t.wj* = »Ptah, Lord of the sky, King of the two lands«. ²

The epithet »Lord of the sky« was common for gods of the sky and the sun. Horus was given it as early as in the Pyramid texts.³ From the time of the eighteenth dynasty onwards, it was quite common for Amun. The epithet was secondarily taken over by a number of gods, among others some who had probably not been gods of the sky from the beginning, such as Anubis and Apis.⁴

In texts from the New Kingdom and later Ptah is occasionally described as an anthropomorphic being dwelling in the sky. Such is the case in Pap. Berlin 3048, which may possibly derive from old sources, and in which the god invoked is named now Ptah now Ptah-Tatenen.

There he is called among other things:

- 3, 8. »... He from the discharge of whose body water came«. ⁵
3, 10. »... He who made the wind ... and who refreshes the

¹ See p. 30.

² Photo Breasted. Unpublished.

³ See e. g. Pyr. 888 c. Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 495.

⁴ See Wb. I, Belegst. p. 79.

⁵ Ä. Z. 64, p. 21.

- throat with the breath which comes [from his mouth]»⁶
(131.)
- 5, 3 seq. »... His two boats float in the sky, with the wind which comes from his mouth. Thy [Ptah's or Ptah-Tatenen's] feet are on the earth and thy head is [in] the sky.»
- 5, 7 seqq. »... Thy strength it is which raises the water to the sky. The spit in thy mouth is the rain cloud. The breath of thy nose ... the discharge ... is on the mountains and is the blanket of dampness on the branches of the high trees on all the mountains, and the ring which encircles the two shores of the sky, the ocean, the border of Nut.»⁷ (132.)
- 6, 2. »... There was no one who could live without thee until the air came out of thy nose and the water out of thy mouth ...»
- 6, 4 seqq. »... It is thy two eyes which give light. Thou shinest with thy radiant eye ... Thy two eyes they move ... Thy two eyes they circle day and night. Thy right eye is the disc of the sun and thy left eye is the moon. Thy images are the Indefatigable ones [the stars].»⁸ (133.)
- 12, 2. »... Pleasant is the breath which comes out of his [Ptah's] mouth.»⁹ (134.)

The god is described here as a being who has his head in the sky and his feet on the earth, the discharge of whose body is water, whose breath is the air, and whose two eyes are the sun and the moon.

It should be pointed out that these characteristics are partly inserted among descriptions of Ptah as Rē, in which Ptah is given epithets and qualities which are fundamentally alien to him. It is possible that the qualities of a god of the sky which Ptah has in this text are likewise attributed to him secondarily. There is probably no question of direct copying from other hymns, but it is possible that the author of the hymn made use of ideas which originally were connected with others gods.

One finds similar ideas in Pap. Harris I, from the time of Ramses III, in which it is said of Ptah-Tatenen, among other things:

⁶ Ä. Z. 64, p. 21 seq.

⁷ Ä. Z. 64, p. 24, 27.

⁸ Ä. Z. 64, p. 25, 27.

⁹ Ä. Z. 64, p. 41.

»One lives from that which comes from his mouth».¹⁰
(44, 6) (135.)

The reference here must be either to the saliva or the breath which comes out of Ptah-Tatenen's mouth as rain or air.

In Pap. Chester Beatty VIII, a magic text from the New Kingdom, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, Lord of ... who illuminates the plebs with his eyes».¹¹ (136.)

In an inscription from the 30th dynasty, from Wādi Hammāmāt, it is said that Ptah lights Egypt with the light from his eyes. He is called there:

»Ptah, the sun-disc of heaven. He who lights up the two lands with the light from his two eyes».¹² (137.)

Behind Ptah there is an obelisk. Thus Ptah is described here both as the sun, and as a god of the sky, in that the sun and the moon seem to be regarded as his eyes.

At least the description of Ptah as the sun, which is emphasized through the picture of the obelisk, the sun-symbol, behind Ptah's back, must be due to the influence of some other god.

We can not reject the possibility that Ptah was from the beginning a god who was considered to have his home in the sky, and that the passages quoted above and his epithet »Lord of the sky» express very old ideas about Ptah. As we shall see in a later chapter, several students of comparative religion now ardently support the theory that one of the essential features in all religion is that the god is believed to be identical with the sky or to live in the sky.¹³ But it is a fact that all indications that Ptah was a god of the sky, the functions of whose body were natural phenomena, come from the time of the New Kingdom or later, and that no such indications are to be found in the Shabaka text or other texts from the Old Kingdom.

It is impossible to say if Ptah has in this respect in late times been influenced by other gods, or if he was considered to be a god of the sky from the beginning.

¹⁰ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

¹¹ Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Ser. III, T. II, pl. 43. T. I, p. 70.

¹² Couyat-Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouādi Hammāmāt, pl. 8, p. 44.

¹³ See p. 265.


General Divine Epithets

Now and then one comes across Ptah epithets which might suit any god whatever. Certain of them, for some reason, are more common in regard to Ptah than other gods, whilst others are used just occasionally about Ptah.

Such a general epithet which is very frequently used about Ptah is *nfr hr* = »He with the beautiful [possibly »gracious«] face«. As an epithet of Ptah we do not find it before the Middle Kingdom, from which period a sepulchral stele in Turin is derived, on which we read:

»If ye love life and hate death praise ye Ptah, he with the beautiful face.«¹ (138.)

It is, however, possible that the epithet *nfr hr* was attached to Ptah earlier than in the Middle Kingdom, seeing that we know from the Old Kingdom a rather common proper name:

 = *nfr-hr-n-ptah* = »Beautiful [gracious] is Ptah's face«.²

As from the time of the New Kingdom the epithet became extremely common and was frequently used about Ptah during the whole of the remaining ancient Egyptian era.

However, other gods too and likewise Kings were called »He with the beautiful [gracious] face«, though not to the same extent as Ptah. Thus, for example, in the hymn to Amun in Cairo from the eighteenth dynasty (pl. 3, 2), Min-Amun is called:

»He who constantly wears horns [in his crown] and has a beautiful [gracious] face«.³

¹ Rec. de trav. 3, p. 119. Turin 276.

² Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, p. 198.

³ Grébaut, Hymne à Ammon-Ra, p. 8.

In a Theban tomb from the twentieth dynasty, Osiris is called:

»Osiris, who is at the head of the West, he with the beautiful [gracious] face».⁴

In the Book of the Dead Ch. 15 a I, 18 (L. a.), Rē-Harakhte is called:

»He who has a beautiful [gracious] face, he with double feathers».⁵

Geb, Nun, Shu, Harpokrates, Horus, and other gods likewise received the epithet now and then, especially in late times.⁶

With regard to Kings and Queens the epithet *nfr hr* was occasionally used, as, for example, of Amenhotep II on the east portico in the temple at Louxor,⁷ and of Queen Nefertiti, who in Panehesy's tomb at El Amarna is called: *hnw-t šm'w mhꜛw nfr-t hr* = »the mistress of the South and North, with the beautiful [gracious] face».⁸

Thus, *nfr hr* was a rather common epithet for Egyptian gods and Kings, but it was usually associated with Ptah. When the expression *nfr hr* = »he with the beautiful [gracious] face» is used alone without further specification, it is almost always Ptah that is intended. The following examples may be adduced:

1. On a stele from Gebel Silsileh, referred to above, it is stated about Amenhotep III:

»He is skilled in artistic work, more than 'He with the beautiful [gracious] face'».⁹

»He with the beautiful [gracious] face» must be Ptah, who at that time was often represented as a craftsman.

2. In the Ramesside Pap. Leyden I, 350, mention is made of a message sent from heaven, and it is stated:

»it is heard in Heliopolis, it is repeated in Memphis to 'Him with the beautiful [gracious] face'. . . the matter is answered in Thebes.»¹⁰

Here it is evident from the context that the reference is to Ptah.

⁴ Unpublished. Slip of the Berlin Dictionary, Thebes 65/592.

⁵ Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch* I, pl. 14.

⁶ Wb. II, Belegst. p. 367 seq.

⁷ Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor* I, p. 7.

⁸ Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, p. 24.

⁹ Unpublished. Slip of the Berlin Dictionary, Cairo Wb. 93. See p. 49.

¹⁰ *Ä. Z.* 42, p. 35.


3. In Pap. Harris I, p. 66 b, 6, Ramses III expresses the following wish for the welfare of his son:

»May it be vouchsafed to him to celebrate jubilees like Tatenen, with a reign like that of 'Him with the beautiful [gracious] face'». ¹¹ (139.)

As a rule, when the epithet *nfr hr* stood independently, it was Ptah who was referred to, but in the texts of the Book of the Dead we sometimes come across a being who is called *nfr hr* = »He with the beautiful [gracious] face», and who does not seem to be Ptah.

Thus, on a sarcophagus of late date in Leyden, the judges of the dead are represented, all of them with a knife in their hands. One of them has a human face and a wig and a »maat»-feather on his head. He is called *nfr hr*.¹²

This is a mode of representation which is not otherwise used about Ptah, and it is not probable that it is he who is referred to there. The reference is probably to one of the lower divine beings, of which there are plenty in the texts of the Book of the Dead.

It may be asked what this epithet, *nfr hr*, really signified, and why it was assigned to Ptah more frequently than to any other god. Junker, who, in »Die Onurislegende», p. 89, has dealt with the question, advances the hypothesis that it was the gods in purely human form who were called *nfr hr*, »denn von den anderen Mischgestalten, den Göttern mit Bocks-, Krokodil-, Falken- usw. Köpfen, werden auch die Ägypter nicht wohl behauptet haben, dass sie 'schön-gesichtig' seien. †  sind Ptah von Memphis, Chons, Onuris, Arhensnuphis u. a.»

Now it is indeed a fact that the expression *nfr hr* was used more frequently about gods of human aspect, such as Ptah, Amun, Atum, Osiris, Geb, Nun, Shu, etc., than about other gods, but the epithet was sometimes applied also to gods with an animal head, such as Horus and Rē-Harakhte. It seems somewhat incredible that the Egyptians should not have considered that all their gods had a »beautiful face», whether they had a human or animal head. The Egyptians had not the same divine ideals as we, nor presumably the same ideals of beauty.

¹¹ Erichsen, Pap. Harris I, p. 79.

¹² Beschrijving ... Leiden VII, pl. 12.

Spiegelberg advances another hypothesis regarding the epithet *nfr hr*. In *Ä. Z.* 53, p. 115, he contends that this epithet presumably did not mean »with the beautiful face«, but »gracious«, or the like. In support of this view, he adduces a text from the eighteenth dynasty, where the dead man says to Osiris:


»Mayest thou be gracious towards me, may thy countenance be benign towards me on the day when one may see thy beauty.« (140.)

Thus, the expression »*nfr hr*« is used here as a verb corresponding to »*h̄tp*« = »to be gracious«.

Whether *nfr hr* signified »the one with the beautiful face« or »the gracious one«, it is an epithet of quite a different type than *e. g.* *rs lnb-f* = »he who is south of his wall«. *rs lnb-f* gives us some valuable information about Ptah's cult centre, being thus an epithet that tells us something specially characteristic about the god Ptah, whereas *nfr hr* is a non-distinctive general epithet, which might be used of any god whatever. To be gracious or beautiful are attributes which appertain to divine beings in general and it is natural to give such epithets to gods who are worshipped. It is scarcely probable that Ptah was considered to be more gracious than other gods, as the Egyptian gods in general are represented in the religious texts as benign and givers of blessings, and it can scarcely have been thought that his face was more beautiful than that of other man-gods, seeing that his features resemble those of other such divinities. That the epithet *nfr hr* was given to Ptah more frequently than to all other gods must be a coincidence. For some reason it became the custom to attach this indifferent, conventional divine epithet specially to Ptah.



Ptah had many other epithets of a similar non-distinctive and conventional type, *e. g.* the following:

1. General expressions which were rather frequently used about the god Ptah were »*ph-tj* and »*wr ph-tj*« = »one who has great strength«, and »*nb ph-tj*« = »possessor of strength«.

In a text from the time of Seti I, on the east wall of the hypostyle in the temple of Amun at Karnak, Ptah is called:  = »*ph-tj*.¹³



In an inscription from the twenty-second dynasty in the Cairo

¹³ Unpublished notes of Sethe, 25, 12.

museum he is called:  = *wr ph.tj*.¹⁴ On a stele from late times in the Louvre museum he is called:  = *pth nb ph.tj*.¹⁵

These are general epithets which give us no information. They are used about several gods in the same period, and might be applied to any god whatever.

2. Other epithets of the same type are *wr mrwt* = »very loving», or possibly »greatly beloved», and *mrj.tj* = »beloved».

In a Ramesside inscription from Ehnasya, Ptah is thus called:  = *wr mrwt*,¹⁶ and in Pashed's tomb in Thebes, from the New Kingdom, he is called:  = *mrj.tj*.¹⁷

Both expressions are used also about other gods. *wr mrwt* was used during the Middle Kingdom about Osiris.¹⁸ *wr mrwt* was applied during the New Kingdom to Rē, Amun, and others.¹⁹

mrj.tj was in use *e. g.* about Amun, Osiris, and Horus.²⁰

3. Other general expressions used about the god Ptah are: *nb 'wt ib* = »possessor» [or »Lord»] »of cheerfulness, joy» and *w'h ib* = »the benignant».

Thus, on a sepulchral relief at Leyden, dating from the New Kingdom, we read:

»Hail to thee, thou Khenttent, Ptah, Lord [or »possessor»] of joy, the benignant».²¹ (141.)

The expression *nb 'wt ib* was used also about other gods, such as Khons and Horus. On a statue found at Karnak from the Middle Kingdom, Khons is called *nb 'wt ib*,²² and on a statue of the twenty-second dynasty from Karnak, Horus is called *nb 'wt ib*.²³

Both *nb 'wt ib* and *w'h ib* probably mean something like »to have a kind and benign disposition» and are suited to most of the Egyptian gods.

¹⁴ Unpublished. Slip of the Berlin Dictionary, Cairo Wb. 76.

¹⁵ Louvre 7819. Unpublished.

¹⁶ A. S. A. 19, p. 133.

¹⁷ Unpublished notes of Sethe, 3, 83.

¹⁸ Wb. II, Belegst. p. 147.

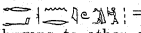
¹⁹ Karnak 1141. Unpublished.

²⁰ Wb. II, Belegst. p. 150 seq.

²¹ Leyden K. 10. Leemans. Mon. funér. pl. 17.

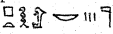
²² Cairo 533. Borchardt, Statuen II, p. 84.

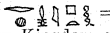
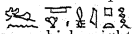
²³ Cairo 42207. Legrain, Statues etc. III, p. 19.

4. In the hymn to Ptah in Pap. Berlin 3048, Ptah has a number of epithets of this type, which are found in contemporary or earlier hymn literature about other gods. Thus, in plate 2, 3 Ptah is called  = »very terrible».²⁴ This expression occurs in earlier hymns to other gods, e. g. in a hymn to Osiris on a stone from the Middle Kingdom, now in Oxford. Osiris is called there: »very terrible in Rosetau».²⁵

5. An expression which was most commonly used about Amun-Rē, but which was applied also to other gods, including Ptah, was *nswt ntrw* = »the King of the gods».

Thus, in a text from the New Kingdom, now in Paris, Ptah is called: = »the Lord of Maat, the King of the gods».²⁶

6. A similar, very common, divine epithet was applied to Ptah in Paser's tomb at Thebes, where he is called:  = »Ptah, the Lord of the gods».²⁷

7. When in a Theban text from the New Kingdom, a man is said to be:  = »skilled as Ptah»,²⁸ and when, in a text from the New Kingdom on the architrave in the hypostyle in the temple of Amun at Karnak, the King is declared to be:  = »vigilant like Ptah»,²⁹ these are poetical expressions which might be applied to any god, and not characterizing descriptions.

8. An epithet of this type, sometimes used of Ptah, is *wr* = »the great». We saw above in the Shabaka text that Ptah is referred to in one place as »Ptah, the great one».^{29a} Junker thinks that »The Great One» is here the name of a great, all-comprising god worshipped in early times all over Egypt and often identified with other gods. According to Junker Ptah and »The Great One» are identified in the Shabaka text.^{29b} It seems to me, however, that »the great one» must be here an epithet of Ptah.

Ptah has often the epithet *'* = »the great one». We read, for

²⁴ Ä. Z. 64, p. 17.

²⁵ P. S. B. A. 7, p. 122 seq. For parallel texts from the New Kingdom see Rec. de trav. 39, p. 119. (Speleers).

²⁶ Louvre Wb. 35. Unpublished.

²⁷ Erman's copy.

²⁸ Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, pl. 43 a.

²⁹ Unpublished notes of Sethe, 19, 10.

^{29a} See p. 20.

^{29b} See p. 266.

example, in the temple at Bubastis an inscription from the 22nd dynasty which reads as follows:

»Ptah, the great, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtai, who is at Bubastis.»^{29c} (314.)

We have found that Ptah's most characteristic traits as he is met with in Egyptian texts are those of creator, primeval god and vegetation spender, further of god of destiny and of King. In relatively late texts he is described as a god of the sky. Not very frequently he appears as a god of the dead. In the Shabaka text he is said to create with his heart and his tongue.

^{29c} See p. 240.

Ptah's Connections with other Gods

At an early time Ptah was connected in different ways with various gods and goddesses. Many gods were identified with him, other gods and goddesses came to be regarded as his sons and his wives. Here follows an account of the most important of these identifications and combinations of Ptah with other gods.

1. Ptah and Nun

A being with whom Ptah came to be identified was Nun, the primeval water, which was thought to surround the earth. In the Shabaka text, where different forms of Ptah are enumerated, the second form is Ptah-Nun. The third is Ptah-Naunet, *i. e.*, Ptah fused with Nun's wife Naunet.³⁰

Nun was considered in Heliopolis to be the primeval water, out of which, at the beginning of the world, the first firm ground emerged, the primeval hill on which Atum was supposed to live,³¹ or with which Atum was sometimes identified.³² Thus at Heliopolis Nun could be considered as the producer of Atum.

In Hermopolis it was believed that, together with Naunet, Huh and Hauhet (infinite space), Kuk and Kauket (darkness), as well as Amun and Amaunet (invisibility), he had formed a company of eight gods, from which the world arose.³³

Nun and Naunet were included in the Memphite system and were identified with Ptah. Ptah-Nun was called: »the father who [begot]

³⁰ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 16 seq.

³¹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 215.

³² Sander-Hansen, *Ægyptiske Forestillinger om Verdens Skabelse*, p. 30.

³³ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 307 seqq. — Sander-Hansen, *Ibid.*, p. 44 seqq.

Atum.» Ptah-Naunet was called: »the mother who bore Atum.»³⁴ Through the identification of Ptah with Nun, the producer of Atum, Ptah was placed in an older generation than Atum, and Atum was also fitted into the cosmogonical system of Memphis.

In other texts from the Old Kingdom we do not find Ptah fused with Nun, nor in texts from the Middle Kingdom. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that the identification between Ptah and Nun was a theological speculation which was not taken up in the simple funerary inscriptions and the like, which at present, with the exception of the Shabaka text, are almost the only texts preserved from the Old and Middle Kingdoms in which Ptah is mentioned. The fusion between Ptah and Nun became usual from Ramesside times, which presumably was due to the fact that, when Ptah during this period recovered his popularity and was taken up again by the theologians,³⁵ this old combination was revived. On the other hand, that the combination between Ptah and Naunet is not found in other places than in the Shabaka text and was not taken up at a later date might be because Naunet in the Hermopolitan and Memphite theologies, had been merely an adjunct to Nun, who never played any independent part in religion.

In Ramesside texts the fusion between Ptah and Nun was quite common. From the period of the New Kingdom onwards it became usual to speak of *nwn wr* = »The great Nun», instead of simply Nun. *wr*, »great», is such a general and natural epithet of a god that it is futile to speculate why Nun was so often given this epithet.³⁶ Sethe supposed that the epithet *wr* meant »the ancient one» or »the eldest», and that it was therefore an adequate epithet for Nun, the creator.³⁷

Both »The great Nun» and Nun, from the time of the New Kingdom, sometimes betokened the primeval water as a divinity, and sometimes the primeval water as a non-deified cosmic element. It seems, however, as if »The great Nun» usually represented the primeval water as a god and more rarely as a non-deified element.³⁸

³⁴ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 16 seqq.

³⁵ See p. 255.

³⁶ See further p. 267.

³⁷ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 74.

³⁸ See *Wb. II*, Belegst. p. 311 seqq.

In certain texts a distinction is actually made between »The great Nun«, who is described as a personified god, and Nun, the unpersonified primeval water.

Ptah was identified in the New Kingdom and later, sometimes with »The great Nun«, sometimes with Nun, but much oftener with »The great Nun« than with Nun. The following examples may be mentioned:

1. In the list of Memphite gods in the Ramesseum, Ptah's first name is:

»Ptah, the great Nun.«³⁹ (142.)

2. In Pap. Harris I, 44, 6 seq. we read about Ptah-Tatenen:

»He who creates the offerings for all the gods, in his guise the great Nun.«⁴⁰ (143.)

3. In the sacrificial hall in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, Ptah is depicted with a smooth head and a close-fitting garb, and is called:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, Tatenen, father of the gods, the great Nun, who arose in the beginning, great god at Edfu.«⁴¹ (144.)

We saw above that in some places, for example at Edfu, Ptah is said to have come forth out of Nun in primordial time.⁴² In the temple at Edfu we thus find the idea of Ptah's identity with »The great Nun« side by side with the idea of Nun's existing before Ptah.

In the syncretistic hymn to Ptah, Pap. Berlin 3048, distinction is made between »The great Nun«, who in several places is identified with Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen (no real distinction is made in this text between Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen), and Nun, which here designates the non-deified primeval water up from which Ptah had brought things during the creation, and from which he had created the King, and which he had caused to rise to the sky in the form of rain.

We find the identification between Ptah[-Tatenen] and »The great Nun« in several places in Pap. Berlin 3048. On pl. 3, line 2 seqq. Ptah-Tatenen is thus mentioned in the following way:

³⁹ Champollion, Not. I, p. 905.

⁴⁰ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

⁴¹ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 498, pl. 35 a.

⁴² See p. 37.

»Hail Ptah-Tatenen! . . . Thou art awake and in peace, thou awakest peacefully. The great Nun, who has created the offerings, [the Nile], fresh with green plants awakens peacefully.»⁴³ (145.)

On pl. 8, the margin, and line 3 we read:

»Oh, we worship him [Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen], . . . he who fetches the Nile from its cavern and who causes the food plants to grow green. He who provides for that which comes out of him in his name: 'The great Nun'.»⁴⁴ (146.)

Ptah's or Ptah-Tatenen's relation to the primeval water Nun is described in this text at different places, of which the following may be cited.

Pl. 4, line 8 seq.:

»That which thy [Ptah-Tatenen's] mouth has begotten and thy arms have created, that hast thou brought up out of Nun. Thy work is made an image of thy beauty.»⁴⁵ (147.)

Pl. 8, margin and line 4:

»Oh, we worship him [Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen], who causes Nun to rise up to the sky [as rain].»⁴⁶ (148.)

Pl. 9, line 4 b seqq.:

»Hail to thee [Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen], the ways are opened for thee . . . opened for thee are heaven, [the earth], the Netherworld and Nun.»⁴⁷ (149.)

Thus there is here no question of any identification between Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen and Nun, the latter being placed in a different relation to Ptah-[Tatenen].

The identification between Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen and »The great Nun», mentioned above, was the most usual, but it so happened, also after the time of the Old Kingdom, that Ptah-[Tatenen] was identified with Nun, without the epithet *wr* = »the great». Thus,

⁴³ Ä. Z. 64, p. 20 seq.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 30, 32.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 23, 26.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 31 seq.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 37 seq.

for example, in an undated Theban tomb, pointed out by Stolk, where in regard to Ptah-Tatenen it is stated that he is: »alone in his shape of Nun».⁴⁸ (150.)

In late Theban texts the belief is expressed, that Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen was identical with Amun at Louxor and in his capacity as creator or as father had created the Hermopolitan group of eight gods and among them Nun.

In Theb. T. 90 c there is the following statement about the Hermopolitan group of eight gods:

»The primeval gods ... fashioned at Louxor by their father Tatenen in his workshop of primeval times.»⁴⁹ (151.)

As the creator of the group of eight gods, Ptah is likewise represented in Theb. T. 283, l. 9 seq., where it is said of him:

»[He who arose in] the beginning in this his name Ptah. It is said: 'Ptah who created the egg which proceeded from Nun'.»⁵⁰ (152.)

Ptah thus was thought to have created an egg which came out of Nun, and about this egg there is a passage further down in the same text, line 12, which reads:

»the egg in which the group of eight gods arose.»⁵¹

We notice here how Nun was thought to be the primeval water from which Ptah created the egg out of which the eight gods emerged, although Nun was himself one of these eight gods.

Sethe suggests that Ptah may have received his epithet, rather common in Ramesside times, *ḥt nṯr.w* = »the father of the gods», from Nun, who often was so called.⁵²

I have not found this epithet for Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen earlier than during the time of Ramses II. The epithet was used at an early date about Atum, *e. g.* in Pyr. 1521 a,⁵⁴ and Pyr. 1546 a.⁵⁵ It is a natural epithet for a primeval god, and it is impossible to ascertain

⁴⁸ Stolk, Ptah, p. 24.

⁴⁹ Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, pl. 3.

⁵⁰ Sethe, *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

⁵¹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, pl. 2.

⁵² Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 183.

⁵⁴ Sethe, *Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte II*, p. 323.

⁵⁵ Sethe, *Ibid. II*, p. 330.

which god had influenced the other in this case, or whether there had been question of influence. The expression that Ptah was the »father of the gods», follows naturally from the conceptions of him as a primeval creator god, and is so simple that it may have originated without influence from other theologies, which also had the same epithet for their principal gods.

That the identification Ptah-Nun was not a merely theoretical one is shown by a passage (48, 9) in Pap. Harris I, where the King says to Ptah:

»I have made for thee great offerings on the river in thy great, august, beloved name 'Ptah-The great Nun, the father of the gods'.»⁵⁶ (153.)

We see here, that special offerings were made to Ptah, identified with Nun. It is quite possible that in some temples there were cult-statues representing Ptah-Nun and that these statues had a cult alongside with other images of Ptah.

To sum up it can be said that Ptah was identified with Nun, the primeval water, already in the Shabaka text, and that this identification recurs in the texts right down to late time, side by side with the idea that Ptah arose out of Nun or created things out of Nun. Ptah was identified with Nun both in his form Ptah and in his form Ptah-Tatenen.

In the cosmogonic system of the late Theban theology, on the other hand, Ptah-Tatenen who was identified with Amun at Louxor, was fitted in such a way that he was reckoned as the father and creator of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, which agrees well with his general character of creator and the father of all gods.

2. Ptah and Thoth

Line 53 seq. in the Shabaka text says:

»this heart from which⁵⁷ [possibly: »in which»⁵⁸] Horus has arisen as Ptah and this tongue, from which⁵⁷ [possibly: »in which»⁵⁸] Thoth has arisen as Ptah.»⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Erichsen, Pap. Harris I, p. 54.

⁵⁷ Junker in Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 39 seqq.

⁵⁸ Sethe in Dram. Texte, p. 50 seqq.

⁵⁹ See p. 20.

Thus the text says that Horus and Thoth appear in the shape of Ptah. We have pointed out earlier⁶⁰ that Horus is identified with Ptah in this passage as well as in some other places in the Shabaka text, and this text shows that attempts were made to represent Thoth, too, as a form of Ptah, in order to enhance Ptah's importance.

The identification of Ptah with Thoth is not met with except in this speculative text.

It seems impossible to decide whether Horus and Thoth were imagined as having arisen out of Ptah's heart and tongue in Ptah's shape, as Junker interprets this text-passage, or if the passage is to be understood, in accordance with Sethe's suggestion, to mean that Horus and Thoth are identical with Ptah's heart and tongue and act as Ptah. From a philological point of view both translations are justifiable and with regard to meaning both seem obscure.

3. Ptah and Atum

In the Old Kingdom there was evidently a sharp competition and conflict between the Memphite and the Heliopolitan theologians. The rivalry was concerned with the question as to which of the two gods was most powerful, oldest and most venerable, the principal god of the residence, namely Ptah, or Atum, the principal god in the neighbouring Heliopolis, a city which could probably boast of an older history than Memphis. It was the Heliopolitan theologians that eventually won the contest, as is indicated by the remarkable fact that in the Pyramid texts, the Heliopolitan ideas are paramount, and that Ptah is scarcely mentioned in them at all.

A testimony to this contest, as waged from Memphis, is the Shabaka text.

In Egypt, when the adherents of a certain god wished to stress the might and importance of their god at the expense of another god, and also to obtain control over the temple administration and property of this other god, they used to declare that the other god was merely a form of or manifestation of their own god. This occurred, for example, at Memphis in regard to Ptah and Sokaris. Nothing of this kind, however, is shown either in Heliopolitan or Mem-

⁶⁰ See p. 81 seqq.

phite texts in reference to the relation between Atum and Ptah. In the Heliopolitan Pyramid texts another method was adopted: that of ignoring the existence of the principal god of Memphis, Ptah, and of scarcely mentioning his name at all, although he was the principal god in the city, where the Kings buried in the pyramids, had resided. In the Shabaka text, the Memphite polemical pamphlet against Heliopolis and Atum, the theologians have, in turn, attempted in various ways to disparage the importance of Atum in relation to that of Ptah. Thus, in a passage in the text, Atum — who was said at Heliopolis to have existed before everything else and to have created all the gods, especially the company of nine gods —, is made to say that Ptah had procreated himself, that is, had not been created by Atum, but had existed in the beginning of things, before Atum had come into existence, and that the company of nine gods had been in reality created by Ptah. In this way, the god rivalling Ptah is himself made to acknowledge that Ptah is the mightier of the two.

Further on in the text, Ptah is declared to have procreated and given birth to Atum, and it is said that Ptah's heart and tongue, with which he created and with which he acted in the world, were a symbol of Atum. Also in this way Atum was designated as a being subordinate to Ptah and in his service. It is further said that the seed of Atum and his hands, with which he was thought to have created the company of nine gods by masturbation, were merely the teeth and the lips in the mouth of Ptah, with which *he* had created the company of nine gods.

Thus, at Memphis attempts were made to diminish the power and influence of Atum by contending that he was subordinate to Ptah in age and power, and that he was merely an instrument of Ptah in the latter's creative work; this, instead of trying, in the usual way, to have Atum absorbed in Ptah by identification. Presumably the contest between Memphis and Heliopolis was too severe to admit of any cooperation in regard to cults, or of any poetical identifications between Ptah and Atum.

Occasionally, however, in later religious texts ideas which were originally connected with Atum, have been transferred to Ptah.

This occurs, for example, once in Pap. Berlin 3048, which as a whole is very syncretistic and therefore contains also Heliopolitan ideas.

In Pap. Berlin 3048, 8, 8, Ptah is called:

»The light of day and lion of his night, who masturbates forth himself in his lovely forms in his name: 'He who arose in forms'.»⁶¹ (154.)

This text, which contains a play on one of the names of Atum, Kheperi, contains Heliopolitan ideas about the masturbating sun-god, applied to Ptah.

4. Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris

A question of considerable importance is the relation between Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris.

In regard to Sokaris' earliest history and his original character, we know very little. He is occasionally mentioned in the Pyramid texts. In Pyr. 445 b—c Sokaris is mentioned as worshipped both in Rosetau and in *pdw-š*:

»Unas is Sokaris in Rosetau. Unas is on the way to the place where Sokaris is, he who rules over *pdw-š*.»⁶² (155.)

Sethe points out that in this passage there must be a reference to two cults of Sokaris at different places. He believes that *pdw-š* was situated in the Delta.⁶³ Rosetau, »The mouth of the passages», lay west of Memphis on the border of the desert.

Sokaris acquired at an early date his peculiar appearance: a mound-like base, on which a falcon's head is placed, sometimes with drooping wings, all, including the mound, mounted on a boat-like sledge. Kees suggests that the falcon may be a secondary addition, due to the influence of the figure of Horus, and that the primary object of cult was the mound.⁶⁴

Afterwards Sokaris was often represented as a falcon with or without a human body.⁶⁵ Sometimes he was depicted as a man with a feather crown on his head.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Ä. Z. 64, p. 31 seq.

⁶² Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 231.

⁶³ Sethe, Übersetzung u. Kommentar zu den altaegyptischen Pyramidentexten II, p. 228 seq.

⁶⁴ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 94.

⁶⁵ Roscher, Ausf. Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Mythologie IV, col. 1123.

⁶⁶ Roscher, Ibid. IV, col. 1128.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that Sokaris is sometimes mentioned in funerary texts, and it has been supposed that it was owing to the vicinity of Rosetau, Sokaris' cult centre, to the Memphite necropolis, that he became specially a mortuary god at an early date.⁶⁷

His character of mortuary god, however, is not particularly dominant in the time of the Old Kingdom, whereas other features in his character are more prominent. It is stated about him a couple of times in the Pyramid texts that he had purified the dead King.⁶⁸ But in the Old Kingdom Sokaris was not mentioned or invoked as the helper of the dead anything like as often as, for example, Osiris and Anubis.

Kees considers that Sokaris was originally a god of fertility, as is indicated, according to him, by the fact that the ritual in his cult included agricultural features, in that herds of cattle took part, hoeing of the soil was performed, and so on.⁶⁹

An outstanding feature of Sokaris during the Old Kingdom was, as we have seen, his character as a craftsman. It is possible that this was an original trait in his character, and that, in this respect, he had influenced Ptah.⁷⁰ It is quite conceivable that he may have been regarded at an early time at once as a god creating as a craftsman and as a god of vegetation, without any of these features having been assigned to him under the influence of some other god.

In an above-cited Pyramid text it is indicated that Sokaris had two cult centres, namely Rosetau and *pdw-š*. However, in Seti I's temple at Abydos a large number of cult centres for Sokaris, including Shetit, Tenent, Kefnu, Aper, etc. etc., are enumerated.⁷¹ In fact, we know of many cult centres for Sokaris in regard to which nothing is known about any cult of Ptah.

Sokaris and Ptah at an early date were brought into a complicated relation to one another.

Erman, in »Die Religion der Ägypter» (p. 49), states: »Sokaris, der

⁶⁷ Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1120, 1123.

⁶⁸ Pyr. 990 c. Sethe, *Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte* II, p. 54; Pyr. 1356 a. Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 244.

⁶⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 286; 94 seq.

⁷⁰ See p. 55 seq.

⁷¹ Mariette, *Abydos* I, pl. 48. See Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1123.

Totengott von Memphis, gilt schon im alten Reiche nur noch als eine Form und ein Name des Ptah; er ist Ptah-Sokaris.»

It is a fact that as from the Old Kingdom we note tendencies towards the fusion of the two gods Ptah and Sokaris, who are worshipped in close vicinity to one another. But it is too simple and categorical to state, as Erman does, that Sokaris was regarded merely as a form and name of Ptah.

In Old Kingdom texts we now and then come across the combination $\text{Ptah} \text{ Sokaris}$ = »Ptah-Sokaris«. Thus in the following places:

1. On a stele in the tomb of Shepsesptah at Sakkara, the dead man is called:

- a. »The supreme leader of handicraft, the confidential friend of the King, the purification priest of Ptah, the comptroller of the household of Sokaris in all his cult centres, the venerable Shepsesptah.»
- b. »The supreme leader of handicraft, attached to Rē's feast, he who is venerable with Ptah, he who is venerable with 'the great god '[Osiris], he who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris«], Shepsesptah.»
- c. »The supreme leader of handicraft, *imj-pr-wj*, hem-priest of Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris«], Shepsesptah.»⁷² (156.)

On another stele in the same tomb, Shepsesptah is called:

»He who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris at all his cult centres, the supreme leader of handicraft, Shepsesptah. The supreme leader of handicraft, *imj-pr-wj*, attached to Rē's feast, hem-priest of Ptah, hem-priest of Sokaris» . . . and so forth.⁷³ (157.)

Thus in the inscriptions in the tomb of Shepsesptah, a distinction is made between Sokaris, Ptah and Ptah-Sokaris.

3. Also in a mastaba from the sixth dynasty at Elephantine, belonging to Herkhuef, who was of Memphite origin, mention is made of Ptah-Sokaris. Herkhuef is in fact called there in two places:

»He who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris«], Herkhuef.»⁷⁴ (158.)

⁷² Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I, pl. 28.

⁷³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 377.

⁷⁴ Urk. I, p. 120; 124.

4. On a stele in a mastaba at Edfu, from the sixth dynasty, belonging to the likewise Memphite official Kar Merirē-nefer, the owner of the tomb is called:

»He who is venerable with Ptah, he who is south of his wall . . . Merirē-nefer.»⁷⁵

Another inscription in the same tomb mentions:

»He who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris»] . . . Merirē-nefer.»⁷⁶ (159.)

Now, what is meant by the expression $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏} = \text{»Ptah-Sokaris?»}$

When an inscription is worded »he who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris at all *his* cult centres», this must imply that Ptah and Sokaris were regarded as identical beings, who could be mentioned in the singular.

On the other hand, it is not certain that the title 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in Shepsesptah's tomb means »the hem-priest of Ptah-Sokaris», as in Iti's tomb at Gizeh, from the fifth dynasty, a title occurs with the following wording: $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} =$

»hem-priest of Rē and of Hathor in Neferirkarē's solar sanctuary.»⁷⁷

Thus the title *hm-ntr* here refers both to Rē and Hathor. Similarly, the title *hm-ntr pth skr* may mean »hem-priest of Ptah and of Sokaris».

Also the expression $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏} N. N.$ in these texts may possibly mean »he who is venerable with Ptah and Sokaris N. N.», though it would be a very unusual way of writing that expression.

One passage, at any rate, in the above-cited texts indicates, however, as we have seen, that in certain cases the gods Ptah and Sokaris, even in the Old Kingdom, were regarded as identical.

Such an identification between two gods was something quite natural for Egyptian mentality, and might proceed in different ways. A usual way was that the adherents of a powerful god endeavoured to win greater esteem and a larger number of adherents for their god by declaring other gods, worshipped in the vicinity, to be identical with the mightier god.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ A. S. A. 17, p. 131.

⁷⁶ A. S. A. 17, p. 134. The expression »*im' h-w hr pth-skr*» is used also in some other texts from the Old Kingdom, e. g. in the tomb of Ipiankhu at Sakkara. (L. D. II, pl. 98 h. Berlin 10184.)

⁷⁷ L. D. II, pl. 59 a.

⁷⁸ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 140 seqq.

This might be of practical advantage for the adherents of the more powerful god, in that his priests, in this way, could often obtain influence over the cult and temple administration of other gods.⁷⁹

Typical instances of this kind in the Old Kingdom were the Heliopolitan combinations Rē-Harakhte and Rē-Atum, which meant that the sun-god Rē, who became increasingly powerful during the Old Kingdom, was declared to be identical with the ancient Heliopolitan divinity Atum and also with Harakhte, an ancient falcon god.⁸⁰

In the solar sanctuary at Abu Gurāb, from the fifth dynasty, the chief god, as Kees points out, is called now Rē, now Rē-Harakhte.

Kees states that, in representing the chief god in the temple, the falcon figure of the Heliopolitan god Harakhte was given to the divinity, with or without the addition of features from Atum, *e. g.* his double crown.⁸¹ This, however, is misleading. Rē-Harakhte is represented there sometimes as a man with a falcon's head and a sun disc, (that is as a being with features taken both from the sun god Rē and from the falcon god Harakhte),⁸² and sometimes as a god with a double crown on his head, *i. e.* with features borrowed from Atum.⁸³ The name Atum is not indeed mentioned in those parts of the temple which have been preserved, but it is quite possible that the name-combinations Rē-Harakhte-Atum or Rē-Atum had occurred in some text in the temple, implying that no distinction was made between Rē, Harakhte and Atum, as is in fact indicated by the representations of Rē-Harakhte.

In regard to the relation between Ptah and Sokaris in the Old Kingdom and the fusion between them, the material for study is scarce. Neither the temple of Ptah in Memphis nor the cult centres of Sokaris at Rosetau or *pdw-š* have been preserved, and there is no representation of a god named Ptah-Sokaris before the time of the New Kingdom. It is therefore scarcely possible to state with certainty how the fusion between Ptah and Sokaris was actually conceived.

The relation between these two gods might have arisen as follows: the priests of the god Ptah, the chief divinity of the new capital,

⁷⁹ See Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 318 seq.

⁸⁰ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 215; 230 seqq.

⁸¹ v. Bissing-Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum III*, Text, p. 41.

⁸² See *e. g.* v. Bissing-Kees, *Ibid.* III, pl. 22, n:o 359. Compare pl. 21, n:o 346.

⁸³ v. Bissing-Kees, *Ibid.* III, pl. 20, n:o 318.

endeavoured to obtain wider influence and more property by declaring that the god Sokaris, worshipped in the vicinity, was identical with Ptah, and that Ptah was identical with Sokaris, and that therefore certain amalgamations between the priests and property of the two gods could be made, for the benefit of the temple of Ptah. A step towards the realisation of these aims was the creation of the concept Ptah-Sokaris.

The question is then whether the identification of Ptah and Sokaris implied that sometimes no real distinction was made between Ptah and Sokaris and that the cults both of Ptah and Sokaris could be called the Ptah-Sokaris cult; or whether there were separate cult centres for a special god Ptah-Sokaris, alongside of Ptah and Sokaris; or whether Ptah-Sokaris was merely another name for Sokaris solely or for Ptah solely.

As there are no Old-Kingdom representations of Ptah-Sokaris which might serve for guidance on these matters, we must see whether any conclusions can be drawn from texts and pictures dating from later times.

During the *Middle Kingdom* too — in addition to Ptah and Sokaris —, we often come across the combination Ptah-Sokaris, and this not only in Memphite texts. But, owing to the wording of the texts and the absence of pictorial representations of the gods, it is usually difficult to understand — even as regards Middle-Kingdom texts —, first whether we are concerned with a fusion between Ptah and Sokaris or with a mention of the two gods as separate divinities, and secondly how this possible fusion was conceived.

We often come across the name Ptah-Sokaris in contexts like the following:

1. n.n. = »He who is venerable with Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris»] N. N.»⁸⁴

and:

2.

 n.n.

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah-Sokaris [possibly: »Ptah and Sokaris»] be gracious and give and likewise Anubis on his mountain, the embalmed

⁸⁴ Cairo 20653. Stele. Abydos. M. K. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* II, p. 286.

one. May he give offerings to N. N.'s
ka.»⁸⁵

Here it is not quite clear whether the names Ptah and Sokaris are separately mentioned, or whether the reference is to a single god Ptah-Sokaris.

Certain texts, however, indicate quite clearly that Ptah-Sokaris was there regarded as a single being, for example in cases where after the expression: *ḏd-mdw in pth-skr* = »Ptah-Sokaris says», merely a single statement is made, as *e. g.* on a Middle-Kingdom coffin from Dēr el Bahri, where we read:

- a. »Ptah-Sokaris says: 'I have conferred a glorious venerableness on N. N.'»
- b. »Ptah-Sokaris says: 'I have given N. N. a glorious funeral.'»⁸⁶ (160.)

It is thus evident that the fusion between Ptah and Sokaris had penetrated also into Theban texts in the Middle Kingdom. This text, however, is too scanty to enable us to draw any further conclusions, *e. g.* regarding the form in which Ptah-Sokaris was conceived.

Other cases, where it seems practically certain that Ptah-Sokaris was regarded there as a single god, and not as two separate divinities, are when both Ptah and Ptah-Sokaris are mentioned in the same text.

Thus, on a statue from Tanis, representing Amenemhet I, it is stated that the King is »loved» firstly by *rsj inb-f nb 'nh-t'w* = »He who is south of his wall, the Lord of Ankhtau», and secondly by: *pth-skr nb šjt-t* = »Ptah-Sokaris, the ruler of Shetit».⁸⁷

Here Ptah-Sokaris seems to be conceived as a single god, in contradistinction from »He who is south of his wall», which, as we know, is one of Ptah's most common names. It seems as though Ptah-Sokaris here were simply another name for Sokaris.

There are scarcely any longer and more enlightening texts from the Middle Kingdom in which Ptah-Sokaris is mentioned, and where the exact nature of the fusion of Ptah and Sokaris can be studied. The available texts are mostly short sacrificial formulae, where Ptah-Sokaris receives now epithets which originally were confined to Ptah, now designations which were originally reserved for Sokaris; but they

⁸⁵ Cairo 20494. Stele. Abydos. M. K. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* II, p. 87.

⁸⁶ Cairo 28030. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire I*, p. 79 seq.

⁸⁷ A. S. A. 17, p. 170.

do not enlighten us as to the concrete form in which Ptah-Sokaris was actually thought of in the different cases.

There are a number of sepulchral stelae from the Middle Kingdom, found at Abydos, where Ptah-Sokaris is mentioned with different epithets.

1. On such a sepulchral stele, we read the following sacrificial formula:

»May the King be gracious and give and may Osiris, Lord of Abydos, and Anubis on his mountain and Ptah-Sokaris, he who is south of his wall, and the Ennead at Abydos be gracious and give. May they give», and so forth.⁸⁸ (161.)

Thus, Ptah-Sokaris here has a typical Ptah epithet, »he who is south of his wall».

2. On other sepulchral stelae from Abydos, Ptah-Sokaris is mentioned, instead, with epithets characteristic of Sokaris, in the following way:

»May the King be gracious and give, may Ptah-Sokaris, the Lord of Shetit be gracious and give, may he give», and so forth.⁸⁹ (162.)

Here Ptah-Sokaris seems to have mainly received the attributes of Sokaris, as is indicated by his being called »the Lord of Shetit». As previously mentioned, Shetit was a Sokaris sanctuary.⁹⁰

Whether the name Ptah-Sokaris on such stelae referred to a concrete cult-statue of Ptah or of Sokaris or now to the one, now to the other, cannot, however, be determined. Particularly at Abydos, as we shall see, Ptah-Sokaris was represented during the New Kingdom now in the falcon guise of Sokaris, now in the traditional form of Ptah.

Besides in simple sacrificial formulae Ptah-Sokaris is mentioned during the Middle Kingdom in a few coffin texts.

There is a coffin text (cited above) from Bershe, dating from the twelfth dynasty, where it is said to the dead man:

⁸⁸ Cairo 20892. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* I, p. 388. — Compare Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1129.

⁸⁹ Cairo 20559. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* II, p. 192. — Compare Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1129.

⁹⁰ See p. 124.

»He who has a beautiful [gracious?] face among the gods, Ptah-Sokaris, is at the prow of thy [the dead man's] boat.»⁹¹

Here too it cannot be determined with certainty whether Ptah-Sokaris was conceived in the form of Ptah or of Sokaris. The expression »he with the beautiful [gracious?] face among the gods» may imply that the god Ptah-Sokaris was thought to have the appearance of Ptah, seeing that one of his chief epithets was precisely »he with the beautiful [gracious?] face», but the statement that the god was in the prow of the dead man's boat may possibly refer to a supposed representation of a falcon in the bows of that boat, in which case Ptah-Sokaris is here conceived as the falcon-headed Sokaris.

There is also another mortuary text where Ptah-Sokaris appears as the helper of the dead, but which does not enlighten us as to the concrete form in which the god is conceived. This is the above-cited text from the twelfth dynasty, found at Meir, where the mummy mask is addressed thus: »Thou art greeted, thou of the beautiful face, the Lord of vision, whom Anubis has put together and Ptah-Sokaris lifted up.»⁹²

As from the period of the *New Kingdom*, the available material for the study of Ptah-Sokaris becomes more plentiful and more enlightening, there being representations of a god actually named Ptah-Sokaris.

The place where the conception Ptah-Sokaris can best be studied is the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos, where Ptah-Sokaris is repeatedly mentioned and represented, with different variations.

Ptah had one of the seven principal chapels in the temple, and Sokaris had, within the temple, a chapel named *h-t-skr* = »the house of Sokaris», with a hall in front of it.⁹³ There is a close connection here between Ptah and Sokaris, as is indicated by the following examples:

1. In the pillar hall in front of the chapel of Sokaris in this temple (room T) a god with a falcon's head and human body is represented as seated on a throne with a uas-sceptre in the one hand and an ankh-emblem in the other, and with the inscription:

⁹¹ See p. 26 seq.

⁹² See p. 27.

⁹³ Zippert, *Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos' I zu Abydos*, p. 123; 127.

»To be recited by Sokaris who is in Seti I's temple:
 'I have granted thee all life, endurance and happiness,
 all health and all joy'.» (163.)

In front of this image of Sokaris, the King is seen standing with a censer. The text runs:

»To be recited by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Seti I, to his father Ptah-Sokaris who is in the temple
 of Seti I: 'I offer pure offerings to thy ka and to the
 Ennead which is with thee'.»⁹⁴ (164.)

Thus, over the image of the god his name is inscribed as Sokaris, but the King addresses him as Ptah-Sokaris.

2. Similarly, in the chapel of Nefertum (room V), which is situated next to that of Sokaris, we see a seated god with a falcon's head and human body, who is called:

skr hrj-ib h-t Seti I = »Sokaris who is in the temple of Seti I.»

In front of him the King kneels, and the text runs:

»To be recited by King Seti I for his father Sokaris
 who is in Seti I's temple: 'Hail to thee, Ptah-Sokaris, he
 who is south of his wall'», and so forth.⁹⁵ (165.)

Here the image of the god is called Sokaris, but in the text he is called now Sokaris, now »Ptah-Sokaris, he who is south of his wall».

3. In Sokaris' room in the same temple, we see a representation of a seated god with a falcon's head and a human body, called:

pth-skr = »Ptah-Sokaris».

In the text beside the image, the King describes his offerings to this god, and the latter is called four times:

pth-skr rsj lnb-f = »Ptah-Sokaris, he who is south of his wall.»⁹⁶

4. In Ptah's principal chapel we see, in one place, a god represented in the form of Ptah with a smooth head, in tight-fitting raiment and with a uas-ankh-djed-sceptre in his hand. The god is called:

pth-skrj = »Ptah-Sokaris.»⁹⁷

On a number of finds from Dēr el Bahri, dating from the twenty-

⁹⁴ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 35 b.

⁹⁵ Mariette, Ibid. I, pl. 40 a. — See Roscher, Ibid. IV, col. 1129.

⁹⁶ Mariette, Ibid. I, p. 36 b.

⁹⁷ Zippert, Ibid. p. 66. — Mariette, Abydos I, p. 58.

first dynasty, Ptah-Sokaris is represented, and then nearly always as a falcon. So in the following cases:

1. On a coffin from the twenty-first dynasty, found at Dēr el Bahri, a god is represented in the guise of a falcon and is called:

pth-sk[r] = »Ptah-Sokaris».

The appertaining text runs:

»To be recited by Ptah-Sokaris, great god, eldest son of Osiris.»⁹⁸ (166.)

Neither Ptah nor Sokaris are usually called a son of Osiris, whence it is presumably the resemblance of Sokaris to Horus that is here alluded to.

2. On another coffin from the twenty-first dynasty, found at Dēr el Bahri, a falcon is represented with a sun disc on his head and is called:

»Sokaris, the Lord of Shetit.»

The text runs:

»The venerable one with Ptah-Sokaris, the Lord of Shetit.»¹ (167.)

In these cases Ptah-Sokaris has been viewed as Sokaris in the guise of a falcon, with a certain suggestion of Horus.

Also in a tomb belonging to a certain Nakhtmin in the vicinity of Dehmīt in Lower Nubia, and dating from the nineteenth to the twentieth dynasty, according to Hermann,² who points out the connections of its owner with Thebes,³ Ptah-Sokaris is represented as Sokaris. In fact, we see there a representation of a falcon seated in a boat and with the name:

pth-skr hrj-ib štj-t = »Ptah-Sokaris in Shetit.»⁴

Occasionally, including the cases mentioned below, Ptah-Sokaris was represented as a man with a feather crown on his head, of the type sometimes worn by Sokaris and Tatenen.⁵

1. Thus, in the princess tomb No. 10 at Thebes, dating from the

⁹⁸ Cairo 6005. Chassinat, *La seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari I*, p. 14.

¹ Cairo 6008. Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 9.

² *Mitt. deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, 6, p. 34.

³ *Ibid.* 6, p. 23. — Hermann thinks that Nakhtmin worked at Thebes but was buried in his native-country Lower Nubia.

⁴ *Ibid.* 6, p. 14.

⁵ See p. 123; 16.

New Kingdom, we see the standing figure of a god with a human face, a curved divine beard, a head cloth and a feather crown, consisting of a sun disc, two maat-feathers and two sun-crowned uraeus serpents resting on ram's horns. He is clad in a garment with a short skirt, and carries in his right hand a long was-sceptre and in his left an ankh-emblem. The inscription runs:

»Ptah-Sokaris.»⁶

2. On a stele found at Herakleopolis, dating from about the twenty-second—twenty-third dynasty, we see the standing figure of a god with a human face, head-cloth, a uraeus on his forehead and a feather crown, consisting of a sun disc with two maat-feathers, resting on ram's horns. The name is:

pth-skr nb štjt = »Ptah-Sokaris, the Lord of Shetit.»⁷

3. In a tomb from the New Kingdom at Dēr el Medīne, we see a row of gods, where one god is represented with a human face, a head cloth and a feather crown consisting of two maat-feathers. The name of the god is:

pth-skrj nb štjt = »Ptah-Sokaris, Lord of Shetit.»

In the same row we also see a god with the smooth head and tight-fitting garb of Ptah and bearing the name: »Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of the two lands», etc. As we see, a difference has been made here between Ptah, Lord of Maat and Ptah-Sokaris.⁸

It was rather rare that Ptah-Sokaris was represented in the form of Ptah or was mentioned in such connection as to make it quite evident that Ptah-Sokaris in that case was another name of Ptah, but this occurred also outside the temple of Seti at Abydos, as for example in the following cases:

1. On a stele, now in Turin, found at Dēr el Medīne, dating from the New Kingdom, and belonging to a man named Kar, we see a row of gods, the second of which is represented as Ptah with a smooth head, a straight beard and a tight-fitting garment. He bears the name:

pth-skrj nb štjt = »Ptah-Sokaris, the Lord of Shetit.»⁹

⁶ L. D. III, pl. 224 a. — See Roeder in Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1129 seq.

⁷ A. S. A. 21, p. 139.

⁸ Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* 1927, p. 17.

⁹ Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia egizia*, pl. 96. — See Roeder in Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1130.

2. In an inscription commemorating the victories of the Ethiopian King Tanutamun (the so-called Dream stele) there is a description of the King's triumphal entry into Memphis, where we read:

»His Majesty reached Memphis . . . His Majesty captured Memphis. He went into the temple of Ptah, he who is south of his wall, and he gave offerings to Ptah-Sokaris. He made Sekhmet satisfied, as much as she desired.»¹⁰
(168.)

The context clearly shows that Ptah-Sokaris here is another name for »Ptah, he who is south of his wall», the chief god in the temple of Ptah in Memphis.

This material for the study of the idea Ptah-Sokaris is so scanty that we must be cautious in drawing general conclusions regarding the conception of Ptah-Sokaris at different places and in different times. Certain facts, however, may be established:

1) The order of the names Ptah-Sokaris is constant.

2) Ptah-Sokaris was represented either in the form of Ptah or in the guise of Sokaris, but never, so far as we know, as a being with certain features in his appearance taken from Ptah and others from Sokaris.

3) The available representations of Ptah-Sokaris show him now in the guise of Ptah, now in that of Sokaris. In our pictorial material, Ptah-Sokaris is usually represented as Sokaris. It is possible, however, that, if there were more remnants of the temple of Ptah in Memphis, we would have more representations of Ptah-Sokaris in the guise of Ptah.

In the temple of Seti I at Abydos there is both a Sokaris chapel and a Ptah chapel. In the Ptah chapel there is an image in the guise of Ptah and with the name Ptah-Sokaris, whilst in the Sokaris chapel there are images in the form of Sokaris and bearing the name Ptah-Sokaris.

Now, how far do these observations correspond with the conditions in regard to other syncretistically conceived gods in Egypt?

In Egypt, when two divine names were merged into one and were treated as a unit, it seems to have been the practice that the name

¹⁰ Schäfer, *Urk. d. älteren Äthiopienkönige* I, p. 67. — See Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1129.

of the god who was considered to be the most important or the most powerful was placed before the other in the combination of names. This occurred, for example, in regard to Rē-Harakhte and Rē-Atum; the sun-god Rē, who became increasingly powerful during the period of the Old Kingdom, being declared to be identical with the old Heliopolitan divinities Atum and Harakhte¹¹; also with Amun-Rē, a combination which we meet with as from the New Kingdom, when the new Theban god Amun was identified with the old Heliopolitan national god Rē-Harakhte.¹² In places where Khnum cults were popular, such as Esne, Hypselis and Elephantine, the combination Khnum-Rē was usual.¹³ Khnum was regarded there as the more important god, but a connection with the cult of Rē was desired. In those cases where Ptah was identified with old local gods at Memphis, such as *ḥrj b'k-f*, Khenttenet, etc., his name was always placed first in the combination.

This was the rule followed in the combination Ptah-Sokaris. At the time of the identification between Ptah and Sokaris and also later, Ptah — as the chief god of the capital and afterwards, in the New Kingdom, member of the national triad Amun-Rē, Rē-Harakhte and Ptah-Tatenen —, was the mightier, richer and more influential of the two gods, whence his name was placed first in the constellation Ptah-Sokaris.

When Egyptian gods were fused with one another, the new god who had thus arisen was represented on different lines. In most cases he was portrayed with some features from the one, and some from the other. It has been mentioned above that Rē-Harakhte, in the temple at Abu-Gurāb from the fifth dynasty, was sometimes represented with a falcon's head, surmounted by a sun disc.¹⁴ He had thus received features both from the sun-god Rē and the falcon-god Harakhte. Also in later times Rē-Harakhte was almost always represented with such a syncretistic appearance, that is, with a sun disc on a falcon's head,¹⁵ unlike »Horus, who protects his father» and

¹¹ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 230 seqq.

¹² Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 345 seq.

¹³ See Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, p. 22 seqq.

¹⁴ See p. 127.

¹⁵ See e. g. Calverley-Gardiner, *Ibid.* II, pl. 15; Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines II*, pl. 1, 2 etc.

»Horus, the son of Osiris», who did not usually have a sun disc on their falcon's heads.¹⁷ In the temple at Esne, Khnum-Rē is mostly portrayed as a ram with a crown including a sun disc,¹⁸ whereas Khnum, depicted on the north wall in the pillar hall of the temple, wears no crown on his ram's head and has no features from Rē.¹⁹

We shall see that in the temple of Seti at Abydos, the fused god Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris-Tatenen was represented as a being with features from Sokaris, Osiris and Tatenen,²⁰ and that in the Ethiopian temple of Osiris-Ptah at Karnak, Osiris-Ptah was represented with some traits from Osiris and others from Ptah.²¹

Sometimes, however, the syncretistic gods were represented entirely in the form of the one god. This was the case, for example, with Osiris-Apis, or, as he was also called, Apis-Osiris. He was always depicted in the form of a bull.

The syncretism between Ptah and Sokaris was manifested, as mentioned above, in such a way, that Ptah-Sokaris sometimes was depicted and described as Ptah and sometimes as Sokaris. It is possible that, when the identification Ptah-Sokaris was first made and also afterwards when people reflected on the matter, Ptah and Sokaris were viewed as a unit = Ptah-Sokaris, who appeared in the temple of Ptah as the image of Ptah and in the temple of Sokaris as the image of Sokaris. That such views were actually held sometimes is indicated by the various representations of Ptah-Sokaris in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, where Ptah-Sokaris was depicted as Ptah in the chapel of Ptah and as Sokaris in the chapel of Sokaris. But to judge by the scanty material we possess from the New Kingdom and later, it seems that Ptah-Sokaris was usually a name given to the images of Sokaris, and this practice may possibly be traced back to the Old Kingdom. Thus, the expression »Ptah-Sokaris at all his cult centres», in the above quoted text from the Old Kingdom,²² may have referred to Sokaris solely, though it is theoretically possible that the reference was to both those gods.

¹⁷ See *e. g.* Calverley-Gardiner, *Ibid.* III, pl. 34, 35; Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Ibid.* II, pl. 6, 11 etc.

¹⁸ See *e. g.* L. D. IV, pl. 82 a; 90 c.

¹⁹ See *e. g.* L. D. IV, pl. 89 a.

²⁰ See p. 140.

²¹ See p. 147.

²² See p. 125.

The frequent identification of Ptah and Sokaris naturally had the consequence that they borrowed traits from one another. As pointed out above, some of the most salient features in Sokaris were his craftsmanship, his character as a mortuary god and his association with agriculture. Also Ptah, from an early date, had the character of a craftsman, a mortuary god and a god of vegetation. The two last-mentioned traits seem to be so inherent in the nature of a god that they may have been ascribed both to Ptah and to Sokaris from the outset without their needing to borrow them from one another. On the other hand, the capacity of creating as a master craftsman seems to be so special that it presumably originated in the one of the two gods, Ptah or Sokaris, and was afterwards transferred to the other. As indicated above, with reference to the quoted texts, either of the two gods may originally have borne that character. It was probably owing to their identification that both of them were represented in that capacity.

Osiris seems, already at the time at which the Shabaka text was composed, to have had a cult in the temple of Sokaris in the Memphis district. It is in fact stated in this text that Osiris was buried in the temple of Sokaris.²³ Owing to the syncretistic tendency in Egyptian religion, Sokaris and Osiris came to be identified, which occurs as far back as in the Pyramid texts.²⁴

As Ptah was considered to be identical with Sokaris, and as the latter was thought to be identical with Osiris, the natural consequence ensued that Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris were identified with one another.

This identification occurs in the texts as from the Middle Kingdom. It is particularly common on sepulchral stelae from Abydos, where Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris is usually given Osiris-epithets. On such a stone, now in the Cairo museum, we read, for example:

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of Busiris, great god, Lord of Abydos, be gracious and give. May he give«, and so forth.²⁵ (169.)

In almost all the cases where Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, in Middle-Kingdom texts from Abydos, is treated as a single god, he has, as in

²³ Junker, Die politische Lehre von Memphis, p. 36 seqq. — See Kees, Götterglaube, p. 293.

²⁴ Pyr. 1256 c. Sethe, *Ibid.* II, p. 211.

²⁵ Cairo 20229. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* I, p. 248 seq.

the above quoted text, Osiris-epithets of the type »Lord of Busiris», »Lord of Abydos», and »at the head of the Westerners». In one case he is called »Lord of Ankhtau», which was an epithet both of Osiris and Ptah.²⁶ Presumably, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was conceived in the form of Osiris.

On some stelae from Abydos, Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris are named in a way which makes it evident that several gods were referred to. This is the case on the sepulchral stele Cairo 20742, where we read:

»May the King be gracious and give, may Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris be gracious and give, may they give», and so forth.²⁷ (170.)

Owing to the lack of material, it cannot be stated whether these conditions at Abydos were paralleled elsewhere.

From the New Kingdom onwards, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris began to be pictorially represented, which affords better facilities for the study of his nature.

Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was represented differently in different places, even within the same temple: sometimes he received, in character and appearance, features chiefly from Ptah, sometimes mainly from Sokaris, sometimes mostly from Osiris; and sometimes he showed a mixture of the character and physical features of all three gods. Such variations might actually occur within simultaneously built parts of the same temple.

In the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos, there are certain, though not very marked, tendencies towards syncretism between Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris. The following examples may be adduced:

1. In corridor X in the temple, the King is represented as making offerings, with the words:

»Hail to thee, Ptah-Sokaris, who is south of his wall», etc.

In the text describing the offering scene, we, however, read:

»To make royal offerings to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, the Lord of Shetit who is in the temple of Seti I» . . .²⁸ (171.)

Thus, in this temple it sometimes happened that no distinction was made between Ptah-Sokaris and Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.

²⁶ Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* III, p. 28. — See Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

²⁷ Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* II, p. 375.

²⁸ Mariette, *Abydos I*, pl. 43 a.

2. In the pillar hall in front of the chapel of Sokaris (room T), an attempt has been made to represent a fusion between Ptah, Sokaris, Osiris and Tatenen.²⁹ In fact, we see the King in invocation before a Djed-object, crowned by a god's head with a wig and with a feather crown consisting of two tall feathers, a sun disc and maat-feathers resting on a ram's horns; the two tall feathers, in turn, bear an earth mound with a resting falcon on it. The top figure, the falcon on the mound, is evidently Sokaris; the god with the crown is Tatenen and the Djed is Osiris, who, in this temple, is sometimes represented as a Djed-object.³⁰ The name on the pillar is:

»Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris-Tatenen who is in the temple of Seti I.» (172.)

This is an unusual combination, which I do not know of from any other quarter.

The syncretism between Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris does not play any great part in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. There are two chapels for Osiris and one for Ptah in this temple, but in these we see no syncretism between Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris.

In the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, however, the name Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris is mentioned many times. There the festival of Sokaris in the month Khoiak, which was taken over from Memphis, played an important part. Kees points out that the festival, which lasted ten days, was, next to the Opet festival, the most sumptuous feast in the Theban necropolis.³¹ The festival, like that of Sokaris at Memphis, was held at the end of the month of Khoiak, but the god to whom offerings were made is called merely once Sokaris, once Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris-Nefertum, but otherwise always Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.³²

The first day of the festival was held on the 21st Khoiak and was called in the calendar of feasts: »The day for opening the window in the sanctuary of Sokaris», followed by: »That which is offered to Sokaris on this day's feast» etc. The second day of the festival was called: »The day for hoeing the soil», followed, in the calendar, by the words: »That which is offered to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in the temple

²⁹ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 16 c. — See Roeder in Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

³⁰ See *e.g.* Calverley-Gardiner, *Ibid.* III, pl. 8.

³¹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 381.

³² Compare Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

in view of the following epithet, must be certain, some additional sign, *e. g.* of coordinating import, may have been placed. But, if that was not the case, it seems that the unique combination Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris-Nefertum, like Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, was merely another name for the image of Sokaris, which, of course, must have been the chief recipient of offerings on the »feast day of Sokaris».

Kees has pointed out the great importance of the Sokaris cult in the calendar of feasts in the western part of Thebes in Ramesside times.³⁴ He states, however, that at the feast of Sokaris at Medinet Habu, offerings were made almost solely to Ptah-Sokaris.³⁵ As we have seen above, however, the god is called Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.

On representations of the feast of Sokaris at Medinet Habu in the second court of the temple, we see how the Sokaris falcon on his barque is carried in procession, and we read the inscription:

»Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris is drawn by the King himself, to go round the walls.»³⁶ (173.)

Thus, it is shown also in pictorial representations that Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in this temple was a name given to the image of Sokaris.

The custom of calling the ancient image of Sokaris, the falcon on its mound-like base, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris occurs also at other places than Medinet Habu, especially in the Theban necropolis area.

Thus, in a tomb from the time of Ramses II at Abd el-Gurna, we see a representation of a falcon's head on a mound-like base, placed on a barque, and it is called:

pth-skr-wšr nb štj-t = »Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, the Lord of Shetit».³⁷

Also in a tomb at Bibān-el-Mulūk from the time of Ramses III, there is a representation of a falcon's head on a mound-like base, and above it, with an evident reference to this image, it is stated that the King was:

»loved by Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in Shetit, the great god, Lord of the beautiful West».³⁸ (174.)


³⁴ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 359.


³⁵ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 382.

³⁶ *Revue égyptologique* 1, p. 44 seq.


³⁷ L. D. III, pl. 173 a. — See Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

³⁸ L. D. III, pl. 233 a. Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

In some places we see a god called Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris represented with a falcon's head and a -crown, for example on a pillar in the south colonnade in the second court of the temple at Medinet Habu.³⁹

On a Memphite coffin from the time of Haremhab, we see a sitting falcon with a -crown. It is called:

pṯh-skṛj-wšr ḥrj-ib šjt-t = »Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in She-
tit.»⁴⁰

In these pictures, the falcon's head may have been taken from the images of Sokaris and the -crown from the images of Osiris, as it was typical of Osiris.⁴¹

Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was rarely represented with a feather crown of the type often given to Tatenen and Sokaris. The following example may, however, be adduced:

In the tomb of Pennut at Anibe in Nubia, from the time of Ramses VI, we see a god seated in the posture of Osiris, with his hands on his breast, holding a crooked staff and a scourge. The face is human with a curved beard, a head-cloth, a uraeus on the forehead and a feather crown on the head. The name is:

»Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, great god, Lord of Ta-djeser,
living in the West.»⁴² (175.)

Thus Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris is here represented with certain features from the images of Osiris and others from the images of Sokaris or Tatenen, and with Osiris epithets.⁴³

Occasionally an image in the usual form of Ptah was called Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris. On a stele from the New Kingdom, now in Leyden (place of origin unknown), we see, for example, a seated god with a smooth head and a tight-fitting garb and with the name:

»Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of the two lands — Sokaris-
Osiris.»⁴⁴ (176.)

From the New Kingdom and especially from later times, there are representations of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris entirely in the form of Osiris.

³⁹ Jéquier, Les temples ramessides et saïtes de la XIX^e à la XXX^e dynastie, pl. 57.

⁴⁰ Beschrijving ... Leiden VIII, pl. 8.


⁴¹ Abubakr, Untersuchungen über die ägyptischen Kronen, p. 20 seq.

⁴² L. D. III, pl. 231 b.

⁴³ See Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

⁴⁴ Beschrijving ... Leiden VI, pl. 23, no. 39, col. 11.

Such representations are not common from the New Kingdom, but the following examples may be mentioned:

1. On a stele, now in Leyden, to judge by the style from the time immediately preceding the Amarna period (place of origin unknown), we see a god, in the form of Osiris, seated with his hands on his breast, holding a scourge and a crooked staff. On his head he wears the -crown. He is called:

»Osiris-Ptah-Sokaris who is in Shetit, Lord of Rosetau, at the head of the Busiris nome, glorious god.»⁴⁵ (177.)

This reversal of the order of the names of Ptah, Sokaris and Osiris is very unusual.

2. In the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes, from the time of Amenhotep III—IV, there is a description of the erection of the Djed-object, and the context indicates that, in this text, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was regarded as another name of Osiris.⁴⁶

In the Ptolemaic-Roman temple at Dendera there are a number of representations of Sokaris and Osiris, as well as of Sokaris-Osiris and Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, and these images indicate that no distinction was made here between these gods. Sokaris is represented now with a falcon head, now as a mummy with a human head, Sokaris-Osiris now with a falcon head, now with a human head and with an Osiris-crown.⁴⁷ Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris is represented throughout in the guise of a mummy, with a head-cloth, a uraeus and a curved beard like that of Osiris.⁴⁸

It seems as if the conception of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris in late times gradually changed, so that the main reference was to the image of Osiris with the special attributes of that god, whereas previously, before the cult of Osiris was at the height of its popularity, it had referred, at any rate in Medinet Habu, mainly to the image of Sokaris.

When we study representations of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris and examine his epithets, we find that Ptah had played a very small part in forming the conception Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris. For some reason, he has been in-

⁴⁵ Ibid. VI, pl. 4, p. 4 seq.

⁴⁶ Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 1190 seqq. See also p. 162. Roscher, *Ibid.* IV, col. 1133.

⁴⁷ Mariette, *Denderah IV*, pl. 45 seqq.

⁴⁸ See *e. g.* Mariette, *Ibid.* IV, pl. 71; 89.

cluded in this combination chiefly as a mere name; Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris rarely has Ptah epithets and is represented only very occasionally as Ptah. As regards the components Sokaris and Osiris, it seems, to judge by the material, as, at places and times when Sokaris was particularly popular, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was preferably represented as Sokaris, or that the name Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was given chiefly to images of Sokaris and was accompanied mainly by Sokaris epithets; whereas at places and times when Osiris was very popular, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris was chiefly represented in the form of Osiris and was accompanied by Osiris epithets.

Thus in Middle-Kingdom texts from Abydos, where Osiris was the principal god, the name of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, as we have seen, was usually followed by Osiris epithets. In the Theban necropolis area in the New Kingdom it was usual to regard Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris as another name for Sokaris. In the New Kingdom, as Kees points out, Sokaris played an incomparably greater rôle as a mortuary god in the Theban area than Osiris, and Kees believes that the relegation of Osiris into the background in that district at that time was due to the fact that this once popular god was considered by the priests of Amun, who were particularly powerful at Thebes, to be too dangerous a competitor of the rising Amun to be allowed to dominate in cult and texts.⁴⁹ The reason why Sokaris was permitted to dominate as a mortuary god may have been that he was a more insignificant god, and less dangerous as a competitor, than Osiris, and perhaps also, as Kees supposes, that the Ramessides were pursuing a pro-Memphite policy.⁵⁰

Particularly in Ptolemaic times, the cult of Osiris was extremely popular and penetrated into all large temples.⁵¹ The feast of Sokaris in the month of Khoiak gradually became a festival in celebration of the resurrection of Osiris, a change which could easily be explained by the identification of Osiris and Sokaris. This was the case, for example, in the temples at Edfu and Dendera.⁵² In Ptolemaic times

⁴⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 359, 401.

⁵⁰ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁵¹ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 406.

⁵² See *e. g.* the festival-list in the temple at Edfu. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1929, p. 17. Further the festival-list in the temple at Dendera. *Ä. Z.* 19, p. 95 seqq.

it was usual to represent Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris as Osiris, or to regard Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris as another name for Osiris.

Only quite occasionally were Ptah and Osiris fused into Ptah-Osiris or Osiris-Ptah, without the interposition of Sokaris. This occurred, for example, in the following cases:

1. In the chapel of Nefertum (room V) in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos, we see, in one place, a god represented in the posture usual in images of Osiris, with his hands on his breast, holding a crooked staff and scourge, but with a smooth head without a crown, like that of Ptah.

The explanatory text runs:

»Ptah-Osiris, the great one who is in the temple of Seti I, may he give all life and all happiness to King Seti I, gifted with life.»⁵³ (178.)

This pictorial fusion of Ptah and another god is something extremely unusual. It has been mentioned above⁵⁴ that there was no pictorial syncretism between Ptah and Sokaris, and that there seems to have been a general reluctance to tamper with the appearance of Ptah.

2. In the pillar hall in front of the seven main chapels in the same temple (room D), we find in one place an enumeration of different forms of Osiris, to which the King is offering, and among these is:

»Osiris-Ptah, the Lord of life.»⁵⁵ (179.)

Osiris-Ptah is here just a name for Osiris, as is indicated both by the context and by the fact that the name Osiris-Ptah is determined by an image of Osiris.

The epithet *nb nḥ* = »the Lord of life«, is used occasionally about Ptah, e. g. in Pap. Harris I, pl. 44, 6, but was very commonly used about Osiris.⁵⁶

3. Also in the false tomb of Seti I at Abydos, we come across the name Osiris-Ptah, as another name of Osiris. On the west wall in the main hall there are enumerations, from the time of Merenptah, of different forms of Osiris, among which we find the name:

⁵³ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 39 b.

⁵⁴ See p. 135.

⁵⁵ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 17.

⁵⁶ See Wb. I, Belegst., p. 35.

»Osiris-Ptah, the Lord of life.»⁵⁷ (180.)

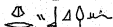
Also here the name Osiris-Ptah is determined by an image of Osiris.

4. Between the great temple of Amun at Karnak and the temple of Mut there, lies a small chapel devoted to »Osiris-Ptah, the Lord of life«. It was built by the Ethiopian Kings Tanutamun and Taharka (25th dynasty).⁵⁸ Here there are a good many representations of this syncretistic god, who is pictured with the head of Osiris, with a curved beard and the white crown typical of Osiris, but in the posture of Ptah, with his hands sticking out of his garb. In one place he is represented as Tatenen with a feather crown on his head.⁵⁹

Thus, at any rate from the time of the New Kingdom, a special form of Osiris, with a different appearance at different places, was worshipped under the name of »Osiris-Ptah, the Lord of life«. That Osiris in this form had a special temple at Karnak in Ethiopian times was doubtless, as Kees points out, due to the fact that Ptah had long played an important rôle at Karnak, which was not the case with Osiris,⁶⁰ and that, in thus introducing the cult of Osiris into this place, the intention was to link up with already existing cults.

Ptah and »He who is under his Olive Tree«

From the time of the Middle Kingdom onwards, Ptah was sometimes given the epithet »He who is under his olive tree« = *Hrj b'k-f* =



The following cases can be noted:

1. On a statue, found in the area of the pyramid of Amenemhet II at Dahshūr, we find the following sacrificial formula:

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah —
 'He who is under his olive tree' — be gracious and give,
 may he give offerings» ...⁶¹ (181.)

2. In the list of Memphite gods in the temple erected by Seti I at Abydos, the sixth god is called: *hrj b'k-f* = »He who is under his

⁵⁷ Murray, The Osireion at Abydos, pl. 9.

⁵⁸ Baedeker, Ägypten, p. 288.

⁵⁹ Mariette, Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie, pl. 82 seqq.

⁶⁰ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 357.

⁶¹ De Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour 1894—1895, p. 36.

olive tree», with the variant: *pth hrj b'k-f* = »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'». ⁶²

3. In the list of Memphite gods in the Ramesseum (19th dynasty) Ptah's fifteenth name is: *pth hrj b'k-f* = »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'». ⁶³

4. In one of the chambers alongside of the first hypostyle in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, we see on the western wall a god represented with a feather crown and with the name: *pth hrj b'k-f* = »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'». ⁶⁴

5. On a Ptolemaic sepulchral stele in the Louvre museum, a man is called:

»The chapel scribe in the temple of Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree', N. N.» ⁶⁵ (182.)

6. On a Ptolemaic statuette in Brussels, representing a man, kneeling, mention is made of:

»the temple of Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'». ⁶⁶ (183.)

The material available for the study of this Ptah epithet is not large. Besides as an epithet of Ptah, the name »He who is under his olive tree» sometimes occurred independently as a name of a god, or as an epithet of other gods.

In texts from the Old Kingdom, »He who is under his olive tree» occurs as an independent divine being in Memphis, with a priesthood of his own. The priests of Ptah in Memphis, Shepsesptah (5th dynasty) and Sabu (6th dynasty) are called:

»hem-priest of Maat at all her cult centres and hem-priest of 'Him who is under his olive tree'» ⁶⁷ (184.)

We have no further information about the character or cult of this god in the Old Kingdom. Kees points out, doubtless rightly, that, as the god's name indicates, he was a tree god. ⁶⁸

⁶² Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74.

⁶³ Champollion, Not. I, p. 905.

⁶⁴ Sethe's unpublished notes 16, 41.

⁶⁵ Louvre C, 124. Unpublished.

⁶⁶ Bruxelles 346. Speleers, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées R. du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles, p. 93.

⁶⁷ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 112, 415.

⁶⁸ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 60.

»He who is under his olive tree» is mentioned as a god in sepulchral texts at Kau from the Middle Kingdom.⁶⁹

Thus, in Uahka's tomb at Kau from the twelfth dynasty, we see how offerings are being carried to different gods, including »He who is under his olive tree»,⁷⁰ but there is no picture of the god.

During and after the New Kingdom, »He who is under his olive tree» often occurs in the texts both as an independent being and identified with other gods, such as Thoth, Horus and, as we have seen, Ptah.

Junker, in »Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien», p. 4, shows that *hrj b'k-f* came to be regarded as one of the divine protectors of Osiris in the Osiris mysteries. That was the case in the Hathor temple at Dendera.⁷¹

»He who is under his olive tree» was often mentioned as a being who protected and assisted the dead, and in this function he was sometimes identified with Thoth or Horus. The following examples can be cited:

1. On a Saitic coffin from Dêr el Bahri we see a god with a green human body and a human head. He bears the name »He who is under his olive tree», and the inscription runs:

»To be recited by 'Him who is under his olive tree':
'I am thy [the dead man's] son Horus, whom thou lovest.
I have come . . . to protect and shield'» . . .⁷² (185.)

Here »He who is under his olive tree» is identified with Horus.

2. On a coffin of the 22nd—26th dynasty from Dêr el Bahri, we see a god with a human body and an ibis head, bearing the name »He who is under his olive tree». He is represented as saying:

»I have come to thee [the dead man] from the palace,
with a behest from Ptah, [to protect thee]». ⁷³ (186.)

In this text Ptah and »He who is under his olive tree» appear as two separate beings. *hrj b'k-f* comes to the dead man with a command

⁶⁹ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 327.

⁷⁰ Petrie, *Antaeopolis*, pl. 26.

⁷¹ See for example Mariette, *Denderah IV*, pl. 9. Comp. Kees in *Rec. de trav.* 37, p. 61.

⁷² Cairo 41051, Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoides* . . . I, p. 208.

⁷³ Cairo 41062. Gauthier, *Ibid.* . . . II, p. 390.

from Ptah. As »He who is under his olive tree» is represented here with an ibis head, and as the name »He who is under his olive tree» is sometimes used as an epithet for Thoth, it seems probable that in this text »He who is under his olive tree» is another name for Thoth.

As an epithet for Thoth, the name »He who is under his olive tree» is used, as Kees has shown, for example, in the chapel of Nefertum in the temple erected by Seti I at Abydos, where Thoth is represented with an ibis head, and where the text runs:

»Thoth — 'He who is under his olive tree' who is in the chapel of Nefertum» [in Seti I's temple at Abydos]⁷⁴ (187.)

It seems as if »He who is under his olive tree» from the outset was a Memphite tree-god, but that the consciousness of his original character was gradually lost. He got a part in the Osiris myth and was made a protector god of the dead, and he was identified with other gods, for example Ptah.

In some of the above cited texts, where Ptah is called »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'», it seems as though Ptah, in this form, had had a special cult at some places collaterally with the cult of other forms of Ptah. As will be shown, it is probable that several cult statues of the same god could be worshipped in a temple, sometimes distinguished only by different epithets of the god. »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'» might at some places have been worshipped alongside with other forms of Ptah.

This might for example have been the case in the temple of Seti at Abydos, where offerings are said to have been made to several forms of Ptah, *e. g.* »Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'».

5. Ptah and Rē

On the whole, Ptah was little influenced by the cults of the sun, which were popular in Egypt.

In no text dating with certainty from the Old or Middle Kingdoms does one find Ptah described as a sun god. That may be due to the scarcity of texts mentioning Ptah from the time before the New Kingdom, but it may also be due to the fact that the adoration of

⁷⁴ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 38 c. See Kees in *Rec. de trav.* 37, p. 60.

the sun, Rē, in the Old Kingdom was especially popular in Heliopolis, and that during the time of the Old Kingdom Heliopolis and Memphis were competitors for power in religious matters, and that therefore the Memphites would not let Ptah take on qualities from the rival god Rē. We saw above that Ptah was little influenced by Atum, the Heliopolitan creator god who through the influence of Rē became a sun god. This was probably due to the rivalry between Memphis and Heliopolis, and Ptah's independence of Rē may likewise have had religious-political causes.

During the time of the New Kingdom and afterwards, Ptah was very often identified with the sun god and sky god Amun-Rē, but it was usually done in such a way that Ptah was said to be a manifestation of Amun-Rē, and in the texts of this type which have been preserved, Ptah is not described as the sun.

The only text known to me in which Ptah is described in detailed fashion as the sun and is identified with Rē is Pap. Berlin 3048, often quoted here. According to Wolf this text might date back to the Old Kingdom,⁷⁵ but Wolf's dating is very doubtful, and it is possible that the text dates from a period in which the rivalry between Heliopolis and Memphis was no longer so great — for example, the Middle Kingdom or the New Kingdom.

Here is a collection of the passages in Pap. Berlin 3048 in which Ptah, or as he is often called in this text, Ptah-Tatenen, is described as the sun and identified with Rē.

pl. 2, 5 seqq.: »Thou shining one, who dost keep the gods alive, thou radiant one, who dost rise on his (sic) sun-mountain, who lights up the two countries with his lustre, Lord of light, shining in brilliancy, when he arises before every eye. Living, when he opens the darkness, glowing sun disc, which [moves over] the sky and passes through the Netherworld.

He who is far away and afterwards draws near, whose . . . one knows not.»⁷⁶ (188.)

The god is thus described as the sun itself, which comes and disappears.

⁷⁵ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 44.

⁷⁶ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 18.

In the same text, pl. 3, 4, Ptah-Tatenen is called:

»the sun disc of the sky . . . his eye, he who lights up the two countries with his beams.»⁷⁷ (189.)

In the same text, pl. 6, 8 seqq. Ptah is addressed in the following way:

»Thy crew, they praise thee. The company of nine gods of thy first primeval time it rejoices at thy rising and it rejoices at thy setting in the West. They say to thee, 'Praise, praise!'

Thou openest the ways of the sky and the earth. Thou passest by in thine own boat, when thou risest elevated over the gods after thou hast driven away the clouds, to provide for the Netherworld, to visit the souls of the West when thou dost descend in the Western mountains. Thou hast joined with the people in the Kingdom of death and roused those who are in front of their caverns.»⁷⁸ (190.)

Here Ptah is described as the sun, who passes over the sky in his boat and goes into the Netherworld, the inhabitants of which he visits and helps.

On pl. 8, 1 in the same text Ptah (Ptah-Tatenen?) is called:

»the god who has raised the sky and who moves his sun disc over the belly of Naunet and guides it on the belly of Nut, in his name Rē.»⁷⁹ (191.)

Here Ptah is explicitly called Rē.

Likewise in pl. 9, 1 seq. in this text Ptah (Ptah-Tatenen?) is addressed as follows:

»Oh, thou who dost arise as Rē.

Oh, thou who didst come into existence as Kheperi, who is among the Horizon-dwellers.»⁸⁰ (192.)

In pl. 9, 4 a Ptah (Ptah-Tatenen?) is called:

»The child who is born every day»,⁸¹ (193.)

which must refer to the rebirth of the sun every day.

⁷⁷ Ä. Z. 64, p. 20 seq.

⁷⁸ Ä. Z. 64, p. 25, 27.

⁷⁹ Ä. Z. 64, p. 30 seqq.

⁸⁰ Ä. Z. 64, p. 34.

⁸¹ Ä. Z. 64, p. 34, 36.

The identification of Ptah with Rē in this text and the descriptions of Ptah as the sun, which are unusual, are undoubtedly to be ascribed to the fact that the tendency in this whole text is to identify Ptah with many other gods and in that way make him appear variable and mighty, even at the expense of making identifications which were unusual.

This identification of Ptah with the sun was not carried out throughout the whole text; rather, the idea was developed in certain parts of the text that Ptah was the father of the sun, something which indeed fits in with the rôle as begetter and creator of all things which we have seen to be characteristic of him. Pap. Berlin 3048 tells among other things how Ptah took his son, the sun, to help him when he put the world in order, and that it was Ptah who moved the sun on the sky and raised the sky for him.

In pl. 4, 9 seqq. we find, accordingly, the following addressed to Ptah:

»thy son, old as to his form, thou hast driven away the darkness and obscurity with the rays from his eyes. Thou werst good, when thou didst create what he needs. For his sake thou didst remove the sky, long, long, far, far.»⁸² (194.)

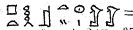
In pl. 10, 3 seqq. this conception of the sun as the son of Ptah, for whom he cares, is developed further. The sun is here called Ptah's (Ptah-Tatenen's?) eldest son, and he says about Ptah (Ptah-Tatenen?):

»Glorious is my father, from whom I have come, the Lord of all peoples, who created me in Nun. He who raised the sky for me and stretched out the earth for me and who moves me on the belly of Nut and who guides me on secret ways. He has let me escape my enemies in that he wished that I should be far, far away, fearful lest they come too near me.»⁸³ (195.)

A not unusual epithet for Ptah, which one encounters as early as the Middle Kingdom, is *š-tj r^c* = »successor of» or »representative of» or »substitute for Rē».

⁸² A. Z. 64, p. 24, 26.


⁸³ A. Z. 64, p. 37 seq.

Ptah has this epithet on a number of Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos,⁸⁴ and in the list of Ptah's names in the Ramesseum, Ptah's twenty-ninth name is:  = »Ptah, successor of (or »representative of», »substitute for») Rē». ⁸⁵


The expression *ś-tj* may according to the *Wörterbuch f. Ägyptische Sprache* mean »successor to the throne» or »substitute» and was often used about the dead King, who is called Rē's or Geb's or Osiris's *ś-tj*, and for Thoth, who is called Rē's *ś-tj*.⁸⁶

When Ptah was called the *ś-tj* of Rē, this might signify an acknowledgement that Rē was a god of greater importance than Ptah, and that Ptah was only a substitute for Rē, but it might also imply that Ptah was regarded as Rē's successor as ruler on earth. The idea that certain gods, among them Rē and Ptah, ruled as Kings on earth, was, as we have seen, not uncommon in Egypt.⁸⁷

6. Ptah and »The Glorious Djed»

Ptah was often and in various ways put in connection with the symbol  = Djed.

Many egyptologists have dealt with the problem of the significance and the history of the object Djed, but the question still remains obscure and difficult to answer.

The oldest known representation of this object is found near the name of King Khasekemui on a door-frame from Hierakonpolis from the second dynasty,⁸⁸ where it has a very schematical form and is combined with the sign , which was used as a symbol of good luck.

Here the Djed-sign itself can be considered as a symbol of good luck and may perhaps already have acquired the meaning which it often had, at least from the time of the Pyramids, viz. »permanence», »constancy». ⁸⁹

⁸⁴ See for example Cairo 20062. Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* I, p. 75.

⁸⁵ Champ. Not. I, p. 905.

⁸⁶ Wb. IV, p. 8.

⁸⁷ See p. 84.

⁸⁸ Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, pl. 2. — See Schäfer in Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, p. 424, note 3.

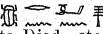
⁸⁹ Wb. V, p. 626.

The earliest more distinct representations of the Djed-object are found on buildings and objects from the time of King Djoser at Sakkara, where it has, among others, the following aspects:



Here Djed is used as an ornament, but probably in a magic sense, sometimes in the form of long rows of Djed-objects.

The Djed-object, which is found in very old pictures, as a symbol and an ornament, and which at least from the time of the Pyramids, could have the meaning »permanence», occurs as a divine being in a text probably based on early dynastic sources. According to Sethe this text, on a papyrus from the time of Sesostris I, found west of Thebes and describing a coronation pageant, probably goes back to sources from Thinitic times. In support of this opinion he submits philological criteria, chiefly the occurrence of a title which otherwise is found only in the first dynasty.⁹¹

We have here a description of various cult ceremonies at the coronation and in one passage we find the following words:  etc. = »It so happened that sacrifices were offered up to Djed» etc. Then follows a description of how Djed was raised, how a rope was tied round it, how it was made to bow and how it then represented Seth fettered by Horus' command and bowing.⁹²

It is clear from this text that Djed was sacrificed to and played an important part in the coronation ceremonial, at least in the Middle Kingdom and probably earlier, and that it was sometimes regarded as identical with Seth. This identification of the Djed-object with Seth seems however to be a secondary development, for the text is of markedly speculative and theological type with many interpretations of cult acts and identifications of cult objects with gods.

⁹⁰ Schäfer, *Ibid.* p. 424.

⁹¹ Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 98.

⁹² Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 153 seqq.

It is possible that the Djed-object is mentioned in one passage in the Pyramid texts as another name for Osiris. Sethe translates Pyr. 719 a in the following way:

»Oh, thou in Busiris, thou 𓆎 -symbol, who is in [is worshipped in] *grg-w-b²f* [the *grg-w* of his soul].»⁹³

Sethe thinks it likely that Djed here is Osiris and bases his opinion on the statement that Djed is in *grg-w-b²f* = »the *grg-w* of his soul». For in Pyr. 1362 c Osiris is addressed thus:

»High is the *ddb-t* of *grg-w-b²k* [the *grg-w* of thy soul].»⁹⁴

Sethe supposes that the *grg-w-b²* = »the *grg-w* of [his or thy] soul», which is mentioned in connection with Djed in Pyr. 719 a and in connection with Osiris in Pyr. 1362 c, is a place for the cult of Osiris.⁹⁵

It is possible that Djed is really here a name for Osiris, as we shall see it often was in later texts, but both Pyr. 719 a and Pyr. 1362 c, which Sethe cites for comparison, are too obscure to allow of any positive conclusions. *grg-w-b²* may have had the more general meaning of cult-place, and both Djed and Osiris, though not necessarily identical beings, may have had a *grg-w-b²*.

Junker believes that the Djed-object was originally connected with Busiris, whose Egyptian name was *ddw*.⁹⁶

The connection between the Djed-object and the city of *ddw* seems likely in view of the resemblance between the name of the city and the name of the object. That would be in keeping with the fact that there are often similarities between the signs for and the names of the Egyptian provinces on the one hand and those of the gods belonging to the provinces on the other.⁹⁷

Kees' opinion is that the cult of the Djed-object was brought from Busiris to Memphis, where Djed was made a member of the Memphite circle of gods.⁹⁸

As a matter of fact there existed also at the Memphis of the Old

⁹³ Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 304. — Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten III, p. 329.

⁹⁴ Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte II, p. 246.

⁹⁵ Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten III, p. 330.

⁹⁶ Junker, Die Onurislegende, p. 64 seqq.

⁹⁷ See Sethe, Urgeschichte, p. 33 seqq.

⁹⁸ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 98; 295.

Kingdom a Djed-object, which was the centre of a cult, but of which very little is known.

Thus in Shepsesptah's tomb at Sakkara from the fifth dynasty, the occupant of the tomb is called:

»the hem-priest of Ptah, the hem-priest of Sokaris at all his cult places, the hem-priest of Khenttenent, the hem-priest of 'The glorious Djed', the supreme leader of handicraft etc.»⁹⁹ (211.)

This »supreme leader of handicraft» at Memphis was evidently the hem-priest of *ḏḏ šps* = »The glorious Djed», who consequently had a cult. The name »The glorious Djed» must be a local Memphite form of the name Djed.

»The glorious Djed» also occurs in some Memphite proper names from the Old Kingdom, for instance in the name $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} = nj-k'w-ḏḏ-šps$ = »The glorious Djed' has kas»,¹ and in the name $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} = špsj-pw-ḏḏ-šps$ = »Glorious is 'The glorious Djed'».²

About the function of this *ḏḏ šps* in the Old Kingdom nothing is known, but it seems likely that it was used in the coronation ritual of Memphis. Nor are there any pictures of it before the New Kingdom.

From the New Kingdom onwards we often find the Djed-object connected in various ways both with Ptah and with Osiris.

In texts from the time of Seti I onwards the name-combination Ptah-*ḏḏ šps* is rather frequently met with. Thus in the following places:

1. In the list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos the fourth name is: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ *i. e.* *ḏḏ šps* = »The glorious Djed», determined by a seated image of Ptah. This is followed by the text:

»Thus says 'The glorious Djed', *i. e.* Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'».³ (212.)

2. In the main chapel of Ptah in the same temple a god is represented who in every respect looks like Ptah in his usual shape and who is called: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑}$ = »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'».⁴

⁹⁹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 113. — See Kees, Götterglaube, p. 295.

¹ Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, p. 180.

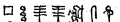
² Ranke, Ibid., p. 326. Sakkara.

³ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74.

⁴ Calverley-Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II, pl. 27.

3. A statue from the 19th dynasty in the Cairo museum has the inscription:

»May Ptah be gracious and give, he who is south of his wall — 'The glorious Djed' — Khenttenent — Tate-nen» ...⁵ (213.)

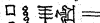
4. In the Ramesseum list of Memphite god names Ptah's eleventh name is:  = »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'».⁶

5. At the entrance to Montuemhat's tomb at Thebes from Saitic times the following sacrificial prayer is found:

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah, he who is south of his wall — 'The glorious Djed' — Khenttenent — Sokaris — Henu be gracious and give ...»⁷ (214.)

6. On the Apis-stele Louvre 41 from the twenty-second dynasty there stands:

»To be recited by the father of the gods and the hem-priest of Bastet, the mistress of Ankhtau, the hem-priest of Ptah — 'The glorious Djed' etc. N. N.»⁸ (215.)

7. On a naos from the time of Amasis, now in the Louvre, Ptah is seen standing and in front of him is a Djed-object surmounted by a falcon with a sun disc on its head. Above is the name  = »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'».⁹

In some of the cases quoted above the name *ḏd šps* is written with a double Djed-sign. As has been pointed out by Kees this is no doubt due to the fact that the Egyptians had a predilection for worshipping and representing fetishes in couples. Thus the originally Heliopolitan sun symbols, the obelisks, as well as the Heliopolitan fetishes the iunu-pillars came to be divided into couples and set up as pairs, where probably one element was regarded as male and the other as female. Secondarily, the phenomenon of the double Djed-sign was accounted for by saying that one element in the pair had reference to the city *ḏd.w* = Busiris, a masculine name form, and the other to the city of *ḏd.t* = Mendes, a feminine name form.¹⁰

⁵ Cairo 630. Borchardt, Statuen II, p. 177.

⁶ Champ., Not. I, p. 905.

⁷ Mém. Miss. arch. franc. du Caire V, p. 614.

⁸ Rec. de trav. 22, p. 12.

⁹ Louvre D. 29. Revue d'égyptologie I, p. 164.

¹⁰ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 164 seq.

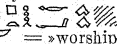

From the time of Seti I at least, Ptah was identified, as we have seen, with »The glorious Djed» existing of old at Memphis. Probably this was due to the fact that both existed at Memphis and that people tried to increase the glory of Ptah by declaring him identical with »The glorious Djed», just as Ptah was identified with a lot of other gods to the same purpose.

A Saitic naos in the Louvre was mentioned above, showing a Djed-object, crowned by a falcon with a sun disc on its head, and standing in front of Ptah. This motif is called »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'» and must be an attempt to express in image the idea that Ptah and »The glorious Djed» were identical.

The same motif is found in some other places, too, though this is the only place where it is expressly called »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'». Thus Ptah occurs, represented with two Djed-objects in front of him, on some scarabs from the 19th dynasty.

On a scarab found in the temple of Merenptah at Memphis, probably from the nineteenth dynasty, Ptah is seen standing and in front of him there are two Djed-objects, crowned by falcons with sun discs on their heads.¹¹ Similar representations are found on scarabs from the nineteenth dynasty from Naukratis¹² and from Dēr-el Balah¹³ in Palestine.

Other ways of representing in image the idea that Ptah could fuse with »The glorious Djed» are seen in the following cases:

1. On a stele from the nineteenth dynasty, from Memphis, a man is seen worshipping in front of a Djed-object, crowned by two falcons with sun discs on their heads. The Djed-object is called:  = »Ptah, great in might» ... The text runs:  = »worship of Ptah, Lord of Maat».¹⁴

2. On the wall of a tomb (nineteenth dynasty) at Dēr el Medīne there is a Djed-object crowned by two ba-birds with a sun disc on their heads. Close by one reads: *ptḥ nb m^ḥ.t nsw-t ꜥ.wj* = »Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of the two countries». On the Djed-object is the following inscription:

¹¹ Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 34, no. 27.

¹² Cairo 37373. Newberry, Scarab-shaped Seals, pl. 17.

¹³ Rowe, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs ... in the Palestine, p. 172.

¹⁴ Petrie, The Palace of Apries (Memphis II), pl. 25.

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah, Lord of Maat, King of the two countries, be gracious and give etc.»¹⁵

These representations of Djed are not called Ptah-*ḏd šps* but Ptah *nḥ mst* or Ptah *ḥtj*, but it is apparent from the context that it is Ptah in his shape of *ḏd šps* that is represented.

The fusion of Ptah and »The glorious Djed» could be represented in image, as we have seen, either as Ptah with the Djed-object in front of him, or as a Djed-object, or as Ptah in his usual shape, which was the case in Ptah's chapel in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.¹⁶

It is another question, however, whether the identification of Ptah with »The glorious Djed» also had the consequence that in some places special cult statues were made, meant to represent Ptah fused with »The glorious Djed», and with special cult.

We shall find that evidently there existed, at least in some temples, several cult-statues of the same god, distinguished by different epithets.^{16a} When, in a Memphite text quoted above, a »hem-priest of Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'» is mentioned, this may mean that there existed in Memphis a special cult-statue called »Ptah — 'The glorious Djed'», with a special cult, with which this priest was concerned, but it may possibly be merely another way of expressing the fact that the man in question was the hem-priest of the principal god of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, *ḏd šps* being in that case only a literary epithet of Ptah.¹⁷

The sun-crowned falcon or falcons which are seen at the top of the Djed-object or-objects may be connected, as Kees suggests, with the idea of Rē's sun ships,¹⁸ but Egyptian inscriptions give no clues to explain how the sun falcons came to be combined with the Memphite type of Djed.

¹⁵ Fouilles de l'Institut franç. d'arch. orient. du Caire. Rapports préliminaires III, 2, p. 24.

¹⁶ See above p. 157.

^{16a} See p. 245.

¹⁷ In Ptah's chapel in the temple of Seti I at Abydos two Djed-objects, each crowned by a ba-bird with a sun disc on its head, are placed as an emblem at the prow of Ptah's cult-boat, which is represented in the chapel. In the same chapel a standard is represented, which was evidently used at ceremonies and was crowned by a Djed-pair surmounted by falcons. (Calverley-Gardiner, *Ibid.* II, pl. 23.) Here the Djed-motive is used as some kind of symbol for Ptah.

¹⁸ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 165.

The type of Djed-objects which is surmounted with sun-crowned birds seems always to have been called »The glorious Djed«, and when the bird-crowned Djed was associated with a god it seems always to have been with Ptah. When, on the other hand, Ptah was identified with the Djed-object, it seems, to judge from available pictures, to have been with the bird-crowned variant, not with any other. But as we shall see the name *ḏd šps* = »The glorious Djed«, could also be used about other types of Djed-objects than the one surmounted with birds, and in connection with Osiris instead of Ptah.

We have seen above that as early as the Pyramid texts Djed may have been another name for Osiris,¹⁹ though this supposition can in no way be considered as sure.

The connection between Djed and Osiris was very strong from the New Kingdom onwards. The following instances may be given:

1. In a tomb in Drah abul negga from Ramesside times people are seen in prayer round a being with the body of Osiris and a Djed as its head, crowned with the atef-crown, and with the following text:

»Worship of thy ka, Osiris, Lord of Djedu, Unnefer, ruler of the living. Hail to thee thou 'Glorious Djed'.»²⁰
(216—217.)

2. The following text is found in a chapel in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu:

»To be recited by Osiris — 'The glorious Djed' at Djedu...»²¹ (218.)

3. Just as in the royal ritual quoted above, from a time not later than the Middle Kingdom, the »raising of the Djed-object« played an important part, the raising of a Djed-object is found also in texts from the New Kingdom describing the royal jubilee festivals. In those texts, however, Djed is identified not with Seth as in the old royal ritual, but with Osiris or Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.

In Kheruef's tomb at Thebes from the time of Amenhotep III, we see the King, assisted by priests, raising a Djed-object by means of ropes. The adjoining inscription runs:

»Raising of Djed by the King himself, on the day before the jubilee festival.» (219.)

¹⁹ See p. 156.

²⁰ Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 6, p. 161; pl. 6.

²¹ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 165.

In front of the Djed-object offerings are piled, and the adjoining text runs:

»To give offerings to Djed.» (220.)

Behind the King is the Queen and two rows of princesses, who say:

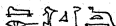
»Worship of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris' pillar, great god in Shetit.» (221.)

Further down in the procession cattle-drivers and draught-animals are seen. The text runs:

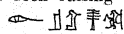
»They go round the Walls four times, on the day of the raising of 'The glorious Djed', belonging to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.» (222.)

In the procession there are also people engaged in a sham fight and representing, according to Blackman, the inhabitants of Buto, the capital of pre-dynastic Lower Egypt, fighting about Horus, the new heir to the throne.²²

In another place in the tomb Amenhotep III is seen making offerings in front of a god with the body of Osiris, with hooked staff and a scourge, his head a feather-crowned Djed. This being is called

 = »Osiris, ruler of eternity».²³

It is evident from the texts and this picture that there existed varying notions about the Djed-object as being on the one side identical with Osiris, and on the other an object belonging to Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris. Further the names *ḏd* and *ḏd šps* are used indiscriminately in the tomb. In this text evidently no distinction is made between Osiris and Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris.

In an Osiris-chapel in the temple of Seti I at Abydos the same ceremony is represented. The King is seen raising a Djed-object crowned with high feathers and called  = »Osiris — 'The glorious Djed'».

In the next picture the Djed-object is upright and the King is offering to it and is said to »give cloth to his father Osiris».²⁴

In this ceremony the Djed-object is evidently thought of as identical with Osiris, and the ceremony of raising Djed represents the resur-

²² See Blackman's chapter in *Myth and Ritual*, p. 22 seq.

²³ Brugsch, *Thes.* p. 1190 seqq.

²⁴ Calverley-Gardiner, *Ibid.* III, pl. 8.

rection of Osiris. The festival was celebrated on the day before the sed-festival, *i. e.* the royal jubilee festival recurring periodically, which was held in commemoration of the first founding of a united Egypt. Many scholars have pointed out that it was connected with this latter, as is manifest, among other things, from the sham fight mentioned above, which was fought at the raising of the Djed-object and alluded to the strife at the coming into power of the first King of Upper and Lower Egypt.²⁵

It will have been noted that in the cases where Osiris is identified with the Djed-object this is not of the bird-crowned type but is surmounted with some other ornament, *e. g.* an atef-crown or two high feathers. Further, it seems that the Djed-object which was identified with Osiris could be called alternately *ḏd* and *ḏd šps*.

The relations between *ḏd*, *ḏd šps*, Osiris and Ptah are very complicated, but the following development is conceivable. It is a fact that in Memphis there was early worship of a type of Djed called »The glorious Djed» and that at other places there existed in early times a Djed-object, which was called only Djed and was used in the royal ritual. It is possible that some difference in appearance between these objects existed or developed in course of time, and in that case it is possible that the Memphite variant had sun-crowned birds at the top, whereas other variants, called only Djed, were decorated in other ways.

Ptah came to be associated with the falcon-crowned Djed and Osiris was associated with or came to be associated with the type of Djed not crowned by falcons. It seems likely to me that the type of Djed which was identified and associated with Osiris and which was without decoration of birds, originally had only the name Djed, like the Djed-object which was associated with Seth in the above-mentioned royal ritual, according to Sethe Thinitic. Later the type of Djed-object not crowned with birds may have taken over the name *ḏd šps* = »The glorious Djed» from Memphis.

Reference has been made above to pictures and descriptions which date from the New Kingdom and have to do with the raising of the Djed identical with Osiris in connection with the sed-festivals. Since

²⁵ Sethe, Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 134 seqq. Also Gardiner in J. E. A. 2, p. 121 seqq.; Blackman in Myth and Ritual, p. 19 seqq.

these pictures and descriptions no doubt describe things which took place at Memphis too, it seems certain that there existed different types of Djed-objects at Memphis in those times, one crowned with birds and one not crowned with birds.

From texts quoted above²⁶ it is evident that the name occurred later than the New Kingdom too, in connection with Ptah as well as with Osiris.

Various attempts have been made to explain what lies behind the Djed-object. Gardiner and Sethe have interpreted it as the picture of a tree deprived of its branches.²⁷ Schäfer on the other hand thinks that Djed was a pillar made of stems cut off and tied together.²⁸ Kees, without entering upon the question of the primary meaning of the Djed-object, points to its generally assumed quality of being »ein beliebtes Schutzsymbol und glückbringendes Zeichen für 'Dauer', das man bevorzugt neben 'Leben' und 'Macht' dem göttlichen König wünscht und aus Götterhand darreicht».²⁹ Kees has laid stress upon the predilection of the Egyptians for raising symbols in front of gods at their feasts and thinks that the raising of the Djed-object at the coronation implied that the symbol of duration was made to work on behalf of the King. The raising of obelisks and *w*-pillars in front of Atum may be mentioned as a parallel in this connection.³⁰

If the Djed-object, as pictures seem to show, was at an early time made of bundled-up stems, *i. e.* was a sheaf or a plant-pillar, it cannot be considered unlikely that the Djed was from the beginning a symbol of vegetation used in the cult. If it had also originally to do with the conceptions of »constancy», »duration» and the like, the idea of the Djed-object at the coronation ceremonies may have been based on a wish that the vegetation should flourish during the whole reign of the King. On the other hand it is possible that the meaning of »constancy» and »duration» which the Djed-sign has in Egyptian texts from the time of the Pyramids onwards was given to it secondarily. If that was the case, the course of development was

²⁶ See p. 158; 161.

²⁷ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 489; Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 16.

²⁸ Schäfer, *Ibid.*, p. 425.

²⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 97.

³⁰ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 96 seqq.

perhaps that the object was called *dd* and the word »constancy» having the phonetic value *dd* subsequently also came to be written with the sign of the object, and the Djed-object and the conception »constancy» were linked up with each other in that way.³¹ No positive proof can, however, be produced for the hypothesis that the Djed-object was primordially a sheaf and a symbol of vegetation. It may quite well from the beginning have been an object manufactured only to be used at ceremonies as the symbol of *e. g.* duration.

It seems as if the ceremonies of the Djed-symbol at the coronation festivals at least at some places included both a moment of raising the Djed and one of making it bow. This might imply that the Djed, whether it was a symbol of vegetation or a symbol of duration or both these things, was meant to be made to work on behalf of the King (the raising of the Djed) as well as to express its veneration of the King (the bowing of the Djed).³²

Kees thinks that the identification of Djed with Seth and Osiris was secondary and that the ideas of these identifications were applied to a rite already existing.³³ Many scholars have, on the contrary, looked upon the linking up of Djed with Osiris, which, as we have seen, became very usual from the New Kingdom onwards and which according to Sethe is found already in the Pyramid text 719 a quoted above, as a primary characteristic of Djed.³⁴ With the scanty material now available it seems impossible to decide who is right, but it seems likely to me that Kees is right when he says that the rite of raising and inclining the Djed-object was the primary thing and the linking up of Djed with different gods was a secondary phenomenon.

The questions of the real, primary import of the Djed-object are in themselves of great interest, but they are perhaps of no importance for the study of the history of the god Ptah. The linking up of the Djed with Ptah was undoubtedly a secondary phenomenon and seems

³¹ Cf. Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, § 18.

³² In this connection it would be tempting to point to the story of Joseph in Genesis 37, 7—8, unmistakably under Egyptian influence, where we read of the sheaves that bow, expressing veneration, and the sheaf that stands up, as a symbol of power.

³³ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 129 seq., 97.

³⁴ See *e. g.* Engnell, *Studies*, p. 10 seq.

to have occurred at a time when the knowledge of the earliest import of the Djed-object was lost to the Egyptians themselves.

7. Ptah and Amun

From the New Kingdom onwards, when the sky-, air- and sun-god Amun(-Rē) became the predominant god of all Egypt, he began to exercise a certain influence on Ptah, so that the latter, especially in his form Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen, was sometimes given the epithets of Amun and Amun-Rē, and was sometimes identified with Amun and Amun-Rē. In texts written in honour of Ptah-Tatenen, this god was sometimes given qualities and epithets which properly belonged to the great state-god Amun-Rē in order still more to increase his splendour.

Sethe draws attention to a Ptolemaic inscription in the temple of Ptah at Karnak, where Ptah-Tatenen is mentioned as follows:

»Ptah-Tatenen, the father of the gods, with high feathers and pointed horns. It is the great Amun who arose in the beginning and created the sky, the earth, the water, and the two sun-mountains. Tatenen, he who conceals his name, he who is in [*imj*] *tph-t d't*. We hear his voice, but we do not see him.»³⁵ (196.)

Here Ptah-Tatenen is identified with Amun, and has been given some epithets which, according to Sethe,³⁶ are typical of the latter: »he who conceals his name», and »we hear his voice, but we do not see him». Thus in Pap. Leyden I, 350 from the New Kingdom Amun-Rē is called (pl. 2, 2): »he whose name is concealed, he who is among the Eight gods»,³⁷ and in a hymn to Amun, probably from the New Kingdom, in the temple in the Khargeh Oasis, it is said of Amun-Rē: »we hear his voice, but do not see him, when he causes all throats to breathe».³⁸

In any case the last-mentioned description is clearly connected with Amun's rôle of sky- and air-god.

³⁵ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 99. — A. S. A. 3, p. 53.

³⁶ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 81; 98 seq.

³⁷ *Ä. Z.* 42, p. 17.

³⁸ Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el Khargeh*, pl. 16.

Sethe supposes that also the epithet »with high feathers and pointed horns» was an epithet of Amun, which had been transferred to Ptah-Tatenen.³⁹

Some descriptions of Ptah, which are found in the hymn to Ptah in Berlin (Pap. Berlin 3048) may be due to influence from Amun-(Rē). Thus, for instance, Ptah (Ptah-Tatenen?) is called on pl. 10, 10 a:

»Thou hidden one [*imn*], whose character is not known».⁴⁰ (197.)

It is possible that here the word *imn* is not only the adjective *imn* = »the hidden one», but also the god name *imn* = Amun.

Also on pl. 10, 7 seq. in the same text there is a passage which might have been taken from some hymn to Amun, or which may be a description of Ptah in the guise of Amun:

»Thou living one with a ram's head, of splendid shape and with high feathers.»⁴¹ (198.)

Wolf thinks that the expression: »thou living one with a ram's head» refers to Ptah imagined in the ram's shape of Khnum,⁴² but the following expression »with high feathers», which was a special epithet of Amun makes it likely that the whole passage is influenced by the idea of Amun, who was often represented with a ram's head.

It was, however, not only in texts in honour of Ptah or Ptah-Tatenen that this god, in order to enhance his glory and importance, was identified with the mighty Amun and given his attributes; Ptah in turn was also drawn into the Theban theological system, and his name, especially in the form Ptah-Tatenen, was sometimes adopted as another name for Amun.

The Amun-theologians needed support from the Heliopolitan and Memphite theological systems in order to give their god greater renown, and they also tried to get control of the property of others gods by identifying Amun with those gods.⁴³

The evidences for the identification of Amun and Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen are the following:

³⁹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁴⁰ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 35 seq.

⁴¹ *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 39.

⁴² *Ä. Z.* 64, p. 40.

⁴³ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 344 seq.

1. An identification between Amun and Ptah-Tatenen is found, as Gardiner has pointed out, in a Theban hymn from the time of Ramses II, Pap. Leyden I, 350. There we find the following statement about Amun on pl. 3, l. 22 seqq.:

»The Eight gods were thy first form, until thou didst complete them, being one. Mysterious is thy body among the great ones. Concealing thyself[?] as Amun at the head of the gods. Thou madest thy transformation⁴⁴ as Tatenen, in order to give birth to the Primordial gods in thy first origin[?] . . . Amun, hiding his name from the gods. Great aged one, older than these: Tatenen, shaping [himself?] as Ptah.»⁴⁵ (199.)

Thus we have here a description of how Amun was firstly identical with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, secondly was one of these gods and thirdly was Tatenen.

This description, from our point of view contradictory, of Amun as a creator god and as a primordial god can probably be explained in the following way.

Before Amun became the powerful state god of Egypt, he was an unimportant member of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, probably representing invisibility and the atmosphere. This idea survived also after Amun had been elevated to state god, and after he had received by the identification with Rē, traits of a sun god. Also the author of the Pap. Leyden I 350, quoted above, has evidently been familiar with the ideas about Amun as one of the members of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, but the intention was to say further that Amun, the great, powerful god of the state, was identical with the greatest creator-gods and primordial gods of Egypt, and had all their qualities, *i. e.* that he was identical with the whole Hermopolitan group of eight primordial gods, and also with Tatenen.

The contradiction which, to our mind, lies in the fact that in this text Amun is reckoned as identical with the whole Hermopolitan Ogdoad at the same time as he is a member of it, was either not noticed at all, or went unheeded.

⁴⁴ Perhaps to be translated »form».

⁴⁵ A. Z. 42, p. 30 seqq. Gardiner's translation. See also Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, p. 82.

2. Also in other passages in this hymn we find the identification between Amun and Ptah-Tatenen. On pl. 4, 13 seqq. we read:

»He [Amun] is Rē himself, united with his body, he is the great one in Heliopolis. He is also called Tatenen, Amun, who came forth from Nun to lead Mankind. Another of his forms is the Ogdoad. The begetter of the Primordial gods.»⁴⁶ (200.)

Here Amun is identified with Rē, with Tatenen and with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, the head gods of other important theological systems in Egypt. We must observe the inconsistency in the two statements: 1) that Amun-Tatenen has issued from Nun, and 2) that Amun is identical with the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, of which Nun was a member.

3. In the same hymn, pl. 4, 21 seqq., we read:

^a»Three are all gods, Amun, Rē, and Ptah; there is none like them. Concealing [*imn*] his name as Amun. To him belongs Rē as face; his body is Ptah. Their cities on earth are established for ever; Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis until eternity^b. When a message is sent from heaven: it is heard in Heliopolis, it is repeated in Memphis to »Him with the beautiful face«, it is set in a letter in the writing of Thoth [and sent] to the town of Amun, «he who is in charge of their affairs^d. The matter is answered in Thebes.»⁴⁷ (201.)

In this passage we see how Thebes and Amun are glorified at the expense of Ptah in Memphis and Rē in Heliopolis. It is said that there are only three gods, Amun, Rē, and Ptah, but that Rē and Ptah are only face and body of Amun. The divine message, mentioned in the text is said to have been sent to Heliopolis, Memphis and Thebes, but was definitely answered in Thebes, by Amun, who is deliberately said to be the manager of the affairs of the three gods.

Generally speaking, this text clearly shows how the theologians set to work when they wished to exalt their own god in comparison with

⁴⁶ Ä. Z. 42, p. 33. — Kees, Götterglaube, p. 345.

⁴⁷ Ä. Z. 42, p. 35 seq. For the passage a—b, Gardiner's translation. For the passage c—d, Sève-Söderbergh's translation suggested to me orally.

others. The hymn is full of statements that other great gods were identical with the great Amun.

It is evident, however, that the influences from the Memphite and Heliopolitan theologies are very marked in this text. Firstly Amun is identified with Tatenen (Memphis) and with Rē (Heliopolis), and secondly it is stated that Amun, Rē, and Ptah are a triad, to which indeed Amun gives the name, but whose face is Rē and whose body is Ptah.

4. The identification of Amun and Ptah is found in several other texts from the time of the New Kingdom onwards, for example in an inscription from the 19th dynasty, in the temple of Mut at Karnak, where it is said about Amun:

»His form is transient, and he takes on another form, namely that of 'Him who is south of his wall'». ⁴⁸ (202.)

Thus it is here stated that Amun could assume the form of Ptah.

5. In a markedly pantheistic hymn from the New Kingdom, the magical Pap. Harris, we read in pl. 3, 10 seqq.:

»Worship of Amun-Rē-Harakhte, who arose from himself, who created the earth when he began, on the part of the eight primordial gods, of the first primeval times. . . . Tatenen, who has exalted himself above the other gods, an ancient one who is youthful and living through eternity.» ⁴⁹ (203.)

Amun-Rē-Harakhte as a creator and primeval god is there identified with Tatenen, who in his turn is described as the sun: »an ancient one who is youthful».

6. In a hymn to Amun-Rē-Atum-Harakhte from the 19th—20th dynasty, contained in Pap. Chester Beatty IV, the god is called:

Recto 8, 6: »our Ptah who loves his craft». ⁵⁰ (204.)

Amun-Rē-Atum-Harakhte is thus identified with Ptah. The name Ptah is evidently used here more or less as a general expression for »creator».

⁴⁸ Rec. de trav. 13, p. 163.

⁴⁹ Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, p. 32 seq.

⁵⁰ Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Ser. III, T. II*, pl. 15. T. I, p. 32.


7. Also in a hymn in the temple of Amun in the Khargeh Oasis (Hibis) in the Western desert, we find an identification of Amun and Tatenen. The temple dates from the time of Darius I, but according to Kees the hymn is possibly based on models from the New Kingdom.⁵¹ Amun is invoked on his awakening and is addressed as follows (room C, wall H):

»Thou art Amun, thou art Atum, thou art Kheperi, thou art Rē, the only one, who made himself into millions, Tatenen, who arose in the beginning. Thou art the one who formed his body with his own arms, in all forms that he wishes.⁵² (205.)

It is thus said that Amun is identical with lots of other gods, among others Tatenen, and that he shows himself in millions of things.

8. In another hymn in the same temple (room C, wall C) Amun is also invoked and identified with Ptah-Tatenen, besides a number of other gods:

»Thou [Amun] didst separate the two lands in Memphis as Tatenen, the oldest of the primordial gods. Thou didst set up thy throne in Ankhtai, like Amun-Rē-Baneb-hj. This was thy form in the first beginning, from the moment when thou didst arise as Amun-Rē-Ptah . . . Potter, Ptah in Thebes . . . the Lord of eternity. Thou art Tatenen, in that thy form is Hapi.»⁵³ (206.)

In late Theban texts the relation between Ptah, Tatenen and Amun has become still more complicated, in that the late Theban theologians introduced a new independent Amun-god, worshipped at Louxor, who was always worshipped in ithyphallic form and was called  = Amenepet = »Amun in Louxor».⁵⁴ This Amun was regarded, as Sethe has shown, as being of a younger generation than the nonithyphallic

⁵¹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 391.

⁵² Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el Khargeh*, pl. 15.

⁵³ Brugsch, *Ibid.*, pl. 27.

⁵⁴ Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 57. — As early as the time of Sesostri I an ithyphallic Amun called *imn*, and influenced by Min was worshipped at Karnak concurrently with a non-ithyphallic Amun. (A. S. A. 28. Chevrier, *Rapport sur les Travaux de Karnak*, 1927—28, pl. 1). In the temple at Louxor, commenced during the 18th dynasty, both a non-ithyphallic and an ithyphallic Amun were worshipped as far back as the time of the New King-

Amun-Rē and was considered to have created the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, which in this way became the grandchildren of the non-ithyphallic Amun-Rē.⁵⁵ We saw that in texts from the New Kingdom, the Ogdoad was sometimes identified with the non-ithyphallic Amun or Amun-Rē instead.

Amenapet was occasionally identified with Ptah-Tatenen or Tatenen, as is pointed out by Sethe.⁵⁶

Thus Ptah-Tatenen was also regarded as the offspring of the non-ithyphallic Amun-Rē, with whom he was identified in the hymns of the New Kingdom, and as the creator of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad.

In a late Theban text (Sethe Theb. T. 87 b) it is said about Amun at Louxor:

»Amun at Louxor, the bull who lifts his arm, who begot the gods, he with the beautiful face, he who is Lord of high feathers. Tatenen, the great one, who begot the Ogdoad in his workshop, he who is at the head of his harem, the father, the creator, the mother, the potter, who made the sun with his arms.»⁵⁷ (207.)

In another late Theban temple text, copied by Sethe, Amun at Louxor is called:

»Amun at Louxor, the bull who lifts his arm, who begot the gods, he who is at the head of his harem, Ptah-Tatenen, who is at the head of the south land, the oldest of the Primeval gods, who bore the Ogdoad at Louxor.»⁵⁸ (208.)

dom; both of them were mostly called *imn-r'* = »Amun-Rē» (see Gayet, Le temple de Louxor I), and both of them sometimes had additional names referring to the cult at Louxor, e. g. *hnt-ipt* = »at the head of Apet». (Gayet, *Ibid.*, pl. 36.)

Also the form *imn-ipt* = Amenapet, occurred already during the 20th dynasty (e. g. on an ithyphallic representation of Amun in the temple at Karnak. L. D. III, pl. 221 seq.). According to Sethe, however, it was not until in late texts than an ithyphallic Amun worshipped in the temple at Louxor, was regularly called Amenapet, and was apparently regarded as another god than Amun-Rē.

⁵⁵ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 58, 56.

⁵⁶ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 58 seqq.

⁵⁷ Sethe, *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

⁵⁸ Sethe, *Ibid.*, pl. 5.

Amun at Louxor who is described as a creator is thus identified here with Tatenen or Ptah-Tatenen and is said to have begotten or born the eight primordial gods.

That the non-ithyphallic Amun-Rē in these late Theban texts was regarded as the father of Ptah-Tatenen and the grandfather of the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, on the ground of Ptah-Tatenen's identification with Amun at Louxor, is indicated, as Sethe has shown, by a late Theban text (Sethe's notes 17, 34) where it is said of Amun-Rē:

»He has created Ptah with his mouth, in order to fashion the Ogdoad». ⁵⁹ (209.)

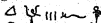
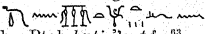
In another late Theban temple text (Theb. T. 142, 3), quoted by Sethe, it is also said of the non-ithyphallic Amun-Rē:

»He has created Tatenen, who fashioned the Ogdoad for him». ⁶⁰ (210.)

Amenapet or Amenapet-Tatenen was believed to appear at Louxor every tenth day and then to cross over to the little temple at Medinet Habu (*t't -t'm-t*), where he made offerings to the Ogdoad and to his father Amun-Rē as the serpent *km -'t-f*, who were considered to be buried there. ⁶¹

The exact location of the centre of his cult, whether it was at Medinet Habu or, as Sethe indicates, at Memphis, ⁶² is not clearly shown by the texts.

8. Ptah and *hntj i'w.t.f*

The list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos has as its eighth name  = *hntj i'w.t.f*, followed by  by Ptah-*hntj i'w.t.f*. ⁶³

This expression, meaning »He who has his *i'w.t*», and here combined with Ptah's name, occurs as the name of a god in Memphite texts from the Old Kingdom, viz. in the titles of the Ptah-priests

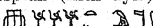
⁵⁹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 56.


⁶⁰ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶¹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 57 seq.





⁶² Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 58 seq.

⁶³ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74.

Shepsesptah (fifth dyn.) and Sabu (sixth dyn.). They were both called  = »hem-priest of *hntj i'w-t-f*.»⁶⁴


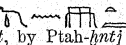
hntj i'w-t-f is also mentioned on the Palermo-stone where it is stated that King Sahurē gave arable land to  = »*hntj i'w-t-f* [determined with a picture of Ptah] in the Memphis district». ⁶⁵ *hntj i'w-t-f*'s foundation is not large and consequently he was probably not a great god, nor is it likely, therefore, that *hntj i'w-t-f* was only another name of Ptah. The fact that *hntj i'w-t-f* looked like Ptah seems to indicate that he was understood to be a manifestation of Ptah already in the Old Kingdom.

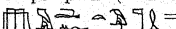
Nothing more definite is known about the nature of *hntj i'w-t-f* and he is not mentioned as an independent god later than the Old Kingdom.

The word  (var. ) = *i'w-t*, which enters into the name, seems to have been some sort of cult-object, for the word used for Min-Horus' chapel in late time, *shn*, was written  ⁶⁶ where the object  seems to have had its place outside the chapel as a kind of cult-object.

This cult-object must have entered into the requisites of the old Memphite god *hntj i'w-t-f*, and that is why he got the name of »He who has his *i'w-t*».

9. Ptah and *hntj mdf.t*

The above mentioned list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos has as its seventh name  = *hntj mdfn-t*, followed by the text:  = »To be recited by *hntj mdf.t*, by Ptah-*hntj dfn-t*». ⁶⁷

This name, too, is found in the titles of the Memphite priests Shepsesptah (fifth dyn.) and Sabu (sixth dyn.), for both were  = »hem-priest of *hntj mdf.t*.»⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 112 seq., 415.

⁶⁵ Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen, p. 36 seq.

⁶⁶ See Wb. IV, p. 218.

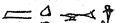
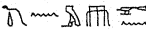
⁶⁷ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74. See Wb. V, p. 448.

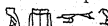
⁶⁸ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 112 seq., 415.

hntj mdf-t (*hntj mdfn-t*, *hntj dfn-t*) does not occur anywhere else, whether detached or together with the name of Ptah, than in these texts from the Old Kingdom and from the time of Seti I. It is, therefore, impossible to decide what the name really means. Judging from the Old Kingdom form the name might mean »He who is at the head of *mdf-t*«, later on with the variants *mdfn-t* and *dfn-t*. *Mdf-t* seems to be a place-name, but nothing definite is known about this place, if it is one.

We may suppose like Kees that *hntj mdf-t* was a local Memphite god, who was by and by identified with Ptah,⁶⁹ but it is possible that *hntj mdf-t* was, as has been suggested to me by Prof. Sander-Hansen, originally nothing but another name of Ptah.⁷⁰

10. Ptah and *m-hnt-wr*

In the list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos the fifth name is  = *m-hnt-wr*, followed by the text  = »To be recited by *m-hnt-wr*, by Ptah *m-hnt-wr*.«⁷¹

Like *hntj i'w-t-f* and *hntj mdf-t*, we find this name in the titles of the Memphite priests Shepsesptah (fifth dyn.) and Sabu (sixth dyn.). Both were  = »hem-priest of *m-hnt-wr*.«⁷²

The name of *m-hnt-wr* does not occur combined with Ptah's name outside the temple of Seti I at Abydos and except in the case mentioned above it seems to occur independently only in an illegible context in a coffin-text from the Middle Kingdom from Assiut.⁷³


⁶⁹ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 60.

⁷⁰ Prof. Sander-Hansen has pointed out to me some names of this type, which may be used for purposes of comparison, namely *hntj pr[f]* = »He who is in front of [possibly: owner of] [his] house«, *hntj inb.f* = »He who is in front of [possibly: owner of] his wall«, and *hntj nh.t[f]* = »He who is in front of [possibly: owner of] his sycamore«, which are found in the tomb of Sahurē and which all seem to allude to the same picture of a god, which has been destroyed. [Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a'hu-Re II, p. 129, pl. 70.]

⁷¹ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74.

⁷² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 113; 415.

⁷³ See Kees in Rec. de trav. 37, p. 60. — Junker, Der sehende und blinde Gott, p. 34.

Kees has dealt with this name in *Rec. de trav.* 37, p. 60 and as a translation he suggests either »The *m-hnt* of *wr*» = »The 'He who is at the head' of *Wr*», where *Wr* (The great one) is supposed to be a god's name, or as second alternative »The great one at the head». In that case *m-hnt* would be a prepositional compound as in the court-title  = *imj-hnt*.

If we suppose the first translation to be correct we should expect, however, the god-name *wr* to be placed before the prepositional expression.⁷⁴ The translation »The great one at the head» is more likely as being quite conceivable as a god-name. This translation has been adopted by Junker.⁷⁵

As in the case of *hntj-mdjt*, *m-hnt-wr* may have been a Memphite local god, who was later identified with Ptah, or it may have been originally another name of Ptah.

11. Ptah and Banebdedet (the Ram-god at Mendes)

Ptah was sometimes identified also with the prolific ram-god at Mendes, Banebdedet, as was natural in view of the creative character of the two gods.

In a decree put into the mouth of Ptah-Tatenen in favour of Ramses II (on a stele in the Abusimbel temple) and of Ramses III (Medinet Habu), where the god describes how he begot and brought forth the King, we read the following passage, quoted from the first text:

»To be recited by Ptah-Tatenen . . . to his beloved son . . . Ramses II: 'I am thy father, who have begotten thee among the gods, all thy limbs being gods, in that I took the form of Banebdedet and begot thee in thy lovely mother'.»⁷⁶ (223.)

These two gods are associated also in another place, but without being identified there, namely in the Ramesside papyrus Chester Beatty I, pl. 2, 3 (Theban), where it is mentioned that Atum sum-

⁷⁴ See Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik* § 87.

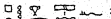
⁷⁵ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 34, note 1.

⁷⁶ L. D. III, pl. 194. — See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 81.

moned »Banebdedet, the great god, with a cult at Sehel» to judge between Horus and Seth, who were contending with one another, and that Banebdedet then came, accompanied by Ptah-Tatenen.⁷⁷ Gardiner, in his commentary on this text, finds it curious that Banebdedet here appears together with an earth god, but refers to the above cited passage in the Ptah decree, which shows that Ptah and Banebdedet had points of contact.⁷⁸

To this it may be added that Ptah-Tatenen in Ramesside times was not a definite earth god, but a divinity of a general creative character, a god in whom Tatenen's original earth-god character in most cases had fallen entirely into the background. We may find the explanation of this coupling together of Banebdedet and Ptah-Tatenen in the fact that Banebdedet, as Gardiner points out, was regarded here as Khnum, as is indicated by his title »with a cult at Sehel». Khnum at Elephantine in the first cataract region was in fact sometimes connected with Sehel.⁷⁹ At any rate in late texts we find Ptah and Khnum coupled together as the protective gods of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively.⁸⁰ This combination may be based on older traditions, which might also have found expression in the above-mentioned passage in Pap. Chester Beatty I, discussed by Gardiner.

12. Ptah and Herishef

In the list of the names of Ptah in the library of the Ramesseum, the twenty-seventh name is:  = »Ptah-Herishef».⁸¹

Herishef was a ram god, the chief god at Heracleopolis Magna, with whom Ptah otherwise is not identified in known texts.

This identification, however, is doubtless due to the fact that the god of fertility and creation, Herishef, seemed to show certain resemblances to the creator god Ptah.

⁷⁷ Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri*, No. I, pl. 2, p. 14 seq.

⁷⁸ Gardiner, *Ibid.*, p. 15, note 2.

⁷⁹ Gardiner, *Ibid.*, p. 15, note 1.

⁸⁰ See p. 187 seq.

⁸¹ Champollion, *Not. I*, p. 905.

13. Ptah and the Nile

Occasionally Ptah was also identified with the Nile, evidently because both were regarded as bringing fertility.

Thus we read on a statue representing Ptah, probably from Rameside times, the following inscription:

»May the King be gracious and give, and may Ptah, the Nile, the father of the gods, he who gives life to the two lands, be gracious and give, etc.»⁸² (224.)

14. Ptah and Nhjj

In some texts from Ramesside times and later, Ptah is called *nhjj* [or *nhh*] *nb rnp-wt* = »*nhjj* [*nhh*], the Lord of the years». The following examples may be cited:

1. A sacrifice formula on a statue from the nineteenth dynasty (the place of origin unknown), now in Cairo, reads as follows:

»May Ptah, the Lord of the two lands, *nhjj*, the Lord of the years, -Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of Rosetau, be gracious and give», etc.⁸³ (225.)

2. Again, on a Ramesside statue from Memphis, Ptah-Tatenen is called:

»Ptah-Tatenen, *nhjj*, the Lord of the years.»⁸⁴ (226.)

3. On Hakoris' sphinx there is an inscription which reads:

[»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of] Ankhtau, Tatenen, *nhjj*, the Lord of the years.»⁸⁵ (227.)

Sethe writes as follows of the relationship of Ptah to *nhjj* (*nhh*) in *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen*, p. 76: »Er [the epithet *nb rnp-wt*] ist meist wie in den zuerst angeführten Beispielen mit dem Namen *Nhjj* oder *Nhh* verbunden, der den Ptah als Verkörperung der Unendlichkeit bezeichnet (*nhjj* Part. pass. perf., *nhh* desgl. imperf. von *nhj*, »wünschen»: das was man wünscht, ohne

⁸² Naville, Bubastis, pl. 38 F; p. 44 seq.

⁸³ Cairo 558. Borchardt, Statuen II, p. 100.

⁸⁴ Cairo Journ. d'entrée 36720. Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 76.

⁸⁵ Louvre A. 27. Sethe, Ibid., p. 76. Sethe's emendation.

es zu erreichen).» — Thus Sethe takes Nhjj to be a name for Ptah from the beginning and points to Pyr. 446 a seqq. in which Nhjj appears and where, according to Sethe, he is identical with Ptah.

In this text Nun and Naunet, Amun and Amaunet, Atum, Shu and Tefnut are addressed and the text continues:

- Pyr. 448 a. »Ye shalt say to your father
 448 b. that Unas hath given to ye your offerings and that Unas hath satisfied you with what is due to you.
 448 c. Ye shalt not hinder Unas when he travels over to him, to the sun mountain.
 449 a. For Unas knoweth him, knoweth his name: Nhjj is his name, Nhjj, the Lord of the year, is his name,
 449 b. he with the victorious arm, Horus who is over the *šhd-w* of the sky, he who keeps Rē alive every day.»⁸⁶ (228.)

Sethe is probably not right in believing that Nhjj, the Lord of the year, is here Ptah.

None of the names which are given to this Nhjj in passage 449 b were usually used of Ptah and it is not very probable that Ptah should be mentioned anonymously in this way in the Pyramid texts where he scarcely occurs otherwise. The quality of being the father of different gods was not a quality characteristic only of Ptah, and also the fact that Nhjj has here the epithet *nb rnp-t* = »the Lord of the year» which is similar to Ptah's epithet in the Shabaka text *nb rnp-wt* = »the Lord of the years» is insufficient ground for the hypothesis that Nhjj should be identical with Ptah. First, the epithet »the Lord of the year» is not the same as »the Lord of the years» and secondly these expressions might have been used as early as in the Pyramid age for several gods. It is true, that, as Sethe points out,⁸⁷ neither Atum nor Rē can be meant by »Nhjj, the Lord of the year» in Pyr. 449 a, as Atum occurs in the text as one of Nhjj's children and Nhjj »keeps Rē alive every day», but it is possible to suppose, because of what is said in passage 449 b, that Nhjj is here some Horus-god.

Sethe quotes another case in which *nḥḥ nb rnp-wt* is mentioned and is, according to him, another name for Ptah. This is an inscrip-

⁸⁶ Sethe, Die altaegypt. Pyramidentexte I, p. 232. — Sethe, Übersetzung u. Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten II, p. 232 seqq.

⁸⁷ Sethe, Ibid. II, p. 240.

tion on Seseneb-nef's coffin dating from the Middle Kingdom, and found in Lisht:

»It is a ba, a ba of eternity. It is *ʿr-t*. . . It is *nḥḥ*, the Lord of the years, who lives forever.»⁸⁸ (229.)

There is nothing here, however, which indicates that it is Ptah who is meant.

From the time of the New Kingdom onwards *nḥjj* (*nḥḥ*) appears in a number of religious texts in a context which leaves no doubt that it is the sun god who is meant. So in the following cases:

1. In Tb 153. B. (P. b.), l. 13, the dead man says:

»I am *Nḥjj*. I am *Rē*, who came out of Nun.»⁸⁹ (230.)

2. In the Ptolemaic-Roman temple at Dendera we read in one place:

»the sky, which bears *Nḥḥ*.»⁹⁰ (231.)

3. In a calendar inscription in the same temple there stands:

»to see *Nḥḥ* in the sky.»⁹¹ (232.)

In all of these instances it is clear that it is the sun which is spoken of.

In certain late texts *Nḥḥ* was sometimes identified with other gods, e. g. Sobek.

Thus in the corridor around the sanctuary in the Edfu temple we read the words:

»*Nḥḥ* is there, in his name Sobek.»⁹² (233.)

In this last example Sobek is explicitly mentioned, but it was most usual to employ *Nḥjj* or *Nḥḥ* as a name referring to the sun.

Thus we have a Pyramid text in which the name *Nḥjj* probably refers to some Horus god and not to Ptah, and a number of texts from the New Kingdom and later in which *Nḥjj* (*Nḥḥ*) is obviously a name for the sun. Some of the latter are texts from the Book of the Dead or Litany texts, i. e. religious writings which may be based on old traditions. On the other hand there are, as we have seen, some simple sacrifice formulae and name lists from Ramesside times

⁸⁸ Gautier-Jéquier, Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht, pl. 17, l. 8.

⁸⁹ Naville, Das aegyptische Tottenbuch I, pl. 178.

⁹⁰ Duemichen, Resultate . . . arch. phot. Expedition, pl. 50, l. 16.

⁹¹ Duemichen, Altaegyptische Kalenderschriften, pl. 113, l. 23.



⁹² Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 330.

in which Ptah is called Nhjj. Judging from the nature of the texts, it is probable that Nhjj was primarily a name for some Horus god or for the sun, and that Ptah received the name secondarily in Ramesside times as a loan from some other god. Indeed, it was usual at that period to identify Ptah many other gods and to load him with epithets borrowed from other gods.

Sethe took the names Nhjj and Nhḥ to be forms of the verb *nḥj* = »to wish». He thought that they meant »that which one strives for but cannot gain», and implied the embodiment or personification of infinity.⁹⁵

It is probable that Nhjj-Nhḥ are forms of the verb *nḥj* = »to wish», »to strive after», »to covet», or the like, but it is not certain that the verb *nḥj* has anything to do with the noun *nḥh* = »infinity», or that the god name Nhjj-Nhḥ is related to that noun.

Kees, who, with Sethe, regards Nhjj as a word for »infinity» and another name for Ptah, calls attention to another epithet for Ptah which according to him gives further support to the theory, namely:

 = *stj nḥh*. Thus in a Ramesside inscription from Memphis,⁹⁴
 = *pth stj nḥh* is mentioned, which Kees has translated:
 »Ptah, substitute of infinity».⁹⁵

It seems likely, however, that *nḥh* does not stand for »infinity» here but for »the sun god», which would make Ptah »the substitute [successor?] of the sun god». This translation appears to me to be all the more probable in the light of the fact that *stj r* = »the substitute [successor?] of Rē» was a common epithet for Ptah as early as during the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁶

Kees also directs attention to some Ptah epithets cited by Stolk, such as *nb nḥh* = »the Lord of eternity», and *nb r nḥh* = »Ruler of eternity», which are likewise supposed to show Ptah's close connection with the god name Nhjj.⁹⁷ In these epithets *nḥh* does indeed mean »eternity», but in my opinion it has nothing to do with the god name Nhjj. At the time when these epithets were applied to

⁹⁵ See p. 178 seq.

⁹⁴ Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 24.

⁹⁵ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 287, note 3.

⁹⁶ See p. 153.

⁹⁷ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 287, note 3. Stolk, Ptah, p. 21.

Ptah they were among the usual descriptive terms for divine beings. They were used most for Osiris, and were probably taken over from him.

15. The Pataeci

In Herodotos' History III, 37 we read the following passage about the doings of Cambyses at Memphis:

»Likewise he [Cambyses] went into the temple of Hephaistos and made great sport of the image. For the image of Hephaistos is very like the Pataeci of the Phoenicians, which the Phoenicians place in the prows of their triremes. For the benefit of those who have not seen them I will mention that the image resembles a pygmy. He also went into the temple of the Cabiri, where no one but the priest is allowed to enter and he first made sport of the images there, and then he even burnt them. These, too, are similar to the images of Hephaistos and they are said to be his children.»


Here, then, Herodotos says that an image of Ptah, which resembled a pygmy, was worshipped in the temple of Hephaistos (= Ptah) at Memphis. Moreover we are told that there was at Memphis a temple of the so-called Cabiri, who also had the shape of pygmies and were believed to be the sons of Hephaistos.

That Herodotos' statement about an image of Ptah in pygmy shape must have some foundation is clear from the fact that in some cases Ptah's name has been found on or near images of pygmies with crooked arms and legs, a fact which Kees mistakenly denies.⁹⁸ The following instances may be adduced:

1. v. Bissing points to a small faience figure, found at Gize, now at Cairo, from late time, which represents a dwarf with a large head, beardless, with crooked legs and arms, holding snakes and standing on crocodiles. Under the socle we find the god-name $\square \frac{2}{3} \Delta \Omega$
= »Ptah, endowed with life.»¹

⁹⁸ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 385, note 8.

¹ Archiv f. Orientforschung 13, p. 63. See Daressy, Statues I, p. 310; II, pl. 69. Cairo 39237.

2. In Lanzone, *Diz. Mitol.* pl. 99, a dwarf represented as Min with a scourge in his right hand and erected penis, is called  « = »Ptah-Sokaris.»

3. On a small stone from Ptolemaic times, designed to ward off snakes, crocodiles and other dangerous beings and with a picture of the Horus-child in high-relief, standing on crocodiles and with snakes in his hands, a series of other gods are also represented. Several of them have snakes in their hands and are evidently supposed to be able to master the snakes. It has not been noticed earlier that there is among these gods also a dwarf-shaped figure, with crooked legs and arms, standing on a dais with steps, of the kind on which Ptah usually stands. Close by this god-image we read an inscription, cited above,² which must be interpreted: »Ptah, the killer of snakes».³ (Fig. 19.)

There is proof, then, that Ptah, in late time, is occasionally represented in dwarf-shape and it is likely, that in Cambyses' time a Ptah-statue of this appearance was worshipped in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, as stated by Herodotos. From the description given by Herodotos it would seem that this image of Ptah was the principal cult statue in the temple at Memphis, but that must be due to some mistake, as the most usual way of representing Ptah, at all places and right down to Roman time, was as a man of normal stature.

The cult image mentioned by Herodotos was probably one of several statues of Ptah in the temple of Memphis.

There are early traces of a cult of dwarfs in Egypt. Ballod points out that already on magic rods from the Middle Kingdom dwarfs were represented, with crooked legs and arms, beard and tail and holding snakes in their hands, evidently intended to protect against snakes.⁴ In the New Kingdom a god of this dwarf type, with beard and tail, called Bes, gained particular popularity.⁵

In late time we meet with a new type of dwarf god, without a tail, but with bent arms and legs like Bes and with a usually human, beardless head, with or without head ornaments of various kinds

² See p. 16.

³ Brit. Mus. 36250. Budge, *The Mummy*, pl. 33.

⁴ Ballod, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte der zwerghaften Götter in Ägypten*, p. 27 seq.

⁵ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 385.

and in most cases with snakes in his hands. This is the type shown by the three Ptah-figures in dwarf shape pointed out above.

With support of the passage in Herodotos quoted above, the egyptologists have called this type of dwarf god Pataeci.

Many egyptologists have expressed the view, most recently Spiegelberg,⁶ that this type of dwarf god without a tail and a beard always represented Ptah.

It is a fact, however, that not all of the images of dwarf gods of this type which have come down to us represent Ptah. In the material of such god images in the Cairo museum it is evident that some represent other gods. Thus Cairo 38807 is a dwarf figure without a tail, with crooked arms and legs and with Amun's double feathers on its head.⁷ This must be a representation of Amun in dwarf's shape. Cairo 38823—38826 are images of gods with dwarfs' bodies and apes' heads,⁸ probably representing Thoth in dwarf's shape. Besides there are figures of the same type with cats' heads, snakes' heads, Horus-heads and so on.⁹

The most common type of this kind of dwarf god is, however, the one with a dwarf's body and a smooth, human head without a crown, resembling a human dwarf, and it is possible that this type was regarded as a form of Ptah.

Owing to the scarcity of the material it seems difficult to find the reason for Ptah's being occasionally represented in this way. Different explanations are conceivable. One explanation may be, that originally these dwarf figures, which often hold snakes, were used as snake-averting amulets without any connection with any particular god, just as dwarfs were represented, already in the Middle Kingdom, in order to avert snakes, and that they came to be identified secondarily with various gods such as Amun, Thoth, Ptah and so forth. Another explanation is that from the beginning the dwarf figures with a smooth human, beardless head and crooked legs and arms were meant to represent Ptah as a dwarf, and that this might be

⁶ Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1925, 2, p. 10.

⁷ Daressy, *Divinités* I, p. 202; II, pl. 42.


⁸ Daressy, *Ibid.*, I, p. 205 seq.; II, pl. 42.

⁹ Daressy, *Ibid.* II, pl. 42.

due, as suggested by Spiegelberg,¹⁰ to the fact that from the Old Kingdom onwards dwarfs were used especially for smithwork and that Ptah, as being the patron god of artificers and an artificer himself could easily be figured as a dwarf. Later this type of images of Ptah may have come into use for protection against snakes, in analogy with many other dwarf types.

There is no reason to believe that these dwarf figures, whether originally they were connected with Ptah or not, have their origin in the influence of foreign dwarf cults, for instance the Phoenician *παράλιοι*, mentioned by Herodotos, who were connected with navigation among other things,¹¹ or the Cabiri who were evidently worshipped at Memphis in Herodotos' time, probably originally Phrygian-Thracian gods, who at some places at least were believed to be connected with mining, and who, in Herodotos' times, were regarded in Egypt as Ptah's children. These foreign dwarf types do not show a greater resemblance to the Egyptian beardless dwarf amulets than the dwarf types which were represented for magical purposes in Egypt as early as in the Middle Kingdom.

16. Ptah and the Earth Creator Serpent

In late Egyptian texts mention is often made of a serpent named  = *ir-t'* = »The creator of the earth«, who was regarded as a primeval god with creative characteristics. There was a tendency in Egypt, at least from the time of the Pyramids, often to conceive of primeval gods in the guise of a serpent.¹² How old the conception of the Irta-serpent is and where it first originated cannot be determined, as the serpent does not occur except in late texts from many different places and is identified with many different gods.

In some Ptolemaic texts Ptah-Tatenen is identified with the Irta-serpent.

1. In the corridor round the holy of holies in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, mention is made of:

¹⁰ Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 1925, 2, p. 10 seq. — See Klebs, *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches*, pp. 33, 34, 35.

¹¹ *Archiv f. Orientforschung* 13, p. 64.

¹² See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 55.

»Tatenen as the Irta-serpent, creator in *tph-t-d-t*, at the head of Memphis.¹³ (234.)

2. In the second hypostyle hall in the temple at Edfu there is an inscription which, to judge by the placing of the text, must refer to Ptah:

»The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Irta-serpent who created the primeval gods, the father of the fathers of all the gods, he who began the primeval gods and created the beings and made that which exists, and created that which is, he who forged the smiths and formed the formers, . . . who gave birth to the gods.»¹⁴ (235.)

The expression »the father of the fathers of all the gods», probably refers to the fact that Ptah-Irta was considered to be the father of the Ogdoad = »fathers of the gods».

From these texts it appears that Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen in late times sometimes could be identified with the Irta-serpent.

The name Irta = »Earth creator» was given also to other gods, such as Min,¹⁵ Sobek,¹⁶ Amenapet and others. As Sethe has shown, the Irta-serpent was often identified with the second generation of Amun, the ithyphallic Amenapet, and he apparently regards the Irta-serpent as a conception of specific Theban origin.¹⁷ He also considers that the reason for the identification between Ptah-Tatenen and the Irta-serpent which only occurs in certain late texts outside Thebes was that both these divinities were sometimes identified with Amenapet.¹⁸

The fact is, however, that at Edfu, where Ptah-Tatenen was actually identified with the Irta-serpent, the Theban speculations on the different generations of Amun and their relation to Ptah-Tatenen and the Irta — respectively, did not play such an important part that the identification between Ptah-Tatenen and Irta must be considered to have been influenced by those speculations.

¹³ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 329.

¹⁴ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou II, p. 37.

¹⁵ Roman stele from Akhmim. A. Z. 62, p. 88.

¹⁶ De Morgan, Kom Ombos I, p. 190.

¹⁷ See Amun und die acht Urgötter, p. 26 seq.; p. 57.

¹⁸ Sethe, Ibid., p. 56 seqq.

It seems to me most probable that people came to believe in a primeval serpent god named Irta — whether this idea originated at Thebes, Memphis or elsewhere —, and that the name of this god, in accordance with the Egyptian usage was taken as a byname of other gods with similar character, and that the Irta-serpent was worshipped as a form assumed by certain gods. The fusions between Irta, on the one hand, and Amenapet, Ptah-Tatenen, Min, etc., on the other, were presumably of independent origin, correspondences being found between the primeval creative character of the Irta-serpent and the character of the other gods.

17. Ptah and Khnum

We have seen above that in certain texts Ptah was represented as creator in the form of a potter at his wheel, probably owing to the influence of some cult of Khnum.¹⁹

In late texts we sometimes find Ptah-Tatenen identified with Khnum of Elephantine or Khnum of Esne. Thus for example in a hymn in the Ptolemaic temple at Esne, where Khnum of Esne is invoked in this way:

»Oh, Thou whose quality is that of a lifegiving potter.
... Oh, Tatenen ...»²⁰ (236.)

One might expect that Tatenen and Khnum, both creator gods, were often identified with each other, but this happens seldom and only late.

Besides this rare identification between Ptah-Tatenen and Khnum we find one passage where Ptah-Tatenen and Khnum are juxtaposed as patron gods for Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt respectively. Thus we read on a pillar in the hypaethral temple at Dendera (Ptol.):

- a. »Khnum-Rē, ruler of Elephantine and the gods and goddesses of the south country, who begins his beautiful year together with Rē and Hathor.»
- b. »Ptah-Tatenen, the father of the gods, and the gods and goddesses of the north country, who begins his beautiful year together with Rē and Hathor.»²¹ (237—238.)

¹⁹ See p. 48.

²⁰ Brugsch, *Thes.* p. 627. — Badawi, *Der Gott Chnum*, p. 38 seq.

²¹ Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

Khnum and Ptah-Tatenen were probably given these functions as patron gods of the south country and the north country, because Khnum was the principal god of the southern outpost Elephantine and Ptah of Memphis in the north.

18. Ptah and Sobek-Rē

In a hymn to the crocodile-god Sobek-Rē, ruler of Semenu (Crocodiopolis) in a papyrus from about 100 B. C., now at Strasbourg, the god is called among other things:

»ba at Heliopolis, Tatenen at Memphis»²² (239.)

The idea was to increase, in the usual manner, the god's glory by identifying him with other great gods, among others with Tatenen at Memphis.

19. Ptah's Relation to Different Goddesses

From the time of the New Kingdom onwards we often find Ptah in association with different goddesses, and now one, now another was thought to be his wife. The goddess who was usually regarded as his female partner was *Sekhmet*, »The mighty one», the lion goddess.

Sekhmet was worshipped in the Memphis district long before she appeared as Ptah's beloved. She is represented in the royal mortuary temples at Abusir from the Old Kingdom.²³ On a fragment from Koptos from the Middle Kingdom she is called, as is pointed out by Stolk:

»Sekhmet, the mistress of Ankhtau»,²⁴ (a Memphite district), and Ptah during the Middle Kingdom had a corresponding title: »Lord of Ankhtau». ²⁵ Doubtless because of this common domicile at Memphis, Ptah and Sekhmet came to be associated as husband and wife,

²² Kêmi I, p. 165.

²³ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 287 seq. — Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a' hu-Re II, p. 113.

²⁴ Petrie, Koptos, pl. 11. — See Stolk, Ptah, p. 9.

²⁵ See p. 214 seq.

which may have happened earlier than during the period of the New Kingdom, but we have no written evidence for it until then.

In the temple of Ptah in Memphis, Sekhmet had a cult together with Ptah at any rate from the time of Ramses III, as the latter, in Pap. Harris I (pl. 47, 6 seq.), states that in his temple of Ptah in Memphis he had made a chapel, and that:

»Ptah, Sekhmet, and Nefertum rest therein». ²⁶ (240.)

In the same papyrus (pl. 43) Sekhmet is called:

»Sekhmet the great one, Ptah's beloved». ²⁷ (241.)

She has probably been worshipped earlier in the temple of Ptah, but we have no written or archeological evidence that this was the case, probably because the temple of Ptah in Memphis is destroyed, so that the sources of our knowledge of it are scanty.

Sekhmet is represented as the wife of Ptah not only in Memphis but also in a number of other places, for example the temple of Seti I at Abydos ²⁸ and the temple at Gerf Husein in Nubia. ²⁹

As a third party together with Ptah and Sekhmet, Nefertum usually appears. But it occasionally happened, as pointed out by Stolk, that one of the pharaohs was regarded as the son of Ptah and Sekhmet, e. g. in the pronaos in the temple at Louxor, where Amenhotep III is called: »Ptah's son, born of Sekhmet», ³⁰ (242.) and on a stele in the Abusimbel temple, where Ramses II is called:

»Rē's son, who issued from Tatenen and was born of the great Sekhmet». ³¹ (243.)

Sekhmet was considered in several places to be wedded with others than Ptah, but as a rule she was associated with him.

It was usual that, when Ptah was represented or worshipped together with a goddess, she was Sekhmet; but, as the Egyptian goddesses were so often fused and identified, other goddesses in some localities took the place of Sekhmet alongside of Ptah, and sometimes he was associated with Sekhmet in fusion with some other goddess.

²⁶ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 52.

²⁷ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁸ Calverley-Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II*, pl. 26.

²⁹ L. D. III, pl. 178 b.

³⁰ Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, p. 69. — Stolk, *Ptah*, p. 10.

³¹ L. D. III, pl. 194. — See Stolk, *Ptah*, p. 10.

In Theban texts, Sekhmet was sometimes identified with the local goddess *Mut*, who in this way was made Ptah's beloved. In a Theban tomb of the New Kingdom, Mut is called in one place:

»Mut, the mistress of heaven — Sekhmet, Ptah's beloved — Bastet, Rē's eye, with much food». ³² (244.)

Bastet was identified as far back as the fifth dynasty with Sekhmet which is seen on a relief in Ne-user-rē's mortuary temple at Abusir, where mention is made of »Bastet, mistress of Ankhtau-Sekhmet-Shesmetet». ³³ It is therefore not astonishing that in the above-mentioned Theban text, Bastet has also been identified with Mut and Sekhmet, being thus made Ptah's beloved.

Also without identification with Sekhmet, Bastet seems to have sometimes been regarded as Ptah's beloved, though she was not called so in known texts. The following reasons may be adduced for this view.

1. In several places in the temple at Medinet Habu, Ptah is depicted together with Bastet, for example in one of the rooms alongside the first hypostyle (Room 18 on Daressy's map). ³⁴

2. On a stele from the tomb of Paitenemheb in Thebes, from the Amarna period, we read the following sacrificial formula:

»May the King be gracious and give and may Ptah-Sokaris and Nefertum, Bastet's son, be gracious and give», etc. ³⁵ (245.)

Nefertum was usually the third in the triad Ptah-Sekhmet-Nefertum, but Bastet here has taken the place of Sekhmet as the mother of Nefertum with Ptah-Sokaris as his father.

Sekhmet was sometimes identified with *Tefnut*, and in this way Tefnut was also regarded sometimes as Ptah's beloved.

In an inscription from Roman times in the temple at Dendera, Sekhmet is called:

»Sekhmet, Ptah's beloved, the glorious one, who is at the head of Dendera—Tefnut—Maat, the great mistress at Memphis». ³⁶ (246.)

³² A. S. A. 6, p. 83.

³³ Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal d. Königs Ne-User-Re', p. 94.

³⁴ Daressy, Not. explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou, p. 146.

³⁵ Beschrijving ... Leiden IV, pl. 9.

³⁶ L. D. Text II, p. 190.

Here, besides Tefnut, *Maat* too has been drawn into the Ptah-Sekhmet group.

The idea that *Maat* was Ptah's beloved is found also in late Theban texts, e. g. in one in Karnak, where *Maat* is called:

»*Maat*, the great one, united with Amun, Rē's daughter, Ptah's beloved». ³⁷ (247.)

The goddess *Maat* is combined here in different ways with the three national gods, Amun, Rē, and Ptah.

Ptah's close connection with the conception *Maat* has been indicated above³⁸: as from the Middle Kingdom he had the epithet *nb m't* = »possessor of, [or »Lord of»] *Maat*».

In some places Ptah is mentioned in different ways in connection with different forms of *Hathor*. The following examples may be recorded:

1. In the temple of Ptah at Karnak, Ptah was worshipped together with a goddess in the guise of a cow, who was called »*Hathor*, the ruler of Thebes» (*hrj-t-tp w's-t*) and who had an ancient cult centre at Dēr el Bahri.³⁹ The latter was evidently the reason for her being given a place in the neighbouring Ptah-temple at Karnak.

2. South of Memphis, a tree goddess, who had been given the name of *Hathor*, and was sometimes represented with cow horns, was worshipped; she was called »The mistress of the [southern] sycamore». In her temple area, *pr-nb-t-nh't*, there seems to have been a Ptah cult,⁴⁰ and several inscriptions show that Ptah and this goddess were sometimes worshipped as a pair. Thus there is at Leyden a sculpture of a *Hathor* cow from the New Kingdom, on which »*Hathor*, the mistress of the sycamore», is mentioned together with Ptah, who has the epithet: »the Lord of Semen *Maat*» (a cult centre probably situated in *pr-nb-t-nh't*).⁴¹

The cult of this goddess had spread also to other places in Egypt. In one of the rooms alongside the first hypostyle in the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (Room 18 on Daressy's map),

³⁷ Unpublished notes of Sethe 4, 68/69.

³⁸ See p. 77.

³⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 357.

⁴⁰ See p. 219.

⁴¹ See p. 219. *Beschrijving ... Leiden V*, p. 13, pl. 13.

she is seen together with Ptah, who here has the epithet: »He who is under his olive tree».⁴²

Hathor, the »mistress of the [southern] sycamore» was, however, regarded in certain other texts as the daughter of Ptah, *e. g.* in the Ramesside Pap. Harris I, where among other things mention is made of different Memphite cult ceremonies, and where (on pl. 49, 1 seqq.) it is related that Ptah in Memphis visited his daughter »Hathor, the mistress of the sycamore». The text runs:

»Ptah, he with the beautiful face, who is south of his wall, rises to rest in his chapel, like the dweller on the sun-mountain [Horus]. His heart is well pleased to see it [the chapel] in order to make [= which shall make] his lovely sea-trip on the water to his daughter, the mistress of the sycamore, south of Memphis.»⁴³ (248.)

This evidently refers to the conveyance of Ptah's image in a portable chapel by sea, on a visit to the cult centre of »Hathor, the mistress of the sycamore».

It is probable that the Ptah who was a partner of the »mistress of the sycamore», in her temple south of Memphis, was regarded as another god than the Ptah worshipped in the principal temple in Memphis, who was regarded as the father of the »mistress of the sycamore» and went for a visit to her.

3. In a late text in the temple at Edfu we read also an account of how Ptah's image at Edfu made a journey to the Hathor goddess who was worshipped at Dendera and who was regarded as his daughter. However, there is no question here of the »mistress of [the south] sycamore», but of the goddess Hathor who originally belonged to Dendera.

This text, which is found on the outside of the naos in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu, runs:

»The following saith Ptah, he with the beautiful face, great god at the head of Edfu, Tatenen, who adorns the mistress of Dendera. He repairs to her temple . . . he lays his arms round his great daughter Hathor, the mistress of Dendera.»⁴⁴ (249.)


⁴² Daressy, *Not. explicative des ruines de Médi-net Habou*, p. 146.

⁴³ Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, p. 55.

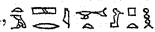
⁴⁴ Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou IV*, p. 88.

4. On the Sinai peninsula a temple was erected during the Middle Kingdom at Serābit el Khādīm, where Ptah was worshipped together with a goddess with cow horns and human head named *ht-hr nb-t mfk²-t* = »Hathor, the mistress of the malachite». ⁴⁵

Another goddess who was associated with Ptah was *Astarte*. Here we see a similar case of vacillation between the tendency to associate gods, and among them Ptah, with goddesses, in pairs, and the inclination to regard different gods and goddesses as offspring of Ptah, »the father of the gods».

The goddess Astarte (, etc.) seems to have had a cult at Memphis in the New Kingdom, as a priest of Astarte is mentioned in a Memphite text from the time of Amenhotep IV. ⁴⁶

Probably owing to this local vicinity to Ptah, Astarte was connected with him. On a sepulchral stone from Memphis, dating from the time of Merenptah, she is represented as standing behind Ptah, in the same way as Sekhmet was usually depicted, and wearing an elaborate crown and carrying a shield. ⁴⁷

In the Astarte papyrus, Astarte is called, instead, , = »Ptah's great daughter». ⁴⁸

20. Ptah and Nefertum

A god with whom Ptah was coupled at an early date was Nefertum, the Memphite lotus-god. In the Shabaka text we read the following in line 52 b:

»Ptah . . . Nefertum [the lotus] at the nose of Rē every day». ⁴⁹

As the text is corrupt it is difficult to judge whether there is an identification between Nefertum and Ptah, though that is probable. Such an identification, however, does not occur in any other Egyptian text.

⁴⁵ See p. 220.

⁴⁶ Ranke in Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith, p. 416.

⁴⁷ Ranke, *Ibid.*, p. 416; Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 15, 37.

⁴⁸ Newberry, The Amherst Papyri, pl. 20, 1. — See: Gardiner, The Chester Beatty Papyri No. I, p. 15, note 10.

⁴⁹ Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, p. 16 seq.; 38 seq.

On the other hand, the two gods were associated at the time of the New Kingdom and later, in that, together with Sekhmet, they formed a triad which was sometimes represented as standing in a row (*e. g.* in that part of Pap. Harris I which describes the donations of Ramses III to the temple of Ptah in Memphis),⁵⁰ and which was worshipped together in at least one chapel in the temple of Ramses III within the area of Ptah in Memphis.⁵¹ When this triad originated cannot be determined; it may have occurred before the New Kingdom.

In my material there is no text stating that Nefertum was the son of Ptah, but there are some texts indicating that it was believed that Sekhmet had begotten Nefertum, *e. g.* Cairo Wb 388 (22nd—26th dynasty) where Nefertum is called: »Nefertum, the son of Sekhmet, he who protects the two countries».⁵²

In a Ptolemaic text in the entrance to the temple of Ptah at Thebes, Nefertum is called: — »Nefertum, the son of Sekhmet».⁵³

It is probable that Nefertum's position in the Memphite triad from the outset was that of the son, but this is not certain. He may have been associated with the other gods merely in order to form a triad. In Elephantine, for example, Khnum was associated with two goddesses, Satet and Anuket, and Month at Hermonthis was likewise worshipped together with two goddesses.⁵⁴

The association may have been merely due to the fact that Nefertum, like Ptah, had a cult in Memphis.

21. Ptah and Imhotep

In late Egyptian texts we often meet a divine being who is called the son of Ptah, namely Imhotep. During the time of Djoser in the third dynasty, Imhotep had been high priest at Heliopolis and chief builder.⁵⁵

In late times (at any rate from the sixth century B. C.) he came

⁵⁰ Birch, Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic Papyrus, etc. pl. 43.

⁵¹ Eriksen, *Ibid.*, p. 52. (47, 7.)

⁵² Unpublished notes of Sethe 24, 62.

⁵³ A. S. A. 3, p. 50.

⁵⁴ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 151.

⁵⁵ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 249.

to be regarded as a god, and had a cult.⁵⁶ He was worshipped in human form without a crown and a beard and usually with a papyrus roll on his knee.⁵⁷ His temple seems to have been situated west of Memphis, where his tomb was believed to lie.⁵⁸

A genealogical text from the time of Darius I mentions Imhotep, the chief builder and vizier from the time of Djoser, son of Kanefer.⁵⁹ Thus according to tradition, the name of Imhotep's father was Kanefer. As a god, however, Imhotep was usually called the son of Ptah. This occurs both in Memphite texts and in texts from other places.

1. On a bronze statuette from Sakkara, representing Imhotep, probably from Saitic times, the god is called:

»Imhotep, the son of Ptah, born of Kherdankh». ⁶⁰ (250.)

2. On the western façade of the temple of Imhotep at Philae, Imhotep is called:

»Imhotep, the great, son of Ptah, glorious god whom Tatenen created and his beloved sister bore». ⁶¹ (251.)

3. On the right door post of the sanctuary in the Horus temple at Edfu mention is made of:

»Imhotep, son of Ptah, beautiful offspring of the one who is south of his wall, a glorious power at Edfu». ⁶² (252.)

In the first quotation Imhotep is said to be born of Ptah and Kherdankh. Kherdankh (variations: Kherdtiankh, Kherduankh), in many texts from the time when Imhotep was worshipped as a god, is regarded as Imhotep's mother.⁶³ She was considered to be a woman on the earth who had given birth to Imhotep with Ptah as the father.⁶⁴

Thus in a Ptolemaic text from Memphis mention is made of:

⁵⁶ Sethe, Imhotep, p. 3.

⁵⁷ See e. g. Daressy, Statues de divinités II, pl. 4 seq.

⁵⁸ Sethe, Ibid., p. 7.

⁵⁹ L. D. III, pl. 275 a. See Sethe, Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁰ Daressy, Ibid. I, p. 17 seq. Cairo 38046.

⁶¹ Philae Photo 40. Unpublished.

⁶² Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou II, p. 270.

⁶³ Sethe, Ibid., p. 24.

⁶⁴ Sethe, Ibid., p. 5.

»The day of the birth of Imhotep to his father Ptah by his mother Kherdtiankh». ⁶⁵ (253.)

Kherdankh is represented with a human head, vulture hood and double feather on her head.⁶⁶

Sometimes Hathor was represented as the female party in a triad Ptah-Hathor-Imhotep, *e. g.* in a Ptolemaic inscription in the Ptah temple at Karnak. Imhotep is seen there behind Ptah and Hathor.⁶⁷ Here, however, Imhotep is not called Hathor's son, but only $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} =$ »Ptah's son».

In a Memphite-Ptolemaic text, partly cited above, which describes the festivals of Imhotep at Memphis during Ptolemaic times, the relation between Ptah and Imhotep is represented in a way which was not usual in Egyptian religious texts. A festival was celebrated in commemoration of the birth of Imhotep, and in the description of the festival we read the following:

»The great god, father of the gods [Ptah] rejoices at the sight of him [Imhotep].» (254.)

Another festival was celebrated in commemoration of the death of Imhotep, and it was called:

»The day of mourning for Imhotep by his father Ptah because of his death». ⁶⁸ (255.)

Imhotep is described in the whole of this text more as a hero than as a real god, in that we are told about his birth, death and burial. It is perhaps for this reason that Ptah is also described more humanly than usual, with descriptions of his joy and of his tears over the fate of his son Imhotep.

22. Ptah and Apis

Otto, in his treatise »Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten», discusses the relation between Ptah and Apis in all its aspects, and shows that the intimate connection between them which

⁶⁵ Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 14, p. 38.

⁶⁶ See *e. g.* L. D. IV, pl. 18 (Temple of Imhotep at Philae). See Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ L. D. Text III, p. 7. See Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 4, note 5.

⁶⁸ Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 14, p. 38.

referred to by Otto. In an Apis text from the 22nd dynasty, we read the following about the dead Apis:

»He was brought to Memphis to his father Ptah, who is south of his wall, by Ptah's high priest, the sem-priest in the temple of Ptah». ⁷⁸ (256.)

The expression, to which Otto has drawn attention: »Apis, Ptah's living son and intermediary», was evidently from the outset a wrong interpretation or a play on words, but Ptah was called the father of Apis long after the expression »Apis, Ptah's living son and intermediary» passed out of use.

Otto also draws attention to the rare expression:

»Apis, thy [Ptah's] glorious ba, who is close to thee». ⁷⁹ (257.)

Otto lays stress on the very slight influence that Apis had on the character and appearance of Ptah and vice versa.⁸⁰

23. Ptah and his Company of Nine Gods

Ptah's *psd-t* or »company of nine gods» is mentioned, as we have seen, in the Shabaka text. There in line 55 seqq. we read the following description of how Ptah created his group of nine gods: »His [Ptah's] nine gods are before him as teeth and lips. Those are Atum's seed and hands. Atum's nine gods have indeed arisen from his seed and his fingers. Yet the nine gods are the teeth and lips in this mouth [of Ptah], which told the name of all things, from which Shu and Tefnut proceeded, and which created the nine gods. . . . Thus, all gods were born and his [Ptah's] nine gods were completed.»⁸¹

Attempts have been made to explain in different ways what this »company of nine gods» was. Erman interpreted lines 48—52 in the Shabaka text to mean, that eight additional Ptahs had proceeded from the great Ptah. He considered that these nine gods formed a group corresponding to the group of nine gods at Heliopolis.⁸² Now,

⁷⁸ Louvre 1094. Rec. de trav. 22, p. 11.

⁷⁹ Otto, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸⁰ Otto, *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁸¹ See p. 21.

⁸² Erman, *Die Religion d. Ägypter*, p. 91 seq.

however, this idea of the eight forms of Ptah who had proceeded from Ptah and formed a group of nine gods together with the great Ptah, is based, as Sethe has shown, on a mistranslation of the expression $\overline{\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}} \overline{\text{𓂏}}$ Erman translated it by »the gods who came to existence out of Ptah», but it should, as Junker has clearly shown, be translated: »the gods who have form in Ptah, who are in Ptah». — Thus, there is no question of anything else but Ptah himself, and not of any gods who had proceeded from him and who — as Erman supposed — could be called his Ennead.⁸³

Sethe, who in 1928 published the Shabaka text, considered that the above cited passage about Ptah's nine gods should be interpreted to mean that Ptah's company of nine gods consisted of his teeth and lips.⁸⁴ This view is opposed by Junker, certainly with good reason. He points out that, as a parallel to the expression about Ptah's »teeth and lips», the old Memphite text mentions »Atum's hands and seed», after which it is said that Atum's group of nine gods *arose from* Atum's seed and fingers, but not that the group of nine gods was *identical* with his seed and fingers. Therefore when it is said of Ptah that the group of nine gods »are the teeth and lips in this mouth which named the name of all things», this is, in Junker's opinion, an abbreviated expression, meaning that the group of nine gods *arose from* Ptah's teeth and lips.⁸⁵

The text thus describes two different ways in which the originally Heliopolitan group of gods, the so-called »company of nine gods», which in Heliopolis consisted of: Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys were created. Atum created them with his fingers and his seed and together with himself they were his company of nine gods. Ptah on the other hand created Atum and the other eight gods with the words of his mouth, and together with himself they were called *his* company of nine gods, although they were in reality ten gods.⁸⁶ In the above-cited passage, mention is made of how Shu and Tefnut proceeded from the words of the mouth of Ptah. As Shu and Tefnut were reckoned as members of the Heliopolitan

⁸³ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 17 seqq.

⁸⁴ Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, p. 57.

⁸⁵ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ In *Dram. Texte*, p. 49, Sethe calls attention to the fact that outside Heliopolis the expression *psd.t* often came to refer to more than nine gods.

group of nine gods, who produced the following six members, this is another way of expressing that Ptah created the Heliopolitan Ennead with his word.

In the Shabaka text (line 52 a), we read also the following words:

»Ptah, the great one, it is the heart and tongue of the nine gods».⁸⁷

This must be an application of another utterance which also occurs in the Shabaka text (line 54):

»The heart and tongue have power over all limbs because of the doctrine that it [the heart] is in every body and that it [the tongue] is in every mouth of all gods, all men, all cattle, all reptiles, all that lives, in that it thinks all that it [the heart] will, and commands all that it [the tongue] will».⁸⁸

The »heart» and the »tongue» mentioned here, must refer to Ptah's heart and tongue. Ptah is thus thought not only to have created the company of nine gods, but also to have continued to act as its heart and tongue, that is as the creative principle within it. Junker indeed considers that the »heart» and the »tongue» in the last quoted passage are taken as general conceptions and have nothing to do with Ptah.⁸⁹ But this interpretation is philologically unwarranted and unnecessarily complicates the text.

The passage from the Shabaka text, quoted above, which mentions Ptah's Ennead is a sign of the general tendency of the text: to try to augment the influence of Memphite theology by taking over Heliopolitan ideas. The Heliopolitan Ennead, which was believed to have worked at the creation of the world, was fitted into the Memphite theology in such a way that, on the one hand it was considered to be a product of Ptah's creative activity, on the other hand a link in this activity.

As from the New Kingdom, Ptah's »company of nine gods» is rather frequently mentioned. Thus, for example, in the section of Pap. Harris I, which deals with the King's buildings and foundations in Memphis. The following passages may be recorded:

⁸⁷ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 16 seq.

⁸⁸ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁸⁹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 49 seqq.

1. In Pap. Harris I, 44, 2 mention is made of:

»Ptah . . . Sekhmet . . . Nefertem . . . [and?] the company of nine gods, the Lords of Memphis.»⁹⁰ (258.)

2. In Pap. Harris I, 45, 1 the King speaks to Ptah in Memphis, expressing his wish to live again in the Kingdom of Death and continuing:

»and may I see thee every day as also thy company of nine gods.»⁹¹ (259.)

3. In Pap. Harris I, 47, 5 seqq., the King speaks likewise to Ptah in Memphis in the following words:

»I have made for thee a magnificent udja-necklace for thy neck, in beautiful ketmet-gold and silver in chased work . . . in order that it may be united with thy body in thy great place. The company of nine gods, the Lords of the temple of Ptah, are satisfied with it. . . Thy [Ptah's] nine gods are satisfied and rejoice over it.»⁹² (260.)

4. In Pap. Harris I, 50, 1 seqq. we read the following speech of the King to Ptah in Memphis:

»I have made works for thy company of nine gods, the Lords of jubilees, in gold and silver and precious stones as before. . . I have instituted an offering to their kas, established as a perpetual food offering for eternity. Lo, I have enumerated these benefactions I have made for thee, thou Ptah, who is south of his wall and Lord of Memphis, so that the nine gods of the temple of Ptah may know of my benefactions.»⁹³ (261.)

Here Ptah's »company of nine gods» is mentioned as dwelling in the Ptah temple in Memphis. Unfortunately, no mention is made here of exactly what gods were included in this »company of nine gods».

The expression may here, as is probably the case in the Shabaka text, refer to Ptah, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth,

⁹⁰ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 49.

⁹¹ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁹² Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 52 seq.

⁹³ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

and Nephthys, possibly with some local additions, who may all have had a cult in the Ptah temple in Memphis. But on the other hand it is possible that the expression »company of nine gods» is here a general expression for the gods worshipped together with Ptah in the Memphis temple, as it seems as if the expression sometimes was used about the gods, worshipped together with a mighty god in a temple, also when they were not members of the original Heliopolitan group of nine gods, Atum, Shu, Tefnut, and so on.⁹⁴

From the time of the New Kingdom onwards, Ptah's »company of nine gods» was mentioned also in other places than in Memphis, for example at Thebes, Bubastis, and Edfu. Examples of this are the following:

1. On the above-mentioned stele belonging to Neferabu from Dēr el Medīne, dating from the time of the New Kingdom, mention is made of:

»Ptah, . . . the only god, in the midst of the company of nine gods.»⁹⁵ (262.)

2. On an ostrakon from the time of the New Kingdom from Dēr Medīne, now in Turin, we read:

»The beginning of the account of the glory of Ptah, he who is south of his wall, in that people and men are caused to learn the strength and power of the glorious god, the leader of the group of nine gods, the great god who created himself.»⁹⁶ (263.)

3. In the room outside the chapels of Sokaris and Nefertum in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, we read:

»To be recited by King Seti I to his father Ptah-Sokaris who is in the temple of Seti I. Pure offering to thy ka and to the company of nine gods accompanying thee.»⁹⁷ (264.)

4. In a text in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu Horus is addressed as follows:

⁹⁴ See Wb. I, p. 559.

⁹⁵ Brit. Mus. 589. Rec. de trav. 2, p. 111.

⁹⁶ Turin 1088, Cairo, Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. Documents de fouilles I, pl. 49.

⁹⁷ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 35 b.

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, Ptah-Tatenen . . . his company of nine gods puts thy enemies to flight.»⁹⁸ (265.)

Nor in these non-Memphite texts from different times is any information given us regarding the gods included in Ptah's Ennead, whether they were, besides Ptah: Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth and Nephthys or some of these divinities with locally varying additions of other gods, or whether the expression »Ptah's company of nine gods» simply means the gods associated with Ptah at Thebes, Abydos, and Edfu, regardless of which they were.

In the above-cited texts from Dēr el Medīne the expression »company of nine gods» probably refers to the Heliopolitan Ennead and probably refers to Ptah's cosmogonical importance, but in the texts 3 and 4 the expression possibly refers to the gods worshipped together with Ptah in the temples at Abydos and Edfu.

⁹⁸ Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* VI, p. 272.

Centres of the Cult of Ptah and the Importance of this Cult at Different Times

In order to form an opinion on the history of the cult of Ptah in Egypt, it is of interest to see at which places he was worshipped especially, and during which periods temples were especially dedicated to him, or separate chapels set up in his honour within temples where other gods were the principal gods.

1. Ptah at and around Memphis

The most important temple of Ptah was at Memphis, the capital of the Old Kingdom. It seems that it was built as early as in the early dynastic period, and there are signs indicating that it was still a centre of the cult of Ptah in the third century after Christ.

The oldest text where mention is made of a Ptah temple in Memphis is the Shabaka text. In line 15 c seq. in this text we read:

»Rushes and papyrus were placed at the double door of the temple of Ptah: It signifies Horus and Seth, who were reconciled and united . . . united in the temple of Ptah, 'The scales of the two lands', on which Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt balance one another.»¹

The information that rushes and papyrus were placed at the double door of the temple of Ptah, can, as Junker points out, signify that there were designs of rushes and papyrus on the door-posts of the temple.² He points to certain temple-remains from the time of King Djoser, which have been found within the pyramid-area of this King, and where there are reliefs representing rushes and papyrus on the wall of the outer courts.³

¹ Junker, *Die politische Lehre von Memphis*, p. 35. — See p. 20.

² Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³ Lauer, *Fouilles à Saqqarah. La pyramide à degrés II*, pl. 79 seqq.

It is, on the other hand, possible that the passage cited above refers to some rite, where living rushes and papyrus were placed at, or hung on, the doors of the temple.

As indicated above, Ptah's temple at Memphis is also mentioned in a tomb from the fifth dynasty at Sakkara under the name: *h.t-ntr n-t pth rsj inb-f* = »Ptah's temple, he who is south of his wall». ⁴

These are the only preserved texts from the Old Kingdom and earlier where Ptah's temple is mentioned. On the other hand, there are younger sources which mention that it was King Menes of the first dynasty who founded the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Herodotos was told by the priests in this temple that King Menes, the first King of the united Egypt, built the temple of Ptah at Memphis. ⁵ Furthermore there is a sacrificial formula on a painter's palette from Thebes from the New Kingdom, running as follows:

»May the King be gracious and give, and may Ramses II's Ptah be gracious and give.

May the King be gracious and give, and may Menes' Ptah be gracious and give, may they give»

and so forth. ⁶ (266.)

This passage must refer to the image of Ptah in Ramses II's temple of Ptah at Memphis, Thebes or possibly Pi-Ramesse, ⁷ and the image of Ptah in Menes' temple at Memphis.

Neither of these sources of information are of course reliable. Both rest on a tradition handed down for more than a thousand years, and neither of them can serve as evidence that Ptah's temple at Memphis was founded in the first dynasty or that the founder was called Menes. Indeed, we do not know whether a King Menes really existed who united Egypt, or whether Menes was not a name given by a later generation to the supposed uniter of Egypt. It is believed that the uniting of Egypt was carried out by several Kings in succession, among others Narmer and Aha and possibly also one named Menes. ⁸

⁴ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 300. See p. 25.

⁵ Herodotos II, 99.

⁶ A. Z. 30, p. 44.

⁷ See p. 237.

⁸ Drioton-Vandier, Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen II, p. 162 seq.

All that is certain is that the temple of Ptah at Memphis existed when the Shabaka text originated, that is to say probably during the time of Djoser, and that in this text it is connected with the uniting of Upper and Lower Egypt. The sections of the text before the description cited above of how rushes and papyrus were placed at the double door of the temple of Ptah, describe how Horus and Seth were reconciled and how Horus united the two lands of Egypt and ascended to the throne,⁹ and it can therefore be concluded that the text cited above also describes events which were believed to have happened in connection with the uniting of Egypt. Thus at the time when the Shabaka text was written there must have been a tradition to the effect that the temple of Ptah at Memphis was built or already existed at the time of the uniting of Egypt.

As there are only very scanty remains of the site of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, it is not possible to reconstruct the appearance of this temple, the oldest known temple of Ptah. Nor are there any texts to enlighten us on this matter.

Probably the temple was of brick, like a temple found at Abydos, which according to Petrie dates from the first dynasty. The remains of this last temple are, however, so scanty that they do not afford any material for comparison.¹⁰

It is possible that the image of the god Ptah was placed in an open chapel, to judge from an image of Ptah on a bowl from the first dynasty found at Tarkhan near Memphis.¹¹

The few remains of the temple of Ptah, all of which are later than the Old Kingdom, lie to the south-east of what is now the village of Mit-Rahina, and this was probably also the site of the oldest temple of Ptah.

There is among Ptah's epithets one that gives us some geographical information about the temple of Ptah, viz. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\overline{\text{II}}$ $\overline{\text{—}}$ = *rsj inb-f* = »He who is south of his wall«.

Ptah's epithet »He who is south of his wall« occurs as early as in the Shabaka text, indeed as an epithet of the name Tatenen, but Tatenen and Ptah are identified in the text.¹² Thus it speaks of

⁹ Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 23 seqq.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Abydos II*, p. 3; pl. 50.

¹¹ Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 3.

¹² Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 20 seq.

P-tnn rsj inb-f nb d-t = »Tatenen, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of eternity».¹³ In the Sakkara text from the fifth dynasty, cited above, Ptah was also called »he who is south of his wall» and on the so-called Palermo stone from the fifth dynasty, containing annal texts, mention is made of $\square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = »Ptah, he who is south of his wall».¹⁴

This old epithet gives us some information about the situation of the temple of Ptah: it was situated south of an *inb* = »wall» belonging to Ptah. What was then this *inb* = »wall»?

Sethe writes about the epithet *rsj inb-f*, that Ptah's »wall» was certainly identical with $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = »The white wall», also written $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = »The white walls», a designation of the oldest part of Memphis, which is found as far back as in texts from the end of the second dynasty. He supports this statement by a quotation from Pap. Harris I, (pl. 50, 4), where Ptah is called $\square \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = »Ptah, he who is south of 'The white wall'». — Sethe supposes that the name *inb-hd* = »The white wall», shows that the town was fortified. He also considers that as the name is at an early date sometimes in the plural, »The white walls», this indicates that the fortification covered only three sides of the town, that is: consisted of three walls, and did not form a closed ring.¹⁵ Also Ptah's epithet »he who is south of his wall» is considered by Sethe to indicate that the fortification was not closed, as, according to him, it would be peculiar if the temple of Ptah had been situated outside the walls of the town.

Sethe thinks that the temple of Ptah was not situated outside a ring-shaped fortification, but south of a fortified wall, open towards the south.¹⁷

This is an interesting hypothesis, but in point of fact nothing can be stated with certainty about the fortification at Memphis, whether it surrounded the whole town or whether it was situated inside it, or whether it was closed or open on one side. It is most probable that it was closed, like the old fortifications at Abydos¹⁸ and Hiera-

¹³ See p. 19. — Junker, *Ibid.*, p. 31 seq.

¹⁴ Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte*, p. 130 seq.; 125.

¹⁶ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 125; 129.

¹⁷ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁸ Ayrton-Currelly-Weigall, *Abydos III*, p. 2 seqq.

konpolis,¹⁹ and that, like them, it consisted of two parallel walls, the one outside the other, which would explain the plural form »The white walls».

Whether it was a closed fortification or not, it was regarded as Ptah's domain, and his temple was situated south of it. The epithet *rsj-inb-f* in course of time became one of Ptah's most common epithets, whether he was worshipped in or outside Memphis. It was used throughout the entire period that Ptah was worshipped, and he carried this distinctly Memphite epithet with him to all the places where he was worshipped. Thus we read, for example, in a text from the time of Tiberius in the Ptolemaic-Roman temple on Philae:

»To be recited by Ptah, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of Ankhtau, divine god, Lord of Philae».²⁰ (267.)

There was thus a cult of Ptah at Philae, but he was still called »he who is south of his wall».

Sometimes the epithet *rsj inb-f* was used as an independent name for Ptah, as *e. g.* on a slab from Ramesside times where the dead man wishes to obtain:

»every thing that appears on the altar in front of 'Him who is south of his wall'».²¹ (268.)

During the Middle Kingdom buildings were erected within the area of the temple of Ptah, as is shown by the fact, pointed out by Kees, that parts of buildings, bearing the name of Amenemhet I,²² Amenemhet II,²³ Sesostris II,²⁴ and Amenemhet III,²⁵ have been found within the area.²⁶

These fragments, however, do not give us any information about the size, appearance or locality of the buildings of these Kings.

Large new buildings in the temple-area of Ptah at Memphis were erected by Ramses II. We know something about these buildings,

¹⁹ Quibell-Green, Hierakonpolis II, p. 19 seq.

²⁰ Photo Philae 994. Unpublished.

²¹ Spiegelberg, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus verschiedenen Sammlungen III, p. 13 seqq., pl. 6.

²² Mariette, Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie, pl. 34 seq.

²³ L. D. Text I, p. 203.

²⁴ Mariette, *Ibid.*, pl. 27 a.

²⁵ Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, Tarkhan I and Memphis V, pl. 77.

²⁶ Kees in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie XV, 1, col. 679.

because some archaeological finds have been made from the period of Ramses II in the temple-area of Ptah at Memphis, namely walls, doorjambs and columns of the west hall of the temple.²⁷ The temple is further mentioned on a stele in the great temple at Abusimbel, where King Ramses II is represented as saying to Ptah-Tatenen:

»I have enlarged thy temple at Memphis, so that it is equipped with an everlasting work in the form of a magnificent work of stone, covered with gold and inlaid with precious stones. I . . . thy north temple court, with a magnificent *dri-t*-house before thee.» (269.)

The text proceeds to describe how the King provided the temple with different kinds of priests and with cattle.²⁸

We know moreover from archaeological finds that Merenptah erected a temple for Ptah,²⁹ but we have no texts concerning it.

Ramses III also erected buildings within the temple-area of Ptah, but of these we have no archaeological remains. We know of them, however, through contemporary Egyptian texts.

In Pap. Harris I, 45, 3 seqq., Ramses III describes his new buildings for Ptah in the temple-area of Memphis. He says as follows:

»I have made for thee [Ptah] a temple from the foundation in thy temple court, the resting-place for thy heart as often as thou showest thyself, 'the house of Ramses III in the domains of the temple of Ptah', as a great secret temple belonging to 'Him who is south of his wall'.»³⁰ (270.)

The text proceeds to mention that the temple was of granite, covered with limestone. Its doors were of gold with inlaid stones, and its pylons were of stone and neared heaven. The holy of holies had a golden door, and the chapel doors were also of gold, silver and precious stones. The temple had a large staff and a large estate. A special procession chapel was built with an appertaining statue.

²⁷ See for example: A. S. A. 3, p. 22 seqq.; Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 1, 2; Porter-Moss, Topographical Bibliography III, p. 218 seqq. Kees in Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie XV, 1, col. 679.

²⁸ L. D. III, pl. 194, l. 32 seq.

²⁹ Porter-Moss, *Ibid.* III, p. 223; Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 1.

³⁰ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 50.

After the description of the memorial stelae and amulets given to Ptah, follows a description of a chapel belonging to the temple with images of Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefertum:

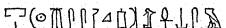
»I have made a secret chapel of stone from Elephantine . . . Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefertum rest therein.»³¹ (271.)

We thus obtain a good idea of the appearance of Ramses III's temple of Ptah, within the area of the main temple of Ptah in Memphis, and in this temple Ptah appears to have had several images. It is evident that the temple was a separate building, apart from the older temples of Ptah.

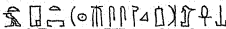
After the descriptions put into the mouth of Ramses III regarding his arrangements for his own temple of Ptah, he relates in Pap. Harris I, pl. 49, 12 seq., that he has also made restorations within the area of Ptah's temple:

»... I have restored thy [Ptah-Tatenen's] temple: the jubilee houses which were in ruins ever since the times of earlier Kings».³² (272.)

In the inventories of the Memphis temple, Pap. Harris I mentions two buildings within the temple domains of Ptah, with which the name of Ramses III is associated. One of them is:

 = »The house of Ramses III in the domains of the temple of Ptah»,

and the other is:

 = »The building of Ramses III in the domains of the temple of Ptah».³³

Gauthier considers that both these names were names of the whole temple of Ptah at Memphis in the time of Ramses III.³⁴ The first, however, is the name of the temple built by Ramses III within the area of the large temple at Memphis, as is evident from the above-cited text from Pap. Harris I, pl. 45, 3 seqq. It is thus not the name of the whole main temple of Ptah at Memphis, which, of course, also contained older temples or parts of temples. — As regards the second of the above-cited temple names, Gardiner has submitted the hypo-

³¹ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 52.

³² Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 56.

³³ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁴ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* IV, p. 106; II, p. 105.

thesis that it refers to the temple of Ptah at Pi-Ramesse, the Rameside Delta residence.³⁵ He refers to a passage in the section of Pap. Harris I (pl. 60, 2 seq.), where Ramses III's donations to minor temples are mentioned, and where the King says:

»I have made a large temple, enlarged in the making in the temple of Sutekh of Ramses III ... it is called: 'The building of Ramses III in the temple domains of Sutekh' ...».³⁶ (273.)

It is clear from a subsequent text in the property lists of the minor temples in Pap. Harris I, that »The building of Ramses III in the temple domains of Sutekh» was situated in Pi-Ramesse.³⁷ Gardiner thinks that »The building of Ramses III in the temple domains of Sutekh» and »The building of Ramses III in the temple domains of Ptah» are such similar names that as the first evidently refers to a temple at Pi-Ramesse, the second might also do so.

Strictly speaking, however, the expressions merely signify buildings erected by Ramses III within the domains of Sutekh and Ptah respectively. The temple of Ptah may quite well have been situated elsewhere than at Pi-Ramesse.

The only thing that can be stated with certainty is that in any case it was not, as Gauthier thinks, the Memphite temple of Ptah in its entirety that was referred to, as it had a staff of merely sixteen persons and was thus a very small establishment.³⁸

There are minor finds within the temple area of Ptah from the time of many subsequent Kings, e. g. Shabaka,³⁹ Psammetik,⁴⁰ Amasis,⁴¹ and Ptolemy IV,⁴² which indicate that they too had buildings or restorations made in the temple area.

As a curiosity it may be mentioned that, at any rate in late times, imaginary remains of Osiris were presumably contained in the temple of Ptah close to the image of the latter. This is indicated by a text

³⁵ J. E. A. 5, p. 195 seq.

³⁶ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 69 seq.

³⁷ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³⁸ Erichsen, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁹ Porter-Moss, *Ibid.* III, p. 220.

⁴⁰ Porter-Moss, *Ibid.* III, p. 219.

⁴¹ Porter-Moss, *Ibid.* III, p. 220.

⁴² Porter-Moss, *Ibid.* III, p. 220.

in the temple of Osiris at Dendera, where several gods are represented carrying relics, among them Ptah-Tatenen, in regard to whom it is stated:

»To be recited by Ptah-Tatenen, the father of the gods, great god at Dendera.

‘I bring the limbs of the god [Osiris], which I have gathered together into a mummy. It is wrapt in its image in the House of gold, . . . made in Memphis and resting in its form at the side of Ptah, he with the beautiful face’.⁴³ (274.)

It seems as if there existed at least in Ramesside times, a so-called ished-tree in the Memphite temple area, on the leaves of which the years of the Kings were inscribed, probably in connection with the jubilee festivals of the Kings.

Thus on an obelisk from Louxor from the time of Ramses II we read the following text:

»Ptah has established his [the King's] reign on the lovely ished-tree at Memphis, as a King who grasps the lands, a Lord over a long life-time.»⁴⁴ (275.)

On the wall connecting pylon 4 and 7 in the temple of Amun at Karnak, there is the following text from the time of Ramses III:

»Year . . . [this] lovely [god] Ptah, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of Ankhtai. One [the King] went for a walk there in the temple of Ptah, in ‘the pure area’ under the ished-tree.»⁴⁵ (276.)

The text continues with a description of how the King found his name on the leaves of the ished-tree.

This is surely connected with Ptah's general rôle of time-measurer.⁴⁶

Ptah thus had an important temple with many different buildings

⁴³ Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* III, pl. 43.

⁴⁴ Unpublished. Sethe's notes 3, 30.

⁴⁵ Unpublished. Sethe's notes 22, 38/39.

⁴⁶ See p. 68. In the second hypostyle in the temple at Derr in Nubia we see Ptah writing the name of Ramses II on a leaf of the ished-tree. The King stretches out his hand to receive the leaf and Thoth, who stands close by says: »Thy [the King's] name is established by the writing of my fingers upon the lovely ished-tree, and I speak as thy father Ptah-Tatenen hath commanded.

in Memphis, »south of his wall», but it is evident from several texts that Ptah was also worshipped in other temples in the vicinity of Memphis.

West of the main temple of Ptah there was a temple from the time of Amenhotep III dedicated to Ptah, and it is mentioned on a statue from the same period. There we read:

»(This statue was) given as a favour [from the King] (and placed) in the House of Nib-mu-rē (named) 'United-with-Ptah' which his Majesty newly made⁴⁷ for his father [Ptah-South-of-his-Wall in his] cultivated land west of Het-ke-Ptah.» ...

Further on there is a statement by the dead scribe Amenhotep, the owner of the statue:

»He promoted me to direct the constructions in his House of Millions of Years, which he newly made⁴⁷ in his cultivated land west of Het-ke-Ptah in the district (?) of Ankhtauī ... as a monument for his father Ptah in excellent eternal work in white stone of Ain. ... All its doors were of cedar of the Terraces, of the choicest of Gau, wrought with gold from the desert, refined gold, and all kinds of precious stones. ... Its lake was dug, and planted with trees. ... his Majesty instituted new divine offerings consisting of daily oblations to his father Ptah South-of-his-Wall and to the gods of [this] House.»
(278.)

It is then related that priests were delegated and cattle and land given to the new temple, and that it was tributable to the great temple of Ptah at Memphis.⁴⁹

There are given unto thee millions of years, hundreds of thousands of jubilees.» (277.) (Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, p. 45 seq.) — Blackman thinks that Ptah is here writing the name of the King on a leaf or fruit of the ished-tree at Heliopolis, but as Ptah is sometimes connected with an ished-tree at Memphis, never with one at Heliopolis, the scene probably does not take place at Heliopolis, but at Memphis.

⁴⁷ Instead of »newly made» as Gardiner translates, perhaps rather »made new».

⁴⁹ Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. 79—80; p. 33 seqq. Gardiner's translation.

Gardiner points out that the name of the temple »His [the King's] House of Millions of years» indicates that it was a funerary temple erected by Amenhotep III in the Memphite district and a counterpart to that which he caused to be erected at Thebes.⁵⁰

It is thus said that the temple lay »in the cultivated land west of Memphis in the district of Ankhtau», and the text indicates that Ptah was the chief god in the temple, but that other gods were also worshipped there.

Gardiner considers that Ankhtau was another name for the Memphite region.⁵¹ It is not certain, however, that this is the correct interpretation, and among Egyptologists there is a divergence of opinion as to what Ankhtau was. Naville surmised that it was the name of the temple at Memphis.⁵² Roeder considers that it was the necropolis of Memphis, but gives no explanation of this view.⁵³ Gauthier states, likewise without giving any reasons, that it was a part of the actual city of Memphis.⁵⁴ Kees hesitates between regarding Ankhtau as the necropolis area of Memphis and viewing it as Memphis itself.⁵⁵

It is very rarely that this name occurs except in the epithet »Lord of Ankhtau»; but the above-cited text from the 18th dynasty shows clearly that Ankhtau could not be the city of Memphis itself or the main temple of Memphis, as it speaks of a temple situated »in the cultivated land west of Memphis in the district of Ankhtau». This can either be interpreted — as Gardiner evidently does — to mean that both Memphis and »the cultivated land» were situated in the Ankhtau district, or else that Ankhtau was a district west of Memphis.

Several gods were commonly called »Lord of Ankhtau». Those who most frequently were given that epithet were Bastet, Osiris, Ptah and Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris. Bastet had that epithet as far back as in the Old Kingdom, as in the sepulchral temple of Sahurē she is called *nb-t 'nh-t' wj* = »Mistress of Ankhtau».⁵⁶ As regards Ptah

⁵⁰ Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵¹ Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, *Ibid.*, p. 33, note 5.

⁵² Petrie, *Tanis II*, p. 15, note 4.

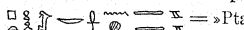
⁵³ Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche I*, p. 47.

⁵⁴ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr. I*, p. 149.

⁵⁵ Pauly, *Real-Encyclop.* 15, 1, col. 683; Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 288, note 2.

⁵⁶ Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal d. Königs Sa hu-Re' II*, pl. 35.

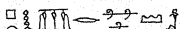
the epithet was already known at the time of the Middle Kingdom. On an Abydos stele in Cairo from that epoch he is in fact called:

 = »Ptah, Lord of Ankhtai». ⁵⁷

Griffith surmises that Ankhtai from the outset was not a geographical term, but was to be understood literally as »the life of the two lands». ⁵⁸ The title »Lord of Ankhtai» then, according to Griffith, originally meant »the Lord of the life of the two lands», or the like, and was not given a geographical significance until a later date. This hypothesis does not seem to be very credible. In any case Ankhtai had a geographical meaning in the 18th dynasty, and the most probable supposition is that even in earlier epithets of gods it was a geographical term, and that the above-cited text on the Abydos stele Cairo 20281, from the Middle Kingdom, must be interpreted to refer either to the position of Ptah as the chief god of the Memphite district, or to some possible cult of Ptah within the district west of Memphis.

Sokaris, at any rate from the time of the Pyramids, had a place of worship at Gizeh, called *r' šf'w* = Rosetau = »The Opening of the passages». ⁵⁹ Other gods also seem to have been worshipped there, among them Ptah.

The fourteenth name in the list of Memphite gods in the Ramesseum is in fact:

 = »Ptah at the head of Rosetau», ⁶¹

and on a Memphite-Saitic stele in Vienna a man is called:

»the divine father and priest, chief of the temple of Ptah at Rosetau». ⁶²

The name of Ptah in the Ramesseum list may mean: »Ptah who is at the head of the Kingdom of Death», as Rosetau sometimes was another name for the Kingdom of Death ⁶³; but the Saitic text clearly shows that there was at that time a cult of Ptah at Rosetau.

⁵⁷ Cairo 20281, Lange-Schäfer, *Ibid.* I, p. 295.

⁵⁸ Petrie, *Tanis II*, p. 15, note 4.

⁵⁹ See p. 121.

⁶¹ *Champ. Not.* I, 905.

⁶² Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus d. K. K. Hofmuseum in Wien*, p. 95.

⁶³ *Wb.* II, Belegst. p. 591.

There was evidently a sanctuary or sanctuaries in the mountainous district east of Memphis, on the eastern bank of the Nile, called *r-'w* = the present Turra, as mention is sometimes made of gods who had their dwelling there, amongst others Ptah.

A master-builder from the time of Darius I has the following titles in a rock inscription at Wadi Hammāmāt:

»hem-priest of Ptah at *r-'w*, hem-priest of Anubis, the Lord of Sepa and hem-priest of the gods who are at
'*jn . . .*'⁶⁴ (279.)

Gauthier supposes that *r-'w* was consecrated to Horus,⁶⁵ and Horus, as we shall see, sometimes had the name of: »Horus at *r-'w*», but, as shown above, the same epithet was also assigned to Ptah. The probability is that there were one or more temples within this area and that several gods were worshipped there, among others Horus and Ptah.

Ptah was sometimes called »Ptah at East Memphis», which, as we shall see, presumably likewise refers to the cult of Ptah in the Turra district. Kees, in an article on the cult of Anubis in the eastern Memphis district, quotes the following texts, which also throw light on the cult of Ptah in these regions:⁶⁶

1. In the list of Memphite gods in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, mention is successively made of the offerings to *pth m lnb-i'bt* = »Ptah at East Memphis», *inpw m sp'* = »Anubis at Sepa» and *hr m r-'w* = »Horus at *r-'w*».⁶⁷

2. On a Saitic sarcophagus at Boulaq, belonging to Onnophris, who resided at Turra, mention is made of »Horus at *r-'w*, Anubis, the Lord of Sepa and Ptah at East Memphis».⁶⁸

3. On the so called Turin altar from Saitic times, which, according to Kees, probably gives a list of places of worship, we encounter the same series of gods:

⁶⁴ Couyat-Montet, Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouādi Hammāmāt, p. 68.

⁶⁵ Gauthier, *Ibid.* III, p. 112.

⁶⁶ Kees, *Ä. Z.* 58, p. 90.

⁶⁷ Mariette, *Abydos I*, pl. 45.

⁶⁸ Brugsch, *Thes.* p. 741.

»Ptah at East Memphis, ... Anubis at Sepa, Horus at r^2w ». ⁶⁹ (280.)

Ptah thus seems to have had a cult at Eastern Memphis. According to Sethe, East Memphis was the same as r^2w and, in support of this view he cites a text from the above-mentioned Saitic sarcophagus at Boulaq, where Onnophris says about himself:

»I was at 'jn, at East Memphis, called r^2w ».

In this text Sethe regards the local designation 'jn as the wider term, of which East Memphis, identified with r^2w , was a part, according to the Egyptian rule that in the designation of places the wider term was mentioned before the smaller; and he considers that 'jn may have been the whole area south of Heliopolis, possibly right on to Heluan.⁷⁰

The names »Ptah at r^2w » and »Ptah at East Memphis», thus without doubt referred to a cult of Ptah in the Turra district east of Memphis.

There is a text from Persian times on a stele from the Serapeum, which shows that Ptah had a cult in a temple at Memphis named: *pr-hnt-tnn-t* = »The temple belonging to 'Him who is at the head of The elevated place'». In fact mention is made there of a

»hem-priest of Ptah — 'He who is at the head of The elevated place', Osiris — 'He who is at the head of The elevated place', and [the other gods] in the temple belonging to 'Him who is at the head of The elevated place'». ⁷¹ (281.)

In this temple evidently Ptah and Osiris who had been fused with the god »He who is at the head of The elevated place», and other unnamed gods were worshipped.

This temple name has a long history. In Memphite texts from the Old Kingdom mention is already made of the cult of a god called *hnt-tnn-t* = »He who is at the head of The elevated place» of whom Ptah's priests, Shepsesptah in the fifth dynasty and Sabu in the sixth dynasty, were hem-priests.⁷² *tnn-t* = »The elevated place»,

⁶⁹ Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali* II, p. 115.

⁷⁰ *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 1933, p. 872.

⁷¹ Louvre 398, *Rec. de trav.* 23, p. 85.


⁷² Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 112.

to judge by the name, must have been a hillock and it was possibly regarded as a Memphite primeval mound.⁷³

hnt-tnn-t = »He who is at the head of The elevated place» must have been a god worshipped there.^{73a}

That *tnn-t* was a place of worship at any rate as from the First Intermediate, is indicated by a couple of coffin texts from Assiut from that time, in which in one case mention is made of: *hnt-tnn-t* = »He who is at the head of The elevated place»,⁷⁴ and where in the second case Neith is called »mistress of The elevated place». ⁷⁵ In both cases »The elevated place» is determined with a house sign, and the last mentioned text shows that other gods than *hnt-tnn-t* were at that time worshipped at *tnn-t*.

When Ptah began to be worshipped at that temple, it is impossible to determine. The old god »He who is at the head of The elevated place» appeared from the New Kingdom onwards extremely seldom as an independent god, but was fused with other gods, e. g. Osiris and Ptah.

Consequently when Ptah, as was often the case from the New Kingdom onwards, was called  = »Ptah — 'He who is at the head of The elevated place'»,⁷⁶ we do not know whether this means »Ptah, who has a cult at The elevated place» or refers to a fusion of Ptah with the god »He who is at the head of The elevated place». Moreover as »The elevated place» by that time had also come to signify the Kingdom of Death,⁷⁷ the name Ptah-*hnt-tnn-t* may have signified »Ptah, at the head of the Kingdom of Death».

Thus no cult of Ptah at *tnn-t* is known with certainty before Persian times, when, as we have seen, mention is made of a priest of Ptah and Osiris fused with the god »He who is at the head of The elevated place» and (the other) gods in the temple belonging to the god »He

⁷³ See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 93.

^{73a} Kees thinks, in my opinion erroneously, that *hnt-tnn-t* was only another name for Tatenen. See p. 61, note 22.

⁷⁴ Cairo 28118. *Rec. de trav.* 31, p. 16.

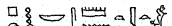
⁷⁵ Cairo 28118. *Rec. de trav.* 26, p. 65. — See Kees in *Rec. de trav.* 37, p. 59.

⁷⁶ See for example Champ. *Not.* I, p. 905.

⁷⁷ See *Wb.* V, p. 382.

who is at the head of The elevated place». It is here quite clear that these gods had a cult there.

From the New Kingdom onwards, Ptah was sometimes given the epithet *nb smn-m^c.t* = »Lord of Semenmaat», where Semenmaat is evidently a geographical term: to judge by the texts, a centre where many gods were worshipped. The following texts illustrating the cult of Ptah at Semenmaat should be noted:

1. Ptah, in the Ramesseum list of Memphite gods, is called among other things:  = Ptah, Lord of Semenmaat.⁷⁸

2. On an above-mentioned sculpture at Leyden from the New Kingdom, »Ptah, Lord of Semenmaat» is mentioned together with »Hathor, mistress of the sycamore».⁷⁹

3. In a demotic Ptolemaic inscription from Memphis, immediately after a reference to a ritual in the temple of Memphis, it is mentioned how the priest of Ptah, Anemher, went into the holy of holies in the temple Semenmaat, in that he clothed Ptah, Lord of Semenmaat, Isis, the mistress of Semenmaat, and Thoth, Lord of Semenmaat.⁸⁰

It is probable that the words *smn-m^c.t*, in the above cited inscriptions from the New Kingdom, already had the same meaning as in the last quotation, where they evidently refer to a sanctuary Semenmaat near or in Memphis, where Ptah and other gods were worshipped.

Gauthier mentions a demotic inscription on a Strasbourg statuette, where the owner states himself to be: »Divine father, *wnr*-priest of the Lord of Letopolis ... hem-priest at Semenmaat, situated in *pr-nb-t-nh^c.t*».⁸¹ Gauthier, in view of this inscription, thinks it possible that Semenmaat was situated at Letopolis.

On the basis of a passage in Pap. Harris I, pl. 49, 2 seq.,⁸² we know, however, that the temple or area of *nb-t-nh^c.t* (the mistress of the sycamore) was situated south of Memphis. *smn-m^c.t* which in the above-mentioned Strasbourg statuette inscription was stated to be situated in the temple or area of *nb-t-nh^c.t*, must thus also have been

⁷⁸ Champ. Not. I, p. 905; See Brugsch, Dict. géogr., p. 1170.

⁷⁹ See p. 191.

⁸⁰ Brugsch, Thes. p. 895.

⁸¹ Gauthier, Ibid. V, p. 36. Rec. de trav. 26, p. 146.

⁸² See p. 192.

situated south of Memphis and not at Letopolis, which was situated north of Memphis.

The fact that Ptah was worshipped within the area belonging to the »mistress of the sycamore» explains why these two divinities sometimes appeared as a pair.⁸³

Ptah had a whole row of epithets connected with the fact that his chief temple was situated at Memphis.

Thus on a sepulchral stele at Leyden, from the New Kingdom, he is called: *pth nb inb-ḥd* = »Ptah, Lord of the White Wall» [Memphis].⁸⁴

In the Ramesseum list of Memphite gods, Ptah's eighth name was: *pth inb-ḥd* = »Ptah, The White Wall».⁸⁵

This last-mentioned epithet is certainly a corruption of the preceding one, and thus presumably meant »Lord of the White Wall».

As the ninth name of Ptah in the Ramesseum Memphite list of gods, we find: *pth hnt inb-w-f* = »Ptah, ruler of his Walls».⁸⁵

»Walls» here is the name of the city of Memphis.⁸⁶

In another Theban text from the New Kingdom, Memphis is called: *inb-w-n-pth* = »The Walls of Ptah».⁸⁷

In a Saitic text, now in Paris, Ptah is called: ' *nswjt m inb-ḥd* = »With great kingly power in The White Wall».⁸⁸

2. Ptah in the Sinai Peninsula

The Sinai peninsula, as mentioned above, was an objective for Egyptian copper-mining expeditions as far back as the time of the first dynasty. During the twelfth dynasty a temple was built at Serābit el Khādīm in honour of Ptah and a Hathor goddess named *ḥt-ḥr nb-t mfk'-t* = »Hathor, the mistress of the malachite».⁸⁹ The goddess' name is explained by the fact that the Egyptians obtained malachite from Sinai. Ptah and Hathor, the mistress of the malachite, are represented in many places in the temple, Ptah being always

⁸³ See p. 191.

⁸⁴ Leyden V, 1. Unpublished.

⁸⁵ Champ. Not. I, p. 905.

⁸⁶ See above p. 207.

⁸⁷ Nebunnefer's tomb at Thebes. Unpublished notes of Sethe, 12, 72.

⁸⁸ Paris, Bibl. Nat., 38. Unpublished.

⁸⁹ See Gardiner-Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai I, p. 9; pl. 47, 124.

depicted as in Fig. 5⁹⁰ and the goddess always with a human head and cow horns with the sun disc.⁹¹

In the texts from the Middle Kingdom in this temple, Ptah has as a rule the epithet »He who is south of his wall», but on a stele from the Middle Kingdom, found in the temple, we read a sacrificial prayer to »Ptah-Sokaris and Hathor, the mistress of the malachite».⁹² Here there is no image of the gods, but as the god who is portrayed in this temple together with »Hathor, the mistress of the malachite», is always Ptah in human guise, Ptah-Sokaris is here probably only another name for Ptah in human guise.

Ptah is also represented in parts of the temple dating from the New Kingdom.⁹³ The temple does not seem to have been used after the 20th dynasty.⁹⁴

On a rock stele at a place near the temple, we see Ptah standing in a chapel with an inscription in Sinai writing.⁹⁵ This writing, which closely resembles hieroglyphics, began to be used in the middle of the second millennium B. C. and was employed in inscriptions in a dialect related to the Hebrew of the Bible. The inscription reads: »This Ben Šemeš has set up, with incense to [Ptah] as an offering».⁹⁶ The use of Sinai writing on this stele indicates that the cult of Ptah had also spread among the population inhabiting the Sinai peninsula.

The reason why a temple had been erected to Ptah in this region was no doubt that he was regarded as a protector of the artisans and as supervising the supply of material for metal work.

3. Ptah at Abydos

In the texts of the first dynasties and of the Old Kingdom, from Abydos, Ptah is not mentioned.

On the other hand it is evident that the cult of Ptah was transferred to Abydos at the latest during the time of the Middle Kingdom.

⁹⁰ See p. 13.

⁹¹ See Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, pl. 18 seqq.

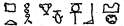
⁹² Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, pl. 48, 121.

⁹³ Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, pl. 69, 249.

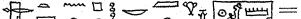
⁹⁴ Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, p. 14 seqq.

⁹⁵ Gardiner-Peet, *Ibid.* I, pl. 83, 351.

⁹⁶ Eisler, *Die kenitischen Weihinschriften*, p. 103.

There are several texts dating from this time that mention Ptah as »with a cult at Abydos«. Thus, for example, the stela from Abydos, Cairo 20015, where Ptah is called:  = »Ptah who has a cult at Abydos«.97

The principal god at Abydos was originally the mortuary god Khentamenti, and the local temple was designated as his, right down to the time of Sesostri I, when Osiris took over the rôle as the principal god in the temple at Abydos.98 This oldest temple at Abydos is situated in the north-eastern part of the town,99 and it was probably here that Ptah had a cult in the Middle Kingdom.

During the time of the New Kingdom Seti I erected a large temple at Abydos, where there are chapels for Osiris, Isis, Amun-Rē, Rē-Harakhte, Ptah, Horus and the King himself. Ptah's chapel was called:  =

»The temple hall of Ptah, the Lord of Maat, in the house of Seti I«.1

In the chapel of Ptah his bark is represented, worshipped by the King. As an emblem in the prow, Ptah's bark has a representation of two Djed-objects crowned by two ba-souls with a sun disc on their heads,2 just as Amun-Rē's bark in the chapel of Amun-Rē has a ram's head, the Isis bark an Isis head and so on.3 In regard to Ptah's relation to the Djed, see above.4

Ptah is called *hrj-ib ht-Seti I* = »who dwells in» or »who has a cult in the temple of Seti I«. This applies also to all the gods worshipped in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, even to Osiris and Amun-Rē, which seems to argue against the hypothesis that the expression *hrj-ib* was used only of gods which were not the principal gods in a temple.

In his chapel Ptah is represented throughout in human guise with

97 Lange-Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine d. mittl. Reichs I, p. 15.

98 Kees, Götterglaube, p. 329.

99 Porter-Moss, Topographical Bibliography V, p. 38.

1 Calverley-Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, II, pl. 21.

2 Ibid. II, pl. 23.

3 Ibid. II, pl. 1; I, pl. 22.

4 See p. 154 seqq.

a straight beard and a smooth head although in one place he is called Ptah-Sokaris and in another place »Ptah — The glorious Djed».⁵

Moreover, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos there is a chapel (room U in Zippert's map) which was dedicated to Sokaris, identified with Ptah and usually called Ptah-Sokaris.⁶ In this chapel Sokaris or Ptah-Sokaris is represented as a falcon. The chapel was called *h-t-skr* = »the house of Sokaris».⁷

In addition mention is made in a corridor near this chapel of:

»Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, Lord of Shetit who is in the temple of Seti I».⁸ (282.)

In a chapel dedicated to Nefertum, the god Ptah-Osiris seems to have had a cult. Here we see in fact a god represented in the guise of Osiris with a crooked staff and scourge and with the name:

»Ptah-Osiris, the great one who is in the temple of Seti I».⁹ (283.)

Tatenen seems to have had a special cult in the temple. He is represented in the chapel of Nefertum in the temple in a tight-fitting garment and with a feather-crown and under the name:

»Tatenen who is in the temple of Seti I».¹⁰ (284.)

In the chapel of Sokaris there is, as Kees has pointed out, a list of Memphite gods, accompanied by a representation of the sacrificing King and a statement that offerings were being made to these gods. Among them we find seven different forms of Ptah, namely: »Ptah, he who is south of his wall», »Ptah-*hnt-tnn-t*», »Ptah-*dd šps*», »Ptah-*mhn-t-wr*», »Ptah-*hrj-b'k-f*», »Ptah-*hnt-dfn-t*», and »Ptah-*hnt-i'w-t-f*». Finally it is stated that offerings were being made to »Ptah in all his Ptah temples in heaven and on earth», to »Ptah at all his places in the south land and Ptah at all his places in the north land», to »Ptah in all his Ptah temples, in all his palaces», and to »Ptah in the foreign countries and Ptah in all the places where he is».¹¹

⁵ Zippert, Der Gedächtnistempel Sethos' I zu Abydos, p. 66.

⁶ Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 123 seqq.

⁷ Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁸ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 49 a.

⁹ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 39 b. — Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹⁰ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 40 c. — Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 126.

¹¹ Rec. de trav. 37, p. 74.

This signifies that, even if perhaps there were not cult statues of of the above-mentioned seven forms of Ptah, at any rate there were offerings to them in this temple.

In the chapel of Ptah, Sekhmet was worshipped as an associated goddess.¹² Mut, however, also stands in close association with Ptah in the mortuary temple of Seti I. On a pillar leading to the chapel of Ptah, Ptah, Sekhmet and *mw-t hnt-t pr-ptḥ* = »Mut, mistress of the house of Ptah», are represented.¹³

4. Ptah at Thebes

Ptah was worshipped in several temples in the Theban district and had a temple of his own at Karnak.

This temple is situated north of the big temple of Amun at Karnak within its surrounding wall.¹⁴ It was erected by Tuthmosis III and was restored and enlarged by later Kings. Probably before this temple there was a still older temple of Ptah, as it is mentioned in a memorial inscription from the time of Tuthmosis III that this King had found an old temple of Ptah at Thebes built of bricks with doors and pillars of wood.¹⁵ Kees also points to a limestone pillar from the kiosk of Sesostris I at Karnak, now at Cairo, where that King is represented as standing in worship before Ptah, and which indicates that the cult of Ptah had already been introduced in Thebes at that time.¹⁶

Thus, the temple of Ptah which is now preserved at Karnak, was founded by Tuthmosis III. Regarding the foundation and ornamentation of the temple, we read in the above-mentioned memorial inscription on a stone of black granite from the time of Tuthmosis III, found in the temple, the following:

»My Majesty [Tuthmosis III] commanded that there should be built at Thebes a temple of Ptah, he who is south of his wall, within the area of my father Amun-Rē,

¹² Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹³ Zippert, *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁴ Baedeker, *Ägypten. Plan of Karnak. L. D. Text III*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Urk. IV*, p. 765.

¹⁶ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 360. Capart, *L'art égyptien I*, pl. 44.

the Lord of Karnak, to which he repairs on the »day of bringing in the god« at all his feasts during the year. . . . My Majesty found this temple built of bricks, whilst its pillars and doors were made of wood, and it was becoming decayed. My Majesty commanded that the rope should again be stretched for this temple, which should be made of fine sandstone. The walls around it are of brick in everlasting work for eternity. My Majesty erected for it doors of genuine cedar wood from Libanon . . . never before has the like been made for him [Ptah] before my Majesty. It is my Majesty who has caused him to obtain power, in that I have made him greater than he was before.» (285.)

Then follows a description of how the King equipped the temple with vessels, linen, ointments, cattle, etc., and how he instituted a new offering to Amun at Karnak, which in course of time was to be transferred to the lay priests and to the statue of Tuthmosis III, and when the statue was satisfied, the offerings were to pass over to Ptah:

»When this statue has become satisfied with this offer, it shall go to the temple of Ptah, the Lord of Maat, he who is south of his wall, at Thebes, as the best of the . . . which is in this temple.» (286.)

Moreover the King instituted an offering to Ptah, which should afterwards be transferred to the statue of the King:

»My Majesty has commanded that there shall be instituted a new offering to my father Ptah, he who is south of his wall and is at Thebes . . . But when the god has become satisfied with his offering, then this offering shall be placed in front of the statue of my Majesty.» (287.)

Then follows a description of how the offerings went over to the lay priests and then come detailed regulations regarding the offerings to Ptah in his temple at Thebes.¹⁷

This text shows what might have been expected, namely that Ptah at Thebes in the New Kingdom had a subordinate position

¹⁷ Urk. IV, p. 763 seqq. Cairo 34013.

relatively to Amun, within whose temple walls he had his temple. The offerings went first to Amun, and afterwards to Ptah.

On the other hand, this text also shows that Ptah had a cult of some importance at Karnak, in any case in the time of Tuthmosis III.

There are inscriptions, copied by Legrain, which mention enlargements of the temple of Ptah at Karnak by Takelothis,¹⁸ Shabaka,¹⁹ and the Ptolemies.²⁰

In the central chapel of the holy of holies, Ptah was worshipped, as pointed out by Legrain, together with Hathor and Amun. In the chapel to the left of the central chapel Ptah was worshipped alone, and in the chapel to the right Hathor was worshipped.²¹

In this temple Ptah appears regularly together with Hathor. There is a list of the priests of Ptah and Hathor at the temple of Ptah at Karnak in a pillar hall in this temple. Mention is made there both of a »first hem-priest of Ptah and Hathor«, of a number of »kherheb-priests of Ptah and Hathor«, and of several »purification priests of Ptah and Hathor«.²² In this temple of Ptah, Hathor was usually called *hrjt-tp w'st* = »The mistress of Thebes«.²³

But Sekhmet also had her place in the vicinity of Ptah at Thebes, for in the south chapel in the temple a Sekhmet statue has been found.²⁴

Legrain mentions a stele of the New Kingdom from Thebes, showing Ptah and Hathor in front of the Theban triad Amun, Mut and Khons, to whom they are carrying offerings.²⁵ It probably refers to some visit of the images of Ptah and Hathor to the Theban triad at Karnak.

Ptah's cult at Thebes was of such importance that the city in the New Kingdom had a special high-priest of Ptah, a »supreme leader of handicraft«. In a text from the New Kingdom we read of a man who was »greatest among the seeing' of Rē at Thebes, sem-priest, supreme leader of handicraft of Ptah, superintendent of the

¹⁸ Urk. IV, p. 880.

¹⁹ A. S. A. 3, p. 58 seq.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 46 seqq.; 97 seqq.

²¹ Ibid., p. 104 seqq.

²² See A. S. A. 3, p. 100.

²³ L. D. Text III, p. 6 seq.

²⁴ Capart, Thèbes, p. 238, fig. 154.

²⁵ A. S. A. 3, p. 42.

priests of all gods and first priest of Amun». ^{26a} Thus he was simultaneously high-priest of Rē and Ptah at Thebes and Amun's first priest.

Ptah's cult at Karnak is reflected in a number of epithets.

Thus on the above-cited memorial stone from the time of Tuthmosis III mention is made of: *ptḥ ršj inb-f m w's-t* = »Ptah, he who is south of his wall and is at Thebes». ²⁶ (287.)

In a Ptolemaic text at the entrance to the temple of Ptah at Karnak, Ptah is called:

»Ptah the Lord of Thebes, who is at Karnak, great god». ²⁷ (288.)

There is an expression used of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen in late texts, which must allude to the cult of Ptah-Tatenen at Thebes, namely *ḥntj-ꜥ ršj* = »he who is at the head of the south area» [=the Theban area].

Sethe cites the following late Theban temple inscriptions, where Ptah-Tatenen has this epithet:

»... Louxor, in the shape of Ptah-Tatenen, as the bull who raises his arm, he who is at the head of the south area». ²⁸ (290.)

and

»Ptah-Tatenen, he who is at the head of the south land» ²⁹ [sic], the oldest of the Primeval gods» etc. ³⁰ (291.)

It can further be stated that on the outer eastern wall in the temple at Esne, there is the following text:

»To be recited by Khnum, the Lord of Esne and Ptah, he who is at the head of the south area, he with the beautiful face, he who is friendly and loving, he with the high feathers» etc. ³¹ (292.)

^{26a} Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary. Cairo Wb. I, 39.

²⁶ Urk. IV, p. 765.

²⁷ A. S. A. 3, p. 49.

²⁸ Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, p. 58, note 4.

²⁹ Probably erroneously the text has *F.ršj*.

³⁰ Unpublished notes of Sethe 16, 112. Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³¹ L. D. IV, pl. 81 d.

The expression »he who is at the head of the south area», where »the south area» means the Theban area,³² is probably linked with the fact that Ptah-Tatenen played an important rôle at Thebes, in as much as he was identified with Amun at Louxor.

In the mortuary temple of Ramses II west of Thebes, called the Ramesseum, there was evidently a cult of Ptah, as Ptah is represented at several places in the temple, including the library, where there is also a long list of different forms of Ptah, headed by the text:

»Sacrificing to Ptah, south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, in all his names, by King Ramses II in his temple at Thebes».³³ (289.)

Thus it is mentioned that the King instituted an offering to Ptah in this temple.

In the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, Ptah had a cult, like many other gods, especially Amun, as is shown by a number of texts.

In a text on the high fortified gateway before the temple, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, the great one, he who is south of his wall and Lord of Ankhtau, great god who hears prayers and is in 'The temple of the million years, united with eternity' within the temple of Amun».³⁴ (293.)

This is an abbreviated variant of the name:

»'The temple of the million years belonging to Ramses III, united with eternity' within the temple area of Amun»,

which is the name of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu in a decree of foundation in the calendar of feasts of the temple.³⁵

Ptah is thus said to have a cult in this temple.

The same thing is said in a text at the entrance to the first court of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, where Ptah is represented under the name:

³² Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften* (Analecta Aegyptiaca IV), p. 38.

³³ Champollion, *Not. I*, p. 905 seq.

³⁴ Sethe's unpublished notes 14, 31.

³⁵ The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXIII, pl. 140.

»Ptah in 'The temple of Ramses III, united with eternity' in the temple area of Amun».³⁶ (294.)

Here we see another type of abbreviation of the name of the temple. Where then, in this temple, was Ptah worshipped?

In one of the rooms alongside the first hypostyle (room 18 in Daressy's map³⁷) we read on the eastern wall:

»Ptah — 'He who is at the head of The elevated place'»,
and

»Bastet, mistress of Ankhtau, who is in the Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III».

On the western wall we see:

»Ptah — 'He who is under his olive tree'»,
and

»Hathor, the mistress of the south sycamore».

On the north wall Ptah and Sekhmet are invoked.

In the same room there is also an image of:

»Amun-Rē, Lord of Karnak, in Memphis».³⁸ (295.)

This last is thus a Memphite form of Amun.

This chapel must have been a chapel of Ptah.

There is also another chapel quite close to the preceding one, which Daressy calls the chapel of Ptah-Sokaris. There we see Ptah, Tatenen, the Sokaris boat, and Nefertum represented on the walls.³⁹

Also, in one of the rooms to the left of the second and third hypostyles, Ptah and Ptah-Sokaris are represented more than other gods.⁴⁰

Perhaps these rooms have contained cult statues of Ptah in different forms.

Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris plays a large part in the list of festivals on the south wall of the temple. A ten days festival in his honour was celebrated on the 21st—30th Khoiak at Medinet Habu. In this list he is called:

³⁶ L. D. Text III, p. 173.

³⁷ Daressy, *Not. explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*. Map between p. 58 and 59.

³⁸ Sethe's unpublished notes, 16, 41.

³⁹ Daressy, *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁴⁰ Daressy, *Ibid.*, p. 149 seq.

»Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, who is in 'The house of Ramses III in the temple area of Amun in the western part of Thebes'». ⁴¹ (296.)

To judge from certain representations in the temple, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris seems to have been a name of a cult statue with the appearance of Sokaris. ⁴²

In Pap. Harris I, 4, 10, Ramses III describes what he has done for his father Amun, mentioning that he had built the temple at Medinet Habu and continuing:

»I made statues of Ptah and Sokaris and Nefertum and the Nine gods, the Lords of heaven and earth, and they are resting in their chapels». ⁴³ (297.)

Probably this text should be interpreted to mean that he had made cult statues for Ptah, Sokaris, Nefertum, and the different members of the Ennead which were placed in the Medinet Habu temple.

Even if one cannot determine in detail and distinguish the cults at Medinet Habu of the different Memphite gods, who were sometimes fused together, we can note that the Memphite company of gods: Ptah, Ptah-Sokaris, Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, and Sokaris, plays a large part both in texts and representations in the temple.

In certain Medinet Habu texts Ptah has a name which he has not anywhere else, namely:

ptḥ-n-p'-šb'-ḳ = »Ptah of the great pylon».

1. On a pillar in the second court of the Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III, the King is seen sacrificing to Ptah under the name:

ptḥ-n-p'-šb'-ḳ hr imntt w'st = »Ptah of the great pylon in the western part of Thebes». ⁴⁴

2. Also on a Theban memorial stele in Berlin from the end of the New Kingdom, where Amun, Mut, Sobek, Seth, and Ptah are represented, Ptah is called:

⁴¹ The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, vol. XXIII, pl. 153, 160.

⁴² See p. 142.

⁴³ Erichsen, Papyrus Harris I, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

»Ptah of the great pylon». ⁴⁵ (298.)

3. At the entrance to the first court of the large Medinet Habu temple we see the King running, carrying the \blacktriangle -sign and the $\overline{\text{V}}$ -sign. The text runs:

»To bring *hpt* to his [the King's] father, to offer a libation to his father Ptah of the [great] pylon». ⁴⁶ (299.)

It is probable that *p'-sb'-⁴⁷* refers to the big entrance pylon of the temple at Medinet Habu, or to the high fortified gate outside the temple. Either the whole temple has occasionally been called »The Great Pylon» or »The Great Gate», and in that case some statue of Ptah inside the temple might be referred to in the texts quoted above, or else the reference might be to some statue of Ptah worshipped in the vicinity of the entrance-gate or of the pylon.

5. Ptah at Hermonthis

During the time of the New Kingdom there must have been an important cult of Ptah at Hermonthis, for a funerary cone from the New Kingdom, now at Gizeh, has the following inscription:

»the prince and count, the sem-priest at the temple of Ptah, the supreme leader of handicraft at Hermonthis ... N. N.» ⁴⁷ (300.)

Evidently the cult of Ptah at Hermonthis was of such importance that this town had a special high-priest of Ptah, denominated by the old title of »supreme leader of handicraft». ⁴⁸ For comparison we may adduce the fact, pointed out by Kees, that a brother of Queen Teje (18th dyn.) was *wr m'w* (high-priest of Rē) at Hermonthis. ⁴⁹ During the 18th dynasty, then, there was at Hermonthis a cult of Rē also, of such importance that a high-priest of Rē, with the old Heliopolitan title of *wr m'w* = »The greatest among the seeing», was active there.

⁴⁵ Berlin 8440. Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II, p. 199.

⁴⁶ Unpublished. Slip of the Dictionary.

⁴⁷ Daressy, Recueil de cones funéraires, p. 291, no 208.

⁴⁸ Kees, Götterglaube, p. 360.

⁴⁹ Ä. Z. 53, p. 81 seqq.

It seems more probable that these high titles for the priests of Ptah and Rē were adopted at Hermonthis during the Middle Kingdom, when Hermonthis was particularly flourishing, than that they were adopted during the New Kingdom, when Hermonthis had lost its political importance.

6. Ptah at Hermopolis

It seems as if Ptah had a cult at Hermopolis in the New Kingdom. On a door lintel of that period from a dwelling-house in the town we read in fact the following text:

»Praise to thee, Ptah, thou great one, who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau. May he daily give life, vigour and health to the ka of him who is praised by his city god, . . . the custodian of the treasure house of the temple of Ptah, Nes Inher, blessed, from Memphis.»⁵⁰ (301.)

It seems most probable that the treasure house of the temple of Ptah, mentioned in this text, was at Hermopolis, and that it was here that Nes Inher was employed. The supposition that Ptah had a cult at Hermopolis is also borne out by another text on the same lintel, where Ptah and Thoth are pictured. Ptah and Thoth are seen seated, being worshipped by Nes Inher, and the inscription runs:

»Ptah and Thoth, great gods who are at Hermopolis.»⁵¹
(302.)

No traces of a temple or chapel of Ptah at Hermopolis have, however, been found.

7. Ptah in the Temple of Redesija

About 35 miles east of Edfu in the eastern desert, Seti I built a temple which is sometimes called, after an adjacent place, the Redesija temple, and which was called by Gunn and Gardiner: »the

⁵⁰ Mitt. d. deutsch. Inst. f. ägypt. Altertumskunde in Kairo 7, p. 34 seq.

⁵¹ Ibid. 7, p. 35, pl. 10 c.

temple of the Wādy Abbād». ⁵² It was built close to a well which Seti I had arranged on the way to the gold-mines in the eastern desert.

The temple was called *t'-hnm-t*-Seti I = »Seti I:s Well», or *hnm-t* = »the Well». It was dedicated to Seti I himself manifested in three statues as well as to Osiris, Ptah, Amun-Rē, Rē-Harakhte, Isis, and Horus at Edfu. There are statues of these gods in the innermost part of the temple ⁵³ and they are called: *pśd-t imj-t h-t-ntr tn* = »the company of nine gods in this temple». ⁵⁴

The origin of this temple is described at the entrance to the main hall and on the walls there. We read for example:

»And there was made by excavating this hill, a temple of these [gods]: Amun is in it, Rē is inside it, Ptah and Osiris are in its Main Hall, Horus, Isis, and Men-Maat-Rē: the company of nine gods in this temple». ⁵⁵ (303.)

On a pillar in the temple we read that Seti I was »beloved of»:

»Ptah, who has a cult at the 'Well'». ⁵⁶ (304.)

Gunn and Gardiner point out that the temple was under the supervision of the temple of Seti I at Abydos and was more or less subordinate to that temple, to which a large part of the gold from the adjacent gold mines was conveyed. ⁵⁷ It is also significant that the same divinities were worshipped in both temples.

8. Ptah at Dēr el -Medīne

Close to the present village Dēr el-Medīne, one kilometre west of the Ramesseum in western Thebes, there was during the New Kingdom a dwelling-place and burial-place for workmen, artisans and subordinate officials in the royal Theban necropolis. ⁵⁸ They were called *śdm-š m š-t-m''t* = »He who listens to the call [?] at the Place of

⁵² J. E. A. 4, p. 242.

⁵³ J. E. A. 4, p. 243 seq.

⁵⁴ Rec. de trav. 13, pl. 1, l. 10—11.

⁵⁵ Rec. de trav. 13, pl. 1, l. 10—11; J. E. A. 4, p. 245.

⁵⁶ Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 17, p. 12.

⁵⁷ J. E. A. 4, p. 242 seq.

⁵⁸ See e. g. Kees, Ägypten, p. 168.

Maat».⁵⁹ Most of the tombs here are from the 19th and 20th dynasties, but some of them are from the 18th dynasty.

At this place the cult of Ptah played a great part, which was doubtless due to two reasons, firstly that the cult of Ptah in Rameside times was propagated throughout Egypt from high quarters and Ptah thus came to be an important god, and secondly that Ptah, who is so often mentioned in the texts as an artisan, and in Memphis was closely associated with the artisans, was particularly suited to be one of the principal gods at this place which was largely populated by artisans. Ptah's great importance in the dwelling-place of the necropolis workers at Dēr el-Medīne is evident both from the fact that he had a cult in a rock sanctuary near Dēr el-Medīne, between this place and the necropolis of the Queens (»the Valley of the Queens») and the fact that he very frequently occurs represented in the tombs at Dēr el-Medīne.

The above-mentioned sanctuary, which consisted of a number of grottos cut out in the rock,⁶⁰ is mentioned on a votive stele, found in one of the grotto chapels, where a person has written: »I have made a stele in the chapels near 'the Valley of the Queens'. The servant in 'the Place of Maat', Pennut, blessed.»⁶¹

In the grotto chapels there are stelae, partly cut out in the rock and evidently appertaining to the original temple equipment, partly set up as votive gifts by visitors. Among the gods represented on the stelae, Ptah, alongside of the goddess Mert Seger holds by far the most important place, and he is represented on the walls or on stelae in all the grotto chapels.⁶²

In several inscriptions from and in the Dēr el-Medīne area Ptah is called *pth-n-t'-st-nfr-w* = »Ptah in 'the Valley of the Queens'», thus for example in a tomb at Dēr el-Medīne, where Ptah and Osiris are seen represented back to back and where it is written close to Ptah:

»Invoking of Ptah in 'the Valley of the Queens'; kissing the earth in front of Mert Seger, the mistress of the West».⁶³ (305.)

⁵⁹ Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'arch. orient. 27, p. 159.

⁶⁰ Bruyère, Mert Seger à Deir el Médineh, p. 5 seqq.

⁶¹ Bruyère, Ibid., p. 48.

⁶² See Bruyère, Ibid., p. 15 seqq.

⁶³ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1930, p. 59 seq.

In a tomb at Dēr el-Medīne a man is called:

»The purification priest of Ptah in 'the Valley of the Queens'». ⁶⁴ (306.)

The name »Ptah in 'the Valley of the Queens'» must refer to a Ptah cult in the above-mentioned »chapels near 'the Valley of the Queens'», a cult which is evident also from the frequent occurrence of Ptah in the images and texts in the chapel.

Ptah is represented throughout in these temple chapels in his usual guise with a smooth head, straight beard, tassel, tight-fitting garb, and uas-ankh-djed sceptre.

In the tombs at Dēr el-Medīne Ptah was frequently represented. As mentioned above, Ptah and Osiris were often represented as sitting or standing back to back as mortuary gods on the same footing.⁶⁵ In the sepulchral prayers in these tombs Ptah is often invoked with wishes for various favours after death.

9. Ptah at Pi-Ramesse

When Ramses II had a new capital built in lieu of Thebes, he located it in the Delta — according to Montet⁶⁶ and Gardiner⁶⁷ in the north-eastern Delta on the site of the later Tanis. It seems to have served as a capital for some time into the 20th dynasty.⁶⁸ The name with different spellings became $\overline{\text{𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏 } \overline{\text{𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏 } \overline{\text{𓂏}} \text{ 𓂏 } = \text{Pi-Ramesse} = \text{»The house of Ramses II»}.$

⁶⁴ Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1928, p. 93.

⁶⁵ Bruyère, thinks, *e. g.* in Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh, 1930, p. 59, that the reason why Ptah, when he is represented together with Osiris in these tombs, nearly always turns his head to the south was that he, the creator god, ruled over the southern part of the sky, the zone of life, while Osiris, turned to the north, ruled over the northern part of the sky, the zone of death. But there is nothing to show that these subtle speculations about the symbolic meaning of the position of the images, and about the southern part of the sky as the zone of life and the northern as that of death, correspond to reality.

⁶⁶ Montet, Tanis, Avaris et Pi-Ramsès. (Revue Biblique 39, p. 5 seqq.); Montet, Le drame d'Avaris.

⁶⁷ J. E. A. 19, p. 122 seqq.

⁶⁸ Montet, Le drame d'Avaris, p. 212.

Ramses II, who as we know, patronized the worship of Ptah alongside of Amun-Rē and Rē-Harakhte, established a cult of these gods at Pi-Ramesse and also of some other gods, including Seth.⁶⁹ That Ptah had a cult at Pi-Ramesse is shown by a number of inscriptions, most of which have been pointed out by Gardiner in his articles on Pi-Ramesse.⁷⁰ The following may be mentioned:

1. On a stele from the time of Ramses II, found near Heliopolis, it is mentioned that stone was taken at Heliopolis for making statues which were conveyed to:

»the house of Amun of Ramses II, and to the house of Ptah of Ramses II, in Pi-Ramesse, Great-of-Victories».⁷¹
(307.)

This text indicates that Ptah had a temple of his own at Pi-Ramesse.

»Pi-Ramesse, Great-of-Victories», is a variant of the name of Pi-Ramesse.

2. In the text in the temple of Amun at Karnak, which tells of the treaty between Ramses II and the chief of Khatti, we read the following:

»On that day, behold, His Majesty was at the town of House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun», [Pi-Ramesse] »performing the behests of his father Amen-Re^c, Harakhte, Atum, Lord of the two lands of On, Amun of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun, Ptah of Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun, and Sētekh great of valour etc.»⁷² (308.)

Here it is thus mentioned that the King was at Pi-Ramesse and made offerings to several gods, among others »the Ptah of Ramses II», evidently a statue of Ptah erected by Ramses II at Pi-Ramesse.

3. Cult ceremonies for Ptah at Pi-Ramesse are also mentioned in Pap. Anastasi IV, verso B 1 seqq.:

»[Pharao was] in House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun, the Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon, [Pi-Ramesse] doing what his father Ptah-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun [Ramses II] praised».⁷³ (309.)

⁶⁹ Montet, *Ibid.*, p. 211.

⁷⁰ J. E. A. 5, p. 127 seqq.; 179 seqq.; 242 seqq.; 19, p. 122 seqq.

⁷¹ Rec. de trav. 30, p. 215; J. E. A. 5, p. 179 (Gardiner).

⁷² L. D. III, pl. 146. Gardiner's translation. J. E. A. 5, p. 181.

⁷³ Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 55. Gardiner's translation in J. E. A. 5, p. 189.

4. In Pap. Chester Beatty V, verso 2, 3 seq. we read:

»Rē-Harakhte ... Ptah, the Lords of Pi-Ramesse ...»⁷⁴
(310.)

The expression »the Lords of Pi-Ramesse» is here evidently an apposition to the god-names Rē-Harakhte and Ptah.

That Ptah has had a temple in the Ramesside capital in the Delta is thus evident, and also that Ptah at Pi-Ramesse was often called:

pth-n-Ramses II = »Ramses II's Ptah».⁷⁵

Montet states that the name Ramses II in contexts such as »Ramses II's Seth», »Ramses II's Amun», »Ramses II's Ptah», etc. should be regarded as an abbreviation of, or substitute for, the city-name Pi-Ramesse, and that these names always referred to gods in that city, even if they were mentioned outside the city. Gardiner has clearly shown that the first of these suppositions is untenable,⁷⁶ but he does not enter into the question as to how an expression such as »Ramses II's Ptah» should be interpreted when it occurs in texts outside Pi-Ramesse. It seems probable that in such texts, which have no connection with the Ramesside Delta residence, they do not refer to the gods in that residence, but to certain special statues of Ptah which Ramses II had erected at different places in Egypt.

When, for example, on the south outer wall of the big temple of Amun at Karnak, we see Ramses II sacrificing before *pth-n-Ramses II* = »Ramses II's Ptah» (standing in a chapel), before *itmw-n-Ramses II* = »Ramses II's Atum», and before *imn-n-Ramses II* = »Ramses II's Amun»,⁷⁷ it seems more probable that what is referred to here, is a Ptah image, an Atum image, and an Amun image in the part of the temple at Karnak built by Ramses II, than the images of these three gods at the town Pi-Ramesse. Both at Bubastis and at Wādi es-Sebouā in Nubia there were temples built by Ramses II; and, when on Ramesside temple fragments at Bubastis, mention is made of *pth-n-Ramses II* = »Ramses II's Ptah»,⁷⁸ or when one of the chief gods in the temple of Ramses II at Wādi es-Sebouā was

⁷⁴ Unpublished.

⁷⁵ Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris*, p. 122.

⁷⁶ *J. E. A.* 19, p. 127, note 1.

⁷⁷ *L. D.* III, pl. 147.

⁷⁸ Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. 36.

called: *ptḥ-n-Ramses II m pr-ḫmn* = »Ramses II's Ptah at Per Amun» (= Wādi es-Sebouā),⁷⁹ it is plausible to suppose that the references are to Ptah images erected by Ramses II at Bubastis and at Wādi es-Sebouā, and not to Ptah as worshipped at Pi-Ramesse.

As mentioned above, Pi-Ramesse is believed to have been located on the site of the later Tanis, which in 1929 began to be excavated by Montet. If this should be correct, we may expect within the Tanis area to find remains or other indications of a Ramesside chapel or temple of Ptah.

Gardiner mentions an inscription on a column from Montet's excavations at Tanis, which runs:

»He [Ramses II] made [it] as his monument to his father Ptah-of Ramesses, [Ramesses II] beloved of Ptah, Lord of strength.⁸⁰ (311.)

Here is thus mentioned part of a building which Ramses II says he had constructed for Ptah, and it was found at Tanis. It is therefore very probable that Ptah had a building there or part of a building, in Ramesside times, and this building may thus be the same as the Ramesside Ptah-temple at Pi-Ramesse, alluded to in the texts.

In view of the finds of many objects and parts of buildings from the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom in Ramesside layers at Tanis, Montet believes that Tanis had a magnificent temple as far back as the time of the Old Kingdom.⁸¹

Montet thinks moreover that the Tanis habitation was used by the Hyksos, too, and was identical with the Hyksos capital known from many texts, *ḥ-t-w'r-t* = »Avaris».⁸²

It is impossible, however, as Dr. Säve-Söderbergh has pointed out to me, to verify these opinions of Montet's, as long as the excavations at Tanis have not progressed further than at present, *i. e.* until the layers which are under the Ramesside layers at Tanis have been properly excavated.

Whether the Hyksos capital *ḥ-t-w'r-t* had the same site as Tanis,

⁷⁹ Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouā I*, p. 182.

⁸⁰ J. E. A. 19, p. 123. Gardiner's translation.

⁸¹ Montet, *Le drame d'Avaris*, p. 65.

⁸² See *e. g.* Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929—1932)*, p. 15 seqq.

the place which, according to Montet and Gardiner, during the Ramesside period was called Pi-Ramesse and for some time served as capital, and which later on, from the 22nd dynasty onwards, was undoubtedly called *ḏ'nt* = Djanet, or whether it was situated at some other place in the Delta, the name of *ḥ-t-w'r-t* has survived for a long time after the Hyksos period. For on a coffin, now at Cairo, presumably from Persian time (place of origin unknown), a man of the name of Ahmes is called among other things as follows:

»the hem-priest of Ptah, the purification priest of the temples of Memphis, the hem-priest of Ptah in *ḥ-t-w'r-t*, the hem-priest of Osiris in *ḥ-t-w'r-t*, the clerk at Ptah's temple-treasury, the hem-priest of Soped at Iati, the hem-priest of the gods of the temple of Soped at Iati». ⁸³ (312.)

Thus Ptah is said to have had a cult in late times at *ḥ-t-w'r-t*. Whether the temple of Ptah of which Ahmes is said to be treasury-clerk means a temple at *ḥ-t-w'r-t* or the temple of Ptah at Memphis is uncertain, for in the text Ahmes has some Memphite titles which probably refer to offices he held before or after he was active at *ḥ-t-w'r-t*, and the post of treasury-clerk at the temple of Ptah may have been one of them.

Whether the titles of »hem-priest of Ptah in *ḥ-t-w'r-t*» and »hem-priest of Osiris in *ḥ-t-w'r-t*» in this late text suggest that the name of *ḥ-t-w'r-t* survived as a name of Tanis beside the name of Djanet or whether they suggest that *ḥ-t-w'r-t* = Avaris was something quite different from Djanet = Tanis, is a problem which it is useless to discuss until we have learnt more about the history of Tanis before the Ramesside period.

10. Ptah at Bubastis

There is no trace of mention of Ptah at Bubastis before the time of Ramses II. Traces of older texts have, however, been found under those engraved in the temple at Bubastis in the time of Ramses II, and it is, of course, possible that these earlier texts contained some mention of a Ptah cult; but on this subject nothing is known.

⁸³ A. S. A. 38, p. 2 seqq.

Some statues of Ptah together with Ramses II have been found outside the temple at Bubastis. One of them represents Ptah together with the King and Rē, the other only Ptah and the King.⁸⁴ A damaged statue from the time of Ramses II, representing Ptah alone, has also been found.⁸⁵ Ptah is one of the gods who occurs most frequently in the inscriptions in the temple at Bubastis from these times.⁸⁶ There is nothing expressly mentioned in these texts about a cult of Ptah in the temple, but that such a cult existed during the New Kingdom is probable in view of the fact that the god is so often named in the temple; moreover Ptah's 18th name in the Ramesseum list of Ptah-names is:

»Ptah at Bubastis».⁸⁷ (313.)

Also, in inscriptions from the time of Osorkon I, mention is made of Ptah, who is said to be *hrj-ib b's-t*, that is to say, to have a cult at Bubastis. In Naville, Bubastis, pl. 40, a temple inscription from the 22nd dynasty with the following wording is reproduced:

»Ptah, the great, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, who is at Bubastis».⁸⁸ (314.)

11. Ptah at Horbēt

In the Ramesside military settlement in the eastern Delta, Horbēt, Ptah had a comparatively important cult.

Säve-Söderbergh has pointed to a Ramesside Horbēt-stele in the Egyptian Museum at Stockholm, made by a man called Khons, who was employed in *h-t-nb n pr-ptḥ* = »the gold workshop of the temple of Ptah».⁸⁹

As Ptah is mentioned and represented on several objects from Horbēt⁹⁰ it is likely that the temple of Ptah mentioned on this stele was situated at Horbēt, and, as Säve-Söderbergh points out, in that

⁸⁴ Naville, Bubastis, p. 38.

⁸⁵ Naville, Ibid., p. 42; pl. 19.

⁸⁶ Naville, Ibid., p. 42.

⁸⁷ Champ. Not. I, p. 905.

⁸⁸ Säve-Söderbergh, Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden, p. 21 seqq.

⁸⁹ A. Z. 61, p. 61.

case this temple must have been of some importance, as it had its own gold workshop.⁹⁰

Roeder points to a stele from Horbēt (Pelizäuseum no 1892), also of Ramesside type, where Ptah is represented in his usual shape, but standing with his back to a column, which looks like a plant pillar. On this stele he is called:

»Ptah of the Ukha-column».⁹¹ (315. Fig. 14).

The explanation of this representation and this name must be that in the temple of Ptah at Horbēt a special local type of column was placed behind the cult statue of Ptah, with the appearance shown by the illustration. As far as we know, no such thing existed in any other place, and the exceptional nature of this decoration of Ptah's chapel is also shown by the local name given to Ptah, »Ptah of the Ukha-column», or »Ptah with the Ukha-column».

12. Ptah at Ascalon (Philistia)

On an ivory plate from Ramesside times found at the Galilean Megiddo, we read a hieroglyphic inscription where a certain person is designated as follows:

»Dancer of Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, the very great one at Ascalon, Kerker».⁹² (316.)

The expression »the very great one at Ascalon» probably refers to Ptah, and seems to indicate that in Ramesside times there was a cult of Ptah in the Philistine Ascalon.

13. Ptah in Nubia

Ptah had a cult at several different places in Nubia, of which the following are the most known.

⁹⁰ Säve-Söderbergh, *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁹¹ *A. Z.* 61, p. 61, pl. 4, 2.

⁹² The University of Chicago. *Oriental Institute Publications*. Vol. LII (Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*), p. 12. No 380.

Gerf Husein

In the Gerf Husein temple, which is situated on the Nile about 50 miles south of Elephantine, and which was erected by Ramses II, Ptah was one of the principal gods.⁹³

Here he was evidently worshipped both in his original form and as Ptah-Tatenen, for in a niche in the naos we see four figures, namely

- 1) Ptah in a tight-fitting garb, smooth head and with the name:
»the Ptah of Ramses II in the temple area of Ptah»,
(317.)

referring to the Ptah cult established by Ramses II at Gerf Husein;

- 2) the deified Ramses II;
- 3) Ptah-Tatenen with the feather crown and the name:
»the Ptah-Tatenen of Ramses II in the temple area
of Ptah», (318.)

and

- 4) Hathor.⁹⁴

Derr

In the temple at Derr, situated on the Nile, about 90 miles southeast of Elephantine and erected by Ramses II, there was apparently a Ptah cult.

In the naos of the temple, Ramses II is represented on the north wall in front of:

- »Ptah, the Lord of Maat, King of the two lands, who is in his temple». ⁹⁵ (319.)

The wording of the text as well as its placing in the holy of holies are indicative of a cult of Ptah in this temple.

In the same room, on the eastern wall, there was a relief representing four seated figures, which have been hewn away. According to L. D. III, pl. 184 b, they seem to have been Rē-Harakhte, Ramses II, Amun-Rē, and Ptah, evidently the principal gods of the temple.

⁹³ L. D. III, pl. 178.

⁹⁴ L. D. Text V, p. 55.

⁹⁵ Blackman, The Temple of Derr, p. 94.

Abusimbel

In the big temple at Abusimbel, situated on the Nile about 140 miles southwest of Elephantine, likewise erected by Ramses II, Ptah seems to have had a cult. On the west wall of the naos we see four seated figures, representing Ptah, Amun-Rē, Ramses II, and Rē-Harakhte. To judge by the placing, they were the principal gods of the temple. Ptah has a smooth head, white garb and a yellow complexion and is called *ptḥ nb m'·t* = »Ptah, the Lord of Maat».⁹⁶

Wādi es-Sebouā

Ptah also had a cult in the temple at Wādi es-Sebouā. This temple was situated about 90 miles south of Elephantine on the Nile, and was erected by Ramses II.

In the eastern chapel of the anteroom the King is represented offering incense to four seated gods, namely Ptah with a tightly-fitting garb and smooth head and with the name *ptḥ-n-Ramses II m pr-ḫmn* = »Ramses II's Ptah in the temple area of Amun», that is: the Ptah who was worshipped in the temple erected by Ramses II at Wādi es-Sebouā; and Ptah-Tatenen, represented with two feathers resting on horns on his head, with a human face and with the name: *ptḥ ḫ-tnn k' šw-tj špd ḫwj* = »Ptah-Tatenen, he who has tall feathers and pointed horns». The two other gods are Ramses II as a divinity, and Hathor.⁹⁷

Ptah's and Ptah-Tatenen's names in this temple indicate the existence of a cult here of these gods.

We note that all these temples in Nubia, where Ptah was worshipped as a principal god or as a subsidiary god, were erected during the time of Ramses II. Before Ramesside times the cult of Ptah does not seem to have been disseminated in Nubia. This cult was evidently introduced into Nubia when Ptah, in Ramesside times, was included in the national triad Amun-Rē, Rē-Harakhte, Ptah-Tatenen, which was propagated by the Ramessides.

⁹⁶ L. D. III, pl. 190 c.

⁹⁷ Gauthier, *Ibid.* I, p. 181 seq.; II, pl. 54. Gauthier has not seen that the second god in the row is Ptah-Tatenen, and that the third is Ramses II, but thinks that the second god is Ramses II, and that the third is a god without a name.

14. Ptah at Hibis (the Khargeh Oasis)

In the big temple at Hibis, in the Khargeh Oasis, built during the reign of the Persian King Darius I, where the principal god was Amun, Ptah was also worshipped.

On the pylon forming the main entrance of the temple, Ptah is represented under the name:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, Lord of Hibis». (320.)

He is accompanied by »Sekhmet, the great, the beloved of Ptah, Lord of Hibis».⁹⁸

As is mentioned above, Ptah played an important part in the texts in this temple; in several passages in them we find speculations on Amun's identity with Ptah.⁹⁹

15. Ptah in the Fayūm district

On a tomb stele of the Memphite high priest, Anemher, from Ptolemaic times, now in Vienna, mention is made of two Ptah sanctuaries, the site of which cannot be determined with certainty. Anemher is in fact called:

»Hem-priest of Ptah, Lord of 'The south lake', hem-priest of the gods in the temple of Ptah, Lord of 'The south lake', likewise of the gods in the temple of Ptah, Lord of 'The north lake'.¹ (321.)


The text thus speaks of a temple belonging to »Ptah, Lord of 'The south lake'», that is, a temple of Ptah at a place called »The south lake» and a temple belonging to »Ptah, Lord of 'The north lake'», that is, a temple of Ptah at a place called »The north lake». The gods in the one temple are contrasted with the gods in the other temple, which shows that we are concerned here with two different temples. Otherwise Ptah is never given the epithet »Lord of 'The

⁹⁸ Brugsch, *Reise nach der grossen Oase el Khargeh*, p. 24 seq.; pl. 9.


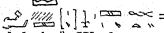
⁹⁹ See p. 171.

¹ Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 903.

south lake'» or »Lord of 'The north lake'», and the text gives no information as to what lakes are referred to here.

Gauthier supposes that these lakes were either both situated in the district of Memphis, south and north of Memphis, or else that »The north lake» was situated in the Memphis district and that »The south lake» was Fayūm, which was often called  = s-ršj = »The south lake».²

The supposition that these lakes were situated in the Memphis district is borne out by the facts that nearly all the other places mentioned in the inscription lay in or in the vicinity of Memphis, and that Anemher, at the time when the inscription was written, was high priest of Memphis and thus may have held the above-mentioned offices in addition to his office of high priest.

It is, however, also conceivable that both the above-mentioned Ptah-sanctuaries were situated in the Fayūm district. Griffith cites a text on a statue from the 18th dynasty, now in the Marseilles museum, where a man named Sebekhetep is called firstly:  = »Prince of the Lake district» (Fayūm), and secondly:  = »Prince of 'The south lake' and of 'The north lake'».³ We know that »The lake district» meant Fayūm,⁴ and that »The south lake», was a name connected with the Fayūm district,⁵ and as the title »prince» is not repeated before »The north lake», it is probable that »The south lake» and »The north lake» in this text refer to two adjacent places, and that both were situated in the Fayūm district.

If »The south lake» and »The north lake» in the above-cited Memphite Ptolemaic text refer to canals or the like in the Fayūm district, Ptah must have had two sanctuaries within this district, and Anemher may have been priest there before he came to Memphis.⁶

² Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* 5, p. 119; 123 seq.

³ *Rec. de trav.* 1, p. 107 seqq. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob.* Text., p. 53.

⁴ See *Wb.* V, p. 226 seq.

⁵ See Gauthier, *Ibid.* 5, p. 123.

⁶ *Comp.* p. 52.

16. Ptah at Edfu

Ptah had a cult in the Ptolemaic temple of Horus at Edfu. In a text in that temple, he is in fact called:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Lord of Ankhtau, Tatenen . . . great god, he who is at Edfu». (322.)

Ptah is represented here with a smooth head and a close-fitting garb.⁷

In another text in the same temple Ptah is called:

»Ptah, he with the beautiful face, great god, at the head of Edfu, the ruler of rulers, at the head of *śt-wr-t*». ⁸
(323.)

śt-wr-t was a very common name for the temple of Horus at Edfu.⁹

Ptah was probably worshipped in several forms and under different names at Edfu. At the entrance to the second hypostyle hall in the temple, there is a list of the gods to whom King Ptolemy II gave offerings at Edfu, and who are called:

»The gods at Edfu, . . . the gods at *śt-wr-t* [Edfu] for ever and for ever». ¹⁰

Among these are:

No. 147: »Ptah at Edfu».

No. 152: »Ptah-Tatenen».

No. 161: »Ptah, great god, he with the many-coloured feathers».

No. 185: »Ptah in Shemit».

No. 186: »Ptah, he with the beautiful face».

No. 187: »Ptah, the representative of Rē, at the head of Edfu». ¹¹ (324.)

The probability is that these six different names of Ptah refer to six different images, each of which was regarded as a separate god,

⁷ Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou I, p. 498, pl. 35 a.

⁸ Chassinat, Ibid. I, p. 574.

⁹ Gauthier, Dict. géogr. V, p. 72 seq., Wb. IV, p. 7.

¹⁰ Chassinat, Ibid. II, p. 25.

¹¹ Chassinat, Ibid. II, p. 24—25.

and all of which were worshipped at Edfu. In No. 161 we see distinct influences from Horus at Edfu, who used to be called *s'b šwt* = »he with the many-coloured feathers«. Ptah in Shemit must be an image worshipped in a part of the temple at Edfu which was called Shemit. Ptah is also called »Ptah in Shemit, at the head of Edfu«, in one of the chapels west of the holy of holies.¹² Shemit usually meant part of a temple, especially the corridor round the holy of holies,¹³ and it is probable that Shemit here means this chapel west of the holy of holies, where Ptah is represented, and that an image named »Ptah in Shemit« was worshipped there.

In the same chapel there is also a representation of *ptḥ nfr ḥr ntr* «*ḥrj-ib bhḏ-t* = »Ptah, he with the beautiful [gracious] face, great god at Edfu».¹⁴ *ptḥ nfr ḥr* = »Ptah, he with the beautiful face«, was as we have seen, included in the list of gods to whom offerings were given at Edfu. Possibly he was worshipped in the above-mentioned chapel west of the sanctuary. »Ptah, he with the beautiful face« and »Ptah in Shemit« are represented in exactly the same way, but the fact that they have different names and are both included in a series of gods, before whom the King sacrificed, shows that they were conceived to be two different divinities.

17. Ptah on Philae and Bigge

That Ptah had a cult on the island of Philae, is indicated by the fact that in the Ptolemaic-Roman temple of Isis on Philae, on the eastern outer wall, he is called:

»Ptah, he with the beautiful face, great god on Philae».¹⁵
(325.)

There is nothing to indicate where on Philae Ptah was worshipped, but it was probably in the great temple of Isis there. On the western wall in the sixth chamber of the naos in this temple of Isis, Ptolemy II is seen making a drink-offering to Ptah, and next to it is the inscrip-

¹² Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 133; pl. 21 a.

¹³ *Wb.* IV, p. 472.

¹⁴ Chassinat, *Ibid.* I, p. 133, pl. 21 a.

¹⁵ Photo Philae 856. Unpublished.

tion: — »to make a drink-offering to his father». Next to it one sees Ptolemy II offering ointment to Ptah depicted with a smooth head and a close-fitting garb, and one reads the inscription:

»He [the King] gives thee [Ptah] ointment which has come from Punt, so that it may be pleasing to thee for ever». ¹⁶ (326.)

That these pictures are found in the holy of holies probably signifies that Ptah was worshipped in this temple and perhaps in the very chapel where he is twice represented.

Also on the island of Bigge, situated near Philae, Ptah had a cult in late times. Bigge was called *šm-t* = Senmut. In the so-called »House of birth» in the Isis temple on Philae, on the western outer wall of the naos, one sees the Emperor Tiberius presenting the sign of life-eternity-bliss to Ptah, and the inscription runs:

»To be recited by Ptah, he who is south of his wall and Lord of Ankhtau, divine god, at the head of Senmut». (327.)

Next to Ptah sits Sekhmet. She is called: — »the mistress of the flame in Senmut». ¹⁷

Ptah is thus said to have been worshipped on Bigge, but we do not know for certain, where on the island he was worshipped.

On the island of Bigge there was a sanctuary named *i't-w'b.t* = »The pure place» = Abaton, where there was a grave of Osiris.

In an inscription from the time of Dionysios in the temple of Isis at Philae mention is made of:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall, the Lord of Ankhtau, great god, he who is at Abaton, the power of the powers». ¹⁸ (328.)

In another Philae inscription from the time of Ptolemy III, mention is made of:

»Ptah-Tatenen . . . glorious power, Lord of Abaton». ¹⁹ (329.)

¹⁶ Bénédicté, Le temple de Philae, p. 96, pl. 13.

¹⁷ Photo Philae 994. Unpublished.

¹⁸ Photo Philae 1507. Unpublished.

¹⁹ Photo Philae 1306. Temple of Isis. Unpublished.

These texts indicate that Ptah was worshipped at Abaton on the island of Bigge, perhaps both as »Ptah, he who is south of his wall» and as Ptah-Tatenen. On the other hand we cannot infer from the available texts whether Ptah had a permanent cult at Abaton, or whether these texts merely allude to the fact that a number of statues of gods from the whole country, including the image of Ptah, on the anniversary of Osiris' burial were transported to Bigge to help Osiris.²⁰

18. Ptah at Dendera

That Ptah has had a cult in the Ptolemaic-Roman temple of Hathor at Dendera is evident from many texts, and it seems probable that he was worshipped there both as Ptah and as Ptah-Tatenen.

A name of Dendera was *iwnt*, and sometimes it is called, in temple inscriptions at Dendera: »Ptah's *iwnt*».²¹

On a pillar in the court of the temple we see an image of Ptah-Tatenen seated, with his left arm raised and with the crown of Tatenen on his head, and with the following inscription:

»To be recited by Ptah, he who is south of his wall and Lord of Ankhtau, great god, he who is at Dendera, — Tatenen, . . .».²² (330.)

On the north outer wall of the temple, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, he who is south of his wall and Lord of Ankhtau, great god at the head of Dendera».²³ (331.)

Both the expressions *hrj-ib* = »he who is at», and *hnt* = »at the head of», are used at Dendera about Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen, who were not head gods in the temple.

In the eastern chapel of Osiris in the same temple, Ptah is seen with a feather-crown as Tatenen and with the inscription:

»To be recited by Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Power, Lord of Ankhtau, who protects . . . Per Shentit».²⁴ (332.)

²⁰ Junker, Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, p. 57.

²¹ Mariette, Dendérah III, pl. 79; I, pl. 16 b.

²² L. D. Text II, p. 214.

²³ Brugsch, Thes., p. 1394.

²⁴ Mariette, Dendérah IV, p. 58 b.

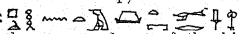
Per Shentit was a part of the temple at Dendera where Osiris' mysteries were celebrated.²⁵ Thus it seems to have been supposed that Ptah had some connection with these mysteries at Dendera.

19. Ptah in Alexandria

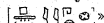
A temple of Ptah existed in late times in Alexandria. A receipt for pay, issued by priests in Alexandria named Hephaistos priests and dating from the third century A. D., has been found in a tomb at Memphis. In view of the place where the receipt was found it has been inferred that the stipend to the Hephaistos priests in Alexandria was paid from the temple of Ptah at Memphis, to which the temple at Alexandria was apparently subordinate. The genuinely Egyptian names of these so-called Hephaistos priests at Alexandria indicate that the Hephaistos in question was not the Greek god Hephaistos, but an Egyptian god, evidently Ptah.²⁶

20. Unlocalized Cult Centres

In conclusion, it remains to record some names of temples where Ptah seems to have had a cult, but which it is impossible to locate.

1. On a sepulchral stone from the third century B. C., belonging to a Phoenician mercenary commander named Khahap, it is mentioned that the dead man was in the service of:  = »Ptah in *t'-šnw-t-wr-hrp-hmw-t*» (>the storage depot of the high priest of Memphis»).

It seems as if *t'-šnw-t-wr-hrp-hmw-t* were the name of a cult centre. Further down in the same text it is stated that Khahap had been a:

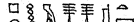
»writer of holy books in *t'-šnw-t-wr-hrp-hmw-t* in
pt'-iht.²⁷ [.

²⁵ Gauthier, Dict. géogr. II, p. 134; Wb. IV, p. 518.

²⁶ Otto, Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten I, p. 22; Hermes XXII (1887), p. 142 seqq.

²⁷ Berlin 2118. Sethe, Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit, p. 164.

Neither *t'-šnw-t-wr-hrp-hmw-t* nor *pt'-iht* are recorded in other texts. Gauthier considers that these localities were situated in Memphis.²⁸ This, however, need not have been the case. Khahap, to judge by certain titles, seems to have been employed in Memphis at some time of his life, but he may have had the above-mentioned posts before or after he came to Memphis.²⁹

2. In the list of Ptah names in the Ramesseum, Ptah's seventeenth name is:  = »Ptah in *dd-st*».³⁰

dd-sw-t was the name of Teti's pyramid at Sakkara, but Scharff points to a passage in »The Instruction for Merikarē», where *dd-sw-t* is clearly a name for Memphis.³¹ It is probable that *dd-st* means Memphis here.

3. The thirty-first name of Ptah in the same list of Ptah names is: = »Ptah in *šh-t-r'*».³²

According to Gauthier, *šh-t-r'* is here the name of the agricultural territory of the first Lower Egyptian nome (Memphis).³³ Possibly, however, the Ptah epithet refers, instead, to some Ptah cult in, or in the vicinity of, Sahurē's sun temple at Abusir in the Memphite necropolis, which also bears the name *šh-t-r'*.³⁴

4. On a stele from the New Kingdom, now in the Louvre museum (time and origin unknown), we read a prayer to:

»Ptah in the land of Maat».³⁵ (333.)

»The land of Maat», according to Gauthier, was one of the designations of the necropolis, especially that of Thebes.³⁶ Ptah had in fact a cult at several places in the Theban necropolis, and the reference here may be to it.

5. On a fragment from the 30th dynasty, found at Bubastis, with a list of different temples, mention is made of a temple called:

²⁸ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* V, p. 141; II, p. 154.

²⁹ *Comp.* p. 52.

³⁰ *Champ. Not.* I, p. 905.

³¹ *Sitzungsber. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1936, Heft 8, p. 36.

³² *Champ. Ibid.* I, p. 905.

³³ Gauthier, *Dict. géogr.* V, p. 55.

³⁴ Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 55.

³⁵ Louvre C. 143. Unpublished.

³⁶ Gauthier, *Ibid.* VI, p. 20.

»The temple of Ramses II's Ptah-Tatenen on the bank of the river». ³⁷ (334.)

Naville supposes that this refers to the temple in Memphis, but Gardiner proposes, instead, that it refers to Ptah's temple at Pi-Ramesse. ³⁸ As Ramses II had erected temples of Ptah at several places, many of which may be said to be situated »on the bank of the river», it is impossible to decide where the temple was situated.

6. On a large statue of Ptah, now in Turin (origin and time unknown), we read the inscription:

»Ptah, Lord of Maat, great god, Lord of Jubilees, he who is at *šhn-kšw*». ³⁹ (335.)

The word *kšw* may possibly have some connection with the word 𓂏𓂏 = *kš-tj*(?) = »sculptor». ⁴⁰

7. In a Ptolemaic text in the temple of Ptah at Karnak, Ptah is called:

»Ptah, the Lord of Thebes, he who is in Memphis, Lord of *wnw-t*». ⁴¹ (336.)

The *wnw-t* mentioned here, cannot be located.

We might sum up the history of the cult of Ptah, as it can be conjectured by virtue of accessible texts and existing archaeological material, in the following way.

We have positive traces of a Ptah cult at Memphis from the Old Kingdom onwards. The Shabaka text, probably from the third dynasty, shows that Ptah was the head god at Memphis at that time. To judge by the Shabaka text Ptah had or got a temple at Memphis at the time of the uniting of Egypt, as we read there in connection with the mention of the uniting of Egypt, of how »rushes and papyrus were placed at the double door of the temple of Ptah». ^{41a}

The bowl from Tarkhan with a representation of Ptah, assigned by Petrie to the first dynasty, must be counted as a more unreliable

³⁷ Naville, Bubastis, p. 57, pl. 46 b.

³⁸ J. E. A. 5, p. 257.

³⁹ Brugsch, Thes., p. 1234.

⁴⁰ See Gardiner, Grammar, p. 499. G. transcr. *gnwtj*(?)

⁴¹ A. S. A. 3, p. 64.

^{41a} See p. 20.

sign of the knowledge of or cult of Ptah as early as in the first dynasty.^{41b} It is not known if Petrie has positive proof for this dating.

We do not know if Ptah was worshipped in the Memphis area before the first dynasty. There is a possibility that Ptah or Tatenen was worshipped at This in predynastic times and that this worship was transferred to Memphis when Memphis became a powerful place in connection with the uniting of Egypt, carried out by Thinitic princes. A fact speaking in favour of this hypothesis is the similarity, pointed out by Sethe, between the coat of arms of the town This and the crown of Tatenen, which was either the name of a god identified at an early time with Ptah, or another name for Ptah.^{41c}

Memphis was the residence from the third dynasty onwards,^{41d} and undoubtedly the head god of the residence, Ptah, was reckoned as an important and powerful god even outside Memphis.

The fact that no remains of Ptah temples or other traces of a cult of Ptah from the Old Kingdom have been found outside of Memphis need not necessarily indicate that the cult of Ptah was not disseminated outside Memphis at that time, but can be due to the scarcity of the archaeological remains and the preserved texts from the Old Kingdom.

In this thesis the rivalry between the residence, Memphis, and the town Heliopolis during the Old Kingdom have been pointed out several times. The great influence of Heliopolis and its gods in the Old Kingdom, although Heliopolis was not a residential city at that time, is manifested for example in the fact, pointed out by Kees, that the Kings from Khefren's time onwards called themselves Rē's son,⁴² and in the fact that many Kings during the Old Kingdom had names in which Rē's name was included. Ptah's name does not appear in similar connections. We recollect the domination of the Heliopolitan gods in the Pyramid texts where Ptah is scarcely mentioned, although the Pyramid texts were used for the Kings who had resided in the city of Ptah.^{42a} This influence of Heliopolis and the Heliopolitan theology during the Old Kingdom at the expense of

^{41b} See p. 12.

^{41c} See p. 61.

^{41d} See Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 290.

⁴² Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 277.

^{42a} See p. 24 seq., 120.

Memphis and Ptah, might be connected with the fact that Heliopolis probably was a mighty city with an abundant religious life as early as in predynastic times and that it attempted to maintain its position during the Old Kingdom. We must also, as pointed out by Kees,⁴³ reckon with the rôle played at the great advancement of Heliopolis in the Old Kingdom by Imhotep, the vizier and high-priest at Heliopolis at the time of Djoser.

There is no information regarding the dissemination of the cult of Ptah during the First Intermediate.

Kees calls attention to how the location of the residence at Lisht, south of Memphis, during Amenemhet I, restrengthened the Memphite influence on religious life in Egypt, and he refers to the dissemination outside Memphis of certain Memphite local cults at this time.⁴⁴ It seems as if the cult of Ptah was rather widely spread during the Middle Kingdom. We have seen that there are traces of new buildings for Ptah within Memphis from the time of Amenemhet I, Amenemhet II, Sesostri II and Amenemhet III.^{44a} In the twelfth dynasty a Ptah-temple was built on the Sinai-peninsula.^{44b} There are also texts indicating that Ptah had a temple at Thebes^{44c} and cult at Abydos in the Middle Kingdom.^{44d}

From the beginning of the New Kingdom we know of new buildings for Ptah from the time of Tuthmosis III and Amenhotep III. There are temple-remains as well as inscriptions showing that Tuthmosis III had a Ptah-temple built at Thebes,^{44e} and we have an inscription from the time of Amenhotep III describing the erection of a temple of Ptah west of the main temple of Ptah at Memphis.^{44f} In the beginning of the New Kingdom, however, the cult of Amun dominated Egypt to such a degree that the other gods were placed entirely into the background. Amenhotep III endeavoured to deprive Thebes and the priests of Amun of some of their influence by giving augmented

⁴³ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁴⁴ Kees, *Ibid.*, 327. — Also the following Kings had their residence near Memphis.

^{44a} See p. 208.

^{44b} See p. 220 seq.

^{44c} See p. 224.

^{44d} See p. 221 seq.

^{44e} See p. 224 seqq.

^{44f} See p. 213 seq.

authority to the high-priest at Memphis.⁴⁵ This pro-Memphite policy was interrupted by the El Amarna intermezzo, but was taken up again by Haremhab and was continued by his successors. In the coronation inscription of Haremhab we read: »For it is he [Haremhab] who shall satisfy thy heart in the midst of Karnak, likewise Heliopolis and Memphis. It is he who shall make them splendid.»⁴⁶

Attempts were made to restore the religious life to what it was before the El Amarna crisis, but for fear of the clergy of Amun becoming too powerful as they were before the time of El Amarna, the great might of Rē-Harakhte in Heliopolis and Ptah in Memphis were specially held out and their temples and cult were richly provided for.⁴⁷ Seti I had the *š-r*-name: »Seti, the beloved of Ptah.» The name Amun is not included, however, among his names or his titles.⁴⁸ In the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos Ptah is one of the seven head gods, and Sokaris and Ptah-Sokaris also play an important rôle in that temple.^{48a} In the temple of Seti I at Redesija, Ptah is one of the nine head gods.^{48b}

During the Ramessides a state-triad, consisting of Amun-Rē at Thebes, Rē-Harakhte at Heliopolis and Ptah at Memphis, was believed to represent the Egyptian gods.⁴⁹ A great many temples were built all over Egypt and in Nubia to the glory of these gods and their riches were enormous. From the time of Ramses II we know of temples built in the honour of Ptah at for example Memphis,^{49a} Pi-Ramesse^{49b} and many places in Nubia.^{49c} Merenptah also had a Ptah-temple built at Memphis.^{49d} From the time of Ramses III we know of great building-enterprises at Memphis in the honour of Ptah,^{49e} and

⁴⁵ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁴⁶ Brugsch, *Thes.*, p. 1077.

⁴⁷ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 379.

⁴⁸ Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte III*, p. 10 *seqq.*

^{48a} See p. 222 *seq.*

^{48b} See p. 233.

⁴⁹ See Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 379.

^{49a} See p. 209.

^{49b} See p. 236 *seq.*

^{49c} See p. 241 *seqq.*

^{49d} See p. 209.

^{49e} See p. 209 *seqq.*

there is a chapel for his worship in the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.^{49f}

There is a picture in the temple of Seti I at Abydos where Ramses II as crown-prince is seen in the full attire of the high-priest of Ptah at Memphis, performing offerings in front of Ptah.⁵⁰ To judge by this representation Ramses II must have performed the duties of a high-priest of Ptah at Memphis before he ascended the throne, and this fact seems to be another sign of the importance attached to the cult of Ptah in Ramesside times. Another manifestation of the popularity of Ptah during Ramesside times is the fact that the name of Ptah or of Tatenen is included in the names or titles of many of the Ramesside Kings. In the Horus-name of Ramses II we find the following item: »Lord of sed-feasts like his father Ptah-Tatenen.»^{50a} The successor of Ramses II was called »The beloved of Ptah = Merenptah.»⁵¹ In the name of Merenptah's successor, Seti II, the item »The beloved of Ptah» was also included.⁵² The successor of this King in turn had the s'-r'-name Ramses-Saptah = »Ramses, the son of Ptah.»⁵³ Ramses III's royal titles included as a *nb-tj*-name the expression: »With many sed-feasts like Tatenen» and Ramses IV had the Horus name: »Strong bull who lives by Maat, Lord of sed-feasts like his father Ptah-Tatenen.»^{53a} Memphis was not, however, of the same importance as Thebes and Heliopolis in Ramesside times in spite of Memphis' and Ptah's popularity during this period, a fact which we can discern *i. a.* from the lists of possessions of Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis in Pap. Harris I from the time of Ramses III, in which lists Memphis appears as much poorer than above all Thebes, but also Heliopolis.^{53b}

The next great rise of the Memphite cults occurred during Saitic times, the Egyptian Renaissance, when people in every way tried to revive the culture of the Old Kingdom. Ptah was one of the most

^{49f} See p. 228 seq.

⁵⁰ Mariette, Abydos I, pl. 44. — Brugsch, Thes. p. 959.

^{50a} See p. 90.

⁵¹ Gauthier, Le livre des rois d'Égypte III, p. 115 seqq.

⁵² Gauthier, *Ibid.* III, p. 131 seqq.

⁵³ Gauthier, *Ibid.* III, p. 145.

^{53a} See p. 90.

^{53b} See Kees, Ägypten, p. 45.

honoured gods of this period. As a manifestation of this patronage of Ptah's cult in Saitic times we might count the fact that King Apries in a Memphite decree has put in the words »Ptah's son whom he loves»⁵⁴ among his titles instead of the words s^3-r^c = »The son of Rē», generally included among the titles of the Kings and generally included among the titles of Apries too.

There are signs of new buildings having been made within the temple area of Ptah at Memphis during the reign of King Amasis.^{54a}

The rulers of the Ptolemaic period also showed great veneration of the culture of ancient times, and great care and attention were devoted to the cult of the ancient Egyptian gods. Ptah was worshipped in most of the large Ptolemaic temples, *viz.* Edfu,^{54b} Philae^{54c} and Dendera^{54d} and at any rate from the time of Ptolemy IV we know of temple-buildings at Memphis in the honour of Ptah.^{54e}

The fact that Ptah's name is included in some form in many of the names of the Ptolemaic Kings shows that Ptah was popular in the Ptolemaic period, perhaps in the quality of the god of the residence in the venerated Old Kingdom. Ptolemy III,⁵⁵ Ptolemy IV,⁵⁶ Ptolemy V,⁵⁷ Ptolemy VI,⁵⁸ Ptolemy VII,⁵⁹ Ptolemy X⁶⁰ and Ptolemy XIII⁶¹ were all called either »The Beloved of Ptah», »The Heir of Ptah» or »The Elected of Ptah».

As seen above, it seems as if Ptah was worshipped in Egypt as late as the third century A. D.

⁵⁴ Brugsch, Rec. de monuments I, pl. 3.

^{54a} See p. 211.

^{54b} See p. 246 seq.

^{54c} See p. 247 seq.

^{54d} See p. 249 seq.

^{54e} See p. 211.

⁵⁵ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 247.

⁵⁶ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 264.

⁵⁷ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 277.

⁵⁸ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 289.

⁵⁹ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 309.

⁶⁰ See for example Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 357.

⁶¹ Gauthier, *Ibid.* V, p. 401.

On the Origin of the Cult of Ptah

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to give an account of the qualities which at different times were attributed to the Egyptian god Ptah, and we examined the question how he came to be identified with other gods and, in consequence of these identifications, acquired epithets and attributes such as were probably not proper to him from the beginning.

For Ptah, as well as for most of the other Egyptian gods, it can be said that when he is first described in the Egyptian texts he has already behind him a long course of development of which it is impossible to obtain any knowledge. The Shabaka text, the oldest text that gives any real information about Ptah, is obviously a product of theological speculation. The identifications mentioned there of Ptah with other gods may be of an earlier date, but they may, at least partly, have been thought out by the author or the authors of the Shabaka text. In this text Ptah has traits which he possibly never possessed in the beginning, but this can not of course be the case with all his characteristic features. Important traits must have belonged to him before he came under the influence of the cult of other gods, and there are good reasons to assume that these traits followed him as constructive elements through the whole course of his development.

Another question of importance is the difference between theological speculation and the living piety of the population. Ptah has without doubt been a god to whom human beings turned in distress or gratitude, but he was also an object of analysis and constructions which hardly made their way outside the relatively limited circle of theologically educated people.

Theology has of course been as little independent of religion as

religion of theology, but these phenomena have been in relation to each other like circles which intersect but do not coincide. To get at the Ptah-religion, the Ptah-piety, as it probably existed outside the frame of theology, is however an exceedingly difficult task. We must presume that when a statement about Ptah was fixed in writing it had already been theologically purged and theologically ornamented. One would like to know what manner of god was he on whom the theologians in Memphis founded the speculations which come down to us in the Shabaka text. However, there is no sure way in which we can reach that goal. We are left to make suppositions based on uncertain grounds.

The problem of the nature and development of the earliest Egyptian god-ideas is of course connected with the question of the origin of god-belief on the whole in its oldest and most primitive forms; of these questions it can be said that up to now no sort of agreement has been reached among historians of religion and psychologists of religion.

One method, also used in Egyptology as a means to an understanding of the oldest manifestations of religion, is to start from the religious notions known to oneself through inner experience and transfer to the founders of distant and ancient religions one's own fundamental religious demands. Of course in view of a certain conformity in human nature, this method cannot wholly be rejected.

As early as 1855 de Rougé writes in his »Notice sommaire des monuments égyptiens», p. 99, the following: »La religion égyptienne fut . . . une réunion des cultes locaux; on y trouve par conséquent une répétition des mêmes idées sous différents types et avec des variantes importantes. Il serait de même très-inexact de penser que cette multitude de divinités adorées chez les Égyptiens eût complètement oblitéré chez eux la notion de l'être suprême. . . . Le Dieu suprême, quel que soit le nom local qu'on lui ait appliqué, est souvent désigné par des expressions qui ne permettent point le doute à cet égard.»

It was often characteristic of this supreme being — in whom, according to de Rougé, men believed in different places of Egypt under various names — that he was a creative god and a primeval god. According to de Rougé the most common belief at different Egyptian cult-places was that the supreme being manifested himself in the sun, Rē. But it was also very common that the highest being was

worshipped in the shape of a god who saved human beings after his death and who was called Osiris. De Rougé holds further that a common line of thought in different places was that the highest being had produced a son more or less showing resemblance to himself. Secondly, in several localities a goddess of motherly character who was thought also to manifest herself as the sky was placed beside the supreme being. According to de Rougé these are the dominating ideas in Egyptian religion »au milieu des innombrables superstitions de l'Égypte.»¹

It is easy to see that this account of the essential character of Egyptian religion has been the work of a Catholic.

In many points Brugsch had a similar view of Egyptian religion. He wrote in his »Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter» (published 1885) I, p. 89 seq., that the necessary foundation for all religion is the belief, inborn in every human being, in a god who has *created* everything, who *determines* the *destiny* of Mankind, who further rules over gods and men as a *King* and whose home is believed to be the *sky*. This innate idea of God appears differently in different places in the world.

In Egypt, according to Brugsch, we meet even in the earliest period the belief in »the only, nameless, inconceivable, eternal God in its highest purity».² He says: »Von allem mythischen Wesen entkleidet, erscheint das höchste Wesen darin in beinahe christlichem Lichte als der Schöpfer aller Dinge im Himmel und auf Erden, als Lenker und Führer des Menschen auf seiner irdischen Laufbahn, als Erhalter und Fürsorger aller Kreatur und als Belohner des Gerechten und Strafer des Sünders.»³ In order to make this high and pure doctrine more intelligible to ordinary people, it was at different cult centres clothed in different ways in words (myths and legends), in images (the external appearance of the god), and in action (viz. ceremonies).⁴ The priests themselves never overlooked the fact that they were describing the one, eternal god, even if they did so in a florid, mythical language and even if they gave him varied shapes.⁵

¹ De Rougé, Notice ... p. 99 seq.

² Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter I, p. 90.

³ Brugsch, Ibid., p. 91.

⁴ Brugsch, Ibid., p. 742 seq.

⁵ Brugsch, Ibid., p. 92.

In another place Brugsch attempts to explain polytheism in Egypt by saying that the Egyptians certainly believed in the unity of a spiritual and eternal being, but that they »dieses Wesen als eine Weltseele in die Welt versetzten und alle Theile derselben, d. h. die Glieder des kosmischen Leibes, durchdringen liessen. Die schaffende und erhaltene Kraft dieser Weltseele löste sich in eine Reihe von Emanationen höherer und niederer Grade auf, welche als die Götter bezeichnet wurden und den eigentlichen Inhalt der Mythologie in sich fassten».⁶ Brugsch is of the opinion that the main point of the Egyptian religion, as it has been formed mythically, was everywhere and at all times the conception of the world as the body of God consisting of nine parts, all possessing his creative power: was, in other words, the doctrine of the great Ennead.⁷

With the above mentioned expression that the supreme being in Egypt shows himself »in beinahe christlichem Lichte», Brugsch has indirectly indicated the basis on which he himself has made his description and selection of Egyptian religious ideas.

With the generation of Egyptologists to whom, among others, Sethe belongs, the starting-point and the outlook have been altered. Sethe maintains an evolutionistic point of view. He shows that the earliest and most primitive form of god-worship in Egypt meets us in the local divinities and he thinks that these local objects of cult had a very slightly developed character from the outset.⁸ »Die Ortsgottheiten», he writes, »verraten sämtlich in ihrer Gestalt und ihrem Kult noch deutlich ihren Ursprung aus dem, was man am besten fetischistische Götterverehrung nennen kann, d. h. es sind alles Gottheiten, die ursprünglich in einem konkreten, sei es lebenden oder leblosen, Gegenstand verkörpert gedacht waren, in dem sie wie die Seele in einem Körper wohnen sollten. Sie haben aber im Laufe der Zeit eine lange Entwicklung durchgemacht, die sie mehr oder weniger von ihrer Grundform weggeführt und ihnen Eigenschaften und Wirkungen gebracht hat, die ihrer ursprünglichen Art z. T. recht fern lagen.»⁹

⁶ Brugsch, *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁷ Brugsch, *Ibid.*, p. 741 seq.

⁸ Sethe, *Urgeschichte*, p. 3 seqq.

⁹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 5 seq.

Thus Sethe considers that the local god from the beginning was believed to live in the fetish, which either was a living being, for instance a living animal, or a lifeless object, often one made by human hands. Gradually people passed on to worshipping a representation of the animal or the object instead of the animal or the object (= the fetish) itself; this representation is called *idol* by Sethe.¹⁰

Sethe dates the worshipping of local gods to a time when Egypt still consisted of town-states with political independence.¹¹ In later stages of political development in Egypt there gradually arose a faith in higher and more universal non-fetish divinities who were not attached to a certain place, »sozusagen an die Scholle», but were of a cosmic nature. He calls them »Götter, die ursprünglich wohl an keinem Orte auf Erden eine besondere, von Menschenhand erbaute Kultstätte hatten, sondern eben in dem kosmischen Element selbst verehrt wurden, das sie vertraten oder genauer gesagt personifizierten».

Sethe considers that, among others, Rē = the sun, Nut = the sky, Geb = the earth, and Hapi = the Nile belong to these cosmic personifications.¹² According to Sethe, other gods gradually became changed into cosmic gods, mostly by the identification of a local god of fetishistic origin with a cosmic god. This occurred for instance with the ram-god Khnum who at different places was identified with the sun-god Rē, the air-god Shu, the earth-god Geb or with Osiris. In this way Khnum received some of the attributes of the cosmic gods and these cosmic gods were worshipped in the respective places in the ram-shape of Khnum. Sethe also believes that the ibis-god Thoth developed into a moon-god by identification with the moon and that the beetle-god Kheperi developed into the god of the morning-sun by identification with the morning-sun.¹³

However, Sethe reckons also with another kind of cosmic gods, a later kind than that just mentioned, namely such as are the result of theological speculation and are purely abstract ideas. To these belongs Atum, a name that Sethe translates by »the All», »the Whole»

¹⁰ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 8 seq.

¹¹ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 3 seq.

¹² Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 21 seq.

or »Nothing»,¹⁴ further Shu¹⁵ and Amun¹⁶ and others. Such intellectually formed cosmic gods were often worshipped in human shape.¹⁷

It seems as if Sethe was of the opinion that just as the fetishistic local gods acquired cosmic attributes only gradually and after a long period of development, often after identification with cosmic gods, so they could only after a long development be considered as the creators of the world. Of Ptah he writes as follows: »Infolge der Gründung von Memphis durch Menes und der Verlegung der Hauptstadt dorthin wurde der dort heimische oder dabei dort heimisch gewordene Ortsgott Ptah, der in einem menschengestaltigen Idol verehrt wurde und im AR bereits den Beruf eines Gottes der Künste, speciell der Goldschmiedekunst hatte . . . zum höchsten Gotte des Landes, zum (oberägyptischen) König der beiden Länder '(nsw-t t'-wj)' und zum Weltschöpfer.»¹⁸ Thus Sethe considers that the development was as follows: Ptah was from the beginning a local god, worshipped in an idol of human form, but gradually he came to be considered as a King and creator of the world.

Sethe's suppositions as to the development of the Egyptian religion — he himself emphasizes their hypothetical character — are presented in a seductive manner and they are based on ingenious studies of detail. Still some of them seem to me rather doubtful. Why, for instance, should a higher stage of culture and a more centralized social system be needed for the worship of the sun, the moon and the sky as gods than for the worship of animals and lifeless idols? Sethe has more or less consciously been guided by the idea that people in poorer circumstances form poorer gods than people in more prosperous circumstances. It is, however, not necessary to presume any such paralllism between indigence of life and indigence of imagination. Nothing seems more natural than that even during the time of the town-states and before that epoch people were able to see the fatal, mighty and mysterious in atmospheric phenomena and worship them. Sethe's argument that cosmic features could not be ascribed to local fetish gods until these gods were identified with

¹⁴ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 94 seq.

¹⁵ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁶ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁸ Sethe, *Ibid.*, p. 182.

cosmic gods does not either seem fully convincing. We can look at the matter in a different way as the following will try to show.

In this connection we must ask why Ptah's activity as creator of everything should have come upon him only after he had developed from a local god to the highest god of Egypt. No highly developed stage of culture is needed to bring people to ask themselves by whom they and the world around them were created and to make them search for a creator god to worship.

To a certain degree Kees shares Sethe's view of religion but at the same time we find in him what may be called a political outlook on religious matters. He strongly emphasizes the connection existing between Religion and State in Egypt, and is of the opinion that many of the religious ideas are mixed up with a political interest. He observes the propaganda value of religion and the reasons which a government might often have to launch one god or another, or to bring about the identification of one god with another. This approach to religious ideas in Egypt is of course justified in many respects, and is connected with Kees' pronounced tendency to reckon with religious notions which originate entirely in intention and thought. Even Sethe has considered Atum and Amun to be »begriffliche Bildungen», *i. e.* personifications of abstract ideas. Kees conceives the possibility of Ptah having come into existence in that way. Ptah was perhaps, he says, »wie sein Gegenstück Atum von Heliopolis eine rein gedankliche Schöpfung als Bild der schaffenden Urkraft». Kees places this intellectual conception in a period of political importance. »Seine Stellung als Ortsgott von Memphis», he says, »geht sicher nicht höher hinauf als die Stadtgründung der 'weissen Mauern' unter Menes als oberägyptische Zitadelle nahe der Deltaspitze und als Amtssitz der künftigen Statthalter von Unterägypten».¹⁹ Speaking of the origin of the Shabaka text he says: »Genau wie Heliopolis verstand es Memphis durch Heranziehung zugkräftiger Götterlehren aus seiner Umgegend und unter dem Schatten der Residenz des königlichen Statthalters ein theologisches System aufzubauen, das eindeutig seine Priorität beweisen sollte.»²⁰ In certain cases this rationalistic outlook on Egyptian religion is no doubt justifiable; thus, for instance, it

¹⁹ Kees, *Götterglaube*, p. 287.

²⁰ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 289.

is evident that the purely theological construction of the Ennead, so perfect in form, is only a product of the intellect, but this is probably not the case in regard to Ptah.

In a note, however, Kees has also another explanation of the origin of Ptah. He thinks that Ptah might be a later name of the god, previously anonymous, »He who is at the head of 'The elevated place'». Kees himself points out, however, that the god so named appears as a local god, different from Ptah, in priest-titles from the Old Kingdom.²¹

A religious-scientific theory which may reasonably be considered in a discussion of the origin of Ptah and of other gods is the theory of the so called high-god belief or primitive monotheism, to some extent discussed by Kees already. Kees points out the resemblance of the theory, originating from Father W. Schmidt, to views on Egyptian religion such as those of de Rougé and Brugsch discussed above.²²

Father Wilhelm Schmidt thinks that the primal conception of God all over the world is the belief in one primordial, all-comprehensive, ethically exalted god living in heaven. We probably have decadent remnants of this belief in the high-god belief among the primitive peoples.²³ R. Pettazzoni presents a modification of the same idea as Schmidt's, and so does later G. Widengren, *e. g.* in the recently published work »Religionens värld». They have both endeavoured to show the existence of a belief in so-called high-gods in various parts of the world, but they are of opinion that these »high-gods» are the sky or the atmosphere.²⁴

Widengren expresses this divergence from Father Schmidt's opinion by saying that the latter disregards »the nature side of the high-god's character». To this it may be added that Widengren believes the high-god to be ethically neutral, »above good and evil».²⁵ He is »a power of destiny, determining the fate of man»;²⁶ he is a creative god;²⁷

²¹ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 287, note 3.

²² Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 271.

²³ W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee I—VII*. — See Engnell, *Gamla Testamentet I*, p. 110.

²⁴ Pettazzoni, *Dio: formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni*, p. 355. — Widengren, *Religionens värld*, p. 132.

²⁵ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁶ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁷ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 58.

he is frequently a bisexual being;²⁸ and in the quality of atmospheric god he is also a god of vegetation who maintains what he has created.²⁹ »That high-gods are found in all stages of culture and in all parts of the world may be said to be an established fact», says Widengren in a paper on »Evolutionism and the Problem of the Origin of Religion». ³⁰ In »Religionens värld» he says of the belief in a god of the sky: »This phenomenon is indeed so widespread that in many quarters it is considered to be the essential substance of all belief in God in certain undeveloped stages.»³¹

Whether the high-god belief is to be put down as monotheistic or not is a question which must be decided from one case to another, says Widengren in connection with a discussion between Father Schmidt and Söderblom, even if we are justified in speaking of »a primitive monotheism», like Schmidt and Andrew Lang.³² Widengren quotes with approval a statement made by Radin to the effect that »the origin of monotheism . . . antedates even Neanderthal Man» and thinks that »the development of polytheistic conceptions — in many cases can be shown to have sprung from the differentiating process going on in the idea of the undifferentiated high-god». In other cases polytheism has sprung from the bringing together of different high-gods into a religious system. That is the case in Egypt, for instance, where political progress »has brought about the genesis of the greater state-organizations where the high-gods of the components (tribes and cities) constituting the nation or empire together form the pantheon of the state».³³

Widengren's view on early Egyptian religion seems to be the following. In the pre-literary epochs of Egyptian history, before the Pyramid texts, a primitive undifferentiated sky-god whose name has been handed down to us as »The Great One», W_r, was worshipped. Gods such as Horus, Atum, and Ptah have, says Widengren, »been shaped locally» at an early date out of W_r; or they are »various

²⁸ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁹ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³⁰ *Ethnos* 10, p. 91.

³¹ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 57 seq.

³² Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 132.

³³ *Ethnos* 10, p. 93.

differentiations» of him.³⁴ With the uniting of Egypt they were later merged in the »pantheon» of the polytheistic god-system.

In his argument Widengren partly bases his views on Junker, who thinks he has found that even at a very early stage a »universal god» called *Wr* = »The Great One» was worshipped all over Egypt; he was later identified or merged with other gods in Egypt, *e. g.* Ptah, Horus, Amun and others.³⁵ (Widengren prefers the wording »shaped into» other gods.) Junker sees evidence of such an identification of *Wr* and Ptah in an expression in the Shabaka text, line 52 a, running *pth wr*, an expression that Junker renders by »Ptah, The Great One», taking the »Great One» to be a god-name combined with Ptah's name on the same principle as in the name-combinations Ptah-Tatenen, Ptah-Sokaris and the like.³⁶

Such a word as *wr* = »the Great One» seems, however, to be such an obvious god-epithet and so natural a denomination for the highest god within a territory that it is not surprising that the word is often found as an epithet of various gods, as for instance in the Shabaka text in the case quoted above, where Ptah is spoken of as »Ptah, the Great One». It seems an extremely far-fetched idea that Ptah should be identified in this passage with a god called »The Great One».

It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to enter here upon a full critical appreciation of Junker's argument for the existence of the god *Wr*, but he indicates no text from which to conclude that an independent god of the name of *Wr* with a cult of his own ever existed. Nor does the archaeological material which is available allow us to presuppose a uniformity of culture in predynastic Egypt, forming a back-ground for a general worship of this *Wr*.

The theories of the high-god belief are partly founded on unreliable material collected by Christian missionaries and perhaps tinged with their own views, and the supporters of these theories appear to have a tendency to range among the high-gods even such gods as have but few of the traits characteristic of the high-gods in accordance with the given definitions. On the other hand, this school of comparative religion has no doubt achieved important work by emphasizing certain features of primitive religion which tended

³⁴ Widengren, *Ibid.*, p. 84 seq.

³⁵ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 25 seqq.

³⁶ Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, p. 17, 25 seqq.

earlier on to be overlooked. By exhibiting traces of uniformity in the religious thinking — or religious imagination — of mankind during different epochs and in different regions, scholars of this school have made it probable that there is something innately religious in man which, to some extent, may be considered to be independent of intellectual influences, and which fluctuates less than is generally supposed with cultural standards. According to them this innate religious feeling consists in a tendency to worship fate-deciding creative gods, preferably living in heaven. The high-god belief does not grope its way to the »great» conceptions of God, but has, to a certain degree, its starting-point in these. Applied to Egyptian religion this would imply that we must look for traces of cosmic gods rather than for traces of other gods in oldest Egypt. The high-god theory has a value of its own for the study of Egyptian religion, since, like the other views discussed in chapter, it contributes to the understanding of this religion.

When embarking on the study of such a god as Ptah we notice that the problem of his earliest history is made much more difficult by the fact that the only text dating from the Old Kingdom or earlier which gives a full account of him is a text as speculative and philosophical as the Shabaka text, less an expression of a religious feeling than of a theoretical speculation with a polemic point. The text presupposes Ptah to be known to the reader, and this circumstance as well as the general character of the description shows clearly that Ptah must not be regarded as an idea conceived in connection with the formulation of the Shabaka text. Undoubtedly he was a god worshipped before that date, probably in the Memphis district. He occurs in the Shabaka text as an androgynous being, as a world creator and general world organizer, as a primordial god and a god of vegetation. Further, he is described as determining the destiny of Man and as a King. All these traits are also characteristic of him in later times. On the other hand, the idea that Ptah created with his heart and his tongue is a special characteristic of the Shabaka text, as is also the pantheistically tinged idea which says that Ptah was active as the heart and the tongue in »all gods, all men, all cattle, all that is alive.»

The traits assigned to Ptah in the Shabaka text are not confined to him in Egyptian religion, and from an exclusively comparative point

of view it is natural to assign many of them to the influence of other god-ideas. The features of an androgynous being, world organizer and primeval god are also found about the time of the Shabaka text in the Heliopolitan Atum, and Sander-Hansen suggests the possibility that these features were taken over from Heliopolis by the Memphite theologians.³⁷ In the same way the royal feature was very characteristic of Horus, who is identified in the Shabaka text with Ptah, and can of course have been taken over from that god. The fate-deciding quality was also to be found in other gods than Ptah during that period, and, as has been mentioned above, Breasted and Spiegel think that Ptah's occurring in the Shabaka text as the distributor of good and evil is due to influence from the Atum cult. Consequently there is a theoretical possibility that the androgynous feature, the features of creator, world organizer, primeval god and fate determiner were assigned to Ptah by imitation of other gods. Many scholars think that the idea of Ptah's creating with his heart and his tongue is also due to influence from Heliopolitan ideas.

During a period of animated cultural communication and generally highly developed religious thinking, such as that from which the Shabaka text dates, the religious and theological ideas in different places in Egypt were of course not isolated from each other. In many cases one theology or god-idea influenced another, but in other cases the risk of insufficient distinction between the qualities of two gods may have caused a conscious effort to avoid an influence which might result in these gods being confused with each other or in the de-individualizing of a certain god. »Trotz alles Synkretismus is also jeder Ortsgott auf sein Eigenwesen bedacht», says Kees and quotes from a ritual from the New Kingdom the words of the priest to the god-image: »I have not made thy individuality like that of another god.»³⁸ A similar tendency may sometimes have checked the syncretistic tendencies from the beginning.

The wording of the Shabaka text indicates that Ptah was known before this text was composed, and even if the epithets given to him in that text are largely theological common property or are found in the Atum-religion it is not very probable that the Ptah-cult should be looked upon as merely a ramification of the Atum-cult, launched

³⁷ Sander-Hansen, *Ægyptiske Forestillinger om Verdens Skabelse*, p. 65 seqq.

³⁸ Kees, *Ibid.*, p. 124.

under a new name. All the qualities of Ptah cannot have been transferred to him by influence from the Atum-religion; originally he must have had qualities of his own, characteristic of him. The theoretical possibility of putting down the similarity between the great Egyptian gods to mutual influence does not exclude the perhaps greater likelihood that these gods sprang up independently of one another on account of the tendency of man to create his gods in accordance with a pattern which does not indeed vary very much. It is true that many Egyptian gods have features of creator, primeval god, world organizer, god of vegetation, god of destiny, and King, but it is a fact that a great many gods existing at different times and in widely different places all over the world had and have these characteristic features. It is therefore not unreasonable to think that Ptah, independently of Atum and others, may have been conceived as a god of these qualities, or some of them, or that he may have had these great qualities even when he was only connected with some small, unimportant district as a local god, whether this was originally the Memphis district or whether he was imported to that district, from for instance This in connection with the uniting of the Kingdom, which started from This. Of course a formulation, record or enumeration of the qualities of the god must not necessarily have existed in early times. On the whole, he may have been conceived as a powerful being, ready to intervene, when prayers or sacrifices were offered up to him, in cases where he was strongly needed: for protection against some atmospherical phenomenon, for patronage of hunting or agriculture, for assistance to women in childbirth or to men in their various trades. We can imagine that the Egyptian local gods, whether worshipped in animal or human form, had on the whole the same qualities from the beginning independently of each other, probably very general qualities, those of creator, world organizer, and god of fate, and that this uniformity was grounded in psychological laws valid for the religious imagination everywhere. It is to be surmised, then, that the gods became gradually differentiated, so that one of them, Khnum for instance, was supposed to create in the quality of a potter, and the other, Ptah for instance, was thought to create in the quality of a smith. Sethe's scheme, according to which the gods of the lesser places have gradually merged in and

been identified with the gods of the provinces or the districts, these latter gods in their turn with the gods of the Kingdom, is probably right, and these processes must have had far-reaching influence on the formation of the individual god-ideas. On the other hand one need not accept Sethe's thought that the gods of the lesser places must also have been looked upon as lesser gods. The belief in atmospheric gods or cosmic gods need not have represented a later stage of the history of Egyptian religion than the belief in other gods. Nor are we willing to follow Sethe in his surmise that a great number of gods were »begriffliche Bildungen». Religion draws on wishes and fears which find expression in imagination, and though people may of course have thought in terms of purely theoretical god-ideas, it is not so easy to see how the belief in these can have grown into a living faith. Several inscriptions clearly seem to bear witness that the belief in Ptah was a living faith.

We can guess that before the time of the texts handed down to us there was a time when such a type of god as Ptah was the object of undifferentiated worship bestowed on a being who, perhaps without a detailed description of his qualities, was powerful in heaven and on earth; the belief may have been this: at the same time as he lived in earthly cult-images he may have been active in all places, including heaven. This being was of human nature. We do not know if he was shaped from the beginning in the form of images which were more or less similar to the Ptah-images we have from later times. Nor do we know whether he borrowed his features from the memory of a deceased or the sight of a living man, a King or a hero. Some modified form of »euhemerism» is quite plausible and it is natural to think along that line when one tries to reconstruct the origin of the anthropoid Egyptian gods; this method is generally used in the case of Osiris. There are, however, no historically tenable arguments based on critically treated sources for seeing behind the god Osiris some actual human being, living at some time, nor do there exist such arguments in the case of Ptah. The only thing we can say is that as an anthropomorphic god he has of course received features which are clearly from the human world, although these features have been magnified into divine proportions.

List of Abbreviations

- A. S. A. = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo 1900
seqq.
- Ä. Z. = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde,
Leipzig 1863 seqq.
- Bulletin Inst. Fr. = Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo
1901 seqq.
- Fouilles Inst. Fr. = Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'archéologie orientale du
Caire, Cairo 1924 seqq.
- J. E. A. = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London 1914 seqq.
- L. D. = Lepsius, C. R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.
Atlas, Abth. 1—6, Berlin 1849—59. Text, Bd 1—5, Leip-
zig 1897—1913.
- Mém. Inst. Fr. = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français
d'archéologie orientale, Cairo 1902 seqq.
- Mém. Miss. Fr. = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéolo-
gique française au Caire. Paris 1844 seqq.
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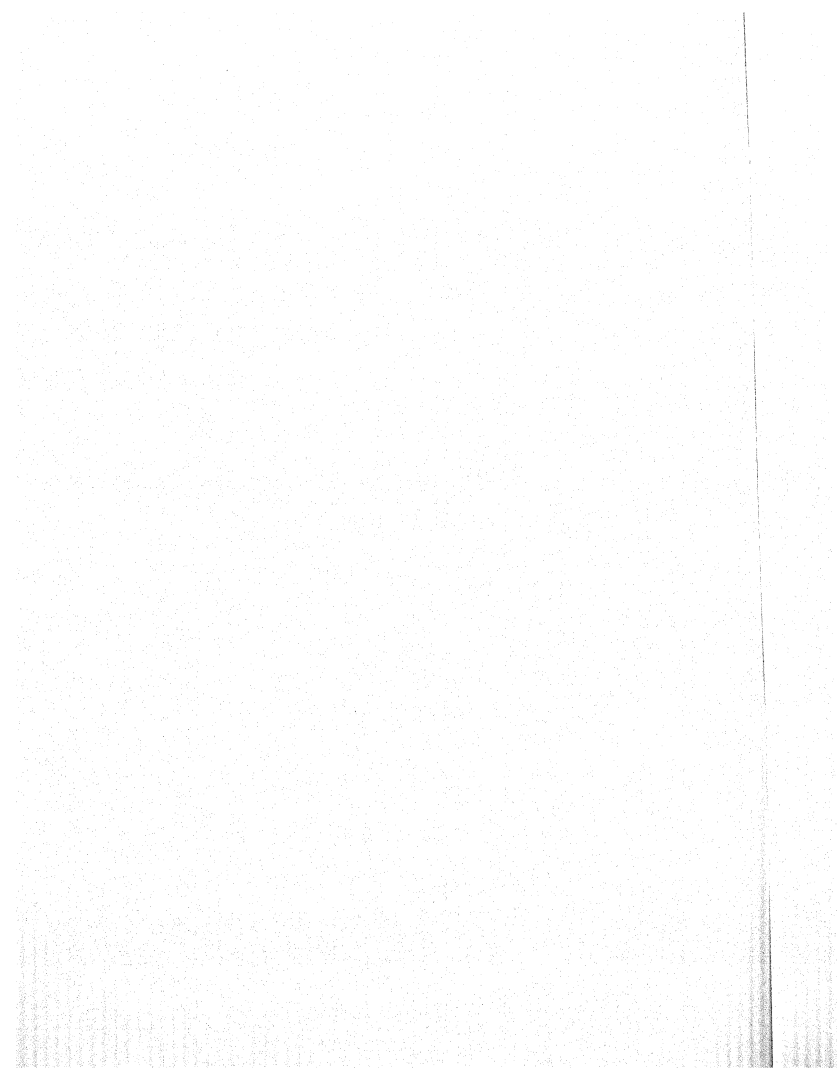
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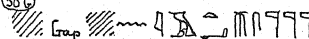
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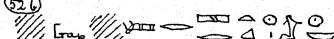
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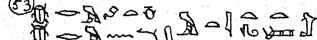


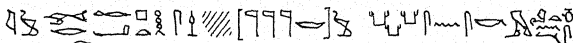
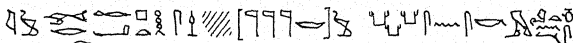
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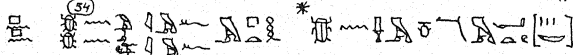
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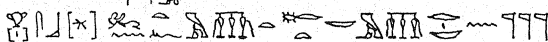
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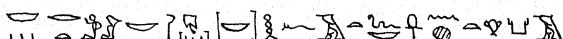
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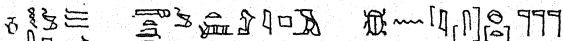
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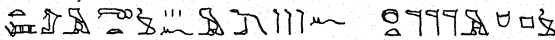
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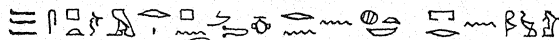
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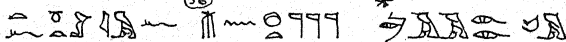


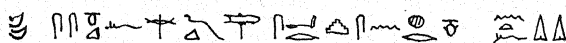
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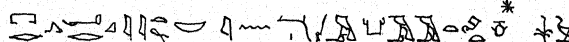


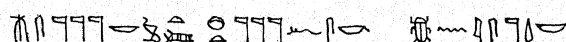


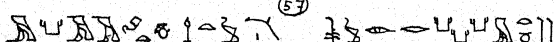


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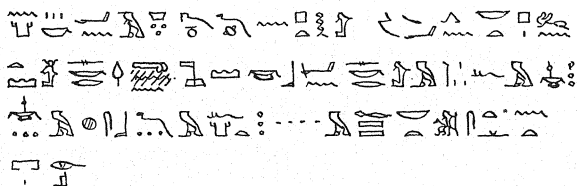
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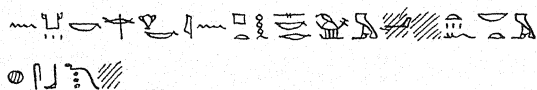
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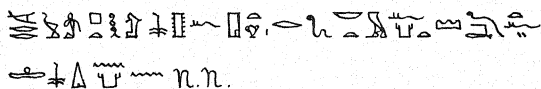
 Hieroglyphs for line 16, consisting of three rows of symbols. The first row contains 11 symbols, the second row contains 11 symbols, and the third row contains 11 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

17



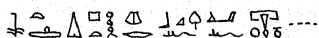
 Hieroglyphs for line 17, consisting of two rows of symbols. The first row contains 11 symbols, and the second row contains 4 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

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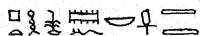
 Hieroglyphs for line 18, consisting of two rows of symbols. The first row contains 11 symbols, and the second row contains 4 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

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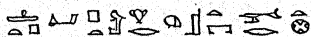
 Hieroglyphs for line 19, consisting of a single row of 11 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

20



 Hieroglyphs for line 20, consisting of a single row of 6 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

21



 Hieroglyphs for line 21, consisting of a single row of 11 symbols. The symbols include various signs such as birds, snakes, and abstract shapes.

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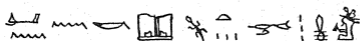
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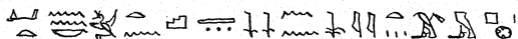
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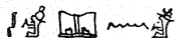
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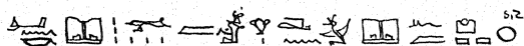
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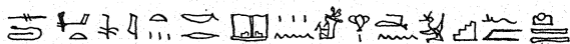
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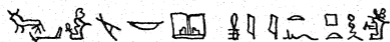
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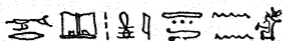
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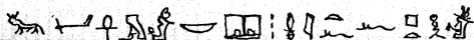
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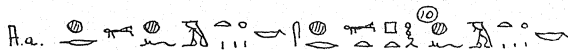
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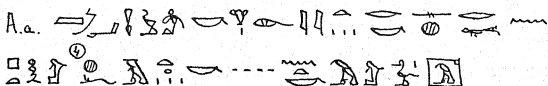
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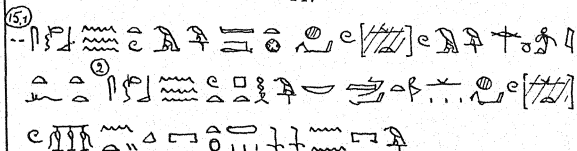
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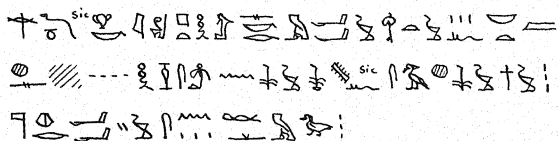
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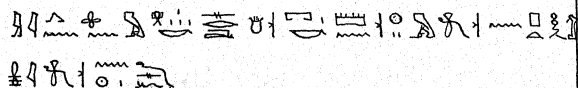
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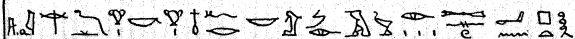
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𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑

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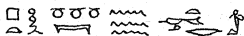
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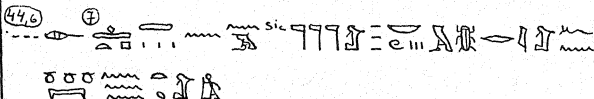
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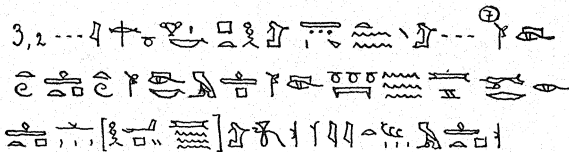
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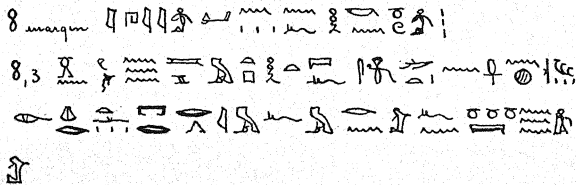
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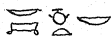
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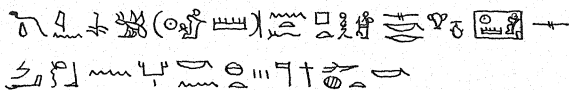
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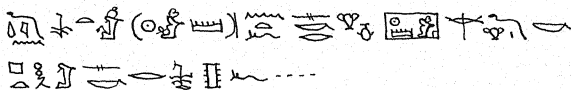
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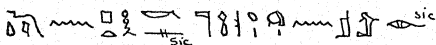
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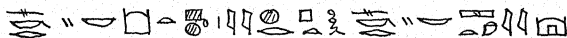
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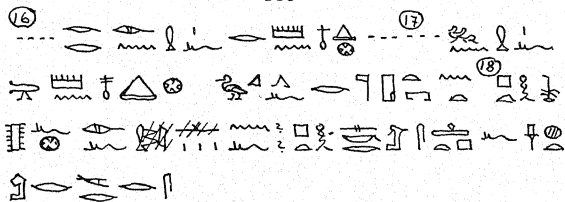
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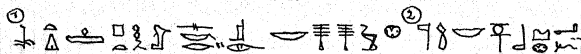
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4 𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗

216-217

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sic

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③
 (Rameses II)
④
sic

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448 a.

448 b.

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① 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥

296

A line of cuneiform script. The first part consists of several signs, followed by a large rectangular box containing a single sign. This is followed by another group of signs.

297

A line of cuneiform script starting with a subscript '4,10'. The line contains a sequence of various cuneiform signs.

298

A line of cuneiform script featuring a star symbol and several other signs.

299

A line of cuneiform script. It includes a circle symbol, a square symbol, and a bracketed sign.

300

A line of cuneiform script ending with the text 'n.n.'.

301

A line of cuneiform script with three numbered annotations: ①, ②, and ③. A 'sic' is written above one of the signs.

302

A line of cuneiform script.

323

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

324

147: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

152: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

161: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

185: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

186: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

187: 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

325

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

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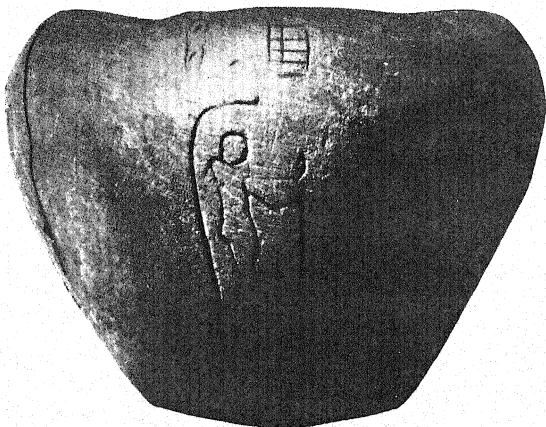
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327

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀

328

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀



1.



2.

Fig. 1. *From* Petrie-Wainwright-Gardiner, Tarkhan I and Memphis V, pl. 3.
Fig. 2. *From* Schäfer, Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen, p. 41.

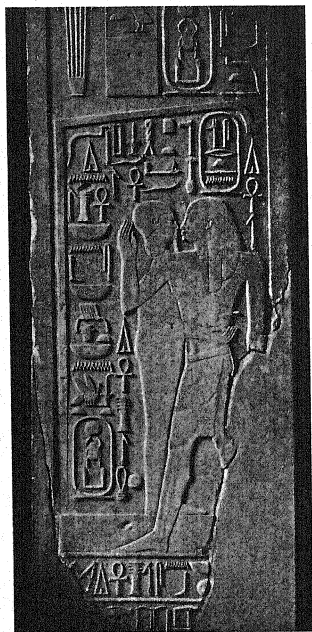
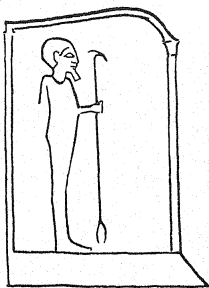
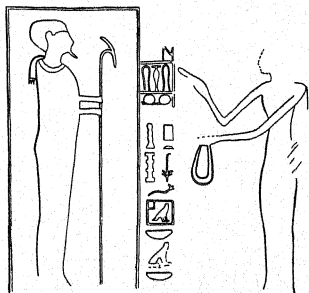


Fig. 3. *From Capart, L'art égyptien I, pl. 44.*



4.



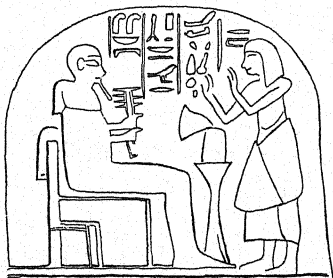
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Fig. 4. *From Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c., in the British Museum VI, pl. 26. Brit. Mus. 428.*

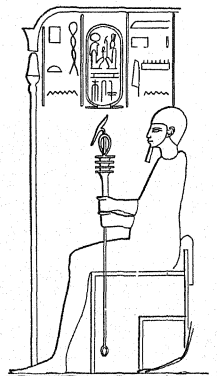
Fig. 5. *From Gardiner-Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai I, pl. 47, 125 b.*



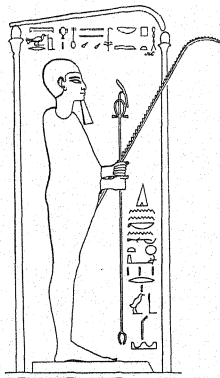
6.



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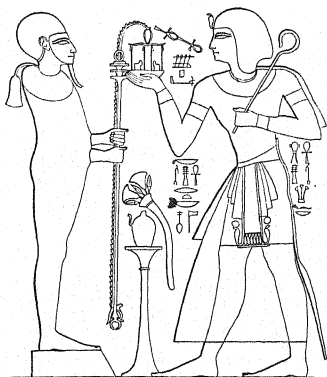
9.

Fig. 6. *From* Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. 10, 14.

Fig. 7. *From* Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. 14, 31.

Fig. 8. *From* L. D. III, pl. 182 c. The temple at Sebūa. Ramses II.

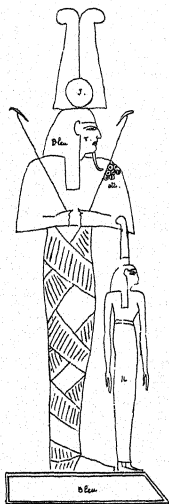
Fig. 9. *From* L. D. III, pl. 198 e.



10.



11.



12.

Fig. 10. From L. D. III, pl. 220 f.

Fig. 11. From Blackman, The temple of Bigeh, pl. 43, 19. Ptol.

Fig. 12 From Lefébure, Les hypogées royaux de Thèbes II, pl. 8.



Fig. 13. From Daressy, *Statues de divinités II*, pl. 25. Cairo 38432.



Fig. 14. From A. Z. 61, pl. 4, 2. Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, 1892.



15.



16.



17.

Fig. 15. *From* Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des rois*, pl. 32. Cairo 24607.

Fig. 16. *From* Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, p. 750.

Fig. 17. *From* Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum*, p. 624, 1.



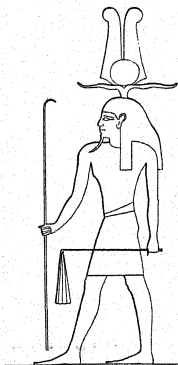
Fig. 18. *From Steindorff, Aniba II, pl. 101.*



19.



20.



21.

Fig. 19. *From Budge, The Mummy, pl. 33. Brit. Mus. 36250.*

Fig. 20. *From Daressy, Statues de divinités II, pl. 59. Cairo 39238.*

Fig. 21. *From L. D. III, pl. 194.*

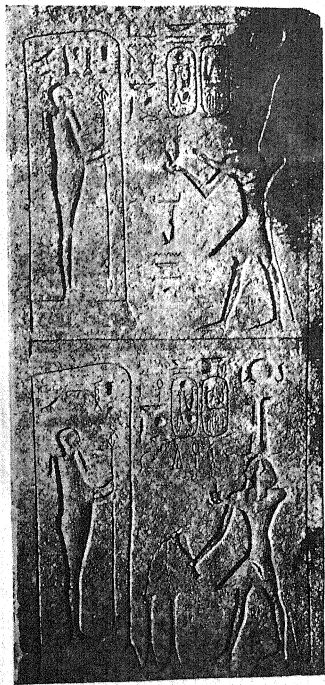


Fig. 22. *From Engelbach Riqqeh and Memphis VI, pl. 56, 18.*