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

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

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

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

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

**TRANSLATION OF THE TEXTS**

**Category I**

**Text I** = E. 111, 168, 9–169, 11; line drawing E. IX, pl. 64. Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II before Horus the Behdetite and Hathor.

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

**See Conclusions in JEA 36,**
Note: (a) Omitted from the printed text, see 6.15, of 3rd y.
A. [168, 9] Driving the calves. For recitation: [168, 10] I have reached thy threshing-floor, thy likeness, 36 of Re. I direct the calves behind [168, 11] thy corn, 3 rope(s) being attached to their feet. Their names are in the four (of) sanctuaries. [168, 12] I have hacked at the phdty-snares, 36 the uraei worth (mn-ws) [168, 13] thousands (f) of gold. The phdty-snares, I have severed their head(s) and cut off 36 [168, 14] their tail(s), making (unthreshed) corn 4 into grain (toy).  
B. [168, 16] The Speculum; the Red; the Black; the White.  
C. [168, 17] Ptolemy VII. [168, 18] the beneficent god, Horus with careful mind, guarding his small cattle, 36 watching over 36 his calves when treading the threshing-floor.  
D. [168, 18] Long live the good god, who holds fast to the rope 36 [169, 1] and brandishes 36 the stick behind the calves; lord of their mother-continent in the House of the Sovereign of the West—cattle, 36 a herdsman with herds in plenty, who threshes 36 the corn [169, 2] countless times; lord of diadems (Ptolemaios-may-he-live-for-ever-beloved-of-Ptolemy) 36  
E. 1. [169, 4] For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, lord of . . . , 36 making green the leaves, lord of the meadow-land, who makes the herbage grow; who emits the air [169, 5] which is the fiery breath of his mouth; who made the cities and instituted the nomes, who made the (town-)mounds and created the villages; 36 the temples of the gods being inscribed with his name [169, 6]; his wings span 36 the Two Plants. 36  
E. 2. [169, 3] I give thee the verdure (lit. luptelaion) of the meadows, the ramlets 36 filing the . . . .  24  
E. 3. [169, 6] I nurture thy youth, I feed thy calves, [169, 7] thy herds, their number is 36 not known.  
F. 1. [169, 8] For recitation by Hathor the great, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Re, 36 who rejoars in Behdet, mistress of heaven, queen of all gods, [169, 9] Gold of the gods in Wetjet-Hor, August Lady, Wosret in To-street.  
F. 2. [169, 9] I make manifest thy loveliness among the gods, (and put) the awe of thee in the mind(s) of the common folk.
TEXT 2 = E, v, 86, 16–87, 7; no line drawing or photo. Published. Ptolemy VIII or IX (cartouches left blank) before Horus the Behdetite.

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


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

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

G. [87, 5] A friendly welcome, [87, 6] O my heir,26 my successor27 among the living! I accept thy work, which thy Majesty doeth for my person, yea I rejoice in thy service.28 I give thee With-cattle at [87, 7] the opening of the flooded basin29 of thy land, and to thresh30 the corn on thy threshing-floor.31

TEXT 3 = Karnak relief. For photo, see accompanying Pl. VII and p. 100. Ptolemy III, Euergetes I, before Min-AmenH-33-Kamephis.

A. I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black and the Red, the White together with the Speckled. I have threshed32 countless times for thy ha, making thy (?) granary overflow33 with grain.


C. Ptolemy III, the living embodiment of Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairsway,34 who drives the calves to make goodly his Upper-Egyptian barley.

D. I have taken for myself the rope(s)35 complete with the life-symbols, I grip them in my left hand. I have slain the Binder-snake (dim),36 the destroyer (?) of the corn-crop, cutting it in two. I have grasped its head with my right hand, I hold fast37 its tail along with the rope(s).38 (a) I bring39 to thee the calves of every colour. I drive them for thee at thy coming forth to thy threshing-floor. I make abundant for thee thy harvest39 at [in] (right) season annually39 in order to flood thy hut-shrine39 with Upper-Egyptian barley.

E. 1. For recitation by Min-AmenH-33-Kamephis, who is upon his Great Seat, (2) Him-with-the-lefty-Plumes, Him-with-the-uplifted-Arm, of whose beauteous member men boast; (3) beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, eldest son of Osiris. Amen is he, being the

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* In a relief on the great Portal of Euergetes I in front of the temple of Khons at Karnak, the precise location being Passe, West Wall, 3rd register from top; see Nelson, Key Plans showing Locations of Theban Temple Decorations, pl. 17, fig. 3. No. 950.
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rule when appearing in glory in order to come forth in procession, it is the gods acclaiming him, the goddesses rattling sistra before his face. . . . . . in awe of whom is the entire Emeq. E. 2. I give thee all fields (laden) with their goodly harvest year by year.
E. 3. I give thee millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds of the fruits of the field. . . .
G. For recitation: I accept for myself thy procession. I have seen thy Upper-Egyptian barley, likewise [thy Lower-Egyptian barley (?)], beholding thy bounteous grain. I produce . . . . for thee, flooding[8] for thee thy threshing-floor, so that thou reapest thy harvest in gladness. I give (thee) . . . . . . piercing the storm-clouds, thy field doubling its goodly produce.

Category II

TEXT 4 — E. 1, 101, 18–102, 12; line drawing, E. ix, pl. 20. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Osiris and Isis.
A. [102, 2] Driving the calves . . . . [101, 18] I drive for thee the calves, namely, the Black, the White, the Green[6] and the Pale Blue, so that thy Hallowed Ground is free from all that is evil,[46] thy place of burial hidden from all foes.
B. The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.[8]
D. [102, 4] For recitation[99]: Take for thyself the calves of every colour which I drive to hide thy splendid tomb. (I am)[58] Horus [102, 5] thy son, one serviceable to his father, who turn away enemies from the sepulchre.[64]
E. 1. [102, 7] For recitation by Osiris Khentamenthes, great god, who sojourns in Behdet, great Pillar in his crypt; king in the sky, ruler of the Two Outpourings, great sovereign in the Hallowed Land.
E. 2. [102, 6] I give thee the dignity of Min upon his stairway,[32] his strength (displayed) in the Emeq.
F. 1. [102, 9] For recitation by Isis in Behdet, queen and mistress [102, 10] of the Two Lands; god’s wife and protectress of her brother,[60] the Wailing Woman, who was the first to wail for her spouse, who weared not in (uttering) beneficent spells.
F. 2. [102, 9] I give thee the strength of my son Horus, so that thou occupyest his throne in triumph.
F. 3 [102, 11] I give [102, 11] thee the colour of my son Horus, thy dignity being oer-mastering like his; great thy strength, mighty thy power, and thy fearsomeness[61] like that of Him-with-the-outstretched-Arm.

TEXT 5 — E. 11, 86, 2–11; line drawing, E. ix, pl. 40 g. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus the Behdetite.
A. [86, 2] Driving the calves, four times, to turn away the steps of the Perverse One [86, 3] from the graveyard (ḥr-t-nṯr).

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

* These words omitted from Rochemontet’s printed text, but visible in E. ix, pl. 20.
B. The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White.*

C. [86, 3] Ptolemy IV, his likeness of Horus, who drove [86, 6] the calves in Heliopolis. [He] is Min* in his stelae-shrine.

D. [86, 6] As long as the good god Ptolemy IV exists, he shall be King of the Two Lands, a joyous ruler. He is [86, 7] like Horus after burying his father, who drove the calves to tread his grave.51

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

E. 2. [86, 8] I give thee, the (royal) offices of my son Horus, the successor of his father Osiris.52

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


A. [241, 16] Driving the calf(s).53 For recitation: [241, 17] Rnyn,'ry am I, Sovereign of the Wd-cattle;54 [241, 18] my choice ones which thou desirest, which I have brought before thee,—the Black for work to do [242, 1] thy will, the White to delight thee, the Speckled likewise [242, 2] who increases thy power, the Red driving away [242, 3] thine enemies.55


C. [242, 5] Ptolemy VII, the beneficent god, trusty envoy of the Lord of Kings,56 son of the Nile-god, born of the Thoth-goddess.57

D. [241, 6] Ptolemy VIII is [242, 7] upon his throne as Lower-Egyptian King in Mdt-st,58 driving the calf(s), protecting Is-bow,59 treading the grave [242, 8] of him who begat him. He is like Atum with his horns upon him,60 the heir is he of61 the Overseer of the Granary.


E. 2. [242, 13] I give thee the cultivated land filled with food, thy threshing-floors heavy [244, 11] with grain.

G. [241, 14] Kamnephas is the Bull-with-uplifted-Arm in the place of Harakhti’s glorious appearance, impregnating the maidens, copulating with the damselflies, causing consternation51 with his erect member. [242, 14] He is the protector of his sire, at seeing whose face the common folk rejoice.

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

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

* These words omitted from Rochemontel’s printed text, but visible in E. x, pl. 40–p.

b For this rare use of ḫ with future meaning see PE 33, 19, n. (1); Ungerloch, diss. Soc. 42, 50, n. (60).

c Emending ḫ for ḫ.

d See Chassinat’s remarks, E. vi, p. iv.
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calves) are in front of thee. Thou rejoiced over them when they are in [286, 7] thy bves. Thou art Min who drove the calves(s) in Heliopolis, [286, 8] and reassembled the divine body64 of his father,—making happy the heart(s) of gods and goddesses when thou didst put [286, 9] thy creator together again65 and didst tread66 his grace.

B. [286, 11] The King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Blank], son of RR, [Ptolemaus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah], [286, 12] who drives the calves(s) in Heliopolis (like)67 Min upon his stairway.
D. [286, 12] The son of RR, [Ptolemaus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah] is upon [286, 13] his canopied throne in Mesen, as beneficent ruler of the Two Lands, driving68 the calves,69 treading the grace of his father, trampling down those hostile to his sire. He is like Horus who buried his father [286, 14] in Heliopolis,70 who hid the body of His-Neas-1steth (Frd-f-nth).
E. 1. [286, 16] For recitation by Horus the Behdeite, great god, lord of the sky, who is upon his Great Seat; Falcon of Gold, son of Osiris, beneficent heir who came forth from Iis, [286, 17] eldest son of Omorphis the Justified; lord of strength, who overthroweth Seth and slays the confederates of [287, 1] the Fiercous One; who battles for his father and safeguards his creator; who expels Be from the Fortress;71 the Lion [287, 2] pre-eminent in Khentiatet, who makes Seth withdraw into the deserts.72
E. 2. [286, 15] I give thee the south and the north yielding thee praise, the west and the east [286, 16] acclaiming Thy Majesty.
F. [287, 3] For recitation by Isis the Great, the God's Mother, pre-eminent in the Great Seat, beneficent queen, who protects the Two Lands, Mistress of the Universe is the [287, 4] in Khentiatet, who suppresses the robber ... .
G. [287, 5] The son of Isis is overlord of his Throne-city, ruling the Two Lands upon the throne of his father, piercing Nthws, driving69 the calves, hiding [287, 6] the crypt of his creator. He is the lord of victory, occupying his father's throne and joining together the Two Lands united in the Double Divided.

TEXT 8 = E, vii, 155, 12-156, 12; photo. E. xiv, pl. 633. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Horus the Behdeite and Hathor.

A. [155, 12] Driving the calves(s). For recitation: Be glad [155, 13] of heart, ye gods of the sky, rejoice, ye who are on the earth! Horus son of Isis has put [155, 14] his father together again54 and has trodden his tomb in75 Behdeit.
C. [156, 2] Cartouches of Ptolemy VIII only.
D. [156, 3] [I have come] unto thee, thou Falcon of great strength, the hero who pierces the Unsuccessful One,76 that I may drive for thee the calf(s) in order to gladden thy heart when (?) [156, 4] concealing for thee the vault (int) of thy father. Thou art a god more renowned than (any other) gods, with (whose) name the temples are inscribed.
E. 1. [156, 7] For recitation by Horus the Behdeite, great god, lord of the sky; beneficent heir of Omorphis the Justified, protector of his father, who exacts [156, 8] vengeance77 for his mother, who puts an end to mourning in this land.

* = Osiris.
E. 2. [156, 6] I give thee great rejoicing (f) in triumph upon my throne in the House-of-Rejoicing.(6)
F. [156, 9] For recitation by Hathor, Our Lady of Denderah, Eye of Re, who sojourns in Behdet, mistress of the sky, queen of all gods [156, 10] great Female Hawk in House-of-the-Falcon, God's Mother of the Falcon of Gold.

TEXT 9 = M., 145, 17-146, 7; line drawing, M., pl. 39, 3. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, before Amin-the-Succourer and Mut(?).
A. [145, 17] [Drivinc] the calves. For recitation: I am Raueta, (9) Sovereign of the Whi-
cattla,(11) the choice ones which thou desirest [145, 18] and which I have brought before thee.
C. Lost.
D. [146, 2] Long live the good god, successor of the Lord of Kine,(12) son of the Nile-god,(13) born of the Tilth-goddess, who protects B-tohu(14) and treads the grave of him who beget him, lord of diadems, son of Re,(15) (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-
Ptah)
E. 1. Lost.
F. 2. [146, 4] I give thee the field abundant in its output,(16) thy threshing-floor(17) brim-
ing over with corn-heaps.
F. 1. Lost.
F. 2. [146, 7] Thy son is he, thou didst create him, (thy) embodiment(18) among the living.
G. 1. [146, 5] King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Protector who protects him who made him,(19) at seeing whose face men rejoice; Falcon, lord of Wetet, who frequents Thebes,
Amin-the-Succourer.(20)

Category III

TEXT 10 = E. 1, 78, 10-17; line drawing, E. ix, pl. 17; photo., E. xi, pl. 244. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet.
A. [78, 10] Driving the calf(4). For recitation: The vault of thy body is hidden from [78, 11] thy foe; men know not the way to it.
C. [78, 12] Ptolemy IV, a form(21) like Him-who-is-upon-his-Stairway(21) (= Min); at seeing his shape the gods rejoice.
D. [78, 13] For recitation: Take for thyself the calves(22) of every colour. I drive them to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being unassailable, none knowing its portals, it being dark [78, 14] and remote(23) from the disaffected.
E. 1. [76, 15] For recitation by Horus-who-illuminates-Behdet, [78, 16] but keeps 'Ihkh(24) hidden, Dwn-suwy,(25) who shines as gold; who spends the day in the sky, who sleeps in
Behdet(26) alive for ever, and thons himself in [78, 17] the east.

* B. omitted by Reckmoe, but to be read in E. xi, pl. 244.
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E. x. [78, 13] I give thee the four ends of the sky, the breadth of the earth, every place that the Two Luminaries\(^a\) behold.

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

TEXT 11 = E. i. 404, 2-11; line drawing. E. ix, pl. 32 b. Ptolemy IV, Philopator, before Min-Kamnephis.
A. [404, 2] Driving the calves\(^a\) for his father that he may make 'given life'.
B. The Speckled; \(\ldots\ldots\ldots\).*\nC. [404, 3] Cartouches of Ptolemy IV.
D. [404, 3] For recitation: Those\(^a\) art Horus who drove\(^a\) the calves in Heliopolis, Thy Majesty having appeared in glory upon thy stairway. Stand up, Horus, thy inheritance is my inheritance; thou art the lord, the sole heir. [404, 5]. Rejoice thou, O Horus, seize for thee thine eye and lift it up for thee ...[404, 7] \ldots upon earth; thou hast taken the Wrett-crown.
E. i. [404, 8] For recitation by Min-Kamnephis, [404, 9] who is upon his stairway, great god, who rejoins in Behdet; the Man of the East who describes the marvels of Pudne, who seeks his eye in God's Land; [404, 10] victorious bull of great strength, who makes an end of his enemies.\(^a\)
E. x. [404, 8] I give thee the canopy\(^a\) (i.e. the clouds) of the sky, the four ends of the earth, and every place that the Horizon-god surveys.
G. [404, 10] I take the head-cloth\(^a\) and array my hair, I traverse all the hill-countries.
I give [404, 11] thee the southern lands as subjects ... .

TEXT 12 = E. vii. 313, 16-314, 14; no line drawing or photo. Published. Ptolemy IX, Alexander I, before Horus the Behdetite and Hathôr.
A. [313, 16] A ruler am I, Sovereign of the W\(\ddot{u}\)t-cattle,\(^a\) my chosen ones which thou dearest and which I [have brought] before [thee].
C. [314, 3] Ptolemy IV, the god who loves his mother.
D. [314, 4] I have come unto thee, O Behdetite, Thou with the Dappled Plumage, and (thy) Ka, the Gold-goddess, Our Lady of Denderah, bringing [314, 5] you as bond servants the four ends of the entire earth unto the sun's utmost bounds. Ye are the masters of this land, the rulers of the world upon its foundation.
E. i. [314, 8] For recitation [by] Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, Him with the Dappled Plumage, who comes forth from the horizon, Upper-Egyptian King in the south, Lesser-Egyptian King in the north, [314, 9] sovereign in the west and east, a \ldots ruler, lord of Egypt ('Ist')\(^a\) with whose name the temples are inscribed ... .\(^a\)
E. x. [314, 7] I give thee the south and the north, the west and the east, the four ends [314, 8] of the earth upon its foundation.

\(\ast\) The names of the four calves are not given in Roehmonstein's text, but \(\Upsilon\) is to be seen in E. ix, pl. 32 b, other names being lost.
UNE REPRÉSENTATION RARE SUR L'UNE DES CHAPELLES DE TOUTANKHAMON

Par ALEXANDRE PANKOFF

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

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

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

La figure sur la 'chapelle' de Toutankhamon a les traits du pharaon défunct. Dans le cercle qui entoure la tête et qui est formée par un serpent se trouvent deux inscriptions identiques formées de trois signes: $\text{innn ammut}$.\footnote{Le premier signe est pour l'oeil, les deux autres font allusion au verbe $\text{nn}$, Wb 1, 313 (10), ouaw. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux Wb 1, 318 (1). Le déterminatif est dû probablement a un jeu de mots avec $\text{nn}$, Wb 1, 314 (12) - de là: 'Celui qui cache les foyantes = les heures.'}

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

Plus bas sur le corps même de la figure est tracé un cercle qui contient un oiseau croisé dans le sens du tour touré vers la gauche, ayant des bras humains levés en adoration. Une corde sort du disque\footnote{Cf. Jung, Psychology of the Unconscious, p. 20.} et se prolonge vers la gauche au-dessus de sept personnages qui s'avancent les bras levés vers le disque tracé sur le corps de la figure centrale dont les pieds sont placés dans un cercle formé par un serpent qui se mord la queue. Dans le cercle à droite et à gauche deux inscriptions identiques de quatre signes (voir la représ.}

\footnote{\text{innn ammut} = \text{innn ammut} = \text{innn ammut} = \text{innn ammut}.\footnote{Le premier signe est pour l'oeil, les deux autres font allusion au verbe $\text{nn}$, Wb 1, 313 (10), ouaw. Ce dernier mot déterminé aussi par la mèche de cheveux Wb 1, 318 (1). Le déterminatif est dû probablement a un jeu de mots avec $\text{nn}$, Wb 1, 314 (12) - de là: 'Celui qui cache les foyantes = les heures.'\footnote{Cf. Jung, Psychology of the Unconscious, p. 20.}}
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COMMENTARY

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

2. Read FFD instead of FFD.

3. Both here and Text 1, D, the sign Le is probably to be read Le and not Fe (see below, n. 67) unless the writer in both these instances has wrongly written Le for Le.

4. See below, n. 5.

5. We know nothing about the "five gods". Have they any connection with the el-was of Amdua (see WEB 1, 176, 4) whom a number of Coptic texts definitely connect with cattle? See below, n. 16. See also WEB 1, 176, 4. De Morgan, Amdua I, 39, No. 61, unfortunately the context contains nothing illuminating.

6. We know nothing about the phallic snake, which WEB I does not record and we are very dubious about our rendering of 31 & 32. With regard to the ceremonial killing.

For the hieroglyphic texts and translation see JEA 35, 98-112.
of serpents in this harvest site, we must remember that in Egypt these reptiles are a potential danger to animals engaged in threshing. For just as serpents live in old brick walls, so one expects to find them in crevices in, or at the edge of, the threshing floor, or in the straw and green heated upon or around it. In modern Egypt, serpents are regularly driven from the threshing floor to eat hawks, sugar-cane and the like, and so no doubt they were in ancient Egypt also. Thus serpents could threaten the calves when feeding on the corn or when feeding. Hence the reference in Text 1:6, to the royal huntingman's watchfulness over his calves and small cattle. It is, we feel, not out of place in the context (see also below, n. 35) to refer to Exod. 4:25-6 (see Suter, Kommentar, I, 113-120) - 'A snake (n.'s) is enveloped (hàs) by another snake (n.'s) when the toothless calf (šm.'h.l) which has come from the pasture (šm.'h) is enveloped.' With regard to the 'Binder-snake' (dm.'l) for which see Text 3:7, and n. 35 below, it should here be pointed out that Suter has a note on 'Recherchechungen,' op. cit. I, p. 115, and reference should be made to Keimer, 'Histoire de Sépoule dans l'Egypte ancienne et moderne' (Mem. Inst. d'Egypte, Tome I, Cairo 1947) who points out that though there are no pythons in Egypt now, there were in predynastic times (see p. 264 in Keimer, op. cit. p. 28, a passing python attacking elephants), and fossil python-like remains (the length of the snake is estimated as having been about 30 feet) have been found in the Tappeh (ibid. 38, n. 4). The Python Sebae (average length 6 metres) still exists in the Sudan. The interesting point is that Python Sebae is water-loving and Keimer rightly stresses that the disappearance of pythons from Egypt must be connected with the steady drying up of the land as a result of the introduction and development of agriculture. The reference to python's now extinct - nearly the two words carried by the king are also reminiscent of a python in half-are suggestive of predynastic site, and predynastic conditions; see below, conclusions. What is puzzling is that normally 'gorge' snakes, 'hàs' òf, are here treated as dangerous. This is possibly because all serpents were regarded as potentially dangerous and here note that Suter (ibid. 115) points out with reference to òf, considered in the text in question as both 'good' and 'bad,' this in 12:3, 18, 24, 44, is the snake in II. Eulclydeus.

7. Of older stt., see Wb. 13, 222.
8. For the meaning of Pheres see n. 2, and 10, Òpàg, therefore, seems to be a word derived from the same.
9. Òpàg, the 'careful' or 'watchman One,' is a usually a name for, or epithet of, Thoth.
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10. See also n. 14, for in Ex. 12, 26, 5-6, we find: XI 26 [27] m; XI 27 [28] n. He brings the portion of the Unblemished (7) with its grain. The small cattle cannot drink their (quota of the) corn-crop. This passage both confirms the reading HWT and supports our view that the word means corn in its unthreshed state.

11. See West 12, 38. But does ziqh here mean 'sowing on' or 'sow (z)'? See West 12, 39, n. 3.

12. See below, n. 34.

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

14. The 'sovereign of the small-cattle' in Arabian, see, e.g., Ex. 12, 24, 17; 12, 105, 21; 12, 48. According to P. 163, 5-6 this god is 'son of the house, lord of the small-cattle, with small cattle in plenty.' He is therefore, for some reason or other - was it because of his canine form? - closely associated with herds of cattle. How definite the association is appears clearly in the following passage: P. 163, 5-6: XI 26 XI 27 n. 11; XI 27 [28] m. He brings the portion of the Unblemished (7) with its grain and its corn-crop. A small cattle of his (ziqh), chief of the herdsmen (7), under whose authority are all small cattle, who offers cow's milk to his father twice on that day of putting it down on again' Ex. 12, 48, n. 8, 9. This is evidently an allusion to the legend of the 'sowing of the small cattle by Horus.' In the version, however, to which this passage refers it seems to have been Arabian not Thoth who gave the golden cow's head in place of her own.

According to Monnet, Denk. III, p. 2, the King is: XI 26 [27] m; XI 27 [28] n. 11: XI 26 [27] m; XI 27 [28] n. 11:

(1) Though we shall see it would be more normal, see West 12, 279, 2.
(2) H. A. W. and the metrology of the northern Egyptian towns, see Gardiner, Anegypt. Texts, II, 125. We are not convinced, however, that the suggested reading of the name is correct, but consideration of this point must be deferred to another occasion.
(3) We follow West 12, 279, 2.
(4) See West 12, 279, 2, also Ex. 12, 24, 26; 12, 48, 17; 12, 50, 17.
(5) See West 12, 323, 15.
God of the cow, who ravines (or perhaps "breeds") with cattle." As we have already learned, "son of [the] cow," is a title of Amun. The King, therefore, is not only described "son of the Sovereign of the west cattle," XII.105-106, but also "fatty cow," i.e., a cow of the Lord of Kina (194). Text 6.c : E.III.254-255. However, in the two formulas Text 6.a : E.III.251-252 and Text 12.a : E.III.293-294, the King was so far as we know, to himself in "Son of the Sovereign of the west cattle," and in VIII.103-105, he is addressed as such by Horemheb, the preceding god. What purpose the "House of the Sovereign of the west cattle served - was it the name of a sanctuary of Amun?" - or when it was situated, we have no idea.

The only meaning assigned to the word "kum" by VI.1885, 1 exh. "pick" (vexillar).

But here and in Text 2.g : E.III.272-272, as well as in Text 3.a (if our restoration is correct), the word must mean "think", clearly so, too, in the passage E.III.36-54, quoted on p.108. See also E.III.252-253.

16. The meaning "pick," (vexillar) is impossible for the phrases VIII.1885 ex. 1885-1885 to the best of our knowledge, never occurs.

17. But in the present context it is to be rendered "pick", "village", and not "village" (see FEA 27:57, n.2, and more fully Gardiner, Ann. Eg. Cairo, Text II.205: The Williams Papyri, III.37-38, and also Fairman's discussion of the sources of some in Paleol things, City of Abandonment III.143). Whenever in E.III.107-108 and 180 occur in parallel (E.III.107-108, VII.117.118) these terms seem to be employed to draw a distinction between the (town) mounds of the Delta and the villages of Upper Egypt. Thus in E.III.187-188, below:

Text 1.a, "town near it" (see also E.III.107-108, VII.117-118) is used as a synonym for town "city near it" (E.III.125-126: FEA 27:57, n.2), the district in the centre of the Delta (Adolf Derstine's Juedisch der Lehre fern König Memnon, p.29). That the "town" were not "mounds" but inhabited "town mounds" is shown by the fact that they are pronounced (E.III.155-156; FEA 21:54, n.2), the site where one finds dwellings or abandoned (E.III.111-112). Of course, "town" was not a term applicable only to Upper Egypt, or Edfu, i.e., in fact speaks of the cities (villages) of Lower Egypt (E.III.117-118), but where "town" and "village" occur in parallel, one experience is that they:

a) Text 5.1: E.III.272-272 1885.

b) The King is also called "kum", P.125-126, 1885.

c) Encouraging 1 for 1.

d) Cf. "the village" (211) which are in the Western River" on an Amarna inscription (Pennsylvania, op. cit. III.125-126, 1885, and of ch. p.186).
invariably refer to the Delta and Upper Egypt respectively.

18. This must be the meaning here, though Nb 5,547 f. does not record it, see also the
duplicate passage E, III, 59, 10.

52, are in conflict. Our view is that the word is a dual form, Jantsis', which is written,
Jantsis, in Nb 5, 442, and that the correct rendering of the text of the ‘Two Plants’ is the
reference being to the two plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. For this word see E, III, 172, 4;
E, III, 172, 5. Note that this is the usual rendering of the name.


In addition to the above three spellings with Jantsis and no phonetic supplement, there
are no known forms that are actually preserved. Here we have to consider that there may possibly be two readings. In Nb 5, 442, 5, 547 we would render Jantsis; so far so good. But in the coin texts we are not yet certain as to whether the reading in Nb 5, 442, 5, 547 is correct or not. The coin text gives a name that is identical with Jantsis, E, III, 172, 4, 5.

20. An instance of substitution—replacement introduced by E.

21. In Nb 5, 547, despite the determinative, it is not clear whether the reading should be Jantsis, E, III, 172, 4, 5 or Jantsis, E, III, 172, 4, 5. The coin text gives Jantsis, E, III, 172, 4, 5, which is the only text that gives Jantsis, E, III, 172, 4, 5.

22. — a hardly a suff. but rather the first radical of a word not last which may be E, III, 172, 4, 5.

a) In the parallel passage, E, III, 172, 4, 5, the word "Jantsis" replaces "Biskis.

b) In a duplicate version of the passage.
24. In several passages the name of the god or goddess is prefixed to another's name or title, e.g., Hadd-ibni. In this case the first name is Hadd, and the second ibni. In other cases, the order may be reversed, e.g., ibni-Hadd. The order in which the names are given in these inscriptions is determined by the importance of the individual. The first name is usually that of the most important person, and the second that of the less important. Thus, in the case of Hadd-ibni, Hadd is the god or goddess, and ibni is the name of the person or thing. The prefix ibni is a title, and is used to indicate that the person or thing is a servant, servant of the god, or servant of the king. The prefix ibni is also used to indicate that the person or thing is a relative of the god or goddess. Thus, ibni-Hadd indicates that Hadd is the father of the person or thing. In this case, the order of the names is determined by the importance of the individual, and the first name is that of the most important person, and the second that of the less important. Thus, in the case of ibni-Hadd, ibni is the title, and Hadd is the name of the person or thing.
Of these Psa. 3,11,1 E. W. Mill. 1919, is very close to our Text 3,6, and uses the term

very sure.

39. With this sentence of E. I seems forced. He makes abundant for the its

knew yearly, E. II. 37,2. Version of course, y truff on right, for on right, n rest on left,

nrest, similarly

see Heb. 29,24, 9, 9.

40. Skirv. see further, "Amrish der Messer," 142 ff.

41. Did the last line of E. contain a garbled version of "red fire"? E. 20, 22, 226, "waxed less,
greatly described?"

42. For pent. see E. III. 158, 15; III. 108, 1; 157,15 ff; IV. 24, 10; III. 4, 11.

43. For the verb Had. "sword" see W. III. 13, 7. In the preceding sentence we would write

[HBN] or possibly [HBN] after A, a rebut he rather than rest.

44. Emending E. 5, 2 (C). 10. We cannot restore the missing word which forms the direct

object of the 5. For our reading of the other damaged sign see Psa. 35,100 with pl XXI. The sign

and 22 are fairly certain, it is found at the left end and straight at the right end and cannot be

as. Clearly 22 is the verb the the, written without determinative, to which Isaacman, contrary
to He. 5, 35,2 and 35,7, would like to assign the meaning "drive away." For the passage under

discussion we can quote two very close parallels, I. 35, 11, 7x; 493, 7x: 21 restored, 21 restored.

45. The two (pairs of) flagstaffs are beside them in their form of the Ten Section, driven

away, the two upper clouds of the sky, E. VIII. 63, 4-15. Th. Skirv. 20, 22, 226, "the stars, the

two higher stars, the two stars, the two upper stars, the two upper stars outside (or rest)." The sun

away the two upper clouds of the sky, E. VII. 12, 2.

46. No other sentence is known to us of "quire" and "pole-axe" being included among the clouds

of the four colors.

47. See W. 3, 248, 3. 47. See below, Geshemam.

48. The introductory III. has been accidentally omitted from our copy, Psa. 53, 101.

49. We assume that 22 has been omitted by either the ancient scribe or the modern copy.

50. For 22 we see W. III. 235, 10. 50. Emending E. 5, 2 (C).

51. The numerous examples collected by Isaacman show that the compound lit. 25, in

employed frequently in connection with Min and the ethyphallus Amen, has the following usage:
(a) As a noun it means "lance," "amputation." (b) As a verb, often a predicate, it means

"inspire fear," "anaesthetise." (c) Followed by the preposition in it means "inspire fear in

enemies." (d) Used with the same preposition and followed, except in II. 28, by a word for which

it means "inspire fear with," "inspire fear to," "inspire fear on," in the exceptional instance just noticed.
The ceremonial instructions for "HWT BHSW" include:

(a) The pharaoh is to wear a dress and send his army into battle. See also "HWT BHSW", p. 70.
(b) The pharaoh is to inspire fear and conquer his enemy. See "HWT BHSW", p. 70.
(c) The pharaoh is to inspire fear with his army. See "HWT BHSW", p. 70.
Can the ending of Irw be seen, as we proposed in Mass. Lect., 423, n. 123, where daily with $\text{Ir\textbar w}$, contrast $\text{Irw}$? E.g., E. T. 117 (29) - Mass. Lect., p. 608, Text C 11, 13? In the light of the evidence we have produced we now think this idea must be abandoned and the passage in question translated: 'the fluid, that inspires fear, in the right hand, the sword, ruler of the earth, in the left.'


53. The words sound more like an allusion of Isis than of Horus!

54. The bull's demon is an error found again in Texts 7, 8, and 30, 10, 9, 11, 11; also D 3, 14, 7, 17, 7.

55. See also M 142, 17; D 39, 18-19, 3, 1. Primarily, it is definitely Amunis according to E. T. 276, 9. See perhaps also Seth, Aeg., Bildungsg. und Kommentar, I., p. 24.

56. A selection from Amunis; see above n. 14.

57. Dcor is probably a word for enemies; lit., 'red ones'. Seth himself is designated $\text{Irv}$, E. T. 149, 1, and in Myth D he is $\text{Irw}$, lit., 'a red hippopotamus', E. T. 278, 3, while in Myth E he is $\text{Irv}$, E. T. 226, 2; see also Fairman, JEA 21.

58. Note also in the Early Calendar the reference to the making of a hippopotamus in red clay, $\text{Irv}$, E. T. 274, 6, E. T. 159, 3, and the 'two red goats', $\text{Irv}$, in the list of offerings, E. T. 130.

59. Note that if., Chapter 35, He III, 11, 2, represents Seth's followers as red.

60. A city, the city of red. The Lord of Kema in Amunis, see E. T. 169, 9 (quoted above in n. 43); M 144, 2-3; Text C 37, D, perhaps E. T. 51, 17.

61. For the king as 'son of the Nile' and 'son of the Seth goddess' see also Text 9, 9 for the Seth goddess see E. T. 164, 1-2; 248, 9, 153, 1-2; 31, 104, 4, 133, 13.

62. For Meket see also PE 115, 15-17; the completed year in Meket, E. T. III, 119.

63. Where the place was situated, except presumably in the Delta, we have no idea.

64. On this, see M 146, 3; Text 36.

65. The same epithet is applied to Sokar, see PE 115, 15-17; Mord. Meyer, Beitraege, III, pl. xi, No. 10, and to Anub, see texts 33, 37 with refs. Mentioned also Otto, Studihle, 27.

66. For the king as son of the king, see also E. T. 169, 9; D 3, 14, 7.

67. For the king again, with the same reference, M 146, 3; Text 36, III, 158, 1.


69. men 's, in the 33rd year, it should almost certainly be $\text{Iw}$. 
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66. Emend $\mathbb{A}$.
67. As here and below in Text 7.5, in simply a writing of the red-hot 'date', the Upper Egyptians already in Predynastic times making no distinction between $\mathbb{A}$ and $\mathbb{B}$, see our comment on this point Text 3.29, middle of page.
68. See Ball Text 202, 450, 1088(4).
69. See Arm. Song 4.3, 280, n. LXXIII; Text 27, 33, n. 20.
71. —— for $\mathbb{A}$.
72. Reading $\mathbb{A}$, note 28.
73. In w.* written in C, the due to misunderstanding of a wrongly used for 98.
74. The words 'Pharaoh's', $\mathbb{A}$ and $\mathbb{B}$ have been omitted in the copy of the text on Text 35, 198. For $\mathbb{B}$ is both a name of the royal palace and also a name of the place in which the bread was celebrated (Text III, 49). The term appears first in the late Eighteenth Dynasty (as a name of the palace of Amenophis III at Medinet) and at El Amarna, see Arm. Song 62, 269, 492; Hotchkiss, The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, pp. 3-4; see further, the remarks of Peil and Minnott in Petrie, The City of Akhenaten, III, 148, 149.
75. The word occurs in the following contexts in the Elfin inscriptions:

a. As a name of the Hbsad building, of which there are very clear examples: $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{B}$ $\mathbb{B}$ $\mathbb{B}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'I give the many jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 19.' $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{B} \mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'In his House of Rejoicing for celebrating his jubiles, E II, 25, 20.' $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'I give the jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme, that they may celebrate the jubiles in $\mathbb{A}$, E II, 25, 16.' $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'In this House of Rejoicing containing the canonical theme, that they may celebrate the jubiles in $\mathbb{A}$, E II, 25, 16.' $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'In this House of Rejoicing containing the canonical theme, that they may celebrate the jubiles in $\mathbb{A}$, E II, 25, 16.'

b. As many jubiles as Aten upon the canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 20. 'I give the jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 19.' $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$ $\mathbb{A}$, 'I give the jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 19.'

(As a matter of fact, the jubiles in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 20, 'I give the jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 19.' are the jubiles in the Hbsad building, E II, 25, 20, 'I give the jubiles of Aten unto his canonical theme in the House of Rejoicing, E II, 25, 19.' see further, Peil and Minnott in Petrie, The City of Akhenaten, III, 129, 130.)

a. Emend $\mathbb{A}$.

b. Emend $\mathbb{B}$.
8. As a name for the royal palace, or uncertain.

9. For a name for the royal palace, uncertain.

10. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

11. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

12. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

13. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

14. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

15. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

16. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

17. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

18. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

19. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

20. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

21. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

22. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

23. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

24. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

25. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

26. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

27. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

28. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

29. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

30. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

31. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

32. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

33. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

34. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

35. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

36. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

37. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

38. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

39. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

40. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

41. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

42. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

43. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

44. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

45. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.

46. "Bona" or "Bona" in the name of the palace, uncertain.

47. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

48. "Bona" or "Bona" used in the name of the palace, uncertain.

49. "Bona" or "Bona" as a name for the palace, uncertain.

50. "Bona" or "Bona" used as a name for the palace, uncertain.
CONCLUSIONS

The earliest representations of the ceremony of Driving the Calves cited by Wb. 1, 469, 8, Belegstelln, date from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are to be found at Deir el Bahri (Naville, Deir el Bahari, v. pl. 134; vi. pl. 164) and Luxor (Gayet, Temple de Luxor, pl. 9 = Bonnet, Bilderatlas, fig. 92). The ceremony is depicted also in the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhene (Maciver and Woolley, Buhene, 11, pl. 35, top), and on New Kingdom coffins (ZAS 39, pl. 5). It almost certainly appeared in one of the reliefs adorning the pyramid-temple of Seti I (see Sethe ap. Borchardt, Grabdenkmale der König von Aassehent, 115 f. and pl. 47). Thus its performance can be traced back antec to the Fifth Dynasty.

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

The common feature in all representations of the ceremony is that the King, the atef-crown, holds in one hand the coiled ends of four ropes (each term in an symbol and attached to the leg of a calf), and at right-angles to the ground appears to be a wavy rod. In the other hand he carries a straight rod, usually term in a snake's head, held parallel with, or at a slight angle to, the ground. The war t and coiled ropes are always in the hand farthest from the beholder, i.e. in the le when the King faces right, and vice versa. The relief on the portal of Euergetes JED 35, pl. 7) and its accompanying Text 3, D make it clear that the two rods make the snake that has been cut in half, and is apparent at Buhene, Deir el-Bahri, several of the Edfu reliefs (see E. ix, pls. 17, 64; E. x, pl. 92; E. xi, pl. 244; E. 633, and see also D. 1, pl. 85). In E. ix, pl. 40 the wand ending in a snake's head been omitted, and in Gayet's line-drawing of the Luxor relief and in E. ix, pl. 32, the snake's head is not shown, while in M, pl. 25, the wand is replaced by with pear-shaped head.

In all the early reliefs, from that in Seti I's pyramid-temple to that in the Luxor without exception, each of the four ropes is attached to a calf's forefoot at Euergetes I's relief likewise the four ropes are fastened each to a foreleg, the K on the left, in faithful conformity with ancient usage. At Edfu, however, t1

1 At Luxor and in Text I (E. ix, pl. 64), however, the King wears a wig and fillet surmounted crown.
2 All these exceptional features may be due to errors or misunderstandings in the text of the m
3 In D. 1, pl. 81, the ropes are attached to the right foreleg, the King being on the left. Note the passage text, though belonging to Category II (see below, p. 78), preserves traces of the re character of the site.
normally fastened to one of the hindlegs, and only in the relief to which our Text 5 belongs (see E. IX, pl. 40g) is the older usage preserved and the ropes attached to the left foreleg.

The scenes on the New Kingdom coffins are exceptional. The 'driving of the calves' is depicted on the extreme left of the panel as an addendum to Heb-sed scenes in which the King performs what Kees has termed the 'Hebensalut' and the 'Ruderlauf'. The King stands on the left and wears a wig only; behind him is an upright gub-sign. He drives the four calves towards the fetish of Abydos, which faces towards him and behind which come the Heb-sed scenes. In his left hand the King holds the wavy wand and the coiled ropes, each terminating in an "s"-symbol and each attached to the left hindleg of a calf. In his right hand is the straight wand, which passes behind his body; the head of the wand is now missing. The scene shows marked late characteristics, and we doubt whether Möller's early dating is justified, although it cannot be later than the Twenty-first Dynasty. Compare the garbled version of the driving of the calves on another coffin from the second cache at Dēr el-Bahari in which the fun-mutef priest, clad in a panther-skin, drives the four calves towards two deities bearing on their heads [1] and the emblem of Nefertum respectively; in this scene there are no ropes and the head of the straight wand is indeterminate but may have been intended to represent a snake's head.

A study of our texts clearly shows that hrst bishu was in the first instance a harvest-rite, a ceremonial threshing of corn conducted by the King in the presence of the harvest-god, originally Min (see WA. III, 17, 1), later the ithyphallic Amin (cf. WA. I, 469, 9), at Edfu often replaced by Horus the Beldeite, Min having already at a comparatively early date been identified with Horus son of Osiris and Isis (see Selim Hassan, Hymnes religieux, 138 ff.). Like most Egyptian religious ceremonies it underwent a process of Osirization and in consequence of this it was supposed to represent the 'treading on' (bb) the grave of Osiris by the four calves (see below, p. 78) with a view to holying it and so to preventing its violation and profanation at the hands of the god's enemies.

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

Category I. As already stated, only two of the Edfu reliefs, Texts 1 and 2, are concerned with the earlier version of the rite. We were thus only too glad to avail ourselves of the kind permission of the Oriental Institute of Chicago to make what use we pleased of their admirable photograph of the relief on Euergetes I's gateway, especially as it supplies us with information that seems to occur nowhere else. To the inscriptions accompanying the relief we have given the number 3 and assigned them to Category I where they clearly belong. They will henceforth be referred to as Text 3, 4, 5, etc.

1 No photographs or drawings of Texts 2 and 4 have been published.
2 Georg Möller, Die UB-Alt des Osiris nach Sargdarstellung des Neuen Reiches (ZAS 39, pp. 71 ff.; pls. 4, 5).
3 Cairo 6875; Chassinat, Les sceaux trouvés à Dér el-Bahari, pl. 5.
From the group of texts forming Category I we learn that the site of the ceremony was the presiding god’s threshing-floor (Texts 1, a and 3, b), and that the threshing was done by the calves (Text 1, a and 1, c). The main object of the ceremony was to secure plentiful harvests (Text 3, c), for in return for filling the god’s own granary to overflowing (Text 3, a and b) the king is promised an abundant corn-crop year by year and fruitful fields (Text 3, e, f, i, k, 2, and 6).

It should not be overlooked that the King plays a pastoral as well as an agricultural role (Text 1, c) and is associated with Anubis, sovereign of the nes-b-cattle (Text 1, d and see Commentary, n. 1). Accordingly, the presiding god promises that his calves shall be well fed and his herds numerous beyond count. Furthermore, the god undertakes to nurture ‘thy (the King’s) youth’ (Text 1, e, 3), this suggesting that an agricultural rite has been attached to a yet older one, the object of which was to ensure the fertility of a pastoral people and their cattle, see below, p. 86, n. 3. In all these three representations of the ceremony the presiding divinity is obviously a fertility-god, and the officiating King is either equated with him or likened to him, i.e. is the god’s living embodiment (Text 3, c), is Horus himself (Text 1, c), or the latter’s heir and successor (Text 2, o).

Category II. In each of the six Osirianized versions of the ceremony one reference at least is made to the ‘treading of the grave’ (Texts 1, i, 3, with variant spellings of Osiris, the ‘treading’ being certainly performed by the four calves (Text 4, d; cf. E. 11, 51, 12) with a view, as we shall see, to concealing the grave. In five out of the six reliefs the presiding divinity is either Horus or the ithyphallic Amun, with both of whom Min had for centuries been identified. Though the secreting of his grave had become the object of the whole performance, only once in the eleven representations of bent bmu at Edfu does Osiris replace the old fertility-god Min or his equivalents Horus and ithyphallic Amun, the reason for this being the intense religious conservatism of the Egyptian priesthood.

The meaning we have assigned to the verb išh in the above-mentioned context requires some consideration, and we hereewith cite all the Edfu examples known to us: (1) The King directing the ceremony is like Min on his stairway (pytw) [Text 1, i, 3, 2] who trod the grave of him who begat him, Text 4, c. (2) In an account of the funerary rites performed at Re’s command on behalf of the dead gods of Edfu it is stated that the calves were driven —[Text 1, i, 3, 2]— to tread their grave, E. 11, 51, 12; cf. E. 5, 131, 8. (3) The officiating King is like Horus, who drove the calves —[Text 4, d, 2]— to tread his (Osiris’) grave, Text 5, d. (4) The King is upon his throne, driving the calves, protecting Bismw (Osiris), [Text 4, d, 2]— treading the grave of him who begat him, Text 6, d; see also Text 7, d. (5) Of Min who drove the calves in Heliopolis it is said, thou didst put thy creator together again [Text 1, i, 3, 2] and didst tread his grave, Text 7, a. (6) A formula to be pronounced during the performance of our ceremony states that Horus son of Isis has put his father together again [Text 1, i, 3, 2] and has trodden his grave in Behdet, Text 8, a.
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(7) Text 9, d, informs us that the King as son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilk-goddess is he who protects Bi-baw and treads the grave of his sire. (8) Finally, it is said of Horus of Edfu, Σεβάστος, Heliopolis, that: Thou art he who did tread the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside Rē, lord of Hwt-būnī, E. viii, 7, 14.

As well as the verb ḫm 'seek', Wb. 111, 152, 6 cites another word ḫm (var. ḫm) meaning 'tread' or 'set foot upon' a place (einen Ort betreten). It is this latter verb, we suggest, that appears in the above-quoted passages, and the evidence seems to favour our suggestion. The texts in Category I certainly speak of a ceremonial threshing of corn on the presiding god's threshing-floor. In the Osirianized version of the rite the threshing-floor, we venture to think, was regarded as the site of the grave of Osiris in his role of dead corn-god, and the calves by their treading of the corn and trampling on the floor were supposed to hide the grave from Osiris' enemies. Certain texts belonging to Category II and one in Category III seem to support this notion. The calves are driven by the King to hide thy burial-place, thy vault being sacrosanct, none knowing its portals, Text 10, d. The King addressing Osiris asserts that he drives the calves so that thy Hallowed Land is free from all that is evil, thy place of burial hidden from all foes, Text 4, a.

Or, again, his object is to hide thy upland tomb and in the guise of Horus to turn away enemies from the sepulchre, Text 4, d, turn away the steps of the Perverse One from the graveyard, Text 5, a, or conceal the vault of his father (Osiris), Text 8, d. Finally, the King is likened to Horus who buried his father in Heliopolis and hid the body of His-nurse, Text 7, d, and is described as driving the calves and hiding the crypt of his creator, Text 7, a.

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

Despite its Osirianisation the rite still shows traces of its original pastoral and agricultural character. Thus the presiding divinity can still be regarded as a fertility-god, the giver of an abundant harvest and full cattle-sheds (Text 6, n, 1 and 0; cf. D. i, 147, 15), while the King in the role of herdsman is Sovereign of the wib-cattle (Text 6, a; Text 9, 1), trusty envoy of the Lord of Kings, son of the Nile-god and child of the Tilk-goddess (Text 6, c; Text 9, d; cf. D. i, 115, 3). Note also that in Text 7, d the King is described as driving the calves, treading the grave of his father, and trampling down those hostile to his sire, where perhaps the 'trampling' is reminiscent of what was originally the main feature of the performance, the treading of corn on the threshing-floor by the four calves; cf. the symbolical trampling on fish by the prophets, fathers of the god and scribe of the sacred books, one of the ceremonies performed at the great festival at Edfu on the occasions of Hathor's annual visit, E. V, 134, 2-3 and 5-6.

In the Osirianized versions of ḫm bsw Horus and Min are now and then assigned the attribute who drove the calves in Heliopolis (Texts 5, c and 7, a; cf. Text 11, d) and in Text 7, d, it is definitely stated that Horus buried his father in Heliopolis,1 while the passage E. i, 51, 13 informs us that the sepulchre of the dead gods of Edfu is the ilke of

1 See also the passage E. viii, 7, 14, quoted above, (8).
that which is in Heliopolis. This claim on the part of Heliopolis to possess the tomb of Osiris may be older than the similar claim put forward by Memphis (Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 76), a claim which Junker (*Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, 8) would date back not earlier than the Third Dynasty. The Helopolitan claim, though found in a Ptolemaic text, may nevertheless be derived from an ancient source and date, if not, as Sethe might have maintained, from predynastic times, anyhow from the First to Second Dynasties.

Because the rite was given an Osirian significance and performed to protect Osiris's grave, it was eventually employed as a funerary ceremony for individuals other than Osiris, such as the dead divinities of Edfu,² and possibly, in view of the fragmentary relief in the pyramid-temple of Sahure² (see above, p. 76), dead kings of the Old Kingdom. Apart from the paintings on the two coffins mentioned above, p. 77, we have no indication whatever that the ceremony was performed for private individuals, and it probably never was. In short, the paintings in question may be just the pictures of a rite that it was considered desirable to have portrayed on a coffin, such pictures possessing magical qualities, being in fact substitutes for an actual performance.

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

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

¹ On the other hand Text 8, 5, places the tomb of Osiris in Behdet.

² E. v. 51, 12. E. v. 131, 8 suggests that the ceremony was intended to be performed annually for these dead gods, see below, p. 81.

³ Even if Scharff is mistaken, the last blow may have been in the first instance, as we have already suggested (see above, p. 76), a pastoral rather than an agricultural rite, and so may still have originated in the Delta at a very early date (see Commentary, n. 6) among the cattle-keeping section of the population.
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grave of Osiris, while Min, the presiding divinity, appears not as a fertility-god, but as a desert-ranger and explorer of the marvels of Pwâne. Text 12 is quite anomalous and once more the original meaning of the ceremony has been forgotten. It is true that in a much abbreviated 'formula' the King claims to be *Sovereign of the wild-cattle*, but the *driving of the calves* is not mentioned, nor again is there anywhere a reference to the grave of Osiris. The King merely offers Horus and his consort Hâyûtâ the *four cords of the entire earth* and is content to receive in return a vague promise that the inhabitants of the south, north, east, and west shall be his servants! Thus in this and the preceding representation the rite has become practically meaningless, which may possibly be accounted for by the fact that for a long period of time it had fallen into disuse1 and survived mainly as a pictured ceremony that tradition demanded should have a place among the reliefs adorning the walls of a great Egyptian temple.

**POSTSCRIPT**

When this paper was already in proof Dr. H. H. Nelson, who is preparing a study of all the reliefs and inscriptions in the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, drew our attention to a relief of Setos I (No. 33 [237] in his manuscript) depicting the offering of milk. The title of the scene reads 'Making offering of the milk of the cows the estates of Tjeni (\(\text{\textasciitilde}T\))'. This god Tjeni, Dr. Nelson points out, occurs as \(\text{\textasciitilde}T\) in a list of gods at the Pyramid of Pepi II2 and in the names of two domains in unpublished scenes from the Causeway of Unis. Dr. Nelson has also shown us an unpublished scene in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III at Karnak in which the King stands before the ithyphallic Amen-Rê with, between them, two bulls and two cows, the name of one of the latter, and also in the parallel scene, apparently being \(\text{\textasciitilde}b\). Behind the King stands a human-headed god \(\text{\textasciitilde}T\), 'Tjeni, Lord of Kine'. Dr. Nelson is of the opinion that Tjeni was associated with cattle, especially milch-cows. What connexion, if any, existed between Tjeni and Anubis and Romât we cannot yet say, but it is to be hoped that more information will be available by the time Dr. Nelson publishes this scene and his interesting comparative material.

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1 Except possibly for its yearly performance at Edfu on the first day of the New Moon Festival in the third month of Sôbûm (E. v. 110, 3), when Hâyûtâ paid a visit to Horus the Behdetite, where it occurs in what after all may be a purely conventional list of ceremonies. It may also have occurred on the second day of this New Moon Festival (E. v. 151, 8) among the ceremonies performed for the Dead Gods, if \(\text{\textasciitilde}b\) is to be understood (see above, p. 70) means that the prophet 'trod the grave' by driving the four calves over the place where these divinities were supposed to be interred.

2 Siquier, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II. Iii. 15* and pls. 24, 25.

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