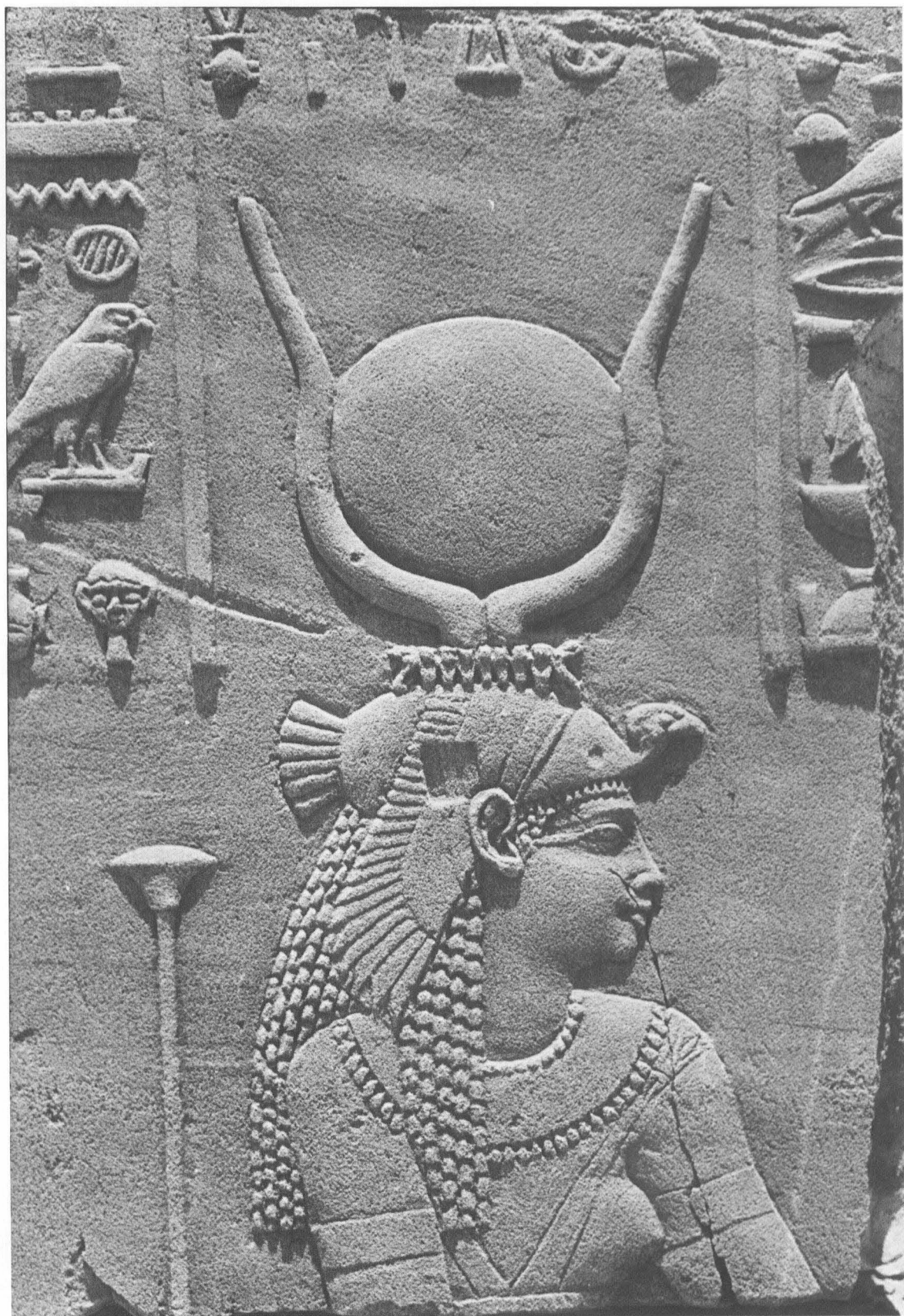


Hymns to Isis  
in Her Temple  
at Philae



FRONTISPIECE: Isis, the Great, God's Mother, Lady of Philae, Giver of Life.

Hymns to Isis  
in Her Temple  
at Philae

Louis V. Žabkar

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*Joannae  
uxori dilectissimae  
quae me perduxit ad templum*



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# ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden.
AEO	A. H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> , 3 vols. (Oxford, 1947).
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo.
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin.
BD	Book of the Dead.
Berlin Ph(s).	Berlin Philae Photograph(s).
Bibl. Aegypt.	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, Brussels.
<i>Bibl. Or.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> , Cairo.
BJRLM	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.</i>
Bonnet, RÄRG	H. Bonnet, <i>Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte</i> (Berlin, 1952).
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i> , Paris.
<i>Chr. d'Eg.</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels.
CT	Coffin Texts.
<i>Dendara</i>	E. Chassinat and F. Daumas, <i>Le temple de Dendara</i> , 8 vols. (Cairo, 1934–78).
Edel, AG	E. Edel, <i>Altägyptische Grammatik</i> (Analecta Orientalia, vols. 34 and 39, Rome, 1955 and 1964).
<i>Edfou</i>	M. de Rochemonteix and E. Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> , 14 vols. (Cairo, 1897–1934); vol. I revised by S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle.

- Erman, NG A. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1933).
- Esna* S. Sauneron, *Le temple d'Esna*, 8 vols. (Cairo, 1959–82). For volume titles, see bibliography.
- Faulkner, *Dictionary* R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962).
- Gardiner, *Grammar* A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3d ed. (London, 1957).
- GM *Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen.
- GO *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, Wiesbaden.
- IFAO, *Bibl. d'Etude* Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque d'Etude, Cairo.
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, New York.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London.
- JEOL Jaarbericht, Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux," Leiden.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago.
- JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto.
- Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* (Leipzig, 1906).
- LD R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, 12 vols. (Berlin, 1849–59).
- LdÄ W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 6 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1972–).
- Lefebvre, *Grammaire* G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique*, 2d ed. (IFAO, *Bibl. d'Etude* XII, Cairo, 1955).
- MÄS *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*, Berlin.
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*.
- NAWG *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Göttingen.
- OA *Oriens Antiquus*, Rome.

- OIP Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin and Leipzig.
- Or. *Orientalia*, Nova Series, Rome.
- Pap. Oxy. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part XI (London, 1915).
- Pifao Publications de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo.
- PM VI B. Porter and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings VI. Upper Egypt: Chief Temples* (Oxford, 1939).
- Pyr. K. Sethe, *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908–22).
- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie*, Cairo and Paris.
- SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg.
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar* K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*, 6 vols. (Glückstadt, 1935–62).
- Sethe, UGAA K. Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, Leipzig.
- SO Sources Orientales, Paris.
- SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., Berlin.
- Urk. II K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Leipzig, 1904).
- Urk. IV K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, Reprint of 2d ed. (Berlin and Graz, 1961).
- Urk. V H. Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden* (Leipzig, 1915).
- Wb. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926–63).

WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig and Berlin.</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig and Wiesbaden.</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.</i>

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In recent years two admirable books of translations of Egyptian religious poetry have been published, J. Assmann's *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, and A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne*. Both include a large selection of hymns and prayers to various gods and goddesses, and both are presented to specialized and nonspecialized readers in a practical and attractive format.

At first glance, it is surprising to see that, among the 242 hymns and prayers translated by Assmann, there is none addressed to Isis, and that, among the 158 included in the Barucq and Daumas anthology, only two hymns to Isis appear (nos. 139 and 140). The reason given for this scarcity by the two latter translators is that there are only a few hieroglyphic hymns devoted to Isis (p. 434, n. *f*), an undoubtedly correct statement if one takes into consideration the extent of our knowledge of such hymns at the time of the publication of their book. The two included are from Philae, one from the Mammisi, and the other, which occurs also at Kalabsha, from the First Pylon, both considerably later than the hymns translated here.

The translation with commentary and the photographs of the hymns to Isis in her temple at Philae, dating to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 B.C.), are part of my *Studia Philensia*, on which I have been working for some years; they are part of my photographic documentation and collation of the texts made during several seasons, especially during the time of the dismantling of the monuments of Philae in 1975–77. They are discussed here in order to place the study of some of the most important and the earliest hymns to Isis in a proper chronological and theological perspective, and to indicate briefly the character of the fundamental ideas of the Isiac theology at Philae. The time has come to take a deeper look at the inscriptions and reliefs of Philae, and to try to evaluate their content with respect to the older as well as later references to Isis in Egyptian texts.

Six of these hymns to Isis are engraved on the north and south walls of the Sanctuary of her temple (Room X). By their content as well as their architectural setting, they represent a unit. The first four hymns and the accompanying reliefs are engraved in the middle and lower registers of the north wall. As can be seen on plate 3, there are, in all, six reliefs and six texts symmetrically arranged on this wall. Two of them, those of the uppermost register, which I have published in JEA 66 (1980), 127–36, are not discussed here in detail, although some references are made to them in the discussion of other hymns; they represent a combination of ritual offering texts and shorter hymns. The remaining four texts of the north wall, which I translated and discussed in JEA 69 (1983), 115–37 and

which, with some modifications, appear here as Hymns I–IV, are hymns of adoration proper, without offering texts. Hymns V and VI are recorded on the jambs of the inner doorway of the south wall of Room X (see pl. 4); they too are hymns of adoration proper, without ritual texts. So are Hymns VII and VIII, which are engraved in the lowest registers of the west and east walls respectively of Room VII (see pls. 21 and 22). Two additional hymns of a considerably later date, engraved on the First Pylon and the walls of the Hypostyle Hall, are not discussed separately but are included in the commentary to Hymn V.

Throughout this study, the Berlin Philae Photographs have been consulted; in some instances they show better-preserved signs. On the whole, however, my photographs, especially the close-ups and those of the entire walls taken when the heavy slabs of the roof were removed, have proved to be more useful for study purposes. The comparison between the Berlin photographs and mine also shows the extent of damage that the reliefs and inscriptions have suffered from the submersion of the temple, and sometimes also from human carelessness, in the more than sixty years that have passed since the Berlin photographs were taken.

Since in several instances, especially in the first four hymns, the signs have been damaged and are not fully legible, the entire text of all eight hymns proper has been provided to make the reading easier. These have been copied by hand on the basis of my photographs, notes, and records made *in situ* before the temple was dismantled. When the signs of the hymns were found to be neither identical nor very similar to those of A. H. Gardiner's *Catalogue of Egyptian Hieroglyphic Printing Type* (Oxford, 1928) or to those of the *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique de l'Imprimerie de l'I.F.A.O.* (Cairo, 1983), an effort has been made to approximate the orthography of the Philae texts. I am grateful to Dr. Lynn Holden, who expertly drew figures 2–9 on the basis of my photographs and my collation of texts made at Philae.

I have tried as far as possible to place each of the hymns in its spatial context and in relation to other hymns and reliefs of the Sanctuary and Room VII. For this purpose some photographs of entire walls have been included, in the hope that they may be useful for further study of the sequence of the recitation of the hymns and the performance of the ritual of the Temple of Isis at Philae.

I wish to thank Dr. Ahmed Kadry, President of the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities, Dr. Gamal Mokhtar, his predecessor, and Sami Farag, Adel Farid, and Gamal Wahbah, former resident archaeologists at Philae, for their cooperation and assistance in my work and for permitting me to take the photographs reproduced here in plates 3–15, 20–23.

I am much indebted to the staff of the Condotta Mazzi Estero, who so competently and efficiently transferred the temples of Philae from their original site to the island of Agilkia. Dr. Massimo Grappelli, general manager of the Condotta Mazzi Estero, Professor Giovanni Ioppolo of the University of Rome, who was chief architect and archaeological consultant at Philae, and Antonio Giammarusti, architect, gave me their wholehearted assistance.

I am also indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities for the Senior Fellowship awarded me in 1968–69 for my work at Philae, to the Smithsonian Institution for a grant in 1977 for work on the excavation of the founda-



tions of some of the monuments of Philae, as well as study of the reused blocks found in the dismantling of the temples, and to the Mazer Fund of Brandeis University for a grant for work on collation of texts at Philae in 1984.

I am very grateful to Dr. Abram L. Sachar, Chancellor of Brandeis University, for his financial assistance for the reproduction of plates, some of which appear in this book. I wish to thank the Director of the Egyptian Museum of the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin for allowing me to publish Berlin Philae Photographs 1035–38, the text of which, in a combined form, appears here in plates 17 and 19, and the UNESCO office in Paris for sending me and permitting me to publish Mariani's photograph of the Second Pylon, which appears here as plate 2.

I express my great appreciation to the readers of the manuscript for the University Press of New England, J. Gwyn Griffiths, Professor Emeritus of Classics and Egyptology at the University College of Swansea, Wales; Edward F. Wente, Professor of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute; and Leonard H. Lesko, Wilbour Professor of Egyptology at Brown University, all of whom made valuable suggestions, some of which have been incorporated and acknowledged in the manuscript.

I am grateful to Professor Jean Leclant of the Collège de France for allowing me to use the library of the Collège in the summer of 1984 and for his interest in this work. I am also thankful to Professor William Kelly Simpson of Yale University for his kind permission to use the library of the Egyptian Department of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts while he was Curator there.

The personnel of the Widener Library of Harvard University gave me unlimited access to the books I needed, and Mr. Michael Nedzweski of the Photographic Department of the Fogg Museum of Harvard University took great care in developing the plates reproduced in this book. For all this I am most appreciative.

I am grateful to George R. Hughes, Professor Emeritus of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute, Ronald J. Williams, Professor Emeritus of Egyptology at the University of Toronto, and to Richard A. Parker, Professor Emeritus of Egyptology at Brown University, who supported my project by recommending me for the Senior Fellowship of the National Endowment for the Humanities for my work at Philae.

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I wish to thank Deans of Faculty of Brandeis University, Dr. Jack Goldstein and Dr. Anne Carter, who on two occasions freed me from teaching duties, allowing me to complete my work at Philae.

I express my deep thanks to Dr. Evelyn Simha, Governor, Brandeis University Press, and Professor Bernard Wasserstein, who showed great enthusiasm for my first translations of the hymns to Isis, and who effectively supported the plan for this publication.

It is with a feeling of sincere appreciation that I remember my friends in As-

suan, Mr. Fawzi Saad and Mr. George Kyriak, who on many occasions showed my wife and me much kindness and generously helped us with the problems of daily life and the organization of our work at Philae.

I will always gratefully remember the foremen and workers at Philae, both Egyptian and Nubian, some of whom were with me on several expeditions in Egypt and the Sudan and who selflessly and silently bore the burden of strenuous physical work.

I am indebted to Charles Backus, acquisitions editor of the University Press of New England, for accepting my book in the series of Egyptological publications of the Press, and to Mary Crittendon, managing editor of the Press, for her cooperation in all the stages of the preparation of this work for publication and for her special attention to its aesthetic appearance.

This book is dedicated to my wife, Joan, who assisted me throughout the preparation of this work. On her first visit to the Temple of Isis, she perceived the unusual arrangement of the texts and the beauty of the decorations in the Sanctuary. She worked at my side at Philae and even amidst the hardships of Assuan summers made our dwelling a place of peace and serenity.

*Rockport, Massachusetts*  
*May 1987*

L.V.Ž.

Hymns to Isis  
in Her Temple  
at Philae



## INTRODUCTION

In sharp contrast to the gloomy and barren mountainous islands by which it was once surrounded, the island of Philae, with its luxuriant vegetation of palm and acacia trees, must have appeared to ancient pharaonic travelers as an oasis of peace and beauty, a “paradise in the midst of desolation,” as David Roberts put it.<sup>1</sup>

Nile mud had accumulated above the mass of crystalline rock, but at two points the granite rose high above the surface, one at the southeast corner and the other in the central part of the island. These massive granite rocks projected against the skyline of tall palm trees—a rare sight today in the region of the First Cataract—must have attracted the attention of the early builders, who saw in such an interplay of contrast and harmony an appropriate background for their shrines and temples. It is perhaps too much to say that these rocks were regarded as sacred, but the fact is that the presence of the huge rock in the central part of the island played a decisive role in the planning and orientation of all the structures erected in that area, and that the pre-Ptolemaic and Ptolemaic architects went to great lengths to adapt their structures to this prominent feature. In the course of centuries, shrines and temples were built west, southwest, and north of it, until, some five hundred years after the first shrine was built in its proximity, it was enclosed in the east tower of the Second Pylon (see pl. 1), its southern side trimmed to the shape of a stela, on which a text was engraved recording the donation of the territory of Dodekaschoinos (c. 80 miles) by Ptolemy VI Philometor to Isis, the sovereign deity of Philae.<sup>2</sup>

I do not intend to discuss here in any detail the history of the temples and other monuments of Philae. That is the subject matter of another manuscript, in which I deal with the pre-Ptolemaic as well as Ptolemaic sanctuaries there. It suffices here to say that, although some blocks of the Ramesside Period have been found on the island,<sup>3</sup> they do not seem to have belonged to a temple or shrine of that period, and that the architectural history of Philae began with Taharqa of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Though only eighteen blocks were found that could be attributed with a high degree of certainty to this king, their shape and decoration seem to suggest that, together with the well-known altar of Taharqa (see fig. 1), they were part of a small shrine dedicated probably to Amun, a shrine that may never have been completed.<sup>4</sup> It was in the Saitic Twenty-sixth Dynasty that Philae began to play a more significant role in the religious life of southern Egypt, and that Isis became a prominent deity of the island. In addition to a “kiosk” built in the reign of Psammetichus II (see fig. 1, PSM), the dismantling of the Second Pylon and the Hypostyle Hall revealed the ground plan of the first temple proper

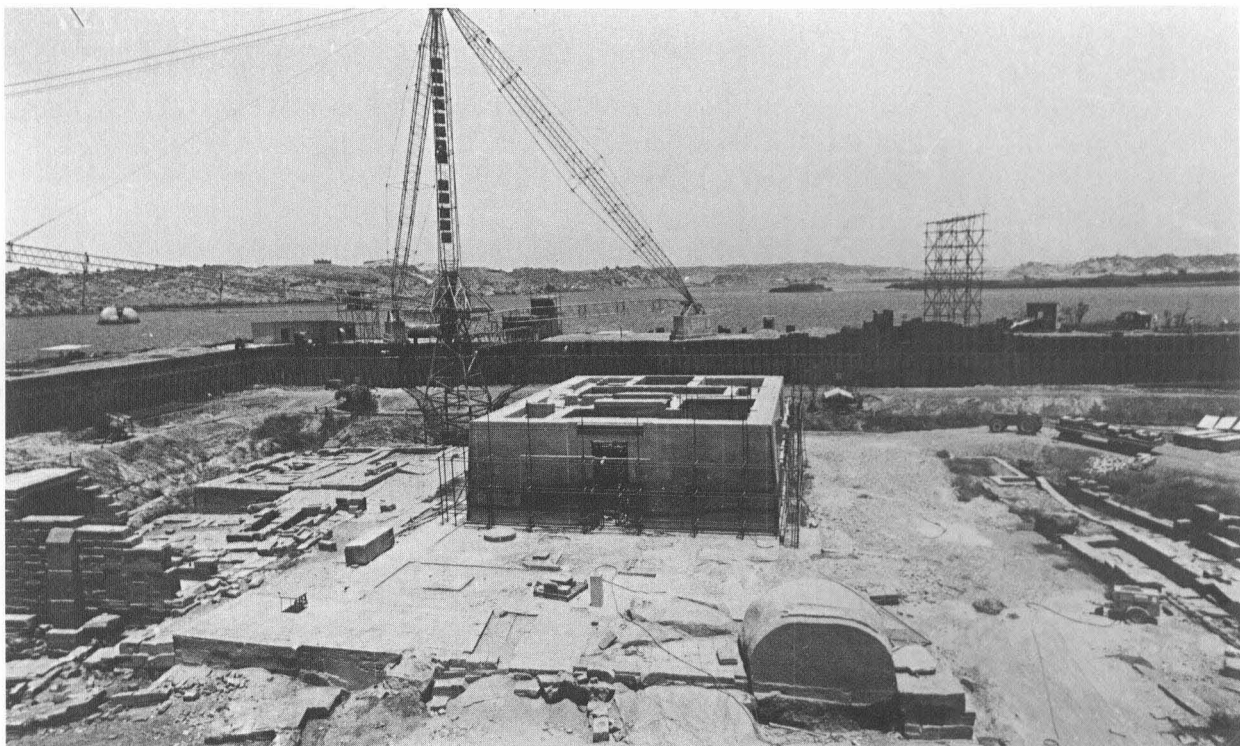


PLATE I. Temple of Isis built by Ptolemy II Philadelphus after removal of the Second Pylon and the Hypostyle Hall

at Philae built by Amasis.<sup>5</sup> About 310 blocks of this temple were found reused in the construction of the Second Pylon and the Hypostyle Hall (see fig. 1, AM—AMV). Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth and last native Egyptian Dynasty, during whose reign Isis gained a preeminent position at Philae, built to her and other First Cataract deities a small temple of which, in the process of dismantling, about 21 blocks have been recovered;<sup>6</sup> to this the Kiosk, or Porch of Nectanebo, was attached, both structures having been originally located in a different place—very probably in the central part of the island—to which indirect access was gained through the Portal of Nectanebo (see fig. 1, PN).

With the advent of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, a new epoch of the history of Philae began. It appears that in the time of this king a new spatial concept of architectural planning was adopted at Philae and a new building program initiated, which surpassed by far the work of the builders of the Twenty-sixth and Thirtieth dynasties, who erected their sanctuaries in the central part of the island. The building program of Ptolemy II was envisaged on a large scale, extending from the elevated platform on which his temple to Isis was built, beyond the Portal of Nectanebo to the southern part of the island. Whatever other temples might have been included in his building project, it was this temple to Isis that became the focal point of the worship of the goddess on the island and remained for about five hundred years one of the most important religious centers of Egypt and the entire eastern Mediterranean.

In contradistinction to the Temple of Isis at Behbeit El-Hagar (Iseum, Isidis oppidum), west of Mansourah, in the Delta, where the preexisting temple of Nectanebo II was expanded by Ptolemy II and completed by Ptolemy III, the temple that Ptolemy II built for Isis at Philae was a new, well-planned and well-executed architectural unit. As can be seen from plate 1, when isolated from the Hypostyle Hall and the Second Pylon, structures that were later attached to it (see pl. 2 and fig. 1), the Temple of Isis resembled more a shrine than a large temple (see pl. 1 and fig. 1); and yet it comprised all the main divisions of a Ptolemaic temple. It was divided into twelve rooms, which included the Hall of the King's Purification, Coronation, and Induction (Room I), the Hall of Offerings (Room V), the Hall of the Ennead (Room VII), and the Holy of Holies, or Sanctuary (Room X), with two adjoining lateral sanctuaries (Rooms XI and XII). Besides these larger rooms, there were smaller lateral rooms (Rooms II, III, IV, VI, VIII, and IX), and the so-called Court, a lateral self-subsisting shrine within the shrine.

In the commentaries to the hymns, references are made to a number of important reliefs in various rooms of the temple. Here, as a general observation, I would like to say that the composition of the larger tableaux (see pls. 3–5), as well as the execution of individual relief figures (see pls. 6–8 and the frontispiece); the special function attributed to the procession of the "Nile-gods" and the harmonious relationship of their legends to the images that they complement and illustrate; the new features in the decoration and interpretation of the texts in Room X—all these characterize the well-preserved Temple of Isis as one of the most significant of the entire Ptolemaic Period. Its most distinguished feature, the

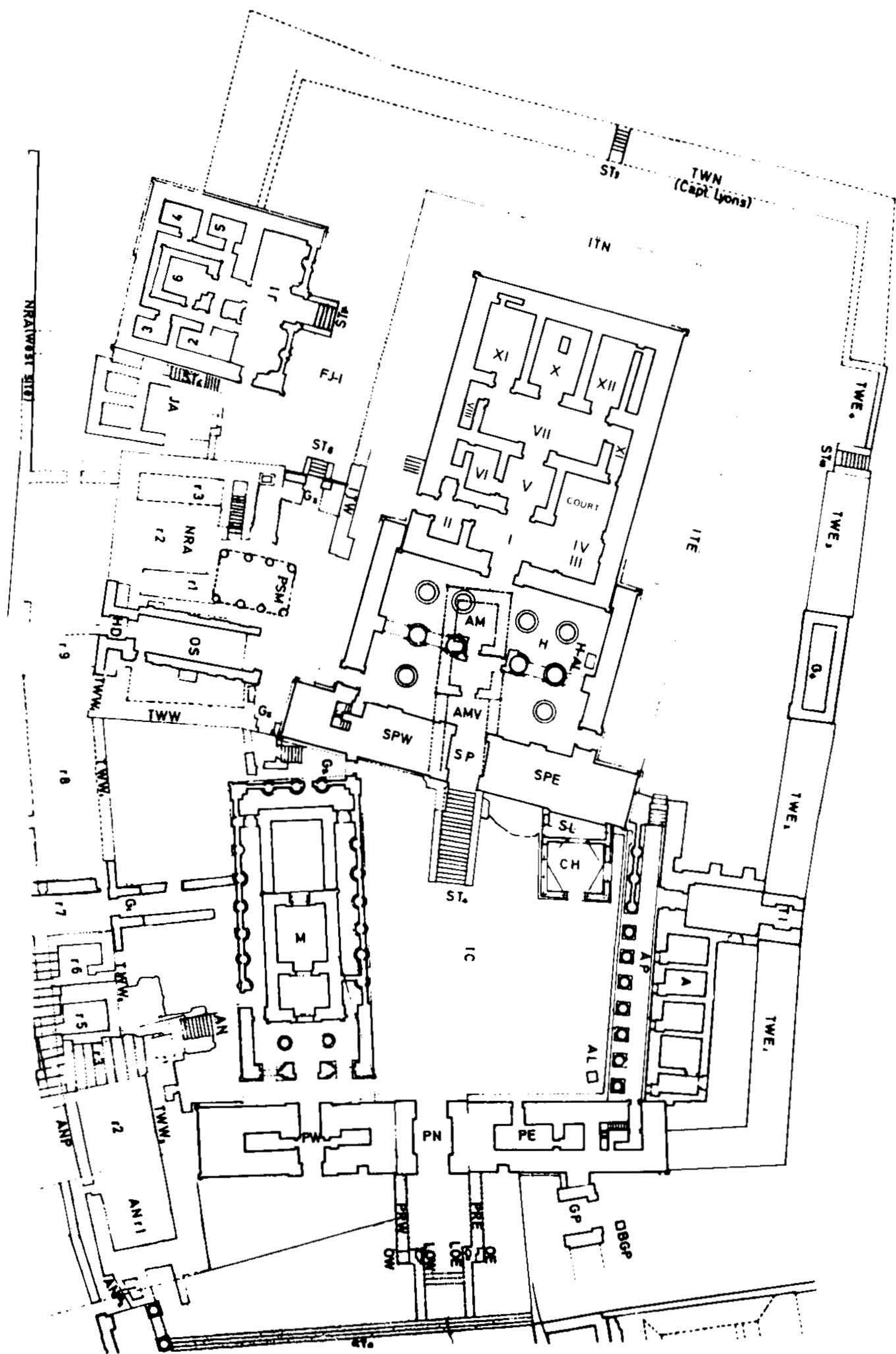


FIGURE I.

Philae, plan of monuments in the central part of the island

Philae, plan of monuments in the central part of the island. Drawing by Prof. G. Ioppolo; courtesy of Condotta Mazzi Estero, Dr. Massimo Grappelli, General Manager. Their numbers of the rooms of the Temple of Isis built by Ptolemy II have been here replaced by the traditional numbers (see PM VI, p. 230, without, however, the hypothetical outlines of Rooms III and IV; on the latter see Haeny, BIFAO 85, figs. 2-5).

KEY

GP	Gate of Ptolemy II	SPE	Second Pylon, east tower
PN	Portal of Nectanebo I	SPW	Second Pylon, west tower
PE	First Pylon, east tower	AM-AMV	Temple of Amasis
PW	First Pylon, west tower	PSM	Kiosk of Psammetichus II
AL	Altar of Taharqa	H	Hypostyle Hall
M	Mammisi (Birth-House)	I-XII	Temple of Isis
SP	Second Pylon		





PLATE 2. Second Pylon and the doorway to the Hypostyle Hall

hymns, especially those of Rooms X and VII, are the earliest examples of the Ptolemaic hymnology. As can be seen from the commentaries, these hymns were copied and reused in a modified form, and often for a different cultic purpose, by the theologians of later sanctuaries at Philae, as well as those of some other temples. The hymns are genuinely Egyptian; they are part of a religious literary tradition, that, at this late period of Egyptian history, notwithstanding a foreign

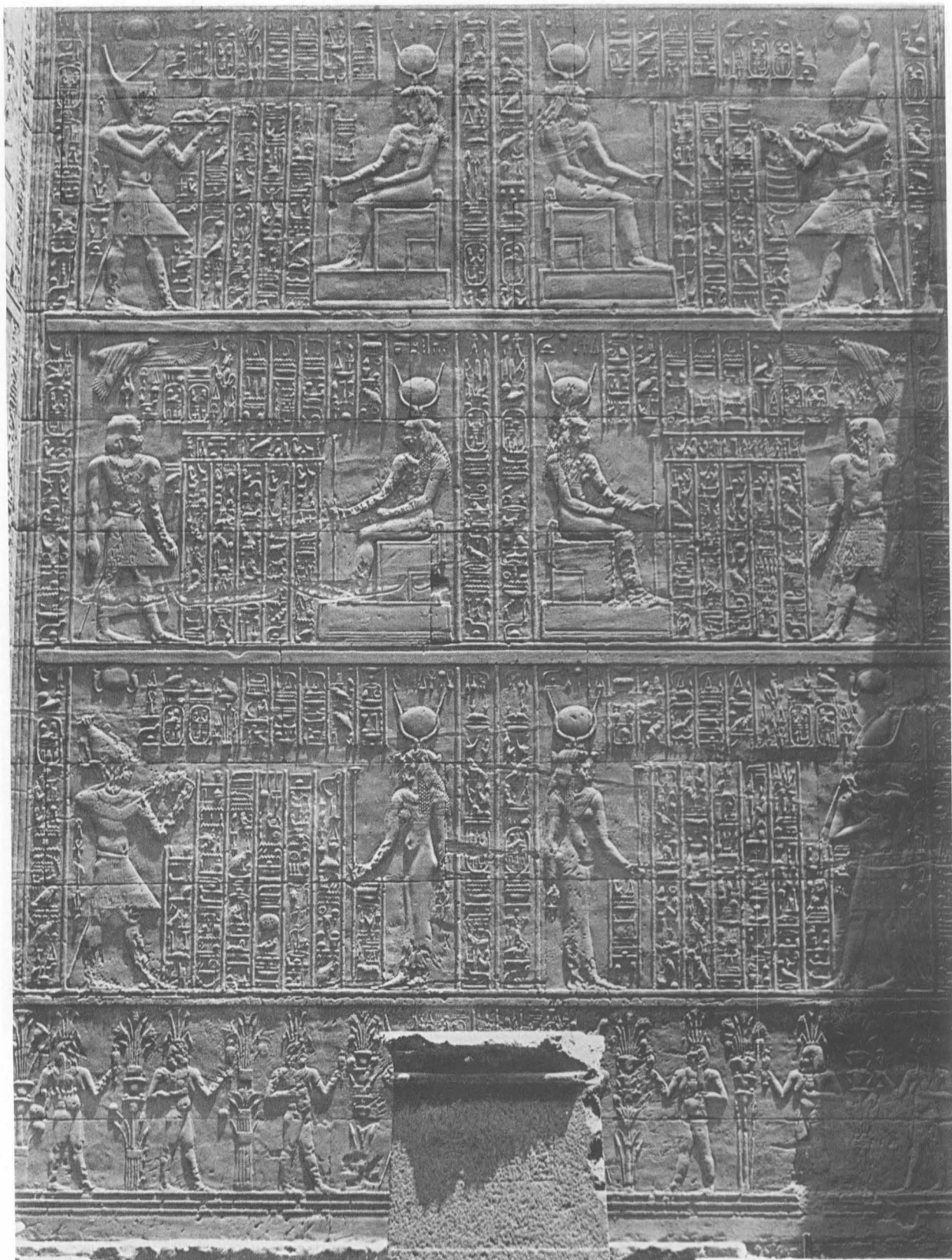


PLATE 3. Temple of Isis, Room X, the entire north wall



PLATE 4. Temple of Isis, Room X, the entire south wall and parts of the east and west walls



PLATE 5. Temple of Isis, Room VII, west half of the south wall, and the west wall



PLATE 6. Temple of Isis, Room XII, east wall; Ptolemy II offers to Isis two jars of wine



PLATE 7. Temple of Isis, Room XII, north wall

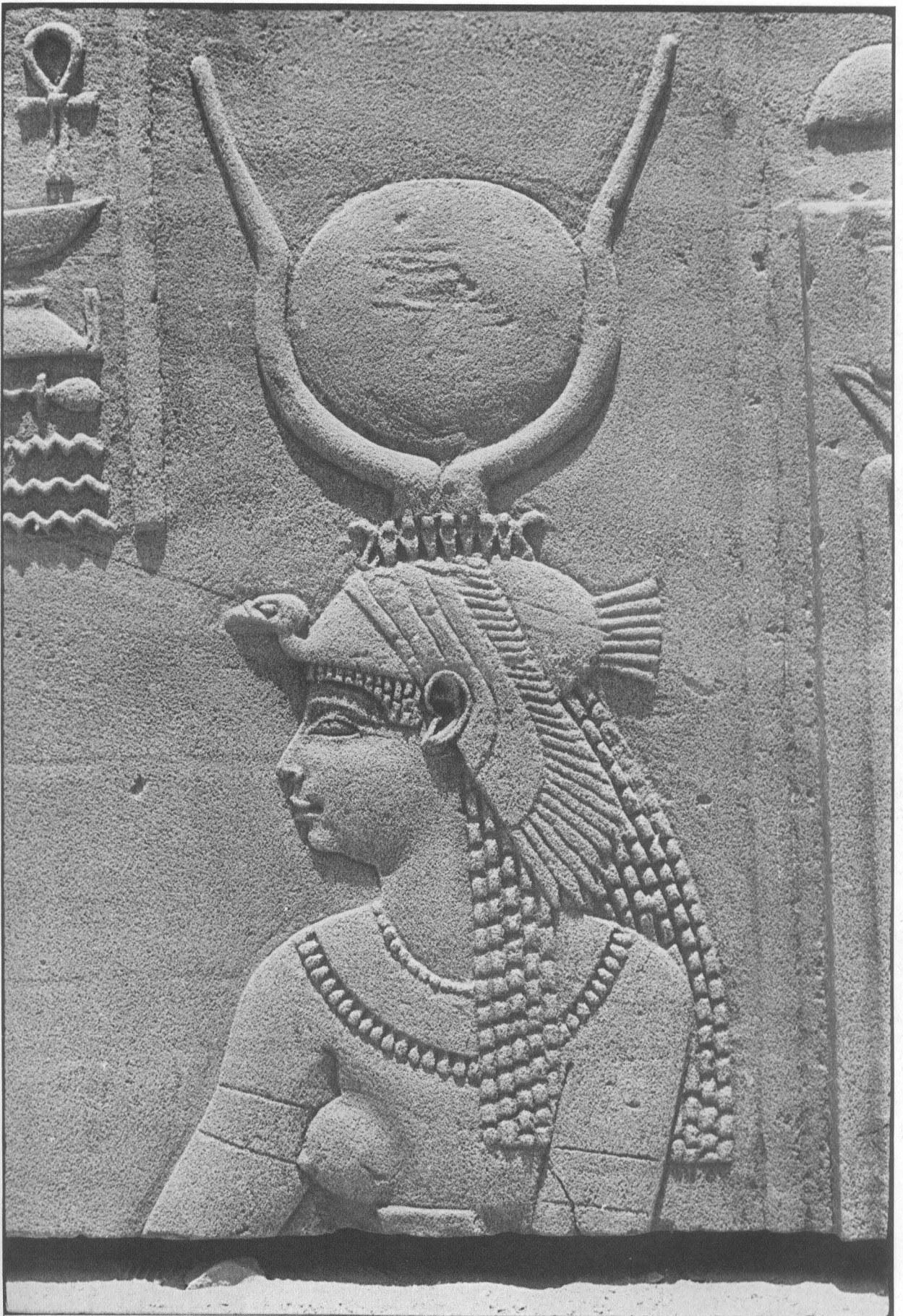


PLATE 8. Isis, Lady of the Sacred Mound

political domination and a new culture that it brought to Egypt, was still remarkably vital. Not only the continuity of this tradition, but also a progressive development of theological ideas and their application to the needs of the cult and ritual of a new universal deity, are distinguishing marks of the priestly literary activity of the early Ptolemaic Period at Philae.

One of the new features introduced in the decoration of the Temple of Isis was an unusually strong prominence given to the representation of the deification of Arsinoë II, the sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Arsinoë appears in the reliefs of the temple five times, either alone, as in Room V (see pl. 9), or together with Isis, as in Rooms I and VII (see pl. 10) and twice in Room X; in each case she receives divine honors or offerings presented to her by her brother-husband, Ptolemy. This deification of Arsinoë, to the discussion of which I shall return in the commentary to Hymn VI, was undoubtedly achieved through a cooperation, or at least a compromise, of the Alexandrian court with the high priestly circles of Philae.

It is true that there exist in Egyptian history some well-known examples of the deification and cult of the queen; such names as Teti-Sheri, grandmother of Ahmose, Ahmes-Nefertari, his wife, and Nefertari, chief wife of Ramesses II, immediately come to mind. The fact remains, however, that the divine status of Arsinoë as a co-templar, or temple-sharing goddess, or *synnaos theos*, closely associated with or assimilated to Isis, was emphasized and displayed at Philae in an unprecedented manner. She is represented not only in the Temple of Isis, but also in the two scenes of the north and south jambs of the Gate of Philadelphus, where her husband offers to Nephthys and Arsinoë two bouquets of flowers (north jamb), and to Isis and Arsinoë “the field.”<sup>7</sup> Was the deification of Arsinoë one of the principal motives that induced Ptolemy II to lavish so much attention on Philae? The deification of the queen also meant a posthumous legitimation of the marriage of Ptolemy to his sister, a type of marriage that, though familiar to the Egyptians, must have appeared to some of his Greek subjects an unacceptable aberration.<sup>8</sup> It was probably the latter that the court poet Theocritus had in mind when, in his Idyl XVII—after praising Ptolemy II for having established shrines and sacrifices for his father Ptolemy I and his mother Berenice—he justifies Philadelphus’ marriage to his sister by referring to Zeus and Hera: “Thus was accomplished the sacred marriage of the immortals also, they whom Queen Rhea bore to be the rulers of Olympus, and Iris, still a virgin, with hands made pure with perfume, strews a single bed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera.”<sup>9</sup> Ptolemy II may well have thought that the comparison of his union with Arsinoë to that of Zeus and Hera would find a receptive ground at Philae. Although Isis ruled as the sovereign deity of the island, there, too, she was inseparable from her brother-husband, Osiris, who occupies a very special position in the texts and reliefs of the Temple of Isis, and who shares in the royal prerogatives of and expressions of devotion to his sister-wife, Isis. The story of Isis and Osiris was known not only to many Egyptians, but also undoubtedly to many of Ptolemy’s Greek subjects, and to have introduced the images and cult of Arsinoë into the Temple of Isis meant to have evoked in their minds yet another divine prototype of the mar-



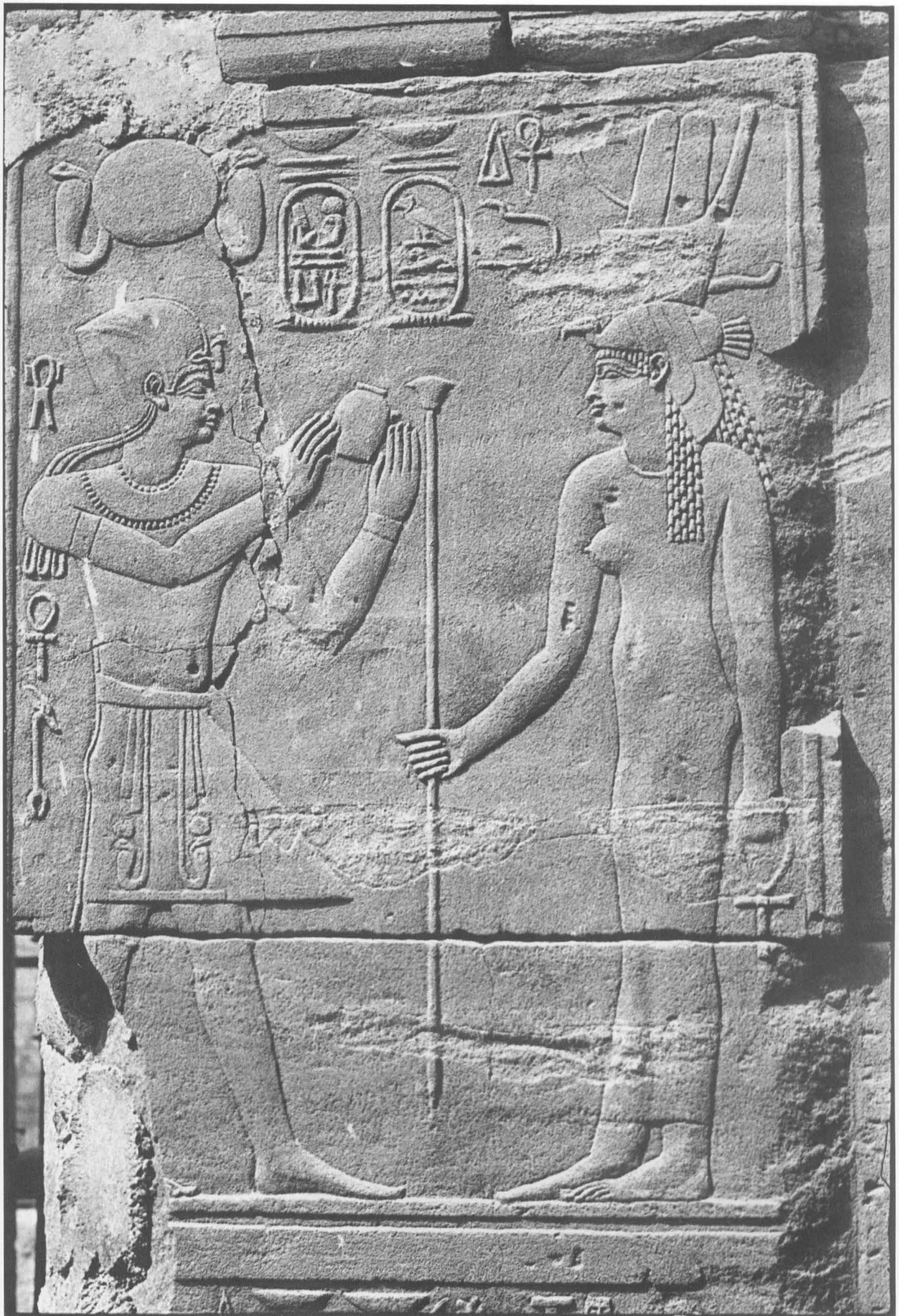


PLATE 9. Temple of Isis, Room V, south wall, right jamb



PLATE 10. Temple of Isis, Room VII, scene on the right, lowest register

riage of Philadelphus and Arsinoë. Philae, which was fast becoming the most important center of the worship of Isis and Osiris, was very appropriately chosen as a place where the deification of Arsinoë,<sup>10</sup> as well as some very special functions posthumously attributed to her, could be effectively represented.

As to the anonymous poet of the hymns translated here—oblivious, as it were, of the compromise of the Philae hierarchy and the Alexandrian court by which Arsinoë was exalted to the rank of a co-templar goddess and represented in some prominent places of the Temple of Isis; and oblivious of what the true intentions and purposes of Ptolemy II might have been—he adamantly clung to old traditions. The diction and the spirit of the hymns he composed reveal that for him there was only one goddess whom he recognized as the supreme and universal deity, Isis, who in her temple, her earthly royal residence, was surrounded by ancient gods and goddesses and in the constant company of her brother-husband, Osiris, and their son Horus. To this company of gods and goddesses Arsinoë was admitted, yet there could never have been any doubt in the poet's mind that, in spite of her close association with and assimilation to Isis, which some of the reliefs of the temple clearly convey, Arsinoë was there only to share, and in a reduced measure, in the divine honors rendered primarily to Isis. It was for Isis, the queen of Heaven, earth, and the Netherworld, that he composed his hymns. It could not be otherwise; he belonged to his own world, and he sang praises to his goddess, just as his predecessors of old had done to other gods and goddesses. In his hymns there is not a single mention of Arsinoë.

With Ptolemy II, the situation was quite different. Following a well-established pattern, Ptolemy, like other foreign rulers before and after him, is represented in the reliefs of the temple in the traditional Egyptian attire and attitudes; adorned with the insignia of the native pharaohs, he worships Egyptian gods and goddesses, presents them various offerings, recites all the hymns to Isis, and receives in return assurances of personal and political privileges. The priesthood of Philae, like that of other Egyptian temples, accepted the foreign ruler as their own king and endowed him with the honors and duties of the old pharaohs in relation to the gods, the temple, and the land, which the new king, by divine order, had to protect. Ptolemy II showed his benevolence and largess toward the temples, and that, in the eyes of the priesthood, rendered him fit to be accepted as a new pharaoh, endowed with all the spiritual authority and benefits that the temple could confer upon him. Thus the prayers for Ptolemy at the end of several hymns were part of a protocol, an adaptation and continuation of the old tradition.

As to the merit of the hymns, it is to be remembered that the long tradition that the poet had to follow also imposed some restrictions upon him. The literary models, phraseology, and style of the older hymns were all known to him; some specimens, written on papyrus, were probably deposited in the temple library at Philae. He drew on this ancient lore, and, inspired by his devotion to the goddess and his belief in her supreme power as well as her providential care, and guided by his poetical insight, he chose a structural form and a phraseology appropriate to the ideas he wanted to express. His hymns are rich in mythological allusions and theological subtleties; their analysis makes it possible to compre-

hend the fundamental ideas of the Isis theology at Philae. Some of the hymns excel in poetical diction and vivid imagery. The restrictions of a long tradition imposed upon the poet did not hamper his creative mind: on the contrary, he turned them to advantage. It is no exaggeration to say that, considering their theological significance and poetical merit, his are the finest hymns that have been written, in Egyptian or Greek, for Isis, the goddess of his predilection.

# HYMN I

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall (see pls. 11–12 and fig. 2; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, pp. 61f., tabl. II; Berlin Philae Photograph 1031).

The hymn is arranged in five vertical lines of text, each containing a strophe. The horizontal line, surmounting the five vertical lines, is very probably a refrain,<sup>1</sup> which was to be repeated after each strophe. In the following transliteration it is indicated only once, at the beginning; in the translation it is repeated after each strophe.

The vertical inscription behind the king reads: “The Son of Re, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, the Great, God’s mother, kissing the ground before your beautiful face; give him your love forever.”<sup>2</sup>

The king recites the hymn:

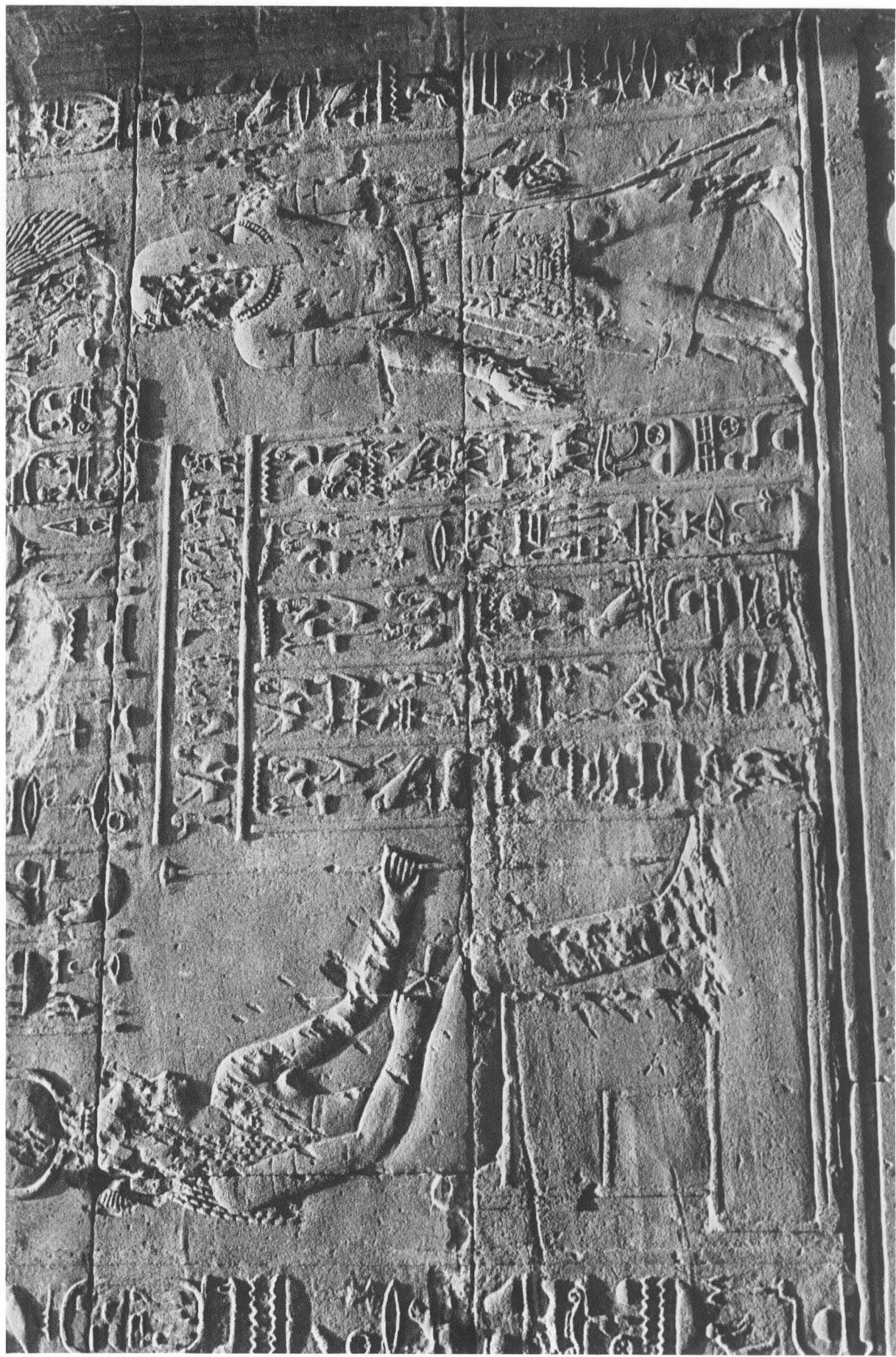


PLATE II. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, middle register, scene on the right, Hymn I

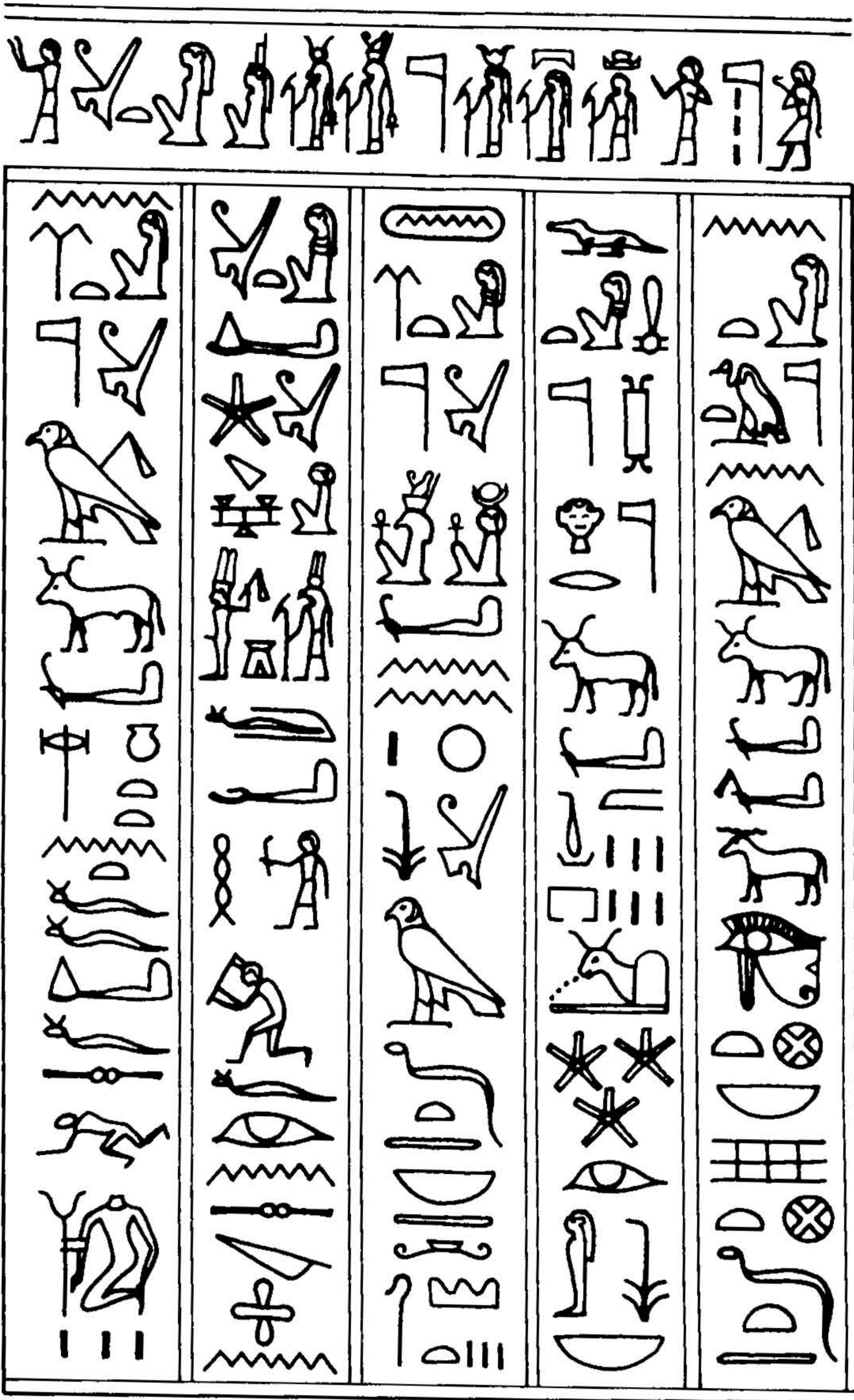


FIGURE 2

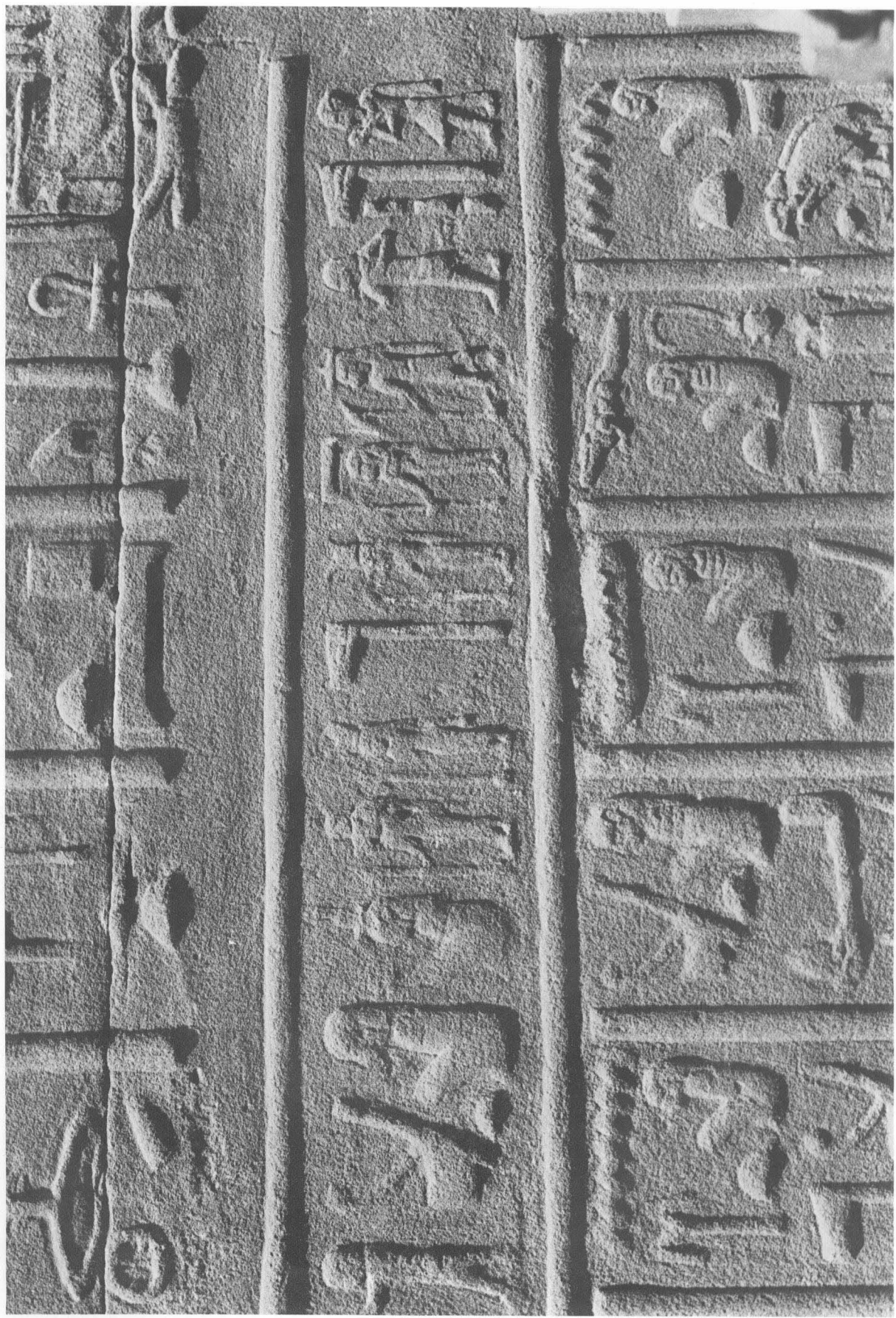


PLATE 12. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, detail of pl. 11



³Bw n.t ³st Hwt-Hr³  
Mwt-ntr nbt pt⁴  
Hnwt ³Bt-w⁶bt ityt ntrw⁵

Ntt mwt-ntr n Hr  
K3 nht ndty n it.f  
Di.f shr sbiw⁶

Ntt mwt-ntr n Hr  
Mnw-Hr⁷ pr-⁵ hw hfty.f⁸  
²Ir ns n-im⁹

Ntt mwt-ntr n Hr  
Hnsw-nht nhn-nsu¹⁰ n nb¹¹ dt  
Nb T3-Sti hk3 h³swt

Ntt mwt-ntr n Hr¹²  
K3 nht smn gsw-prw psdt¹³  
²Ir nn nb

Ntt mwt-ntr n Hr  
K3 nht hw B³kt  
Nb sp³t dt

Before giving the translation of this hymn, I would like to discuss a point that pertains to the translation of all of the hymns. I have made no attempt to follow a strict metric system. I feel that, at least in some instances, such an approach to Egyptian poetry may distort the meaning intended by the poet, as it certainly would impede the free flow of thought, diction, and imagery—essential characteristics of any good poetry. What I have tried to do is to divide the hymns freely into “strophes” and “verses” according to rhythmical and semantic criteria, mentioned by Barucq and Daumas, or “cadences as rhythmical units of phrasing,” as discussed by J. L. Foster, although I feel that, following the same criteria, as far as the structure of the poems is concerned, in addition to Foster’s “thought couplets,” other structural forms, especially triplets and quatrains and various combinations of forms, can more frequently be usefully applied, as G. Fecht has also demonstrated in an admirable article.<sup>14</sup> It is in such a broader sense that the words *strophe* and *verse* are used in this study.

The translation of Hymn I depends on the explanation of some of its unusual orthographic features. Each of the vertically written strophes begins with a different spelling of the second person feminine independent pronoun *ntt* (see pl. 12). The forms at the beginning of the second and fifth strophe are the more usual Ptolemaic spellings of that pronoun, although they are not identically written here. The spelling at the beginning of the first strophe differs from that of the second and fifth in having a *m*-sign before the first *t*, *nmitt*, which represents a late Egyptian spelling of that pronoun, *mntt*, with a metathesis of the first two consonants, *nmitt* for *mntt*, the pronunciation of which brings it close to the Coptic  $\bar{N}TO$ .<sup>15</sup> The spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the third vertical line shows an *n*-sign written within the “island”-sign, and it is a variation of the spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the first vertical line. The spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the fourth line is the most unusual; it starts with a “crocodile”-sign to be read *msh*, the first letter of which, *m*, standing for *n*, according to the consonantal principle, constitutes the first letter of the pronoun, *mtt* for *ntt*; unless, more simply, one reads the sign of the crocodile as *nty*,<sup>16</sup> of which the first letter *n* is part of *ntt*.<sup>17</sup> The seated female figure at the beginning of the first and third lines is part of the spelling of *ntt* and at the same time serves as an ideogram for *mwt*, in *mwt-ntr*. The same female figure at the beginning of the second line is part of the spelling of *ntt*, and the hand holding an offering is the well-known sign for *mwt*, just as the star is for *ntr*. At the beginning of the fourth

line, the seated female figure is again part of the spelling of *ntt*, while the *mi*-sign has the value of *mwt*.<sup>18</sup> After the beginning of line five, *mwt-ntr* appears in its conventional form.<sup>19</sup>

#### TRANSLATION

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,<sup>20</sup>  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,<sup>21</sup>  
 The Mighty Bull, protector of his father,  
 Who causes<sup>22</sup> the rebels to fall.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,  
 Min-Horus, the hero who smites his enemy,  
 And makes a massacre thereby.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,  
 Khonsu-the-powerful, the royal child of the Lord of Eternity,  
 Lord of Nubia,<sup>23</sup> ruler of the foreign lands.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,  
 The Mighty Bull, who establishes the temples of the Ennead,  
 And fashions every divine image.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,  
 The Mighty Bull who protects Egypt,  
 Lord of the Nome,<sup>24</sup> forever.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress of Abaton, Queen of the gods.

In the legend engraved above the hymn, Isis “the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the gods, Lady of the Southern Lands,” speaks to Ptolemy: “I have given you the life span of Re in heaven; I have given you Heaven (itself) with what is in it; I have given you victory over the south.”<sup>25</sup> In the vertical inscription behind the enthroned Isis, the goddess again speaks to Ptolemy: “O my beloved son, Son of Re, Ptolemy, I have given you the south as far as Kenset; Ta-Seti, bent down forever, belongs to you.”<sup>26</sup> These last words, which reiterate the giving of dominion over the south to Ptolemy II by Isis, parallel those of the adjacent vertical inscription, which belongs to the left scene of the same middle register, in which Ptolemy's dominion over the northern lands is stressed. This well-structured parallelism is also enhanced by the same number of phrases in the two median vertical inscriptions; “I have given you the south as far as Kenset; Ta-Seti, bent down forever, belongs to you,” corresponds exactly to “I have given you the north as far as Heaven; the Great Green, bowing head forever, belongs to you,” (see chap. 2, n. 9). As to Ta-Seti in the above inscription, although it may seem to be unconventionally written (a “bow” on a “standard”), it is indeed to be so read; it can hardly be a second determinative to *Knst. T3*, in *T3-Sti*, can sometimes be omitted,<sup>27</sup> *Sti* retaining its full value as a designation for “Nubia.” Thus, pace Winter,<sup>28</sup> both words are to be read in the above phrase, *Knst* and *T3-Sti*, or *Knst* and *Sti*. Besides, the perfect parallelism of the same number of phrases also requires another word after *Knst*. As to *nn.k*, translated here as “belongs to you,” its explanation is more problematic. Sethe translated it as “dir” (“das Bogenland sich dir beugt,” “das Meer dir tributpflichtig ist”),<sup>29</sup> and Winter as “dir(?)”<sup>30</sup> (“dir [?] in Verneigung”; Winter translated only the first inscription); no explanation is offered for the spelling of *nn.k* by either scholar. Is it possible to see in this spelling a remnant of a rare Old Egyptian spelling of the preposition *n* as *nn* before a noun?<sup>31</sup> Since, however, no examples of such a writing with a suffix are known, this suggestion remains questionable. Be that as it may, it seems certain that *nn.k* in this legend is used predicatively, and with some emphasis on the possessor.

#### COMMENTARY

The theme that this hymn emphasizes in the first line of each strophe is the divine motherhood of Isis. Her son Horus, described as performing a number of significant roles characteristic of a god-king, is associated with her in her exalted position as “Lady of Heaven, and Queen of the gods.” As son of Isis, he is “the royal child of Osiris,” the latter referred to as “Lord of Eternity (*nb dt*)”; as such, Horus is “Lord of Nubia and ruler of foreign lands”; that is, he is the king of southern and northern lands. In his role as a “Mighty Bull,” Horus performs a triple function: he is avenger of his father, the protector of Egypt, and, in a spe-

cial way, of the first Upper Egyptian nome, in which Philae is situated; he is also the builder of temples and fashioner of divine images. As a fighting hero, Horus is also called Min-Horus, and Khonsu-Nakht (Khonsu-the-powerful). These epithets and identifications of Horus with other deities complement each other. Horus as Khonsu-Nakht is not identified here with Khonsu as the moon-god, oracle-god, benevolent healer, and so on, but with one of Khonsu's ancient roles as a violent, aggressive, killer god, a *Wšb*-bull and "a raging lion, great of roaring."<sup>32</sup> Such a characterization complements that of "the Mighty Bull," and that of Min-Horus; in each of these roles Horus is described destroying his own and his father's enemies. Horus identified with Min does not appear here so much in the capacity of a god of fertility and procreation as in the role of Min as a redoubtable god, conqueror of hostile forces, as he is described in some Middle Kingdom hymns, which refer to him as "Min-Horus, the powerful . . . who overthrows his enemies, who avenges his father, and strikes the disaffected of heart"<sup>33</sup>—phrases almost identical with those occurring in our first hymn. Having been incorporated into the Osirian cycle, Min became son of Isis and Osiris, another Horus, Min-Horus, and as such he could appropriately be addressed as protector and avenger of his father. The role of Horus as "Mighty Bull who establishes the temples of the Ennead and fashions every divine image" is significant in itself, and also as a point of special relationship between Horus and the living king, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The idea of a god as a builder, craftsman, or sculptor occurs in references to Ptah, Amun, and other deities. It probably originated in the assumption that a creator-god who brought into being other deities could also produce the images of those deities, as stated in the document of Memphite Theology of Ptah, who "had created the gods, . . . had set the gods in their cult places, . . . had founded their shrines, had perfected their bodies according as they desired; then the gods entered into their bodies made of all kinds of wood, all kinds of stone, all kinds of clay . . . in which they manifested themselves."<sup>34</sup> Such an association of ideas—that is, reference to the creation of gods and of their images—occurs elsewhere, for example, in a hymn to Amun-Re in the temple of Hibis, in which this god is addressed as "the Eldest of the Primaeval Ones, who created the gods, the builder of builders, the nurse of nurses, the fashioner who created fashioners, . . . who magnifies his cult-statue in order to extol his perfection; it is according to his desire that he has built his image; it is through his (own) graciousness that he has rendered himself gracious."<sup>35</sup> Shorter references to a god as a fashioner or builder are found frequently in the hymns; thus, Amun-Re in the well-known Leiden Papyrus I 350 is referred to as "one who fashioned his (own) images (or: statues),"<sup>36</sup> and in a text at Edfu, Ptah is said to be "fashioner of fashioners, builder of builders, Ta-tenen, creator of the gods."<sup>37</sup> Thus, in a general way, a creator-god can be said to have created all other gods, to have fashioned their images, and to have founded the temples and shrines in which their images dwell. In this Hymn I, the role of the creator-god as builder and sculptor is attributed to Horus, son of Isis.

A further observation to be made about this role of Horus concerns the relationship between him and the living king, Ptolemy II. In the middle scene of the lowest register of the west wall of the same Room X, the king, offering to Osiris

and the winged Isis the linen (*mnht*) placed on the hieroglyph of an antelope lying on her back,<sup>38</sup> is referred to as “the perfect god who keeps safe the shores (of Egypt), who builds the temples as (it happened) on the First Occasion, who provides them with sustenance of the land (*ntr nfr swd3 idbw ir gsw-prw mi sp tpy htm sn m df3w nw t3*).”<sup>39</sup> The idea is certainly well known from older texts;<sup>40</sup> it is to be noticed, however, that in this inscription the words *ir gsw-prw*, “who builds the temples,” correspond to *smn gsw-prw*, “who establishes the temples,” attributed in Hymn I to Horus, with the further qualification that Horus “establishes the temples of the Ennead.” It may not be purely coincidental that in the temple built by Ptolemy II, the Hall of the Ennead (*wsht psdt*) is adjacent to Room X, in which this hymn is recorded. In the middle scene of the middle register of the same west wall of Room X, the king, shown offering to Osiris and Isis the unguent from Punt, is said to be “the perfect god, the living image of Re and the heir of Osiris-Onnophris (*ntr nfr snn ‘nh n R‘ iw‘ n Wnn-nfr*).”<sup>41</sup> Thus the king not only performs the same function of a builder of temples as Horus does, but, as the living image of Re, he is also identified with Horus, son of Osiris; as the hymn to Osiris in Room V clearly puts it, the king is Horus himself.<sup>42</sup> In this Hymn I, Horus is said to be “Lord of Nubia and ruler of foreign lands” that is, southern and northern lands, the same lands over which Ptolemy II claimed his dominion, as is clear from the two vertical inscriptions separating Hymn I and Hymn II, discussed earlier. It is hardly necessary to point out that the epithet “the Mighty Bull,” or “Horus, the Mighty Bull (*Hr k3 nht*),”<sup>43</sup> is frequently attributed to the Egyptian king, and although it is not given to Ptolemy II in the inscriptions of Room X, it is found elsewhere associated with his name.<sup>44</sup> Thus Isis, mother of Horus, is also mother of the king, not only because she addresses him as “my beloved son,” or “my son, Horus, my beloved,”<sup>45</sup> but because his royal function and character are coextensive with those of Horus, her son, who long ago had become the mythical prototype of the Egyptian king, with whom the Ptolemies tended to identify themselves. At the very summit of this complex theological edifice—graphically represented very simply by five columns of praises surmounted by a “lintel” of invocation—stands Isis, in her preeminent position as the mother of her son Horus and of her adopted son King-Horus. The latter is emphatically stated by the goddess in a legend in Room XII (see pl. 7): “To you I have given the inheritance of Horus of Pe.”<sup>46</sup> The inheritance, *imy(t)-pr* (lit.: what is in the house), a term derived from the civil law, is determined by the tie of a papyrus roll, indicating the juridical character of a written document by means of which the transfer of property, in this case the royal inheritance, is legally effected from Horus, the god of the predynastic center of Pe-Buto, to the king Ptolemy II.

Osiris plays a very subordinate role in this hymn; it is the Mother and Son who rule.



## HYMN II

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall (see pl. 13 and fig. 3; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, p. 62, tabl. II'; Berlin Philae Photograph 1032).

As in the case of Hymn I, Hymn II is arranged in five vertical lines, each comprising a strophe. The horizontal line surmounting all five vertical lines is probably a refrain to be repeated after each strophe (see chap. 1, n. 1). Here, too, in the transliteration it is indicated only once; in the translation it is repeated after each strophe in an attempt to show the effect this repetition may have had on the recitation of the whole hymn.

The vertical inscription behind the king announces: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usikare-meramun, has come before you, that he may adore your beautiful face, O Isis; give him Upper and Lower Egypt (in) peace, without any disturbance, forever."<sup>1</sup> The king recites the hymn:

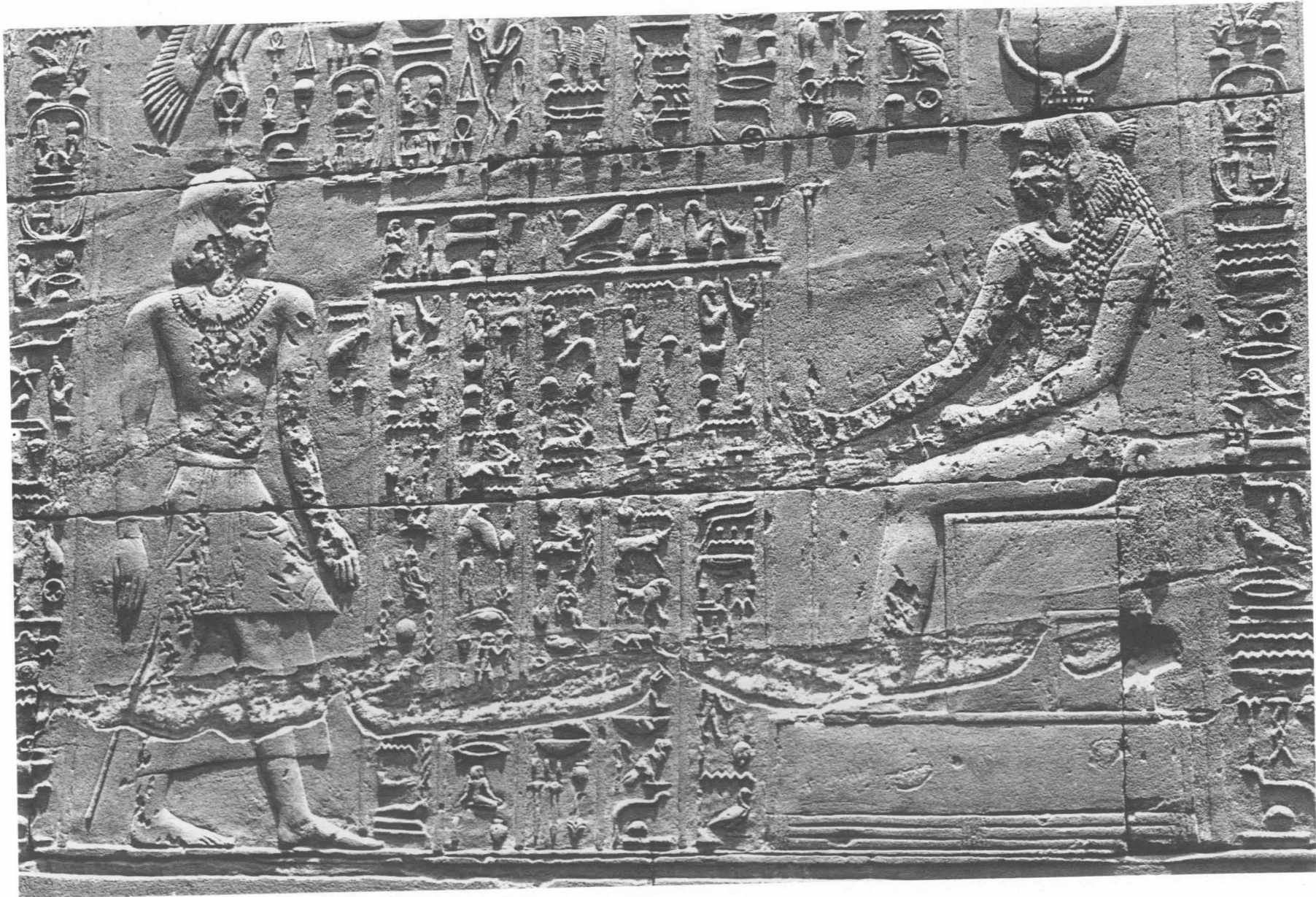


PLATE 13. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, middle register, scene on the left, Hymn II





FIGURE 3

<sup>2</sup>Bw n.t ʒst wrt  
Mwt-nṯr nb(t) pt  
Hnwt ityt nṯrw<sup>2</sup>

Ntt stpt tpt n Wnn-nfr  
Hwn nfr ir ʿdt m hʒkw-ib n tʒwy<sup>4</sup>

Ntt hmt-nsu tpt n Wnn-nfr<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>2</sup>Imy-r imyw-r nbyw m gsw-prw  
Sʒ smsw tpy n Gb

Ntt hmt-nsu tpt n Wnn-nfr  
Hw sn.s ir dsr hr wrd-ib<sup>5</sup>

Ntt hmt-nsu tpt n Wnn-nfr  
Kʒ mʒi shr sbiw.f nb  
Nb hʒʒ dt

Ntt hmt-nsu tpt n Wnn-nfr  
Hh rnpy wts nhh  
<sup>2</sup>Iw(t) r-hnʿ.f m Snmwt<sup>6</sup>

### TRANSLATION

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
Mistress and Queen of the gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,  
The supreme overseer of the Golden Ones in the temples,  
The eldest son, first(born) of Geb.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
Mistress and Queen of the gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,  
The Bull, the Lion who overthrows all his enemies,  
The Lord and ruler of Eternity.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
Mistress and Queen of the gods.

You are the First Elect One of Onnophris,  
The perfect youth who performs slaughter among the disaffected  
of the Two Lands.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
Mistress and Queen of the gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,  
One who protects her brother and watches over the weary-of-heart.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress and Queen of the gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,  
 The Eternal One rejuvenating himself, who raised up Eternity:  
 You are with him at Biggeh.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great One,  
 God's mother, Lady of Heaven,  
 Mistress and Queen of the gods.

Here, too, in the legend above the hymn, Isis, "Giver of Life, Lady of divine praise, the Living One, Lady of Philae, Mistress of Biggeh, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods,"<sup>7</sup> says to Ptolemy: "I have given you the kingship of Atum on earth; I have given you the land with what is in it; I have given you victory over the north"<sup>8</sup>—statements that balance Isis' assurances given to the king in the adjacent right scene (see chap. 1, Translation, nn. 25, 26). The vertical inscription behind Isis complements her reassurances to the king in the legend: "O my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usikare-meramun, I have given you the north as far as Heaven, the Great Green, bowing (its) head forever, belongs to you."<sup>9</sup> "The victory over the south" of the right scene corresponds to "the victory over the north" of the left scene; "Heaven with what is in it" of the right scene corresponds to "the land with what is in it" of the left scene. Thus the two legends above the hymns and the two vertical inscriptions that separate the two scenes of the middle register complement each other. This has been seen to be the case with the two vertical inscriptions of the upper register;<sup>10</sup> there, as well as here, the scribe and the artist showed the remarkable feel for good composition that is observed throughout the north wall, where, as will also be seen in the discussion of the lower two reliefs, the vertical median inscriptions that separate three pairs of reliefs meaningfully complement each other and unite all of the six reliefs in a harmonious tableau.

#### COMMENTARY

Theologically no less complex, and just as rich in content and imagery as Hymn I, this hymn extols another prominent role of Isis, that of the First Royal Spouse of Osiris. In the invocation-refrain she is again referred to as God's mother, that is the mother of Horus, but the entire hymn stresses her role as the spouse of Osiris, the god whose eminent position at Philae is described with a series of epithets attributed to him in hymns of earlier periods, and here enriched by the addition of some new ones. I wish briefly to discuss four points that will illustrate this statement.

1. The reference to Osiris as “the supreme overseer of the Golden Ones in the temples” is unusual and of some special interest for Philae. Such a function is attributed to him as “the eldest son, first(born) of Geb.” Although in this hymn Osiris himself is not explicitly called “the Golden One,” or “the Gold,” it would seem that he too, as “the supreme overseer of the Golden Ones”—that is, of the gods and goddesses represented as golden images in the temples—is to be thought of as embodied in a golden image; sometimes he seems indeed to be so described.<sup>11</sup> It is well known that Egyptian gods and goddesses, and especially Hathor, are often referred to as “the Gold,” or “the Golden Ones,”<sup>12</sup> and Isis, too, is called “the Golden One” or “the Gold” at Philae.<sup>13</sup> It is only proper that Osiris, who played the eminent role of the overseer of the deities, be represented as a golden image, a living golden image, supreme among the living golden images of other deities—this precious metal, out of which the flesh of the gods was believed to have been made, indicating the splendor, perfection, and incorruptibility of their divine nature. As will be discussed further in the Commentary to Hymn VI, it appears that, as in some other temples, so at Philae, too, “the Gold” referring to deities was not always a mere metaphor, but that it indicated the reality of their presence in their golden images.

2. It is well known from the Osirian hymns of the Middle and New kingdoms,<sup>14</sup> that Osiris, in his various aspects, is often referred to as “the Bull.” In Hymn I, it is Horus who is repeatedly called “the Mighty Bull,” and he can also appear in the form of a lion.<sup>15</sup> The double epithet of Osiris, “the Bull and the Lion,” however, does not occur, to my knowledge, in older Osirian hymns. It seems plausible to see in this double epithet an influence of the Theban theology of Amun, to whom both epithets are attributed in chapter 50 of the Leiden Papyrus I 350, in which this god is described as an overpowering deity in the form of “the divine falcon with outstretched wings, swooping down and capturing his assailant in the completion of an instant, mysterious lion great of roaring, gripping firm those who come beneath his claws, a bull for his town, a lion for his people, lashing with his tail against him who attacks him.”<sup>16</sup> In chapter 500 of the same papyrus, Amun is said to be “raging lion with furious claws, . . . bull strong of back and heavy of hoofs, . . . crocodile that surges, seizing him who attacks him.”<sup>17</sup> It appears from the texts of the early Ptolemaic period at Philae that the ancient literary traditions, preserved in the texts of the temple libraries, were fully alive, and that the priests and scribes drew upon them whenever the need arose to adapt ancient texts to the cultic requirements of the new temples and their deities. In this particular case, the reference to Osiris as “the Bull and the Lion” is an early Ptolemaic example of the traditional hymnic phraseology borrowed by the Philae scribes from the Theban theology of Amun; it is also a link between the earlier and later literary traditions, some important aspects of which have been studied recently by A. Gutbub.<sup>18</sup> It is instructive to note that the model-type of what Gutbub aptly calls *le dieu combattant* of the texts of Kom Ombo is most prominently represented as falcon, bull, lion, and crocodile—forms ascribed to Amun in the Leiden hymns; as to the fourth form of the *dieu combattant*, it is interesting to notice that the aggressive and ferocious but also

benevolent crocodile-god Sobek is in the Ramesseum hymns assimilated to Horus, savior of his father Osiris, and that he too is given the epithets of “the Bull” and “the Lion.”<sup>19</sup>

L. Kákosy, in his recent article on Osiris as a bellicose god,<sup>20</sup> quoted two pertinent texts from the Shrines of Tutankhamun in which Osiris is referred to as one whose heart “inflicts all carnage (*ir šct nbt*)”<sup>21</sup> on his enemies, “who cannot be saved from his arm”; when Osiris comes forth against them, “they are fallen, forever and ever (*hrw dt dt*).”<sup>22</sup> Already in hymns of the Middle Kingdom, Osiris is called “Lord of fear (*nb snd*)” and “great of terror (*ʿ3 nrw*).”<sup>23</sup> In the hymns of the New Kingdom, more pungent references to Osiris as an aggressive warlike deity are found in the great hymn of stela C 286 at the Louvre, in which he is described as “great of might when he overthrows the Enemy (*ʿ3 phty shr.f sby*),” “strong of arm when he kills his adversary (*shm-ʿ smʿ.f hfty.f*),” “steadfast when he treads (upon) the rebels (*mn-ib rdwy.f [hr] rswt*),” “one who instills terror into his enemy (*rdi snd.f m hrw.f*),” “one who attains the distant limits of the Evil One (*in drw wʿw dwt*),”<sup>24</sup> and, in a hymn in the tomb of Nebounenef, where it is said of Osiris that “his enemies have been placed under him on his behalf, he having slaughtered his foe (*rdiw n.f hftyw.f hr.f pgʿ.n.f hrw.f*).”<sup>25</sup> Similar epithets occur in Ptolemaic references to Osiris. Here, in Hymn II, he is referred to as “the perfect youth who performs a massacre (*ir ʿdt*) among the disaffected of the Two Lands,” just as in Hymn I it is Horus “who causes the rebels to fall, who smites his enemy and makes a massacre (*ir ns*) thereby.” At Kom Ombo, Haroeris-Shu, *le dieu combattant*, is called *nb šct*, “Lord of carnage,” and *ir šct*, “who performs carnage”;<sup>26</sup> the same action is attributed to Amun at Medamoud;<sup>27</sup> at Edfu, it is Horus the Behdetite “who performs great massacre (*ir hʿyt ʿ3t*).”<sup>28</sup> It seems that each of the famous temples had its own *dieu combattant*. At Philae it is not only Osiris and Horus who are given such bellicose epithets; as will be seen in Hymn V, Isis, too, is said to be *wr(t) šct*, “great of carnage,” who annihilates her enemies, in a mythological context. At Philae, a crucial frontier site, this bellicose characteristic of Isis later took on a historical connotation. It would seem, therefore, that the bellicose role of Osiris was not peripheral to his basically benevolent character, as Kákosy seems to be inclined to think,<sup>29</sup> but that it was and remained one of his prominent attributes. Its occurrence in the hymns of the early Ptolemaic Period at Philae again indicates the important part Philae played in the process of the preservation and transmission of ancient literary traditions.

3. Osiris not only appears in Hymn II as a *dieu combattant*, but is also described as a god of royal character, as a living, terrestrial ruler, and an organizer of the social and ethical order. In hymns of the Middle and New kingdoms, he is frequently referred to as “the heir of Geb,” and as such he is “King of the gods” and “King of the north and south,”<sup>30</sup> “the heir of Geb in the kingship of the Two Lands,” “one who gloriously appears on the throne of his father.”<sup>31</sup> He is, to be sure, “Great God, Lord of the West”—that is, the god of the Netherworld—and a solar deity who “traverses (the sky) in the divine barque, Lord of the Ennead,” but he is also “Lord of all men, and Chief of the Two Lands in their entirety,” as

stated on a stela of the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>32</sup> More precisely, as a Nineteenth Dynasty hymn says, he is “the father and mother of mankind, it is through his [text: your] breath that they live, it is of the flesh of his [text: your] body that they eat”;<sup>33</sup> he is the grain-god “Nepri (Neper) giving all his vegetation and all the food of the soil,”<sup>34</sup> he is “Hu (authoritative Utterance or creative Word) who brings food into existence”;<sup>35</sup> he is also one “who establishes Maat throughout the Two Shores”<sup>36</sup>—that is, he establishes order, justice, harmony in the land—while constantly repelling the enemies, personified by Seth and his “associates”; as a hymn in the Tomb of Kheruef says, he is “great in terror, Master of Eternity, Lord of Maat, rejoicing over her majesty while (he) is upon his great throne.”<sup>37</sup> It is true that Osiris as the king of the Netherworld can be said to be “Lord of Maat,” and that Maat was worshipped as “Lady of the West,” closely associated with Osiris in the Netherworld,<sup>38</sup> but, in the present context, Maat can be understood to be associated with Osiris in his terrestrial reign as well. Born as a king,<sup>39</sup> Osiris retains his royal prerogatives and titles in all eternity, of which he is the Lord and Ruler. Now, the idea of the royal condition of Osiris is expressed in the first line of every strophe of Hymn II, which thus stresses the idea of his kingship: Isis is his royal spouse, he is the king. The other attributes of Osiris known from older hymns briefly discussed above, are expressed in Hymn II by a single but concise phrase: Osiris is said to be “the Eternal One rejuvenating himself, who raised up Eternity.” In the context of other references to him, especially of that in the hymn of Room V, the first part of this phrase would seem to indicate that he is closely associated with nature and life as a beneficent provider; “eternally youthful,” or “the Eternal One rejuvenating himself,” as he is referred to in the hymn in Room V, and here in Hymn II, he is also, as stated in the same hymn of Room V, “gleaming Child, the inundating water,”<sup>40</sup> bringing to the land all its benefits, an idea further developed in Hymn IV as well as in some later texts at Philae. The enigmatic phrase “who raised up Eternity” may be somewhat elucidated by the following two verses of the Hymn to Osiris in Room V<sup>41</sup>: “who raised up Eternity, when he encircled the lands with his arms; who fashioned Truth (Maat) and abolished Falsehood, when he assumed the throne of Atum”<sup>42</sup>—if it is assumed that the last two verses stand in complementary parallelism with the first two. To show how these ideas may be correlated in a wider context, and to add some remarks, I quote in extenso the hymn to Osiris in Room V,<sup>43</sup> which I translated and discussed in ZÄS 108, pp. 141ff.

- A. Hail to you, Osiris, Lord of Eternity,  
 King of the Two Lands, chief of the River-Lands;  
 Perfect ruler, (well beloved),  
 Great of sweetness in the body of Nut, beloved of (his father, when he  
 appeared);  
 Kingly Youth who wore the White Crown,  
 Who came forth from the womb with uraei on his head.

Who created light in the body of his mother,  
 When he illumined his brothers in the womb;

The eternally youthful who raised up Eternity,  
 When he encircled the lands with his arms;  
 Who fashioned Truth and abolished Falsehood,  
 When he assumed the throne of Atum.

B. The august (god) who inaugurated offerings,  
 (Beautiful of) face (with long beard),  
 (The golden one), with lapis-lazuli colored (head):  
 What he loves (is) that (all) might behold (him).

The eldest, first born (son) of Geb (was he)  
 When he took possession of the lands in triumph;  
 King of Heaven, ruler of the lands, great sovereign in the Underworld.  
 Lord of life who repelled his Enemy,  
 When his Bas took possession of all men.  
 Gleaming child, he is inundating water,  
 Being born on the First of the Year.

Come, truly great, joyful and rejoicing,  
 Be gracious to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy;  
 He is Horus,  
 Repel all evil from him.

In the same year in which this translation appeared, E. Graefe published an admirable work<sup>44</sup> that contains yet another version of this hymn to Osiris dating to the first part of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty; this version is engraved on a statue of Osiris in the Louvre, and it comprises almost the entire first part of the hymn quoted above.<sup>45</sup> Graefe's translation is virtually the same as mine, with the exception of the last lines with which the hymn ends; these he translates:

Der (schon) leuchtete im Leibe seiner Mutter,  
 als er sein Heiligtum erhellte am Leibe der Ewigkeit,  
 Sich-Verjüngender, der die Ewigkeit hochhebt mit . . .  
 . . . in Frieden.

(Here the parallelism with the Philae, as well as other versions, ends.)<sup>46</sup> While Graefe's reading *snwt*, "Heiligtum," instead of *snw*, "brothers" (here in the meaning "Geschwister"), as the Philae and the other versions have it, may be defensible, the occurrence of the phrase *ḥḥ rnpy wts nḥḥ* as an inseparable unit in the last strophe of Hymn II suggests that in the hymn to Osiris, too, these words are to be taken as a verse unit and translated "The eternally youthful (or: the Eternal One Rejuvenating himself), who raised up Eternity."<sup>47</sup> As to the phrase *wts nḥḥ*, "who raised up Eternity," given the context of the hymn in Room V, it is possible that the theologian-poet intended to elucidate the meaning of this phrase by the following verses "who fashioned Truth (Maat) and abolished Falsehood (*ms m³t sḥtm is*), when he assumed the throne of Atum," another accomplishment of Os-

iris as a terrestrial ruler. If so, *ms m<sup>3</sup>t* would here stand in complementary parallelism with *wts nhḥ*. In the Coffin Texts Spell 80, the goddess Tefēnet is interchangeably referred to as *dt*-Eternity (her brother Shu being *nhḥ*-Eternity) and as Maat. It is also possible that the theologian-poet may have considered *wts nhḥ* to be somewhat analogous to *wts m<sup>3</sup>t*.<sup>48</sup> This is an epithet of a king or a god (*Wb.* I, 383, 14–15) who by “raising up Maat” guarantees that the harmony of the universe and social order has been maintained. One has to admit, however, that the precise meaning of *wts nhḥ* remains unknown. Graefe thinks that the damaged text of the Louvre statuette which he discussed might have read *wts nhḥ* [m cwy.f], “who raised up Eternity with his arms,” and equates Eternity with Heaven.<sup>49</sup> This is theoretically possible. But even if his restoration is accepted, his translation could not apply to the other, well-preserved versions of this hymn, like that of Philae, in which the text is arranged differently; it would also disturb the poetical structure of this strophe of the hymn.

The reference to Osiris in Hymn II and in the hymn in Room V complement each other; among other things, they both stress the royal character of Osiris, his victory over his enemies, his roles as a beneficent provider of the land and as an organizer of the temple ritual, as one who established Maat throughout the Two Lands.

In view of the universal character of Osiris’ dominion, it is questionable whether the reference to him as “the ruler of the living (*ḥk<sup>3</sup> n ‘nhw*)” which occurs in some hymns,<sup>50</sup> including the hymn of Sobekiri, is to be explained as pertaining to his rule of the dead, here euphemistically called “the living.” Although in some instances that may be the case, especially when that expression is more closely defined, or when the context demands such an explanation,<sup>51</sup> it seems that in the hymn of Sobekiri the same tripartite division of the universe is observed; Osiris is said to be “Sovereign of the gods, great Power of Heaven, ruler of the living, king of those-who-are-beyond.” One could arrange these epithets as a “couplet”: *ity ntrw shm ʿn pt, ḥk<sup>3</sup> ‘nhw nsu ntyw-im* and argue that the first line refers to the celestial power of Osiris, and is paralleled by the second which describes Osiris’ rule of the Netherworld. It is to be mentioned, however, that some New Kingdom variants do not support such an interpretation;<sup>52</sup> but, more importantly, it seems that the context that stresses the universal power of Osiris over a tripartite universe does not favor the meaning of *‘nhw* as “the dead.” Certainly, the parallelism of the two verses would not represent an objection to the meaning of *‘nhw* as the terrestrial inhabitants. Similar references are found in the hymn to Osiris in Room V of the Temple of Isis, in which the god is said to be “King of Heaven, ruler of the lands, great sovereign in the Netherworld,”<sup>53</sup> in which the word “the lands” is substituted for “the living.” J. Assmann sees in the epithet “ruler of the living” a reference to Osiris’ power over the living, since all of them must come to him.<sup>54</sup> This is certainly true, and it is clearly stated in the hymn of Sobekiri as well as in other Osirian hymns. I would like to add that Osiris is “ruler of the living” not only because all have to come to him, “men, gods, akhu, and the dead,” “all that exists and that does not exist,”<sup>55</sup> but because the universal dominion of Osiris necessarily includes the living on earth as well.<sup>56</sup> After all, the fully osirianized dead aspires to the same ideal: “Grant that I may be an Akh in



heaven, powerful on earth, justified like the Lords of the Netherworld.”<sup>57</sup> In this respect the words of the great hymn of the Louvre stela C 286 seem to me unequivocal; if the verses of the strophe are properly grouped, as they are in Assmann’s translation,<sup>58</sup> there seems to be no doubt that they refer to Osiris’ celestial and terrestrial dominion, and not to that of Horus mentioned in the preceding lines, as Moret thought.<sup>59</sup>

4. As emerges from Hymn II, as well as the older hymns, Osiris is hardly a passive deity, and he is much more than the god of the Netherworld. He is a kingly figure, a *dieu combattant*, a beneficent deity, associated in a very special way, if not even identified, with the inundation waters and the benefits that they bring to the land. And yet, in this same Hymn II, he is also a quiescent deity; he is said to be at Biggeh, the place where his tomb is situated, the Abaton, and Isis is there with him as “one who protects her brother and watches over the weary-of-heart,” where, as the later texts explain, she visits him every ten days to offer libations to him.<sup>60</sup> In a similarly static role as a beneficent deity, Osiris, as a temple-dwelling numinous power, is said to be “the supreme overseer of the Golden Ones,” that is, of the golden images of the deities resting in the temples. It indeed looks as if the poet was envisioning the god as manifesting himself in his many aspects in a tripartite universe, fluid, without any strongly marked demarcation lines: the living figure of the god imperceptibly passing from the world of the dead into the world of the living and into the celestial sphere. With this peculiar concept of the universe a no less peculiar concept of time is associated: Osiris, the primeval god and mythical god-king, is acting in the now-existing time; a living deity, he is the spouse of Isis and the father of his mythical son Horus, but, at the same time, he is also the father of the living king, the living Horus; independent of nature, ruler of the land, he is closely associated with the phenomena of nature and may even be identified with them; lord of eternity and of the universe, he is resting in his tomb, and is numinously present in the temples of the land. Without elaborating in any way, L. Kákosy seems to have had a felicitous though inchoate idea when he said that Osiris from his realm in the Netherworld “greift zuweilen auch in die irdischen Ereignisse ein.”<sup>61</sup>

It is indeed a hard task to try to gain a deeper insight into this multifariousness of Osirian functions and the concept of the universe and time against which they are projected. The actions of the god-king and ruler of Heaven, earth, and the Netherworld are effectively realized and perpetuated in time conceived as a homogeneous whole, in which past, present, and future, infused with mythical relations, are inseparably connected, and thus, from the creation of the world to its end, merged with and within eternity. Such a concept of time was experienced by the theologian-poet as an eternal present. What may be thought to have occurred in the past is perpetuated in the present and will be so in the future, which thus has already been completed. And this is not a mere literary or theological or philosophical fiction without any serious impact on the people and their land: the order and harmony, and the very existence of the world, depends on the continued action of the god in the present time and the assurance that he will be acting in the future. Osiris continues and will continue destroying his enemies and

maintaining the social and moral order that he once established. This energizing role of the god manifests itself in various forms and places, but it also emanates, in a lesser degree of intensity, from his tomb and from the temples in which he presides over other deities.<sup>62</sup> Ritual and festivals, hymns and prayers continually drew him back into present time, close to human beings, to their experiences, and to their aspirations for salvation. Even if he had once lived among men—which is impossible to prove—he no longer belonged to history but had become a living myth; consequently those who narrated his actions paid little attention to chronology. No wonder, then, that frequently, in translating his hymns, one finds it difficult to decide whether a participial form, which describes some of his actions or attributes, is to be translated as referring to a past or present action of the god—“one who established Maat,” or “one who establishes Maat.” For the uninitiated of limited horizons, that may present a problem; for an Egyptian theologian-poet, with his peculiar concept of time and the universe, the problem never existed.

## HYMN III

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall (see pl. 14 and fig. 4; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, pp. 62f., tabl. III; Berlin Philae Photograph 1033).

In this and the following Hymn IV, the king is reciting the hymn before a standing Isis; in the middle and upper registers, the goddess is seated on a throne. Unlike Hymns I and II, in Hymns III and IV each strophe is not fully contained within a vertical column of inscription, but continues from one column to the next.

The vertical inscription behind the king reads: "Son of Re, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, giver of life, that he may see your beautiful face; give him all the lands in obeisance, forever."<sup>1</sup>

The king recites:

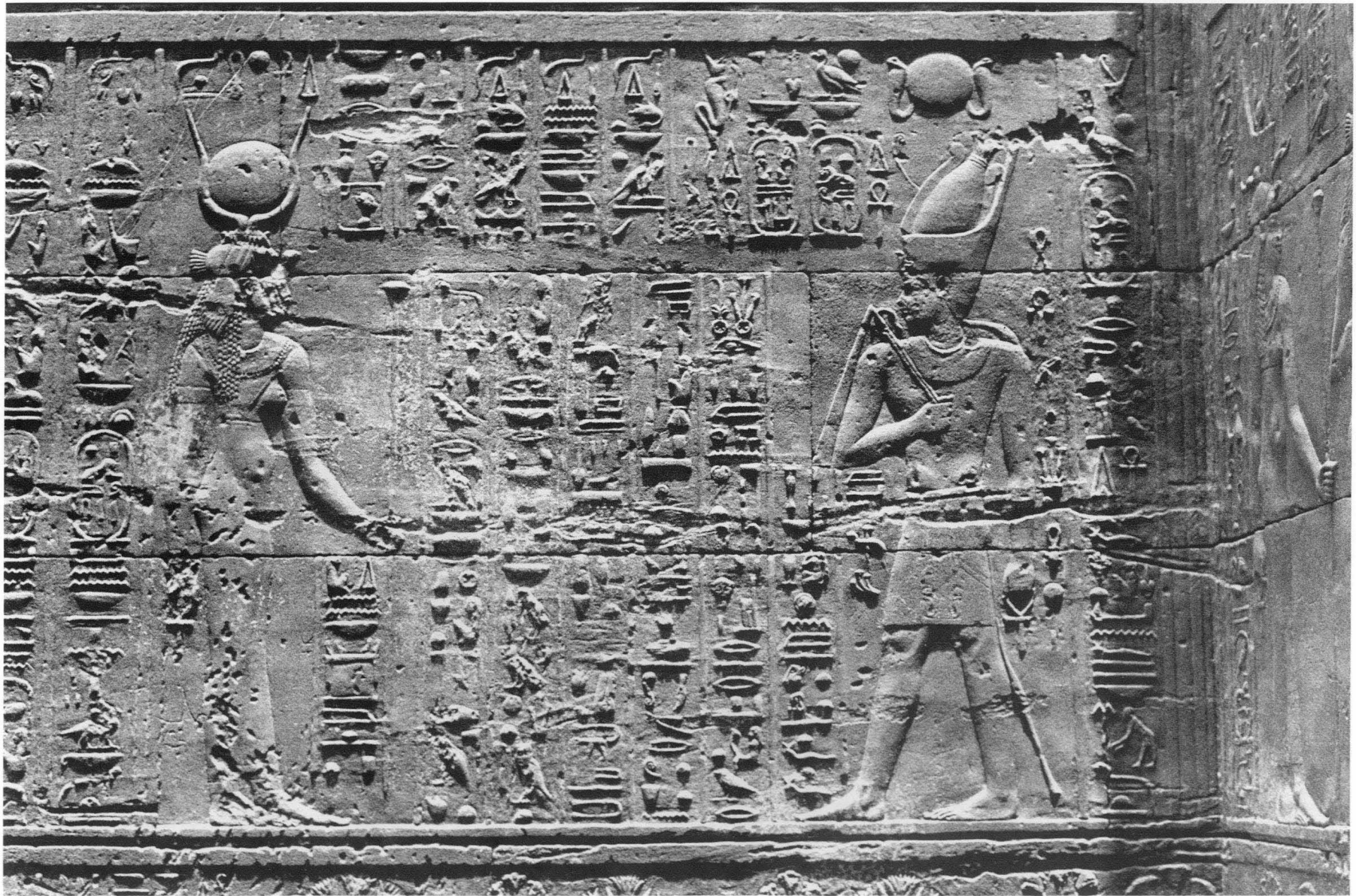


PLATE 14. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, lower register, scene on the right, Hymn III



FIGURE 4

ꜥst wrt mwt-nꜥr nb(t) ꜥIw-rꜥ  
 Hmt-nꜥr dwꜥt-nꜥr dꜥrt-nꜥr<sup>2</sup>  
 Mwt-nꜥr hmt-nsu wrt  
 Skrt nb(t) hꜥkrw ꜥht

ꜥIgp(t) wrh ꜥht m shꜥd.s  
 Šꜥrꜥt bnr(t) mrwt hꜥnwt n(t) šmꜥw mhꜥw  
 ꜥIr(t) mdw m-hꜥnw Psꜥdt  
 Sšm.tw<sup>5</sup> hr st-r.s

Nb(t) ꜥbw ꜥhꜥt  
 ꜥImty mhꜥ ꜥht m nfrw.s  
 ꜥIdt ꜥht<sup>3</sup> hꜥnwt ršwt(?)<sup>4</sup>  
 ꜥIty(t) gst m st-nꜥtry(t)

ꜥIryt-pꜥt wrt-hꜥswt nb(t) iꜥmt  
 Hnms(t) hꜥnt.s tftf m ꜥntyw wꜥꜥd

## TRANSLATION

O Isis, the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae,  
 God's Wife, God's Adorer, and God's Hand,<sup>6</sup>  
 God's mother and Great Royal Spouse,  
 Adornment<sup>7</sup> and Lady of the Ornaments of the Palace.

Lady and desire of the green fields,<sup>8</sup>  
 Nursling who fills the palace with her beauty,  
 Fragrance of the palace, mistress of joy,<sup>9</sup>  
 Who completes her course in the Divine Place.<sup>10</sup>

Rain-cloud that makes green the fields when it descends,<sup>11</sup>  
 Maiden, sweet of love, Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt,  
 Who issues orders among the divine Ennead,  
 According to whose command one rules.<sup>12</sup>

Princess, great of praise, lady of charm,<sup>13</sup>  
 Whose face enjoys the trickling of fresh myrrh.

In the legend above the hymn, Isis "the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae, residing at *Hwt-hꜥnt*,<sup>14</sup> giver of life, like Re, forever," speaks to Ptolemy: "I instill the fear of you throughout the land; I have given you all the lands in peace; I instill the fear of you among the foreign countries."<sup>15</sup> In the legend below her left hand, Isis says: "I have given you the 'Meret' in peace."<sup>16</sup> In the vertical column of inscription behind her figure, the goddess rewards the king's devotion to her with the words: "How beautiful is this which you have done for me, my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of Diadems, Ptolemy; I have given you this land, joy to your 'Bas' forever."<sup>17</sup>

## COMMENTARY

Hymn III, like Hymns V and VI, is fully centered on Isis. The emphasis, however, is no longer on her familiar role as the sister and wife of Osiris and the mother of the child Horus, as in Hymns I and II, but on her particular relation to

the royal palace and temple. A beloved princess, the first among the gods, she is also a beneficent goddess of nature.

As has already been observed in the notes to the translation, her role in the palace and the temple is described with terms derived from the well-known aulic phraseology and that of the priestly functions of the "Divine Adorers." In the palace and temple, two symbols of power and unity, Isis reigns supreme. It is possible that the phrase "according to whose command one (that is, the king) rules," may even have served as a model phrase for a variety of similar expressions that are recorded at Philae and elsewhere and that occur from the early Ptolemaic to the Roman Period; while some of them are also attributed to other deities, they are associated more frequently with Isis.<sup>18</sup> As E. Otto stated,<sup>19</sup> the basic idea of the complete dependence of the royal election and office upon the will of the god can be traced back to the oracular texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty; the frequency of occurrence and the variety of application of such phrases in the Ptolemaic-Roman inscriptions<sup>20</sup> reveal a particular aspect of the complex idea of kingship, the various components of which G. Posener was able to distinguish in his study *De la divinité du pharaon* (Paris, 1960), a study that Otto has carried further into the Ptolemaic-Roman Period in his work *Gott und Mensch* (Heidelberg, 1964).

One of the pleasantly surprising features of this hymn (see n. 9) is the way in which the theologian-poet succeeded in playing with the double meaning of the word *ḥt*, "the palace," which, either by itself or with qualifying adjectives, can also mean "the temple." There is no doubt that the context of the whole hymn demands that the word *ḥt* be taken in its first meaning of "the palace"; Isis is closely associated with the kingship and the royal palace, of which she is "the adornment" and "the fragrance." It is significant that the epithets of Isis in Hymn III ("Great Royal Spouse, sweet of love, Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt, Princess, Lady of charm") and Hymn VII ("Mistress of women") are all titles of the queens, well attested in the Middle and, especially, the New kingdoms.<sup>21</sup> Yet references to her as "God's Wife, God's Hand, God's Adorer, Princess, Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt," together with those of "the adornment," "the fragrance," "mistress of joy," and "Lady of charm," remind us of the epithets of the Divine Spouses of Amun in their priestly function (see nn. 9 and 13), and the meaning of *ḥt* as "the temple" corresponds well to such phrases, which glorify Isis as God's Wife and High Priestess. This interweaving of the two meanings of *ḥt*, the harmonious fusion of the two main functions of Isis in relation to the palace and the temple, which permeates the entire hymn, distinguishes it as good poetry.

But there is even more to the poetic character of this hymn. Isis is not only the princess among gods and men, adorned with the epithets of the High Priestess; she is also the goddess of nature, and here the poet used some fine imagery rarely found in the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic-Roman Period; she is "lady and desire of the green fields," and "the rain-cloud that makes green the fields when it descends." Some similar phrases expressing the vivifying power of a deity over nature can be found in older texts. Griffiths has recently discussed such a text, quoting from *Pyr.* §965 a-b: "It is Sothis, thy (Osiris) daughter whom thou lov-

est, who has made thy fresh plants (*rnptwt.k*) in this her name of Year (*rnpt*).”<sup>22</sup> More examples of such phraseology can be found in the hymns of the New Kingdom; thus, for example, in the Berlin hymn to Ptah, it is said that this god is “one who founded the Two Lands, mountains and deserts, and who makes them green with the water that comes from heaven”<sup>23</sup>—an idea of the rain as the celestial Nile that occurs in the Amarna and other hymns to the sun-god to which Assmann has recently referred.<sup>24</sup> A reference to the same idea, perhaps even closer to the text of Hymn III, is found in the great hymn to the Nile. There a glossator, as Barucq and Daumas suggested,<sup>25</sup> or perhaps the poet himself inserted, after the words “who satisfies desert upland, and pathway, and water’s edge,” a parenthetical reference addressed to the Nile: “The very rain, it falls from heaven on account of him.”<sup>26</sup> Otto discussed similar phrases<sup>27</sup> from the Ptolemaic-Roman Period attributing a vivifying power over nature to various gods, to which further examples can be added; thus, for example, in a hymn at Esna, Khnum is referred to as the “Lord of fields, who makes his domain in the meadow. . . . He made plants in the field, he dotted the shores with flowers, he made fruit trees bear their fruit, to fill the needs of men and gods.”<sup>28</sup> References to the vivifying power of Isis over nature occur not only here in Hymn III, where they are expressed in a more poetical form than anywhere else, but also in the following Hymn IV; they are the oldest such references to Isis in the Ptolemaic temple inscriptions. As will also emerge from the following pages, the hymnic phraseology of the temple of Isis constitutes the closest link between Ptolemaic hymnology and that of dynastic times.

With regard to the last line of the hymn, it is well known that the verb *tftf* occurs in similar phrases in other Ptolemaic temples,<sup>29</sup> where it always indicates “the dripping” or “the trickling” of myrrh and other unguents from the hair of deities.<sup>30</sup> Although its occurrences in Hymn III at Philae is, to my knowledge, the earliest of the Ptolemaic Period, it is probable that, as Derchain pointed out,<sup>31</sup> this phrase, too, was known to the poet from some older texts. The word *hnt* (written *hntt*), translated as “the face,” has a hair determinative, and appropriately so, since there is no doubt that this ritual usage of *tftf* originated in the Egyptian practice of placing upon the head, on special occasions, cones of myrrh and other aromatic substances, which, slowly melting, trickled down in the hair and face spreading a fragrant odor among assembled guests.<sup>32</sup> This phrase of Hymn III applies well to the scene of the offering of myrrh represented in the left uppermost register of the same north wall of the Sanctuary, in which it is said that Osiris is in joy “when Ptolemy covers for you [Isis] your head with the unguent [myrrh] which comes from Punt.”<sup>33</sup> The role that myrrh, incense, unguents, and various aromatic substances played in the cult and ritual was of great significance.<sup>34</sup> Much more than just creating a pleasant atmosphere for gods and men, such substances had the effect of propitiating the deities, of purifying them, of repelling evil influences from them, and of bestowing new vitality upon them, as exemplified by a text from Edfu, referred to by D. Meeks.<sup>35</sup> The text bears the title *šms ntyw*, “offering the myrrh,” and is followed by a recitation addressed to Hathor: “Myrrh belongs to your hair, hekenu-oil to your head, fresh and pre-



cious tjeḥenu-oil to your tresses: the richer you are in myrrh, the more repelled are your enemies; your face rejoices in unguents.”<sup>36</sup> As Meeks observed,<sup>37</sup> these beneficent effects extended also to the deceased, “who live on myrrh and incense on which the gods live,”<sup>38</sup> or, as a priest and musician of Hathor at Deir El-Bahri put it on his statue: “Place unguents on my brow and sermet-beverage to my mouth.”<sup>39</sup>



## HYMN IV

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall (see pls. 3, 15–16 and fig. 5; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, p. 63, tabl. III; Berlin Philae Photograph 1034).

As in Hymn III, the king is reciting the hymn before a standing Isis; while doing so, he is pouring water from a jar in accordance with the border inscription behind him, which reads: “The Son of Re, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, bringing to you this pure water, which comes forth from Biggeh, and which gives life forever.”<sup>1</sup> The text of the hymn begins with the first long vertical line in front of Isis:



PLATE 15. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, lower register, scene on the left, Hymn IV



FIGURE 5



PLATE 16. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, detail of pl. 15

ʒst di(t) ʿnh hr(yt)-ib ʾBt-wʿbt Stt hnw̄t Snmw̄t<sup>2</sup>

Nts sti Hʿpy

ʾIri ʿnh hrw-nb shpr wʒdwʒd<sup>3</sup>

Rd̄it htpw-n̄tr (n) n̄trw

Prt-m-hrw (n) ʒhw

Hr-nty nts nb(t) pt

T̄ʒy.s m nb Dwʒt

S̄ʒ.s m nb t̄ʒ

T̄ʒy.s m wʿb rnp̄i.f m Snmw̄t r tr.f

Nts nb(t) pt t̄ʒ Dwʒt

Hr shpr.sn n km̄ʒ(t).n ib.s m ir(t.n)<sup>4</sup> ʿwy.s

B̄ʒ<sup>5</sup> pw nty m niwt nb(t)

Wp-hr.s hn̄c s̄ʒ.s Hr sn.s Wsr̄

### TRANSLATION

Isis, giver of life, residing in the Sacred Mound, Satis, Lady of Biggeh:  
She is the one who pours out the Inundation<sup>6</sup>  
That makes all people live and green plants grow,<sup>7</sup>  
Who provides divine offerings for the gods,  
And invocation-offerings for the Transfigured Ones.<sup>8</sup>

Because she is the Lady of Heaven,  
Her man is the Lord of the Netherworld,  
Her son is the Lord of the Land;<sup>9</sup>  
Her man is the pure water,<sup>10</sup> rejuvenating himself at Biggeh at his time.<sup>11</sup>

(Indeed), She is the Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld,<sup>12</sup>  
Having brought them into existence<sup>13</sup> through what her heart conceived and  
her hands created,<sup>14</sup>  
She is the “Bai”<sup>15</sup> that is in every city,  
Watching<sup>16</sup> over her son Horus and her brother Osiris.

In the legend above the hymn, Isis “the Great, God’s mother, Lady of Philae, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods, the beloved, giving life like Re,”<sup>17</sup> speaks to Ptolemy: “I have given you to smite him-who-plans-(evil?); I have given you all flat lands and all foreign lands; I have given you victory to the four corners of the earth.”<sup>18</sup> In the legend below her right hand holding the scepter, Isis says: “I place your name amongst those of the famous kings; there is no lack of what you have conquered.”<sup>19</sup> In the vertical border inscription behind her figure, Isis gratefully acknowledges what Ptolemy has done for her and reciprocates his devotion to her with the words: “How beautiful is this that you have done for me, my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, I have given you the land as serfdom of your Ka, forever.”<sup>20</sup> Here, too, the two median inscriptions that separate the two scenes complement each other. In the one that refers to the scene on the right (Hymn III), Isis is said to have given to the king “this land (as) joy to your Bas, forever,” the Bas indicating here the manifestation of the full personality of the king, not only his might, power, glory, or punitive power. The other inscription, which refers to the scene on the left (Hymn IV), speaks of

Isis, who has given to the king “the land as serfdom of your Ka, forever,” the Ka of the king indicating his other self, his living image represented in the reliefs of the Sanctuary. Thus the references to the Bas and the Ka of the king, both referring to the living king, complement each other and enhance the idea of the presence and mutual relationship of the king and the goddess in the Sanctuary.

A feature that distinguishes this hymn from the preceding ones is that, with the exception of the first line, in which Isis is addressed in the second person, the entire hymn is written in the third person. Such a stylistic form is known from older hymns; thus, in the Leiden hymns to Amun, in some chapters the god is addressed in the second person, in others, in the third, and in still others, in both the second and the third.<sup>21</sup> The hymns to Mut on a Ramesside stela in the British Museum refer to the goddess almost entirely in the third person.<sup>22</sup> In his study of the hymns to the sun-god, Assmann has pointed out that, depending on the purpose for which it is being used, one and the same hymn can be expressed in the second or third person. Thus a hymn in the Ritual of Amenophis I<sup>23</sup> is, according to Assmann, a choral song (*Chorlied*) expressed in the third person, while the same hymn used in the Theban tombs for a funerary purpose is expressed in the second person. I shall discuss further this diversity of stylistic forms in the Commentary to Hymn V. As far as Hymn IV is concerned, it seems that it was intended to be a choral hymn. Having addressed Isis with the antiphon-like first verse of the hymn, the officiating priest representing the king joins the chorus of his assistants in the recitation of the preeminent titles and highest functions of the goddess. As I mentioned at the beginning of Hymns I and II, it is probable that the horizontal line surmounting five vertical lines of each of those hymns is a refrain that was to be repeated by the chorus after each strophe recited by the officiating priest. In contradistinction to that, Hymn IV is a choral hymn recited in unison by the officiant soloist and the chorus of his assistants; it is the highest point of the eulogy of Isis, and for that reason—contrary to the now generally accepted opinion that the texts of the lower registers are to be read first—was probably recited as the last of the four hymns of the north wall.

#### COMMENTARY

If, in the preceding hymns, Isis was extolled as the divine mother and spouse, the lady of the palace, and the goddess of nature, here she appears as a universal supreme deity: she is the creator of the universe and providential sustainer of all life. A few brief comments will further elucidate what has already emerged from the reading of the hymn.

It is interesting to observe how the theologian-poet always found new ways to confirm Isis in her role of supreme deity. As elsewhere at Philae, her spouse, Osiris, and her son Horus are intimately associated with her and in their many capacities share in her power and prerogatives. In this hymn too, Isis, “Lady of Heaven,” shares her dominion with her spouse, her “man,” Osiris, to whom the rule of the Netherworld is ascribed, a rule that extends also over the annual inundation of the Nile; she shares her sovereignty with her son Horus, who rules the



land of Egypt. Thus the whole tripartite universe is ruled by the divine triad Isis-Osiris-Horus. And yet at no time did the theologian-poet forget that it was Isis whom he wanted to extol above all other deities. To show her preeminent role and her unique position in her Sanctuary at Philae, he resorted to two theological associations, and he succeeded admirably in his speculative effort. True, Isis shares the rule of the universe with her spouse and her son; yet, in her Sanctuary, she is truly the “Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld,” because she created them. As if to make absolutely clear what he meant, the theologian-poet applied to Isis the well-known, centuries-old terminology associated with the creator-god Ptah and with other creator-gods: she brought the world into existence “through what her heart conceived and her hands created.”<sup>24</sup> It is true that in other instances at Philae, and in the very same Temple of Isis, in Room VII, Osiris too is said to be the “Lord of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld”; that is in agreement with what was said in the Commentary to Hymn II about Osiris’ universal power. One should not forget, however, that Hymn IV represents the climactic point of the eulogy of Isis, a moment when she alone, the only creator and sustainer of the universe, reigns supreme in her Sanctuary. Thus what may appear to be a contradiction in the application of the same terms to more than one deity is simply an emphatic and culminating point of the ritual recitation inspired by the devotion to the goddess.

This supreme creative deity is also the providential mother; she is responsible for the annual inundation of the Nile, and she maintains in existence the world that she has created. In her association with the Nile, Isis has assumed the role of “pouring out” the life-giving inundation; she is the one who nourishes gods, men, and the glorified dead, a function attributed otherwise at Philae, and elsewhere, to Osiris, and sometimes to other gods (see chap. 3, n. 28), and in the Book of the Dead, at least partly, also to some semidivine or personified beings (see n. 8).

In concluding this hymn to Isis, the poet did not forget her ancient and most familiar role as a mother and wife, who protects her son Horus but is apparently even more anxious about her brother and spouse, Osiris—the latter being a motif that, independently of the former, recurs in Hymns II, V, and VI. This double function Isis exercises as a *b3*, which here, even in its singular form, connotes a potentially punitive power of the goddess; in this rare meaning, like the plural *b3w* discussed in note 5, it may be derived from or associated with its homonym, *b3*, “leopard, panther,” with the sign of which it is indeed written: Isis’ protection of her son and brother-husband is rendered more effective by her capability to manifest her power as a vengeful goddess.

With the exception of the two legends of the base (*soubassement*), which complete the procession of the “Niles,” and which I will discuss at the end of the Commentary to Hymn VI, Hymn IV completes the texts of the north wall of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis. I wish to end this discussion of the first four hymns with a brief appreciation of the remarkable richness and significance of the entire north wall. It is a masterpiece of composition and execution, in which six scenes, organized in three pairs of complementary and parallel reliefs, form, in all their variety of detail, a harmonious whole. In spite of the injuries inflicted

by time and man, there is an aura of tranquil dignity and beauty about these figures rendered alive by the power of the written word. It is not just an aid to ritual recitation that a learned or curious visitor to the Sanctuary sees engraved on this wall, but an expression of sincere piety, hidden and almost lost under the unavoidable conventional formulas; a glimpse into the religious psyche of a very ancient culture, which, in its last centuries, could still assert itself with amazingly genuine vitality. To be sure, as the discussion has shown, much of what is said in these hymns had been repeatedly said before, but not in quite the same manner, nor with the same poetical insight. What also seems to emerge from them is an expression of trust in the great goddess, who alone could allay political and social uncertainties still lingering in the native mind, even after the Ptolemies had been adopted into the Egyptian theological doctrine of the divine kingship; it is also a vivid picture of a particular moment of the ritual of the Sanctuary of the Lady of Heaven, a moment caught, as it were, and arrested in stone for all eternity.

## HYMN V

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, south wall (see pls. 17 and 4 and fig. 6; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, p. 58, tabl. III; Berlin Philae Photographs 1037–38).

The hymn is arranged in six vertical lines of text on the right, west jamb of the inner doorway. The beginning of the hymn introduces the king “adoring his mother Isis”:



PLATE 17. Temple of Isis, Room X, south wall,  
west jamb of the inner doorway, Hymn V

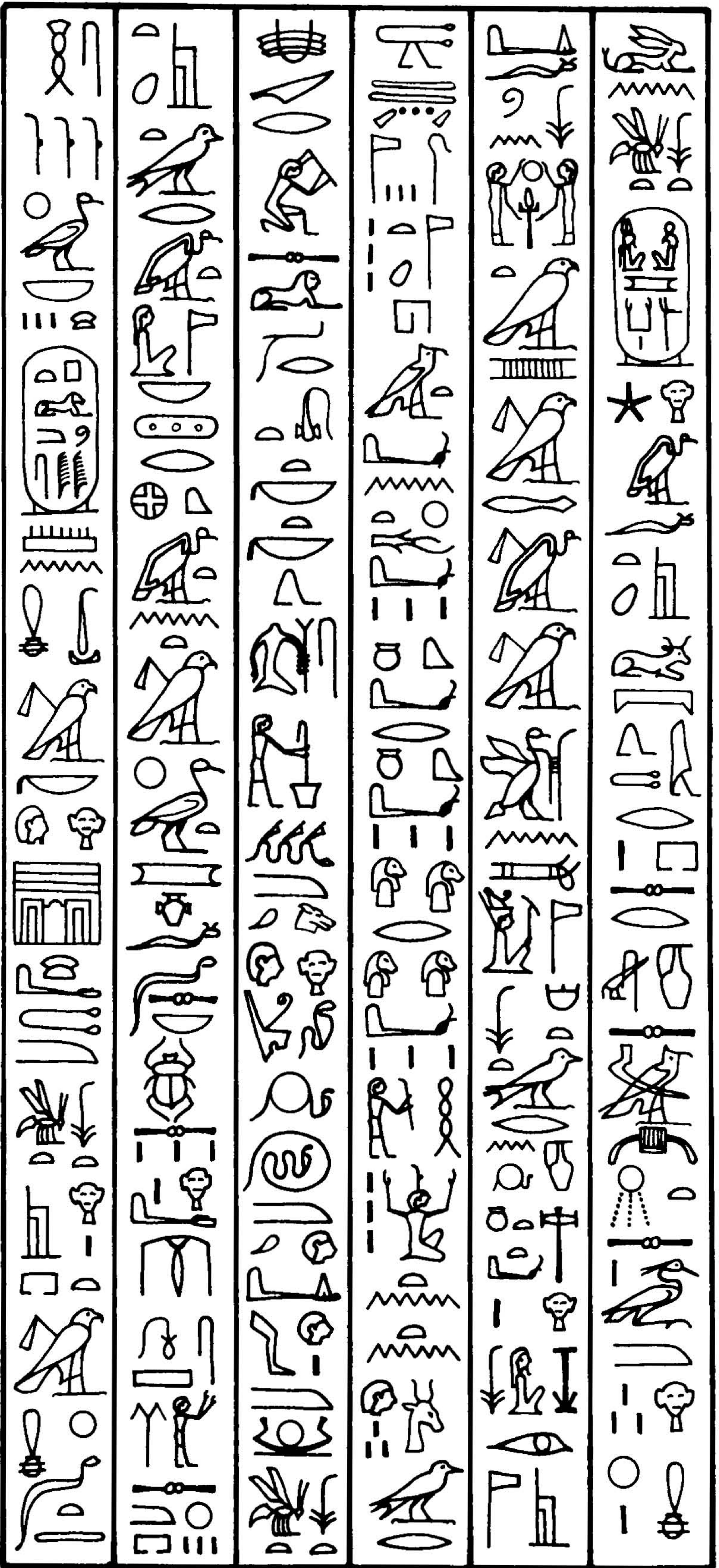


FIGURE 6

Wn nsw-bitì Wsr-k³-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-²Imn hr dw³ mwt.f ³st nbt pt

²lì.t r pr.s r hnm sšmw.s  
M³wt.s b<sup>c</sup>hì m hrw  
Mì R<sup>c</sup> di.f sw n¹ dw³w

Hrt mry(t) Hr<sup>³</sup>  
Mwt Hr km³(t) n ²Itm  
Hmt-nsu wrt hnm(t) n R<sup>c</sup>  
Ndtyt hr sn.s² Wsir

²Ity(t) t³wy  
Hk³(t) ntrw ntrwt  
H³t nhtw  
Kn(t) r knw phty(t) r phtyw  
Hw(t) hhw tntn(t) tp.w  
Wr(t) š<sup>c</sup>t r hfty.s

Nbt nsrt tktk(t) sbi<sup>w</sup>³  
Hws(t) ³pp m ³t.f  
Hry(t)-tp n R<sup>c</sup> mhnt m tp.f  
Di(t) tp-rd m wi³ nsw-bitì

³st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) ²Iw-rk  
Mwt nt Hr s³t (nt) R<sup>c</sup> mry(t) ib.f ds  
Nb(t) hprw.s hr<sup>c</sup> sh  
Sw³š(t) m shmw

Sw³h rnpwt (n) s³ R<sup>c</sup> nb h<sup>c</sup>w Ptlwmys  
Mn mi bik hr-tp srh  
H<sup>c</sup>.t m nsw-bitì hr st Hr  
Mì R<sup>c</sup> dt

### TRANSLATION

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usikare-meramun, adores his mother Isis, Lady of Heaven:

May she come<sup>4</sup> to her House to join her Image,  
Her radiance inundating the faces,<sup>5</sup>  
Like (the radiance of) Re when he shows himself in the morning.

The female Horus, beloved of the Great Horus,<sup>6</sup>  
Mother of Horus, created by Atum,<sup>7</sup>  
Great Royal Spouse, united with Re,<sup>8</sup>  
Who protects her brother Osiris.

Who took possession of the Two Lands,  
Ruler of gods and goddesses;  
Who attacks the powerful ones,  
Mightier than the mighty, stronger than the strong;  
Who smites millions (by) cutting off (their) heads,<sup>9</sup>  
Great of massacre against her Enemy.

Mistress of flame who assaults the rebels,  
Who slays Apopis in an instant,<sup>10</sup>  
Uraeus of Re,<sup>11</sup> the Coiled One upon his head,  
Who gives orders in the barque of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

O Isis, the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae,  
Mother of Horus, daughter of Re, beloved of his very heart,  
Lady of her appearances in the Sacred Tent,<sup>12</sup>  
Worshipped in (her) sanctuaries:

Make enduring the years of the Son of Re, Lord of the Crowns, Ptolemy,  
 Established like the Falcon upon the Serekh,<sup>13</sup>  
 May he gloriously appear<sup>14</sup> as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the  
 throne of Horus,  
 Eternally, like Re.

Below the text, Horus with his left hand extends the ankh sign toward the nostrils of the king, and with his right holds the king's left hand; the legend above Horus reads: "(Long live) Horus, son of Isis"; and the one above the king: "Son of Re, Lord of the Crowns, Ptolemy, given life like Re."

As I mentioned earlier, a stylistic feature characteristic of some hymns published here, as well as of some older Egyptian hymns,<sup>15</sup> and found also in Greek classical and Hellenistic hymns,<sup>16</sup> is the transition from the second to the third person,<sup>17</sup> or, as here in Hymn V, from the third to the second person.<sup>18</sup> One may be inclined to consider the initial invocation of Hymn V ("May she come to her House. . . .") as a refrain that was to be repeated after each of the first three strophes. However, unlike Hymn I and Hymn II, there is nothing in the structure of Hymn V or in its arrangement on the wall that would suggest that the initial invocation is a refrain. The initial invocation of Hymn VI, which is engraved on the opposite, east jamb of the inner doorway, is not a refrain either, but an integral part of the hymn, which is written entirely in the second person. Here, in Hymn V, the invocation is also an integral part of the hymn, and, like the first three strophes, it is expressed in the third person. It seems probable, as with Hymn IV, that the officiant soloist together with his assistants recited the entire hymn. The fourth strophe is expressed in the form of a vocative, that is, in the second person style; this strophe naturally leads to the last, fifth strophe, which is a prayer for the king addressed directly to Isis, and thus again is expressed in the second person.

#### COMMENTARY

The initial invocation of Hymn V, in which Isis is implored to come to her Sanctuary and, as is proper for a goddess of heaven, to spread her radiance upon those who invoke her, is, together with a similar invocation twice repeated in Hymn VI, a significant feature of these two hymns, and it will be discussed in the Commentary to Hymn VI.

The first strophe of Hymn V describes the goddess as endowed with extraordinary prerogatives: she is a celestial deity, beloved of the Great Horus, created by Atum; she is the Great Royal Spouse of Re and is his uraeus; she is the mother of her child Horus and protectress of her brother Osiris.

In the second and third strophes, the theologian-poet expatiates on two themes that he merely enunciated in the first: Isis as the protectress of her brother Osiris, and Isis as the uraeus of the sun-god. I will discuss the first of these two themes and the subsequent development of Isis' bellicosity in some detail, while the second will be treated more briefly.

1. In stressing the role of Isis as the protectress of Osiris, the poet resorted to some poignant phraseology that he had not made use of in the preceding hymns; as the ruler of Heaven and earth, unsurpassed in her power, the goddess attacks her enemies, and, cutting off their heads, performs a massacre among them. Though seldom, Isis does appear in the role of a warlike goddess in texts of the New Kingdom. Thus, for example, at the entrance of the chapel of Osiris in the Temple of Sethos I at Abydos,<sup>19</sup> Isis, called Wosret, “the Flame” or “the Fiery One,” addresses Osiris with the words “I have fought on the river of the Two Lands<sup>20</sup> in order to overthrow all your enemies.” Such texts, describing some particular feature of Isis in the role of the protectress of her brother, are, however, rare. More frequently, that function of the goddess is referred to in general and stereotyped terms.<sup>21</sup> Here, in Hymn V, the poet describes Isis in that role in more detail, characterizing her as a raging, warlike goddess.

The “Enemy” mentioned in the sixth line is undoubtedly Seth, and the whole strophe refers to the defeat of Seth and his accomplices. It is possible that this text alludes to the battle reenacted in the yearly dramatic-ritual combat, in which the neshmet-barque of Osiris was involved, as described on the well-known stela of Ikhnofret of the time of Sesostris III of the Twelfth Dynasty. Isis is not mentioned in that stela; however, as Griffiths observed,<sup>22</sup> in the final chant of a later text,<sup>23</sup> which probably refers to the same event, it is said that “Isis the Great, God’s mother, is made triumphant over the wretched Seth and his accomplices.” What is to be stressed here is that the context of Hymn V, in which the description of Isis as a bellicose goddess is found, is wholly mythological, with only an implied reference to the king, Ptolemy II, who, as a living Horus, is associated with “his mother” Isis and participates in her triumph over Seth. However, this function of Isis was of far-reaching consequence for the subsequent development of this theme, and I wish briefly to pursue the main phases of this development.

A significant extension of the function of Isis as a bellicose deity occurred in the reign of Ptolemy III. In a hymn to her in the temple of Assuan built by Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV, she is referred to as “the vanguard of the army, residing at Assuan, who restrains the aggressor, protects the Black Land for her Horus, and subdues the foreign countries for the Lord of the Two Lands”;<sup>24</sup> she is thus “the potent protectress of *T3-mri*, and the mistress of all the lands.”<sup>25</sup> To be sure, in her temple at Assuan, just as elsewhere, Isis appears with her time-consecrated names and attributes; she is “Isis, the Great, God’s mother, First Royal Spouse of Onnophris, divine mother of Horus,” and so forth.<sup>26</sup> Her new title “the vanguard of the army (*h3t p3 mšc*),” however, was probably a response to a particular historical situation, from which it derived a more precise meaning. E. Bresciani suggested that it could well have been Ptolemy III who created this new form of Isis worshipped as “combattente in prima linea,” or “Isi alla testa dell’esercito,” since it was during the reign of this king that the Blemmyes began to present a threat to the southern border of Egypt.<sup>27</sup> Now, although the Blemmyes appear in the Greek sources already at the time of Theocritus (third century B.C.), and in the Egyptian, sporadically, considerably earlier,<sup>28</sup> there is no reference to them as a major threat at the time of Ptolemy III. As a matter of fact, if one assumes with B. G. Trigger that it was only after they had obtained camels



that they started their raids on the Nile inhabitants, they could have become a serious menace only in late Ptolemaic times.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, as will be seen from the following discussion, the threat from the south, recurring in one form or another, always had to be reckoned with. It is possible that, as Bresciani herself stated,<sup>30</sup> with the new title given to the goddess, Ptolemy III declared her to be his special protectress against the enemies of his kingdom, the restless Nubians in the south and the Seleucids in the northeast, against whom he conducted military campaigns. The new title of Isis may also have been intended to impress upon the potential internal enemies of Egypt the protective role that the goddess exercised on behalf of the king, called “her Horus.” In a very enlightening study of the history of the Egyptian revolutions under the Ptolemies, C. Préaux pointed to a certain political malaise, caused by the administrative abuses, desertions, discontent of the masses, and so on, alluded to in papyri and some other documents of the second half of the third century B.C.<sup>31</sup> Did Ptolemy III intend to warn the natives as well as the Greeks that he stood under the special protection of Isis, “the vanguard of the army”? What one observes here is that the mythological aspect of Isis’ bellicosity described in Hymn V took on a “historical” character, in that she was associated in a very special way with the office of the king. This close relationship of the bellicose goddess with the kingship is attested in hieroglyphic temple inscriptions, as well as in the demotic proskynemata studied by Bresciani,<sup>32</sup> throughout the Ptolemaic-Roman Period. It is also confirmed by some additional texts, which I will now discuss in chronological order.

Of special interest is a short inscription that accompanies a relief engraved on the lintel of the inner doorway of the Second Pylon at Philae,<sup>33</sup> which has been translated by several Egyptologists. In the relief, Ptolemy VIII is seen offering a *nḥnm*-vase to Khnum-Re and Hathor, while his wife, Cleopatra II or III, is addressing the king with the words *sn///mḥ ib.k n 3st 3ḥ.s(y) r ḥḥ mšc*.<sup>34</sup> Müller translated this text as: “Liebe (wortl.: fülle dein Herz mit) die Isis, denn nützlicher ist sie als eine Million Soldaten,”<sup>35</sup> and placed it in the same context with the inscription from the Temple of Isis at Assuan, “Isis in Syene, die an der Spitze des Heeres steht.”<sup>36</sup> Winter translated the inscription as: “(Mein geliebter) Bruder, erfülle dein Herz mit Isis, denn sie ist nützlicher als Millionen von Soldaten” and discussed it in the context of the weakening royal power and a stronger reliance on divine help.<sup>37</sup> Hornung translated part of this text that refers to Isis, “the helping deity,” as “nützlicher als Millionen von Soldaten” and placed it in the context of a call to Amun on the part of Ramesses II at the Battle of Qadesh.<sup>38</sup> Baines translated this phrase more precisely than others: “More effective (is the deity) than a million soldiers.”<sup>39</sup> In Griffiths’ book on Apuleius, the translation of this inscription appears on the front page: “(My dear) brother, delight your heart with Isis, for she is more splendid than millions of soldiers.”<sup>40</sup> Bresciani translated this text: “Ma Isi, essa è più utile di un milione di soldati,” with the observation that this inscription at Philae is modeled on earlier similar statements, such as the one referring to Amun in the Poem of the Battle of Qadesh.<sup>41</sup> The text of the Battle of Qadesh to which both Hornung and Bresciani refer is translated by Gardiner as: “I found Amun more useful than millions of infantry (than hundreds of thousands of chariotry and than a ten thousand of brothers and children united with

one heart.)”<sup>42</sup> I would like to make two brief observations with regard to the two texts. First, if the word *ꜥh* is translated as “efficient,” or, as Baines did, “effective,” which is in my opinion the basic meaning of this adjective-verb, a more satisfactory translation is obtained in both cases: “(My dear) brother, trust in Isis, she is more effective than millions of soldiers,” and “I found Amun (to be) more effective to me than millions of soldiers.” Certainly, in a “military” context, effectiveness or efficiency is what matters. Second, in view of what has been said thus far about the bellicose character of Isis, and in view of the following examples, which point to a continuing tradition of an even greater stress placed on this function of Isis, it seems that the two phrases “she is more effective than millions of soldiers” and “she is the vanguard of the army (or: at the head of the army)” express virtually the same idea, as Müller and Hornung thought. It appears, therefore, that no further meaning is to be sought in the words of Cleopatra to her husband beyond an exhortation to trust the powerful, bellicose goddess in any possible confrontation with his enemies. And yet it is difficult to comprehend fully why these words of Cleopatra, which extoll the power of Isis as a war-goddess, were inserted in this relief. The scene shows the king, wearing the White Crown, offering a *nḥnm*-vase to Khnum, accompanied by Hathor, with inscriptions that speak of the building and legal activities of the king, as one “who makes Egypt safe, who illumines the Two Shrines,<sup>43</sup> who establishes laws like Thoth twice-great, who eliminates what has become ruined and restores what is decayed, who pleases the gods in their dwellings.”<sup>44</sup> A somewhat better understanding of the words of Cleopatra in such a context can be gained from the view of the entire relief of the lintel, the right side of which, as always, parallels the left. In the right part of the scene, Ptolemy VIII, wearing the Red Crown and accompanied by Cleopatra shown in the same attitude as on the left side, offers incense to Osiris and Isis. The two vertical inscriptions closing the scene on the extreme right, and referring to the king, are identical with those on the extreme left just translated. Also, in full parallelism with the left part of the relief, there is a brief inscription below the elevated arm of Cleopatra; it reads: “(My dear) brother, trust in Isis, she is the mistress of men and women.”<sup>45</sup> Thus the two inscriptions complement each other; they point to the universal nature of Isis as the mistress of all mankind and, in a particular way, as a bellicose goddess, who is more powerful, more effective, than a whole army. The whole relief indicates that, while the king, in his capacity as a builder, legislator, protector of the land, high priest, and the only intermediary between the gods and man, is performing a double ritual before the gods of Philae, Cleopatra—*sotto voce*, as it were,—accompanies his actions with words of trust in the power of Isis, the preeminent deity of Philae. The fact that the words “Isis is more effective than millions of soldiers” occur on the left side of the relief, which is dedicated to Khnum and Hathor, does not present any serious difficulty, since Hathor—who, as will be seen from the following discussion, can also appear in the role of a bellicose goddess—is here, as in many other cases at Philae, identified with Isis. As I have already mentioned, Isis’ epithet as one who is “more effective than millions of soldiers” is close in meaning to her Assuan epithet “the vanguard of the army,” both stressing her effectiveness as a war-goddess. It is interesting to observe that, in

the Qadesh inscription, the reference to Amun as “more effective than millions of infantry, hundreds of thousands of chariotry” is followed by the statement that this god is also “more effective than a ten thousand of brothers and children united with one heart,” and “than hundreds of thousands of men” (see n. 42), pointing to the bellicose character of this god, who is also the universal lord of mankind.

The next reference to the bellicose Isis that I wish to discuss briefly is accompanied by longer explanatory legends and represents the goddess, together with the king, on such a gigantic scale and in such a heroic attitude as to appear the strongest affirmation of her warlike character in ancient Egyptian monumental iconography.<sup>46</sup> I am referring to the reliefs and legends of the south face of the First Pylon and the eastern and western walls of the Hypostyle Hall, engraved in the time of Ptolemy XII and Tiberius, respectively.

On the western tower of the First Pylon, Ptolemy XII is seen grasping a cluster of enemies by their topknots and smiting them with his mace-axe before Isis, Hathor, and Ha; on the eastern tower of the pylon, the same scene is depicted before Isis, Horus, Hathor, and Sopd.<sup>47</sup> The epithet of Isis of Assuan “the vanguard of the army” does not occur in the legends of these reliefs; however, the reference to the goddess and the attitude in which she appears fully reveal her character of a warlike deity. In the scene of the eastern tower, Isis, extending her arm with a curved sword (scimitar) toward the king, addresses him: “I place the awe of you among the sand-dwellers (*Hryw-š<sup>c</sup>*); the fear of you is great in their hearts; I give you the Black Land (Egypt), loyal to your majesty, and all the foreign countries as your serfs.”<sup>48</sup> Which foreign countries these are is stated more precisely in a legend seen next to the group of bound enemies engraved above the right foot of the king; they are the Nine Bows peoples, some mentioned specifically as *ʿIrtyw*, *Tḥnw*, *Hryw-š<sup>c</sup>* (mentioned for the second time), and *Mntyw*, all of them said to be vanquished and no longer existing.<sup>49</sup> This list of the foreign enemies is expanded in the vertical inscription behind the king by the addition of *ʿIwntyw*, *Styw*, and *H3w-nbwt*; they too are said to be massacred by the king.<sup>50</sup> These foreign peoples are enemies not only of the king, but of “his mother,” Isis<sup>51</sup> and of her brother Osiris<sup>52</sup> as well. Horus the Behdetite, Hathor, “Mistress of Biggeh and Foremost in Dendera,” and Sopd, the last represented on a smaller scale and with his arm extending a knife toward the king, bestow upon him the strength to annihilate his enemies.<sup>53</sup>

On the western tower of the pylon, the images and inscriptions of a similar scene of the king smiting his enemies before Isis, Hathor, and Ha are even more explicit in depicting the bellicose role of all three deities, and especially that of Isis. This goddess, called “the mighty, the foremost of the goddesses, daughter of Geb, the sun-goddess,<sup>54</sup> the primeval one,” identified with “Sakhmet, the fiery goddess,”<sup>55</sup> extends a curved sword toward the king with the words:

I cause your arms to be strong to smite your rebels,  
Your enemies are fallen under your soles;  
I give you the Nine Bows gathered in your fist,  
With your axe you have stricken them;

I let your mace (fall) upon the heads of your enemies,  
 In an instant you have smitten them;  
 I give you the power to overthrow your enemies,  
 While you are striking their heads with (your) scimitar;  
 I cause your strength to be as that of the raging lion,  
 Your power like my power;  
 I place for you North and South under your soles,  
 West and East in obeisance (to you)."<sup>56</sup>

Hathor, represented here on a smaller scale, extends a knife toward the king; she too is identified with "Sakhmet, the Great"; she is "the ruler of the *Tmḥw*-land," and "the living Horus Eye"; said to be "grasping the *Nḥsyw* by their hair," she protects the king against the rebellious foreigners and makes Egypt loyal to him.<sup>57</sup> Below Hathor, also represented as a smaller figure and extending a knife toward the king, the god of the West, *Hḥ*, "who drives his knife into the vile Asiatics (*Sttyw*), destroys *Ššsw*, seizes *Mntyw*, and performs massacre among *Fnhw*," bestows upon the king the power against all those who plan evil against him, and strengthens his arms against his enemies.<sup>58</sup> The king, shown as a colossal figure, and in a heroic attitude, executes the order of these deities. Likened to "Horus, who destroys those who attack him, who performs massacre among the enemies of his father,"<sup>59</sup> he annihilates the Nine Bows, collectively, and destroys *Tmḥw*, *Htyw-t3*, *Šhtyw-i3mw*, *Hryw-šc*, *S3tyw*, *Sttyw*, and *Mntyw* one by one.<sup>60</sup>

Now, there can be no doubt that this heroic performance of Ptolemy XII, as represented in the reliefs of the two towers of the First Pylon, is of a symbolic nature. Not only did Neos Dionysos never conduct any wars against the northern or southern enemies of Egypt, but the very existence of his reign totally depended on the recognition of Rome. One could therefore conclude that the reliefs of the First Pylon are not only of a symbolic character, but, historically speaking, purely fictitious; a meaningless repetition of the motif of the "King smiting his enemies," known from the earliest Egyptian royal monuments and, in a simplified form, from other small monuments, ostraca, and scarabs.<sup>61</sup> Such a conclusion, however, would be superficial and uncritical; it would hardly touch on the heart of the matter. Two intimately related points are to be discussed with regard to this: the first is the bellicose role that Isis exercises as the sovereign goddess of the land of Egypt as well as all foreign lands, and the second, the role of the king as the executor of the power of the goddess. E. Bevan, speaking of the reign of Ptolemy XII, finished by saying that this king was "to be remembered by Greeks and Romans with contempt, . . . a degenerate, masquerading as the young Dionysos. . . . But if we drew our knowledge of this man from Egyptian monuments, we should see some one portrayed like the great kings of old."<sup>62</sup> Indeed, if one consults the Egyptian sources, such as the Harris Stela BM 886,<sup>63</sup> one observes that on some important occasions of his reign, such as his coronation at Memphis, and the promotion of Psenptah III (*P3-šri-(n)-Pth*) to the rank of the High Priest of Ptah and Prophet of the Pharaoh, Ptolemy XII is described as acting in the manner of the great pharaohs of Egypt's native dynasties. In view

of the genuine character of the many details of the events described on the Harris Stela, and in the light of new studies that clarify the close relationship of the Ptolemies and the high priests of Memphis,<sup>64</sup> it appears that, to the very end of the Ptolemaic Period, the king performed important state functions according to the well-established traditional procedures and rituals. The representation of Ptolemy XII “smiting the enemies,” while symbolical, is not without historical significance, as has been recently asserted.<sup>65</sup> This statement, however, is to be more precisely qualified, and for that purpose a brief excursus into the earlier Ptolemaic Period at Philae may be useful.

In Room X of the Temple of Isis at Philae, this goddess is referred to as one “who repressed the vile *’Iwntyw* from the shores of Horus,”<sup>66</sup> and as one who gave to Ptolemy II all the lands, from the far north to the distant south, including Kenset and Ta-Seti (see chap. 1, n. 26). In my book on Apedemak,<sup>67</sup> I have discussed two lists of the Nubian and Meroitic nomes, one in Room I of the Temple of Isis of the time of Ptolemy II, and the other at the western doorway of the First Pylon dating to Ptolemy VI; although they are not identical, the latter list was very probably patterned on the former.<sup>68</sup> Speaking of the nature of political and commercial relations between Ptolemy II and the Meroites, I stated that Ptolemy II’s claim to have received from Isis all the lands from the far north to the distant south, and to have established his sovereignty over the Nubian and Meroitic nomes, was not entirely fictitious, although no serious scholar would ever state that Ptolemy II’s march into the Meroitic territory, or into “Ethiopia,” as Diodorus reported,<sup>69</sup> meant the subjugation of the south as far as Meroe. As C. Préaux, referring to Theocritus’ praise of Ptolemy II and his territorial possessions, judiciously and instructively put it, “Sans doute le poète exagère-t-il, mais dans quelle mesure?”<sup>70</sup> In the last years of Ptolemy IV, and especially during the reign of Ptolemy V (205–180 B.C.),<sup>71</sup> the relations between the Ptolemies and the Meroites, who seem to have supported the Egyptian rebels against Ptolemy V, were disrupted.<sup>72</sup> After the suppression of the rebellion, Ptolemy V and Ptolemy VI attempted to reassert their control over Nubia: Ptolemy VI established two towns within the territory of the Triakontaschoinos<sup>73</sup> between the First and Second cataracts. This attempted colonization of Nubia may be reflected in the longer list of Nubian and Meroitic nomes engraved in the doorway of the western entrance of the First Pylon. The “donation” of the southern nomes to Isis and other deities by Ptolemy VI—who, according to recent archaeological studies, appears to have been one of the most active builders at Philae<sup>74</sup>—was a statement of an ambitious political program expressed in traditional religious terms.<sup>75</sup> The pylon itself was very probably built by Ptolemy VI,<sup>76</sup> and served, in Derchain’s words, as a “powerful magical fortress,”<sup>77</sup> the purpose of which might have been to protect the southern border of Egypt—and, one may add, the Temple of Isis as well. This religio-political statement of Ptolemy VI is therefore historically significant, since it not only throws some light on a particular period of the history of Philae, but also reflects the political program of Philometor’s reign, a program that, as is well known, was never realized. As to the “fictitious” role performed by Ptolemy XII in the reliefs of the first Pylon—which may represent an expanded and highly dramatized version of the subjugation of the foreign enemies recorded during the

reign of Ptolemy VIII on the columns of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Isis at Philae<sup>78</sup>—it would appear that the same seriousness and purposefulness observed in the representations of the same motif in some reliefs of the late New Kingdom are also expressed in the scenes of the king “smiting the enemies” under the command of Isis and other bellicose deities at Philae. Thus, for example, at Medinet Habu, the inscriptions of such scenes on the pylon and some wall surfaces included the names of peoples and foreign princes who no longer represented a threat to Egypt, the “spent forces,” as W. J. Murnane very appropriately called them,<sup>79</sup> names that were borrowed from earlier lists.<sup>80</sup> Yet the presence of these names has its own historical significance; Ramesses III did defeat the foreign invaders alluded to in a stereotyped, conventional, and comprehensive formula of the traditional names borrowed from earlier sources. Even more symbolic, but not historically insignificant, are the representations of Shabaka in which the king is shown slaughtering his Asiatic and African enemies.<sup>81</sup> Though it is doubtful that he conducted any wars against the “Asiatics,” he seems to have completed the conquest of Lower Egypt begun by Peye (Piankhi),<sup>82</sup> a victory expressed by the traditional representation of “smiting the enemies.” This is also true at Philae. Most of the enemies represented there in the depiction of the same motif were the “spent forces” of long ago;<sup>83</sup> and yet their destruction by the Ptolemaic king is much more than an example of royal propaganda or a simple repetition of an old iconographic tradition with some apotropaic overtones.<sup>84</sup> Barns has brilliantly argued that “the sins and strifes of the later Ptolemies do not seem on the whole to have lost them the loyalty of their native subjects. . . . Whatever their personal characters, the Ptolemies seem really to have been regarded as Kings of Egypt, with the spiritual authority which that implied.”<sup>85</sup> What was implied in such an Egyptian attitude is admirably discussed by Janet H. Johnson in her study “The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement of a Theory of Kingship,”<sup>86</sup> in which she stressed “that the amount of anti-Greek feeling among Egyptians and in Egyptian literature has been vastly exaggerated” (pp. 65f.), and “that the quality, good or evil, of a King and his period of rule depends on the King’s relations to the gods and temples,” a theory of kingship that “underlies the Demotic Chronicle and is found in contemporary Ptolemaic Egyptian documents” (p. 72). It is true that, if compared with similar scenes, especially of the early New Kingdom, the representation of Ptolemy XII has no true commemorative value; but, though symbolical, it is historically significant, since it clearly shows that the idea of the traditional, historical function of the king as the divinely guided protagonist in the defense of his land and its temples continued unchanged throughout the reign of the Ptolemies, and that, at least by the priesthood and perhaps also by some other Egyptians, a distinction was made between that idea and the personal behavior of the rulers. Beyond this broad historical-ideological meaning, the representations on the First Pylon also conveyed a practical message that the threat of enemies, especially from the south, though intermittent in its violent manifestations, was nevertheless always present and therefore real. It is of interest in this connection that, in the scene of the pylon described earlier, the legend referring to Hathor says that she is one who “grasps the Nubians (*Nḥsyw*) by their topknots”;<sup>87</sup> since the same action is also attributed to the king,<sup>88</sup> it would

seem that this explicit reference to the southerners indicates that even in the time of Ptolemy XII they were thought of as representing a more immediate threat to Egypt. Indeed, as will be seen from the following discussion, soon after the end of the rule of the Ptolemies, serious disturbances did occur at the southern border of Egypt.

To summarize: salvation from foreign enemies, whose attacks were actually experienced in the past or feared as potentially imminent, was described in religio-political terms using the traditional formula of the “King smiting the enemies” at the command of the main deity of a particular temple. In the representations of this motif at Philae, it is Isis, the sovereign deity of the island, who issues the order to Ptolemy XII, the legitimate ruler of the land, to annihilate his and her enemies. As the supreme pontiff and the only intermediary between the goddess and her people, the king acts in this capacity not only in the main scene but in various other representations of the pylon, some of which are of a clearly allegorical nature, such as those of human beings or animals embodying inimical forces shown in the moment of their destruction.<sup>89</sup> In these scenes too, the king acts under the aegis of Isis, for her benefit, and for that of the other deities of the temple.

Thus an analysis of the inscriptions that explain the reliefs of the pylon indicates that all the dramatic actions represented there ultimately point to the sovereign authority of Isis, whose universal dominion takes on here a prominent aspect of a bellicose deity, the protectress of the king and the land, and, implicitly, of her temple. It is this overwhelming power of the goddess, power manifested in and actualized through the king, that the pylon, this massive, compact, fortress-like monument, and its gigantic images proclaim.

The motif of the “King smiting the enemies” continued to be depicted during the Roman Period. At Philae, such scenes are on the eastern and western walls of the Hypostyle Hall. Their texts, though not identical, are very similar. Generally speaking, the western text is richer in content and more relevant to the subject under discussion. Both reliefs show Tiberius performing a massacre of his enemies before Isis, Horus, Hathor, and Ha. The scenes and the accompanying inscriptions were closely patterned on those of Ptolemy XII on the southern face of the First Pylon; yet they too have their own historical significance. On the western wall,<sup>90</sup> Tiberius, grasping a group of enemies by their topknots and smiting them with his mace-axe, is referred to in the two vertical inscriptions behind him as the son of Re, who “has inherited his throne south of the nome of Re in Ta-Seti;<sup>91</sup> he has destroyed *Sttyw*, slaughtered *Mntyw*, made a massacre in the lands of *ʿmw*, hindered *Thnw*, reduced *H3w-nbwt*, and grasped the heads (of the enemies) by their topknots; he is like a raging lion<sup>92</sup> against (his) foes, who performs a slaughter among the enemies of his mother”<sup>93</sup>—epithets all borrowed from the inscription of Ptolemy XII on the southern face of the First Pylon,<sup>94</sup> somewhat expanded, and rearranged for the relief of Tiberius. The legend above Tiberius, also patterned on that of Ptolemy XII,<sup>95</sup> states that the “Nine Bows are fallen, the foreign countries are reduced, *Š3sw* are cut up in their chests,<sup>96</sup> the sand-dwellers totally annihilated,<sup>97</sup> the enemies are fallen into the execution-place; rejoice, Isis, with the Ennead of your [majesty; behold those (are) (the) enemies of your broth-

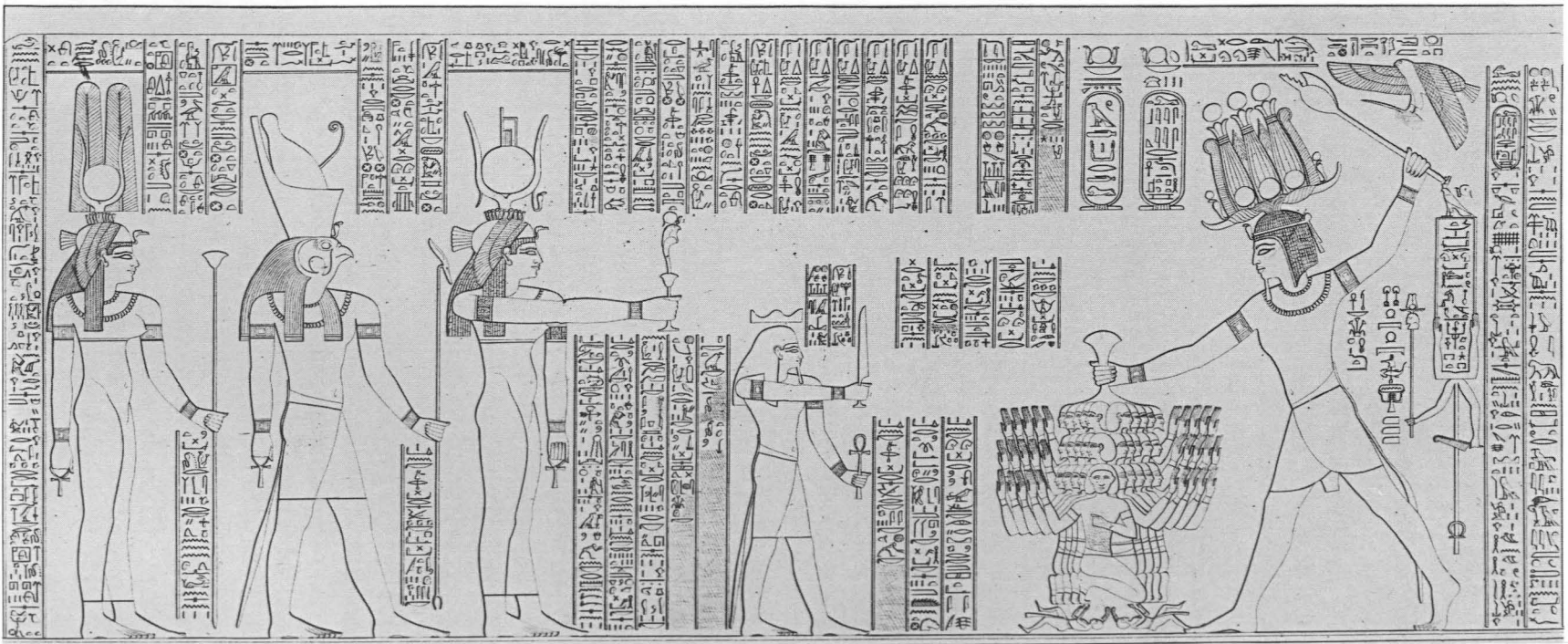


PLATE 18. Hypostyle Hall, west wall (from LD IV, 74c)



er].”<sup>98</sup> In front of Tiberius, the god H<sub>a</sub>, represented as a smaller figure, extends a knife toward the emperor; accompanying his gesture with words similar to those of the relief of Ptolemy XII,<sup>99</sup> he bestows upon Tiberius the strength to slaughter his enemies. The figure that in this scene, too, appears most prominent, and to whom the longest and most significant inscriptions are dedicated, is Isis; she extends a curved sword toward Tiberius with words of assurance that the Nine Bows and all his enemies from the four corners of the earth are firmly “under his soles” (see pl. 18).<sup>100</sup> More relevant is a hymn engraved in the upper central part of the relief between Tiberius and Isis, in which the epithets attributed to the goddess stress her bellicose role more poignantly than any other text thus far discussed:

Giver of life, Lady of the Sacred Mound,  
Lady and Mistress of Philae,  
August and mighty one,  
Lady of the southern lands;

Sakhmet, the fiery one,<sup>101</sup> who destroys the enemies of her brother,  
(Those) disaffected of heart, the enemies of (Hor-)akhti;

Princess, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt,  
Mighty one, foremost of the goddesses;

Ruler in Heaven, queen on earth,  
Sun-goddess in the circuit of the sun-disc;<sup>102</sup>

Mistress of battle,<sup>103</sup> Monthu of combat,<sup>104</sup>  
One to whom one cries out on the day of encounter;

Mighty protectress without her equal,  
Who saves<sup>105</sup> all those she loves on the battlefield;

What(ever) comes forth from her mouth is accomplished<sup>106</sup> immediately,  
All the gods are under her command;

Great of magic when she is in the palace,  
Great one upon whose command the King gloriously appears on the throne.<sup>107</sup>

In this remarkable text, in which mythological and “historical” roles of the goddess are combined, Isis is described as a supreme deity, who gives orders to the gods and decides the destinies of the kingly office (see chap. 3, Commentary); but above all she is a powerful war-goddess who, in order to save those she loves, does not hesitate to step into the thickness of the battle itself. Assurances that Isis gives to Tiberius are engraved next to this hymn-like text. Consisting of six vertical lines and arranged in a somewhat different sequence, they repeat almost verbatim the words of Isis to Ptolemy XII on the southern face of the pylon (see

above and n. 56). Horus, “avenger of his father,” and Hathor, “Lady of Biggeh and Mistress of Philae,” represented in a conventional attitude behind Isis, play a subordinate role; they too, however, address the king in bellicose terms that give him power to destroy his and their enemies.

Just as in the case of Ptolemy XII, here, too, one may ask what, if any, is the historical value of this relief and the accompanying inscriptions. In connection with this it should be recalled that, soon after sovereignty over Egypt passed from the Ptolemies to the Romans, a rebellion against this new foreign power took place in the Thebaid. As is well known, in 29 B.C., Gaius Cornelius Gallus, the first prefect of Egypt, suppressed the revolt and secured control of Upper Egypt. The prefect then marched on southward and at Philae met the ambassadors of the Meroitic king, with whom he came to terms by which the region above the First Cataract known as the Triakontaschoinos was recognized as sort of a buffer state; without being militarily occupied by the Romans, it was organized as a toparchy and ruled by a “tyrannos,” probably a Meroitic viceroy.<sup>108</sup> Thus, according to the Latin and Greek text of the trilingual stela. The hieroglyphic text,<sup>109</sup> much more damaged and uncertain than the Latin and Greek versions, has something more to say about this Roman campaign. While, according to the Latin and Greek texts, Gallus’ southward march may be understood as a mere demonstration of Roman power, the hieroglyphic text, in the first part of the inscription, speaks of the Roman leader as one who “captured the foreigners (*h<sup>c</sup>.n.f h<sup>3</sup>styw*)” and, in an uncertain context, as one who “attacked Nehesy (-Nubians), while (?) the *Hnw* (?) . . . (*d<sup>3</sup>i(.n.f) Nhsyw Hnw m . . .*).” Like a typical Egyptian pharaoh, the Roman leader “erected a shrine (*s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.n.f hwt*)” and, among other pious deeds, “made benefactions to the gods of the Two Caverns (*h<sup>n</sup>k.n.f <sup>3</sup>hw n ntrw Krty*), erecting a monument for the Great Akh (*s<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.f mnw n <sup>3</sup>h wr*),” the last two statements probably referring to the gods of the sources of the Nile and to Khnum at Elephantine. Toward the end of the text, the southerners are again mentioned, contrasted with the northerners; the Roman leader is said to have “pacified the rulers of Kush (*sh<sup>t</sup>p.n.f srw nw Kš*), . . . the chiefs of the troops of Mentyw (*wrw p<sup>d</sup>t Mntyw*), while <sup>3</sup>*Ist-rnn* pays him honor (*sw<sup>3</sup>h<sup>2</sup> n.f <sup>3</sup>Ist-rnn*).”<sup>110</sup> If with Schäfer one assumes that *wrw(.sn) m <sup>3</sup>Iw-rk* (“Ihre Grossen waren in Philae”) corresponds to the Latin “legatis regis Aethiopum ad Philas auditis,” and to *δεξάμενός τε πρέσβεις Αἰθιόπων ἐν Φίλαις* of the Greek text,<sup>111</sup> one would have extracted from the hieroglyphic text some additional information pertaining to the second part of the Roman campaign.

In spite of the many uncertainties of the hieroglyphic text, it is clear that the two versions of the campaign of Gallus are not identical. The hieroglyphic text does not mention the suppression of the rebellion in the Thebaid, while the Latin and Greek texts do not speak of any hostilities between the Romans and Meroites, to which the hieroglyphic version seems to allude. One could contend that the Latin and Greek versions are more factual, since, if a hostile confrontation had taken place, they would have mentioned it and attributed it to the glory of the Roman leader. One may therefore tend to conclude that the conflict between the Romans and Meroites to which the hieroglyphic text alludes is here, too, of a

purely fictitious nature, and that consequently the hieroglyphic version of the campaign has no historical significance. Such a conclusion, however, would hardly be satisfactory. Even if there was no war between the Romans and the Meroites, the victorious march of the Roman army southward—and much more so the organization and administration of the Triakontaschoinos so as to serve Roman interests in that region at that time—points to the recognition of the superiority of the Roman power displayed in the campaign; and, although the Roman army did not occupy the Triakontaschoinos, or even advance beyond the First Cataract, to the priests of Philae the Roman victory appeared complete. The scribes who composed the hieroglyphic version of the campaign construed all this as a symbolic conflict between the Romans and the Meroites, using some excerpts of the ancient traditional Nine Bows phraseology to describe the victory of the new king of Egypt, Augustus, against the southerners, referred to as “the rulers of Kush”—this designation probably indicating a number of the tribal chiefs who, as the subjects of the king of Meroe, ruled in the region of the Triakontaschoinos at that time. Thus, in its own traditional, symbolic language, the hieroglyphic text of the stela expressed historically important facts: that, even if temporarily, the south was pacified; and that Augustus, like Ptolemy XII before him, was recognized at Philae as the king of Egypt, whose duty it was, under the aegis and command of the local deities named on the top of the stela, to defend the land of Egypt from all enemies, especially those from the south. This would seem to resolve the old Erman-Wilcken controversy as to who was the victorious leader celebrated in the hieroglyphic text of the stela, Augustus or Gallus, in favor of Erman.<sup>112</sup> However, I would like to go a step further and say that not only for negative reasons, as Erman thought, have the priestly scribes attributed the Roman victory to Augustus, without even mentioning Gallus—certainly, in spite of accepting Augustus as the new king of Egypt, the Egyptian priests could hardly be expected to rejoice over the defeat of the Thebans, and even in referring to the “war” against the Meroites they might have been cautious not to offend the Meroitic king, to whom also the sanctuaries of Philae were sacred. In composing their version of the campaign, they indeed followed the time-consecrated tradition well known from texts of the New Kingdom, as Erman correctly observed,<sup>113</sup> but they also accepted the political idea—and this is a positive element in the interpretation of this text, an extension of the argument by Barns quoted earlier—that, as the king of Egypt, Augustus, like Ptolemy XII before him, was considered to be the divinely appointed defender of the land of Egypt, its gods, and their temples. Although Isis, with Osiris and Horus, is referred to in the vertical lines of the right upper part of the stela as one of the deities of Biggeh, contrasted with Khnum, Satis, and Anukis as the deities of Elephantine in the left upper corner, she is not mentioned in the hieroglyphic text, at least as far as can be judged from its present state of preservation, unless one accepts Erman’s translation (see n. 110), to which that of Schäfer is preferable. The fact, however, that the meeting of the Romans and Meroites took place at Philae would seem to point to the political and religious prestige that this island of the goddess enjoyed in the eyes of both parties.

Even though there are several uncertain points about some aspects of the campaign of Gallus, especially in relation to the Meroites, a sudden and successful attack by them on the Roman positions at Syene, Elephantine, and Philae did occur a few years later, in 25 B.C. This invasion, well known from the descriptions of Strabo and other classical writers and often discussed by modern historians,<sup>114</sup> must still have been fresh in the minds of the people at the southern Egyptian border at the time the reliefs of Tiberius were being executed.

That those responsible for the representation of Tiberius "smiting the enemies" had also in mind the annexation of Capadocia (Euphrates and Taurus) to the Roman Empire, which took place under Tiberius, an annexation that might be alluded to under the names of the defeated Asiatic enemies mentioned in the relief<sup>115</sup> is very questionable.

As has been seen, the list of ethnic names included in the scenes of the "King smiting the enemies" was fixed in the New Kingdom and transmitted to the following centuries as a traditional, though flexible, formula. In Ptolemaic and Roman times, the list of the Nine Bows and other ethnic groups associated with them had become to a very large extent a symbolic reference to the enemies of the gods, the king, and the land of Egypt. Whether the representation of the destruction of those enemies on the monuments commemorated an actual event, or whether it simply recalled past experiences that left on the people of southern Egypt the impression of a constant threat, it was historically significant. It reflected an actual or potential political situation of hostility, insecurity, and fear, from which Isis alone, the mighty war-goddess and supreme ruler of the island, could, through her intermediary the king, a divinely appointed successor of the old native pharaohs, save her people. This role of Isis, as bellicose goddess, protectress of the king and the land of Egypt, emerges from all the examples of the motif of the "King smiting the enemies" discussed here. It thus appears that, whatever his personal attitude toward the Egyptian religion and whether he was a Ptolemaic or a Roman ruler, the king of Egypt was considered invested with the prerogatives and duties of the pharaohs of old. This shows the degree to which the Egyptian priesthood was able to adjust to new political situations, undoubtedly for their own good but, more importantly, for the good of the temples that embodied and preserved old religious traditions and, with them, the national identity itself. When, later on, the Blemmyes became the most serious menace at the southeastern border of Egypt,<sup>116</sup> and when, after the gradual weakening of Roman power, Diocletian established the southern frontier of Egypt at Elephantine and Syene in A.D. 297, it was the overpowering image of the bellicose Isis on the walls of the pylon and the Hypostyle Hall that must have impressed the restless Blemmyes, as it certainly offered the promise of protection from them to the inhabitants of the island. The Blemmyes, although never pacified, were perhaps somewhat tamed when they were finally allowed to take part in the cult of the goddess, a situation that may have lasted as long as the temples of Philae remained open.<sup>117</sup>

It was not, therefore, a simple urge to perpetuate and magically exploit an ancient iconographic tradition, or some kind of royal propaganda, that prompted

the priests and artists of Philae to stress the bellicose role of Isis, but a realistic response to unstable political situations, a need for protection, coupled with the devotion to and trust in the goddess. These are the important factors to be considered in evaluating the role of Isis in the history of Philae.

As I observed earlier, the setting of Hymn V is essentially mythological. However, it is reasonable to assume that the stress on the bellicose role of Isis with “historical” overtones—which was first formulated at her temple at Assuan and then adopted by the theologians at Philae—was stimulated to a considerable extent by the phraseology of Hymn V, in which she indeed appears as a *déesse combattante*. Thus, although further studies of the texts at Philae and elsewhere may reveal some additional evidence of the goddess in this role, one can perceive a line of development leading from Hymn V of the time of Ptolemy II, to the hymn to her in the Assuan temple of the reign of Ptolemy III, in which her mythological warlike role took on a new “historical” aspect; from the words of Cleopatra II or III to her brother Ptolemy VIII on the Second Pylon at Philae, in which the Assuan epithet was simply paraphrased, to the representations of the First Pylon of the time of Ptolemy XII, in which the legends and images of the goddess poignantly describe her bellicose nature. The point of culmination of this development was reached in the hymn-like text of the time of Tiberius, engraved on the eastern and western exterior walls of the Hypostyle Hall of her temple at Philae, in which the warlike goddess, like the raging Monthu, steps into the thickness of the battle itself to save those she loves.

2. Isis’ function as the uraeus of the sun-god is well known from older texts; here a brief commentary on this aspect of the goddess in Hymn V will suffice. Münster has very ably discussed this role of Isis in the royal and mortuary texts of the Middle and New kingdoms and has also referred to a few examples from the late period.<sup>118</sup> Here, too, Hymn V reveals that the ancient texts were well known to the theologian-poet at Philae, who aptly selected from them the phraseology appropriate for his hymn. Thus, for example, the epithet of Isis as “Lady of Flame (*nbt nsrt*),” which occurs elsewhere at Philae, is one given to various goddesses in the New Kingdom and the late period.<sup>119</sup> *Nsrt*, connoting in this hymn the royal cobra-diadem, is synonymous with “Uraeus of Re, the Coiled One upon his head”; both refer to Isis engaged in a continuous cosmic battle against the enemy of the sun-god. This enemy is the serpent Apopis, whom Isis, as a fiery uraeus, attacks and slays, so that the barque of the sun-god may proceed in peace.<sup>120</sup> A parallel partially illustrating this text, which may have been known to the priestly poet at Philae, is found in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat; Isis, standing at the prow of the solar barque, resolutely extends her arm toward Apopis, who attempts to obstruct the passage of the sun-god, and with the potency of her magic, intensified by that of the deities who follow her, deprives the enemy of his power.<sup>121</sup> However, whereas in the Book of Amduat, Isis, represented fully anthropomorphically, magically subdues Apopis with the help of other gods, in Hymn V a brief and succinct statement describes the instant destruction of the enemy by Isis alone, acting as the fiery uraeus of the sun-god.

There is a subtle link between the third and fourth strophes of the hymn. In strophe 3, Isis, as a bellicose deity, destroys Seth and his associates (who may also be alluded to by the term “rebels” at the beginning of strophe 4); in strophe 4, as “Lady of Flame” and the fiery uraeus, Isis annihilates Apopis. Especially in the late period, Seth and Apopis, as the enemies of the gods, are not seldom placed in the same context; as such they appear in the “*Livre de protéger la barque du dieu*,” where the god is said to be triumphant over both Seth and Apopis.<sup>122</sup>

The ship that Isis-Uraeus commands and in which she issues orders is called “the barque of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.” This brings to mind the representation of the sun-barque on one of the shrines of Tutankhamun,<sup>123</sup> in which Re, standing at the prow, is followed by Atum, Shu, Tefēnet, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, and, at the end of the retinue, the king. This representation often illustrates Spell 134 of the Book of the Dead, “Spell for embarking in the barque of Re to be with those who are in his following.”<sup>124</sup> But here, too, there is a dissimilarity between the text of Hymn V and that of the Book of the Dead. Whereas in Spell 134 the sun-god is one who “overpowers Apopis every day,”<sup>125</sup> in Hymn V it is Isis, “Lady of Flame,” and “Uraeus of Re who slays Apopis in an instant” (see Chap 6, Commentary). All this points to the eclectic ability of the priestly poet, who knew how to select apt phrases and epithets from the ancient texts to illustrate the role of Isis, who in his poem becomes the principal deity who protects the solar barque in the critical moment in its daily journey as well as during its nightly passage through the Underworld, ideas that appear in Hymn VI as well.

In the final invocation of the hymn, Isis is referred to as “Lady of her appearances in the Sacred Tent,” a translation that seems to be justified by the following parallel phrase “worshipped in (her) sanctuaries.” The “Sacred Tent” may appropriately refer to the Sanctuary and the sacred barque resting on the pedestal in its center. On festival occasions, the sacred barque bearing the golden image of the goddess left the Sanctuary in solemn procession and “appeared” to the people amidst joy and jubilation (see Chap. 8, Commentary, sec. 1).

A last point to be discussed in connection with Hymn V is its occurrence, in a reedited form, in the temple of Dakka.<sup>126</sup> Without going into a detailed discussion of this defective version of Hymn V, I would like to mention that, if the first editor had incorporated into the main text of the hymn some of the readings that he relegated to the footnotes, he would have obtained a more accurate text and translation.<sup>127</sup> To the inaccuracies of Roeder’s transcription are to be added those of the scribe and lapicide of Dakka, as can be seen when the text of Dakka is compared with the photograph and transcription of Hymn V in the Sanctuary of Philae, which appear at the beginning of this chapter. The result is that the text of the Dakka version appears so obscure that, without the knowledge of Philae Hymn V, it would hardly be possible to recognize its true character. It is also to be observed that, while at Philae this hymn bears the general title “King Ptolemy adores his mother Isis, Lady of Heaven,” at Dakka King Ergamenes is shown

offering incense before Isis and Harpocrates with the legend “Offering incense”;<sup>128</sup> thus the same text, in a modified and abbreviated form, has been used for a different cultic purpose. In the discussion of the following hymns, I shall return to the questions of the reediting of the hymns of the Temple of Isis and of their application to different ritual purposes in and outside her temple (see also the Conclusion).





# HYMN VI

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, south wall (see pls. 19 and 4 and fig. 7; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, p. 58, tabl. III; Berlin Philae Photographs 1035–36).

Like Hymn V, this hymn is arranged in six vertical lines of text, which are engraved on the opposite, east jamb of the inner doorway; it, too, is a hymn of adoration.



PLATE 19. Temple of Isis, Room X, south wall,  
east jamb of the inner doorway, Hymn VI

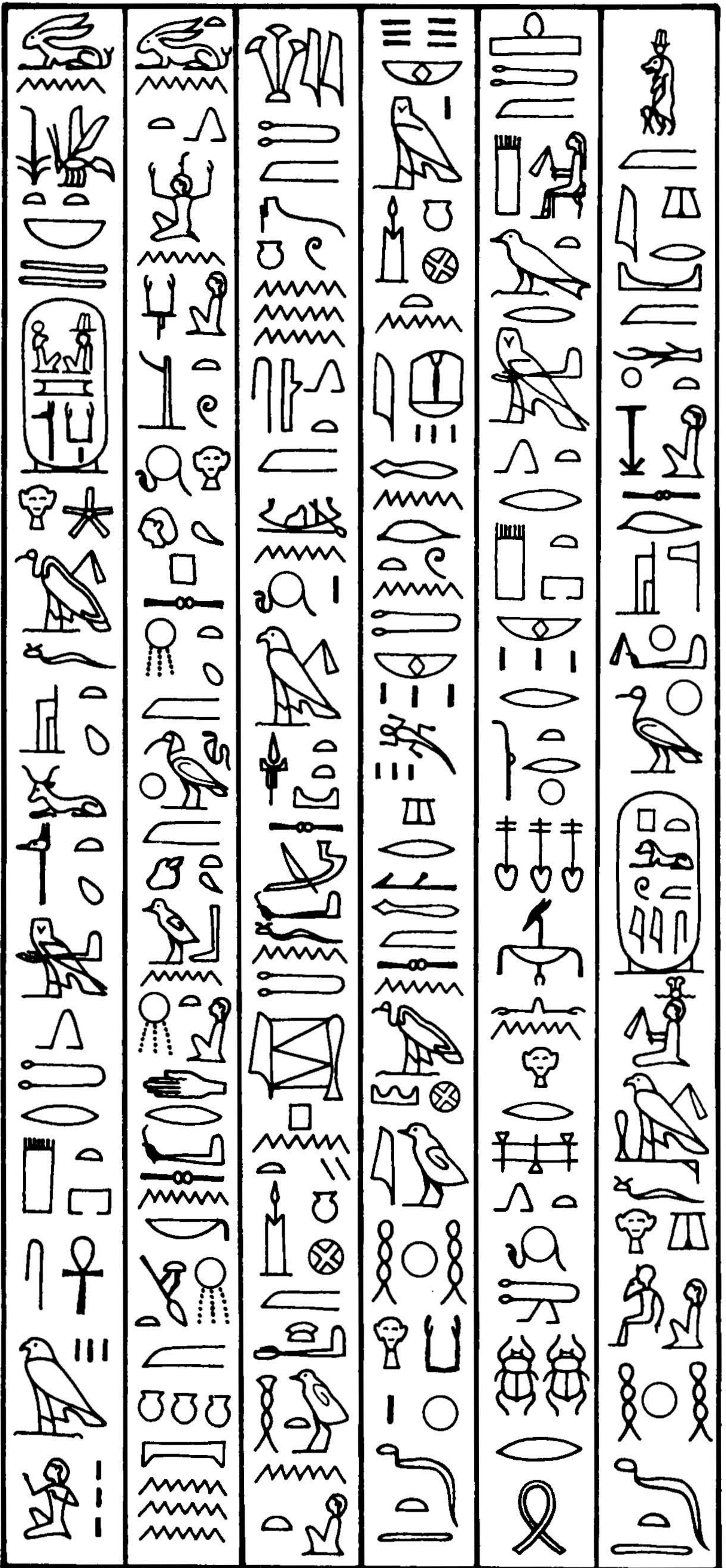


FIGURE 7

Wn nsw bitì nb tšwy Wsr-kš-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-<sup>2</sup>Imn hr dwš mwt.f. šst nbt wsrt

Mi.t r 'ht s<sup>c</sup>nh(t)<sup>1</sup> n<sup>trw</sup> rmt  
Twnt Hh n kš.t  
Wtst R<sup>c</sup> hr tp.f  
Psdt m šht m hnt.f

Htp.t m 'ht špst wrt  
Mi.t r 'ht hbw r tr nfrw  
D<sup>c</sup>mw nn hr (r.)t<sup>8</sup> R<sup>c</sup> it tšwy  
R šn špst m igrt m-ht sn.s Wsir

Wbnt dr(t) snk(t)<sup>2</sup>  
Hnt psdt m nnw  
Hšit<sup>3</sup> m nwi  
Skdt m wiš n R<sup>c</sup>

(šst) hw sš R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwmys tni  
Hm.f Hr hr nst hrd  
(R) nhh (hn<sup>c</sup>) dt

Hr ištbt smš.f n.t šbt  
P nty (m) <sup>2</sup>Iwnw<sup>4</sup> m h<sup>c</sup>  
Wšh.tw n.t snwt m <sup>2</sup>Iwnw  
Tni<sup>5</sup> hbw š(w) n ir.tw n.t hbw ššw  
Hr wdnw<sup>6</sup> š(w) m Snmwt  
R nhh hr kš.t<sup>7</sup> dt

#### TRANSLATION

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, adores his mother Isis, the Lady-Wosret:<sup>9</sup>

Come to the Palace, you who make gods and men live,  
(You) to whose Ka Hēh stretches himself up,<sup>10</sup>  
Whom Re has raised upon his head,  
Who shines as the Diadem on his forehead.

You are the one who rises and dispels darkness,<sup>11</sup>  
Shining when traversing the primeval ocean,<sup>12</sup>  
The Brilliant One<sup>13</sup> in the (celestial) waters  
Traveling in the barque of Re.<sup>14</sup>

Horus of the East presents to you the Great Oblation,  
And the Seat<sup>15</sup> that is in Heliopolis is in festivity;  
Offerings are made to you in Heliopolis on the Feast of the Sixth day,  
Glorious are the great feasts when many festivals are celebrated for you  
With rich offerings at Biggeh,  
Forever for your Ka, everlastingly.<sup>16</sup>

Rest in the great, august Palace;  
Come to the Palace of the Feasts<sup>17</sup> at the time of solemn offerings;<sup>18</sup>  
O Golden One,<sup>19</sup> Re, the possessor of the Two Lands, will never be far (from)  
you,  
So that the Noble One may circle the realm of the dead in the company of her  
brother Osiris.<sup>20</sup>

(O Isis), protect the Son of Re, Ptolemy, the Distinguished-One,<sup>21</sup>  
His Majesty (is) Horus upon the throne of the Child,  
Forever and ever.

Below the text, Thoth with his right hand extends the ankh sign toward the nostrils of the king, and with his left holds the right hand of the king; the legend above Thoth reads, "Thoth, who pacifies the Raging One," and the one above the king, "The perfect god, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, given life, like Re."

### THE BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS

Surmounting the lintel and running down along the outer borders of the door jambs of the south wall of Room X are two building inscriptions of the time of Ptolemy II. The one on the right, beginning in the center of the frieze above the lintel and continuing downward, reads: "(Long live) Horus, the Youth, the strong one, (he who belongs to) the Two Ladies (is) Great of Might, Golden Horus (is) He-whom-his-father-made-gloriously-appear, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy: he has made a memorial for his mother Isis, Giver of Life, Lady of Philae, august and mighty, Mistress of the Two Shrines,<sup>22</sup> who repels the vile Iuntiu (Nubians) from the Shores of Horus,<sup>23</sup> building<sup>24</sup> for her a Sanctuary;<sup>25</sup> he has founded it and has made it more splendid<sup>26</sup> than the horizon of Heaven; may he gloriously appear<sup>27</sup> as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt on the seat of Horus and the throne of Geb, forever."<sup>28</sup>

The inscription on the left, also beginning in the center of the frieze above the lintel and running downward, reads: "(Long live) Horus, the Youth, the strong one, (he who belongs to) the Two Ladies (is) Great of Might, Golden Horus (is) He-whom-his-father-made-gloriously-appear, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, Son of Re, Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy (says): O Isis, Great One, God's mother, Lady of Philae, come in peace and in joy, see this perfect memorial, which my majesty has made as my adornment for your House, which is in the midst of the river,<sup>29</sup> at Philae, a festival for the southern region;<sup>30</sup> protect it, (this monument) built of perfect and durable sandstone and filled with gold like the horizon supporting the sun-disc; unite yourself with it, forever."<sup>31</sup>

### COMMENTARY

Hymn V emphasized the bellicose character of Isis as the protectress of her brother-husband, Osiris, as well as her effective power as the uraeus of the sun-god. In Hymn VI the poet expatiates on the role of Isis as the uraeus: the goddess is the brilliant uraeus-diadem on the forehead of Re; traversing the Netherworld and rising with him, she dispels the darkness and then travels in

the barque of the sun-god on his daily journey across the sky. The text describes this role of Isis in vivid and self-explanatory terms. What is to be stressed here is that, as has already been observed in the notes to Hymns V and VI, a number of epithets attributed in these hymns to Isis were also associated with some other goddesses, but in a very special way with Hathor. Derchain, who in his book *Hathor Quadrifrons* assembled a long series of such epithets from the texts of the temples of Dendera, Edfu, and other sources,<sup>32</sup> also pointed to the fact<sup>33</sup> that, as the studies of Allam<sup>34</sup> and Drioton<sup>35</sup> had also shown, some of the most significant of these epithets, such as those referring to the role of Hathor in the solar boat, and as the uraeus of the sun-god, go back to much earlier times. One has to assume, therefore, that they were subsequently transferred from Hathor to Isis. When this process of transference began and how it developed has not been studied in detail as yet. As far as one can judge from the legends and representations of the recovered reused blocks of the Temple of Amasis,<sup>36</sup> it seems that the cult of Isis was well established at Philae during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, although, as it appears from some legends of these blocks,<sup>37</sup> Hathor was still the predominant goddess of the island. During the reign of Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth Dynasty, Isis was the leading female deity at Philae, but Hathor retained her high prestige and popularity. At the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period, all of the aforementioned epithets once associated with Hathor were attributed to Isis; however, even then Hathor kept her popularity and in cultic texts and representations was often associated with or identified with Isis. That devotion to Hathor survived to the end of the Ptolemaic-Roman Period can be seen from the inscriptions and reliefs of her small temple at Philae.<sup>38</sup> The texts of Philae, now supplemented by those of the recovered blocks of the temples of Amasis and Nectanebo I, significantly contribute to a better understanding of the history of the transmission of the ancient religious traditions in general, and, in this particular case, of their adaptation to the cult of Isis, the new sovereign deity of the island.

The thought of the goddess traversing the sky in the barque of Re prompted the poet to introduce a new element into his hymn: the close relationship of Isis to Heliopolis. It is there, in her temple, as the second strophe of the hymn says, that "Horus of the East" presents to her the "Great Oblation (*ʿ3bt*)," and that special offerings are made to her on the *Snwt*-feast. All those who have discussed the *Snwt*-feast,<sup>39</sup> the "Feast of the Sixth Day"—that is, the day on which the *Wd3t*-Eye was considered to have been complete and perfect<sup>40</sup>—have referred to texts that clearly prove that it was celebrated in Heliopolis, that it was originally associated with the sun-god, to whom offerings were made on that day, and that, as the result of the application of the Heliopolitan theology to the funerary texts, the traveling of the deceased in the barque of the sun-god also took place on the day of the *Snwt*-feast.<sup>41</sup> One immediately perceives that Hymn VI is yet another example of that literary eclecticism and purposeful adaptation of ancient texts that has been observed in several instances in this study of the hymns at Philae. Here, too, anxious to extol Isis as a supreme deity, the poet attributed to her the main features of the *Snwt*-feast originally associated with the sun-god. One may, however, ask whether this transference of the worship and festivities from the

sun-god to Isis was indeed a mere literary-eclectic process, an attempt on the part of the excerptor and editor to aggrandize the prestige of Isis at Philae further by attributing to her the prerogatives of the great cosmic god whose worship was centered at Heliopolis. It is true that very little is known of the cult of Isis in that city. She was a member of the Heliopolitan Ennead, but archaeological information about her status there is particularly meager. In the geographic list of the Chapel of Sesostris I,<sup>42</sup> Isis and Bastet are referred to as the two main deities of the Heliopolitan nome. There is also a record, on an inventory tablet, of a cult-statue of Isis that may have belonged to her temple at Heliopolis<sup>43</sup> and a reference to her as “Isis of Hotpe,” a district of Heliopolis, in an Egyptian text probably to be dated to the third century B.C.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps some day more will be known about Isis at Heliopolis. In the meantime, the mention in Hymn VI of the “Seat that is in Heliopolis,” where the offerings were presented to the goddess on the *Snwt*-feast, can reasonably be assumed to allude to her temple in that city. If so, this reference would provide some additional information about the worship of Isis at Heliopolis, at least as it existed at the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. It is also reasonable to assume that this Heliopolitan temple of the goddess was known to the priestly poet of Hymn VI, who used it as the point of departure for his description of Isis as the focal point and beneficiary of the festivities. This reference in Hymn VI to Isis’ connection with Heliopolis contains an interesting detail. While the same term *ʿ3bt*, “Great Offering,” or “Great Oblation,” is used in reference to Re in Heliopolis<sup>45</sup> and, in Hymn VI, to Isis, the text of the latter specifies that it is “Horus of the East (*Hr ʿ3btt*)” who presents that offering to Isis, a phrase that occurs in identical form on one of the blocks that belonged to the small temple of Nectanebo I at Philae, to which the Porch of Nectanebo was once joined; this is one of the blocks that were discovered in the dismantling of the Second Pylon.<sup>46</sup> As to the statement itself, one could try to explain it as a reference to one of the celestial Horuses—very appropriately the one of the East<sup>47</sup>—acting as an officiant of the ritual performed for Isis at Heliopolis. It is known that Horus had his own temple in Heliopolis,<sup>48</sup> and it is possible that “Horus of the East” was one of the epithets under which this god was worshipped in that temple. It can also be assumed that, along with other forms or manifestations of Horus, “Horus of the East” was identified with Horus, son of Isis; as such, he could very appropriately be referred to as an officiant in a ritual offering to his mother. In connection with this, a statement from the Coffin Texts is somewhat enlightening; it reads: “May I be with Horus on the day when the Festival is celebrated and when the Great Oblation is repeated on the *Snwt*-feast (the Sixth Day Feast) and the *Dnit*-feast (the Seventh Day Feast) in Heliopolis.”<sup>49</sup> The editor of the Book of the Dead interpreted this text as: “May I be with Horus on the day when Festivals are celebrated for Osiris and when the Great Oblation is made to Re on the *Snwt*-feast and on the *Dnit*-feast in Heliopolis.”<sup>50</sup> Though not explicitly stated, it appears that, in one form or another, Horus was thought to be closely associated with the offerings made to Osiris and Re on those feast days, and that the deceased wished to participate in and benefit from those offerings. As to the *ʿ3bt*-offering, the “Great Oblation,” presented to

Isis, it is possible that one of the priests of higher rank played the role of “Horus of the East” and acted as an officiant in this ritual offering in the temple of the goddess in Heliopolis.<sup>51</sup>

Isis’ festivities celebrated at Biggeh and referred to in this hymn as complementary to those in Heliopolis are to be distinguished from the funerary ceremonies performed in honor of Osiris at Philae and at Abaton on Biggeh, in which Isis played a prominent role. Throughout the texts of Philae, and particularly in the hymns of her temple, the goddess is constantly referred to as the mistress not only of Philae, but also of Biggeh and Abaton—titles that she shares with some other goddesses, especially with Hathor. In a hymn in Room VII, she is referred to as “great of manifestation in Biggeh”;<sup>52</sup> but there are no texts that speak in any detail of her cult, worship, and festivities at Biggeh. This may be because the small shrines of Biggeh, which may have existed at least from the New Kingdom on,<sup>53</sup> have all disappeared. In an inscription of the Porch of Nectanebo, this king is said to have dedicated his temple to “Isis, who dwells at Biggeh,” to “Hathor, Mistress of Biggeh,” and to “all the gods of Biggeh,”<sup>54</sup> the implication being that a number of deities, including those of the First Cataract region, were worshipped in their shrines at Biggeh. The inscriptions of the modest remains of a temple of Ptolemy XII and Augustus at Biggeh indicate that that temple was dedicated primarily to Isis and Osiris; in these inscriptions, Isis is called “Mistress of Abaton, beautiful Lady, Mistress of Philae.”<sup>55</sup> It is possible that there was on this same site, or somewhere else on the island, an earlier temple or a shrine dedicated to Isis. In Hymn VII, Biggeh is mentioned as one of the representative places of Isis worship in Egypt (see chap. 7, n. 18). Together with some other sanctuaries on the island of Biggeh, the *Götterdekret* mentions a *Pr-ꜣst*, “the House (or temple) of Isis.”<sup>56</sup> Junker however, seems to be right in identifying this temple with the great Temple of Isis at Philae. In spite of this uncertainty due to the lack of archaeological evidence, it is likely that, like Hathor, Isis had her sanctuaries at both Philae and Biggeh, where the feasts in her honor, mentioned in Hymn VI, were celebrated with great solemnity.

Returning now to the beginning of Hymn VI, an important point is to be briefly discussed: the *Hēḥ* theme, referred to in the second line of the invocation, where Isis is described as the goddess of the sky, whose *Ka* is supported by the god *Hēḥ*. The theme of *Hēḥ* as a *Himmelsträger*, who supports or uplifts the sky and with it the gods and goddesses, has been discussed by Sethe,<sup>57</sup> Junker,<sup>58</sup> Hornung,<sup>59</sup> Zandee,<sup>60</sup> Gutbub,<sup>61</sup> Altenmüller,<sup>62</sup> Borghouts,<sup>63</sup> and especially Kurth,<sup>64</sup> who has contributed considerably to a better understanding of this theme in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period. As one would expect, the *Hēḥ* theme occurs also at Philae, and I have referred (see chap. 2, n. 42) to an example in the Mammisi, in which *Hēḥ*, likened to Shu, is said to support Khnum in the sky.<sup>65</sup> Kurth has noted another example from Philae,<sup>66</sup> in which Ptolemy XII is shown elevating the sky in the presence of Ptah, who, in the words of the king, is referred to as “Ba, Lord of Heaven.”<sup>67</sup> The reference to *Hēḥ* supporting the *Ka* of Isis in Hymn VI is not only the first occurrence of this theme at Philae, but probably also one of the earliest examples of the Ptolemaic Period in which the *Ka* of a deity, instead of



the deity itself, is said to be supported by Hēh.<sup>68</sup> The Ka of Isis indicates here the goddess herself as a cosmic deity, a goddess of Heaven uplifted by the god Hēh; she is exhorted to descend and make the Sanctuary a place of her living presence.

Nor has thereby the significance of Hymns V and VI been exhausted. As I have already pointed out, above the lintel and running downward along the outer border of the two jambs of the south wall there are two building inscriptions, which, part of the same architectural setting as Hymns V and VI, are also contextually closely related to them. In the first of the two inscriptions Ptolemy II says that he has built the Sanctuary (Room X) as a memorial for his mother Isis and “has made it more splendid than the horizon of Heaven”; in the second, the king addresses the goddess with the words: “O Isis . . . come in peace and in joy that you may see this perfect memorial; . . . may you protect it, . . . (this monument) filled with gold like the horizon carrying the sun-disc; . . . may you unite yourself with it, forever.” Now, as the following discussion will show, when the two building inscriptions and the two hymns are placed in the context of other texts and representations of the Sanctuary, and when their phraseology is compared to that of the older as well as younger texts of the same genre, it appears probable that they refer to the Dedication or Consecration ceremony of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis at Philae. This statement requires more precise qualification.

In an important article published long ago entitled “The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple According to the Use of Edfu,” Blackman and Fairman studied two texts from the Outer Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Edfu, which they identified as “Excerpts from the Directory of a Master of the Ceremonies.”<sup>69</sup> Each of the two texts is composed of three parts. The first part of Text I refers to King Ptolemy IX Soter II, who is said to have erected and adorned the Sanctuary of the Horus of Edfu, “the Great Seat of Re built to perfection.” The second part consists of “Excerpts from the Directory” proper, that is, as the authors described it,<sup>70</sup> “a brief résumé of the rite . . . which consisted almost entirely of the captions to the formulas appointed to be recited while the various ceremonies were being enacted,” for example, “Asperging with the *nmst*-ewers and red pitchers,” “Touching the mouth and eyes: arraying in the head-cloth,” “Presenting oil,” “Putting on the holy raiment,” “Proffering the broad-collar,” “Adoring Re,” “Summoning the gods,” “Reciting the *hṭp-di-nsu* formula,” “Purifying the sanctuary and cleansing the temple,” “Ceding the Great Seat by his Majesty to its lord.”<sup>71</sup> In the third part, “Horus and Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky” is asked “to show favor to his son, his beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt . . . for his handiwork and reward him with life, stability, and happiness upon the Throne of Horus at the head of the living forever.”<sup>72</sup> In Text II the first and third parts are very similar in wording and content to the corresponding parts of Text I, while in the second part, greater stress is placed on the ceremony of Opening the Mouth, to which reference is made with several captions to the formulae to be recited in the performance of that ceremony.<sup>73</sup> The same ceremony may also be implied in the formula “Presenting the requirements of the offering-table” mentioned in the second part of Text I.<sup>74</sup> It is well known that the Opening of the

Mouth ceremony and the daily temple ritual had many episodes in common; thus it is understandable that the Rite of Consecration, which was itself based on the ceremonies of the daily temple ritual, might also include the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, as it does in the Edfu directory, although, as Blackman and Fairman pointed out,<sup>75</sup> there are no allusions to it either in the Abydos or Karnak versions of the temple liturgy; the same authors further state<sup>76</sup> that that ceremony might have been included in the temple ritual at least on some special occasions. Indeed, as the long offering texts referring to Osiris and Isis in Room V of the Temple of Isis at Philae show,<sup>77</sup> it appears that the Opening of the Mouth ceremony was included in the daily as well as festive temple ritual. The last caption of the second part of Text II, “Ceding Wetjset-Hor to its lord by His Majesty,” is a version of the similar formula, “Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord,” with which the second part of Text I also ends.<sup>78</sup>

Now, comparing the captions of formulae of the directory of the master of ceremonies at Edfu with the texts and representations of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis at Philae, one observes that all the main elements of the tripartite directory of the Consecration of the temple at Edfu are also present in the texts and representations of the Sanctuary at Philae. Thus, in the first part of the Edfu directory, the introductory words of Texts I and II—“(Long live) the good god who has made a memorial . . . constructed the Great seat of Harakhti, completed the Sanctuary . . . adorned (the Mansion) . . . the Great Seat of Re built to perfection . . . fashioned (a memorial) in Mesen . . . conferred benefactions on the Lord of the Sky . . . the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy IX Soter II”—correspond to the statement of the building inscription in the Sanctuary at Philae which refers to Ptolemy II—“(Long live) Horus. . . . The King of Upper and Lower Egypt . . . has made a memorial for his mother, Isis, building for her a Sanctuary . . . making it more splendid than the horizon of heaven.” This is supplemented and expanded with the words that the king addresses to Isis—“Come . . . and see the perfect memorial that My Majesty has made as my adornment for your House . . . built of perfect and durable sandstone, filled with gold, like the horizon supporting the sun-disc,”—and with the words of Isis to the king in Hymns III and IV—“How beautiful is this that you have built for me, my son, Horus.” All this echoes the similar wording of the archaic ritual of the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty temples of Medinet Habu and Luxor—“How beautiful is this House; there is no other beautiful House that is equal to it, (the House) that the King has built for his father Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,”<sup>79</sup> and “How durable, excellent, efficient, great, mighty, perfect . . . is this that Horus has made for his father Osiris, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt . . . for his father Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,”<sup>80</sup> and echoes also the words of the latest occurrences of the Consecration Rite at Philae—“Giving the House to its Lord: How beautiful is this House; its equal does not exist; all its forms are (made) according to right measure. . . . Its permanence has been established like that of Heaven.”<sup>81</sup>

As to the second part of the Edfu directory, which contains a list of various ceremonies to be performed in connection with the Consecration Rite, one observes that a considerable number of the ceremonies mentioned in the directory

by captions only are found fully represented in the reliefs of the walls of the Sanctuary at Philae: such are, for example, “Presenting oil,” seen in the reliefs of the east and west wall of the Sanctuary at Philae;<sup>82</sup> “Putting on the holy raiment,” represented in the form of an offering scene on the west wall of the Sanctuary at Philae;<sup>83</sup> “Proffering the broad-collar,” which is seen in the uppermost register of the north wall of the Sanctuary at Philae;<sup>84</sup> “Salutation with the *nmst*-ewer and red pitchers,” represented on the east and west walls of the Sanctuary at Philae;<sup>85</sup> “Adoring Re,” which is to be compared with the relief and legend “Adoring the god (i.e., Amun)” on the east wall of the Sanctuary at Philae,<sup>86</sup> and especially with “Adoring Isis” of Hymns V and VI, the texts of which, though not accompanied by a special relief, cover the major part of the south wall of the Sanctuary (see pl. 4). “Re shines forth having united with Maat and Maat having united with his brow” is to be compared with the reliefs of the east and west walls of the Sanctuary at Philae, which show the presentation of Maat to Khnum-Re and Satis, and to Isis and Nephthys respectively;<sup>87</sup> the second part of this formula, “Maat having united with his brow,” calls to mind the theme of Isis as uraeus described in Hymns V and VI of the Sanctuary at Philae. “Purifying the Sanctuary” may well find its representation in the Sanctuary at Philae, where, at the end of the procession of the “Nile gods,” the king’s purification of the Sanctuary with the lotus and papyrus is shown and described, as will be discussed at the end of the Commentary. “Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord,” or the more usual formula “Giving the House to its Lord,”<sup>88</sup> though not explicitly referred to or represented in the reliefs of the Sanctuary at Philae, is the central theme and the very *raison d’être* of the hymnal texts and the building inscriptions of the Sanctuary.

Certainly, there are in the Edfu directory captions for ceremonies that are not represented in the reliefs of the Sanctuary at Philae; but neither the list of the Edfu directory<sup>89</sup> nor the texts and scenes of the Sanctuary at Philae can be said to represent all the ceremonies of the Consecration Rite. Besides, it is natural to expect that, although the Edfu and Philae consecration rites have many points in common—because both are based on the daily temple ritual—each of them contained ceremonies specific to the nature and functions of the main deity and other deities worshipped in that temple. The fact that in the texts of the Sanctuary at Philae there is no allusion to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony is no objection to the interpretation of the Philae texts as proposed here; as I mentioned earlier, such omissions are noticeable in the extant examples of the temple rituals, none of which can be considered to contain the complete ritual performed in those temples. But, above all, as also will be seen from the following discussion, the very nature of the majority of the texts of the Sanctuary at Philae, that is, their hymnal-poetical form, further explains why not all of the ceremonies of the Consecration Rite could be expressed in the hymns.

As to part three of the Edfu directory, in which, in the form of a prayer, the great god Horus of Edfu is asked to show favors to his son the king and reward him for his work done for the god, one is reminded that at the end of Hymns V and VI, as well as at the end of the first of the two building inscriptions, there is a prayer invoking the great goddess of Philae to protect Ptolemy II so that he may

“gloriously appear on the throne of Horus as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,” and that the first four hymns are also accompanied by promises of an undisputed dominion over the land of Egypt and the neighboring lands, as well as many other benefits that Isis bestows upon the king. Closely associated with this prayer for the king are the assurances given him that the temple, which he has built for his divine mother, will endure as long as Heaven itself<sup>90</sup>—assurances and promises that, though not found in the brief résumé of the Edfu directory of the Consecration Rite, are mentioned in the archaic ritual of the foundation of the temples of Medinet Habu and Luxor, as well as in the temples of Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Esna.<sup>91</sup>

It is true that, taken by themselves, the offering scenes of the north, east, and west walls of the Sanctuary at Philae can be said simply to represent episodes of the daily temple ritual. However, placed in the context of the hymns and the building inscriptions and compared with the tripartite directory of the Consecration Rite at Edfu and with the other texts of the same genre, the texts and representations of the Sanctuary at Philae do seem to commemorate the event of the Consecration or Dedication of the Temple of Isis. As has been noticed in some other instances of this study of the hymns, here, too, the old, pre-Ptolemaic traditions are clearly recognizable; yet, just as the decoration of the Sanctuary reveals some new features,<sup>92</sup> so, too, a new functional purpose has been given to the texts, which is, to express a part of the Consecration Rite in a hymnal-poetical form. Because of this originality, the hymns, which complement the representational part of the ritual, may have been composed for the very occasion of the Consecration Rite of the temple. A somewhat similar case of a poetical description of a part of the Consecration Rite may be seen in the Eighteenth Dynasty archaic ritual of the foundation of the temples of Medinet Habu and Luxor, in which, at the end of the description of the ceremonies, a hymn is addressed to the temple, compared in its perfection and splendor to the work done by Horus for his father, Osiris.<sup>93</sup> There is also some similarity between a few phrases of the hymns at Philae and the so-called hymns of adoration of the personified temples of Edfu and Kom Ombo discussed by Gutbub,<sup>94</sup> which were recited at the celebration of the dedication of those temples, probably also at the annual ceremony of the rededication, and in the daily temple ritual. It is noticeable that at Philae (in the center between the two uppermost reliefs of the north wall of the Sanctuary),<sup>95</sup> as well as at Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Esna,<sup>96</sup> the *wnn . . . wnn* formula occurs, a formula often associated with the texts referring to the consecration of the temple. However, in spite of these similarities, the situation at Philae is different, since all three main groups of texts associated with the Consecration Rite, those expressing an appreciation of the beauty of the temple built by the king, those accompanying a selection of the performed ceremonies, and the prayer for the king together with the assurance that his temple will endure forever, are integrated in the Sanctuary, complemented by the reliefs and the building inscriptions. The praise of the perfection of the edifice, “How beautiful is this House . . .” is not stated by a narrator, but is inserted in a lively dialogue between Isis and the king; Isis’ words “How beautiful is this that you have done for me, my son, Horus, my beloved . . .” are her response to the king’s recitation of Hymns III and IV in her

honor. The prayer for personal and political favors for the king and the assurance that his temple will endure like Heaven itself are inserted at the end of Hymns V and VI, complemented by the median inscriptions and other legends of the north wall all dedicated to the goddess and the king, and again at the end of the second building inscription, which is itself a personal prayer by the king to the goddess. It is, however, in the invocations of Hymns V and VI, which urge the goddess to “come to her House and unite herself with her images,” that the most significant point of the Consecration Rite is expressed. Without attempting to discuss the difficult problem of the precise order of recitation of these hymns in relation to the Consecration Rite—and probably the annual Reconsecration Rite, with which they may have been associated, as well as the daily and festive temple ritual, of which they also may have been a part—it would appear that the urgency, as it were, with which the goddess is invoked to come and unite herself with her images in the Sanctuary suggests that, with these two hymns, the final point in the recitation of the Consecration ceremony was reached. Their location on the door jambs of the south wall near the exit, facing the opposite north wall, which contains the preceding four hymns, would also seem to indicate that they were to be recited toward the end of the Consecration Rite.

It is true that these hymns contain much more than some utterances pertaining to the Consecration Rite, and that the representations on the north, east, and west walls contain only a selection of the episodes related to that rite, while including some scenes that may appear to be only vaguely associated with it. However, as I have suggested, the main themes of the Consecration are enunciated and aptly integrated into the hymns, which are complemented by the reliefs and by the words of the two building inscriptions. The poet acted as a poet often does: having selected some specific ideas pertinent to the theme of Consecration, he interwove these ideas into a larger setting of a poetical structure inspired by the contemplation of Isis as a universal goddess, her preeminence among the deities of Philae, and her special relationship to the king.

A particular aspect of this Isis-and-the-king relationship, which may seem to be only loosely associated with the Consecration Rite, and which is included among the scenes of the reliefs, is the representation of Arsinoë II, the sister-wife of Ptolemy II, in the reliefs of the Sanctuary.

There are two scenes in the Sanctuary in which Arsinoë appears. In the lowest register of the east wall, in a scene immediately adjoining the north wall, the most sacred spot of the Sanctuary, the queen stands behind the figure of *Isis lactans* and receives, together with the goddess, “purification with four *nmst*-vases of water” by Ptolemy II;<sup>97</sup> in the other scene, represented in the same position on the west wall, the queen, in the same posture, stands behind Isis and holds the same insignia as the goddess; she wears her typical crown and receives “purification with four *dšrt*-vases of water” by the king.<sup>98</sup> The legends that accompany these two scenes refer to Arsinoë as “the King’s wife, the King’s daughter, the King’s sister, Daughter of Amun, Mistress of the Two Lands, the goddess who loves her brother, Arsinoë, Princess, great of praises, Lady of charm, sweet of love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, great queen of Egypt, Mistress of the

Two Lands, Arsinoë, living forever.”<sup>99</sup> Several of these titles and epithets, “Princess, great of praises, Lady of charm, sweet of love, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt,” are also given to Isis herself in Hymn III of the north wall of the Sanctuary. As I stated in the study of that hymn (see chap. 3, Commentary), these titles and epithets are given to Isis as queen and as High Priestess and Divine Spouse of Amun.<sup>100</sup> Arsinoë’s close association with Isis, not only in the Sanctuary, but in other reliefs of the temple as well, in which she either alone, as in Room V (see pl. 9)<sup>101</sup> or in company with Isis, as in Rooms I and VII (see pl. 10),<sup>102</sup> receives divine offerings from Ptolemy II, would seem to indicate that the queen, exalted to a divine rank, acts, like Isis herself, in a double role: together with Isis, or alone, she is the beneficiary of the cult exhibited to her by the king, and, like Isis herself, she is the High Priestess of the temple and the Divine Spouse of Amun. It would seem that such an exalted position of Arsinoë in the temple could hardly have been effected through royal initiative alone—which, in addition to bestowing divine honors upon Arsinoë, also intended to assert once more, and in stronger terms than Theocritus did, the legitimacy of the king’s marriage to her—but that it required the acceptance of the high priestly authorities at Philae. Through this introduction into the temple, Arsinoë became a temple-sharing goddess, a *synnaos theos*, a fact that was of great consequence for the development of the Ptolemaic dynastic cult, which at that time was still being elaborated. It would thus appear that the inclusion of Arsinoë in the two reliefs of the Sanctuary at Philae was not entirely extraneous to the context of other representations in that Sanctuary. Though not associated with the Consecration Rite, Arsinoë’s presence there is to some extent justified by her association with Isis, for whose glory all the main texts of the Sanctuary, directly or indirectly connected with the Consecration Rite, were composed.

At the end of Hymn VI, the poet returns to the theme of Isis as uraeus-diadem of the sun-god. As if to reassure the goddess that, after coming to her Sanctuary and uniting herself with her images, she will still retain unlimited freedom of movement, he tells her that Re will never be far from her, and that she, as his uraeus, will be able to traverse the Netherworld with him on his nocturnal journey and meet her husband-brother, Osiris there. One may tend to explain this line of Hymn VI as referring to a fully anthropomorphic Isis as she is represented in the sun-barque on one of the Shrines of Tutankhamun, discussed in Hymn V (see chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 2). That Isis was indeed believed to travel with the sun-god on his daily as well as nocturnal journey is also stated in a hymn to her in Room VII of her temple at Philae: “Adoration to you in the night-barque, jubilation to you in the day-barque. . . . Beloved of Re, you are in his barque repelling Apopis with the potency of your utterances.”<sup>103</sup> As I mentioned in the Commentary to Hymn V, a partially illustrating parallel to this text is seen in the Seventh Hour of the Book of Amduat, in which Isis, represented fully anthropomorphically and standing at the prow of the solar barque, extends her arm toward Apopis and with the efficacy of her utterances deprives this enemy of the sun-god of his power.<sup>104</sup> However, in the light of what has been said in Hymns V and VI of the goddess as the “Uraeus of Re, the Coiled One upon his head, who

gives orders in the barque of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt," "Whom Re has raised upon his head, who shines as the Diadem on his forehead," and in view of the fact that such epithets were originally attributed to Hathor as uraeus, it is to be assumed that the statement in Hymn VI refers to Isis as the uraeus of the sun-god. It is quite possible that both images of Isis, as an anthropomorphic deity and as a uraeus, were superimposed in the mind of the priestly poet, who, when composing these hymns to Isis, made use of several ancient writings and illustrations.

At the end of the second building inscription, it is said of the Sanctuary at Philae that it is "filled with gold, like the horizon supporting the sun-disc." The word translated here "filled (with gold)," is written *nḳ* (*m nbw*), which, according to *Wb.* II, 343, 2, is "alte Schreibung für *nḳr*, 'sieben.'" It is interesting to find this "alte Schreibung" in a Ptolemaic text, though this should not be considered unusual. The phrase *nḳ m nbw* is synonymous with *mḥ t3 m nḳr*, *bḥ t3 m nḳr*, *ḥr t3 m nḳr*, *stī t3 m nḳr*, recorded in *Wb.* II, 344, 13–16, except that the Philae text—as well as a later Edfu text, *nḳr m nbw shḳr m drww*, "filled with gold and adorned with colors" (cf. *Wb.* II, 344, 17, "mit Gold bestäubt")—refers to the temple, or the Sanctuary, as being filled with gold or "gold-dust." The phrase *mḥ t3 m nḳr* also occurs in an inscription of the First Pylon at Philae, in which "the Golden One," that is, Isis, is said to be "one who illumines the Two Lands with her radiance, and fills the earth with gold-dust."<sup>105</sup> All these phrases were originally used of the sun-god and are known from earlier texts; for example, in a hymn of the Berlin Papyrus 3049, it is said of the sun-god that, when he rises in the sky and spreads his radiance, "he illumines the earth with gold (*shḳ t3 m nbw*)." <sup>106</sup> In the Philae text *nḳ m nbw* follows the phrase *ḳd m inr ḥd nfr rwd*, "built of perfect and durable sandstone, and filled with gold," both *ḳd* and *nḳ(r)* being passive participles. Earlier, in the Commentary to Hymn II, I mentioned that, as in some other temples, at Philae, too, "the gold" referring to deities was not always a mere metaphor, but that it indicated the reality of their presence in their golden images. In the example quoted above, the phrases *mḥ t3 m nbw*, *mḥ t3 m nḳr*, and so on, or the Philae reading *nḳ m nbw (mī 3ḥt ḥr itn)*, can certainly be explained metaphorically, especially since comparison is often made with the sun-god who fills the earth with "gold," or "gold-dust," that is, with the radiance observed on the horizon at his rising. This metaphoric usage of *nḳr*, however, does not exclude the possibility that "the gold," mentioned in the Philae text in reference to the Sanctuary, may also refer to the brilliant appearance or radiance of the gilded divine images of the reliefs. In connection with this I wish to mention that the magnificent relief of Hathor on a block that once belonged to the temple of Amasis at Philae and later was reused in the construction of the Second Pylon,<sup>107</sup> not only had the headdress of the goddess, as well as the hieroglyphs that accompany the offering scene, painted in well-preserved red and blue colors, but also showed remnants of the gold leaf with which the entire sun-disc between the horns of the goddess's crown was covered. There is no doubt that the practice of covering the bodies, or parts thereof, of the divine images with gold leaf continued at Philae and elsewhere during the Ptolemaic Pe-

riod, as Daumas and others were able to ascertain.<sup>108</sup> Certainly, during the many long years of the submersion of the island, the waters of the Nile have obliterated some important features that could clearly indicate the original state of decoration of the walls of the temple. Almost all coloring has disappeared, and any layers of plaster that may have existed and were necessary for the application of gold leaf to the images of the reliefs have dissolved; many surfaces have been discolored and covered with slime deposited by the waters, or in some cases worn away by the action of the water. Furthermore, iconoclasts and vandals, of ancient and modern times, have left their permanent marks on the figures of the reliefs. It is reasonable to assume that, just as at Edfu and Dendera, so too at Philae, the images of the Sanctuary, or, more probably, some of their parts, were originally covered with gold leaf, traces of which have long disappeared. Some of the holes observed on the walls are circular and seem to be of ancient date; they may have served for the insertion of wooden pegs to which thin leaves of gold were fastened, although this seems to have been the method of application of gold leaves on exterior surfaces. The words of the hymns also seem conducive to such an assumption. In Hymn II (see chap. 2, Translation, and Commentary, sec. 1), Osiris is referred to as "the supreme overseer of the Golden Ones in the temples," that is, the deities who, like himself, may have been represented as golden, or gilded images. And, in spite of the fact that the words addressed to Isis to come and protect her Sanctuary "filled with gold like the horizon supporting the sun-disc" may, in one way or another, also be interpreted metaphorically, it should be stressed that here they are applied to the innermost part of the temple, the Holy of Holies, enveloped in an almost perpetual penumbra, and that the golden radiance referred to could have been effected only by the shafts of light that penetrated the Sanctuary through the two small rectangular and downward-slanting apertures<sup>109</sup> at the top of the east and west walls and illumined the gilded images of the reliefs, or by the torch (or the candle) that cast its light on the gilded images during the performance of the early morning ritual. Thus, although there is no direct, clear, material proof of the existence of gilded images in the Sanctuary of the temple, the pre-Ptolemaic as well as Ptolemaic tradition of this practice at Philae and elsewhere, and the possible allusions to it in the hymns of the Sanctuary, make it probable that, at some particular moments, the Sanctuary of Isis did indeed appear "filled with gold."

It is hardly possible to leave the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis without a feeling of appreciation for the unity of design that holds the multiplicity of figures and representational symbols in perfect balance and harmony. More than twenty-two centuries have elapsed since the Sanctuary was built, and, in spite of the damage to it in ancient and modern times, the visitor is still impressed by the aesthetic arrangement of its figures, by their proper proportions, and, in a special way, by an aura of animation that amidst the apparent tranquility of the images, permeates the entire Sanctuary. This aura is enhanced by two factors: the scenes of the lintel that surmounts the two door jambs of the south wall and spans the entire width of the Sanctuary from east to west; and the processions of



the "Nile-gods," which, proceeding simultaneously along the southeastern and southwestern walls, converge at the feet of Isis on the north wall of the Sanctuary.

1. One decorative motif of the lintel (see pl. 4), that of two deities extending the ankh sign to the nostrils of the king represented in the form of a falcon, is, in its many variations, a well-known feature of Egyptian temple decoration. At Philae, its particular design is part of a local tradition that antedates the Ptolemaic Period; a brief discussion of this motif as it occurs here in Room X and in some other places in the Temple of Isis will contribute to its better understanding. In harmony with the representations of the goddess on the north wall of the Sanctuary (see pl. 3), two images of Isis are enthroned back-to-back in the center of the lintel of the south wall and are separated by two vertical inscriptions.<sup>110</sup> On the left (spectator's left) side, the king offers "to his mother Isis" two jars of wine, and on the right (spectator's right), two jars of beer (see pl. 4). Following the early Ptolemaic canon of orientation consistently observed throughout the temple, on the right, west side, the king wears the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, and on the left, east side, the White Crown of Upper Egypt. In the legend engraved on the left, east side, above the enthroned Isis, the goddess is referred to as "Isis, the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae," and in the legend on the right, west side (that is, the side of Biggeh), she is called "Isis, Giver of life, Lady of life, residing in the Sacred Mound (Abaton)";<sup>111</sup> just as in the median vertical inscriptions of the north wall, so too, in the two vertical inscriptions that separate the two seated figures of Isis on the lintel of the south wall, the goddess reciprocates the largess of the king; here she says: "I have given you strength against the southerners, victory against the northerners, all the flat lands, and all the hill countries and (their) allies are united under your sandals forever," and "I have given you all life, all dominion, all health, all joy; all the flat lands and all the hill countries are subdued under your sandals forever." In the legend above the right and left figure of the king, he is indeed said to be "given life and all joy." In the left corner of the lintel, the goddess Nekhbet, "the White One, Lady of Nekhen, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods," extends the sign of life to the falcon on the Serekh, within which the name of *Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-Imn* is inscribed; almost touching the nostrils of the falcon, the goddess says: "Joy, joy to your nostrils, Lord of Crowns, beloved of Isis, Giver of life; I have given you all life and dominion; I have given you all strength." In the right corner of the lintel, the goddess "Edjo, Lady of Pe and Dep, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods," represented in the same attitude, extends the sign of life toward the falcon on the Serekh, within which the name "Ptolemy" is inscribed, and says: "I give (lit.: make) life to (your) nostrils, O perfect god, Lord of the Two Lands, beloved of Re; I have given you all life and dominion, I have given you the Two Lands in peace."<sup>112</sup> All these scenes are surmounted by the sign of the sky, supported at the corners by the *w3s*-scepters; under the sky hovers the sun-globe with the outstretched wings and two uraei, with a legend on either side of the wings: "The Behdetite, Great god, Lord of Heaven, dappled of plumage, Giver of life." With the exception of the legends illustrating the two offering scenes, the king does not speak in the inscriptions of the lintel, and rightly so; he has just recited the two

hymns to the goddess, inviting her to come to see and inhabit the temple that he has built for her. In the scenes of the lintel, he is told how he has been rewarded for his work. The occurrence of the motif of the king as the falcon on the Serekh on the lintel of the south wall of the Sanctuary is thus particularly relevant to the text of Hymns V and VI, at the end of which the prayer for the king addressed to Isis asks the goddess to grant that “he may gloriously appear as the falcon on the Serekh.”

A variation of the motif of a deity (or deities) extending the ankh-sign to a falcon on the Serekh representing the king is seen on the lintel of the south wall of Room I of the Temple of Isis.<sup>113</sup> The arrangement of the scenes is different from that of the lintel of the south wall of Room X, and some additional features are present in it, but all characteristic elements of the motif are there. Two Serekhs with falcons are juxtaposed in the center of the lintel; within each of the Serekhs the word *Hwn*, “the Youth,” referring to the king, is inscribed, while his names Ptolemy and *Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-3Imn*, enclosed within two cartouches, are placed directly below the two Serekhs. Here, it is Isis herself who extends the sign of life to the two falcons on the Serekhs with the words: “Life to your nostrils, O perfect god, lord of the Two Lands, beloved of Amun, given life,” and “Life to your nostrils, O perfect god, beloved of Re, given life and dominion like Re.” Here too, on the left, east side, Isis is called “Lady of Philae,” while on the right, west side, the side of Biggeh, she is referred to as “Isis, Giver of life, residing in Abaton.” In the left corner of the lintel, the king offers myrrh “to his mother Nephthys.” He is referred to as “the perfect god who presents the myrrh as seasonal festival oblation and provides life with its offerings.”<sup>114</sup> The goddess acknowledges the offering, saying: “How beautiful it is that you come with divine fragrance; you have brought (to me) the myrrh of Punt, having reached God’s land.”<sup>115</sup> In the right corner of the lintel, the king is “offering wine to his mother Hathor, Lady of Biggeh” who responds: “Welcome in peace, my beloved son, you satisfy my heart with what it loves (lit.: with its love); I have given you whatever grows on the surface of the earth for ever.”<sup>116</sup>

As I mentioned, there are some additional elements represented on this lintel of Room I: the benu-bird,<sup>117</sup> the phoenix, perched on the top of a high standard to the left side of the central scene; and a falcon on top of a high standard to the right side of the central scene. Both the benu-bird and the falcon represent the king, as the legends referring to them indicate. The legend below the phoenix consists of two vertical lines and reads: “Lord of the Two Lands, *Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-3Imn*, the Great One of Egypt, the Lord of the Crowns, son of Re upon his throne,” and “Perfect god, of numerous jubilees, leader of millions (who are) in unison with him.”<sup>118</sup> The legend below the falcon’s standard, also consisting of two lines, reads: “Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy, established like the falcon upon the Serekh,” and “Perfect god, the falcon who attacks those who extend their claws (against him).”<sup>119</sup> At first glance, it may appear strange to see the phoenix, a manifestation and incarnation of Re and Osiris, representing the king. Although the identification of the deceased with the benu-bird is well known from the mortuary texts, especially from the Transformation Spells of the Book of the Dead,<sup>120</sup> references to the living king as the phoenix are very rare and uncertain. In a

ritual text at the temple of Abydos, the officiant representing the king says: "I am a High Priest, the son of a High Priest. . . . I am that Phoenix which is in Heliopolis."<sup>121</sup> There are, however, in the legends of this Room I, some phrases that may have appeared to the Philae theologian conducive to the identification of the king and the phoenix. Thus, for example, the king is referred to as "son of Re, on his throne," and "the perfect god of numerous jubilees"; the phoenix is also sometimes called "son of Re,"<sup>122</sup> and "Lord of Jubilees."<sup>123</sup> It is also associated with the inundation waters, as "one who rules over the river,"<sup>124</sup> the word for inundation itself being represented with the image of a phoenix (or heron) on a perch. In the vertical inscription of the extreme right, behind the king offering the wine to Hathor, Ptolemy II is referred to as "the perfect god who inundates the Eye of Horus with its efficiency, being a good ruler, Inaugurator of a new era (lit.: Repeater of Births), Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy, forever,"<sup>125</sup> a statement in which the beneficent activity of the king for his land and its temples is likened to the yearly inundation of the Nile, and where the reference to the king as an inaugurator of a new era may be likened to the periodical return of the phoenix and its connection with the jubilee-festival and the ished-tree, a symbol of a long reign.<sup>126</sup>

There is another, very simplified representation of the same motif of the king as falcon on the Serekh on the west wall of Room VII of the Temple of Isis, above the lintel of the doorway to Room VIII.<sup>127</sup> In it the central part of the relief is occupied by three large cartouches; the one in the middle is inscribed with the name "Ptolemy," and the two lateral ones with *Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-3Imn*; in the right corner of the relief, the goddess "Anukis, Lady of Sehel," is shown seated and extending the ankh-sign toward the falcon on the Serekh, within which the word *Hwn*, "the Youth," is inscribed; in the left corner of the relief "Meret of the North," shown in a standing position, extends the ankh-sign to the falcon on the Serekh, within which the same word *Hwn*, "the Youth," is inscribed; in both cases, "the Youth" refers to the king, Ptolemy II.

Without any claim to being exhaustive, I refer to one more example of the occurrence of the motif of the King as falcon on the Serekh at Philae, which shows that its representation, though in somewhat degraded form, was carried on into the late Ptolemaic Period, and which also serves as a point of connection with the oldest such representation at Philae. I am referring to the inner lintel of the southeast doorway of the Hypostyle Hall,<sup>128</sup> in which Ptolemy VIII is shown before Hathor in the left corner, and before Nephthys in the right corner; the central scene consists of two images of Isis, seated back-to-back, each of them extending the sign of life to the falcon on a pedestal, which here replaces the Serekh, with the words: "I give life to your nostrils." Here too, Isis on the left side is referred to as "Lady of Philae, Mistress of southern foreign lands," and on the right side as "Lady of Abaton, Mistress of Biggeh."<sup>129</sup> The whole relief is of inferior quality, and it is not clear whether the engraver, who may have worked from an inadequate draft, understood the significance of the motif.

The dismantling of the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Isis at Philae yielded a large block decorated with the motif of the king as falcon on the Serekh. The block once belonged to the temple of Amasis and was reused in the construction of the lintel of the southeast doorway of the Hypostyle Hall.<sup>130</sup> To be more pre-

cise, this block was found embedded in the wall behind the inner lintel of the doorway, that is, the lintel decorated in the time of Ptolemy VIII already discussed; the outer face of the block formed the outer lintel of the doorway and was decorated in the time of Tiberius. Just as in the relief of the lintel of Room I, so in the relief of the block of Amasis, the motif of the king as falcon on the Serekh occupies the center of the lintel, with the difference that in the relief of Amasis the two cartouches with king's names are placed on the same horizontal level and in an alternating sequence with the two Serekhs, and that the two deities who extend the sign of life to the falcons are not identified by the legends. The one on the left, with human body and leonine face, may be Sakhmet or Bastet; Bastet is represented in the same attitude extending the ankh-sign to the nostrils of Pepi I in a well-known relief from Tell Basta.<sup>131</sup> The goddess on the right, represented fully anthropomorphically, with a simplified vulture headdress, is probably *Dpyt*, the goddess of Dep, or Edjo; it is to be noticed that this goddess appears on another reused block of Amasis with apparently the same headdress, holding the papyrus (*w3d*)-scepter in her hand, and with the legend *Dpt* (*Dpyt*).<sup>132</sup> It is also to be recalled that in the lintel of Room X, the goddess *W3dyt* (Edjo), Lady of Dep and Pe, who extends the ankh-sign to the falcon in the right corner of the relief, also wears a vulture headdress, exactly the same as that of her counterpart in the left corner of the relief, *Nhbt hdt Nhn*, "Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen," shown with the determinative of an erect cobra. As in the lintel of Room I, so on the block of Amasis, offering scenes are represented in the right and left corners of the relief, except that in the latter the king faces the deity in an outward direction, while in the former he is shown in the opposite, inward direction. The two goddesses to whom Amasis makes offerings are missing, except for the lower part of the body of the one in the extreme right corner, who is shown in seated position, holding a scepter in her right hand; the assumption is that the missing goddess in the extreme left corner of the relief was represented in the same attitude. Although it cannot be ascertained from the damaged right upper corner of the block, it is possible that Amasis was offering to the goddess either wine, as he appears to be doing in the left corner, or beer, as in the corresponding scene on the lintel of Room X. In spite of these differences between the lintel of Amasis and the lintels of the Temple of Isis—differences that were the result of an independent arrangement of the scenes, more copious inscriptions, and thus a necessary division of the scenes into registers on the part of the Ptolemaic sculptors—it is possible that the relief of Amasis served as a model for the Ptolemaic artists when they were about to decorate the temple built by Ptolemy II. It also appears that this lintel of Amasis, together with the other blocks that belonged to his temple, remained lying in the temple area until the time of Ptolemy VI, who reused them in the construction of the Hypostyle Hall and the Second Pylon, edifices that were later decorated by his brother Ptolemy VIII.

In all their apparent static attitude, the figures of the scenes of the lintels of the Temple of Isis at Philae are animated by the inner power of the written and spoken words of Isis and the goddesses of her retinue to the king in his various appear-

ances: in human form as a perpetual youth, as falcon, and as phoenix; they are animated, in a special way, by the gestures of the goddesses, who extend the ankh-sign to the nostrils of the falcon representing the king. The king, the only intermediary between the gods and men, through daily ritual offerings in the temple renews the life of the deities, and they, as a recompense, infuse a new breath of life into his images and thus maintain him in the state of a perpetual youth, all the while endlessly repeating assurances of their protection and of benefits for him, and, implicitly, for the land he rules. In all these scenes, Isis plays a preeminent role among the goddesses of her entourage; it is she who, in her double role as goddess of Philae and Biggeh, as the sovereign deity of the four corners of the earth, stands in a special relation to her son Horus, the king; she, herself or through the goddesses around her, infuses him with new life and bestows upon him all the benefits that gesture signifies; she does so as a reward for his having built for her her House, her earthly residence at Philae.

2. While the scenes of the motif of the deity (or deities) extending the ankh-sign to the falcon on the Serekh represented in the lintels of the Temple of Isis appear animated by the inner power of the written and spoken word and by the gestures of Isis and the goddesses associated with her, the representation of the procession of the "Nile-gods," or, as Baines appropriately calls them, "Fecundity Figures,"<sup>133</sup> on the bases of the Temple of Isis (see pls. 5 and 3, bases), is all movement: a parallel, eastern and western, northern and southern rhythmic progression toward the central point of the Sanctuary. The whole procession of the fecundity figures, or gift-bearers, is inspired by the idea that the king, as the living Horus and the only intermediary between the goddess and her people, brings to his mother, the sovereign deity of the temple, all the produce and the riches of the land amidst joy and jubilation, a ritual act that symbolizes the integrity and indissolubility of the two halves of the land of Egypt. As will be seen, however, this general characterization of the procession of the "Nile-gods" takes on a specific meaning in the Sanctuary. What is remarkable in the application of this motif to the Temple of Isis at Philae is the manner in which the designer, from the outset, directed the whole procession toward the Sanctuary and thus joined all the rooms of the temple in a harmonious relationship. The procession begins in Room I, with the fecundity figures carrying the standards of the Egyptian and Nubian nomes, but then, from the Court through Room V and Room VII, these figures appear in their more conventional form, carrying offering vases adorned with papyrus and lotus stalks and flowers. The figures are separated from one another by the legends, which, with a refrainlike repetition, accompany the rhythmic march of the figures and describe the manifold gifts of the land that the procession brings to Isis. The leader of the procession is the king himself, who, on both jambs of the northern doorway of each room, appears at the head of the procession. Following the canon of the early Ptolemaic orientation of royal figures, on each of the eastern jambs of the doorway he wears the White Crown of Upper Egypt, and on the western jambs, the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, while the legends accompanying the fecundity figures designate their gifts as coming from the southern, or northern parts of the country or from both.

Without going into further discussion of some particular aspects of the procession in relation to various rooms of the temple through which it passes, I wish briefly to describe its appearance in Room X, the Sanctuary, with which this study is particularly concerned. When the cortège reaches the Sanctuary, the legends cease. The figures of the gift-bearers, with rich bouquets of papyrus and lotus flowers, led by the king, proceed to the final point of the procession, to the center of the north wall of the Sanctuary, where the king, at the feet of the goddess (see pl. 20), declares the specific purpose of his coming to her Sanctuary. "The Lord of the Two Lands, Usikare-meramun, has come before you, O Isis, in order that he may purify your House with lotus and papyrus,"<sup>134</sup> says the king crowned with the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, leading the western wing of the procession; and "The Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, that he may purify your House with lotus and papyrus," repeats the king crowned with the White Crown, leading the eastern wing of the procession.<sup>135</sup> In both purificatory utterances, the lotus and papyrus are mentioned, and this is in keeping with the character of the procession, in which the bouquets, intercalated between the figures of the gift-bearers on all four walls, consist of papyrus or lotus plants, but frequently of both.<sup>136</sup> The figures of the gift-bearers themselves, however, are clearly distinguished by the emblems that they carry on their heads: those representing the north, seen on the west side of the south wall and on the west wall, carry papyrus plants on their heads; those representing the south, seen on the east side of the south wall and on the east wall, carry "lilies of the South" on their heads.<sup>137</sup> This is consistently observed in the other rooms of the temple, as can best be seen in the long double procession of the fecundity figures in Room VII. It is noticeable that the papyrus and lotus bouquets of Room X are as tall as the figures of the gift-bearers with their emblems on their heads, and that they are not carried, but stand on the ground, free of any support. Much more than being pure decorative and generally symbolic elements accompanying the gifts of the fecundity figures, the papyrus and lotus bouquets perform an essential cultic function: it is with them that the king purifies the House of Isis, the Sanctuary, as the texts, twice repeated by the king, indicate. The cultic function of flowers, especially of the lotus and the papyrus, in relation to the gods, the deceased, and the living king, is well known.<sup>138</sup> What is of special significance here, in the Sanctuary of Philae, is the purificatory effect attributed to the lotus and papyrus. An explanation of this ritual efficacy is found in the legends of Room VII. It will be remembered that this is the room (*wsht psdt*, Room of the Ennead) from which the procession of gift-bearers or fecundity figures gains direct access to the Sanctuary with which Room VII stands in a special relationship.<sup>139</sup> There, in Room VII, the legends that accompany the fecundity figures on the west side of the south wall read: "I am bringing you the South and the North with their produce; I am bringing you every perfect thing that comes forth from the North; I am bringing you the northern Hapy with the blue and white lotus; I am bringing you the northern Hapy with the papyrus."<sup>140</sup> The blue lotus mentioned here is represented as a blue lotus bud, and the white lotus as the white lotus leaf, both as *pars pro toto*, indicating the plants and flowers of the blue and white lotuses. The papyrus mentioned at the end of the legend is represented as

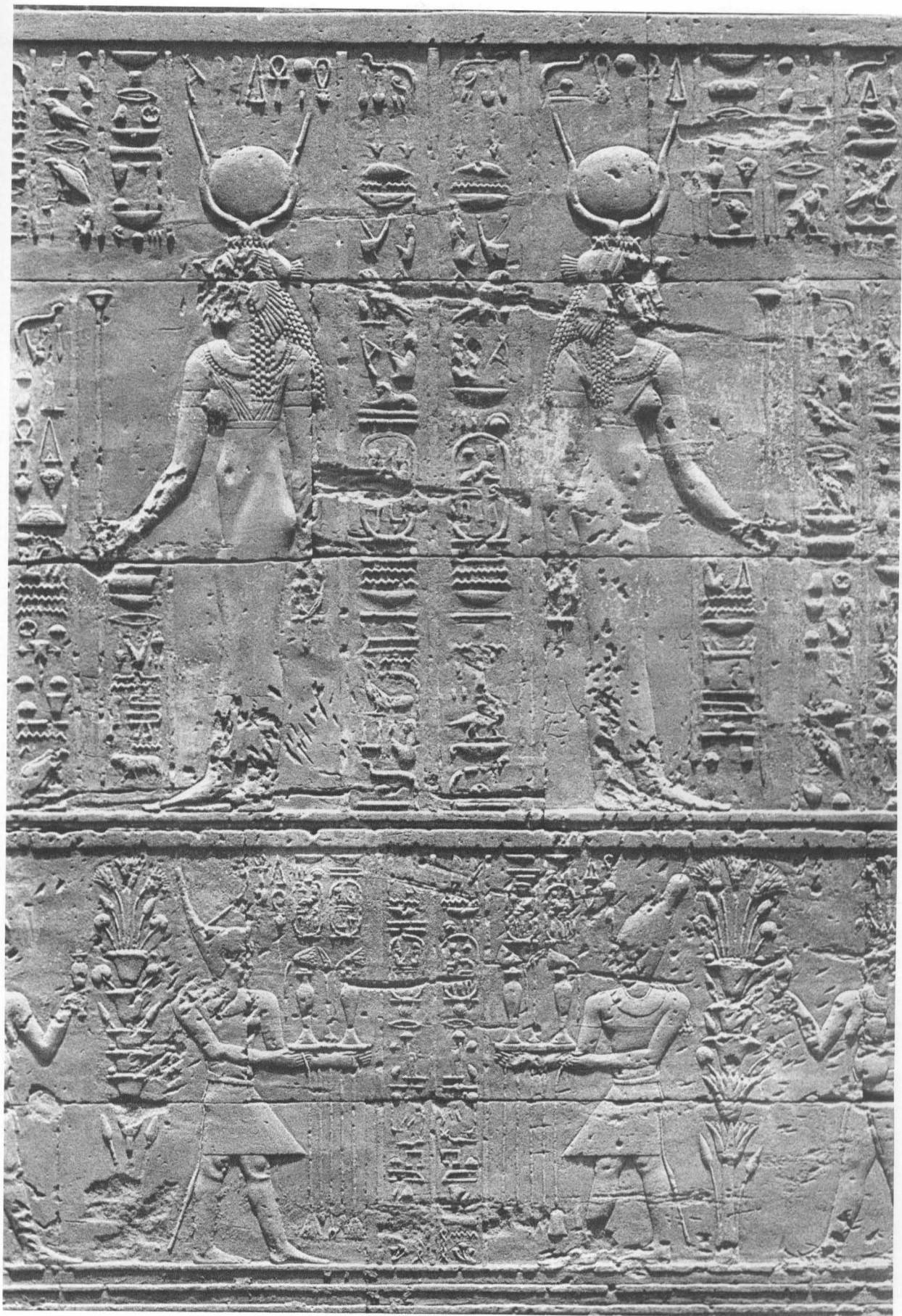


PLATE 20. Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, part of the two lower registers and the base

the papyrus umbel, probably to be read *mnḥ*, as in the two legends of Room X. "The northern Hapy with papyrus" parallels and complements "the northern Hapy with the blue and white lotus." It is to be noticed that the gift-bearers or fecundity figures on the west side of the south wall and on the west wall of Room VII (see pl. 5), since they represent the north, wear papyrus emblems on their heads<sup>141</sup> while the libation vases that they carry are adorned with lotus and papyrus. Thus there is a harmonious relationship between the representations of the fecundity figures and the legends pertaining to them. The legends that accompany them on the west wall of Room VII introduce the king, who, though not represented, is referred to with the words: "The Lord of Crowns, Ptolemy, has come to you, O Isis, bringing you the northern Hapy, the possessor of green plants, carrying with his hands the lotus and papyrus, presenting them (lit.: giving thereof) to your Ka," and then the legend continues: "I am bringing to you Hapy from his cavern, (Hapy) who brings abundance and purifies; I am bringing to you all the provisions of the pure northern Hapy; I am bringing to you the northern Hapy with all the flowers."<sup>142</sup> The lotus and papyrus mentioned in this legend are represented as the blue lotus flower, to be read *sšn*, and as the papyrus bud, standing for the papyrus plant, probably to be read *mnḥ*, as in the legends of Room X.<sup>143</sup> The legend that accompanies the procession of the offering-bearers on the east wall of Room VII again introduces the king, not represented in person, as performing the function of the offering-bearers: "It is in order to purify your House that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt has come before you, O Isis, bringing you the southern Hapy with the pure libation water from Biggeh."<sup>144</sup> Though the papyrus and lotus are not mentioned in it, the legend is significant, since it clearly announces the purpose of the king's coming to the goddess: to purify her Sanctuary, a fuller statement of which is found in the legends of Room X, the final point of the procession. In agreement with the rules of orientation, the offering-bearers or fecundity figures on the east wall of Room VII, since they represent the south, wear on their heads the "lilies of the South" emblems, while the libation vases that they carry are adorned with lotus flowers and papyrus umbels. In two of the legends of Room VII, the papyrus and lotus brought to Isis by the gift-bearers, or by the king leading them, are associated with Hapy, the divinized inundation (or god of inundation), who himself is being brought by the king to purify the House of Isis with pure libation water. From this association of the papyrus and lotus with Hapy, the two plants derive their purificatory efficacy, as is clearly expressed in the two central legends of the north wall of the Sanctuary. Having been imbued with this special quality, the papyrus and lotus become independent numinous entities, and as such they appear in the procession of Room X, where, in various combinations of forms, intercalated between the gift-bearers, they proceed with them toward the sacred images of the north wall, the final point toward which the procession was directed from the outset. The two legends, inserted between the two figures of the king at the feet of the goddess, fully state the purpose of his coming before her: the purification of her House, announced, as in a prelude to the final ceremony, in the legend of the east wall of Room VII. This purification ceremony, which was conspicuously missing in the hymns and other texts of the Sanctuary discussed thus far, com-



pletes the Consecration Rite of the day of "Giving the House to its Mistress." As a brief caption, the ceremony of purification is mentioned in the directory of the consecration of the temple of Edfu as having taken place in that temple at the end of the Consecration Rite.<sup>145</sup> It is reasonable to assume that at Philae, too, it was performed at the end of the same rite, perhaps immediately before the recitation of Hymns V and VI. In keeping with the particular character and function of the texts of the Sanctuary at Philae, this final ceremony of purification was performed by the king, who, impersonating the fecundity figures, or together with them, brings the riches of the two halves of the land, that is, the land in its entirety, to the sovereign goddess and then purifies her House with pure libation water and with the symbols of sacramental efficacy, the lotus and papyrus.



## HYMN VII

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room VII, west wall, lowest register (see pl. 21 and fig. 8; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, pp. 44f., tabl. VI; Berlin Philae Photograph 1082).

Ptolemy II plays the sistra before Isis; the legend below his left hand reads: *ir(t) sššw*,<sup>1</sup> “playing the sistra.” The text begins with the first long vertical line in front of Isis:



PLATE 21. Temple of Isis, Room VII, west wall, lowest register, Hymn VII



FIGURE 8

ʿIi.n nsw-bitī Wsr-k̄-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-ʿImn s̄ R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwm̄ys hr.t ʿst wrt mwt-ntr in.f  
n.t sšw r shtp.t im.f. Dd mdw:

ʿIr(.i) sšw m hr.t nfr  
ʿst di(t) ʿnh hr(yt)-ib ʿIst-w<sup>c</sup>bt  
ʿIrt-R<sup>c</sup> iwty sn-nwt.s m pt t̄

Wr(t) mrwt hnwt hmwt  
Mh(t) pt t̄ m nfrw.s  
Mwt-ntr n K̄-mwt.f  
Hmt-nsu wrt n Wn-nfr

Šps(t) nbt ʿst m Hwt-Srw  
Nht(t) m Hwt-bnbn  
Nb(t) nmtt m wī n h̄  
ʿIr(t) shrw m dpt-ntr

Ntrt ʿst m Hwt-k̄-Pth<sup>2</sup>  
Hnwt n T̄-ʿnh  
Hk̄st m W̄st nb(t) Išrw  
ʿ(t) h<sup>c</sup>w m Snmwt  
Ntrt ʿst hntyt T̄-Šm<sup>c</sup>w  
Hnwt m T̄-Mhw  
Htp hr.t nfr(t) n s̄.t Hr Ptlwm̄ys

Hy nbt šri(t) n Mnhyt  
Nb(t) W̄dt nb(t) P hnwt Dp  
K̄(t) h̄dt m Nh̄b  
Nb(t) ʿIst-W<sup>c</sup>bt hnwt ʿIw-rk̄  
N(t)t ʿIimw<sup>3</sup> k̄(t) m S̄w  
Nt nb(t) trrk<sup>4</sup> m hnt<sup>5</sup> w̄d(t)  
H<sup>c</sup>wt m P hwnw m Dp  
Hwi.t s̄ R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwm̄ys dt

## TRANSLATION

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usikare-meramun, Son of Re, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, the Great, God's mother, bringing you the sistra to pacify you with them.<sup>6</sup>

I play the sistra before your beautiful face,  
Isis, Giver of Life, residing in the Sacred Mound,  
Eye of Re who has no equal in Heaven and on earth.

Great of love, mistress of women,<sup>7</sup>  
Who fills Heaven and earth with her beauty,  
Divine mother of Kamutef,<sup>8</sup>  
Great Royal Spouse of Onnophris.<sup>9</sup>

The August One, Great Lady in the Hall of the Prince,<sup>10</sup>  
The Mighty One in the Mansion of the sacred benben stone,<sup>11</sup>  
One who moves freely<sup>12</sup> in the barque of millions,<sup>13</sup>  
Who governs the divine barque.<sup>14</sup>

Great goddess in Hikuptah,<sup>15</sup>  
Mistress of Ta-ankh,<sup>16</sup>  
Ruler in Thebes and Lady of Ishru,<sup>17</sup>  
Great of manifestations in Biggeh:<sup>18</sup>  
Great goddess preeminent in Upper Egypt,  
Mistress of Lower Egypt,  
May your beautiful face be gracious to your son Horus, Ptolemy.

Hail, Lady, daughter of Menhyt,<sup>19</sup>  
Lady of Buto, Lady of Pe, Mistress of Dep,<sup>20</sup>  
With tall White Crown in El-Kâb,<sup>21</sup>  
Lady of the Sacred Mound, Mistress of Philae,<sup>22</sup>  
To you belongs Imu,<sup>23</sup> you who are exalted in Sais,<sup>24</sup>  
Neith, Lady of inebriation in (the season of) the fresh inundation waters,<sup>25</sup>  
Jubilation in Pe, rejuvenation in Dep:<sup>26</sup>  
Protect the Son of Re, Ptolemy, forever.

In a brief legend engraved below her right arm holding the scepter, Isis "the Great, God's mother, Lady of Philae," speaks to Ptolemy: "I have given you very many jubilees."

## COMMENTARY

The initial legend of Hymn VII announces the purpose of the king in coming before the goddess: with the recitation of the hymn accompanied by the playing

of the sistra he wishes to pacify her, whose power is unequalled in Heaven and on earth. In the first strophe, Isis is praised as the goddess of love and beauty, as the mother of the procreator god Kamutef, and as the royal spouse of Osiris; the last of these is a special distinction of hers, which has been repeatedly emphasized in Hymn II. In the first couplet of strophe 2, the goddess is referred to as august, great, and mighty lady in “the Hall of the Prince” and “in the Mansion of the benben stone,” places in Heliopolis with which the sun-god was associated from the earliest times. This connection of Isis with Heliopolis has already been mentioned in Hymn VI, in which the goddess appears as the object of worship and solemn festivities originally associated with the sun-god in this principal city of his cult. The relationship of Isis with the sun-god, though in a different context, is also referred to in the following couplet; there, as in some instances of the preceding hymns and as in the following Hymn VIII, she is described as the most prominent among the deities of the sun-barque, “the barque of millions”: she is the one who governs its course. The following seven lines are to be taken as a unit; the first four contain a list of four localities arranged in a consecutive topographical order from north to south, places in which the goddess had her centers of worship: Memphis, Ta-ankh, near Asyut, Thebes, with Ishru, and Biggeh. These four localities represent here, roughly speaking, the entire land of Egypt. Consequently, in the following three lines, Isis as the goddess of Upper and Lower Egypt, that is, of the entire land, is asked to be “gracious,” benevolent, well disposed, to her son Ptolemy, identified with her divine son Horus. With the following eight lines, which are also to be taken as a unit, the priestly poet resumed enumeration of the important localities of the Isiac cult; in this list of places, however, he describes the goddess as having achieved her cultic prominence through assimilation to or identification with the goddesses of those localities; also, in this second list, the poet does not proceed in consecutive topographical order from north to south or vice versa, but, in a general and eclectic way, he contrasts northern cult places to southern ones: Buto, Pe, and Dep in the north to El-Kâb, Abaton, and Philae in the south, then returning north: Imau (Kôm El-Hisn), Sais, Pe, Dep. This second geographic list, too, ends with an epiclesis, in which Isis is asked to protect her son, here called Son of Re, Ptolemy. This is a summary of the general content of Hymn VII. A deeper analysis of its structure and phraseology, however, reveals some remarkable features, which I will briefly discuss.

1. First of all, there is here another example of the adaptation of ancient texts to the theological and ritual needs of the cult of a new sovereign deity, which has been stressed in several instances in the discussion of these hymns. In the case of Hymn VII, it is the first, the shorter geographic list that establishes the link with the old literary tradition. In spite of its shortness, this list calls to mind the long “list of goddesses” contained in the three versions of the hymn or litany of “Victorious Thebes” to Amun (see nn. 16, 20, 23). In it, Isis is indeed mentioned three times, as Isis of Coptos, Abydos, and Akhmim, who, together with other goddesses, praises and propitiates Amun; it is, however, Hathor, with her seventeen epithets that represent various places of her worship throughout Egypt, who



plays the most prominent role among the goddesses of the list. Hathor alone is said to be “Lady of Egypt (*Nbt Kmt*)”; she alone is called “Sole Mistress (*Hnwt w'tyt*)” of the land. It is reasonable to assume that the priestly poet of Philae knew this hymn of “Victorious Thebes,” and that, when composing his own hymn to Isis, he used it as a model, which, however, he adapted to his own purpose: to celebrate Isis as supreme and unique among all the goddesses of Egypt. While in the hymn of “Victorious Thebes” the entire Ennead is said to be playing the sistra “before his (Amun’s) beautiful face,” and every city, represented by its local goddess, is praising and propitiating him, in Hymn VII it is King Ptolemy who plays the sistra “before the beautiful face” of Isis; it is Isis, associated with a number of representative cult places, who replaces Hathor and all other goddesses, as the universal goddess of the entire land. As a great goddess of Memphis, she assumes the roles of Hathor and Mut, who are associated with that city in the hymn of “Victorious Thebes”; as the ruler of Thebes and Ishru, Isis again plays the role of Hathor and Mut, the latter being associated with these places in a very special way (see n. 17); it is Isis who is “Mistress of Ta-ankh,” a locality that here represents Middle Egypt (see n. 16), and who in her “manifestation” at Biggeh—that is, in her cultic appearances in and about her sanctuary there<sup>27</sup>—is unique among all the deities of the First Cataract region, assimilating in her person also Satis, Anukis, Hathor, and other deities of that part of southern Egypt. The poet seems to have been so intent on stressing the universal and unique character of Isis that, paradoxically enough, Philae, the new center of this universal deity, plays quite a subordinate role in his hymn. Philae does not appear at all in the first geographic list, where *Snmwt* (Biggeh), as an older and, until that time, better-known center of worship of Hathor and other deities, represents the First Cataract region. Philae is mentioned in the second geographic list, but even there in an almost casual way, to complete the list of southern localities in a contrasting parallelism with the northern ones.

2. As I have already stated, in the second geographic list a different approach is used to extol Isis as a universal goddess of the land. In addition to her being associated with some important places of worship, as in the first geographic list, she is also assimilated to some of the most prominent goddesses of northern and southern Egypt, and their specific qualities are attributed to her. Through this process of assimilation or functional identification, Isis absorbed some of the most significant features of the entire female pantheon, thus again becoming the sole universal goddess of the land. As the daughter of Menhyt, a lioness-goddess, Isis herself became a lioness-goddess; as “Lady of Buto,” Pe, and Dep—that is, as Edjo, a uraeus-goddess and a goddess of the royal diadem—Isis’ function as the uraeus of Re, mentioned several times in these hymns, is again emphasized; identified with Nekhbet of El-Kâb, a vulture-goddess of Upper Egypt and of the royal diadem, the role of Isis as the goddess who stands in special relationship to the king is here, too, stressed; as the “Lady of Imu,” an early epithet of Hathor, Isis assumed the role of that powerful goddess in her own center of worship; by being assimilated to Neith of Sais, Isis also became the inundation goddess, this special relationship to the inundation having been stressed already in Hymn IV.

But this syncretistic process of assimilation had further ramifications. Each of these goddesses with whom Isis is functionally identified embodies, in addition to her main, characteristic quality, some secondary and yet equally important ones; thus Menhyt is not only a lioness-goddess, but also a uraeus-goddess,<sup>28</sup> and Edjo, the Uraeus goddess, can appear also as a lioness goddess;<sup>29</sup> Hathor, early associated with Imau, or Imu, is elsewhere frequently referred to as the uraeus of the sun-god and is associated in a special way with the divine barque; she is an irate goddess who fled to the desert and had to be propitiated and persuaded to return; she is the goddess of women and of love—all of these epithets being attributed to Isis in the preceding hymns and the following Hymn VIII. Neith of Sais is not only an inundation-goddess, but also a uraeus-goddess, the goddess of the Red Crown, a protective and bellicose goddess appropriately characterized from the beginning by two crossed bows or arrows.<sup>30</sup> By becoming assimilated to these multifunctional goddesses, and by assuming their specific qualities, Isis appears indeed as a unique, all-embracing universal goddess.

It is noticeable that the cult centers of the goddesses whose functions and attributes Isis assumed (Menhyt, Edjo, Hathor of Imau, Neith) were in the west Delta—that is, in the same region with which Isis was closely associated from early times, when, with her child Horus, she took refuge at Chemmis,<sup>31</sup> near Buto, from the murderous plottings of Seth. It is also to be recalled that the cult of Isis was promoted, and probably introduced at Philae, by the kings of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, which originated at Sais, in the west Delta, and that her cult was strongly favored at Philae by Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth Dynasty of Sebenytos, a town situated in the central Delta. In the same Hymn VII she is also associated with Heliopolis, Memphis, and Ta-anekh in Middle Egypt, and especially with Thebes, El-Kâb, Biggeh, and Philae in the southern part of the country. Thus she became truly the universal goddess of the entire land.

A hymn of a somewhat earlier date than Hymn VII, which may also have been known to the priestly poet at Philae, and which he may have utilized when composing his hymns in honor of Isis, is one to Hathor contained in the Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, published and translated by Faulkner,<sup>32</sup> and in the papyri of the parallel versions studied by Goyon.<sup>33</sup> In this hymn, Hathor is assimilated to a number of goddesses through the phrases “in this, or that, her name of. . . ,” a stylistic device also used in assonances, etiologies, and so forth known from the Hymns to the Diadem,<sup>34</sup> and later hymns.<sup>35</sup> The hymn is followed by a short litany in which the goddess, in the form “Hathor, Lady of . . . ,” is associated with some prominent centers of her worship:

The Lady of Horns, may she come in peace,  
In this her name of Hathor, Lady of Turquoise;<sup>36</sup>

The Lady of Thebes, may she come in peace,  
In this her name of Hathor, Lady of Thebes;

May she come in peace, Tayt,  
In that her name of Lady of Hetepet;

May she come (in peace) to overthrow her enemies,  
In that her name of Hathor, Lady of the temple of Heracleopolis;

Gold, may she come in peace,  
In that her name of Hathor, Lady of Memphis.

When you come to rest beside the Lord of the Universe,  
In this your name of Hathor, Lady of the Red Lake,<sup>37</sup>  
Gold will rise beside her father,  
In this her name of Bastet,  
Going with Those-who-are-above (to be) beside the cabin,  
In this her name of Smithis,<sup>38</sup>  
Making the Two Lands flourish and leading the gods,  
In this her name of Wadjet.

Mighty is Hathor against the enemies of her father,  
In that her name of Sakhmet;  
Wadjet has power over good things,  
In that her name of Lady of Imau:<sup>39</sup>  
Myrrh is on her tresses  
In that her name of Neith.

Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Thebes,<sup>40</sup>  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Heracleopolis,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis,<sup>41</sup>  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Sycomore-town,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Rohesau,<sup>42</sup>  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Red Lake,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Turquoise,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Memphis,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Wawat,<sup>43</sup>  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Imau,  
Hail to you, Hathor, Lady of Imet,<sup>44</sup>  
Hail to you, Hathor, Mistress of Sixteen.<sup>45</sup>

In this hymn and litany, Hathor appears as the universal goddess of Egypt. She is identified with a number of goddesses worshipped in their northern cult centers. She is also lady of Thebes and of the southern lands (Wawat). She is associated in a special way with the sun-god, her father, lord of the universe, whom, as the mighty Sakhmet, she protects from his enemies. She is also the lady of good things, whose tresses are anointed with fragrant myrrh. Many of these attributes and distinctions the priestly poet at Philae attributed in his hymns to Isis, who replaced Hathor as the new sovereign deity of the island and the entire land of Egypt.

3. It would be of great interest to follow the extension of influence to the southern Egyptian temples of some of the northern goddesses, and to study the posi-

tion they obtained in the theological systems of those temples. In this respect the temple of Esna is of special significance, and a brief reference to the hymnal phraseology of the two temples, Philae and Esna, may be enlightening.

In references to Menhyt and Neith in the texts of Esna, so admirably edited and studied by the late S. Sauneron, some remarkable similarities between the epithets of these two goddesses and those of Isis at Philae are found. It would be difficult to prove conclusively that Menhyt was originally a northern goddess transplanted to Esna, associated there with Khnum, and grafted onto the local goddess Nebtou, as Menhyt-Nebtou.<sup>46</sup> Menhyt is mentioned at Medinet Habu (time of Thutmose III),<sup>47</sup> in the list of goddesses in the hymn of "Victorious Thebes" referred to earlier in this discussion,<sup>48</sup> in an inscription of the temple of Derr of the time of Ramesses II,<sup>49</sup> and in the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak.<sup>50</sup> According to Sauneron,<sup>51</sup> Menhyt was one of the most ancient deities of the region of Esna. When Neith was transplanted there, the two goddesses were assimilated, without, however, losing their distinct individualities and epithets.<sup>52</sup> On the other hand, in CT VII, 167d (Spell 952), Menhyt is associated with Edjo of Buto (see n. 20), and referred to as "Foremost of the Mansions of the Red Crown," the latter being the domain of Neith of Sais, in the western Delta. It is thus possible that, as Meeks put it, Menhyt represented there an aspect of Neith as a uraeus-goddess;<sup>53</sup> she certainly appeared as such in the late period at Esna. Her worship, like that of Neith herself,<sup>54</sup> may have existed there as early as the end of the predynastic period. As to Neith, the goddess of Sais closely associated with the northern kingdom of Buto, it seems certain that, although she had her sanctuaries at Memphis and elsewhere already in the Old Kingdom,<sup>55</sup> her cult place was primarily centered in the western Delta, at Sais. It is probable that Neith's multifunctional character and the predominant position that she obtained from the early days of Egyptian history suggested and facilitated her transplantation to Esna, where in the Saitic period she was associated with Khnum and Menhyt.<sup>56</sup> Be that as it may, both Menhyt and Neith were, in the late period, well established at Esna, where in Ptolemaic-Roman times they were assigned, together with Khnum, leading roles in the theological system of the main temple. These roles are best expressed in two hymns of that temple, hymns that represent a remarkable example of the complex syncretistic process recorded in the latest period of Egyptian religious history. In addition to her fundamental and primary quality as a lioness-goddess, Menhyt is referred to in the hymn as the sun-goddess, who illumines the Two Lands and shines on the head of Re as his uraeus; she is Neith, the inundation-goddess, the creator of all that exists, gods and men; she is Bastet, great of love, Mut, mother of the creator god; she is great of magic, the mighty one of the Ennead, Sakhmet, to be propitiated by annual feasts; she is Mafdet, Hathor, Eye of Re, who comes to Heliopolis for the occasion of the Sixth Day Feast; she is Isis, the living uraeus, mistress of Heaven, ruler of the Two Lands, great of counsels; she is Sothis, who pours out the inundation from the two caverns at the proper time; she is the Golden One, mistress of the fields, Renenutet, Wadjet, who created all things, Nebtou, who organized the nomes and towns. The hymn ends with a prayer, asking that Menhyt's beautiful face be gracious to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Son of Re, Lord of the Crowns,

Hadrian, so that he may present offerings to her Ka, forever.<sup>57</sup> The hymn to Neith, longer and more elaborate in its structure, but also more complex, celebrates the goddess of Sais as an androgynous, primeval, and creator deity, the divine mother of Re; she is the uraeus-serpent that protects the entire land, who first came into existence, who brought into being the Netherworld; she is the inundation-goddess who created Tanen and Nun, who causes vegetation to grow for the living and provides the offerings for the gods and goddesses; she is the “lady of might” on the day of combat, who with her arrows repels the rebels, whose power over the Nine Bows is great; she establishes whom she pleases as king, as Horus on the Serekh; she is the mistress of Heaven, earth, the Netherworld, the waters, and the mountains; she is the lady of the palace, who protects the king and his army, the living, primeval serpent that protects the country; she is the one on whose order the king ascends the throne, because every command comes from her, and no one enters the palace without her knowledge; she is mistress of the desert mines, of the ornaments, mistress of Punt, whose residence is inundated with perfumes, whose hair exudes the fragrance of fresh myrrh; she who is distinguished by her White Crown created all genuine precious stones and is the mistress of the countries that produced them.<sup>58</sup> Now, the correlation and literary interdependence of the texts of the Ptolemaic-Roman temples is still a largely unexplored field, and caution is suggested in this respect. Whether the Esna priests, when organizing the theological system of the main temple, derived some inspiration also from the early Ptolemaic texts of Philae, especially from the hymns of Rooms VII and X, is difficult to say. What is certain is that almost all of the main ideas incorporated in these hymns to Menhyt and Neith are found, at least in their nucleus, in the hymns to Isis at Philae translated in this study. These close similarities may reflect a general tendency of the late and Ptolemaic-Roman periods to describe the character of all major deities by phrases derived from a common repertory of epithets and titles. On the other hand, one should not exclude the possibility that the Esna theologians may have been acquainted with the Ptolemaic hymns to Isis at Philae, which, among other sources, they may have utilized when organizing the complex theological system of their own. The association and assimilation of Isis with the northern goddesses in Hymn VII seems to suggest that the influence of those goddesses spread to Philae as well as to other Ptolemaic temples of the south. With respect to the latter, the reference to the myrrh and other unguents placed on the head and hair of the goddesses is of some interest. As has been discussed earlier, at Philae such references are found in the left uppermost tableau of the north wall of the Sanctuary,<sup>59</sup> and more explicitly in the last verse of Hymn III: “(Isis . . . Princess, great of praise, lady of charm) whose face enjoys the trickling of fresh myrrh,” *hnms(t) hnt.s tftf m ntyw w3d*.<sup>60</sup> It has also been stated that similar phrases in which the verb *tftf* occurs are known from other Ptolemaic temples (see chap. 3, Commentary). One of the more interesting examples occurs in the hymn to Neith at Esna discussed above.<sup>61</sup> In it, the goddess is referred to as *Hnwt Pwnt b<sup>c</sup>h.t n.s Hwt-bit<sup>i</sup> m sty, sty.s m tftf nty ntyw w3d hr sm3 n šny.s*, “Mistress of Punt for whom the House-of-the-bee<sup>62</sup> is inundated with perfume, whose (lit.: her) fragrance is (that of) the trickling of fresh myrrh upon the tresses of her hair.”<sup>63</sup> The earliest

Ptolemaic occurrence of this phrase at the end of Hymn III at Philae may have been known to the theologian-poet at Esna through personal inspection of the texts of Philae; it is also possible, however, that he borrowed it from the inscriptions of one of the later temples, if not indeed from an older document written on papyrus.<sup>64</sup>

4. A large portion of Philae Hymn VII is also found in the temple of Assuan as the second part of a hymn and prayer to Isis of the time of Ptolemy IV.<sup>65</sup> The eclectic work of the editor of the Assuan hymn is clearly discernible. For the first part of the hymn, he used another source, which, among other references, also contained the theme of Isis as a fertility goddess, who in her aspect of Sothis and Anukis is responsible for the inundation and sustenance of the land—a theme that, in a somewhat different form, also occurs at the beginning of Hymn IV of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis at Philae (see chap. 4, Translation). In the second part of the Assuan hymn, the editor followed the same text as Philae Hymn VII almost *ad litteram* but omitted the last eight lines of the text as it occurs at Philae (see Translation above). The differences between the Assuan text and Hymn VII at Philae, in addition to those necessitated by the application of Hymn VII to the ritual purposes of the temple of Assuan, are not of a significant nature. Instead of “Divine Mother of Kamutef,” of Hymn VII, the Assuan text reads “Divine Mother of the Mighty Bull (*K3 nht*).” Instead of Bresciani’s translation “Ipi (la grande nel castello del principe; l’unica nel tempio della fenice),” the text is probably to be read as in Hymn VII at Philae: “The August One,” with the following text being only a slightly modified version of the Philae text. *Hnw t m T3-nh* of the Assuan text is to be translated as “Mistress of Ta-ankh” as in Hymn VII (see Translation and n. 16 above), not as “sovrana nella terra dei viventi.” The editor of the Assuan hymn combined the two parts of the hymn by interpreting *iri* in *iri sšw* at the beginning of Hymn VII at Philae as a participle: “(Save the King Ptolemy . . .) who plays the sistra (before your beautiful face),” as Müller correctly understood.<sup>66</sup> One recognizes again the importance of the study of the hymns of the Temple of Isis at Philae for a better understanding of the process of their reinterpretation and their application to multiple ritual purposes at Philae and other temples as well.

## HYMN VIII

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room VII, east wall, lowest register (see pl. 22 and fig. 9; G. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, Textes, p. 51, tabl. VI; Berlin Philae Photograph 1086).

The king, adorned with the White Crown, with his arms at his sides and the palm of the right hand slightly elevated but turned downward,<sup>1</sup> is shown in the attitude of adoration; the legend in front of him reads: "Adoring the god four times," *dw3 ntr sp 4*. The legend above the goddess whom the king addresses refers to her as "Isis, Giver of life, Lady of life, Lady of Philae," *3st di(t) ʿnh nb(t) ʿnh nb(t) ʾIw-rk*. The text begins with the first long vertical line in front of the goddess:



PLATE 22. Temple of Isis, Room VII, east wall, lowest register, Hymn VIII





FIGURE 9

Wn nsw-bitī Wsr-k³-Rᶜ-mry-²Imn ḥr dw³ mwt.f. Dd mdw:

²Ind-ḥr.t ³st wrt-ḥk³w  
Smst m ḥt mwt.s Nwt  
³ḥt² m pt ḥr Rᶜ

²Bw n.t³ m msktt  
Hnw n.t m mᶜndt  
Mswt nṯrw nbw

²Ii.n s³ Rᶜ Ptlwmys ḥr.t nb(t) ᶜnh  
M hrw pn nfr ḥᶜ.n.t im.f  
ts.f⁴ n.t tpt  
smn.f n.t wsrt  
Wsr-k³-Rᶜ-mry-²Imn s³.t Hr

²Iw k³.t m ḥtp nb(t) ᶜnh  
M hrw pn nfr ḥᶜ.n.t im.f  
Shṯpt nṯrw m-ḥt nšni

Mry(t) Rᶜ wnnt m-ḥnw wi³.f  
Hr ḥsf ᶜpp m ³ḥw tp-r.t  
Mt Ptlwmys ii ḥr.t  
dw³.f nfrw(.t) sfḥ

²Iw rwi⁵ sdbw ḥwt(y)w rnpt smn⁶ n.f  
Sdbw.f rnpt tn rwiw⁷  
²Iw s³.f r.s  
²Iw ir.n.f ḥtpw ḥr.s  
²Iw ḥr.f r Nbt  
²Ii.wy⁸ th n m³wt

N ir.n.f⁹ ḥn nṯr niwt.f  
N ir.n.f isw¹⁰  
Nn ḥsb.t(w) r.f m d³d³t sšw¹¹ t³wy  
Di tmsw n ḥrt-rnpt  
Sᶜk st³ idrw¹² n nmt-nṯr¹³

²Iw.f wd³ m-ᶜ¹⁴ rnpt tn  
Nhwt.s imy-ḥt  
M ḥtp m ḥtp rnpt nfrt  
Mḥ.f m ḥtpw k³.t  
Hr.f m ᶜnh

## TRANSLATION

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usikare-meramun, adores his mother: <sup>15</sup>

Hail to you, Isis, Great of magical power,  
The eldest in the womb of her mother, Nut,  
Mighty <sup>16</sup> in Heaven before Re.

Adoration to you in the night-barque,  
Jubilation to you in the day-barque,  
You who gave birth to all the gods. <sup>17</sup>

Son of Re, Ptolemy, has come before you, Lady of Life,  
On this day on which you have gloriously appeared,  
To tie onto you the Uraeus-Diadem,  
To fasten onto you the Mighty One, <sup>18</sup>  
Usikare-meramun, your son Horus.

May your Ka be in peace, O Lady of life,  
On this day on which you have gloriously appeared,  
You whom the gods have propitiated after (her) rage. <sup>19</sup>

O beloved of Re who are in his barque,  
Repelling Apopis with the effectiveness of your utterance, <sup>20</sup>  
Behold, Ptolemy has come before you,  
That, purified, <sup>21</sup> he may adore your beauty.

The evils of the past year <sup>22</sup> that had adhered to him have been driven off,  
His evils of this year, <sup>23</sup> they are done away with,  
His back is turned to them;  
He has presented propitiatory offerings on account of them,  
And his face is turned to the Lady:  
How welcome are you again. <sup>24</sup>

He has not done anything abominable toward the god of his town, <sup>25</sup>  
He has not committed any evil;  
Nothing will be counted against him among the assessors and the scribes of the  
Two Lands,  
Those who inflict injuries as yearly share, <sup>26</sup>  
Who drive and haul the herds to the god's slaughtering-block. <sup>27</sup>

He is protected from this year,  
From its inimical spells, which accompany (it). <sup>28</sup>  
In peace, in peace, O Happy New Year,  
He will fully satisfy your Ka with offerings, (O Isis).  
His face is (permeated) with Life. <sup>29</sup>

Isis' reassurances to the king are engraved in two short columns, one above her scepter, the other below her left arm: *dī.n.(i) n.k t3w nb h3swt nb*, "I have given you all flat lands and all foreign lands," and *dī.n.(i) n.k nsyt n R<sup>c</sup> n (for m) pt*, "I have given you the kingship of Re in heaven."

#### COMMENTARY

Following the pattern of the preceding hymns, after an initial legend, the poet continues with an invocation, which consists of six verses composed of two triplets, in which he praises Isis as the firstborn of her mother, Nut, as a celestial goddess mighty with Re, whom she accompanies in his day- and night-barque, and as the mother of all the gods. As to the epithet of Isis "the eldest in the womb of her mother Nut," it is to be recalled that in the hymn to Osiris in Room V of the Temple of Isis at Philae, it is Osiris who enjoys the privileges of primogeniture, being called "the eldest firstborn of Geb."<sup>30</sup> As in similar cases—for example, the reference in Hymn IV to Isis as "Lady of Heaven, earth, and the Netherworld" (see chap. 4, Translation), and in Room VII to Osiris as "Lord of Heaven, earth, and the Netherworld"<sup>31</sup>—such statements do not contradict each other; expressed in superlative terms, they are often found in religious hymns, especially those that accompany a ritual action, and they simply stress the preeminence of a particular god or a goddess at what may have appeared to be the culminating point of their eulogy.

Isis' association with the sun-barque, which is twice referred to in this hymn and is also mentioned in Hymns V, VI, and VII, appears to have been a favorite theme of the poet. It seems that he wanted to stress that, as the celestial goddess associated with the divine barque, Isis replaced Hathor, who had occupied that position from earliest times, as was discussed in the commentary on Hymn VI. It is not improbable that the sacred barque of Isis, which was, or was to be, placed on the pedestal in the central room of the Sanctuary of her temple, suggested to the poet that, residing in her Sanctuary, the goddess was indeed present among her devotees and was even closer to them in her festive processional appearances outside her Sanctuary, but that she also played a cosmic role in the celestial sphere by traveling in the sun-barque and governing its course, appearing sometimes as its exclusive possessor, a true sun-goddess. It is significant that the poet twice stresses this role of the goddess in the sun-barque as a prelude to the ideas contained in the following strophes, ideas that have rarely been so clearly expressed in the ritual hymns of the temple, and that call for a brief commentary.

1. As is well known, on some festive occasions the goddess left the Sanctuary and was carried in her sacred barque to another part of the temple. The words of the hymn, which mention twice, in close succession, "this beautiful day on which you have gloriously appeared," are particularly apt to be understood in the sense of the processional appearance of the goddess outside the Sanctuary. Such phrases as "this beautiful day (*hrw pn nfr*),"<sup>32</sup> or "(this) beautiful feast (*p3 hb nfr*)," on which gods and goddesses appeared in festive processions, are also referred to as

*prt*, “coming forth,” or *h<sup>c</sup>w*, “appearing in glory”;<sup>33</sup> in the Greek text of the Canopus decree they are called ἐξοδεῖαι καὶ πανηγύρεις.<sup>34</sup> Festival processions were part of various annual feasts and were especially associated with the celebration of the New Year, “the beautiful feast of the Beginning of the Year,”<sup>35</sup> when the small shrine or tabernacle of the main deity, accompanied by those of his retinue, his Ennead, were carried in solemn procession first to a room within the temple called “the Pure Place (*W<sup>c</sup>bt*),” and then to the roof of the temple, where, in a kiosk, some special ceremonies were performed, which culminated in the “Union with the Sun (*hnm itn*).”<sup>36</sup> It is probable that at the New Year celebration at Philae the procession with the sacred barque went to *W<sup>c</sup>bt*, the room of the temple usually referred to as the Court, but that it never proceeded to the terrace of the temple, as was the case at Edfu and Dendera.<sup>37</sup>

With regard to the festivities associated with the New Year, the contrast between the two phrases of the hymn, *rnpt tn*, “this year,” and *rnpt nfr(t)*, “the beautiful (i.e., new) year,” is of special significance. *Rnpt tn* refers to the passing year, to the last day and hours of the old year,<sup>38</sup> as well as to the five intervening epagomenal days preceding New Year’s Day. This period of transition was a time in which, according to the Egyptian conception of the world, the inimical deities released their demonic powers, which could inflict serious injuries upon the land and its people and disturb the order of the universe itself.<sup>39</sup> Among other irate and dangerous deities, it was especially Sakhmet (see pl. 23)<sup>40</sup> who, through her demonic messengers, sometimes referred to as “the seven arrows of Sakhmet,”<sup>41</sup> was capable of inflicting disasters upon mankind, which, at the very beginning of its existence, she almost exterminated. Potent incantation spells had to be recited to protect a person from hunger, disease, pestilence, and other evils<sup>42</sup> that sinister messengers of the goddess attempted to spread about. These incantations are well known from the Edwin Smith Papyrus and other documents.<sup>43</sup> In addition to the incantation spells, recourse was made to amulets and statuettes of Sakhmet, in order to propitiate the goddess by means of sympathetic magic.<sup>44</sup> Especially effective were the litanies, by which the goddess, addressed by her own and various other names, could be placated and induced to desist from releasing her perilous messengers and to be benevolent toward the king, the land, and the people he represented.<sup>45</sup> In this period of transition and anxiety, physical and moral contaminations of the passing year, which were still adhering to a person, had, in the words of Hymn VIII, to be “driven off” or “done away with” and propitiatory sacrifices offered, in order to commence the New Year properly and safely. Individuals could, and undoubtedly often did, engage in magical practices combined with incantatory recitations that were meant to protect them from the evils of the dangerous transitions of the year and the seasons.<sup>46</sup> A fragmentary Ramesseum Papyrus contains remnants of the words “(to be spoken by) a man on the day of the New Year,” to protect him “from the followers (*imyw-ht*) of Sakhmet.”<sup>47</sup> However, in the solemn yearly festivities, such as those associated with the New Year celebration recorded in the temple of Philae as well as in other Egyptian temples, it was the king who, as the only intermediary between the deity and the people, stood before the goddess in an attitude of adoration, reciting the texts that were to protect him and, implicitly, the land and the people,

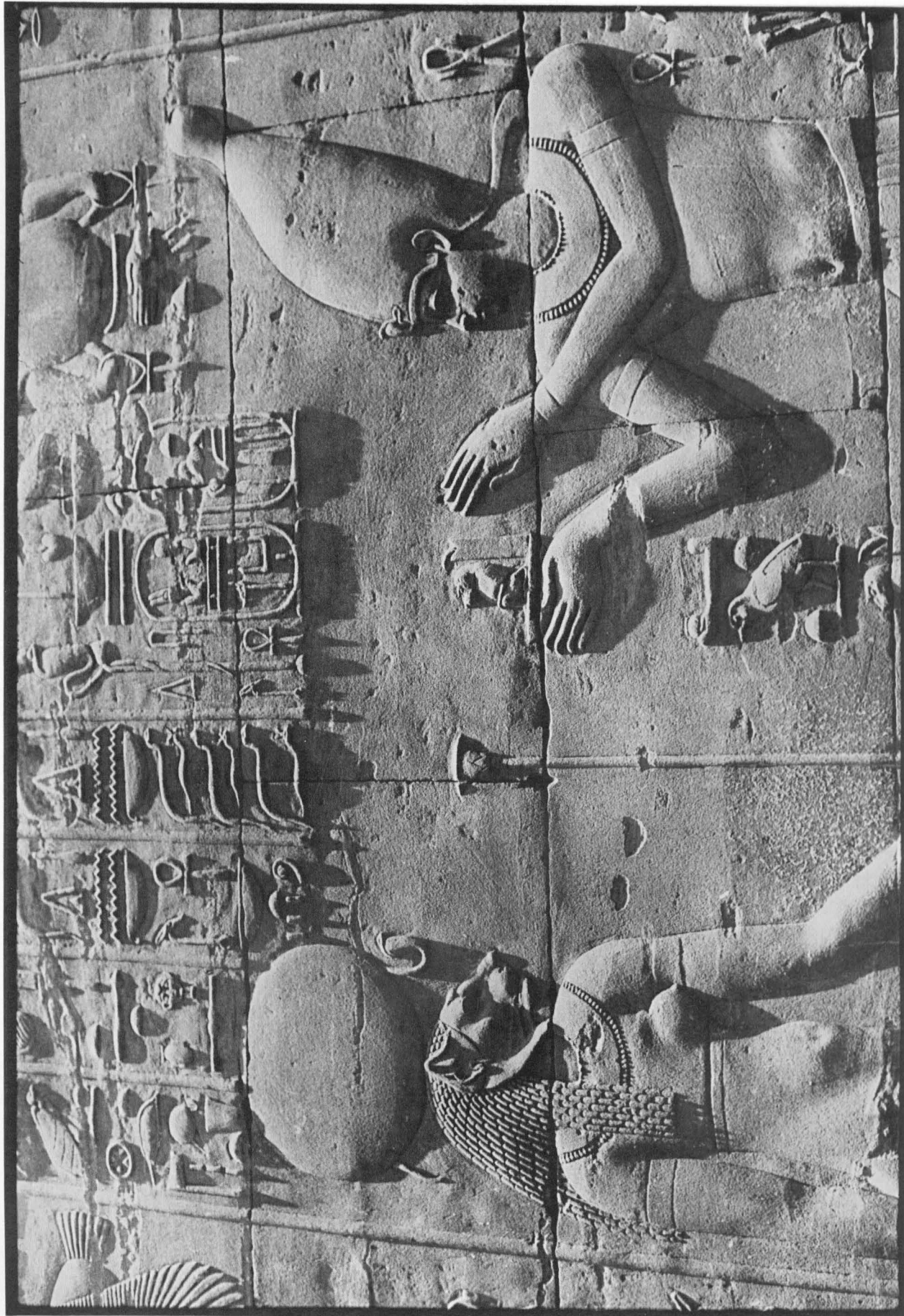


PLATE 23. Temple of Isis, Room XII, east wall

from the potential evils of the passing year and were to render him fit to welcome the New Year in peace, with the assurance of a renewed life and stability. As on other solemn occasions<sup>48</sup> when he officiated in his capacity as the supreme pontiff, the king, approaching the most significant point of the recitation of the hymn, states that he has come to the goddess in the state of purity; he then declares himself innocent of any guilt by assuring the goddess that all the evils of the passing year have been “done away with,” and that he has also offered propitiatory sacrifices for them (see sec. 2). In the following strophe he reiterates his declaration of innocence by making a public *negative confession* and specifies, in terms reminiscent of Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, that he has committed no evil against the local god, and that nothing will be imputed to him before the assessors of the Judgment Hall, who allot harsh punishments to the transgressors—this, too, expressed in terms that recall the punishment of the damned in the Book of the Dead (see nn. 26, 27). Thus purified from the evils of the passing year and the five epagomenal days and rendered innocent by the power of the spoken and written words of the confession, the king became ritually and morally fit to welcome the New Year, to receive from the goddess the reassurance and confirmation of his divine prerogatives, for which, in gratitude, he will provide abundant offerings to the goddess. From her words to the king—“I have given you all flat lands and all foreign lands, I have given you the kingship of Re in Heaven”—it appears that the king’s universal power and all that it implies have indeed been confirmed. The kingship, the people, and the land have been saved once more from potential disasters; the harmony of the world has been re-established. But it was not only the king and those he represented who needed protection; the goddess herself, notwithstanding her unlimited divine power, was not immune to the attacks of evil forces; to protect her from them, the king tied to her forehead the mighty uraeus-diadem, which would guard her from any possible assault of the demonic powers and become a potent magic protection against the dangers of the passing, as well as the coming year.<sup>49</sup> Thus both the king and the goddess appear in a twofold role: the king, who through his communication with the deity maintains the cosmic and social order in existence, is himself in need of protection; the goddess, who receives his adoration and supplication, grants him extraordinary prerogatives and confirms him in his royal power, is also in need of protection against inimical forces released in periods of transition, and she is to be safeguarded from them by the potent amulets that the king appends to her living image.<sup>50</sup>

2. The negative confession in Hymn VIII is an abbreviated form of the negative confession or Declaration of Innocence contained in Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, the origin of which has been discussed recently by several scholars.<sup>51</sup> According to Grieshammer, two literary components are to be distinguished in the negative confession: one is the oath taken by the priests at the initiation of their temple service, which, though recorded in a late Greek papyrus from Oxyrhynchus,<sup>52</sup> probably goes back to a much earlier period; the other component is represented by the texts recorded at the entrances of the enclosure wall, or some specific rooms of the temples of the Ptolemaic Period, which contain some de-

tailed admonitions to the priests for the exercise of their sacred office. With regard to this it should be mentioned that the earliest examples of what seems to be a negative confession made by the king in his transitus to the next world are found in the Pyramid Texts, as first suggested by K. Sethe, then described in more detail and explicitly associated with posthumous judgment by H. Junker; to this J. Leclant added some new remarks based on his work in the Pyramid of Pepi I.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting that in one of these texts, Spell 467, which is an “ascension” text, the king makes a brief negative confession, addressing himself to the local god with the words: “I belong not to earth, I belong to Heaven; O you local god of mine, may my Ka be beside you. . . . I have not opposed the King; I have not sinned against Bastet; I have not committed any wrong as a *wera*-official.” As Sethe, Junker, and Griffiths observed, the statement “O you local god of mine. . . . I have not opposed the King” comes from a private funerary text (*Privattotext*) expressed in the first person and was subsequently inserted into the royal ritual of the Pyramid Texts. This would seem to indicate that already in the Old Kingdom the idea of confession connected with posthumous judgment was not restricted to the king. Further development of the idea took place during the First Intermediate Period, Middle and New kingdoms.<sup>54</sup> Especially in the latter, it is well symbolized by the scene of the “Weighing of the heart,” or psychostasia, a most important and, as it were, indispensable scene in the Book of the Dead papyri and other media in which it was depicted.<sup>55</sup> The idea of confession and posthumous judgment persisted as a universal belief to the very end of Egyptian religious history, including the Graeco-Roman Period.

This idea of confession and judgment could take on a different aspect. In a “change of perspective,” as Griffiths<sup>56</sup> was first to call it in his study of the initiation into mysteries described by Apuleius in *Metamorphoses* XI, posthumous or eschatological judgment is transferred to the world of the living. This transference may have occurred first in the New Kingdom temples, with the central role played by the king-priest. It is in these temples that in numerous instances the king appears in the role of the supreme pontiff, and that the legends that accompany the reliefs refer to his condition of purity when entering the temple to perform the divine ritual. These representations of the early and late New Kingdom temples, which continued through all subsequent periods including the Ptolemaic-Roman, constitute an uninterrupted tradition of the function of the king as the high priest performing the temple ritual before the deities of the temple. The king’s statement in approaching the *naos*<sup>57</sup> of the Sanctuary—“I am a High Priest (*hm-ntr*), the son of a High Priest”<sup>58</sup>—is an emphatic confirmation of the supreme priestly function of the king, which he inherited from his predecessors. The texts that accompany the reliefs of the king acting in his priestly function either refer to his state of purity with the brief indirect formulae engraved above or alongside his figure—“Let everyone who enters this temple be pure”<sup>59</sup>—or they stress his ritual fitness to approach the deity with somewhat longer, reassuring statements—“I am pure, . . . I have come to perform what is to be performed; I have not come to perform what is not to be performed,” as recorded, for example, in the Berlin Papyrus of the daily temple ritual or in a damaged text at Philae.<sup>60</sup> Certainly, the king’s priestly function was, from early



times, delegated to the priests, who in the performance of the ritual acted in the capacity of “royal priests,” as can be seen clearly from such statements as “Indeed, I am a High Priest; it is the King who has commanded me to see the god.”<sup>61</sup> However, there can be no doubt that in all instances it was the king who performed the ritual, who alone could *ex officio* communicate directly with the deity, and that the priests were mere substitutes for him. More specifically pertaining to our discussion are the texts in which the king, in the exercise of his priestly function, immediately before “removing the seal and opening the door” of the naos of the Sanctuary “to see the god,” makes a positive confession. The words from the temple of Abydos<sup>62</sup>—“I have completely cast out all evil that pertained to me. . . . I am pure”—recall the statement of Hymn VIII—“The past evils of the year that adhered to him have been driven off; the evils of this (passing) year, they are done away with,” just as the words of the same hymn—“He has not done anything abominable toward his city (or local) god”—call to mind Spell 467 of the Pyramid Texts, in which the king in his ascension and in connection with the posthumous judgment makes a negative confession before his local god. Another important feature of these texts is the stress on purity; in Hymn VIII the king, before making his negative confession, is said to have come before the goddess in a state of purity, which recalls the references to the king in approaching the temple, and especially Spell 125 of the BD in which the deceased, in most cases after having recited the negative confession, emphatically asserts his purity. What is noticeable about Hymn VIII is that the claim to purity, the negative confession, judgment (not explicitly mentioned, but implied), the rewards of confirmation of the royal prerogatives, and the renewal of life, are all applied to the living king. Thus it is hardly possible to accept Grieshammer’s statement that the negative confession represents “Übernahme eines diesseitigen Ritus in das Jenseits.”<sup>63</sup> The perspective is entirely different: the transference was made from “Jenseits” to “Diesseits.”

As to the priestly oaths taken at the initiation of their temple service and the detailed admonitions pertaining to the exercise of their office, all that can be said is that once the royal priestly functions had been delegated to the priests, new and practical experiences demanded that the “code of ethics” be expanded and applied to the multiple needs of the temple and the safeguarding of its integrity.<sup>64</sup> It is through this gradual process of expansion that the longer, detailed texts addressed to the priests and pertaining to the exercise of their sacred service came into existence. The close similarity of some statements about the priestly oath of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus and the priestly admonitions to the negative confession of Spell 125 of the BD indicates that the latter served as a very appropriate source in the process of composition and expansion of the priestly texts, and that the reading or reciting of these texts was in a sense an anticipation of the posthumous judgment—that is, a reminder to the priests of the obligations of a good life and of the proper exercise of their special duties in the temple service, as Merkelbach clearly perceived.

The negative confession of the living king was also included in the celebration of the solemn rituals at Edfu and has been discussed by Alliot,<sup>65</sup> and Fairman.<sup>66</sup> Its appearance in Hymn VIII represents its earliest occurrence in the temple rit-

ual of the Ptolemaic Period and shows that it was an integral part of the New Year celebration. Also, if my interpretation of the hymn is correct, it seems that the negative confession was associated with a statement that expiatory sacrifices were, or had to be, offered in order to propitiate the deity and to obtain for the king the status of full ritual and moral purity. This seems to be confirmed by a variant reading of the otherwise badly damaged text of Hymn VIII<sup>67</sup> recorded also on the north wall of the Court of the Temple of Isis at Philae.<sup>68</sup> This variant reading, after the words “Behold Ptolemy has come before you that he may adore your beauty,” continues, *sfh sw m (sdbw h3wtyw ?) skm.n.f st-db3w.f n rnpt tn*, “Purify him from (the past evils), for he has made his complete payment (lit.: he has completed his payment) for this year.” This is an important variant. First, because it complements and explains the following statement, *iw ir.n.f htpw*, “he has presented (propitiatory) offerings,” contained both in the text of Hymn VIII in Room VII, and, in an incomplete form, in that of the Court. Also, it offers a new example of the formation of abstract nouns by means of a prefixed *st*, *st-db3w*, “payment, compensation,” which is to be added to Meeks’ collection of such nouns.<sup>69</sup>

Thus it would seem that according to the hymns translated and discussed here, two important rites were performed in the Temple of Isis at Philae during the prolonged period of the New Year festivities: the rite of the consecration and re-consecration of the temple, which was dealt with in the Commentary to Hymn VI, and the rite of expiation and propitiation performed by the king as the intermediary between the deity and his people in order to assure himself and his land of the divine protection in the New Year, as I have discussed here in Hymn VIII.

Without going into any detailed study of other texts of Room VII, it may be useful to add that even a brief survey of some of the ritual texts of that room reveals some statements and phrases elsewhere associated with the rite of the Renewal and Confirmation of the Royal Power, which, as is known from other sources, was annually celebrated in the Ptolemaic temples at the time of the New Year festivities.<sup>70</sup> Thus, for example, the prayers for the king that accompany these ritual texts ask that he may be protected from all evils;<sup>71</sup> other texts refer to his universal kingship and promise him innumerable jubilees.<sup>72</sup> In a more particular way, in an offering text to Osiris,<sup>73</sup> reference is made to the papyrus plant, which, together with various other amulets, was used in the ceremonies of the Confirmation of the Royal Power as a means of protection of the king, and which in some Ptolemaic texts was offered to Re as “the papyrus of the Beautiful (New) Year (*w3d n rnpt nfrt*).”<sup>74</sup> In this offering text to Osiris, the god is asked to accept Maat, which the king offers to him “as Re accepts the papyrus of the Beautiful Year,” to protect the king against his enemies, to hear his prayers, to make safe his body from all evils, to give him strength in Heaven with Re, power on earth with Geb, to allot him millions and hundreds of thousands of years of jubilees on the throne of Horus, at the head of all his subjects. It is true that the most significant statement of the rite of the Confirmation of the Royal Power, *smn iw’t*, “conferring, establishing, or confirming inheritance,”<sup>75</sup> although known from other texts of Philae,<sup>76</sup> does not occur in the texts of Room VII; the

tenor, however, of the references suggests seeing in them an allusion to the rite of the Confirmation of the Royal Power, which, though not explicitly mentioned, may also have been celebrated at Philae at the time of the New Year.

What has been said in the preceding chapters about the reedited versions of the hymns of the Temple of Isis is also true of another hymn to the goddess from the time of Ptolemy IV found in the temple of Assuan, which is again a reedited version of Philae Hymn VIII. Here, too, some parts of the text can, as they stand, be somewhat better translated.<sup>77</sup> However, without the knowledge of Philae Hymn VIII, an even better translation would not have revealed the structural composition, the inner character of the hymn, and its original ritual significance, which was either misunderstood by the scribe who reedited it or, more probably, radically but somewhat mistakenly altered by him and used as a processional hymn.



## CONCLUSION

The significance of these early Ptolemaic hymns to Isis for the study of Isiac theology and worship, for the history of the literary transmission and the editing of the hymnic and ritual texts in the Egyptian temples, and for the history of late Egyptian religion clearly emerges from the translations and commentaries in this work.

It has already been observed that Hymn VIII, in a modified and abbreviated form, was recorded on the north wall of the Court of the Temple of Isis, where it was applied to a different ritual purpose. It has also been noted that a reedited version of Hymn VI of the Sanctuary was recorded in the Mammisi at Philae; that a reedited version of Hymn VIII and a major part of the text of Hymn VII are found in the temple of Assuan; and that a reedited version of Hymn V has been recorded in the temple of Dakka, again for a different cultic purpose. From these and other examples of the later reinterpretation of earlier hymns of Philae it seems to follow that, unless the texts of Philae are studied and edited in their proper chronological order, the fundamental ideas of the Isiac theology of Philae, as well as their reinterpretation and application to various ritual purposes, cannot be properly understood.

More specifically, with regard to the development of the worship of Isis at Philae, it has been repeatedly stressed that some of the epithets and phrases that characterize her nature and define her preeminent position there were known from earlier hymnic texts, where they were attributed to other deities, especially to Hathor, who up to the time of Nectanebo I was the most prominent deity at Philae. Through a process of syncretism and literary eclecticism, the most significant attributes and functions of Hathor, as well as those of some other leading Egyptian deities, were transferred to and concentrated on Isis, in order to stress her role as the creator of the world, the mother of all the gods, the beneficent and providential mother of mankind, to stress her royal role as the sister-wife of Osiris and as the divine mother of Horus the Child, but always as the predominant member of this divine triad. As the universal and sovereign goddess and the true mistress of the land, she resided in her temple at Philae, built for her by Ptolemy II, where she was joined by her brother-husband, Osiris, and the child Horus. But, although they shared in her sovereignty and prerogatives, and Osiris even took precedence when represented with his sister-wife, there could be no doubt that, at any moment of the cult and ritual, Isis was the truly sovereign deity. Other gods and goddesses worshipped in her temple preserved their individuality and retained some of their epithets, but it was only, as it were, by her *beneplacitum* that they were admitted to her residence to participate in the divine honors rendered to her. To proclaim this new sovereign, universal deity to the entire land

and to state clearly that Isis was the embodiment of the renowned northern as well as southern goddesses, and that thus her primacy at Philae was the culminating point of an uninterrupted older religious tradition—these are the points that the poet intended to stress in his hymns.

In an attempt to analyze the main features that characterize Isis at Philae, her role as the creator-goddess should be mentioned first. In Hymn IV she is described as “Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld,” who brought the universe into existence “through what her heart conceived and her hands created,” a statement in which a centuries-old terminology, which combined some elements from the Memphite Theology with those of the Berlin Hymn to Ptah, was applied to her. It is true that, in a text that accompanies the offering of the Maat to Osiris on the south wall of Room VII, Osiris, too, is said to be “Lord of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld” (see chap. 4, Commentary). That agrees with what was said in the commentary to Hymn II about the universal power of this god. This problem of apparent contradiction in the application of the same terms to more than one deity is largely a matter of emphasis observed elsewhere in these hymns. The same Hymn IV, in which Isis’ exclusive dominion over the universe is so clearly asserted, contains in the preceding lines a statement in which each of the members of the divine triad rules in one of the spheres of the tripartite universe: Isis in Heaven, Osiris in the Netherworld, their son Horus in the land of Egypt. Yet the theologian never forgot that it was Isis whom he wanted to extol above all other deities, and that it was she who in her Sanctuary reigned supreme.

The royal status of Isis is her second important characteristic. Her sovereignty had its origin in the Egyptian concept of kingship; she is the sister-wife of Osiris, with whom already in the Old Kingdom the deceased king was identified, and she is the mother of Horus, who is embodied in the living king. Both ideas repeatedly occur in the hymns to Isis, especially Hymns I and II, although Osiris appears in them as the god not only of the dead, but of the living as well. Isis is the “First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,” the “First Elect One of Onnophris,” the “Great Royal Spouse of Onnophris”; she is the “Divine mother of Horus,” or simply “God’s mother (*mwt-ntr*),” and in Hymn VII she is the “Divine mother of Kamutef,” identified here with Min-Horus. As the mother of Horus, she stands in a very special relationship with the living King Ptolemy II, who is the embodiment of Horus and her adoptive son. This tradition of the close connection of Isis with the kingship was continued by several Ptolemaic queens who identified themselves with Isis (e.g., Berenike II, Cleopatra VII).<sup>1</sup>

The epithet of Isis as God’s mother (*mwt-ntr*) brings us to the discussion of another important attribute of hers; in Hymn VIII she is one “who gave birth to all the gods (*mst ntrw nbw*).” This attribute, *mst ntrw*, was originally given to a group of sky goddesses such as Methyer, Ihet, Nut, Neith, and Hathor<sup>2</sup> and was later applied also to Isis. She thus appeared as a Mother-goddess, a universal mother, originator of all life. Some of Isis’ epithets in the hymns are extensions of this role; thus she is “Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the gods, Mistress of all the gods,” as in Hymns II and IV; she is the “Ruler of gods and goddesses,” as in Hymn V; she is the “Queen of the gods,” as in Hymn I; in a hymn in the Mam-misi (House of Divine Birth) at Philae, she is called “Queen of the gods of Heaven,

Ruler of the gods of earth, Falcon-goddess (or Kite-goddess [*dryt*]) of the gods of the Netherworld.”<sup>3</sup> In a hymn of the time of Tiberius at Philae, she is said to be “Ruler in Heaven, Queen on earth” (see chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 1). Isidorus, in hymn 1 at Medinet Madi, calls her βασιλεια Θεῶν, “Queen of the gods,”<sup>4</sup> and Apuleius, in his *Metamorphoses* XI, says that the Egyptians and Africans who know her best call her by her true name, Reginam Isidem, “Queen Isis.”<sup>5</sup>

Isis as Mother-goddess originator of all life, who as such has no mother and no father, is in Hymn VIII said to be “the eldest in the womb of her mother Nut,” a distinction of primogeniture attributed also to Osiris in a hymn in Room V of the Temple of Isis, where he is referred to as “the eldest, first born of Geb.” As I have already mentioned (see chap. 4, Commentary; chap. 8, Commentary), this change of emphasis must be borne in mind when reading these hymns, which, in this respect, are not different from many other Egyptian religious texts. Whatever can heighten Isis’ prestige is attributed to her, regardless of the fact that the same distinction has been bestowed upon another deity and the fact that it may contradict what has been said about her elsewhere.

Another feature that characterizes Isis as the new sovereign goddess of Philae is her role as a bellicose goddess. In Hymn V she is described as a powerful and raging deity who attacks her enemies and those of her brother-husband, Osiris, and performs a massacre against Seth and his associates. Though this description is part of a purely mythological context, for the subsequent development of the theme of Isis’ bellicosity it was of far-reaching consequence, as is explained in the commentary to Hymn V and briefly summarized here below.

Isis’ association with the sun-god, Re, is evident throughout these hymns, especially in Hymns V, VI, and VIII. As the uraeus-diadem of the sun-god, “the Coiled One on his head,” or as an anthropomorphic deity, the goddess travels with Re in his barque and protects him from his enemies; with the potency of her utterance she slays Apopis “in an instant” (see chap. 5, Translation; chap. 8, Translation). Here, too, in her relationship to Re, the same “multiple approach” or change of emphasis can again be observed. In Hymn V she is referred to as “the female Horus, beloved of the Great Horus,” and as “great Royal Spouse, united with Re,” which seems to indicate that she is also spouse of Re, as she certainly is at Edfu,<sup>6</sup> although the phrase “great Royal Spouse” in these hymns consistently refers to Isis as the spouse of Osiris.<sup>7</sup> The statement about Isis as “great Royal Spouse, united with Re” has two meanings: the goddess is united with Re as his uraeus and as his spouse. Isis is associated with the sun-god in yet another way. She not only travels with him in his barque and protects him from his enemies, but she “governs the divine barque” (see chap. 7, Translation); even more, as a later hymn at Philae says, she is “the sun-goddess in the circuit of the sun-disc” (see chap. 3, Commentary, sec. 1); she herself is Rât, “the female Re.”

Isis is not only “the female Re,” but also “the female Horus,” or “the Horus-goddess” (see chap. 5, Translation), a parallel to Horus as used of the king; this seems to be confirmed by the application of this term to the queens Hatshepsut, Nitocris, Berenike, and Cleopatra III.<sup>8</sup> This appellation of the goddess again stresses her royal status and power.

Several of the titles and functions of Isis, especially those that refer to her asso-

ciation with the sun-god—her epithet as his uraeus, the prominent position she occupies in the sun-barque, “the barque of millions” (see chap. 7, Translation)—were transferred to her from Hathor, who up to the time of Nectanebo I was the most prominent deity at Philae. Hathor retained her popularity and importance at Philae to the very end; she remained an independent goddess, and was often juxtaposed to Isis and identified with her. However, by assuming some of Hathor’s most prominent attributes and titles, Isis took over the supremacy of this goddess at Philae; she appeared as a new Hathor.

Isis’ relationship to other goddesses is well described in Hymn VII, where she is associated with some famous cult centers, such as Heliopolis, Memphis, and Thebes, and with some others less well known, Ta-ankh in Middle Egypt and Biggeh in the South—all of which were from earlier times domains of renowned Egyptian goddesses, especially Hathor, Mut, and the First Cataract deities. Not only was she established in the cult centers of other goddesses, but through her identification with some of the leading ones, such as Menhyt, Edjo, Nekhbet, Hathor, and Neith, she assumed their multiple attributes and functions, thus appearing as the universal goddess of the land. At the end of this process of assimilation and identification, she became the “Unique One,” subsuming in her person the entire female pantheon. Although Nephthys is not mentioned in the hymns, Isis was associated with her in the reliefs of the lintels of the doorways (see chap. 6, Commentary, sec. 1) and in other reliefs of the temple. In one of these, Nephthys was substituted for Isis as the mother of the king—perhaps an allusion to Pyramid Text §1154a (“Isis conceives me, Nephthys begets me”)” applied here to the living king, Ptolemy II. In the same relief of the lintel of Room I, Hathor, too, appears in the role of the mother of the living king, which probably goes back to an early tradition in which Hathor was the mother of Horus.<sup>10</sup>

As the creator and ruler of the universe, Isis is also a goddess of the Netherworld, as is clearly stated in Hymn IV. She is also associated with the Netherworld under a different aspect; as is said of her in Hymn VI, either as the uraeus of the sun-god or as an anthropomorphic deity in his night-barque, she traverses the Netherworld and there meets her husband-brother, Osiris (see chap. 6, Translation). However, the association of Isis with the Netherworld is not otherwise stressed in these hymns. It seems that the main purpose of the theologian-poet was to emphasize those roles and functions of the goddess that make her appear as the supreme living and ruling deity in her new center of worship. Well aware of the fact that Isis, though an ancient goddess, had joined the circle of the most important goddesses relatively late, he made her, through a rapid syncretistic and eclectic process, a part and a protagonist of some of the major theological systems of the Egyptian religion: she is a Mother-goddess, the sole creator of all life; she is a creator-goddess similar to the primeval creator-god of the Memphite Theology; she is a preeminent member of the Heliopolitan theological system; she is intimately connected with the divine kingship; she is the leading deity of the Osirian triad and the supreme deity of the Kamutef theme; she is the universal goddess, the one embodying the many. All the attributes, roles, and functions that in much earlier times had been assigned to other gods and goddesses have now been transferred to her, to show her sovereign and unique position among



the deities of Philae. It is a great merit of the poet that he was able so effortlessly to intertwine these multiple and complex features of the goddess and to express them in a simple and appealing hymnic form.

In an address to the goddess at the beginning of Hymn VI, Ptolemy II describes Isis as a deity whose Ka is supported by the god Hēh (“You to whose Ka Hēh stretches himself up”)—that is, as a goddess of sky whose divine image is supported by Hēh, a god (*Himmelsträger*), usually represented by the king, often seen in the temples of the Graeco-Roman Period in a posture of uplifting the sky, thereby assuring the main deity of the temple of the stability of the cosmic and social order. Isis, supported in her celestial abode by Hēh, is urged by Ptolemy to descend and make the Sanctuary a place of her living presence. With this remarkable image, we leave the transcendental world of Isis and enter the second sphere of her realm: her dominion on earth and her numinous presence in the temple.

The hymns and the legends of the Sanctuary repeatedly refer to the goddess as “Lady of Philae and Biggeh,” as “Lady of the Southern Lands,” “Lady of the Two Sanctuaries (i.e., the Two Lands),” as “Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt,” as one who repels the enemies (the Nubians and others) “from the Shores of Horus” (see chap. 6, Building Inscriptions); one who gives Ptolemy the victory over the north and south—titles and functions that indicate her dominion over the land of Egypt and over the world. Her bellicose nature, which in the later texts and monuments at Philae no longer has a purely mythological character, as in Hymn V, but takes on a “historical” connotation, assures the king of the victory over the actual or potential enemies of the land, its people, and the temple—very appropriately so at Philae, a crucial frontier of Egypt constantly exposed to the threats of the southerners.

Not only does the king’s victory depend on her, but his election and his very destiny are decided by her. The power that the goddess exerts over the king and the palace is strongly emphasized in the hymns and represents the continuation of an old tradition especially well attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty. But she not only rules the palace; in more lyrical terms, adorned with the titles of the queens of old, she is said to be “the fragrance of the Palace, Mistress of joy, Lady of charm who fills the Palace with her beauty”; she is “great of love, Mistress of women,” a goddess of love and beauty (see chap. 3, Translation; chap. 7, Translation).

Her second center of power on earth is her temple, her earthly residence where she reigns supreme. There she descends daily from her celestial abode to join her images and imbue them with her divine presence. There, together with the male and female deities of her entourage, she receives daily and festive offerings by her son, the living Horus, Ptolemy; there she is joined by the king’s wife and sister, the deified Arsinoë, who shares in the goddess’s role as the Divine Adorer and the High Priestess of the temple. The land belongs to Isis, and she rules it from her temple, where, ever since the day of its consecration, she maintains daily contact with her people through her adoptive son, the king, upon whom she has conferred the royal inheritance of her own son Horus (see chap. 1, Commentary). There, leading the procession of the offering-bearers (see chap. 6, Commentary, sec. 2), the king presents to the sovereign goddess, unfailingly, the pro-

duce of the “Young Hapy,”<sup>11</sup> the ever renewing inundation, with all other riches of the land, and then he purifies her Sanctuary with the sacred plants, lotus and papyrus. There, too, at the New Year’s festivities, the king performs special ceremonies of appeasement of the goddess and in a penitential spirit makes a negative confession rejecting all transgressions that he may have committed—a rare (and probably the first Ptolemaic) example of the anticipated eschatology applied to the living king—so that, purified, with his vitality renewed, he may be ritually and morally fit to welcome the New Year, to be reconfirmed in his royal power, to receive new benefits for himself, his people, and the land (see chap. 8, Translation).

Thus, while dwelling in Heaven, her divine abode, as “Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the gods,” the goddess is also numinously present in her temple on earth. Her Sanctuary, to which she daily descends to unite herself with her images and in which she reigns as the sovereign queen of the land, is like another Heaven on earth. Indeed it seems that, as Otto von Simson observed in an entirely different and yet analogous context, “Heaven and earth were close to one another in those days, they were as one in the sanctuary.”<sup>12</sup>

## EPILOGUE

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### The Philae Hymns to Isis and the Greek and Latin Isiac Aretalogies

*To the memory of François Daumas,  
great scholar and dear friend*

Almost one hundred and fifty years ago, Ernest Curtius discovered on the Greek island of Andros a hymn of praises to Isis, an aretalogy, “ein wunderlich mystisches spätes Gedicht,” as he put it.<sup>1</sup> In the long span of time that followed, more such hymns,<sup>2</sup> in verse and prose, came to light, so that today six aretalogies proper, and about ten other texts closely related to them, are known.<sup>3</sup> By their style and content these constitute a specific literary genre in which the virtues and the powers of Isis as a universal goddess were praised and proclaimed to the entire Greek world. Although they can be dated from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D., the aretalogies appear to be variants of a basic Greek text, the M-text,<sup>4</sup> so called because it may have originated in Memphis, the city to which the introductory lines of the Kyme and Andros aretalogies refer.<sup>5</sup> This basic Greek text is to be dated at least to the second century B.C., if not to the times of the first Ptolemies.<sup>6</sup> Thus it is understandable that, in the discussion of the mutual relationship of the variant aretalogies, their relationship to the Egyptian sources as their possible prototypes has been debated. The principal issue has been whether the basic text, the M-text, is a Greek translation of an Egyptian document written in hieroglyphs, or whether it is an original Greek composition. R. Harder,<sup>7</sup> the strongest proponent of the idea of a Greek translation of an Egyptian document, was criticized by A. D. Nock<sup>8</sup> and, especially, A.-J. Festugière,<sup>9</sup> who stated that stylistically and thematically the basic text of the aretalogies was an original Greek composition.<sup>10</sup>

D. Müller, in his detailed study of the epithets and functions attributed to Isis in the Greek aretalogies, searched for corresponding Egyptian equivalents and concluded that, of about fifty-six shorter or longer phrases referring to Isis, nine are, in form and content, of Egyptian origin; seven are Egyptian but expressed in a grecized form; twenty-four are of Greek origin; and sixteen are of an uncertain, possibly Greek derivation.<sup>11</sup> Thus, according to Müller, the basic Greek text could not be derived from an Egyptian archetype. Its author—either an Egyptian educated in Greek culture and language or a Greek well informed about Egyptian religion—wishing to propagate the cult of Isis among the Greeks, bor-

rowed from the Egyptian Isiac and other texts the ideas and phrases acceptable to the Greeks, eliminated those that may have appeared alien or incomprehensible to them, and added to his text a considerable number of typically Greek features. The result of all this was a strongly hellenized composition: Isis appeared to her Greek devotees as a Greek, not an Egyptian, goddess.<sup>12</sup>

Jan Bergman reacted to Müller's conclusions by trying to prove that behind each statement of the aretalogies there lies a corresponding Egyptian thought, and that the style, as well as the themes, cannot be properly understood unless they are placed in a Memphite context of the royal ideology and associated with the coronation ritual, in which Isis played a prominent role.<sup>13</sup>

Müller, while acknowledging some new insights brought to this controversy by Bergman, rejected,<sup>14</sup> as did some other reviewers,<sup>15</sup> Bergman's strong emphasis on the role played by Isis in the royal cult of Memphis and reiterated his thesis that the aretalogies are a combination of Egyptian and predominantly Greek ideas and phraseology; according to him, the basic aretalogy of Memphis is in several instances an *interpretatio graeca* of Egyptian religious ideas.

In 1975, J. Gwyn Griffiths published *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)*, which contains two Latin aretalogies, his English translations of which are quoted below. In this book, Griffiths assembled and evaluated a veritable treasure of aretalogical references and brought their comparative study up to date.

Also in 1975, Yves Grandjean published the most recently discovered Isiac aretalogy, that of Maronea, a hymn in prose, which he dated on palaeographical grounds to the second part of the second century B.C.<sup>16</sup> Thus, according to Grandjean, the aretalogy of Maronea is the oldest and also appears to be the most original of the Isiac aretalogies. Grandjean presented the text of the new aretalogy line by line and discussed each of the themes in the light of the literary, epigraphical, papyrological, numismatic, and archaeological evidence.<sup>17</sup> More specifically, he stated that among the features in which the aretalogy of Maronea differs from other aretalogies is the absence of the first-person style, the *Ich-Prädikation*, the goddess being addressed by the author of the aretalogy interchangeably in the second and third person;<sup>18</sup> that Isis is not said to be the daughter of Kronos and Rhea, Greek equivalents for Geb and Nut,<sup>19</sup> but the daughter of Earth;<sup>20</sup> that Isis is referred to as the spouse not of Osiris, but of Serapis,<sup>21</sup> a reference found in no other aretalogy.<sup>22</sup> Grandjean considers the aretalogy of Maronea to be also a true *interpretatio graeca* of the basic traditional text, from which, however, the author frequently departed, especially at the end of his unfinished composition, where he stressed the role of Athens and Eleusis in the Greek world and the identification of Isis with Demeter.<sup>23</sup> Intent on composing a truly Greek aretalogy and writing for the Greek devotees of Isis far away from her homeland, he, too, suppressed all that might have appeared alien to his contemporaries and presented to the worshipers of the goddess a thoroughly hellenized Isis.<sup>24</sup> Toward the end of his book, Grandjean made a very subtle remark: if, in his intent to make his aretalogy a truly Greek composition, the author was induced to change the basic text even more radically than the authors of other aretalogies did, it means that the basic text, in spite of its strongly hellenized tenor,

was still felt to be a foreign product in a Greek land. This would confirm, if there was any need for it, the thesis of the Egyptian origin of the Isiac aretalogies.<sup>25</sup>

Before discussing in detail the main point of this epilogue, which is what the Philae hymns to Isis contribute to this long controversy about the origin of, and the Egyptian or Greek preponderance in, the Isiac aretalogies, I think it useful first to familiarize the nonspecialized reader with the translations of the four representative aretalogical texts that will be referred to in the following pages. These texts are: the first of the four hymns composed by Isidorus in the early part of the first century B.C. for the temple of Isis-Hermouthis at Medinet Madi in the Fayyûm; the aretalogy of Kyme (Cyme, on the coast of Aeolis in Asia Minor); the aretalogy of Maronea (on the south coast of Thrace); and two aretalogies in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Book XI, chapters 5 and 25. Some of the comparative study with the Egyptian hymns to Isis is anticipated in the commentaries that follow each translation except that of the aretalogy of Kyme. The Kyme aretalogy, the standard aretalogy for such study, is then compared in some detail with the Philae hymns to Isis.

1. In hymn 1 of Isidorus, written in hexameter and in the second-person style, Isis is addressed both as a local goddess Isis-Hermouthis,<sup>26</sup> and as the universal goddess identified with the leading Greek and Near Eastern goddesses; she is the Isis of many names and many forms, as she again appears in the aretalogy of Apuleius (see sec. 4) and in the invocations and hymn to her in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1380;<sup>27</sup> it is only the Egyptians who know her true name, "Thiouis," "The Only One."<sup>28</sup>

Giver of wealth, Queen of the gods,<sup>29</sup> Hermouthis, Sovereign Lady  
 Ruler of all,<sup>30</sup> Good Fortune, Isis of great name,  
 Deo<sup>31</sup> most high, Discoverer of all life;  
 Manifold works were your concern so that you might give  
 Sustenance to mankind and good rule to all;  
 And you laid down the laws that justice might exist,  
 And you gave skills that life might be becoming,  
 And you discovered the flowery nature of all fruits.  
 Because of you heaven and the whole earth were established,  
 And the blasts of the winds and the sweet-shining sun.  
 Through your power all the courses of the Nile are filled  
 In the early autumn season, and most vehement waters are poured  
 Over the entire land, that the produce may grow unfailingly.  
 All mortals who live on the boundless earth,  
 Thracians, Hellenes, and all that are barbarians,  
 Call you by your beautiful name, greatly honored among all,  
 Each in his own tongue, each in his own land.  
 The Syrians call you Astarte, Artemis, Anaia,<sup>32</sup>  
 And the Lycian tribes call you Leto, the Sovereign,  
 The Thracians call you also Mother of the gods;  
 The Hellenes call you Hera of the Great Throne and Aphrodite,

And good Hestia and Rhea and Demeter;  
 But the Egyptians call you Thiouis, because you alone are all  
 Other goddesses named by the races of men.  
 Mistress, I shall not cease your great power to sing,  
 Immortal Savior, of many names, Isis most great,  
 You who save from war cities and all their citizens,  
 Men, (their) wives, possessions, and dear children.  
 All who are held in prison, destined to die,  
 And all who are troubled by long painful sleeplessness,<sup>33</sup>  
 And all men wandering in a foreign land,  
 And all those who sail the sea in great storm,  
 When men perish and ships are destroyed:  
 All these are saved when they invoke your presence.  
 Hear my prayers, you, whose name has great power,  
 Be merciful to me, relieve me from all pain.

Isidorus wrote (this).

It is clear that this composition of Isidorus can be called a “hymn” only in a broader sense; it probably was not meant to be recited as part of a daily ritual or at some religious festival, as was the case with the hymns to Isis at Philae. All four hymns of Isidorus, three to Isis and the fourth to the deified Amenemhet III, were carved on the *antae* of the temple of Isis-Hermouthis as an expression of Isidorus’ personal devotion to them.

At the end of Isidorus’ hymn, no invocation is made to the goddess for the benefit of the king, as in the Philae hymns, but Isidorus asks for special blessings for himself and for all those in distress. This deity-and-man relationship is an extension of the concept of the deity-and-the-king relationship of the Egyptian temples, although we may safely assume that in them the king acted also in the role of an intermediary between the deity and his people. On the other hand, in hymn 3 Isidorus highly praises the reigning king (Ptolemy IX Soter II),<sup>34</sup> who stands under very special protection of the goddess, and he dedicates his entire hymn 4 to the glory and miraculous deeds of the deified Amenemhet III (Ptolemy I Soter), the first builder of the Twelfth Dynasty temple at Medinet Madi.<sup>35</sup>

It has been said that Isidorus’ hymn glorifies Isis not only as the universal goddess, but as the local goddess Isis-Hermouthis as well; in the latter capacity she formed a divine triad with Sokonopis and Anchoes,<sup>36</sup> and it is understandable that in this respect Isidorus’ hymn differs from the M-Text and other aretalogies written for the Greeks outside Egypt, where such local Egyptian features, incomprehensible and unsuitable for the “missionary” purpose of the aretalogies, had to be eliminated. Fraser is correct when he says that, although Isidorus’ hymn has a good deal of vocabulary in common with the aretalogy, it would be “incorrect to regard Isidorus’ hymns as forming a chronological link between a normal hymn and the aretalogy,”<sup>37</sup> but, what is apparently his main reason for this statement—that is, that “the aretalogies of comparable date have the fully developed I-formula”—does not seem to hold, since the aretalogy of Maronea, which is probably older than those of Andros and Kyme<sup>38</sup> (the two mentioned by Fraser),

is not expressed in the I-formula, but in the second- and third-person style. Referring to Isidorus' "new ten-line"<sup>39</sup> polyonymus [sic] or myrionymus [sic] (many-name) section in which he equates his goddess to all great goddesses and claims all are merely forms of her whom he calls 'the One,'" Vanderlip mentions that Harder considers this section "traditionally Egyptian,"<sup>40</sup> and that van Groningen "gives several close parallels from Egyptian hymns of praise."<sup>41</sup> This is, to a large extent, correct. When, however, on the basis of this and some other very insufficient "evidence," she states that the M-text in its origin is "a translation from another language," which would "tend to substantiate Harder's theory that the prototype was an Egyptian text,"<sup>42</sup> she repeats a sheer hypothesis unacceptable in the form in which she presented it. B. A. van Groningen indeed referred<sup>43</sup> to some Egyptian parallels in which a god or goddess is equated with a number of deities or associated with various cult places where they manifest themselves in diverse forms or aspects; for instance, he mentions an example from the "Myth of the Eye of the Sun," in which Nekhbet, Mut, and especially Hathor, associated with their cult places, are only the manifestations of Tefēnet (Tefnut), the daughter of the sun-god;<sup>44</sup> van Groningen also refers to the Great Hymn to Osiris,<sup>45</sup> in which this god in his many names and different aspects is said to be worshipped in his chief cult centers, beginning with Busiris in Lower Egypt and ending with Abydos in Upper Egypt. Closer to the times of the aretalogies is van Groningen's reference to the Hathor of Dendera,<sup>46</sup> in which this goddess "who resides in Dendera" is Amunet (the female Amun) in Thebes, Menhyt in Heliopolis, Renpet in Memphis, Ruler in Abydos, Seshat in Hermopolis, Bastet in Bubastis, Neith in Sais, and so on. One immediately realizes that, with the exception of the Great Hymn to Osiris, these references cited by van Groningen are considerably later than the hymns to Isis at Philae. In the commentary to Hymn VII, I have also mentioned some other hymns, such as the litany or hymn of "Victorious Thebes" to Amun and a hymn to Hathor from the Papyrus Bremner-Rhind of a somewhat earlier date than Hymn VII (see chap. 7, Commentary, sec. 2), which could have been known to the priestly poet at Philae. How the ancient compilers, authors, and editors proceeded when they were preparing new hymns to their favorite deities is little known; temple libraries and archives must have been important centers of literary activities in transmitting the old texts and adapting them to new requirements. But we do know now that, about the middle of the third century B.C., there stood engraved on the walls of the Temple of Isis at Philae hymns addressed to this goddess, and that papyrus copies of these hymns must have been kept in the temple library. Thus, if one is searching for an Egyptian source that might have influenced or inspired Isidorus when composing the "polyonymous section" of his hymn 1, one may include, among other possibilities, the text of Hymn VII at Philae, accessible in one form or another to him and (or through) an Egyptian Isiac theologian or interpreter whom he could have met in the Fayyûm or anywhere else. So, too, Hymn IV at Philae, which speaks of the role of Isis in the inundation of the Nile and in providing sustenance for the people, may have influenced lines 10–13 of Isidorus' hymn 1. The association of Isis with some prominent cult centers and her assimilation to the leading Egyptian goddesses—which the poet of Hymn VII at Philae may himself have pat-

tered on older Egyptian hymns of the same or comparable tenor—could well have stimulated Isidorus in his elaboration and extension of Isis' epithets and functions; intermingling these with the identification of Isis with Demeter and other Greek as well as Near Eastern goddesses, he also added some purely Greek features to his composition and gave it a Greek poetic and quasi-epic form. Thus he succeeded in representing Isis as a universal and provident goddess, appealing to both the local population of the Fayyûm and the Greek visitors from abroad. As far as the Egyptian influence on Isidorus' hymn 1 is concerned, Vanderlip's statement that "we can conclude that Isidorus' polyonymus [sic] section was influenced directly by Egyptian hymns, possibly temple-hymns,"<sup>47</sup> may be close to the truth, although, understandably, she could not prove it. As Herodotus (II, 176) mentioned, there was very probably a temple of Isis at Memphis,<sup>48</sup> but we do not know of any hymns to Isis from there. Nor do we know of any hymns from the "Iseum," the famous temple of Isis at Behbeit El-Hagar in the Delta,<sup>49</sup> which, though in a state of total collapse, as far as my own inspection and those of others have been able to determine, is not likely to yield any hymns if the temple is some day reerected. Thus, in the present state of our knowledge, we may be justified in assuming that the Egyptian influence that may have been exerted on Isidorus' hymns came from the south, from Philae—this is, however, no more than a hypothesis. What Egyptian text or texts truly were his source of inspiration we may never know.

2. The aretalogy of Kyme, the only complete version of the M-text<sup>50</sup> and thus the standard for study purposes, will be compared later in some detail with the phraseology of the hymns to Isis at Philae; here the translation and a few notes will suffice. After a brief introduction, in which we are told that "this was copied from the stela in Memphis that stands before the temple of Hephaestus," the aretalogy follows:

- 3a I am Isis, the ruler of every land
- 3b and I was taught by Hermes, and with Hermes I devised letters, both the sacred and the demotic, that all might not be written with the same.
- 4 I gave laws to mankind and ordained what no one can change.
- 5 I am the eldest daughter of Kronos.
- 6 I am the wife and sister of King Osiris.
- 7 I am the one who discovered corn for mankind.
- 8 I am the mother of King Horus.
- 9 I am the one who rises in the Dog-star.
- 10 I am the one called goddess (*theos*) by women.
- 11 For me was built the city of Bubastis.
- 12 I separated the earth from the Heaven.
- 13 I showed the paths of the stars.<sup>51</sup>
- 14 I regulated the course of the sun and the moon.
- 15 I devised the activities of seamanship.<sup>52</sup>
- 16 I made what is right strong.
- 17 I brought together woman and man.



- 18 I assigned to women to bring into light their infants in the tenth month.  
 19 I ordained that parents should be loved by children.  
 20 I imposed punishment upon those unkindly disposed toward (their) parents.  
 21 I with my brother Osiris put an end to cannibalism.  
 22 I taught men the initiation into mysteries.  
 23 I instructed (them) to revere images of the gods.  
 24 I established the temples (lit. sacred precincts, *temenē*) of the gods.  
 25 I abolished the rules of the tyrants.  
 26 I put an end to murders.  
 27 I compelled women to be loved by men.  
 28 I made the right stronger than gold and silver.  
 29 I ordained that the true should be considered good.  
 30 I devised marriage contracts.  
 31 I assigned to Greeks and barbarians (their) languages.  
 32 I made the good and the bad to be distinguished by nature.  
 33 I made that nothing should be more fearful than an oath.  
 34 I have delivered him who unjustly plots against others into the hands of the one against whom he plotted.<sup>53</sup>  
 35 I impose retribution upon those who do injustice.  
 36 I decreed that mercy be shown to suppliants.  
 37 I honor those who justly defend themselves.  
 38 With me the right has power.  
 39 I am the mistress of rivers and winds and sea.  
 40 No one is honored without my consent (*gnōmē*).  
 41 I am the Mistress of war.  
 42 I am the Mistress of the thunderbolt.  
 43 I calm the sea and make it surge.  
 44 I am in the rays of the sun.  
 45 I attend the sun in its journey.  
 46 What I decree, that is also accomplished.  
 47 All yield to me.  
 48 I set free those who are in bonds.  
 49 I am the Mistress of seamanship.  
 50 I make the navigable unnavigable, whenever I so decide.  
 51 I founded enclosure-walls of the cities.  
 52 I am called the Lawgiver (*thesmophóros*).  
 53 I brought up islands out of the depths into the light.  
 54 I am the Mistress of rain.  
 55 I conquer Destiny.  
 56 Destiny obeys me.<sup>54</sup>  
 57 Hail, O Egypt, that nourished me.

3. The aretalogy of Maronea<sup>55</sup> is a composition in *prose oratoire*, comparable to a *hymne en prose*, as Y. Grandjean put it.<sup>56</sup> In the introduction the author asks Isis to help him compose an encomium, or a eulogy,<sup>57</sup> in her honor, in grati-

tude for her miraculous healing of his eyes.<sup>58</sup> In contrast to the sequence of praises of the goddess as it is found in some more traditional aretalogies, he begins his eulogy by describing the origin of the goddess (*ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην σου τοῦ γένους*, ll. 14–15) and continues:

Earth, they say, is the mother of all, from her who was first (to be) you were born (as her) daughter.

You took Serapis as (your) companion, and after you (thus) instituted legitimate marriage,<sup>59</sup> the world shone out before your faces, illuminated by Helios and Selene.<sup>60</sup>

Thus you are two, and (yet) you are called the many by men; Life indeed knows you alone to be the gods.<sup>61</sup>

How would it not be hard to master the subject of a eulogy when one must begin the praise by (first) recalling many gods?<sup>62</sup>

With Hermes she discovered writings, the sacred ones of these for the initiated, and the demotic for all (others).<sup>63</sup>

She established Justice, so that each one of us, just as he by nature endures equal death, may also be able to live in conditions of equality.

She established language for men, for some the barbarian, for some the Greek, so that the human race may live in mutual friendship, not only men with women, but all with all.<sup>64</sup>

You have given laws; they were called *thesmoi* in the beginning.<sup>65</sup>

Thus the cities were solidly established, because they discovered that violence is not lawful, but that the law is without violence.

You made that parents be honored by their children, considering them not only as parents, but as gods.<sup>66</sup>

This is why gratitude should be (even) greater, since it was the goddess (herself) who made out of natural necessity a law.

You are pleased with Egypt as your dwelling-place;<sup>67</sup> among the Greek cities you most honor Athens.

It is there that for the first time you made known the fruits of the earth.

Triptolemos, having subdued your sacred serpents, carried by a chariot,<sup>68</sup> distributed the seed to all Greeks.

This is why we are eager to see in Greece, Athens, and in Athens, Eleusis, considering (Athens) the City of Europe, and (Eleusis) the Sanctuary of the City.

She decreed that life should come into existence through man and woman.<sup>69</sup>

She decreed . . . that the woman. . . .

In spite of some references to Isis as they are found in other aretalogies, in its form (the second- and third-person style), tenor, and diction, and in what seems to have been in the mind of its author the most significant part of its content (the preeminent role played by Athens and Eleusis in his time),<sup>70</sup> the aretalogy of Maronea appears as something new. At first glance, one would indeed be inclined to think that Festugière's definition of the aretalogy as being stylistically and thematically a composition written by a Greek for the Greeks with an admixture of some Egyptian elements may well apply to the aretalogy of Maronea. And yet, in spite of the fact that the Egyptian elements in it have been reduced to a smaller number than in other aretalogies, this very fact, as Grandjean observed, indi-

rectly points to its Egyptian origin, which the author himself sensed and which he tried to veil by thoroughly adapting his eulogy to a Hellenistic social and religious milieu. Reading the aretalogy of Maronea, one may wonder at the radical changes introduced by its author into one of the versions of the basic M-text, which he must have had in front of him, especially when one realizes that this aretalogy is one of the oldest, if not the oldest, known thus far. All this seems to indicate that the basic Greek text must indeed go back at least to the second century B.C., and probably to an even earlier date, as has already been stated. The aretalogy of Maronea also seems to throw some light on the early literary activity of the individual Greek writers, who, as Grandjean explained, were anxious to adapt their aretalogies to the needs of the worshipers of Isis outside Egypt and to the specific religious and social conditions of the time in which they wrote.

4. The two aretalogies in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* XI, chapters 5 and 25, composed probably in the second part of the second century A.D.,<sup>71</sup> are in a sense a paraphrase and a summary of the ideas of the preceding Hellenistic aretalogical texts. They are written in Latin, and the reader who has thus far read Egyptian hymns and Greek aretalogies may be curious to know how more or less the same ideas have been expressed in a different linguistic medium. Here, too, *aretalogy* and *hymn* are used in a somewhat broad sense. In chapter 5, Isis speaks to Lucius in the first-person style, in a manner "reminiscent of the aretalogies," as Griffiths put it,<sup>72</sup> and chapter 25, in which, just as in chapter 2, Lucius addresses a prayer to Isis in the second-person style, can in some sense be regarded as a "hymn in prose," at least up to a certain point in the text.<sup>73</sup> In reproducing Griffiths' admirable translation, I have quoted chapter 25 somewhat beyond that point and, for the reason mentioned in the short summary at the end, I have included in it also the "personal statement" of Lucius.

Chapter 5 tells us that, after his prayer to Isis in chapter 2, Lucius fell asleep; Isis appeared and spoke to him:

Lo, I am with you, Lucius, moved by your prayers, I who am the mother of the universe, the mistress of all the elements, the first offspring of time, the highest of deities, the queen of the dead, foremost of heavenly beings, the single form that fuses all gods and goddesses; I who order by my will the starry heights of heaven, the health-giving breezes of the sea, and the awful silences of those in the underworld; my single godhead is adored by the whole world in varied forms, in differing rites and with many diverse names.

Thus the Phrygians, earliest of races, call me Pessinuntia,<sup>74</sup> Mother of the Gods; thus the Athenians, sprung from their own soil, call me Cecropeian Minerva;<sup>75</sup> and the sea-tossed Cyprians call me Paphian Venus,<sup>76</sup> the archer Cretans Diana Dictynna,<sup>77</sup> and the trilingual Sicilians Ortygian Proserpine;<sup>78</sup> to the Eleusinians I am Ceres,<sup>79</sup> the ancient goddess, to others Juno,<sup>80</sup> to others Bellona<sup>81</sup> and Hecate<sup>82</sup> and Rhamnusia.<sup>83</sup> But the Ethiopians, who are illumined by the first rays of the sun-god as he is born every day, together with the Africans and the Egyptians who excel through

having the original doctrine, honour me with my distinctive rites and give me my true name of Queen Isis.<sup>84</sup>

I am here taking pity on your ills; I am here to give aid and solace. Cease then from fears and wailings, set aside your sadness; there is now dawning for you, through my providence, the day of salvation.<sup>85</sup>

Chapter 25 contains Lucius' prayer to Isis:

Thou in truth art the holy and eternal saviour of the human race, ever beneficent in helping mortal men, and thou bringest the sweet love of a mother to the trials of the unfortunate.

No day nor any restful night, nor even the slightest moment passes by untouched by thy blessings, but ever on sea and land thou art guarding men, and when thou hast stilled the storms of life thou dost stretch out thy saving hand, with which thou unravelest even those threads of fate which are inextricably woven together; thou dost pacify the gales of Fortune and keep in check the baleful movement of the stars.

Thee do the gods above honour, and thou art worshipped by those below; thou dost revolve the sphere of heaven, and illumine the sun, thou dost guide the earth, and trample Hell under thy feet.

For thee the constellations move, for thee the seasons return; the divine beings rejoice for thee, and the elements are thy slaves.

By thy command breezes blow and rain-clouds nourish, seeds sprout and buds grow.

Awe of thy majesty imbues the birds that move in the sky, the wild beasts that roam the mountains, the serpents that glide in the earth, and the monsters that swim in the sea.

But I am bereft of talent in singing thy praises, and have scarce means to offer thee fit sacrifices; nor have I the rich power of speech to express what I feel about thy majesty; indeed a thousand mouths and tongues are not enough for the task, nor an everlasting sequence of tireless talk.

Therefore I shall try to do the only thing possible for one who is devoted but indigent: I shall keep for ever, stored in my inmost heart, the memory of thy divine countenance and most holy godhead.<sup>86</sup>

In his commentaries,<sup>87</sup> Griffiths made a comprehensive and up-to-date analysis of the epithets and functions of Isis in these two aretalogies, as well as in the related texts, and there is no need to repeat what has been said there. I wish to mention only a few instances in which the hymns to Isis at Philae and the aretalogy of Maronea, which appeared in the same year as Griffiths' book, confirm his statements and at the same time give a wider chronological background to some of his references.

Perhaps the most important epithet of Isis in the first aretalogy of Apuleius in chapter 5 that reflects an Egyptian concept is the reference to the goddess as "rerum naturae parens," "the mother of the universe";<sup>88</sup> it echoes the words of Hymn IV at Philae: "She is the Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld, having brought them into existence through what her heart conceived and her hands created."

Some other references to Isis in chapter 5, such as “summa numinum, regina manium, prima caelitem,” “the highest of deities, the queen of the dead, foremost of heavenly beings,”<sup>89</sup> also echo not only “the Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld,” but, more specifically, such epithets of Isis as “Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the gods, Mistress of all the gods (*nbt pt ḥnwt ntrw, ḥnwt ntrw nbw*)” in Philae Hymns II and IV (see chap. 2, n. 7 and chap. 4, n. 17), and “Queen of the gods (*ityt ntrw*),” in Philae Hymn I (see chap. 1, Translation, and n. 5) and in hymn 1, line 1 of Isidorus: βασιλεια Θεῶν.<sup>90</sup> Here can also be added a phrase from a later hymn to Isis at Philae: “Ruler in heaven, Queen on earth (*ḥk3t m pt ityt m t3*).”<sup>91</sup> It is true that before<sup>92</sup> and after<sup>93</sup> Philae some of these epithets were attributed elsewhere to other goddesses. In the newly developed Isiac theological system at Philae, by a syncretistic and eclectic process mentioned several times in the commentaries to the hymns, all these diverse attributes were transferred to Isis to show her status as a sovereign, universal goddess, and to stress her supremacy over all other deities, as was done in the renowned cult centers of other leading goddesses. It is important to state, however, that this assumption of the attributes of other deities on the part of Isis can, at least in its general outline, be traced within Egypt,<sup>94</sup> and that, as already mentioned, there existed at Philae about the middle of the third century B.C. a rich body of hymnic phraseology, gathered together, organized and structured for ritual purposes, engraved on the walls of the Temple of Isis, accessible to the Egyptian and Greek theologians not only in the temple but also on papyrus copies in the temple library. All this was fixed in time and place not long before the first Greek aretalogies, or hymns, to Isis began to appear. Is it possible that some of the Philae phraseology was known to Apuleius from a Greek source and in a grecized form—that is, from some writings similar to aretalogies—which he then adapted to his Latin composition? This, too, is just a hypothesis.

As to the words of Isis in chapter 5. “cuius numen unicum . . . totus veneratur orbis,” “my single godhead . . . is adored by the whole world,”<sup>95</sup> one is reminded of the name “Thiouis” given to Isis in Isidorus’ hymn 1 at Medinet Madi (see n. 28). “Thiouis, that is, *t3 w‘t*, The Only One,” is also attributed to Hathor in one of the versions of the litany of “Victorious Thebes,” where it occurs in the phrase *Ḥnwt w‘tyt*, “Sole Mistress (of the land)” (see chap. 7, Commentary, sec. 1). A similar idea is expressed by the phrase “there exists not his/her like,” which probably came into a wider usage through the Middle Kingdom royal biographical literature.<sup>96</sup> In Hymn VII at Philae this phrase is attributed to Isis, who is referred to as “The Eye of Re, who has no equal in Heaven and on earth” (see chap. 7, Translation). A synonymous phrase occurs in a later text on the First Pylon at Philae, where Isis is called “(Daughter of Geb) who has no equal.”<sup>97</sup>

The reference to Isis in chapter 25 as one who brings “sweet love of a mother to the trials of the unfortunate (*dulcem matris adfectionem miserorum casibus tribuis*),”<sup>98</sup> reminds us of the prayers of Isidorus at the end of his hymns 1, 2, and 3,<sup>99</sup> and of the gratitude of the author of the aretalogy of Maronea for the miraculous healing of his eyes.<sup>100</sup> Griffiths mentions that the concept of motherly love “is very much to the fore in the Egyptian picture of Isis.”<sup>101</sup> In Plutarch she is said to have “consecrated at once a pattern of piety and encouragement to men

and women overtaken by similar misfortunes.”<sup>102</sup> In these texts Isis is mother, consoler, and helper; in chapter 5 her first words to Lucius are: “En adsum tuis commota precibus,” “Lo I am with you, moved by your prayers”; and she ends her self-revelation to him: “Adsum tuos miserata casus, adsum favens et propitia,” “I am here taking pity on your ills; I am here to give aid and solace.”<sup>103</sup>

In discussing the aretalogy of Maronea, Grandjean placed a special emphasis on the words addressed to Isis: “If you came when I invoked you for my deliverance (*σωτηρία*), how wouldn’t you come when I am to honor you.”<sup>104</sup> Having mentioned similar references to the intervention of Isis in Isidorus’ hymns and in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses XI*, chapter 25, he ended by saying that the extraordinary appeal of Isis to the peoples of the Graeco-Roman world was due not only to the syncretistic tendencies that were developing in the entire Mediterranean world, but to large extent to the fact that, from the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, she appeared as a saving and helping goddess.<sup>105</sup>

I quoted the text of Apuleius, chapter 25 beyond the lines of the aretalogy proper and included Lucius’ personal statement, which begins with the words: “at ego referendis laudibus tuis exilis ingenio,” “but I am bereft of talent in singing thy praises.” Griffiths appropriately referred<sup>106</sup> to Nock’s idea that “the recording of an experience was regarded as an act of piety.”<sup>107</sup> There is also another point that may be made here, as well as in reference to a personal statement in chapter 3, which reads: “I will try to communicate to you her wonderful appearance if the poverty of human speech affords me the means of description or if the deity herself lends me her rich store of rhetorical eloquence.”<sup>108</sup> Commenting on the words of the aretalogy of Maronea, “with confidence I thus continue with what follows, knowing that it is the mind of the god (*νοῦς μὲν Θεοῦ*) and the hands of man that write an encomium,”<sup>109</sup> Grandjean remarked that these lines express a concept of divine inspiration known in Greece long before the age of the aretalogies. Already Pindar had spoken in his odes of the role played by the deity in the creative works of the poets.<sup>110</sup> A quotation from Plato’s *Ion* (1. 543c), also mentioned by Grandjean,<sup>111</sup> comes closer to the tenor of the texts of Maronea and Apuleius: “For in this way the God would seem to indicate to us and not allow us to doubt that these beautiful poems are not human, or the work of men, but divine and the work of God; and that the poets are only the interpreters of the God by whom they are severally possessed.”<sup>112</sup> Just as the author of the aretalogy of Maronea knows that he needs the divine mind to guide his hand in composing his eulogy to Isis, similarly Apuleius confesses his poverty of talent and speech to express what he feels about the goddess and hopes that as he tries to describe her wonderful appearance, she herself will lend him some of her rich eloquence.

After this general characterization of the four aretalogical texts, I wish to discuss some specific phrases that occur in them and have their direct or indirect Egyptian antecedents. Some of these have already been mentioned; a more detailed discussion of some others will complement what has been said and will give the reader a clearer idea of the contribution of the Philae hymns to Isis to a better understanding of the origins of the aretalogies. In this analysis of Egyptian

and Greek sources, I will use the aretalogy of Kyme (see sec. 2), referred to as the M-text, as did D. Müller and others.

First, it will be useful to recapitulate the final results of Müller's first study (*Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*), according to which only nine statements of the aretalogy are, with high probability, of Egyptian background in form and content. They are: M 3a, "I am Isis, the ruler of every land"; M 5, "I am the eldest daughter of Cronos"; M 6, "I am the wife and sister of King Osiris"; M 8, "I am the mother of King Horus"; M 9, "I am the one who rises in the Dog-star"; M 12, "I separated the earth from the Heaven";<sup>113</sup> M 13, "I showed the paths of the stars"; M 16, "I made what is right strong"; and M 55 and 56, "I conquer Destiny. Destiny obeys me."<sup>114</sup> In his review of J. Bergman's book *Ich bin Isis*,<sup>115</sup> Müller accepted the statement of M 51, "I founded enclosure-walls of the cities," or, as he translates it, "I founded the city walls," as being an allusion to the "White Walls" of Memphis and the "Procession around the Wall," and thus of a possible Egyptian background. This seems to me to be a farfetched comparison, and Müller himself seems to be uncertain about it;<sup>116</sup> if it is accepted, one would have to think of the transference of epithets and functions of some other goddess to Isis, but even this remains very vague. Müller accepted the Egyptian background of M 40, "No one is honored without my consent," or, as he translates it, "Nobody is glorified without my consent," as well as the entire statement of M 3a-c, "I am Isis, the ruler of every land, and I was taught by Hermes (Egyptian Thoth), and with Hermes I devised letters, both the sacred and the demotic (*γράμματα . . . τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ δημόσια*), that all might not be written with the same"—of which Müller says: "there can be no doubt about the Egyptian background of M 3a-c."<sup>117</sup> Thus Müller extended from nine to thirteen—or, if M 51 is omitted as uncertain, to at least twelve—the initial number of statements considered to be of Egyptian origin.

Another scholar who severely restricted the Egyptian influence on the aretalogies, A.-J. Festugière, in addition to the "personalia" of Isis, proposed to see specifically Egyptian features in M 9 (Isis as Sothis), M 11 (Isis at Bubastis)<sup>118</sup> M 12 (separation of earth from heaven), M 44 (Isis in the rays of the sun), M 45 (Isis in the journey of the sun).<sup>119</sup> Thus Festugière raised the number of aretalogical statements with Egyptian background to about fifteen.<sup>120</sup>

At this point some additional aretalogical phrases are to be considered and some of those accepted by Müller somewhat clarified. I begin with M 54: "I am the mistress of rain (*Ἐγὼ ὄμβρων εἰμὶ κυρία*)," says Isis. Gwyn Griffiths, comparing Plutarch's statement that on the fourth epagomenal day Isis was born "near very moist places (*τῆν Ἰσιὺ ἐν παρύγροις γενέσθαι*)"<sup>121</sup> with a calendar notice in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus that says that on the birthday of Isis "the heaven rained (*irt pt hwy*),"<sup>122</sup> concluded that "the allusion in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus doubtless intends to present Isis as a rain-maker, just as Seth is the maker of thunder in the previous allusion," but, he continues, "it is doubtful whether the tradition belongs to the earliest stratum."<sup>123</sup> Müller, having adduced some pre-Ptolemaic texts that, according to him, would point to an Egyptian tradition, unexpectedly ends his discussion with the words: "Es erscheint nach alledem gut möglich, dass die Aussage von M 54 auf ein

ägyptisches *ink nb.t hwt* zurückgeht; notwendig freilich ist eine solche Annahme nicht, und Isis kann auch hier das Erbe des griechischen Zeus angetreten haben";<sup>124</sup> earlier in his book, he places M 54 in the last, fifth group, among the statements "nicht genau bestimmbarer, in den meisten Fällen aber wohl griechischer Herkunft."<sup>125</sup> P. Derchain, reviewing M. Münster's book *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, in which she briefly discussed (p. 200) the passage of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus and referred to Isis as "Regengöttin," questioned the validity of this connection.<sup>126</sup> The text of the papyrus reads: "Birth of Seth: the majesty of this god caused his voice to be [heard]," or, as G. Griffiths, referring to *Wb.* II, 466, 5, translated: "Birth of Seth: his voice was raised by the majesty of this god."<sup>127</sup> The Papyrus continues immediately: "Birth of Isis: the heaven rained." Derchain observed the distinction between the two statements: Seth himself caused his voice to be heard ("il fut donné de la voix par ce dieu"), while the rain "est le fait du ciel et non d'Isis." Indeed, it would seem that the text says no more than that it thundered on the birthday of Seth and rained on the birthday of Isis.<sup>128</sup> Derchain went a step further and compared the event of rain on the birthday of Isis in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus with a text of the Cairo Calendar, in which the birthday of the goddess is called "one which creates terror,"<sup>129</sup> and explained both statements as an expression of the precariousness of the epagomenal days (see chap. 8, Commentary, sec. 1) without any close association with the deities (Seth and Isis) mentioned in them. According to Derchain, there is no Egyptian text that would unequivocally refer to Isis as a goddess of rain. The only such reference to her is found in the aretology of Kyme (M 54) and is not necessarily of Egyptian origin either, since it occurs a few lines after M 42, "I am the mistress of thunder," which is certainly not of Egyptian origin; the Kyme statement is part of a context that stresses the universal power of Isis, but it does not tell us anything about her original character. Now, Derchain's explanation of the Kyme text is unacceptable. The fact that M 42 occurs some lines before M 54 has nothing to do with the Egyptian or un-Egyptian character of M 54, since throughout the Kyme aretology the statements of Egyptian background are interspersed among the typically Greek ones. Derchain's assertion that M 54 stresses Isis' universal power but is not one of her original characteristic features is true, but that does not mean that Isis' connection with rain is not part of an Egyptian tradition; that was accepted even by Müller, at least in the first part of his discussion. But there is more to this. In 1983, A.-P. Zivie in his very useful article "Regen"<sup>130</sup> discussed the positive and negative significance of rain in Egypt and emphasized that the rain was intimately associated with the intervention of various deities (Amon, Min, Neith, Ptah, etc.), as mentioned already by Derchain.<sup>131</sup> On the reference to the Kyme aretology, however, Zivie simply asserts that the attempt to make Isis a goddess of rain does not withstand examination; he thus accepts the opinion of Derchain and Müller against the old interpretation of Schäfer, Münster, and others.<sup>132</sup> Now, as Müller had initially stated, there is an Egyptian tradition in which Isis is associated with rain, even though this tradition may not belong to "the earliest stratum," as Griffiths observed, or may not be one of the original characteristic features of the goddess, as Derchain asserted. We have long been familiar with the development of new



ideas in various periods of Egyptian religious history, and the history of Isis and Osiris is particularly instructive in this respect. The reference to Isis in Hymn III at Philae as “Rain-cloud that makes green the fields when it descends” (see chap. 3, Translation and Commentary), is probably the earliest Ptolemaic reference to Isis as a goddess of rain, or rain itself, which is then explicitly stated in the Kyme aretalogy, and then repeated in the *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, where she is connected with “all rain, every spring, all dew and snow,”<sup>133</sup> and in Apuleius, chapter 25, where it is said that by her “command breezes blow and rain-clouds nourish, seeds sprout and buds grow.”<sup>134</sup> It may seem strange that at Philae, in Upper Egypt, an almost rainless land,<sup>135</sup> she would, perhaps for the first time, assume such an epithet, but, as Zivie very perceptively observed, “Dans quelle mesure la pluie était-elle vraiment perçue comme presque toujours nocive dans la réalité, et en particulier qu’en était-il dans les cas de crues insuffisantes?”<sup>136</sup> One recalls the beneficent, “miraculous” rain of the sixth year of Taharqa, the effect of which was described in terms somewhat reminiscent of the reference in Hymn III at Philae. After mentioning that the high inundation sent by Amun in answer to the king’s prayer had brought blessings to the entire land of Egypt, the text continues: “Moreover the sky rained in Nubia, it made all the hills glisten; every man of Nubia had abundance in everything, Egypt was in happy festival.”<sup>137</sup> Just like other deities,<sup>138</sup> Isis was associated with rain; even more, she was a goddess of rain, a beneficent rain, or the beneficent rain itself.

Another Kyme statement calls for reexamination: M 41, “I am the mistress of war (*Εγώ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία*).” Müller points out<sup>138</sup> that in Egyptian texts Isis is often referred to as a giver of victory, an epithet she shares, however, with several other deities (Monthu, Sakhmet, Astarte), but that M 41 speaks of war, not of victory; according to Müller, this attribute of Isis is of Greek origin, and at the end of his book he places it in the fourth group of statements that are “sicher nicht ägyptisch.”<sup>139</sup> Now, after what has been said in the commentary to Hymn V at Philae (see chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 1), it appears that, although Isis as goddess of war is not mentioned in Hymn V—except in mythological terms—the references to her as “the mistress of the battle (*nbt r-d3w*),” as “Monthu of the combat (*r-ht*), one to whom one cries out on the day of encounter (*hrw dmdyt*),” as one “who saves all those she loves on the battlefield (*hr prt*, for *pri*),” clearly point to Isis as a war goddess. It is true that these references to her belong to a later period (time of Tiberius); however, it is quite possible that the theologians and scribes at Philae were influenced by the epithets of Isis “the vanguard of the army . . . who restrains the aggressor, protects the Black Land (Egypt) for her Horus, and subdues the foreign countries for the Lord of the Two Lands,” which were formulated at her temple in Assuan in the time of Ptolemy III (see chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 1), and that they further extended her bellicose function by including that of the “mistress of war.”

As to M 40, “No one is honored without my consent,” or, as Müller translates it, “Nobody is glorified without my consent (*Οὐδεις δοξάζεται ἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς γνώμης*),” after some hesitation,<sup>140</sup> Müller finally accepted that this aretalogical statement “is almost certainly of Egyptian origin.”<sup>141</sup> Indeed any doubt is to be set aside by referring to the words of Hymn III at Philae: “(Who issues orders

among the divine Ennead), according to whose command one (that is, the king) rules” (see chap. 3, Translation). With these two statements the supreme power of Isis over the celestial realm of the gods, as well as over the earthly rule of the king, is clearly expressed. As I mentioned earlier (see chap. 3, Commentary, and n. 12), the second part of this statement, about her power over the king, may have served as a model phrase for a variety of similar expressions recorded at Philae and elsewhere from the early Ptolemaic to the Roman Period; a text from a hymn to Isis at Philae of the time of Tiberius refers to her as “Great-one upon whose command the King gloriously appears on the throne” (see chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 1). Closer to the statement of the aretalogy are references expressed in the negative form: “Without whom no one treads (or enters) the palace, upon whose command the King gloriously appears on the throne,” which occur in several instances of earlier periods at Philae.<sup>142</sup> One is also reminded of the corresponding statement in the aretalogy of Andros: “When with a nod I bend down the rulers’ powers, Might (itself) crouches for fear before my supreme royal majesty.”<sup>143</sup> Here, as generally in the aretalogy of Andros, the simple statement of Kyme is expressed in a paraphrastic and metaphoric—Peek called it baroque<sup>144</sup>—diction, but there is no doubt that the statement refers to Isis’ power over the king (or kings), just like the references from Philae. As Müller suggested,<sup>145</sup> the writer of the Kyme aretalogy gave a more general meaning to M 40. While, in Hymn III and other Egyptian references, Isis exercises her power over the king, whose election and destiny depend entirely on her, the Kyme statement has been adapted to a different mentality and expanded to include the dependence of every man’s destiny on Isis. The Egyptian origin of the statement is nevertheless apparent.

In discussing M46, “What I decree, that is also accomplished (Ὅ ἅν ἐμοὶ δόξη τοῦτο καὶ τελεῖται),” or, as he translates it, “What I decide that is also fulfilled,”<sup>146</sup> Müller seems to have been somewhat uncertain as to its Egyptian origin. Having referred to some corresponding Egyptian texts, especially those in which the verb š3(i), “decide, ordain,” occurs,<sup>147</sup> he concludes, “Ob dergleichen als Vorlage gedient hat, wird sich mit Sicherheit freilich nicht sagen lassen”<sup>148</sup> and places M 46 in the last group of statements “wohl griechischer Herkunft,” but with a question mark (“ob ägyptisch”?).<sup>149</sup> The hymn to Isis of the time of Tiberius at Philae (see chap. 5, Commentary), already referred to, says of the goddess: “What(ever) comes forth from her mouth is accomplished immediately.” Otto has quoted a variety of such sayings used of several deities, especially of Hathor at Dendera and Isis at Dendera and Philae,<sup>150</sup> and Bergman has referred to some additional examples of similar phrases associated with the gods and the kings in more ancient periods of Egyptian history.<sup>151</sup> It seems that in order to be consistent, one must also consider M 46 as derived from an Egyptian source. As I argued earlier, such phraseology was very probably part of a repertory of divine epithets and attributes written on papyrus, kept in the temple library, and used in various forms and combinations whenever the need for new hymns arose, as witness the copying and editing of the earlier hymns in the later temples of Philae and elsewhere. Thus, even if some such phrases occur in the

later Ptolemaic or early Roman periods, they are to be considered as part of an uninterrupted literary tradition that appears to have been very much alive at Philae.

In M 7, Isis says, “I am the one who discovered corn for mankind (Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἡ καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὐροῦσα),” and in hymn 1 of Isidorus, Isis is called “Deo (Demeter) most high, Discoverer of all life (Δηοῖ ὑψίστη ζωῆς εὐρέτρια πάσης).”<sup>152</sup> Since in Isidorus’ hymn Isis is identified with Demeter, goddess of fertility, agriculture, and cereals, and since in his hymn 2, line 3, ζωή and καρποί occur together (ζωῆς καὶ καρπῶν εὐρέτρια οἷσί τε πάντες τέρπονται τε βροτοί, “discoverer of life and crops wherein all mortals delight”),<sup>153</sup> it seems that, in both instances of Isidorus’, ζωή means “livelihood, means of life,” and that M 7 and Isidorus’ hymn 1, line 3 complement each other; they depict Isis in the role of goddess of agriculture and all means of life. Isis had already been identified with Demeter by Herodotus (II, 59), and it seems to be the general opinion that in the statements discussed above, she has assumed the function of the Greek goddess. The Egyptian goddess of fertility, harvest, vegetation, birth, destiny, and so forth was Renenutet,<sup>154</sup> but she was not identified with Isis, as Isis-Thermouthis (Isidorus’ Hermouthis) before the Ptolemaic Period;<sup>155</sup> therefore it cannot be said that “the equation Isis = Hermouthis lies behind Herodotus’ Graeco-Egyptian equation Isis = Demeter,” as stated by Vanderlip.<sup>156</sup> In the Egyptian sources it is Osiris<sup>157</sup> rather than Isis who is credited with the discovery of crops, as is stated in Papyrus Chester Beatty I (XIV, 12): “It is I who made the barley and the spelt to nourish the gods as well as the living creatures after the gods, whereas no god nor any goddess found himself (able) to do it.”<sup>158</sup> It is quite possible that here we have an example of the transference of attributes from one deity to another, from Osiris to Isis, and that this transference was facilitated by the identification of Isis with Demeter. Among various traditions that associate Isis and Osiris with the discovery and cultivation of crops,<sup>159</sup> there is one that makes Osiris and Isis joint discoverers of agriculture and other features of civilized life. In *Kore Kosmou*, an aretalogy that is probably to be dated to the third century A.D.,<sup>160</sup> it is said of Osiris and Isis: “It is they who have filled human life with resources.<sup>161</sup> It is they who have put an end to the savagery of mutual murders.<sup>162</sup> It is they who have consecrated temples and sacrifices to ancestor gods.<sup>163</sup> It is they who have given to mortals laws, food, and shelter.”<sup>164</sup> In other aretalogies and hymns, it is Isis alone who, as the supreme and universal goddess, is credited with having discovered the crops and given all other benefits to mankind.

As to the reference to Isis in Isidorus’ hymn 1 as Isis-Deo ζωῆς εὐρέτρια πάσης, Müller suggested<sup>165</sup> seeing in εὐρίσκειν (from which εὐρέτρια is derived) an *interpretatio graeca* of the Egyptian verb š3c, “to begin, to be first to do something,” and proposed translating the phrase as “creator of all life (Schöpferin alles Lebens),” instead of—although that is also acceptable—“discoverer of all means of life or livelihood (Erfinderin allen Lebensunterhalts).” It is just possible that this is a transposition of an Egyptian concept of creation into the Greek way of thinking, as Müller explained. Yet another point should be considered here, which is that in the Philae hymns Isis is not only “Giver of life, and Lady of life” (see chap. 6, Commentary, sec. 1; chap. 8, Translation), but that specifically

in Hymn IV the reference to Isis as the creator of the universe—“having brought them (Heaven, Earth, and the Netherworld) into existence through what her heart conceived and her hands created”—is complemented by the initial lines of the same hymn, which state the way in which the goddess provided the sustenance for all divine and human beings: “She is the one who pours out the inundation, which makes all people live and green plants grow, who provides divine offerings for the gods, and invocation-offerings for the Transfigured Ones” (see chap. 4, Translation). It is not difficult to imagine that the Greek authors of the aretalogies and hymns, instructed perhaps by an Egyptian colleague, could have been stimulated by such references to Isis when formulating their own statements about the goddess as “Discoverer (or creator) of all life” and as “One who discovered the fruit of the earth (or corn) for mankind.” In composing their praises to Isis, they may have been influenced by the Osirian traditions and the identification of Isis with Demeter, both well known in their times, but also by such ideas and phrases as are found in Hymn IV at Philae, which they paraphrased and presented in a grecized form comprehensible to the Greek devotees of the Egyptian goddess.

Another example of the transference of function from one deity to another can be seen in M 23–24: “I instructed (men) to revere images of the gods; I established the temples of the gods.”<sup>166</sup> In the commentary to these two statements,<sup>167</sup> Müller adduced some convincing Egyptian parallels that seem to point clearly to an Egyptian origin of these lines. Such is an example from Philae in which it is said: “Honor Isis in the temples; it is she who founded the sanctuaries and fashioned divine images . . . for her son Horus and her brother Osiris.”<sup>168</sup> Although this text is of the time of Tiberius, there is a long Egyptian tradition of similar statements about various deities as builders of temples and sacred images (see chap. 1, Commentary), and Müller has acknowledged the possibility of a direct borrowing;<sup>169</sup> yet he placed M 23–24 among the statements that may go back to Egyptian ideas, but in the aretalogy they appear in a grecized form:<sup>170</sup> Isis is not a creator of divine images, but, like a Promethean goddess, she teaches men how to revere them—a very subtle distinction, applicable perhaps to the first statement, M 23, but certainly not to the second, M 24, which is thoroughly Egyptian. In Hymn I at Philae it is Horus, son of Isis, “who establishes the temples of the Ennead and fashions every divine image” (see chap. 1, Translation). In the *Kore Kosmou* aretalogy, Osiris and Isis are said to “have consecrated temples and sacrifices to ancestor gods,” and in the hymn to Osiris in Room V at Philae (time of Ptolemy II), Osiris is referred to as “the august (god) who inaugurated offerings,”<sup>171</sup> that is, initiated the Egyptians into worship and ritual—who “taught them to worship gods,” as Plutarch put it.<sup>172</sup> In the M 23–24 statement of the aretalogy, the functions of Horus and Osiris have been attributed to Isis; similarly, the function of Osiris “dispensing (*διαδούς*) to all men the things of which he was the discoverer (*εὐρετής*),” mentioned in Diodorus I, 27, has been transferred in the aretalogy of Cyrene (A.D. 103) to Isis: “It was she who discovered all things (*αὐτὴ γὰρ εὐρον πάντα*).”<sup>173</sup> Part of the civilizing role that Isis played as the universal goddess was to have established the temples, and to have instructed men to worship divine images of the gods who inhabit them.

Another example of transference of divine attributes or functions may be seen in the aretalogical statement M 16, “I made what is right strong (Ἐγὼ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησα),” complemented by M 38, “With me the right has power (παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχύει)” (see sec. 1, aretalogy of Kyme, ll. 16, 38). As Müller correctly observed,<sup>174</sup> M 16 corresponds to the Egyptian phrase *smn m³t*, “to establish Maat (Truth, Right, Justice, Rightness, Order, etc.),” which in the Egyptian texts, especially those that refer to the gods and the king, is often combined with its negative complement *dr isft*, “to drive out falsehood.” Both, Müller and Bergman discussed the concept of Maat and its Greek equivalents (τὸ δίκαιον, καλόν, ἀληθές).<sup>175</sup> In a hymn to Osiris in Room V of the Temple of Isis at Philae, it is said of him that he “fashioned Truth (Maat) and abolished Falsehood when he assumed the throne of Atum,”<sup>176</sup> the first part of which echoes a reference to him in an older hymn as “one who established Maat throughout the Two Shores”<sup>177</sup> and may correspond to Plutarch’s saying that Osiris, “when he was king,” among other things, “established the laws” for the Egyptians.<sup>178</sup> It is quite possible that here, too, the Greek writer used an Egyptian source for M 16, translated only the first part of the phrase *smn m³t dr isft*, or its Osirian version at Philae *ms m³t shṯm is*, and applied it to Isis; Müller seems to be of the same opinion, which he based on the texts available to him.<sup>179</sup> It should be mentioned, however, that the meaning of the phrase “to establish Truth and abolish Falsehood” has in Egyptian texts a cosmological, ethical, and political meaning, while its partial translation into Greek stresses the civilizing and legislative role of Isis;<sup>180</sup> thus it can be said that M 16 expresses an Egyptian idea in a grecized form.

It was mentioned earlier that Isis’ motherly love figures prominently in the Egyptian picture of her. There is also another aspect of Isis’ love. In Hymn VII at Philae the goddess is called “Great of love, Mistress of women, who fills Heaven and earth with her beauty” (see chap. 7, Translation), which in part resembles the statement of the aretalogy of Kyme, l. 10, “I am the one called goddess (*theos*) by women.” Müller, who discussed this statement and referred to some others in which the phrase *ḥnwt ḥmwt*, “Mistress of women” occurs, asserted that Isis became the goddess of women through her identification with Hathor-Aphrodite.<sup>181</sup> Now, the reference to Isis in Hymn VII just quoted, as well as a reference to her in Hymn III, “Nursling who fills the palace with her beauty, . . . mistress of joy, . . . maiden sweet of love” (see chap. 3, Translation), characterize her as a universal goddess of love and beauty in Heaven and on earth. Hathor is also a goddess of love. As P. Derchain pointed out, she is “Lady of love in the barque of millions,”<sup>182</sup> “sweet of love and beautiful of face,”<sup>183</sup> “daughter of Re, august in the barque of millions, who fills Heaven and earth with her beauty.”<sup>184</sup> At Philae, “women rejoice when her (Hathor’s) name is mentioned,”<sup>185</sup> and in her small temple at Philae, “she is great of love, Mistress of women and fair maidens,” whom “men and women ask to give them love.”<sup>186</sup> Similar attributes were given to other goddesses; for example, at Dendera, Bastet, who seems to be one of several hypostases of the uraeus-goddess and of Hathor, is “daughter of Atum, August and Mighty, who has no equal, who fills the palace with joy.”<sup>187</sup> Although the references from the Philae hymns are among the oldest known Ptolemaic examples of such phraseology, it is possible that, as Derchain has pointed

out in the case of some of the texts of El-Kab,<sup>188</sup> the poet at Philae, too, may have used some older sources from which he derived some of the epithets and attributes of Isis I have discussed (see chap. 3, n. 31, and cf. chap. 7, n. 64); in any case, it seems certain that they, too, belong to an Egyptian literary tradition.

As to the love of Isis and the love of Hathor, Griffiths,<sup>189</sup> referring to a review article by Derchain,<sup>190</sup> described the love of Hathor as of a “sexually unsocial” nature. Derchain has indeed formulated well the distinction between and the fusion of the characteristic features of the love of the two goddesses: Isis, representing maternity and its social nature, and Hathor, representing the joy and exaltation of erotic love, complement each other, so that Isis came to represent also the sexual love preliminary to maternity. This distinction and then fusion of the two aspects of love seems to be confirmed by the texts quoted above, in which the same epithets and attributes are often predicated of both Isis and Hathor, or the goddesses assimilated to them.

There is yet another aspect of Isis’ love to be discussed briefly. In *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, ll. 109–10, the phrase ἀ[γά]πην Θεῶν is used of Isis, and Griffiths has successfully argued<sup>191</sup> that although an objective genitive might be possible, in the sense that Isis furthered “the love of the gods,” the subjective meaning of the genitive, Isis, who in her kindness offers to mankind “the love of the gods,” is suggested by the whole text. Indeed so, because, while she, as “the ruler of the world” (l. 121), is “Lady of warfare and military authority” (ll. 239f.) and “in Rome warlike” (ll. 83), she is also “enmity-hating” (l. 137) and affectionate (ll. 12, 131), “giver of favors” (l. 10), “savior” (l. 20), “all-bounteous” (ll. 88f.), “guardian and guide” (ll. 121f.), “providing sweetness” (l. 132), and so on. As Griffiths observed,<sup>192</sup> the idea of ἀγάπη includes here that of ἔρως, sexual love socially acceptable, in the sense stated in the aretalogies (see, e.g., the aretalogy of Kyme, ll. 17f.). As to the possible meaning of the phrase “the love of the gods” as “beloved by the gods,”<sup>193</sup> implying that Isis herself is the object of divine love, one recalls that in Hymn V at Philae the goddess is said to be “beloved of the Great Horus” (see chap. 5, Translation); and as to the meaning of the same phrase as a subjective genitive referring to Isis, one may compare the invocation to her in Hymn I at Philae, in which she is asked to “give to the King her (lit. your) love forever” (see chap. 1, Translation).

In spite of reference to the relationship of Isis to women, the phraseology of the Philae hymns remains fully centered on the traditional divine and royal relationships of Isis: she is foremost among the deities, and she communicates with humans only through her intermediary, the king. It was in the Greek aretalogies and hymns that her love became, as it were, democratized; it was extended to embrace the common man, who dared to turn to her in his suffering and expressed his gratitude for the blessings received.

Little need be said about the last aretalogical statement, M 55–56: “I conquer Destiny, Destiny obeys me (or: is subservient to me),<sup>194</sup> Ἐγὼ τὸ ἰμαρμένον νικῶ ἐμοῦ τὸ εἰμαρμένον ἀκούει.” In contrast to the Greek idea of Heimarmenê, the Egyptian idea of fate or destiny, Shai,<sup>195</sup> as subordinate to the divine will and the power of the gods, has been discussed in detail by D. Müller, S. Morenz and

D. Müller, J. Quaegebeur, J. G. Griffiths,<sup>196</sup> and others mentioned in these main works. Egyptian antecedents of this aretalogical statement can be found, for example, in a Leiden hymn to Amun of the early Ramesside Period, in which this god is referred to as one “who rescues whom he loves, even though he be in the underworld, who saves from Destiny according as he wishes.”<sup>197</sup> What is meant by the second part of this statement is explained in the following lines of the same hymn (III, ll. 17–18), “He lengthens the space of life, and he shortens it, he gives more than (his) Destiny to him whom he loves,”<sup>198</sup> as well as a much later text of the First Pylon at Philae, “Isis, Giver of Life, Lady of Philae, Lady of jubilees with a long reign, who prolongs the years of him who is loyal to her and makes his office endure forever.”<sup>199</sup> Although this text refers to the king, it expresses the same idea as the Leiden hymn to Amun: the goddess saves those devoted to her from “destiny,” the appointed “space of life,” by prolonging their life span. This is again clearly stated by Isis, who addresses Lucius: “Know that I alone have power to prolong your life also beyond the span determined by your destiny (*scies ultra statuta fato tuo spatia vitam quoque tibi prorogare mihi tantum licere*).”<sup>200</sup> Isis “Lady of Life, Mistress of Life,” “who commands Life,” gives and prolongs the life of those who are devoted to her.<sup>201</sup> A similar idea about the divine control of destiny and human life in general is expressed in a combination of two complementary terms, Shai and Renenet: the personified god of destiny (Shai), and the birth-, nurse-, fertility-, and harvest-goddess Renenet; together they symbolize the lifetime as well as the growth, development, fortune, or prosperity of every man.<sup>202</sup> Thus, in the Leiden hymn referred to earlier,<sup>203</sup> it is said of Amun that “Shayt (Shai) and Renenet are with him (*hr.f*) for all people,” a statement that indicates that the deity is the master of destiny and prosperity, which he freely allots to all men,<sup>204</sup> and that also implies man’s limitations and his dependence on god’s power.<sup>205</sup> This idea occurs also in Papyrus Harris I in reference to Ptah: “Span of life, Shayt, and Renenet are with him (*r ht.f*),”<sup>206</sup> and, in somewhat different form, already in an Amarna text, where Aton is referred to as “Lord of Eternity, who creates Shay and brings Renenet into existence.”<sup>207</sup> This phraseology, too, continued into Graeco-Roman times, when texts attribute the power over destiny to several deities.<sup>208</sup> It is significant that both personified concepts, Shai and Renenet, are then associated with Osiris, and especially with Isis, just as they are with Amun in the Leiden hymns, with Ptah in Papyrus Harris I, and with Aton in the Amarna texts; thus, for example, it is said of Osiris that “Life is beside him, Death is under his control, Shai and Renenet are according to what he has commanded”;<sup>209</sup> Isis is “Lady of Destiny who brings Prosperity into being,”<sup>210</sup> and “Lady of Life, Mistress of Destiny and Prosperity.”<sup>211</sup> Although the hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae refer to the goddess simply as “Giver of Life, Lady of Life,”<sup>212</sup> it is reasonable to assume that these epithets indicate her sovereignty not only over the span of life one lives, but—like the examples just quoted—over all that life encompasses, expressed by the terms Destiny and Prosperity; as a reference to her in her temple at Assuan says, “Lady of Life, Mistress of the Two Lands, Shay and Renenet are according to what she has commanded.”<sup>213</sup> These qualities of life, Destiny and Prosperity, depend en-

tirely on her divine will, and she bestows them on those she loves, just as a hymn to Amun in the Mammisi of Nectanebo at Dendera says of the god: "You are the Lord of Life, who gives it to him whom he loves."<sup>214</sup>

There is no need to discuss the remaining aretalogical statements of Egyptian derivation, such as the "personalia" of Isis, as Festugière and Müller called them<sup>215</sup> ("I am the eldest daughter of Kronos," "I am the wife and sister of King Osiris," "I am the mother of King Horus"). Müller discussed these "personalia" of Isis,<sup>216</sup> and some of his references—most of which are of a later date than the Philae hymns—are supported by those found in the Philae Hymn I ("You are the divine mother of Horus, the Mighty Bull") and Hymn VIII (Isis "the eldest in the womb of her mother Nut") (see chap. 1, Translation; chap. 8, Translation, and Commentary, sec. 1). Also, I do not intend to discuss here those aretalogical statements for which no parallels can be found in the hymns to Isis at Philae. Such have been discussed by Müller and others, and it would not serve my purpose to repeat them here.

At the end of this comparative study, I would like to say that in spite of a somewhat sceptical attitude and restrictive criteria that he imposed on his evaluation of Egyptian sources, Müller's thesis of a composite character of the aretalogy remains incontrovertible. This is true in spite of the fact that the fifteen aretalogical statements that he apparently accepted as being of Egyptian background have been increased through this study to about twenty-three, compared to twenty-six that he originally thought to be exclusively Greek.<sup>217</sup> Notwithstanding some important contributions of Bergman to the study of the aretalogy, Müller's criticism of a number of his explanations, which attempted to show that almost all of the aretalogical statements can be derived from Egyptian sources, remains valid. It seems impossible that any unbiased reader would fail to recognize the non-Egyptian character of such statements as M 15 ("I devised the activities of seaman-ship"), M 21 ("I with my brother Osiris put an end to cannibalism"), M 22 ("I taught men initiation into mysteries"),<sup>218</sup> M 25 ("I abolished the rules of the tyrants"), M 30 ("I devised marriage contracts"), M 42 ("I am the Mistress of the thunderbolt"), M 53 ("I brought up islands out of the depths into the light").<sup>219</sup> Nor can Festugière's characterization of the Greek aretalogy be considered well balanced and adequate: "Tout conduit à penser que les prêtres égyptiens (de Memphis ou d'ailleurs) ont fait rédiger par un Grec (ou par un des leurs qui savait Grec), pour les Grecs, en conformité avec des idées grecques et un genre littéraire grec, une eulogie d'Isis destinée à munir la déesse d'une sorte de *symbolon* dans son voyage à travers le monde grec."<sup>220</sup> According to Festugière, the author of the aretalogy, in order to give to his document "une saveur exotique et d'ailleurs laisser à Isis son caractère propre," has blended with his text some Egyptian traits, which I have mentioned; "le reste s'inspire d'idées grecques ou en tout cas s'explique aisément par des idées grecques."<sup>221</sup> In view of what has been said in this inquiry, this characterization appears as an oversimplification that leaves little room for a thorough evaluation of the Egyptian background of a number of aretalogical statements, as well as of the interplay of the ideas of two different cultures and the peculiarities of expression of their languages—it is pre-



cisely this that is the most important and also most interesting aspect of the aretalogical study.

A final point. At the end of his book, Müller considers it possible that a Greek priest of Isis who knew Egyptian, perhaps with the help of an Egyptian colleague, had access to some Egyptian religious documents that he freely utilized in composing the text that the inscriptions of Kyme, Ios, Andros, Salonike, and Diodorus have transmitted to us. More specifically, Müller states that the Greek writer used as his *Vorlage* the image of Isis known to us from the late Egyptian temple inscriptions.<sup>222</sup> The question that now arises is, how and where were these Egyptian religious texts and documents accessible to the Greek writer and his Egyptian colleague—a question that, to my knowledge, was never discussed in any detail, and that, however, must be answered, since neither Festugière nor Müller<sup>223</sup> sees any need for an Egyptian “model” for the Greek aretalogical text, and since there is no proof that it ever existed. If one asks which late temple inscriptions were in existence at the time of the early Ptolemies, one realizes that neither the temple of Edfu nor those of Dendera, Kom Ombo, or Esna could have supplied the texts on which the writer of the aretalogy could have based his description of Isis, since most of them had not been built as yet, and the only one that was soon to be built, the temple of Edfu—the original nucleus of which was commenced in 237 B.C.<sup>224</sup>—contained in its most ancient part, the Sanctuary, no references to Isis that the writer of aretalogy could have used for his purpose. There remains the temple of Assuan built and decorated by Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.) and Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.), which contains some hymns to Isis, but, as has been said earlier, some of these are reedited versions of the hymns of the Temple of Isis at Philae, while other hymns to Osiris and Isis contain some meaningful elaborations of phraseology and variations on themes again borrowed mainly from that temple. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the large body of hymns and other inscriptions recorded for the first time at Philae in the reign of Ptolemy II (284–246 B.C.) could have served as a *Vorlage* for the writer of the original aretalogy, the so-called M-text. Should one look for earlier sources than those at Philae? In the Introduction I mentioned that the pharaohs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty probably introduced the worship of Isis at Philae, but we do not know of any hymns to Isis or any other significant texts of that period that refer to her. It was during the reign of Nectanebo I that Isis became a prominent deity at Philae, but we do not have any longer inscriptions or hymnic texts dedicated to Isis from either his time or that of his successors—except a brief hymn to her engraved on the inner face of the western architrave of the Porch of Nectanebo at Philae, which reads: “Hail to you, divine Isis, God’s Mother, who created her (own) beauty, Uto, great of Magic, Lady of Diadems (or: glorious appearance) in the mysterious shrine, sublime in (lit.: of) (her) seat in the barque of millions, Mistress of the Per-wer shrine, Neseret-serpent on the head of Horus-Re, Eye of Re, the Unique goddess, Uraeus. . . .”<sup>225</sup> As I explained in the Introduction, with Ptolemy II, a great new epoch for the architecture as well as the worship of Isis began at Philae, and it was in the reign of this king that the hymns to the goddess and other inscriptions referring to her were recorded in her temple. As I men-

tioned in the Commentary to Hymn VI, it is even possible that, because of their tenor, structure, and phraseology, these hymns to the goddess were first composed for the feast of the Dedication or Consecration of her temple. Certainly, still older Egyptian literary and religious sources should be taken into consideration. I often referred to them in studying the phraseology of the hymns to Isis, in references to the deities of her divine triad, as well as other deities of Philae. Theoretically speaking, some of the references of Egyptian origin that the Greek writer of the aretalogy used in his text could, in one form or another, be found anywhere among the Egyptian documents or monuments, but now that we know that an entire corpus of Isiac texts was engraved on the walls of the Temple of Isis at Philae before any aretalogy or any Greek hymn to her came into existence, and that many of these hieroglyphic texts were written in hymnic form, it seems logical to assume that Philae was the place where the writer of the aretalogy could have gotten his initial inspiration, and from where he could have borrowed the Egyptian elements of his Greek composition.

Here we are in the south of Egypt, very far from Memphis, and we are reminded that in the introduction of the aretalogy of Kyme it is stated that "this was copied from the stela in Memphis, which stands at the Hephaistieion," that is, the temple of Ptah-Hephaistos in Memphis.<sup>226</sup> Bypassing the introductory statement of the aretalogy of Isis in Diodorus I, 27, according to which there stood in Nysa in Arabia two stelae of Isis and Osiris bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphs—a reference that has no support in any tradition<sup>227</sup>—one notices that the first lines of the aretalogy of Andros also refer to Bubastis and "Memphis, . . . where the sacred law of pious kings erected a stela . . . announcing to the people who come to seek help: I am Isis of the golden throne."<sup>228</sup> These references to Memphis represent no problem, since, as Peek and Müller<sup>229</sup> have observed, they simply state that the text of the aretalogy was copied from a stela that stood at the temple of Ptah in Memphis, a stela the inscription of which was certainly written in Greek, and nothing more.<sup>230</sup> It is quite possible that such an inscription that, as I have explained, combined elements of both Egyptian and Greek origin, was set up near the Temple of Ptah in Memphis, but this has no bearing on the questions of where and how the writer of this original, basic Greek inscription accomplished his work, and from which sources he derived the statements of direct or indirect Egyptian origin that constitute almost half of his composition.

It is not my intention to study the aretalogical variants or their relation to each other and to the basic, Greek original from which all of them ultimately derive. This has been done partly by Peek in his *Der Isis-hymnus von Andros*, and in recent times by Grandjean in his publication of the aretalogy of Maronea, and by Griffiths in his analysis of the two aretalogies of Apuleius. Nor do I wish to discuss in any detail P. M. Fraser's statement that the Delian aretalogy of Serapis of the late third century B.C. "foreshadows the aretalogies of Isis and her circle," and that "in such documents, if not in this document, we may see the origin of the later aretalogies,"<sup>231</sup> since, even if one accepted such a hypothesis, the same problems of the Egyptian background, the combination of Egyptian and Greek elements, and the preponderance of either of the two would still remain to be solved.

In concluding this brief comparative study of the Egyptian and Greek elements in the aretalogies, it seems to me that one is justified in saying that the hymns to Isis at Philae broaden the literary and historical background of the aretalogies and of the period in which they were written in two ways.

1. The Philae hymns strengthen the impression of the Egyptian origin of the aretalogies by revealing that some Egyptian Isiac phraseology unknown or imperfectly known until now could well have been familiar to the Greek writer and his Egyptian interpreter. It seems reasonable to assume that the writer of the basic, original Greek composition derived the Egyptian elements of his work not from a study of sundry Egyptian texts of different periods—a study that would have involved him in a veritable research in the temple schools and libraries<sup>232</sup>—but from sources easily accessible to him like the hymns and other inscriptions of the temple at Philae. Inspired by these, he translated some of the Egyptian phrases into Greek and paraphrased and grecized some others; for the benefit of the Greek devotees of the goddess, he added to his composition a substantial number of typically Greek statements; all this he blended into a harmonious unit—his work appeared as something new. Subsequent writers of the aretalogies used this basic Greek text freely, adapting it to their particular religious and social needs, and expressing their praises of the great goddess in whatever form they felt inclined, in prose or in verse, introducing Isis speaking in the first person as in the aretalogies of Kyme and Andros, or addressing her in the second- and third-person style as in the aretalogy of Maronea.

2. The hymns to Isis at Philae represent a starting point of a twofold literary tradition that extended from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 B.C.) to the last aretalogies of the third century A.D. On the one hand, the Egyptian hieroglyphic hymns to Isis, which appear in their oldest form in the temple of the goddess at Philae, continued to be copied, edited, and adapted to various cultic purposes at Philae and in other Egyptian temples, as has been discussed in the commentaries and conclusion of this book. On the other hand, although possibly all of the Greek Isiac aretalogies, eulogies, including the hymn of Diodorus, go back to a common *Vorlage*, that is, to an archetype Greek text, the process of composing subsequent aretalogies and related texts—since these were meant to satisfy the aspirations of the ever-increasing number of worshippers of Isis in the Hellenistic-Roman world—extended over a long period of time, longer than that needed for the copying and editing of the hieroglyphic hymns destined exclusively for the Egyptian temples. This long process of literary activity resulted in a number of aretalogical variants with clearly discernible similarities, but also with dissimilarities, if not so much in content, certainly in structure, degree of richness of diction, and the personal style and motivation of their authors.

The study of this twofold and parallel tradition of Isiac texts begins to cast some light on the literary activity in the field of hymnology in a bilingual land. In a period when the social and cultural interactions of the two cultures, Egyptian and Greek, were at their highest, and when the religion of Isis was spreading to other Mediterranean countries, it seems reasonable to expect that, when attempts

were made to describe not only the greatness and power of the goddess but also her care for mankind, the hymns at Philae, the only large body of Egyptian hymns to her committed to writing at that time and easily accessible to the Egyptian theologian-interpreter and through him to the Greek writer, was used as one of the principal sources, if not the principal one, of inspiration for those who, with missionary zeal, spread the *euangelion* of the great goddess in the Hellenistic world.

The aretalogies are very valuable documents for the study of the age that produced them; they reflect the beliefs and aspirations of their authors and of the religious communities for which they were written; they have their own independent value. And yet, if one is to answer the question that Claire Préaux posed in her last great work, *Le monde Hellénistique*,<sup>233</sup> “What does Greek Isis owe to Egyptian Isis?” the answer would have to be that she owes her much. Not only because Isis was an Egyptian goddess, not solely because it is undeniable that a large number of statements in the aretalogy are either directly or indirectly of Egyptian origin—a fact which their hellenization confirms rather than conceals—but because the inspiration itself of the first Greek author who composed his eulogy to the great goddess came from Egyptian Isis, from such hymns to her as those so marvellously preserved in her temple at Philae.

But this is not the end of her story. In spite of her power, prestige, care for the people, and the familial appeal that she exerted to the Egyptians, she could not face the Greek world before her first Greek devotees who sang her praises humanized some of her features: the destiny of every man then depended on the goddess who, in her love for the suffering, oppressed, imprisoned, and imperiled, became a succor and a savior of mankind. It was this hellenized Isis who conquered the Mediterranean world, and who successfully competed with Mithra and Christ for the consciences and loyalties of men. After more than five centuries of worship and personal devotion to her, her appeal gradually diminished, her image paled almost into insignificance. But even then, as a simple mother with child, she remained for a while a symbol of a new divine motherhood, of another God’s Mother, who, in the belief of many, gave to the world what Isis could not and was not expected to give: Redemption through Love.

# NOTES

Readers are referred to the list of abbreviations in the front matter. These are used throughout the notes and bibliography.

Short references are used in the notes for works listed in the bibliography. For other works, full references are given the first time they are cited; thereafter short references are used.

## Introduction

1. D. Roberts, *Egypt and Nubia and the Holy Land*, IV (London, 1855), pl. 151.

2. When the monuments of Philae were transferred to their new location on the adjacent island of Agilkia, this stela was detached from the huge rock and embedded in the proper place in the east tower of the Second Pylon.

3. S. Farag, G. Wahbah, and A. Farid, OA 18 (1979), pp. 281f.; G. Wahba, MDAIK 34 (1978), pp. 181–83; E. Winter, LdÄ IV, 1025.

4. Farag, Wahbah, and Farid, OA 18, pp. 282–85; Winter, LdÄ IV, 1025. Haeny, BIFAO 85 (1985), pp. 201f., doubts that the altar of Taharqa (more correctly a stand for the sacred barque) dedicated to Amun of Takompso “really belongs to Philae” and thinks that it might have been “brought there from afar.” He also thinks that the blocks of Taharqa recently recovered “had originally formed part of a gateway or of the façade of a small temple which might have stood on Philae, but could just as well have been situated on another island or on the shore of the Nile.” I am discussing the building activity of Taharqa at Philae in a forthcoming work. Here it suffices to mention that, after the recovery of the blocks of Taharqa, it can no longer be said that “there seems to be no other trace on Philae either of the worship of that deity (viz., Amun) or of Tirhaqa’s piety” (F. L. Griffith, BIFAO 30 [1931], pp. 128f.). Amun was the principal god of Taharqa’s kingdom and of his temples, and he continued to be worshipped at Philae also in Ptolemaic times. The dedication to Amun of Takompso (on Takompso see W. Helck, LdÄ VI, 186: “Südende des Dodekaschoinos”) does not represent a serious problem. It reflects a religious practice common to the Egyptian and Nubian temples from the New Kingdom onward, a practice according to which various deities with their various toponymic epithets could, for good reasons, be worshipped in any temple (see L. V. Žabkar, *Apedemak, Lion-god of Meroe* [Warminster, England, 1975], pp. 80–84). Thus there is no reason why Amun of Takompso—even if we know very little about the religious history of this locality—could not have been worshipped by Taharqa at Philae. This also eliminates the need for reviving the old hypothesis of Griffith according to which “probably then in Tirhaqa’s time Philae was Takempso” (Griffith, BIFAO 30, p. 129; cf. Winter, LdÄ IV, 1025; but see F. L. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodekaschoenus* [Oxford, 1937], pp. 1f.). There was a cult-place, a shrine of Taharqa at Philae, and the granite stand very probably belonged to it.

5. A. Kadry, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp. 293–97 (Kiosk of Psammetichus II); S. Farag, G. Wahbah, and A. Farid, OA 16 (1977), pp. 315–24; A. Farid, MDAIK 36 (1980), pp. 81–103 (Temple of Amasis); Winter, LdÄ IV, 1024–25.

6. S. Farag, G. Wahbah, and A. Farid, OA 17 (1978), pp. 147–52; Winter, LdÄ IV, 1025. On all these pre-Ptolemaic building periods at Philae, see also A. Giammarusti and A. Roccati, *File*, pp. 57–62.

7. PM VI, 214, (69)–(70); Berlin Phs. 162–63.

8. See P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, pp. 117f.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 667; for Theocritus’ text see *ibid.*, II, p. 935, no. 395.

10. The deification of Arsinoë was also promoted in other centers, especially at Alexandria; see D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 55–59.

## Chapter 1. Hymn 1

1. See Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 38, n. 35; p. 390.

2. <sup>3</sup>ii.n s3 R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwmys hr.t 3st wrt mut-ntr sn-t3 m hr.t nfr(t) di n.f mrwt(.t) dt. The initial ii.n.f form, which occurs in border legends referring to the king, as well as the initial di.n.i form introducing the goddess speaking to the king, which I consider to be emphatic sdm.n.f forms, are here translated without the stress of the adverbial predicate that follows them. As I indicated also in ZÄS 108 (1981), p. 170, such brief stereotyped formulas often convey enough emphasis by their very repetition, and translating them as simple present perfects often makes for a smoother English rendering. Regarding H. J. Polotsky’s remark in S. I. Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt* (Jerusalem, 1985), p. 380 that “in some inscriptions from early Middle Kingdom, in the Coffin Texts for instance, it is possible to distinguish rdi.n.i and di.n.i,” and that “the emphatic form is rdi.n.i and di.n.i is definitely non-emphatic,” I would like to say that, since in the late ritual texts rdi.n.i does not occur, one obviously cannot speak of any distinction between the two forms in those texts.

For the spelling of the name of Ptolemy II, see D. Kurth, LdÄ IV, 1194f. (*Ptwrmys*, var.: *Ptrwmys*); here I adopted the demotic spelling *Ptlwmys* (see P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d’après les textes démotiques*, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava, vol. XV [Leiden, 1967], pp. 14, 222) which in writing appears closer to the Greek Ptolemaios.

3. *Hwt-Hr* is indicated by the cow face and the Hathoric

horns of the goddess following Isis; for such a representation of Hathor, see the west wall of the same Room X, lowest register, first tableau from left (Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, pl. XXIV, tabl. VII; Berlin Ph. 1030), where Hathor appears together with *W3dyt*.


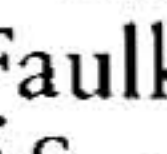
4. The female figure after the *ntr*-sign is probably to be read *nb(t)*; cf. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 21, l. 4, and p. 121, l. 11, where a similar sign, to be read *nbt*, shows a goddess in a seated position.

5. The female figure beneath the “sky”-sign is probably to be read *hnwt*; the *ist*, “mound”-sign is indicated above the head of the following male figure, which in this case is probably a mere supporting figure; the next male figure, without scepter, would have to be read *w<sup>c</sup>b(t)*. It is noticeable that the right arm of this figure is not fully preserved, and it is possible that a small hieroglyphic sign (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) stood in the space above its damaged raised right arm, similarly to what can be seen in an enigmatic inscription in the Mammisi at Philae; see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 401, and Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, p. 338, no. 5. Thus *ist w<sup>c</sup>bt* is the reading adopted here. The last figure with scepter held in the hand, the arm bent at the elbow (cf. *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique de l'imprimerie de l'I.F.A.O.* [Cairo, 1983], p. 40, no. 15), is to be read *ityt*, *ityt ntrw*, *ntrw* being placed in front of it, as it were in honorific transposition (but this is not observed elsewhere in these hymns), and in full parallelism with the horizontal inscription of Hymn II adjacent to it; both begin and end with a standing human figure. Though represented as a male figure, this last sign can also apply to a female person; see, e.g., *Wb.* I, 143, where *ityt* is determined by a male royal figure, just as is *ity*. Complete accordingly my remarks in *JEA* 69 (1983), p. 117, nn. 5, 6.

6. The figure of the “captive” at the end of l. 1, which I read *sbiw* (all three plural strokes are clearly visible in Berlin Ph. 1031), is probably an allusion to Seth and his associates, “the rebels.” The “captive”-sign seems to be a variant spelling of *sbi*, not recorded in *Wb.* IV, 87 (*sbi*) or III, 276 (*bfty*). The figure has his hands tied to his feet and is decapitated and tied to a stake in front of him. The closest resemblance is seen in *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique*, p. 26, no. 8, where the captive is decapitated, with hands tied to his feet and tied to a stake behind him.

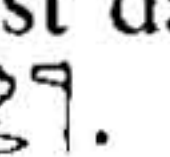
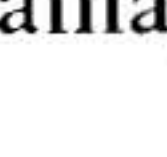
7. Min figures in his conventional posture and headdress, with a small “shrine” behind him (see Berlin Ph. 1031), while Horus, human-bodied and falcon-headed, wears a headdress composed of a sun-disc surmounted by two tall plumes.

8. The sign of the man with blood streaming from his head is probably to be read *bfty*, “enemy,” rather than *brwy* or *brw*.

9. The last two signs at the bottom of l. 2,  (the *n*-sign is clearly visible on Berlin Ph. 1031; later on it was damaged, and it is not visible on my pl. 11), metathesized (for reason of space?) and translated here as “thereby,” seem to be a variant spelling of , *Wb.* I, 72; R. O. Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. X; G. Vittmann, *ZÄS* 111 (1984), p. 165, l. 1.

10. Written *nnh-nsu*.

11. *Nb* is written with the sign of a falcon; see *Wb.* II, 227.

12. My collation indicates that the first damaged sign of the spelling of *Hr* is to be restored as  .

13. The writing of *psdt*, “The Ennead” of Heliopolis, is unusual and instructive. The composite hieroglyph shows the forepart of a spitting bull attached to a stela-like object standing on a platform. The god Atum is often referred to as a bull

in general, and especially in connection with the Ennead of Heliopolis (see K. Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, I [Hildesheim, 1978], pp. 31ff.; II [Hildesheim, 1979], pp. 167, 180). Represented in the act of spitting, the bull calls to mind the creator-god Atum spitting out Shu and Tefenet. Thus in this case the Ennead of Heliopolis is iconographically represented by the initial creative act of the primeval god, just as in a text at Edfu a table, personified as the table-god Atum, is said to be spitting out Shu from its mouth (*Edfou* VI, 153, 8f.; A. M. Blackman, *JEA* 31 [1945], pp. 59f., 70; see also Myśliwiec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II, p. 236h. For a possible explanation of the stela-like object see also Myśliwiec, *Studien II*, p. 236d). It is interesting that this representation of the Ennead in Hymn I on the north wall of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis is shown immediately below the upper tableau of the same north wall, in which King Ptolemy II offers the *wsh-collar* to Hathor, identified with Isis, and recites Pyr. § 1652: “O Atum-Khepri, you are exalted as Height, you shine forth as the benben-stone in the House of the Phoenix in Heliopolis, you spat out Shu, you expectorated Tefenet” (see L. V. Žabkar, *JEA* 66 [1980], pp. 130ff.).

14. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 30; J. L. Foster, *JNES* 34 (1975), pp. 7, 11; G. Fecht, *LdÄ* IV, 1127ff., esp. 1142. Cf. Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108, p. 145 and Žabkar, *JEA* 69, p. 118. Cf. also A. Spalinger in L. H. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard Parker* (Hanover and London, 1986), pp. 143ff., which, however, is to be read with some caution.

15. See Erman, *NG*, § 100. For the use of the independent pronoun *mntt* at the beginning of the verse in a hymn to Hathor, see J. Assmann, *RdE* 30 (1978), pp. 25–28, 41: “Du bist . . . , (*mntt*)-Aussagen,” with further bibliography on p. 41; J. Assmann, *LdÄ* I, 428f.

16. *Wb.* II, 355, 12.

17. See *Esna* VIII, p. 146, no. 163.

18. H. de Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 232 (ε).

19. For some similar playful writing see *Edfou* I, 394, where the name of the god Min is written with the first letters of the words *m<sup>s</sup>* and *nb*; see Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 378, n. a. See S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), p. 79 for the spelling of the name of Osiris, *W + s(r) + r(s)*, etc.; see also M.-T. Derchain Urtel, *GM* 27 (1978), pp. 11f. for the various spellings of Khnum at Esna.

20. For the identification of Isis and Hathor see Žabkar, *JEA* 66, p. 130, n. 22; M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, p. 120, and J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, p. 50.

21. For the litany-like hymn beginning with an independent pronoun, see further H. Beinlich, *Studien zu den “Geographischen Inschriften”* (10.–14. O. Äg. Gau) (Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge 2, Bonn, 1976), pp. 36ff.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 342 (text in F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara* [PIFAO, 1959], p. 31), etc.

22. *Dif shr sbiw*, translated here as “who causes the rebels to fall,” is a circumstantial clause—lit.: “(in that) he causes the rebels to fall.”

23. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 40, tabl. I, and Berlin Ph. 1059, where Osiris-Onnophris is referred to as “Lord of Nubia (*T3-Sti*), Lord of Philae” (Room VII of the Temple of Isis).

24. The nome mentioned here is the first nome of Upper Egypt, *sp3t h3t*, “the nome of the beginning” (see K. Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos*, p. 22 [“Anfangsgau”], or *T3-Sti*, which, although beginning at Biggeh (see *AEO*, II, 1\* f.; W. Helck,

LdÄ II, 386), also included Philae, situated opposite Biggeh. Cf. Hathor as *nbt spst*, J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, p. VI: “Hathor mistress of the district.”

25. *Dl.n.i n.k h<sup>c</sup> n R<sup>c</sup> n (for m) pt, dl.n.i n.k pt hn<sup>c</sup> imy(t).st, dl.n.i n.k knw r Rsy*. For the phrase *pt hn<sup>c</sup> imy(t).st* (note the writing of the third person feminine suffix) and the corresponding phrase *t3 hn<sup>c</sup> nty im.f* in the adjacent relief, see the middle scene of the middle register of east wall, in which Khnum-Re is said to have given the king “the Heaven together with what is in it, and the earth together with what is in it (*pt hn<sup>c</sup> imy(t).s t3 hn<sup>c</sup> nty im.f*),” Berlin Ph. 1020 lower scene and cf. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 60 (to be corrected).

26. *3 I s3.i mry s3 R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwmys dl.n.i n.k Rsy r<sup>c</sup>w Kns(t) T3-Sti nn.k m ksw dt*. See Žabkar, *Apedemak*, p. 31. Contrary to Sethe’s opinion (*Dodekaschoinos*, p. 13), the context seems to demand that the preposition *r<sup>c</sup>* (here *r<sup>c</sup>w*) be taken in an inclusive meaning; see Žabkar, *Apedemak*, p. 138, n. 212. The same prepositional phrase *r<sup>c</sup>w T3-Sti* occurs in the left scene of the middle register of the west wall of Room X, in which Ptolemy “offers to his mother, Isis her boundary as far as Ta-Seti (*hnk.f n.s tš.s r<sup>c</sup>w T3-Sti*)”; see Berlin Ph. 1027, lower scene and cf. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 64, tabl. IV (correct the text). For a similar phrase with a different spelling of this preposition,  $\text{𓏏}$ , see *Edfou II*, 95, translated and discussed by D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, pp. 39f.: *dj.j n.k rsj r r3<sup>c</sup> t3w mhtj r r3<sup>c</sup> w3d wr*, “Ich gebe Dir den Süden, soweit der Wind weht, und den Norden bis hin zum Meere.”

27. See *Wb.* III, 488, 7.

28. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, p. 22.

29. Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos*, p. 15.

30. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, p. 22.

31. Edel, *AG*, I, §§ 500 bb, 757.

32. See B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, pp. 167f.; H. Brunner, *LdÄ I*, 960–63; and esp. P. Derchain in *La Lune*, pp. 40–44.

33. M. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 148ff.; C. J. Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 11f.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 367f., 370f.; Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, pp. 131f.

34. See K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* (UGAA X, 1928), pp. 68ff.; H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis* (APAW 1939, Nr. 23, 1940), pp. 65f.; J. A. Wilson in J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), p. 5; S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte in *La naissance du monde* (SO 1, 1959), p. 64; and esp. P. Vernus, *RdE* 35 (1984), p. 162, who explained this passage more satisfactorily than previous translators.

35. N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khāreh Oasis*, III, *The Decoration*, (New York, 1953), pl. 32, middle register, ll. 6, 7, 9; cf. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 320, and Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 294. The last two sentences, “It is according to his desire that he has built his image, it is through his (own) graciousness that he has rendered himself gracious,” *nbi.n.f k3(i).f r mry.f im3.n.f sw m im3w.f* (*im3.n.f* is written *im3w.n.f* through confusion with the following noun *im3w*), contain two *sdm.n.f* forms in the initial position, which can best be translated as emphatic forms. Also, since a reading *im3 n.f sw* (cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 20: *im3 n* “to be gracious to”) would hardly make good sense, one has to assume that *im3.n.f* is a

*sdm.n.f* form of the verb *im3* with a transitive-reflexive meaning, “to render oneself gracious”; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 321 translated correctly: “il s’est rendu plein de grâce par sa grâce”; Assmann’s translation, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 295, is rather paraphrastic: “er schuf sich liebreizend an Erscheinung.”

36. A. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), pp. 24f.; J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon*, p. 38, pl. II, l. 26.

37. *Edfou II*, 37, 10: *nbi nbiw kd kd w T3-tnn ms ntr(w)*.

38. On the meaning of this offering see P. Derchain, *Rites égyptiens*, I, *Le sacrifice de l’oryx*, esp. pp. 30ff.; to Derchain’s very instructive discussion, this example of Berlin Ph. 1029 is now to be added.

39. Berlin Ph. 1029; cf. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 65, tabl. VIII (correct the text).

40. To cite just one example, I refer to the recent publication, *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 1, bottom pl. 113.

41. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 64, tabl. V.

42. See Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108, pp. 143f.

43. See AEO, I, p. 21\*, A78; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, pp. 221f.

44. See, e.g., H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d’Égypte*, IV (Cairo, 1916), p. 227, no. XVI.

45. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 63, tabl. III’.

46. *Dl.n.i n.k n imy(t)-pr Hr P*; *n* probably stands for *m* but it is superfluous; the scribe might have been misled by the known phrase, *rdi m imyt-pr* (see *Wb.* I, 74, 2; K. B. Gödecken, *LdÄ III*, 143). On the whole phrase see also T. Mrsich in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 1, Band 1: *Sprache*, pp. 561–611; W. Boochs, *Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten* (Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum 4, Sankt Augustin, 1982), pp. 50f.

## Chapter 2. Hymn II

1. *3li.n Wsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-3Imn hr.t di.f dw3.f-ntr m hr.t nfr(t) 3st di n.f šm<sup>c</sup>w mh<sup>c</sup>w (m) htp nn hnn nb dt*.

2. Correct accordingly my reading in *JEA* 69, p. 122.

3. *Nfr*, in *Wnn-nfr* (Onnophris), has been somewhat damaged; Berlin Ph. 1032 and Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 62, tabl. II’ show a better-preserved sign, which is a variant of Gardiner’s Sign-list S 37, and of *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique*, p. 384, no. 2; cf. *Wb.* II, 253, where it is, however, limited to New Kingdom spellings.

4. For the damaged signs of *ir dt m h3kw-ib*, see Berlin Ph. 1032.

5. For a better-preserved spelling of *wrd*, in *ir dsr hr wrd-ib*, see Berlin Ph. 1032, and Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 62, tabl. II’. For the phrase *ir dsr hr*, see *Wb.* V, 613, 16; for just the “serpent”-sign see *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique*, p. 214, nos. 13, 14; the combined sign, a man standing and holding a vertical undulating serpent in his left hand, is probably a variant spelling of *dsr* as seen in *Wb.* V, 611, top of page, a combination of three “cobra”-signs; for the latter see also H. W. Fairman, *BFAO* 43 (1945), p. 117.

6. For *r-hn<sup>c</sup>* in *iw(t) r-hn<sup>c</sup>.f*, see *Wb.* III, 112. For the construction *iw(t) r-hn<sup>c</sup>.f*, see Erman, *NG*, §§ 627, 470f.: the second-person feminine suffix, *t*, indicated by a seated female figure (Erman, *NG* § 68), has been omitted. *3Iw(t)* is a circumstantial form, “you being with him,” implying also a notion of futurity (“you will be with him [forever]”).

7. *3st di(t) ‘nh nb(t) hs(t) ntr(t) ‘nh(t) nb(t) 3Iw-rk hnwt Snmwt nb(t) pt hnwt ntrw nbw*.

8. *Dì.n.ì n.k nswy(t) n 'ltn tp t3 dì.n.ì n.k t3 hn<sup>c</sup> nty im.f dì.n.ì n.k nht r mh<sup>w</sup>.*

9. *S3.ì mry ns<sup>w</sup>-bity Wsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-mry- 'Imn dì.n.ì n.k mh<sup>w</sup> r<sup>c</sup>-w n pt w3d-wr nn.k m w3h-tp dt.* For *r<sup>c</sup>-w* see chap. 1, n. 26.

10. See Žabkar, JEA 66, pp. 129, 134.

11. Thus, e.g., in the Turin stela 1640 of the Eighteenth Dynasty; see Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 86f., with full bibliography. The authors translate the phrase *Wsr nfr n nwb* as “Osiris, perfection de l’Or (?)” and find this expression “insolite.” It is indeed so; the construction may be explained as the “accusative of respect,” but *n* is unnecessary. Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 440, translates the phrase as “Osiris, Schöner des ‘Goldes’” and explains “Das Gold: Bezeichnung der Göttin Hathor, hier mit Isis gleichgesetzt” (ibid., p. 624, no. 209). Griffiths (personal communication) translates it as “Splendid One of Isis (Isis = Gold).” Cf. R. O. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, pp. 19\* (text), p. 8, translation: “(Osiris) fair gold of the gods, *nbw nfr n ntrw*.”

12. See F. Daumas, “La valeur de l’or dans la pensée égyptienne,” *Annales du Musée Guimet, Revue de l’histoire des religions*, 75, tome 149 (1956), pp. 1–17; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 264, n. *d*; p. 330, n. *b*; p. 539 (Lexique-Index: Or).

13. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 79, l. 13; see chap. 6, Commentary.

14. See Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, pp. 29f., 53; see also G. Soukiassian, GM 44 (1981), p. 65, n. 20.

15. See Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, p. 169 and n. 89; Junker, *Der Grosse Pylon*, p. 29, l. 15.

16. A. H. Gardiner, ZÄS 42 (1905), pp. 25f.; Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon*, pp. 41–43; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 217.

17. Zandee, *De hymnen*, pp. 94f.; Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, p. 29; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 226; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 319f.

18. A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 108; II, pp. 23, 29; see also A. Gutbub, “Die vier Winde im Tempel von Kom Ombo (Oberägypten),” in O. Keel, ed., *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, 84/85, Stuttgart, 1977), p. 351.

19. A. H. Gardiner, RdE 11 (1957), pp. 43–56; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 422f., 424, 427; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 424–32.

20. L. Kákosity in J. Assmann et al., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, pp. 285–88; see also Griffiths’ summary of Kákosity’s discussion in his *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, pp. 149f.

21. A. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-ankh-Amon*, p. 77, ll. 34–35. This is a version of BD 17, 27 (*Urk.* V, 71), which reads *wnm š‘t nb*, “which eats all carnage”; see T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 31, 4.

22. Piankoff, *Chapelles*, p. 10, fig. 3.

23. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, p. 24, and cf. p. 44.

24. A. Moret, BIFAO 30 (1931), pp. 737ff.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 93; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 445.

25. Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, pp. 44f.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 111. For similar phrases see the hymn to Osiris in C. De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet*, III, pp. 57f.

26. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, pp. 67, 73, n. (n), 106, 108, 116, n. (au).

27. E. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud*, II,

*Les inscriptions* (Cairo, 1926), p. 25; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 344.

28. Edfou VI, 115, 1 and 7–8; 116, 6; 125, 3; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, p. 73, n. (n).

29. Kákosity in Assmann et al., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 288.

30. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 106f.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 84f.

31. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 93f. For all these references and further bibliography, Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières* and Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete* can be conveniently consulted.

32. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 122f.; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 63b; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 83f.

33. A. Eрман, ZÄS 38 (1901), pp. 31, 33; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 107; F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l’Égypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1965), p. 287.

34. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 96; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 447. On Nepri, or Neper, see also Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, pp. 165f.; Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, pp. 54f.

35. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 124f.; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 83; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 439, no. 208.

36. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 93; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 445.

37. *Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 37, pl. 19; cf. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 108 (tomb of Nebounenef).

38. See Kákosity in Assmann et al., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 288 and n. 13; D. Jankuhn, GM 8 (1973), pp. 19–22; W. Helck, IdÄ III, 1112.

39. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 109, n. *d*; p. 89; Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 143.

40. Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 144.

41. Ibid., p. 143.

42. The two phrases, “the eternally youthful (or: the Eternal One rejuvenating himself)” and “who raised up Eternity,” occur also in a Hēh-offering scene from the time of Augustus, recorded on the outer west wall of the Mammisi at Philae (see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 393, 18). The editors read the text *Hh rnp tsj nhh* and translated it as “Der junge Hhw (Urgott?), der die Ewigkeit trägt.” For the explanation, they refer to H. Junker’s *Onurislegende*, pp. 4, 30f. However, in Junker’s discussion there (“Onuris als Himmelsträger”), there is no reference to Hhw or any other god “der die Ewigkeit trägt.” All of the texts from Philae quoted by Junker (pp. 4, 30f.) are from a period later than those of the Temple of Isis that I am discussing here. The theme of the *Himmelsträger*, that is, of the god Hēh supporting the heaven, indeed occurs in the texts of the Temple of Isis; it is found at the beginning of Hymn VI. Junker’s study of that theme is now to be complemented by those of Gutbub mentioned in n. 18. I shall return to this theme in discussing Hymn VI (see chap. 6, Commentary, and nn. 10, 67, 68). Here I would like to say that the phrases, which are repeated in the text accompanying the offering of the Hēh-symbol to Osiris in the Mammisi, do not directly, that is, per se, refer to the theme of the *Himmelsträger*. The context of the text of the Mammisi is a different one; the words of the king offering the Hēh-symbol refer to Osiris as “the Lord of millions (*nb hhw*), rich in hundreds of thousands (of years), Lord of life, living forever (*nh r nhh*), . . . Lord of lifetime, enduring of years”—all this summarized, in l. 18, in the words *Hh rnpy wts nhh*, “the eternally youthful (or: the Eternal One rejuvenating himself),



who raised up Eternity” derived from older hymns. These phrases have been inserted in the Mammisi text probably with the purpose of producing a play on words, *hh-nhh*, to which they feasibly lend themselves. The theologian-poet indulged in this wordplay in order to stress the main idea of the Heh-offering scene: through the ritual offering of the Heh-symbol, millions of years (*hh*) and eternity itself (*nhh*) were conferred upon Osiris, although, in this process of adaptation of an older text to a new ritual setting, the original meaning of the phrase “who raised up Eternity” may have been forgotten. It is possible, however, that in inserting these phrases in the text of the Mammisi, the theologian-poet was also influenced by the theme of the *Himmelsträger*, a good example of which may have been known to him from a text addressed to Khnum, recorded in the interior of the Mammisi and dating to Ptolemy VIII (see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 25, ll. 3–4). Thus he may have understood the words *Hh rnpy wts nhh* (or, as the editors of the *Geburtshaus* read, *Hh rnp tsj nhh*) as referring also to the *Himmelsträger* theme and may have associated *Hh* with the god Heh, with whom Osiris is then identified. Both phrases, however, as I have said, are derived from the older Osirian hymns, Hymn II, discussed here, and the hymn in Room V. It is clear that, in the text of the Mammisi, one observes yet another example of the adaptation of the older hymnic phraseology to a later and different ritual setting, a satisfactory explanation of which depends on the proper understanding of its older source.

43. See Žabkar, ZÄS 108, pp. 141ff.

44. E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 239f., pls. 30 c, d; pls. 31 a–c; pl. 16\* f.

46. See F. Hintze, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat Es Sufra*, pp. 33–37; Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 142.

47. See also Hintze, *Inschriften*, p. 36: “Ewiger, sich Verjüngender, der die Ewigkeit emporhob.”

48. *Wb.* I, 383, 14–15.

49. Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin*, p. 241.

50. E.g., Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 50, 54; see also Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 81 (hymn of Sobekiri).

51. E.g., Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, p. 54: *t3 pn dsr n nhw*; *Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 18, pls. 83B, 85A: “A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, king of the living (*nsw nhw*) . . .”; see also Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 356, n. a.

52. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 50, 55f.

53. Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 144.

54. Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 75.

55. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 79, 122 f.; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 63b. See also *Tomb of Kheruef*, p. 37, pl. 19 (“Onnophris . . . great of awe in the hearts of men, gods, akhs, and the dead”); p. 39, pl. 21 (“Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Lord of that which is and to whom that which is not belongs [*nb nty, wn(n) n.f iwty*]”); Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 83, n. c.

56. Thus also Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, p. 38, with further references, and Moret, BIFAO 30, p. 737.

57. E.g., A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos* (Paris 1880), p. 379, no. 1053; p. 414, no. 1122; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 90; similarly *Urk.* IV, 1404, 17, etc.

58. Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 447, ll. 112–19.

59. Moret, BIFAO 30, pp. 745f.

60. Cf. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 45, ll. 13–14; Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 23f.

61. Kákosy in Assmann et al., eds., *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, p. 288.

62. See De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet*, III, p. 53; Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 167.

### Chapter 3. Hymn III

1. *3i.n s3 R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwmys hr.t 3st di ‘nh m33.f hr.t nfr(t) di n.f t3.wy [sic] nb m ksw dt. T3.wy* for *t3w*, as elsewhere (see n. 15).

2. The two *ntr*-signs are so written that the first serves as part of *hmt-ntr* and *dw3t-ntr*, while the second is part of *drt-ntr*.

3. The determinative of *ht* is slightly damaged, but it seems to be □; cf. *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique*, p. 283, no. 7; cf. also H. W. Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943), p. 278, n. LXIX.

4. *Rš* in *ršwt* appears in my photo even more damaged than in Berlin Ph. 1033, where it is still discernible; the third sign of *ršwt*, 8, Gardiner’s Sign-list V33 (bag of linen) has been inserted by the scribe because of its initial consonant š (*šsr*, “linen, cloth,” var. reading); cf. the Montpellier Sign-list (*Valeurs des signes ptolémaïques* [Montpellier, 1981], p. 155, no. 3473. The addition of *šwt*, *šwty*, the two tall feathers combined with the sun-disc, may appear unusual; see, however, the spelling of the word in *Wb.* II, 454 with three feathers (“spielend”). The reading *hnwt 3(t) šwty*, is hardly possible, since, in addition to orthographic difficulties, Isis is never shown in her temple at Philae with two tall plumes as part of her headdress (only Hathor and the queens are so depicted); cf. M. Malaise, *SAK* 4 (1976), pp. 229ff.

5. Here, too, my photograph shows the damage that occurred since the time Berlin Ph. 1033 was taken. On the latter, the signs transliterated here as *sšm.tw* are well preserved; they are 30. I take the second, “egg”-sign, to be a variant spelling of the “phallus”-sign in *sšm*, as seen in *Wb.* IV, 285, that is, 30, a late spelling of 30; cf. also *ibid.*, 289–90. The third sign, *t3*, is the spelling of the *sdm.tw.f* passive (also used in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period; see, e.g., H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, p. 102, § 129) in its impersonal use. See further in n. 12.

6. “God’s Hand,” *drt-ntr*, “God’s Adorer,” *dw3t-ntr*, “God’s Wife,” *hmt-ntr*, were the titles of the queens, princesses, and other, nonroyal priestesses, who were “God’s Wives of Amun”; on these and other Old and New Kingdom royal and administrative titles applied in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period to various deities, especially Isis and Hathor, see Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 22f.; *Wb.* V, 585, 5; V, 430, 6 (*ad locum*); M. Gitton and J. Leclant, *LdA* II, 792–815; see also Graefe, *Gottesmahlin*.

7. For *skrt*, translated here as “adornment,” see *Wb.* IV, 318, 13 and 14 (“als Bez. der Hathor”) and Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 252 (*skr*, “adorn[?]”); the context would seem to indicate that Faulkner’s translation is correct, *skrt* being followed by *nb(t) hkrw*, Isis is “adornment and Lady of the ornaments.”

8. *3bw 3h3ht* (or *3hht*, which is a noun, not recorded in *Wb.* I, 18), “desire of the green fields,” or “whom the green fields desire,” is further explained by the first line of the following strophe: “rain-cloud that makes green the fields when it descends.”

9. Titles of Isis derived from those of the divine priestesses

of Amun in their priestly function; cf. Gitton and Leclant, *LdÄ II*, 795. "The Palace" refers, first, to the palace proper, where Isis exercises her royal function, and also to the temple, where, adorned with the priestly epithets, she is both the pre-eminent deity and the high priestess; see the beginning of Hymn VI: "Come to the Palace"—that is, "the temple," or the sanctuary of the temple—and the beginning of strophe 4 of the same hymn, where 'ht, again in the meaning of the temple or sanctuary, is qualified by špst wrt, "the great, august Palace."

10. In a hymn to Amun in the temple of Hibis (de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khārgēh Oasis*, III, The Decoration, pl. 32, l. 26), Amun, identified with the sun-god, is said to be nb hp, which Barucq and Daumas (*Hymnes et prières*, p. 326 and n. bf) translate "Seigneur de la course rituelle(?)," attributing to the phrase a cosmic and ritual meaning: that of the sun-god traversing the sky, and that of the king represented as running and taking possession of the land at his accession (to the throne). Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 298, translates this phrase "Der Herr des Umlaufs." The interpretation of Barucq and Daumas would seem to fit the context of the Philae hymns, although here, in Hymn III, the phrase used is ity(t) gst, a phrase that occurs already in *Pyr.* § 1167 (see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 292), and not nb(t) hp. As will be seen, in Hymn V, and especially in Hymn VI, Isis is closely associated with the sun-god, and here in Hymn III with the royal palace, exercising her supreme power over the Two Lands and thus over the king; see the last line of the following strophe: "according to whose command one (that is, the king) rules," an idea amply substantiated by other texts at Philae (see Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, esp. pp. 16ff.). One might thus assume that Isis "who runs her course" refers to the goddess who in place of the king takes possession of the land just as the king does at his accession and on other occasions. However, the phrase ity gst in Ptolemaic texts is used also of the course taken in a procession; see *Wb.* V, 204, 4 and 5, where it is applied to the king marching at the head of a procession (e.g., Berlin Ph. 441) and to divine images borne at the head of a procession (*Edfou I*, 576). As J. G. Griffiths suggested (personal communication), the reference here is to Isis performing or completing the processional course on festive occasions. See *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, l. 137, where it is said of Isis that she is "all-ruling in the procession of the gods."

St ntry(t), "the Divine Place," here has a concrete meaning, different from that in the Coffin Texts (on which see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, Addenda and Corrigenda, p. 5\*, no. 206); here it probably indicates the place where such festive processions took place.

11. See n. 8 and Commentary.

12. This same phrase, in a slightly different form, occurs in a hymn, or rather encomium, to Isis at Philae (of the time of Ptolemy VI) and at Kalabsha (time of Augustus) with a more common spelling, sšm.tw, instead of sšm.ti: wd.t mdw n psdt sšm.tw hr st-r.s; H. Junker correctly translated the text as "Die der Göttergesellschaft Befehle erteilt, und nach deren Ausspruch regiert wird," *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 18, Vienna, 1957), pp. 270f., l. 11. Otto dealt with this text in *Gott und Mensch*, p. 143, no. 15 and p. 152, no. 13, and translated it "Die der Neunheit Anordnungen gibt; die mit ihrem Befehl (or: Ausspruch) leitet," reading the second part of the phrase as sšm.t hr s.t r3.s. Otto's reading of sšm.t as participle did not improve upon Junker's translation and is not supported

by the older occurrence of that phrase here in Hymn III. Otto seems to have confused hr st-r.s with hr st-r.s, of which he collected a number of very useful examples; cf. *ibid.*, p. 189, no. 288 with nos. 283–87, 289–91, and pp. 142f. Besides, sšm.t cannot be construed with hr and translated "die mit ihrem Befehl leitet." These problems have now been solved by the older variant of this phrase in Hymn III: sšm.ti (sšm.tw), impersonal passive, is here construed with hr in the meaning "one rules (or: governs) according to (lit.: upon) her command." As Junker observed (p. 276), this phrase has been inserted into a text recorded on the First Pylon at Philae (*Der grosse Pylon*, p. 230, ll. 3–4); the text there suffers from several lacunae, and the meaning of l. 4 is uncertain.

13. These titles of Isis are also part of the titular repertory of the queens, royal princesses, and divine spouses of Amun; see *Wb.* V, 585, 5; Gitton and Leclant, *LdÄ II*, 799; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), pp. 8f., 14, etc. (wrt hst, wrt hswt); see n. 9.

14. 3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) 'Iw-rk hry(t)-ib Hwt-hnt di(t) 'nh mi R' dt; on Hwt-hnt see Žabkar, *Apedemak*, p. 137, n. 191; AEO II, p. 11\*; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 31, n. 3. While it is not certain that Hwt-hnt is the name of either Philae (Gauthier, DG, IV, 120; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 31, n. 3) or Elephantine (Brugsch, DG 547, *apud* Gardiner), it is even less likely, at least in this context, to be the name of Esna, as Gardiner asserted. The precise limits of this toponym (perhaps more than one), are yet to be determined; here it may indicate Philae and the region immediately south of it.

15. Di(.i) sndt.k m-ht t, di.n.i n.k t'wy (for t'w) nb m htp, di(.i) sndt.k m-m(?) h3swt; m-ht is spelled m-h, and m-m as m with three plural strokes, between the two latter a somewhat damaged sign(?).

16. Di.n.i n.k mrt m htp; on mrt see *Wb.* II, 108, 3–6 and A. Moret, *Rituel*, pp. 170f. The meret-chest (see also *Catalogue de la fonte hiéroglyphique*, p. 342, nos. 13–15) was used as a container for cultic objects, such as incense, ointments, linen of four different colors—all objects used in daily ritual offerings. Thus the meret-chest and the objects it contained could be considered a form of the Eye of Horus (cf. Berlin Amun Ritual XXVI, 7, and Moret, *Rituel*, p. 170, where the word for "chest" is hn), a term that could be applied to all offerings. In the scenes of the temples, it is the king who offers the meret-chest to a deity, as can be seen in the middle scene of the upper register of the west wall of the Sanctuary of the Temple of Isis (Bénédictine, *Le temple de Philae*, pp. 63f., tabl. II, pl. XXIV; Berlin Ph. 1026), where Ptolemy II is shown offering the meret-chest "to his father Osiris," who is accompanied by Isis suckling her son Harpocrates. In the scene of Hymn III, however, the setting is different: it is Isis who is giving the meret-chest to Ptolemy, and not vice versa. Assuming that no confusion on the part of the engraver is at issue, which does seem to be improbable, an explanation is to be found for what seems to be quite an unusual arrangement of persons involved. Is it possible that Isis, in a true *quid pro quo*, is providing Ptolemy with the ritual objects in order that he may give them back to her (and perhaps also to other deities) in the daily temple ritual? Or, perhaps better, Meret is used here in a derivative meaning, signifying symbolically the land of Egypt in its totality. See J. Berlandini, *LdÄ IV*, 92; E. Chassinat, *Le mystère d'Osiris*, pp. 647–55.

17. Nfr.wy nn ir.n.k n.i s3.i Hr mry.i nb h'w Ptlwmys,

*di.n.i n.k t3 pn hwt b3w.k dt*; the last phrase lit.: “joy of your Bas forever”; Isis’ words to Ptolemy, “My son, Horus . . .,” clearly point to the identification of the living king with Horus, repeated in the adjacent inscription pertaining to Hymn IV; see chap. 4, Translation, n. 20; cf. also chap. 1, Commentary. For another example of this identification see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 77 (Ptolemy VIII).

Although the signs read here as *b3w*, “Bas,” are slightly damaged, it seems that the three ba-birds have only two pairs of legs, instead of the usual three. Since this is found elsewhere in the Temple of Isis (e.g., in Room VII; see Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 41, tabl. III; Berlin Ph. 1062), one can assume this to be a peculiar orthographic feature, or a variant spelling of the plural *b3w* at Philae.

18. See Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 17f.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 18.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 142f.

21. For a summary discussion of these titles see W. Seipel, *LdÄ III*, 473ff.

22. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, pp. 116, 157. I agree with Griffiths’ translation of *rnptw.k*, “thy fresh green plants,” cf. also *Wb.* II, 435, 2, which brings out more meaning from this text than does that of Sethe (“die für deinen Unterhalt gesorgt hat,” *Übersetzung und Kommentar*, IV, 243) and R. O. Faulkner (“who prepares yearly sustenance for you,” *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* [Oxford, 1969], p. 165). See on this text also J. Quaegebeur in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter, eds., *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten* (Maimz am Rhein, 1983), pp. 72ff.

23. W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), p. 21.

24. Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 590, 164f.

25. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 495, n. d.

26. J. L. Foster’s translation in *JNES* 34 (1975), p. 17, ll. 7f.. See also D. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 32f. On Isis and rain see *ibid.*, pp. 67–69; P. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 27 (1970), 21f.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 323f.

27. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 56f.

28. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III (University of California Press, 1980), pp. 110, 114; text in *Esna III*, no. 261, 15, p. 157 and no. 250, 15, p. 133; translation in *Esna V*, pp. 364, 104.

29. See P. Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 56, n. 26; *Esna V*, p. 117, n. (nn); cf. also J.-C. Goyon, *RdE* 20 (1968), p. 68, n. (49), and Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 39, translated by Faulkner, *JEA* 23, p. 13, in which, however, the verb *tftf* (*dfdf*) does not occur.

30. See C. De Wit, *BIFAO* 55, p. 113; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, I (Paris, 1980), p. 448: *dfdf*, “suinter, goutter”; *Wb.* V, 573, 14–15.

31. Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 57.

32. See J. Osing, *LdÄ II*, 555; C. Müller, *LdÄ V*, 366f.

33. See Zabkar, *JEA* 66, p. 128. For some similar expressions see De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet*, III, p. 77.

34. For a good summary see D. Meeks in H. Cazelles and A. Feuillet, eds., *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 49–50A (Paris, 1975), 436.

35. *Edfou IV*, 353, 17–354, 2; Meeks in Cazelles and Feuillet, *Supplément*, fasc. 49–50A, 436.

36. *ntyw r šny.t hknw r sm3.t thnw šps w3d r gmht.t 3.t m ntyw n.t(w) hftyw.t hkn hr.t m hknw.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *CT VI*, 284r.

39. E. Naville and H. H. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari* (London, 1913), III, pl. IX (Ac); Barucq

and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 438; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, VII:4 (Oxford, 1987), p. 128, l. 8.

## Chapter 4. Hymn IV

1. *3i.n s3 Rc Ptlwmys hr.t 3st int n.t mw pn w3b pri m Snmwt di 3nh dt; int n.t* is written very succinctly: the *t*-sign between *ini* and the figure of Isis represents the *t*-ending of the infinitive *int*, and the second-person singular feminine suffix of a defectively written dative, (*n.*)*t*, “to you (Isis).”

2. On the identification of Isis and Satis (*Stt*), see D. Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, pp. 59f., 64, 142.

3. This reading considers *r* before *shpr* superfluous and explains *iri* and *shpr* as participles referring to Hapi. *Rdit*, in l. 3, refers back to Isis, to whom the double role of providing the sustenance for the gods and the deceased through the inundation, which she brings about, is attributed. Another explanation would be to supply the preposition *r* before *iri* and read *r irt*, which would correspond to *r shpr*, and to refer both phrases to Isis: “(She is the one who pours out the inundation), in order to make all people live and green plants grow, (who [thus] provides divine offerings . . .).”

4. As can be seen on pl. 16, the engraver seems to have left out the sign *iri*, which he subsequently inserted between *m* and *wy*.

5. The writing of *b3* as “leopard (‘panther’)” not only makes plausible W. Westendorf’s suggestion that *b3w* in the meaning “Strafgewalt, Macht,” may be derived from *b3* “Panther” (*LdÄ IV*, 665, n. 7, also in *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, p. 5, n. 15), but it also proves that even the singular *b3*, written as “leopard (‘panther’),” may have the connotation of a punitive power; see Commentary and n. 15. The alternative explanation would be to translate *b3* (or *3by*) as “leopard, panther,” “she (Isis) is a panther,” which, although said of the king (see Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* [SAOC 34, 1968], p. 63), seems to be a less probable reading. For a similar sign, intentionally broken in the middle, which has the value of an *s* in the spelling of the name of Osiris, see *Esna III*, p. 58, no. 217, l. 26, and *Esna VIII*, pp. 98, 151, no. 187. The context of this hymn seems quite different, and I prefer to see in this “monstre du désert,” as Sauneron calls it, a simplified drawing of a leopard or panther, a variant writing for Ba, which makes better sense.

6. For reference to deities in the third person see below and chap. 5, Translation.

7. See n. 3.

8. The idea of a deity that sustains the gods and the dead with vegetation occurs already in the Coffin Texts, where it is associated with Osiris, and where the needs of the living are also included. The spell for “Becoming barley of Lower Egypt” reads: “N. is this bush of life, which went forth from Osiris to grow on the ribs of Osiris and to nourish the people, which makes the gods divine and makes efficient the Akhu, which provisions the possessors of the Kas and the owners of endowments, which makes *p3k*-cakes for the Akhu, which makes the living grow, and which makes firm the bodies of the living” (*CT IV*, 6b–7d); cf. R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I (Warminster, England, 1973), p. 205, Spell 269. Subsequently, the reference to a divine or semi-divine being (or beings) who provided divine offerings for the gods and funerary offerings for the Transfigured Ones (Akhu) became standardized in the mortuary literature; see, e.g., *Urk.* IV, 545; *BD* 126, 149 end; cf. *Wb.* I, 529, 7; III, 185, 5.

The same phrases occur in the texts of the later Ptolemaic and the Roman periods at Philae, in which they are associated with Osiris, sometimes identified with the inundation (see Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, p. 60), or some other deities, e.g., Sothis, who in the Mammisi is said to be one “who pours out the inundation, inundates the fields, and makes live those who are on earth (*hr sti H'py hr b'h 3ht hr iry(t) 'nh tpyw-t3*)” (see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, pp. 332ff.; Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, p. 62). On the identification of Sothis and Isis in this respect, see Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, pp. 103, 26; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 34f.

9. Most recently, Valbelle in her very useful book (*Satis et Anoukis*, p. 57) read *t3y* (twice) as *t3*, “child,” instead of “man” (“son enfant est le maître de la Douat, son fils est le maître de la terre, son enfant est l'eau de jouvence”), and rendered the whole passage meaningless.

10. *W' b*, “purification,” is translated here as “purification water,” “pure water,” which seems to fit the context well.

11. This idea, which recurs in the later texts of Philae (see, e.g., Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, pp. 60f.), is well expressed in a text of the lintel of the door leading to Osiris' Room on the roof of the Temple of Isis, above the Sanctuary: “You (Osiris) are the inundation that returns at its time, who causes gods and men to live from his efflux, one who comes at his time, being born at his time, rejuvenating his limbs on the First of the Year (*twt H'py hsi r tr.f iri 'nh ntrw rmt m rdw.f ii r tr.f msi r tr.f rnp'i 'wt.f tpy rnpt*)”; see Berlin Ph. 1151, and correct Selim Hassan's copy accordingly; see also Zabkar, *ZÄS* 108, p. 144, n. 21.

12. In a text accompanying the offering of the Maat to Osiris on the south wall of Room VII of the Temple of Isis, adjacent to the Sanctuary, Osiris is said to be “Lord of Heaven, earth, and the Netherworld,” Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 42, tabl. I', Berlin Ph. 1063; see Commentary.

13. For *hr* with the infinitive (*hr shpr.sn*) in a well-attested usage of this construction pertaining to past events, see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 165, 10.

14. The phraseology of this statement aptly combines elements from the Memphite Theology (Sethe, *UGAA*, X, pp. 65f.) and the Berlin Hymn to Ptah (ibid., p. 34; Wolf, *ZÄS* 64, p. 23, l. 20). For further references see *Wb.* V, 36, 3; Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 58.

15. See n. 5; Isis as a potential wrathful deity watches over her son Horus and her brother Osiris.

16. *Wp-hr* in *Wp-hr.s* is perhaps a synonym of *wn-hr*; see *Wb.* I, 312f., “geöffneten Gesichts, aufmerksam, gescheut”; it is construed here with *hn'*, which seems unusual.

17. *3st wrt mwt-ntr nb P-rk nb(t) pt hnwt ntrw nbw mry(t) di(t) 'nh mi R'*; this writing of the name of Philae, *P-rk* for *P3-iw-rk*, occurs also on the east door jamb of Room XII, where it is spelled *P3-rk*; on the name of Philae see Winter, *LdÄ* IV, 1022.

18. *Di.n.i n.k w'f hry km3 di.n.i n.k t3wy* (for *t3w*) *nb h3swt nb di.n.i n.k nhtw r ift t3*; *w'f* spelled the same way, occurs on the east wall of the same Room X; see Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 59, end of page: *w'f h3swt* (= *Urk.* II, 112, 2); cf. also Montpellier Sign-list, p. 13, no. 2614b; *hry km3* (lit.: he who is (bent) upon planning [evil?]); for *km3* in the meaning of planning evil see *Wb.* V, 35, 18.

19. *Di.i rn.k r nsyw mnhw nn šw m it.n.k*; the second-person singular suffix *k*, in *it.n.k*, is written with the sign of the bull, *k3*. Cf. Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 221, no. 145(b); Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, p. 78.

20. *Nfr.wy nn ir.n.k n.i s3.i Hr mry.i nb t3wy Wsr-k3-R'*

*mry-3Imn di.n.i n.k t3 m ndt k3(.k) dt; ndt* (*Wb.* II, 369) has the determinative of *nds* (*Wb.* II, 384). The figure following the Ka-sign, a seated and bearded male figure, may be a determinative referring to the king. It is quite possible (this, however, requires a more thorough examination) that the seated male figure is not the determinative, but the second-person singular masculine suffix, analogous to the seated female figure, which can stand for both the first- and second-person feminine suffix. This reading of the sign of the seated male figure as the second-person singular masculine suffix could also apply to the same sign occurring twice after the word Ka in the right uppermost scene of the same north wall, which I discussed in *JEA* 66, 130, pl. XVI. This explanation would complement the observations made by Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 290. The meaning of this statement seems to be that the land belongs to Isis; here she is giving that land in serfdom to Ptolemy—that is, she is transferring the land and the laborers bound to it to Ptolemy.

21. For a bibliography on these hymns see Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 206f., no. 72; for references to particular chapters see ibid., p. 31, n. 25.

22. H. M. Stewart, *JEA* 57 (1971), pp. 87–104.

23. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (*MÄS* 19, 1969), pp. 359f., 228ff.

24. It is interesting to see how this statement about the supreme creator-goddess may seem to have lost some of its sublimity in a later text (time of Ptolemy VI), on a wall of the doorway of the western tower of the First Pylon at Philae, in which it is applied to Hathor. There, this goddess is addressed as “Most effective among the effective, wine-goddess above (all) wine-goddesses, Hathor, Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of breads, who made beer through what her heart conceived and her hands created (*ir(t) hnkt m km3(t).n ib.s m ir(t).n 'wy.s*)” (Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 241, ll. 9–12). The text differs slightly from that of Hymn IV in the Temple of Isis, but both verbs, *km3* for conceiving through the heart (*ib*), and *iri* for making or creating with the hands (*'wy*), occur in an identical meaning as in Hymn IV. Müller, who also quoted some partially similar examples from other Ptolemaic temples, referred to the text applied to Hathor as reminiscent of the creation through the heart and tongue, thought and utterance, of the primeval creator-god of the Theology of Memphis (Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 33). Hathor, goddess of song, jubilation, dance, inebriation, and wine, also conceived the idea of beer and brought it into existence with the work of her hands. As has been observed in some other instances in these hymns, a phrase was taken from its original context and applied to a particular situation; here, the idea of universal creation by Isis was used by a knowledgeable scribe to describe Hathor as the creator or inventor of beer.

## Chapter 5. Hymn V

1. *N dw3w* stands for *m dw3w*.
2. The suffix *s* in *sn.s* is written with the sign of the *swt*-plant.
3. For this sign see chap. 1, n. 6.
4. *3li.t* is the third-person feminine singular old perfective in exclamatory use; the last two strophes address Isis in the second person; for such a use of the second and third person in hymns see chap. 4, Translation.
5. Lit.: Inundated (*b'hi*, old perfective) in the faces.
6. This epithet of Horus, *Hr 3*, occurs rarely; Altenmüller

mentioned it in his article in LdÄ III, 44, n. 13: *Hrw* 3 *hnty Hm*, “Horus the Great preeminent in Letopolis,” quoting from CT IV, 302a, where it is probably substituted for *Hr wr*, or *Hr smsw*, frequently associated with Horus of Letopolis; see the references discussed by Altenmüller; see also Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, pp. 99, 125, and Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, p. 180, n. 37. *Hr* 3 was originally an independent celestial deity, and in that role he appears in the first line of the first strophe; subsequently he was identified with Horus, son of Isis and Osiris; as such, he appears, e.g., in the texts of the Hémispéos ptolémaïque at El-Kâb, edited and discussed by Derchain, *Elkab*, I, pp. 54, 111\*: *Ind-hr.k Hr* 3 *s3 Wsir Hr wr k3 rn* (var.: *Hr smsw k3 rn*), “Salut à toi, Horus le grand, fils d’Osiris, Horus le grand, élevé de nom,” where apparently all three epithets (*Hr* 3, *Hr wr*, *Hr smsw*) are used synonymously; see also J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, XVI, 3, p. 71, and n. (240) and (241), p. 110: “Horus le grand (3), l’Aîné (*smsw*), fils d’Osiris, dont le nom est exalté.” For Philae see, e.g., Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 17, 3: *Hr* 3 *s3 Wsir*. In this hymn, however, the distinction between the two Horuses is maintained; Isis is beloved of the Great Horus, and she is also the mother of Horus the Child.

7. Cf. P. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 22, referring to Hathor at Dendera (*Dendara VI*, 22, 4) as “Fille de celui qui l’a faite,” that is, as “Daughter whom Re has created.”

8. It seems that the phrase “united with Re” has two meanings: Isis is united with Re as his spouse and as his uraeus-diadem. At Edfu, Isis is referred to as “the royal spouse of Re,” *hmt-nsu nt R* (Edfu I, 384); elsewhere at Philae, *hmt-nsu tpt n(t) Wnn-nfr* and *Hmt-nsu wrt nt Wnn-nfr* refer to Isis as the spouse of Osiris (see chap. 2, Hymn II; chap. 7, Translation, and n. 9), while here the entire phrase *hmt-nsu wrt hnm(t) n R* refers to Isis as the spouse of Re. For other examples of Isis as the spouse of Re, see Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, pp. 80–93; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 178; see also Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 322; J. Bergman, LdÄ III, 196. In strophe 4, Isis is said to be “Mother of Horus, Daughter of Re, beloved of his very heart,” which again would seem to refer to her as the spouse of Re, just as the divine spouses or adoratrices of Amun are called *hnm t ntr*, *s3 t ntr*, *s3 t Imn*; see references in Gitton and Leclant, LdÄ II, 793, 799. For the phrase *hnm*, *hnm t*, “united” with a god or goddess, see *Esna III*, no. 241, 9, p. 110, where it is said of the goddess Nebtou that she is united with her father Atum (*hnm t it.s Imn*); and *Esna VIII*, p. 40, l. (13), text in *Esna III*, no. 217, 22, where there is a reference to Osiris who unites himself with his sister Isis (*Wsir hnm snt.f 3st*). Isis “united with Re” can also refer to the goddess as the uraeus-diadem of the sun-god, and it is in this meaning that it occurs in strophe 3 of this hymn, and again in Hymn VI and elsewhere at Philae (e.g., Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 24, l. 7).

9. Lit.: who cuts off, *tntn(t)*, their heads; a similar phrase is used in the “litany to Menhyt” at Esna, see *Esna VIII*, p. 26, l. (40), text in *Esna III*, no. 233, 21: “Menhyt qui découpe (*mnht*) la tête de ses ennemis,” a play on the word *mnh* from which the name of the goddess may have been derived; cf. also a hymn to Hathor in the Pap. Bremner-Rhind 19, 16–17 (Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, p. 38): *hsk tpu nw h3kw-ib*. For such phrases applied to the king see M. Defossez, GM 85 (1985), pp. 28f.; A. Spalinger in L. H. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*, p. 138.

10. See chap. 6, Commentary.

11. For *hryt-tp* and *mhnt m tp.f* “Uraeus,” and “the Coiled One upon his head,” referring to Hathor, see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 10, no. 18, pp. 20, 22; p. 41, no. 50; see chap. 6, Commentary.

12. For the use of *sh* (arbor, booth) as “chapel, shrine” see Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, pp. 37, 123f.; II, Index, p. 839; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, JEA 32 (1946), p. 77, no. 12; M. E. A. Ibrahim, *The Chapel of the Throne of Re at Edfu* (Bibl. Aegypt. 16, 1975), pp. 32, 59; S. Cauville, *La théologie d’Osiris à Edfou*, p. 183; P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple, A Lexicographical Study*, p. 139, n. 167. *Hr*-<sup>c</sup> in *nb(t) hprw.s hr<sup>c</sup> sh* here probably means simply “in” and refers to the Sanctuary and the sacred barque of Isis resting on the pedestal in the Sanctuary; see Commentary.

13. For a recent discussion of “Serekh” see M. Gilula, JEA 68 (1982), pp. 263–65, and for the phrase “established like the Falcon upon the Serekh,” which occurs elsewhere in the Temple of Isis at Philae (see chap. 6, Commentary), see Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, pp. 35f.; cf. also Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 36, l. 13; Cauville, *La théologie d’Osiris à Edfou*, p. 63; K. Kuhlmann, LdÄ VI, 526.

14. *H<sup>c</sup>.t* is the third-person singular masculine old perfective, *hc.ti*. Cf. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 143: *t* stands for *t* or *ti*.

15. See Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, pp. 359f., and passim; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 30f., 38; chap. 4, Translation.

16. See E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos, Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte religiöser Rede* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1913); “Die Lobpreisung eines Gottes braucht nicht immer in direkter Apostrophe, also in der 2. Person, zu geschehen: er kann wegen seiner ἀρεταί auch in der Form einer Aussage, also in der 3. Person, prädiert werden. Beide Formen gehen schon in alter Zeit nebeneinander her, . . . ja sie greifen gelegentlich ineinander” (p. 163); see also pp. 149–62, 164–66, etc. See also Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétologie d’Isis à Maronée*, where some important observations are made (pp. 45f., 76, 84f., 107) on the transition from the second to the third person in this “most ancient and at the same time most original of Isiac arétologies” (p. 114).

17. Exemplified by the Hymn to Osiris in Room V at Philae; see Žabkar, ZÄS 108, pp. 142ff., and chap. 2, Commentary, sec. 3.

18. For another example of the transition from the third to the second person, see the hymn to Hathor from Deir El Bahri (Naviile and Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, III, pl. IX) translated by Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 437, no. 128.

19. A. M. Calverley et al., *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, I, pl. 9, lower left.

20. Münster’s translation (*Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, p. 193) of *m itr n t3wy*, “am Fluss der beiden Länder,” seems preferable to that of J. Bergman (*Ich bin Isis*, p. 226), “im ganzen Ägypten,” reading *itr.tj* with the Two Lands as determinative, although it is unusual to see *m itr(w)* used instead of *hr* or *tp itr(w)*; it is quite possible, however, that the inimical forces of Seth, which are here referred to, were thought to be in the river as well as on the river, and the preposition *m* could refer to both.

21. See, e.g., Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, p. 169β and passim.

22. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 35f.

23. Published by J.-C. Goyon, “Textes mythologiques: le

livre de protéger la barque du dieu,” *Kêmi* 19 (1969), L 35, pp. 60f.

24. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, pp. 21, 43, 61:  $\text{ʒst } h\text{ʒt } p\text{ʒ } m\text{š}^c$  *hry(t)-ib Swnw, srf(t) tktk, hw(t) Kmt n Hr.s, wʿf(t) hʒswt n nb tʒwy*.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 55: *Ndtt mnht n Tʒ-mri, hnwt tʒwy* (for *tʒw nbw*). For some comments on *Kmt* (which occurs in the preceding note as *hw(t) Kmt*) and *Tʒ-mri*, see A. Nibbi, *GM* 59 (1982), pp. 51f.; notice, however, that both *Kmt* and *Tʒ-mri* have town determinatives (Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, pp. 61, 55); *Tʒ-mri* is spelled *Tʒ-mrt* (see *Wb.* V, 223; J. Berlandini, *LdÄ* IV, 92 [Meretkästen, n. 18]); see also E. Otto, *LdÄ* I, 76 (das Land Meri, “nicht übersetzbar”), and esp. E. Chassinat, *Le Mystère d’Osiris*, pp. 647–55.

26. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, pp. 21, 49.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 15.

28. See J. Cerný, *BIFAO* 57 (1958), pp. 203–5; D. Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou*, p. 122.

29. B. G. Trigger, *History and Settlement in Lower Nubia*, p. 131; cf. also A. Burkhardt, *Ägypten und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos*, p. 16.

30. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 22.

31. C. Préaux, *Chr. d’Eg.* 11 (1936), pp. 523–26; cf. also W. Peremans in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, p. 45.

32. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, pp. 122–43. In these demotic documents, Isis is referred to as *hnwt Km(t), nb.t phty, hʒ(t) pʒ mš<sup>c</sup>*, and *hry(t) pʒ mš<sup>c</sup>*.

33. *PM* VI, 232, (258)–(259); *Berlin Ph.* 1292–93.

34. There is a lacuna after *sn*, due to damaged stone, but the restoration supplied by several translators as *sn.i mry* would fit the damaged space. The first part of this text also occurs in a relief of the First Pylon; Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 232, l. 3: “Mein geliebter Bruder, liebe die Isis; (*mḥ ib.k n ʒst*)”; these words are addressed by the queen to the King (Ptolemy VI).

35. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 72. Müller did not translate the first two words.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

37. E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, p. 101.

38. E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, p. 207.

39. E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, transl. J. Baines, p. 211.

40. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, dedicatory page.

41. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 23.

42. A. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, p. 10. For the Egyptian text see C. Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech, Les textes* (MIFAO, tome 55, Cairo, 1928), p. 251: *gm.n.i ʒh n.i ʒImn r hḥ mš<sup>c</sup>*; similar expressions occur in the following lines: “Amun is more efficient than they (i.e., men)” (Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*, p. 252); “I am more efficient (*ʒh.kwi*) than hundreds of thousands of men,” Amun says, (*ibid.*, p. 254).

43. The “Two Shrines” indicate the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, or simply “the two halves of Egypt”. See Gardiner, *Grammar*, pp. 291f.; Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 29, l. 13; *Wb.* I, 148, 2; E. Otto, *LdÄ* I, 76.

44. *Swdʒ Bʒkt shd ʒItrty smn hpw mi Dhwtwy ʒʒ hwi wʒsyty grg wn(t) sbi shpt ntrw m pr.sn*; for *wn(t) sbi* see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 396, 2; the participle *wnt* is followed by the old perfective *sbi*. Similar phrases occur already in the golden-Horus name of Ptolemy IV Philopator; see H.-J. Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret*, pp. 33ff.

45. *Sn(.i mri) mḥ ib.k n(for m) ʒst nts* (written *nty.s*) *nb(t) tʒyw hmwt*.

46. For a picture of the whole southern face of the First Pylon see, among recent works, Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, pl. II; S. Sauneron and H. Stierlin, *Derniers temples d’Egypte, Edfou et Philae* (Paris, 1975), pp. 158f.

47. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, pp. 7–17, 25–32.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 28, ll. 6–9, Abb. 14.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 25, ll. 13–17; p. 28, ll. 1–5. See also n. 96.

50. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 32, ll. 1–4, Abb. 13.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 28, l. 15; p. 32, l. 6.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 8, l. 16; p. 13, l. 5.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

54. See n. 102.

55. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 13, ll. 3–9. See n. 119.

56. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 11, ll. 5–16. I have translated the *sdm.n.f* forms in ll. 8 and 10 (*hwi.n.k* and *dd.n.k*) as emphatic forms, and the *sdm.f* in l. 12 as a circumstantial; such a differentiation of forms seems to improve upon Junker’s translation.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 13, ll. 14–15; p. 16, ll. 5–6, 8, 10, 12.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 16, l. 14–17, l. 10. On the close relationship of *Fnhw* and *Hʒw-nbwt* mentioned here in the preceding text (n. 50), see C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d’Amosis*, p. 154.

59. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 7, ll. 10–11.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 8, ll. 7–14.

61. See E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen* (Mainz, 1976), pp. 188f. See also a sculptor’s unfinished sketch of this theme in W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1959), p. 369; Daumas, *Les mammisis de Dendara*, pl. LIII, A; F. Daumas, *La civilisation de l’Egypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1965), pl. 62. On the interpretation of this scene in connection with the foundation ceremonies, see P. Barguet, *RdE* 9 (1952), p. 14, n. 4; Sanaa Abd El-Azim El-Adly, “Das Gründungs- und Weiheritual des ägyptischen Tempels von der frühgeschichtlichen Zeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches” (Dissertation, Tübingen, 1981), p. 124, n. 49; p. 135.

62. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 357.

63. See D. J. Crawford, *Studia Hellenistica* 24 (1980), esp. pp. 39f.; E. A. E. Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis*, p. 138, with further bibliography.

64. See Crawford, *Studia Hellenistica* 24, pp. 31ff.

65. S. B. Shubert, *JSSEA* 11 (1981), p. 164.

66. Correct my statement in *Apedemak*, p. 32, where this epithet of Isis was attributed to the king; on this text see further chap. 6, n. 23.

67. Žabkar, *Apedemak*, pp. 29–33.

68. See also L. Török, *ZAS* 111 (1984), p. 58; L. Török, *Studia Aegyptiaca* V (Budapest, 1979), pp. 82ff., 88ff.

69. Diodorus I, 37, 5; see Žabkar, *Apedemak*, p. 31.

70. C. Préaux, *Le monde Hellénistique*, I, p. 139.

71. On the Ptolemaic-Meroitic relations of this time, see E. Winter, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 509–12.

72. The relations between the two powers must have radically changed, since not only were some of the monuments of Ergamenes defaced, but the stela of Adikhalamani, Ergamenes’ successor, who may have supported the rebels against Ptolemy V, was found broken, its upper part used as a piece of building material in the construction of the foundations of the Hypostyle Hall (see A. Farid, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), pp. 53–56).

73. See Török, ZÄS 111, pp. 58f.; A. Burkhardt, *Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos*, pp. 14f.

74. See Giammarusti and Roccati, *File*, pp. 68f.; Winter, LdÄ IV, 1022f.

75. Similarly stated by P. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 18 (1961), p. 48.

76. Shubert (JSSEA 11, p. 148) incorrectly attributed the construction of the First Pylon to Nectanebo I and the Second Pylon to Ptolemy II; similar inaccuracies are found in W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egypt*, where one reads that the First Pylon was built by Ptolemy XII (p. 332), the Birth House by Ptolemy VI (p. 334), and the Second Pylon by Ptolemy VIII (p. 334). See on this Winter, LdÄ IV, 1022f.; Haeny, BIFAO 85, pp. 197–233. The latter, a very useful article, also contains some questionable points; e.g., there is no evidence that the plan for the Temple of Isis was “possibly conceived and worked out in the time of Ptolemy I Soter,” as stated on p. 207. Also, it is to be noted that Ptolemy III added, in the Sanctuary and some other rooms of the Temple of Isis, some inscriptions—important for the history of the temple—to those of Ptolemy II (mentioned already by A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, I, p. 79). Pace L. Borchardt (Archiv für Papyrusforschung, 3 [1906], p. 366) and Haeny (p. 230), the decoration of the forecourt of the Temple of Hathor is of the time of Augustus, not Tiberius. See F. Daumas, ZÄS 95 (1968), pp. 1, 13; Winter, LdÄ IV, 1023. Haeny’s argument against referring to the hall behind the Second Pylon as the “Hypostyle Hall,” is questionable, even if the “hall with columns,” thus, etymologically, hypostyle, differs in some respects from the Hypostyle Halls of some other temples. It is true that “a small part at the back of the Pylon is left open to the sky,” but to say that the “lateral roof extensions with their single columns represent a much reduced peristyle flanking a tiny inner courtyard” (p. 208) is to complicate the matter further; there can be no question of a “peristyle” here, in any of its meanings. It may be more appropriate to say that the “Hypostyle Hall,” a later addition to the temple built by Philadelphus, may have been intended to serve also as a “Pronaos” to it—this double function of a room or hall having been assigned to some other rooms at Philae (see A. Gutbub in F. Geus and F. Thill, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, p. 134). For lack of a more precise and comprehensive term, the traditional designation “Hypostyle Hall” has been retained in this book.

77. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.*, p. 48.

78. PM VI, 236, nos. 5, and 7.

79. W. J. Murnane, *United with Eternity*, p. 6.

80. Ibid., p. 20. See also J. Vercoutter, BIFAO 48 (1949), p. 198, with regard to *H3w-nbw*; J. Yoyotte, *Kêmi* 12 (1952), p. 92, with regard to Meshwesh, Shasu, and Tjeker in *Edfou* IV, 236, 10–12; R. Drenkhahn, LdÄ V, 115.

81. Vandier-Drioton, *L’Égypte*, p. 547; LD V, 1; Leclant, LdÄ V, 503; D. B. Redford, JARCE XXII (1985), pp. 13ff.

82. For the reading of the name see a summary by Redford, JARCE XXII, p. 9, n. 40.

83. As to these “spent forces,” which in Ptolemaic times no longer represented a threat to Egypt, and whose presence in the scene of “the King smiting the enemies” is said to have no historical or real commemorative value, it seems that here, too, some qualification is in order. It should be recalled that, while in the hieroglyphic text of the Philensis II decree, engraved on the eastern exterior wall of the Mammisi at Philae (see Winter, LdÄ IV, 1027f.), the southern allies of the Upper Egyptian rebels against Ptolemy V are referred to as *Nhsyw*

and in the demotic version of the same decree as *’Iḡšw* (see *Urk.* II, 217, 9; Sethe, ZÄS 53, p. 44), the demotic inscriptions of the temple of Assuan published by Bresciani et al. (*Assuan*, pp. 141f.) refer to a minor invasion of *n3 nhwr n p3 t3-Nhsy* (“quei vigliacchi dal paese d’Etiopia”); cf. also the mention of a “*Nhsy-ikš* from Elephantine” in the “Petubastis-Roman” (P. Kaplony, LdÄ V, 271, n. 14). This seems to indicate that *Nhsyw*, *’Iḡšw*, “the vile ones of *t3-Nhsy*,” were not altogether “spent forces”; they referred to actual enemies of Egypt, and the terms that designated them were part of a living political parlance in southern Egypt and probably also at the royal chancery of Alexandria.

84. Shubert, JSSEA 11, p. 164.

85. J. W. B. Barns, *Egyptians and Greeks*, esp. p. 12.

86. J. H. Johnson, JSSEA 13 (1983), pp. 61–72. Cf. also J. G. Griffiths in J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and K. A. Kitchen, eds., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt, Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, England, 1979), p. 178, n. 52.

87. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 16, l. 12.

88. Ibid., p. 32, l. 2; *Wb.* IV, 107, 6.

89. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, Abb. 30, 34, 35. In this respect Shubert is correct when, criticizing Derchain’s characterization of the First Pylon of Philae as “avant tout un monument royal,” and that of Edfu as “essentiellement un monument du culte divin” (*Bibl. Or.* 18, pp. 47f.), he states (JSSEA 11, pp. 159f.) that both royal and cultic elements are represented on both pylons, and that iconographic differences do not warrant a radically different interpretation.

90. See Berlin Ph. 386; LD IV, 74c; PM VI, 245, (371)–(373).

91. *Wnn s3 R’ T. hr siw’ nst.f hnt sp3t-R’ m T3-Sti*; “south of the nome of Re in Ta-Seti (Nubia)” indicates here the southern point of the dominion of Tiberius, at which Philae is situated; see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 7, l. 6, where the same phrase is used with reference to Ptolemy XII. The “throne” in the preceding phrase is a metonymy that stands for the dominion itself that the throne symbolizes. The verbal forms “(Tiberius) has inherited,” “has destroyed,” “slaughtered,” “made a massacre,” etc., are all expressed by *wnn.f hr* + infinitive, an extension of the older usages of this grammatical construction (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 326; P. Vernus in *L’Égyptologie en 1979, Axes prioritaires de recherche* [Paris, 1982], pp. 85–89), which here aptly illustrates the relation of the legend to the action depicted in the relief. For an identical text referring to Ptolemy XII, see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 7, l. 5f., and for an abbreviated one (*wnn P. hr nst.f . . . hr hwt*, etc.—lit.: “Ptolemy is upon his throne, . . . he has stricken,” etc.), *ibid.*, p. 30, l. 14f. For additional examples of this construction see Mahmud Abd El-Razig, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Grossen im Tempel von Luxor*, pp. 12(g), 17(f); cf. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §256 (cf. §156).

92. *Sw mi m3i h33 nšny*. Cf. the reference to Ptolemy XII, Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 32, l. 5: *Sw m m3i ’nh nht r k3yw*, “he is the living lion powerful against (his) enemies.” On the formula *sw m X*, or *sw mi X*, see M.-T. Derchain-Urtel, SAK 3 (1975), pp. 25ff.

93. Compare Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 7, ll. 10–11, where Ptolemy XII is said to be “like Horus (*sw mi Hr*), who performs a massacre among the enemies of his father”; thus Isis is the mother of the king (*ibid.*, p. 32, l. 6), and Osiris is his father. On Osiris as the father of the living king see chap. 1, Commentary.

94. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, pp. 7f., 30ff.

95. Ibid., pp. 25, 28.
96. Ibid., p. 25, l. 15. See also n. 49, where a similar phrase is applied to *Thnw*-(Libyans). Such phrases as *hphp(?) m 'ft* (Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 25, l. 15), "to be caught up in the chest," *š' m 'ft* (Berlin Ph. 386; LD IV, 74c), "to be cut up in the chest," and the following *hr m nmt*, "to fall into the execution-place," may have been derived from similar representations of the enemies of the sun-god in the "books" pertaining to the Underworld. For *'ft* (*'fdt*, *Wb.* I, 183), see E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)*, 1977, p. 135, n. (381); E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, pp. 458f.; J. F. Borghouts, *JEOL* 23 (1975), 358–64, where *'fdt*, "Kasten," refers to the coffin of Osiris, which is certainly not applicable to our case. It seems that *'ft* (*'fdt*) should also have a meaning attributed in the same *Buch der Anbetung* to the word *ktit* ("Kessel") (p. 48; p. 118, n. [180]; p. 132, n. [332]); see *Wb.* V, 145, 1–2, where it is associated with the punishment of the damned in the Underworld; see also E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*, pp. 24f.
97. Lit.: do not exist in their entirety.
98. The last signs have been erased on the relief of Tiberius; the words in parenthesis are supplied from the relief of Ptolemy XII; see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 28, ll. 4–5.
99. See *ibid.*, pp. 16f.
100. See Berlin Ph. 385; LD IV, 74c; and compare Berlin Ph. 309, eastern wall of the Hypostyle Hall, where a similar and, in this instance, better-preserved text is found.
101. See also n. 119; Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 13, l. 5.
102. *R't m šn n itn*; on *R't* (Rât, Rait), and the rich phraseology in which this word occurs in various temples, see the article by A. Gutbub, *LdÄ* V, 87–90, to which the occurrences from the temple of Isis at Philae are to be added.
103. According to the determinative following *r-ḏw*, "Mistress of the battlefield" is also possible; see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 29, l. 17; *r-ḏw* is a synonym of *skw*, *skt*, which is followed by the same house determinative—see Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou*, p. 15, n. (3).
104. Lit.: of her combat, *r-ht.s*.
105. *Nhm(t)*, "who saves," is strangely determined by the *snd*-sign (Gardiner's Sign-list G54). For a similar phrase see De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet*, III, p. 76: "(Isis) qui sauve dans la mêlée," *šd (m) hr-r-hr*.
106. *Pr(t) m r.s hprw hr-(.wy)*; *hprw*, old perfective, written with three plural strokes, has a meaning of "an accomplished fact."
107. *Wrt hḳw tī sy hr-ib 'ht 'st ḥc nsw hr nst.f hr st-r.s*. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 17, gives an incomplete translation of this text, which he based on LD IV, 74c; the latter, however, contains several errors.
108. See U. Monneret de Villard, *Storia della Nubia cristiana*, p. 21; E. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae*, II, pp. 44f.; L. Török, "Inquiries into the Administration of Meroitic Nubia: I–II," *Or.* 46 (1977), pp. 34–50 (with a comprehensive bibliography), esp. pp. 35f., 41f.; Török, *ZÄS* 111, p. 53; see also J. Desanges, *Chr. d'Eg.* 44 (1969), pp. 143f.
109. See H. G. Lyons and L. Borchardt, "Eine trilingue Inschrift von Philae," *SPAW* 17 (1896), pp. 469–81; A. Erman, *SPAW* 17 (1896), pp. 474–78.
110. H. Schäfer's translation, *ZÄS* 34 (1896), p. 91, "Ihn preist 'Ist-rnn(w)" is preferable to that of Erman "er verehrte

die Isis (?) von Rnw," *SPAW* 17, p. 476. According to Schäfer, 'Ist-rnn would have to be sought somewhere in Lower Nubia.

111. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 34, n. 113.

112. See U. Wilcken, "Zur trilinguen Inschrift von Philae," *ZÄS* 35 (1897), pp. 70–87.

Of the mounted figure of the Roman leader in the upper central part of the stela, originally representing him striking a prostrate enemy, little can be seen today. The traditional Egyptian image of the "King smiting the enemy" has here been changed to a hellenized type of representation of a "victorious rider," foreign to Egyptian iconography. This representation was perhaps modeled on that of the Raphia stela, where it appears for the first time. See A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (Cairo, 1905), pl. 74, p. 218; W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1904), pl. II; H. Gauthier and H. Sottas, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV* (Cairo, 1925), pls. I–II. The most detailed discussion is in Thissen, *Studien zum Raphiadekret*, with complete bibliography and plates. Enclosed on either side by three vertical columns of names of the Egyptian deities, it ill fits the traditional Egyptian concept of the relationship of the representation of figures and the accompanying text. Was this radical change due to the inopportune demand of Gallus to have his own image instead of that of Augustus represented at the top of the stela, as Wilcken thought (*ZÄS* 35, pp. 79f.)? Was this arrogance the cause of his disgrace, the contempt with which the stela was treated by the Romans, and his tragic end? Assuming that Gallus was ignorant of what the hieroglyphic text said, he certainly must have approved of the Latin and Greek versions of his campaign, and it is in these that a grave historical distortion is contained in the statement that, before his time, no army had ever penetrated south of the First Cataract. As an educated Roman, he should have known better. If this is so, the Egyptian priests showed more foresight and a better sense of history than Gallus did. Conscious of their millenary tradition, they could not, in their version of the campaign, but attribute the victory to Augustus, the new king of Egypt; perhaps bending to the order of the general, they had his image engraved among the names of the Egyptian gods, a place reserved for royalty—a forced concession to his vainglory, which ultimately led to his downfall.

113. Erman, *SPAW* 17, p. 478.

114. Strabo, *Geography* XVII, 53–54; see, e.g., P. Shinnie, *Meroe*, pp. 45f.

115. J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), p. 180, hesitantly asked this question.

116. See Török, *Or.* 46, pp. 47ff.; Burkhardt, *Ägypter und Meroiten im Dodekaschoinos*, p. 87.

117. See M. Krause, *LdÄ* I, 827f., with further bibliography. I was not able to consult E. S. Hall, *The Pharaoh smites his Enemies* (*MÄS* 44, 1986).

118. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, esp. pp. 106–10.

119. See *ibid.*, p. 109; S.-E. Hoernes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet*, p. 237, nos. 88, 89; P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, pp. 24f., 52f.; Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 13, l. 5; p. 68, l. 13; p. 69, l. 8; p. 190, l. 7; H. Sternberg, *LdÄ* V, 327.

120. See chap. 8, Translation.

121. E. Hornung, *Amduat*, II, pp. 130ff., *Mittleres Register*; see also Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, p. 205.

122. Goyon, *Kêmi* 19, p. 60.



123. A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-Amon*, pl. 44, p. 109.
124. E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, II, p. 345; Allen, *The Book of the Dead*, p. 109.
125. Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-ankh-Amon*, p. 58, l. 16; p. 15, l. 2.
126. G. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, I, pp. 267f.; II, pl. 108.
127. E.g., the reading of footnotes 1 and 2 is correct: *h3d* (for *h3t*) *nht(w)*, “Who attacks the powerful ones”; so is that of footnote 5: (*nbt*) *nsrt tktk(t) sbyw*, “Mistress of Flame who assaults the rebels,” etc. Some other inaccurate renderings are: “O (weiblicher) Horus, geliebt von Re, grosse Göttin (?)” in the very first line of the hymn, which should be translated “The female Horus, beloved of the Great Horus.” Further, “die Millionen von Rindern und Geflügel schlägt” should be “who smites millions (by) cutting off (their) heads (*hw(t) hhw tntn(t) tpw*)”; the last words of the last line, misunderstood and misspelled by the lapicide, are to be translated “Lady of her appearance in the Sacred Tent, worshipped in (her) Sanctuary (*nb(t) hprw.s hr. sh, sw3š(t) m shm*).”
128. Roeder, *Der Tempel von Dakke*, I, pp. 266f.

## Chapter 6. Hymn VI

- The omission of the feminine participle ending *t* frequently occurs in the hymns at Philae; Goedicke’s objection (*Darstellung des Horus*, p. 19, n. 76) to Junker and Winter (*Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 2) is not correct; see also Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §165; what is said there applies also to earlier Ptolemaic texts.
- Snkt* is written *snk*.
- The feminine ending *t*, when it is indicated, often interchanges with *t̄*; compare here *h3it̄* with *skdt̄* in the following line.
- P nty (m) ʾIwnw*, thus with the Mammisi text: *pr(?) nty m ʾIwnw*; see Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 11. See n. 15.
- For such or a similar meaning of *tni*, *tni*, see *Wb.* V, 374, 16f. (prächtig, erhaben), and cf. *Wb.* V, 375, 14.
- It is difficult to explain the sign that in the Room X text follows the preposition *hr*; is it *hr htpw*, *hr wdnw* (cf. *Wb.* I, 392, 9), or *hr wdhw*, as the Mammisi version has it?
- For *t* (*t̄*), second-person singular feminine suffix in *k3.t̄*, which resembles a sun-disc, see Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 247, no. 308, and Montpellier Sign-list, p. 88, nos. 1900, 3611.
- R.t̄* is correctly spelled out in the Mammisi version of the hymn: *nn hrt r.t̄* (Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, pp. 136, 137, l. 20), but with a superfluous *t* in *hrt*; cf. the proper spelling in *Urk.* IV, 564, 17.
- Two parallel phrases, *3st nbt pt* at the beginning of Hymn V (see chap. 5) and *3st nbt wsrt* here at the beginning of Hymn VI, seem to exclude Goedicke’s reading *Hs3t wsrt*, “O mächtige Hesat,” in the Mammisi version of Hymn VI (Goedicke, *Darstellung des Horus*, pp. 17ff., and n. 72). The reading of Junker and Winter (*Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 1), “Herrin (?), Mächtige,” which Goedicke criticizes, is correct; the epithet is to be translated “(Isis), the Lady, the Mighty One,” or “(Isis), the Lady, Wosret,” or “Lady-Wosret.” *Wsrt* often occurs as an epithet of Hathor or Isis, sometimes in such alliterations as *wnn Wsrt wsrt(i) m Snmw̄t*, “mighty is Wosret in Biggeh” (Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 16, l. 9), or *wnn Wsrt wsrt(i) hnt Bh̄dt*, “mighty is Wosret in Behedet

(Bakhthis),” (*Edfou* VIII, 101, 14–15); for the construction see Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §156; cf. also *3ht Wsrt hwi(t) it.s*, “the efficient-one, Wosret, who protects her father” (*Dendara* III, 134, 3); cf. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 36, no. 36 for a different translation. As Derchain pointed out (p. 5, n. 15, pp. 40f.), *Wsrt* is an epithet of Hathor and other goddesses in their various functions, but especially in that of the protective uraeus. This applies well to Isis-Wosret, who is referred to as the uraeus of the sun-god at the beginning and the end of Hymn VI, as well as in Hymn V (see chap. 5, n. 11).

10. *Twn (dwn)* is construed with the preposition *n*, “to stretch, extend oneself to” in order to support; the meaning is that *Hēh* stretches himself up to support the *Ka* of Isis (see Commentary). Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 3, read this text *dwn h̄h n k3.t̄* and translated it, “es wird ein *h̄h* deinem *Ka* gereicht.” As I already mentioned (chap. 2, n. 42), there are scenes at Philae in which a *h̄h*-symbol is offered to a deity, but this occurs in different contexts and may have different meanings. In this hymn, *h̄h* indicates the god *Hēh* in his cosmic function of the *Himmelsträger*, and not a symbol of the renewal of life as, e.g., *Geburtshaus*, p. 393. For some further references to *Hēh* (or plural, *Hēhu*) as *Himmelsträger*, fashioned by Shu, see CT Spell 80. For somewhat different contexts in which *h̄h* indicates either the *Himmelsträger* himself or his symbol, or both, see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 62, ll. 6–11 (the king compared to Shu, the *Himmelsträger*, offers the *h̄h*-symbol to its lord); D. Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, pp. 95ff., 98, n. 2: offering the *h̄h* as symbol of the *Himmelsträger* to Shu. See also J. Zandee, *OLZ* 77 (1982), p. 447, and esp. H. Altenmüller, *LdÄ* II, 1083f.

More specifically, with regard to Junker and Winter’s translation, *twn (dwn)* appears in the text (*Geburtshaus*, p. 136) as *twnt*; *tsj tw(?)* (p. 137, l. 4) as *tst* or *w̄tst*; *psd* (p. 137, l. 5) as *psdt* (probably *psdt m 3ht*). Thus, *twnt*, *tst* or *w̄tst*, and *psdt* are best explained as feminine participles, *twnt* and *w̄tst* as feminine passive participles in relative clauses, *psdt* as a feminine active participle, and translated accordingly. Because of the hymnal structure of the poem, and in conformance with the older version of this hymn in Room X (the Sanctuary), *wbn.t̄*, *h̄j.t̄*, *h̄d.t̄*, and *skdj.t̄* in ll. 6–9 of *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, are also better explained as feminine participles in spite of some incorrectly placed determinatives; as can be seen from Hymn VI, transcribed and translated in this chapter, the feminine endings *t* and *t̄* are used interchangeably. I do not intend to make a comparative study here of the two versions of this hymn, the one in Room X and the other in the Mammisi; it is to be pointed out, however, that the inferior text of the Mammisi is, in a number of instances, due to the misunderstanding or careless copying of an older text of the hymn. Junker and Winter did the best they could with the Mammisi version. However, now that the older and better text of the hymn in Room X, which they surprisingly failed to consult, is known, their translation will have to be corrected accordingly. That the priestly scribe who prepared the Mammisi version indeed engaged in some editing can be seen from the last lines, which he added to his version of the hymn, lines that have also been taken from an older text at Philae.

Recently, Goedicke (*Darstellung des Horus*, pp. 17–26, 155f.) has translated and commented upon the hymn in the Mammisi. Since he did not consult the older version of the

hymn in Room X either, it would be pointless to discuss in any detail his translation and commentary of the hymn, which it is hardly possible to comprehend fully without the knowledge of the older text. In several instances he did challenge the readings and translation of Junker and Winter, but, with all due respect for the good points of his book, it seems to me that, as far as orthography, grammar, and the proper understanding of Philae theology are concerned, Goedicke's treatment of this hymn is no improvement on that of Junker and Winter.

11. Lit.: "One who rises," and "one who dispels," *wbnt dr(t)*.

12. Lit.: "One who traverses and one who shines in the primeval ocean," *hnt psdt m nnw*. Reference is to Isis as the uraeus of the sun-god, traversing the Netherworld in his night-barque and illuminating it.

13. For this and similar epithets applied to Hathor, see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 22d (*h3it*, "lumineuse").

14. Also said of Hathor, see *ibid.*, pp. 22, 36ff.

15. *P* is "seat" or "throne" of the king or of a god; see *Wb.* I, 489, 6–7. As a metonymy, it probably indicates a sanctuary, or a temple.

16. *R nhh hr k3.t dt*, is written as in *Geburtshaus*, p. 136: *iw nhh hr k3.t dt*; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 16, transliterated and translated correctly: *r nhh hr k3.t dt*, "immerdar für deinen Ka und ewiglich." Goedicke's translation, "(Man sagt:) 'Der Ewige sei über deinen Ka dauernd'" (*Darstellung des Horus*, pp. 17, 23) is part of his entirely different interpretation, an interpretation that also affected the rest of his translation of the hymn in the Mammisi but does not find support in the older version of Hymn VI.

17. For *ht hbw*, "the Palace of the Feasts," the Mammisi version reads, *ht nt hbw* (Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, l. 18: "Palast der Feste").

18. *Nfrw*, translated here as "perfect (or solemn) offerings" ("at the time of perfect offerings") seems to fit the context better than "at the time of happiness, beauty, splendor" or some similar translation. Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 34, 422, suggest that *nfr*, among other meanings, can also convey the idea of renewal; here the translation "Come to the Palace of the Feasts at the time of renewal offerings" would refer to the offerings to be presented daily to the goddess, and thus constantly renewed.

19. *Dmw*, lit.: "O Gold, or Electrum." This epithet, not infrequently attributed to various deities, indicates, in general, the matter out of which their divine, incorruptible bodies, or parts thereof, are made; it also refers to their cult-images made of precious metal, or it is used metaphorically to describe their glorious appearance, and to stress the excellence of a god or goddess over other deities. Thus, e.g., in a hymn of Berlin Pap. 3055, VI, 6, Amun is called "Electrum of the gods who created Heaven, opened the horizon, and brought the gods into existence according to his words" (see also Moret, *Rituel*, p. 69); in a hymn of a Ramesside stela in the British Museum, it is said of the goddess Mut that she has "appeared and has shone as the woman of gold, . . . of best pure silver" (Stewart, *JEA* 57, p. 92, l. 13); see also R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, p. 31; p. 32, n. f; *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 1, bottom. Gold (or electrum) is also used in reference to the kings—e.g., Hatshepsut is called "Electrum of Kings" (*Urk.* IV, 362, 8); Ramesses XI is "the perfect god, the mountain of gold, the electrum of all the kings" *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 57, pl. 184, 2). At Philae, Isis is often called "the Golden One," or "Gold"; see Junker,

*Der grosse Pylon*, p. 214, l. 11; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 79, l. 13, etc.

20. See Commentary and cf. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 40f.

21. "The distinguished one," *tni*, probably refers to Ptolemy II as a person of noble descent, an epithet that was later associated with Ptolemy Eupator, son of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II. See G. Vittmann, *GM* 46 (1981), pp. 21f., where the quoted hieroglyphic examples combine *tni* with *it.f*, *tni it.f* (see also Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, pp. 340f.), probably to be translated "distinguished with respect to his father." Cf. also *tni m ht*, "distinguished (already) in the womb" (*Wb.* V, 375, 3; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, pp. 294, 299f.), and the synonymous *dsr msu(t)*, *dsr msh'*, "distinguished or illustrious of birth, appearance" (*ibid.* IV, 358ff.; H. Brugsch, *ZÄS* 24 [1886], pp. 37, 26). Cf. also "distinguished in his birth together with that of the living Apis" (Crawford, *Studia Hellenistica* 24, p. 13), said of Ptolemy IX Soter II, but similarly so already of Ptolemy VI Philometor in the stela of the Second Pylon at Philae (Berlin Ph. 279; Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, p. 294; LD IV, 27b: *tni m ht htr Hpw 'nh hr mshnt.sn* "distinguished [already] in the womb, twin brother of the living Apis, because of their birth-place") and of Ptolemy VIII: *dsr msh' hn' Hpw 'nh* "illustrious of birth together with the living Apis" (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, IV, pp. 322ff.; cf. *Wb.* II, 147).

22. "The Two Sanctuaries" or "The Two Shrines (*Itrty*)" indicate here the two halves of Egypt; see *Wb.* I, 148, 1, "ganz Ägypten."

23. In my book *Apedemak*, p. 32, this phrase is incorrectly associated with Ptolemy II instead of Isis.

24. In *ir.n.f m mnw.f . . . kd.f* (see n. 28), I take *kd.f* to be a circumstantial, and *m* before *mnw.f* an *m* of equivalence. Since *'nh*, in *'nh Hr hwn . . .*, is part of a stereotyped formula without any syntactic connection with the following noun (see *Wb.* I, 193, 7; Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, p. 36), the entire titulary of Ptolemy II, followed by *ir.n.f*, is an example of the construction noun + *sdm.n.f* (see F. Junge, *RdE* 30 [1978], pp. 96–100; F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* [Mainz, 1978], pp. 38–40, with bibliography; D. Kurth in *Hommages à François Daumas* [Montpellier, 1986], pp. 453–62). This construction frequently occurs in the building inscriptions of the Porch of Nectanebo at Philae; e.g., *Nht-nb.f ir.n.f mnw (Pr-wr, h3yt) n mwt.f 3st*, "Nekhtnebef has made a memorial (*Pr-wr* sanctuary, forehall) for his mother Isis" (Berlin Phs. 34, 35, 27). The building inscriptions in the Porch also occur in a different form, viz. noun + participle; e.g., *Nht-nb.f ir mnw n mwt.f 3st di(t) 'nh s3 pr.s m k3t mnh(t) nt nhh dt*, "Nekhtnebef (is he) who has made a memorial for his mother Isis, giver of life, and has enlarged her House as an excellent work of eternity and everlastingness" (Berlin Ph. 27, right), or *Nht-nb.f ir 3h(w)t n mwt.f km3(t) nfrw.f s3 pr.s mnh mnw.s m k3t nhh*, "Nekhtnebef (is he) who has made benefactions for his mother who created his perfection, and has enlarged her excellent House, her memorial, as a work of eternity" (Berlin Ph. 35, center). The construction noun + participle certainly carries an emphasis (for some examples see A. Gardiner, *JEA* 39 [1953], p. 14, l. 2 d, and esp. Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 617); its occurrence and that of noun + *sdm.n.f* in the same context seems to indicate that in both building formulae the extraposed noun subject is emphasized, although in the latter case that may not be clear from the translation. The significance of the building inscriptions

of the Porch of Nectanebo for the architectural history of the Porch and the temple to which it belonged is discussed in my forthcoming study *The Building Inscriptions of the Temples of Philae*.

In the case of Ptolemy II (“Ptolemy has made his memorial for his mother Isis, . . . building for her a Sanctuary”), the writing of *m* before *mnw* (*P. ir.n.f m mnw*) indicates that the scribe reverted to the older formula of the building inscriptions, although those of the Porch of Nectanebo, without *m* before *mnw* (see examples above), were probably known to him. However, the scribes and lapicides of the temple of Ptolemy II (Temple of Isis) were not always consistent, since the formula without *m* before *mnw* also occurs in the inscriptions of some other rooms.

25. *Ihyt* indicates the Sanctuary (Room X) of the Temple of Isis. See Žabkar, *JEA* 66, p. 129, n. 17; J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 49 (1950), p. 93; *Urk.* II, 117, 118.

26. *Snt.n.f* is a correction of what seems to be an otherwise unintelligible word *s<sup>c</sup>t.n.f*; *dsr* is used here in a transitive meaning; see *Wb.* V, 613, 19–20; 614, 3 (*ad locum*). The two *sdm.n.f* forms, *snt.n.f* and *dsr.n.f*, are to be translated either as two continuatives, “he has founded it and he has made it more splendid,” or “he has founded it making it more splendid,” *dsr.n.f* in the latter translation being a circumstantial.

27. *H<sup>c</sup>.t* is an old perfective; see chap. 5, n. 14.

28. See pls. 17, 4; Berlin Phs. 1037–38: ‘*nh Hr hwn kn Nbty wr-phty Hr-nbw sh<sup>c</sup> it.f nsw-bity nb t<sup>3</sup>wy Wsr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-<sup>3</sup>Imn s<sup>3</sup> R<sup>c</sup> nb h<sup>c</sup>w Ptlwmys ir.n.f m mnw.f n mwt.f <sup>3</sup>st di(t) ‘nh nb(t) <sup>3</sup>Iw-rk špsyt wsrt hmw<sup>t</sup> <sup>3</sup>Itrty hsf(t) <sup>3</sup>Iwntyw h(yw) iw idbw Hr kd.f n.s <sup>3</sup>Ihyt(.s) snt.n.f dsr.n.f s(w) r <sup>3</sup>ht (nt) pt h<sup>c</sup>.t m nsw-bity hr st Hr hr nst Gb dt.*

29. *Hry-ib* *ḫr*, “which is in the midst of the river”; *ḫr* is derived from *itr(w)* > *ir(w)* > *ḫr* (cf. *Wb.* I, 146 [for *irw*]). For examples of this word with the loss of the medial consonant, see Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, p. 109, Obs. at bottom of page; de Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 16, pp. 231f.; cf. Coptic ⲉⲓⲟⲡ, ⲓⲟⲡ, ⲓⲁⲡ. For another and more precise geographical localization of the Temple of Isis at Philae, see the vertical inscription in the thickness of the doorway of Room I, in which Ptolemy II is said to have built the Temple of Isis “in the midst of the river, opposite the Abaton (*m hr-ib ḫr m-<sup>c</sup>k<sup>3</sup>w*) *n <sup>3</sup>ḫt-w<sup>c</sup>bt*; note the spelling of *m-<sup>c</sup>k<sup>3</sup>w* as *m-<sup>c</sup>k*.

30. *Snwt n(t) <sup>c</sup>-rsy*, translated “a festival of the southern region,” can be explained as a metaphor; the memorial, that is, the Sanctuary, already called “an adornment,” is also a feast or festival for the people of the southern region; see Hymn VI, Translation, “Come to the Palace of the Feasts at the time of solemn offerings.” It is not probable that *Snwt n(t) <sup>c</sup>-rsy* stands in apposition to *<sup>3</sup>Iw-rk*, *Snwt n(t) <sup>c</sup>-rsy*; in that case, *Snwt* would have to be taken as indicating “(the land of) Egypt” (*Wb.* IV, 153, 7) and the whole phrase translated “at Philae, in the southern region of Egypt” (lit.: “at Philae, Egypt, the southern region”). In such a construction, however, *n(t)* is superfluous (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 440, 4); besides, there was no need thus to specify the geographic location of the island of Philae.

31. Pls. 19, 4; Berlin Phs. 1035–36: ‘*nh Hr hwn kn Nbty wr-phty Hr-nbw sh<sup>c</sup> it.f nsw-bity nb t<sup>3</sup>wy Wsr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-<sup>3</sup>Imn s<sup>3</sup> R<sup>c</sup> nb h<sup>c</sup>w Ptlwmys <sup>3</sup>I <sup>3</sup>st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) <sup>3</sup>Iw-rk mi.t m htp m h<sup>c</sup>w<sup>t</sup> m<sup>3</sup>.t mnw nfr pn ir.n hm.i n (for m) hkr.i n pr.t hry-ib ḫr m <sup>3</sup>Iw-rk snwt n <sup>c</sup>-rsy h<sup>w</sup>.t s(w) kd m inr h<sup>d</sup> nfr rwd nk m nbw mi <sup>3</sup>ht hr itn hnm.t im.f dt.*

32. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, esp. pp. 10, 22f., 36f.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 36.

34. Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, pp. 116f.

35. E. Drioton, *Bibl. Or.* 15 (1958), pp. 187–90.

36. Farag, Wahbah, and Farid, *OA* 16, pp. 315–24.

37. E.g., on a block of Amasis, which must have been part of one of the longest and perhaps principal offering texts of his temple, the offering formula *Hwt-Hr mn n.(t)* . . . , “Hathor, take to thyself . . . ,” is repeated five times in the five preserved vertical lines, each time preceded by the phrase *dd mdw* at the top of the vertical line, which here serves the same purpose as on many Middle Kingdom coffins, that is, as a quotation mark (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 306, 1., end). In a long offering text on the east wall of Room V of the Temple of Isis, this same formula, repeated nineteen times at the top of nineteen vertical columns of text, is associated with Isis: *ḫst . . . mn n.t* . . . , “Isis . . . take to thyself . . . .” Together with other references to Hathor on the blocks of Amasis (see Farid, *MDAIK* 36, p. 102), this offering text would seem to indicate that Hathor was the main female deity of the temple of this king, just as Isis was of the temple of Philadelphus.

38. See Daumas, *ZÄS* 95, pp. 1–17.

39. H. Junker, *ZÄS* 48 (1911), pp. 101–6; W. Barta, *ZÄS* 95 (1969), pp. 73–80; E. Winter, *ZÄS* 96 (1970), pp. 151f. See also Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 81; J.-C. Goyon, *JSSEA* 13 (1983), p. 3 (“la fête du sixième jour lunaire,” *sis.nt*); R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, p. 21, p. 73, n. 75; Gutbub, *Textes Fondamentaux*, I, pp. 389f.

40. Junker, *ZÄS* 48, pp. 101ff., 105; Barta, *ZÄS* 95, p. 77; see also Derchain in *La lune* (SO V, 1962), pp. 25, 30.

41. See Allen, *Book of the Dead*, pp. 110f., Spell 136a; Barta, *ZÄS* 95, p. 74, no. 8. On the senut-feast in relation to the foundation ceremonies, see S. Cauville and D. Devauchelle, *RdE* 35 (1984), pp. 32ff.; D. Devauchelle, *RdE* 36 (1985), pp. 172f.

42. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésotris Ier à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), p. 235; J. Bergman, *LdÄ* III, 195; L. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, p. 1.

43. H. Ricke, *ZÄS* 71 (1935), p. 115; Goedicke, *Darstellung des Horus*, p. 21, n. 87.

44. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, col. 18, l. 21, p. 13. On *Nb(t) Htpt*, “Lady of Hotpe,” see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 57, l. 16; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 59, n. 39; J. Vandier, *RdE* 16 (1964), pp. 55ff.; *ibid.*, 17 (1965), pp. 89ff.; *ibid.*, 18 (1968), pp. 67ff.; G. Björkman, *LdÄ* II, 1171f.

45. A. W. Shorter, *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum*, pp. 27f.; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 5, Spell 1; Barta, *ZÄS* 95, p. 74, no. 5.

46. Farag, Wahbah, and Farid, *OA* 17, pl. XIIa.

47. Possibly *ḫarakhti*, “Horus-of-the-horizon,” sometimes referred to as “Horus of the East (*Hr ḫbtt*); see D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, p. 15; and Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 144. For two contrasting geographic districts, “Horus of the East” and “Horus of the West,” see AEO, II, pp. 12\*, 17\*; I, p. 60, n. 1.

48. See Pap. Harris I, 29, 2; W. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, p. 33; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, p. 147, § 271; see also Hassan S. K. Bakry, *MDAIK* 22 (1967), pp. 53–59.

49. CT IV, 95 g, Spell 314.

50. Shorter, *Catalogue of Egyptian Religious Papyri*, pp. 27f.; Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 5, Spell 1.

51. *ḫbt* is not “grundsätzlich als ein blutiges Opfer zu

verstehen," as Goedicke put it (*Darstellung des Horus*, p. 21), but, as Alliot correctly described it, an "offrande alimentaire complète" (*Le culte d'Horus*, Index, p. 858, and p. 35); the earliest, largest, and most detailed representation at Philae can be seen in the Court of the Temple of Isis with the legend *sm<sup>3</sup>c<sup>3</sup>bt n mwt.f 3st* (Berlin Ph. 1133); see also Berlin Ph. 1314, Halle: *sm<sup>3</sup>c<sup>3</sup>bt n mwt.f Wsrt*; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 31, l. 1, and cf. p. 187, l. 1, p. 203, l. 1, etc. For an older example see, e.g., Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, I, pp. 172f.; II, pl. 7, no. 273; Naville, *Deir El Bahari*, II, pls. 36f. Goedicke's statement "in der Nennung des 'Horus des Ostens' einen Hinweis auf Antiochus IV zu sehen," seems to me very far-fetched.

52. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 45, l. 4 from top of page: *3(t) b<sup>c</sup>(w) m Snmwt*. See chap. 7, Commentary; Berlin Ph. 1082.

53. Cf. E. Winter, LdÄ I, 792, who called attention to the fact that Khnum was referred to as "the lord of Biggeh" from the early Twelfth Dynasty (*Urk.* VII, 6, 11, Sarenput).

54. See Berlin Ph. 35, extreme left column; Ph. 32, central column; and Ph. 29, central column.

55. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Bîgeh*, pp. 4, 8, 14.

56. Junker, *Götterdekret*, pp. 3, 4, 6f.: *Pr-Shmt, Pr-Wsir, Pr-3st*.

57. K. Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, §§200, 128, etc., see Register, p. 128 (Himmelsträger).

58. Junker, *Onurislegende*, p. 4.

59. Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, p. 42, p. 61, n. 107; pp. 77, 83, 103, etc.

60. Zandee, OLZ 77, p. 447.

61. Gutbub, "Die vier Winde im Tempel von Kom Ombo (Oberägypten)," in O. Keel, ed., *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst*, pp. 344, 353, and passim.

62. Altenmüller, LdÄ II, 1082–84.

63. J. F. Borghouts, LdÄ II, 1084–86.

64. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*.

65. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 25, ll. 3–4.

66. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen*, pp. 29f., Text Nr. 9.

67. For other references to the deity as "Ba in heaven" in connection with the Heh-theme, see *ibid.* p. 25, Text Nr. 8; p. 59, Text Nr. 24; and esp. p. 43, Text Nr. 17, in which both terms, Ba and Ka, occur. I translate the words of the king (Ptolemy VIII) in that text: "I have come before you, O Ba in Heaven, who raised up the Heaven as a forecourt for his Ba; it is for your Ka (which is) in the Akhet (i.e., the temple) that I have supported the firmament, elevating the sky, which carries your sun-disc." For another reference to Ptah as "Ba, Lord of Heaven (*b<sup>3</sup> nb hy*)," see C. M. Zivie in J. Vercoutter, ed., *Hommages à Serge Sauneron* (IFAO, Bibl. d'Etude, LXXXI, 1979), p. 489, n. 4.

68. Some further examples of the Heh-theme from the later Ptolemaic as well as Roman Period in which the term Ka occurs have been discussed by Kurth, e.g., *Den Himmel stützen*, Text Nr. 1, p. 5; Text Nr. 19, p. 48; the term Ka in these examples indicates the cult-image of a deity in the temple.

69. A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, "The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple According to the Use of Edfu," *JEA* 32(1946), pp. 75–91.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 76, Text I, no. 11.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 86, n. f.

77. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 27, ll. 13, 14; p. 32, l. 14.

78. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, Text I, no. 20.

79. See P. Barguet, *RdE* 9 (1952), pp. 5, 7.

80. See *ibid.*, pp. 6, 17.

81. See L.-A. Christophe, *ASAE* 53 (1956), pp. 63–68. The phrase *nfr.wi*, etc., occurs also on other monuments; see, e.g., de Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 16, p. 231 (on the dorsal pillar of a statue).

82. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, no. 6. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 64, tabl. V; Berlin Ph. 1026: presenting oil to his father (Osiris). As Blackman and Fairman observed (p. 80, no. 16), the caption "presenting oil" probably covered not only the anointings with various unguents, but also applications of the green and black eye pigments; however, "offering the green and black pigments to his mother (Isis)" is represented on the east wall of the Sanctuary at Philae as a separate scene. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 60, tabl. VI; Berlin Ph. 1019.

83. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, no. 7. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 63, tabl. I; Berlin Ph. 1027. The Edfu text speaks of "holy raiment (*db<sup>3</sup> ntry*)"; in the scene at Philae the king offers to Isis and Nut "pure raiment (*mnht w<sup>3</sup>bt*)." As Blackman and Fairman correctly observed, "holy raiment" includes all the colored cloths or wrappings offered to a deity or deities; this idea is expressed in the Philae text by the fourfold repetition of the *mnht* sign (Gardiner's Sign-list S 27).

84. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, no. 8. See Žabkar, *JEA* 66, p. 130, pl. XV, right.

85. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, nos. 2 and 9. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 60, tabl. IX (not tabl. VII), and Berlin Ph. 1022: purification with the four *nmst*-ewers; Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 65, tabl. IX (incorrectly copied), and Berlin Ph. 1028: purification with the four *dšrt*-ewers (cf. *Wb.* IV, 421, 9). For the grammatical construction see Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §§ 100, 101; see also n. 98.

86. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, no. 13. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 59, tabl. II, and Berlin Ph. 1020: adoring the god (i.e., Amun), four times.

87. Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 76, no. 15. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 60, tabl. V, and Berlin Ph. 1020; Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 64, tabl. III, and Berlin Ph. 1025.

88. See Blackman and Fairman, "Consecration," p. 81, no. 32, with references.

89. See *ibid.*, p. 89.

90. See Žabkar, *JEA* 66, pp. 129, 134.

91. See Barguet, *RdE* 9, pp. 6, 17; Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 122–29.

92. E.g., the unusual prominence given to Arsinoë in the temple and the purifications with the lotus and papyrus.

93. See Barguet, *RdE* 9, pp. 6, 17 ("Salut à toi, temple d'Amon . . .").

94. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, pp. 122–29.

95. See Žabkar, *JEA* 66, pp. 129f., 134f.; see also Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 279; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 243.

96. *Esna* II, no. 147; see Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, p. 37, n. a.

97. See Berlin Ph. 1022. PM VI, 243, (356)–(357) fol-

lowed the wrong ordering of the scenes of the third register as found in Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, pl. XXIII. LD IV, Bl. 6b shows this scene apparently before the face of the *Isis lactans* was badly mutilated.

98. See Berlin Ph. 1028; PM VI, 243, (354)–(355). For purification with *nmst*- and *dšrt*-vessels, see E. Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual*, II, pp. 43f.; Arnold, LdÄ V, 214f.; see also n. 85.

99. *Hmt-nsu sšt-nsu snt-nsu sšt-ʾImn nb(t) tšwy ʾrsn nšrt mry(t) sn.s ʾryt-pʿt wrt hšwt nb(t) ʾšmt bnr(t) mrrwt hnw t šmʿw mhʷ hššt ʾšt n Kmt nb(t) tšwy ʾrsn ʿnh.ti dt.* For the text see *Urk.* II, 106. For the phrase *nšrt mry(t) sn.s*, “the goddess who loves her brother” (thus translated also in *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 5), see P. W. Pestman, *Chronologie égyptienne d’après les textes démotiques* (Leiden, 1967), pp. 16, 161: *tš mr sn*, “celle qui aime (son) frère,” while Ptolemy II is *pš mr sn(t)*, “celui qui aime (sa) soeur”; Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II together are *nš nšrw snw*, “les dieux frères.” For some of these epithets see also Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis*, I, p. 237. For some epithets of Arsinoë similar to those at Philae, used, however, in a different context, see the Mendes stela (*Urk.* II, 29, 32, 39f.) and the Pithom stela (*Urk.* II, 82f., 94); cf. L. Koenen, *Studia Hellenistica* 27 (1983), p. 159; H. de Meulenaere in *Mendes II* (Warminster, England, 1976), pp. 174f.

100. Several scholars who have discussed the title *sšt ʾImn*, “Daughter of Amun” (e.g., S. Sauneron, BIFAO 60 [1960], pp. 103f.; J. Quaegebeur, BIFAO 69 [1971], pp. 207f., J. Quaegebeur, JNES 30 [1971], p. 247; Crawford, *Studia Hellenistica* 24, pp. 8f.; J. Quaegebeur, *Studia Hellenistica* 24, p. 80; Gitton and Leclant, LdÄ II, 799, 813) have associated it in this context with the office of the Divine Spouse of Amun. For different interpretations of this title see E. Winter in Maehler and Stroeka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, p. 149, n. 4, who thinks that Arsinoë is so associated with Amun because of her crown adorned with ram-horns, an old tradition resumed in the time of Alexander the Great, and W. Cheshire, ZPE 48 (1982), esp. pp. 107f., who sees in this title of Arsinoë II an indication of her deification. It is quite possible that the scribe who composed the titulary of Arsinoë intended to express both ideas: assimilated to Isis, Arsinoë is a Divine Spouse of Amun, and as such she is also deified and represented with some of the insignia of this god. See also J. Quaegebeur in Maehler and Stroeka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, p. 258; Quaegebeur, GM 87 (1985), pp. 73–77.

101. See Berlin Ph. 1104. Correct PM VI, 240, (316)–(317), where reference is made to “goddess,” instead of “Arsinoë.”

102. See Berlin Phs. 1073 (Room VII), 689; Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, II, pl. II, tabl. VI (Room I).

103. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 51, tabl. VI; Berlin Ph. 1086: *ʾšw n.t m msktt hnw n.t m mʿndt . . . wnn.t m-hnw wš.f hr hšf ʿpp m šhw tp-r.t*; see chap. 8, Translation.

104. The idea of the nocturnal journey of Isis with Re through the realm of Osiris is in accord with her epithet “Lady of the Netherworld,” which is mentioned in Hymn IV, though in a somewhat different context (*nts nb(t) pt tš Dwšt*, see chap. 4, Translation and Commentary). A similar epithet “Lady (or: Mistress) of the Netherworld (*nb(t) ikr*),” is also attributed to Isis in the inscriptions of the pedestal of the sacred barque from Wad ben Naga; see F. L. Griffith, *Meroitic Inscriptions*, I (London, 1911), p. 67.

105. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 214, ll. 11–13.

106. *Hierat. Pap. aus den königl. Mus. zu Berlin*, II, l. 4, translated by Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, no. 127A,

p. 274, and Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, no. 81, p. 264. To the references in *Wb.* II, 344, 13–17, add those discussed by A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941), pp. 400f., 404, and those quoted by Kurth, *Himmel stützen*, pp. 43, 128.

107. See Farag, Wahbah, and Farid, OA 16, pp. 317f., and pl. XIVa.

108. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, pp. 151ff. (with bibliography on this subject); F. Daumas, BIFAO 50 (1952), pp. 153–55; Daumas, “La valeur de l’or dans la pensée égyptienne,” pp. 1–17; see also D. Arnold, LdÄ II, 755 (Goldverkleidung). For the sanctuary of the temple of Edfu see Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, p. 68.

109. Alliot, *ibid.*, p. 60, n. 2, corrected G. Steindorff’s statement that the sanctuary at Edfu was “lighted by three small rectangular apertures in the ceiling” (Baedeker, 1928, p. 362; 8th rev. ed. 1929, p. 372); according to Alliot, “ces ouvertures sont modernes.” Stierlin, in Sauneron and Stierlin, *Derniers temples d’Égypte, Edfou et Philae*, p. 129, wrote that “dans les espaces les plus reculés, la clarté ne pénètre plus que par ces petites ouvertures, profondes et de section carrée, que nous avons qualifiées de ‘canons à lumière’ en paraphrasant Le Corbusier” (cf. also pp. 123f.); did Stierlin include among “les espaces les plus reculés” also the sanctuary of Edfu? As for Philae, the two apertures in the top center of the east and west walls of the Sanctuary, which interrupt the series of *hkrw*-motifs, are of ancient date, as could be seen clearly during the dismantling of the temple. Shafts of light, entering the Sanctuary through these apertures at sunrise and sunset, lightened for some moments the penumbra in which the Sanctuary was enveloped throughout the rest of the day.

110. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 57, and pl. XXIIa (both incorrect); see Berlin Phs. 1036–37.

111. This orientation, however, is not observed on the north wall of the Sanctuary, where Isis is referred to interchangeably as “Lady of Biggeh (and Abaton)” and as “Lady of Philae” in the east as well as the west tableaux.

112. Notice the contrast between the statement of the action represented as being actually performed by the goddess and expressed by a *šdm.f* form (“I give life to [your] nostrils”) and the statement about the benefits that have already been conferred upon the king and are now confirmed and expressed by a *šdm.n.f* form (“I have given you all life. . .”); see Žabkar, ZAS 108, pp. 170f. In the text quoted there, just as in this instance, the two forms *dī.i* and *dī.n.i* occur in the same context, and it is not likely that they are an example of their interchangeable usage, as in the Late Ptolemaic Period. It is not likely either that *šdm.f* (*dī.i*) is a diachronic successor of an earlier *šdm.n.f*, discussed by P. Vernus in his study of “Ritual *šdm.n.f*” (in Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt*, p. 310), since the Egyptian scribe showed that he was able to distinguish between the two forms, using the *šdm.f* to describe an action actually being performed by the deity as represented in the relief, and the *šdm.n.f* to refer to the benefits already conferred upon the king from the very beginning of his reign or even from his conception, benefits destined to endure in their effect forever, although—and this I wish to add to my discussion in ZAS 108, p. 170—the Egyptian scribe was by no means always consistent in his choice of the two forms. Compare, e.g., the examples I quoted from the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and from the Temple of Khonsu, in which each of the deities recording the jubilees of the king says, “I inscribe for you (*sš.i n.k*) the jubilees of Re and the years of Atum,” with a similar scene and phrase in

H. H. Nelson and W. J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, I, pt. 1 (OIP 106, 1981), pl. 79: “I have inscribed for you (*sš.n.i n.k*) millions of jubilees. . . . I have recorded your titulary (*wdn.n.i nhbt.k*) as Horus-strong-bull-beloved-of-Maat.” As I also mentioned in ZÄS 108, p. 171, the two forms *di.i* and *di.n.i* express two different aspects of the relation of the written word and the depicted action. But the plausibility of translating the *sdm.n.f* as present perfect in this as well as literally hundreds of other examples, including those quoted by Vernus in which he speaks of the “performative” *sdm.n.f* forms, can be seen from such texts as *Urk.* IV, 343, 16–344, 6: *di.n.(i) n.t tšw nbw hšswt nbwt šw ib.t im.sn sr.n.(i) n.t st wš mš st hnty r nn šš m rnpwt hmt.n.(i) ir.t n.(i) šhw t di.n.(i) n.t Pwnt mi kd.s r mn m tšw ntrw*, “I have given you all the flat lands and all the foreign lands wherein your heart rejoices; I have foretold it to you long ago, foreseeing it ages ago until now, a multitude of years, having expected that you would make benefactions for me; I have given you the entire Punt as far as the lands of the gods.” The meaning of this text seems to be that Amun had foreseen from all eternity the benefactions that Hatshepsut would make for him, and in return he had decreed that he would give her all the benefits mentioned in this as well as many other texts; see also I. Shirun-Grumach’s remark in Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt*, pp. 381f.

113. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, pp. 1f., and pl. 1 (both incorrect); see Berlin Phs. 1116–17.

114. *Ntr nfr šms ntyw m hbyt tp-trw hnm nh m htp.s*; this text is not seen on Berlin Ph. 1117; part of it is seen on Berlin Ph. 1118 (extreme right).

115. *Nfr.wy ii.k hr idt ntr(yt) iw in.n.k ntyw nw Pwnt hnm.k Tš-ntr*.

116. *šli.ti m htp sš(.i) mry shtp.k ib.i m mrwt.f di.n.(i) n.k rd nb hr sš-tš dt*.

117. The bird is a benu-bird, not an ibis, as stated in PM VI, 238, (288)–(289); because of its typically curved neck, it is not a ba-bird, an akh-bird, or *bikt*, “female falcon,” discussed by Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 226, nos. 181, 182, and n. XLII; the shape of the bird is the same as that of the benu-bird in the word *bšh* in the vertical inscription on the extreme right of the relief.

118. *Nb tš.wy Wsr-kš-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-šImn š n Kmt nb hšw sš R<sup>c</sup> hr nst.f ntr nfr šš hbw-sd hrp hhw hr i<sup>c</sup>.f; hr i<sup>c</sup>.f or hr <sup>c</sup>.f* (lit.: in the company of him) is not recorded in the dictionaries, only *m i<sup>c</sup>.f*; see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 178, 4; *Wb.* I, 40 and 174.

119. *Nb hšw Ptlwmys mn mi bik tp Srh ntr nfr bik tkk sš n.sn*.

120. See BD 83: *irt hprw m bnw*, “assuming the form of a phoenix”; cf. BD 84: *irt hprw m šnty*, “assuming the form of a heron.” See L. V. Žabkar in Geus and Thill, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, pp. 376f.

121. Calverley et al., *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, II, pl. 14; R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 63; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 163 restored the damaged text “(I am yon great phoenix who is in Heliopolis), I have pacified him who is in the Lake of the Netherworld.” In an interesting scene at Medinet Habu (MH VII, pl. 553), Ramesses III offers bouquets to a human-bodied, falcon-headed deity referred to in the legend as “benu, the great god.” But whether the idea underlying this representation had any further development—that is, whether the living king was identified with the falcon-and-the-phoenix—is not known.

122. See F. L. Griffith in W. M. F. Petrie, ed., *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (London, 1890), p. 35, pl. 24, 3 (time of Ramesses II); L. Kákosy, *LdÄ* IV, 1036.

123. Kákosy, *LdÄ* IV, 1034.

124. CT I, 267c; Kákosy, *LdÄ* IV, 1033.

125. *Ntr nfr bšh irt-Hr m šhw.s iw.f m hšš nfr whm-mswt nb hšw Ptlwmys dt*. *irt-Hr* here has a double meaning: it comprises collectively all the offerings that the king provides for the temples of the land, and it also indicates the efficiency (*šhw*) of such offerings: the king provides the temples of the land with truly efficient or effective offerings. In a somewhat similar text at Edfu, the officiant says, “I am Shu, I inundate his offering table, I present his offerings,” see Fairman, *MDAIK* 16, p. 91; Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, p. 143 (*šnk šw bšh.i wdhw.f šb.i htpw.f*).

126. *Urk.* IV, 591, 16–17. See Kákosy, *LdÄ* IV, 1034.

127. Berlin Ph. 1084; cf. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, pl. XVI (incorrectly drawn), and PM VI, 242, (333) (a)–(b) (incorrectly described).

128. Berlin Ph. 1313; PM VI, 235, (285).

129. On the problem of orientation see Gutbub in Geus and Thill, eds., *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter*, pp. 135f.

130. See Farag, Wahbah, and Farid, *OA* 16, pl. XXV, p. 319, no. 11; p. 315; Farid, *MDAIK* 36, p. 91.

131. Habachi, *Tell Basta*, p. 14, fig. 2; cf. also Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, pp. 167, 188.

132. See Farid, *MDAIK* 36, p. 98, pl. 29b.

133. Thus described in Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. Baines, pp. 77–79; see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*; on the “Nile-gods” see also D. Kurth, *LdÄ* IV, 485–89.

134. See pl. 20: *ii.n nb tš.wy Wsr-kš-R<sup>c</sup>-mry-šImn hr.t šst sw<sup>c</sup>.f pr.t m sšn mnh*.

135. *šli.n nb hšw Ptlwmys hr.t šst sw<sup>c</sup>.f pr.t m sšn mnh*.

136. See here pls. 3, 20; Berlin Phs. 1024, 1028, 1029, etc.

137. On the “lily of the South,” in modern literature often referred to as “water lily,” see E. Brunner-Traut, *LdÄ* III, 1092, who correctly observes that this plant is not to be identified with the lotus, and R. Germer, *ibid.*, 1056, and R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz am Rhein, 1985), p. 231, according to whom this plant has not been identified as yet, but it is not a lily at all. A more detailed discussion is found in Vivi Täckholm and Mohammed Drar, *Flora of Egypt*, IV, pp. 14, 148–56, who described the main stylistic changes in the representation of this plant throughout Egyptian history and proposed that the plant and its flower may well be *Kaempferia aethiopica* “which may have been growing in south Egypt in olden days” (p. 14). According to these authors “It is a short-stemmed plant with flowers developing before the leaves. Its flowers, which are large and of striking beauty, are blue or violet in the outer parts whereas the center is yellow or orange. The plant is a land plant, confined to the south; it is spread all over Tropical Africa with its northern limit in Central Sudan” (p. 150). This identification seems attractive. One would certainly expect the ancient Egyptians to have chosen a true plant to be, in addition to the *swt*-plant, the heraldic emblem of Upper Egypt, just as they chose the papyrus as the emblem of Lower Egypt. The changes that the representation of the plant underwent, especially in the New Kingdom and the later periods, are a matter of style. Thus, if the “lily of the South” on the painted wooden stela at the Louvre (Lhote, *Les chefs-d’oeuvre de la peinture égyptienne*, pl. 161), contrary to the above description, is represented as a long-stemmed plant functioning as a

column, this may well have been an artistic adaptation meant to parallel the papyrus plant in the opposite corner of the stela, also represented as a floral column. Notice, however, that even here, the three stems of the “lily of the South” are tied with transverse bands in the middle of the stems, while the stems of the papyrus in the opposite corner apparently did not need such a support. In all other aspects, the representation of the “lily of the South” on the Louvre stela shows the characteristic features of *Kaempferia aethiopica*, for the depiction of which in Egyptian paintings Vivi Täckholm has long been searching (see her statement, LdÄ II, 268). In spite of the changes in representation, the flower of this plant remained at all times at least its essential features.

138. See E. Brunner-Traut, LdÄ I, 838f.; Bonnet, RÄRG, p. 120f.; Sauneron and Yoyotte in *La naissance du monde*, pp. 58ff.; R. Drenkhahn, LdÄ IV, 667; R. Germer, GM 60 (1982), p. 38; *Esna* V, pp. 140, 146.

139. See F. Daumas, *Karnak* VI (Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak, Cairo, 1980), p. 262. There is no procession in Room VIII, and the procession in Room IX shows some features specific to that room.

140. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 43, Soubassement (S'), ll. 19–28; correct the text according to Berlin Ph. 1066.

141. See Gardiner's Sign-list M 15.

142. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 45, Soubassement (S), l. 4–19; correct the text according to Berlin Ph. 1082.

143. It is hardly possible that, as stated by W. J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui, and L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, pp. 633f., *sšn* was the Egyptian word for the white lotus, *nymphaea lotus* (followed in this by G. Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux*, p. 618, § 1003), and that *srpt* indicated the blue lotus, *nymphaea caerulea*. The instances, especially that in Room X, in which the blue lotus is represented and described in its cultic function (see Sauneron and Yoyotte in *La naissance du monde*, p. 58f., and Yoyotte in G. Posener et al., *Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization* [New York, 1959], pp. 152f.), suggest that *sšn* denotes the blue lotus, while *srpt* or *sꜣpt* appears to indicate the white lotus leaf, as in the legend of Room VII (see n. 140, and cf. *Wb.* IV, 18, 5, and 195, 2: Lotusblatt), and possibly also the white lotus bud (see the spellings in *Wb.* IV, 195). It is true that Egyptian scribes often may have been inconsistent in the usage of the determinatives pertaining to various species of lotus, as indicated by the entries of the *Wörterbuch*, and that, as also stated by Charpentier, (*Recueil de matériaux*, pp. 618, 408), some words originally indicating distinct species of lotus were used interchangeably or applied to all species in Ptolemaic times. However, the hieroglyphic writings by Darby et al. of *sšn*, *srpt*, *nḥb*, *nḥb*, *nšb*, all of these with the same determinative, only compounded the confusion of which they rightfully complain. A monograph on these plants, their flowers, buds, and their symbolism is highly desirable. Any such study should examine and evaluate first of all the representations of these plants by Egyptian painters and sculptors, and their occurrences in the Egyptian texts arranged in chronological order, rather than relying too much on classical writers, who often popularly described what they saw and heard, sometimes contradicting each other. In the meantime, M. L. Ryhiner, *L'offrande du Lotus* (Brussels, 1986) may be consulted.

144. Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 51, Soubassement (S), 4–7; correct the text according to Berlin Ph. 1086. The lapicide mistakenly engraved *in.n nsw-bity* instead of *ii.n nsw-bity*.

145. See Blackman and Fairman, *JEA* 32, p. 76, Text I,

no. 18: *sw<sup>b</sup> shm sntr hwt-ntr*, “Purifying the Sanctuary and censuring the temple,” and p. 77, no. 12: *sntr swt.s sw<sup>b</sup> shw.s*, “Censuring its cult-chambers and purifying its chapels,” *Edfou* IV, p. 331, l. 3 from top, and l. 4 from bottom.

## Chapter 7. Hymn VII

1. Although here, as in other rooms of the temple of Isis at Philae (e.g., Berlin Ph. 1025, Sanctuary, west wall; Berlin Ph. 1087, Room VII, east wall; Berlin Ph. 1098 and 1099, Room V, north wall), the king is shown playing two identical sistra before Isis, it is probable that the word for the sistra is to be read as *sššw*, and not *sšš.wy*; this appears clearly from the first line of the hymn: *ir(.i) sššw m hr.t nfr*, where the word is spelled with one sistrum and three plural strokes.

2. *Hwt-kꜣ-Pth* is written *Hwt-kꜣ-h*.

3. *N(t)t'limw* for *n(t)t'Ḥmw*; see Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 13: *iidt* for *ḥdt*.

4. For *trrk*, probably derived from *tnrk*, see *Wb.* V, 384, 9: *tnrk*, *tlk*; thus *tnrk* > *trrk* > *tlk* with the change of *k* to *ḳ*. See Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, §§ 35–38; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43, pp. 77f.; Fairman, *ASAE* 43, p. 236, no. 242; p. 245, no. 299. On this word, spelled *trk*, *tnrk*, see also AEO, II, p. 233\*, no. 557 (an intoxicating drink).

5. For this writing of *hnt*, cf. *Wb.* III, 105.

6. Lit.: to pacify you with it, *im.f*, that is, with the playing itself. On pacification or propitiation of the goddess see also chap. 8, n. 19.

7. For such epithets attributed to Hathor at Philae see Daumas, *ZÄS* 95, p. 11.

8. Kamutef, “Bull-of-his-mother,” symbolically expressing the eternal renewal of the cosmic order through the identity of the procreator father with his son (see e.g., J. Vandier, *La religion égyptienne*, pp. 142ff.; Bonnet, RÄRG, pp. 364f.; H. Jacobsohn, LdÄ III, 308f.; J. Assmann, LdÄ IV, 264f.) is in this hymn son of Isis, whose preeminence as the mother of the creator-god is thus clearly stressed. Associated with the Osirian theology, Kamutef, as Min, was identified with Horus, and thus became son of Isis and Osiris; he is addressed as such in hymns from the Middle Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period; these hymns are conveniently assembled in Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 370–83; see also Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 441f.

9. See chap. 2, Translation.

10. On the “Hall of the Prince,” or “Mansion of the Prince,” see L. Kákosy, LdÄ II, 1111 (“eine mythische Gerichtshalle der Götter”); W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1958), pp. 112–15; W. Helck, LdÄ I, 672; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 26.

11. On the “Mansion of the benben stone,” see *Pyr.* § 1652; Kákosy, LdÄ II, 1111f.; J. Baines, *Or.* 39 (1970), pp. 389–404; Helck, *ZÄS* 82, pp. 111f., 115.

12. Cf. *Wb.* II, 271, 10 (“freischreitend”).

13. “The barque of millions” is the name of the barque of the sun-god. See *Wb.* I, 271, 11, and esp. *Pap. Harris I*, pl. 57, 3: “Hail to you, gods and goddesses, lords of heaven, earth, and primaeval waters, great of stride (*ꜣyw rd.wy*) in the barque of millions, beside their father Re”. See Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, p. 65. On Isis and the barque of the sun-god, see also Commentary, below, and Hymns V, VI, and VIII.

14. On *iri shrw*, see Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 36f.; p. 37, n. 14, where he refers to G. Posener's observations in *Annuaire du Collège de France* 68 (1969), 401–2;

see also Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 242 (*shr*), and cf. Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, col. 18, l. 11: "Isis who fills the land with her governance (*ʒst mh tʒ m shrw.s*)." On *ir shrw*, see also Meeks, *Génies*, p. 79, n. 188; Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 103, where *ir(t) shr* is translated "che tiene il timone," a graphic and paraphrastic translation, which, however, renders the correct meaning.

15. An alternative name of the city of Memphis; see C. M. Zivie, *LdÄ IV*, 25f.; C. Cannuyer, *ZÄS 112* (1985), p. 117; J. Vergote, *Grammaire copte*, Ib (Louvain, 1973), p. 61.

16. Ta-ankh, lit.: "Land of Life," near Asyût (*Sʒwtj*); see Gardiner in *AEO*, II, pp. 73\*ff., who mentions shrines of Osiris and Anubis in that locality; the reference to Isis as "Mistress of Ta-ankh" indicates that there probably was a place of worship of Isis there as well. For other sites with the same name, Ta-ankh, see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, VI, pp. 6f., and R. El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, II, p. 413, n. 3. The three versions of the hymn of "Victorious Thebes" do not mention Ta-ankh, but Medjed, a locality also near Asyût ("Hathor, Lady of Medjed"); see *AEO*, II, p. 68\* (Daronkah), and *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 55, n. *bb*.

17. The epithet "Lady of Ishru, or Ashru" was attributed to various goddesses at various places; the best known of these was Mut, "Lady of Ishru," Ishru in this case referring to the sacred lake south of the great temple of Karnak, and the temple of Mut situated there; see R. Fazzini, *LdÄ IV*, 249; *Wb. I*, 135, 6; E. Otto, *LdÄ I*, 46of.; S. Sauneron, *Villes et légendes d'Égypte*, pp. 77ff. Here, as elsewhere in Hymn VII, it is Isis who is singled out as the principal goddess of the named localities of Thebes and Ishru. For an association of Isis with Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, see a later hymn to her in De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet*, III, pp. 76f.

18. For Isis in relation to Biggeh see chap. 6, Translation and Commentary.

19. On Menhyt, *Mnhwt*, see P. Kaplony in *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), pp. 121f.; D. Meeks, *LdÄ IV*, 48f.

20. Isis, as the daughter of Menhyt, is also "Lady of *Wʒdt*, Lady of Pe, Mistress of Dep"; she assumes here the role of both Menhyt and Edjo, the goddess of Pe and Dep. The context seems to demand that *Wʒdt* be identified with *Pr-Wʒdt* or *Pr-Wʒdyt*, that is, Buto, "House of (the goddess) Edjo," *AEO*, II, p. 187\*ff., no. 415, and not with *Pr-Wʒdt* of the three versions of the hymn of "Victorious Thebes," that is, Kôm Ishkâw, Afroditopolis (see *AEO*, II, p. 56\*, *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 55, n. *x*), nor with *Pr-Wdy* of *AEO*, II, p. 64\*f. (see also *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 55, n. *y*). This early Ptolemaic occurrence of Buto in Hymn VII, in which Isis appears as "Lady of Buto, Lady of Pe, Mistress of Dep," confirms earlier examples that show that Buto indeed represents the combination of the two originally separate towns of Pe and Dep. Menhyt, in probably her earliest appearance as the goddess of Sais ("Menhyt, preeminent in the House of the Red Crown," CT VII, 167d), seems, in this same Coffin Text, to be associated with or assimilated to Edjo of Buto, while Isis in Hymn VII subsumes the roles of both goddesses in her person. Faulkner's translation of this Coffin Text, "the slayer, preeminent in the Mansions of the Red Crown" (*The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, p. 87, Spell 952), is less acceptable, although the name of Menhyt could possibly be derived from *mnh*, "to slay" (*Wb. II*, 84, 2; see also Meeks, *LdÄ IV*, 48),

and the name of the goddess spelled *Mnhwt* in CT VII, 167d shows a final *t* determined by a male bearded figure; however, "Edjo of Pe and Dep" immediately preceding *Mnhwt* is also determined by a male bearded figure. In CT VI, 300h there occurs a dual form of *Mnhwt*, determined by a female figure; see also Meeks, *LdÄ IV*, 49, n. 3. On Isis-Menhyt-Edjo, see Commentary, sec. 2.

21. Isis, who is at Philae consistently represented wearing her specific crown (the sun-disc between horns), is here assimilated to Nekhbet, the goddess of El-Kâb. In the heraldic arrangements that accompany reliefs, Nekhbet and Edjo are often shown wearing the White Crown adorned with feathers on the sides; Nekhbet also wears the White Crown when she and Edjo appear together as protective goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt; in this case, they are often represented as erect cobras, Nekhbet with the White Crown and Edjo with the Red Crown (see *Wb. I*, 269, 3).

22. For this almost casual mention of Philae see Commentary, sec. 1.

23. W. J. Murnane in *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 55, n. *v*, corrects Gardiner's reading of *ʒI(ʒ)mw* ("Hathor, lady of Imu") in the hymn of "Victorious Thebes" (*AEO*, II, p. 39\*; cf. also p. 170\*) to *Hmw*. It is true that, as he states, in all three versions of the hymn or litany of "Victorious Thebes" (for bibliography see *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 55, n. *c*), the text, as it stands, should be read *Hmw* (an unknown locality, according to Murnane, and to W. Helck, *MDAIK 23* (1968), p. 125 (*Hmw*) and p. 126, no. 19, reading mistakenly *Dmw*). However, an epithet of Hathor as "Lady of *ʒImʒw*, *nbt ʒImʒw*," is known from older sources and is probably to be located in the third nome of Lower Egypt (see *AEO*, II, p. 39\*, but cf. p. 170\*f.). See S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, pp. 22, 90, 105; Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, p. 58, n. (67); P. Kaplony, *ZÄS 110* (1983), p. 163, and n. 146; H. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO 62* (1964), pp. 157, 168, 170–71; K. Kroeper, *GM 84* (1985), pp. 99ff.; Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, p. 107; F. R. Herbin, *RdE 35* (1984), p. 114, n. 30; F. Gomaà, *LdÄ III*, 673f. It is probable that the writing *ʒlimw* < *ʒImw* in Hymn VII (see n. 3) is a metathesized spelling of *ʒImʒw*, which occurs in the spelling of similar words, e.g., *imʒ*, *imʒt* (see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 20; *Wb. I*, 79f.). It is possible that, in addition to a geographic reference, an etiological explanation of *ʒImʒw* > *ʒImw* > *ʒlimw* was on the mind of the writer of Hymn VII: to Isis belongs *ʒImʒw-ʒImw*, because she is "lady of charm (*nbt imʒt*)," as the goddess is indeed referred to in Hymn III (see chap. 3, n. 13). Such an example of cultic etiology is found in the *Himmelskuh*, in which Re speaks to Hathor: "How welcome are you in peace, Imayt (you gracious-one)—and the beautiful one came into existence at Imau," *iy.wy tn* (written: *iy.ti wy*) *m htp ʒImʒyt*, *hpr nfrt m ʒImʒw*; for the reading *iy.wy tn*, cf. chap. 8, n. 8, and for the grammatical construction see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 374. B. ex. 8; for different readings see Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, pp. 9, 40; p. 58, n. (66), and G. Fecht *apud* Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, p. 114. Thus, it is probable that the Philae poet was thinking of the epithet of Hathor as "Lady of Imau or Imu," which, in a different and somewhat defective grammatical construction (*n(t)t ʒlimw* or *n(t)t ʒImw*), together with the other epithets of this goddess, he applied to Isis.

24. Isis' epithet "Great One, the divine mother of Sais" occurs at Karnak at the time of Ramesses II; see P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), p. 212.



25. On Neith of Sais see R. Schlichting, *LdÄ IV*, 392ff.; Kaplony, *ZÄS 110*, pp. 122f.; *Esna V*, pp. III, 111; El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, esp. vol. I, pp. 191–203. Isis is here identified with Neith, “lady of inebriation.” For a similar epithet applied at Esna to Menhyt and Nebtou, see *Esna VIII*, pp. 26, 28: “la maîtresse (dame) de l’ivresse, (*nbt th, hnwt th*).”

26. The inundation brings renewal and joy to the northern cities of Pe and Dep, that is, to the entire land, to its most northern limits.

27. The epithet of Isis “great of manifestations” refers to her theophanies in a concrete sense, to the cultic manifestations of the goddess in processions, public festivals, etc.; see chap. 6, Translation and Commentary.

28. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, pp. 451f.; Kaplony, *ZÄS 110*, p. 121; Meeks, *LdÄ IV*, 48f.

29. AEO, II, p. 188\*.

30. See Kaplony, *ZÄS 110*, pp. 122f.; Schlichting, *LdÄ IV*, 392f.; *Esna V*, pp. 110ff.; F. Daumas, *Les dieux de l’Égypte*, 2d ed. (“Que sais-je?”, Paris, 1965, 1970), pp. 89–93. On the iconography of Neith see El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, I, pp. 3ff., 195f.

31. See AEO, II, p. 190\*.

32. Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, pp. 38ff.

33. Goyon, *RdE 20*, pp. 67f.

34. A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem*, pp. 38, 41, 44, 48f., 52, 54.

35. See, e.g., Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, pp. 424f., 431; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 427f.; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, pp. 60ff., etc. One of the best examples at Philae is in Room VII; see Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 41, tableau III.

36. See Goyon, *RdE 20*, p. 92, n. (40).

37. See *ibid.*, p. 93, n. (46).

38. Goyon, *ibid.*, p. 68, very satisfactorily explained these verses as referring to Hathor as the sun-goddess rising with Re in his barque, an image associated at Philae with Isis (at the beginning of Hymn VI), and with the polymorphous goddess at El-Kâb (Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 63, nn. 73f.). Derchain improved on Faulkner’s and Goyon’s readings by substituting Smithis for Satis (Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 22, n. 2), although Goyon (*RdE 20*, p. 93, n. 47) also suggested Shesemet (Smithis) as an alternative reading. Goyon is probably correct in stating that the reason for inserting a hymn to Hathor in the “Ceremonial pour faire sortir Sokaris”—a hymn introduced by Isis herself—is that the *hnw*-barque of Sokar is here assimilated to Hathor and is thus itself considered a personified deity (p. 67). However, his explanation of the transition from the third to the second person in the recitation of the hymn as a change in ritual attitude on the part of the officiant (l’officiant à la barque: “Quand tu te sera placée aux côtés du Seigneur de l’Univers . . .”), while ingenious, is not compelling. As discussed earlier (chap. 4, Translation; chap. 5, Translation), such changes from the second to the third person, and vice versa, are characteristic of the genre of divine eulogies; they are also found in Greek aretalogies.

39. See n. 23; Goyon, *RdE 20*, p. 93, n. (48).

40. Each of the invocations ends with “may the gods protect him,” which is here omitted; see Goyon, *RdE 20*, p. 93, n. (50).

41. On Aphroditopolis see *ibid.*, p. 92, n. (38).

42. See *ibid.*, p. 94, n. (52).

43. In spite of Derchain’s objection (*Elkab*, I, p. 22, Doc. 23), and notwithstanding the city determinative instead of

that of foreign land, I follow Faulkner’s (*JEA 23*, p. 14) and Goyon’s (*RdE 20*, p. 68, p. 94, n. [53]) reading *W<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>t*, rather than Derchain’s *W<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>* (toponyme comme le nom d’un sanctuaire inconnu de la région).

44. For a bibliography on Imet see J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO 65* (1967), p. 135, n. (224); Herbin, *RdE 35*, p. 114, n. 29.

45. See Goyon, *RdE 20*, p. 94, n. (54).

46. See *Esna V*, pp. 60f.

47. See *Esna I*, p. 19.

48. *Temple of Khonsu*, II, p. 54: “Menhyt, Lady of Khent,” Khent indicating the locality of Esna, see AEO, II, 11\*.

49. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, p. 70, where the goddess is referred to as “Menhyt, Lady of Khent, Mistress of all gods.” Notice that the goddess is represented as lioness-headed, with the sun-disc and uraeus (pl. L., pillar no. 3, 2), and in the legend above it, Menhyt is determined by an erect cobra which further indicates her role of uraeus goddess. She is represented similarly at Karnak.

50. *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, The Epigraphic Survey, I (OIP 25, 1936), pl. 59: “Menhyt, Lady of Khent”; pl. 63 B: “Menhyt, Lady of Khent-to (*Hnty-t*)”; *ibid.*, II (OIP 35, 1936), pl. 97 E: “Menhyt, Lady of Khent-to”; see *Esna I*, p. 19; *Esna V*, p. 107 (“Menhyt . . . déesse du lieu-dit Khent-to, au voisinage de la ville”).

51. *Esna V*, p. 107.

52. On the problem of “identification,” “assimilation,” and “syncretism,” see the remarks of M.-T. Derchain-Urtel, *Chr. d’Eg.* 57 (1982), p. 264, with further bibliography; similar observations were made earlier by Sauneron, *Esna V*, 107, and especially by Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, pp. 220ff.; see also W. Schenkel, *LdÄ II*, 720–25 (“Götterverschmelzung”).

53. *LdÄ IV*, 48.

54. See I. E. S. Edwards, *The Early Dynastic Period* (CAH, I, chap. XI), p. 46.

55. *ibid.*, p. 46; El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, I, p. 199; J. Málek, *LdÄ V*, 355f.

56. See El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, I, pp. 43ff.

57. *Esna III*, no. 251, pp. 135f.; *Esna V*, pp. 107–10; cf. *Esna VIII*, p. 24ff. (litany to Menhyt).

58. *Esna III*, no. 252, pp. 136–38; no. 330, pp. 261–62; *Esna V*, pp. 110–18; cf. *Esna VIII*, pp. 35ff. (litany to Neith); see also El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*, II, pp. 643ff.

59. See Žabkar, *JEA 66*, pp. 127f.

60. See chap. 3, Translation; Žabkar, *JEA 71* (1985), pp. 189f. (addendum).

61. *Esna V*, p. 113; *Esna III*, no. 330, p. 262, ll. 4–6; cf. *Esna V*, p. 153, ll. 12–13.

62. On the House-of-the-Bee, see J. Leclant, *LdÄ I*, 787, with further bibliography; Edwards, *Early Dynastic Period*, p. 46; Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte*, p. 13, n. y; R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais* (Bibl. d’Étude, LXIX, 1975), pp. 199–208.

63. Sauneron’s translation in *Esna V*, p. 113 reads: “Dame du Punt, pour laquelle le Château-de-l’Abeille est inondé de parfums, dont l’odeur est celle de l’oliban frais, distillé goutte à goutte sur les boucles de sa chevelure.”

64. See Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 57, n. 26.

65. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 103.

66. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 89.

## Chapter 8. Hymn VIII

1. Similarly so in Hymns I and II on the north wall of the Sanctuary.

2. *ḥt* is spelled *ḥwt*, see n. 16.

3. Here, as elsewhere in these hymns, *t* and *ṯ* are used interchangeably, and the transliteration follows the hieroglyphic text.

4. For the possible reading of *ṯs* as *ṯz*, see Edel, AG, I, §§ 29, 554, 558b, 640, 665 dd.

5. *ṯw rwi(.w)* is the passive *ṯw sdm.f*, the regular passive of *ṯw sdm.n.f*, which occurs three lines below (*ṯw ṯr.n.f*); see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§ 422, 1, and cf. Edel, AG, II, § 891.

6. Read *smn(w) n.f*, “(that had) adhered to him.”

7. *Rwiw* is the old perfective.

8. *ṯi.wy tn* is written *ṯi.w ṯ*; for the spelling of the exclamatory ending *wy* as *w*, see *Wb.* I, 243, 11 (*Pyr.* §§ 903c, 1450a, 2022a); for *ṯ* as the spelling of the second-person feminine dependent pronoun *tn*, see Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 52, p. 40; for the grammatical construction see Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 374, B., ex. 8.

9. *N ṯr.n.f* is spelled *nn ṯr.f*, but see *ṯr.n.f* in the following line.

10. For the singular of *ṯsw*, *ṯs*, see Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 143, n. 17.

11. For the possible reading of *sš(w)* as *zhš(w)*, see Edel, AG, I, §§ 117, 120, 132, 468, and W. Schenkel, LdÄ V, 698f.

12. The bull-sign and the mouth-sign together are to be read *idr* (or, very probably, *idrw*). The bull-sign acquired its value from the determinative of the word of origin, *idr*, “the herd” (*Wb.* I, 154, 13–14); the mouth-sign, *r*, is a phonetic complement to *idr*.

13. *Nmt*, the first sign of the last column of text, is damaged, but the reading is very probable; see n. 27. The writing of the sign may have been influenced by its hieratic form, as it appeared on the draft that the lapicide must have had in front of him (cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II [Leipzig, 1909], p. 39, no. 442; III [Leipzig, 1912], p. 42, no. 442). See also somewhat similar writings of *nmt* in CT IV, 300b.

14. Cf. *Wb.* I, 399, 18, 19, where *wḏ* is construed with *r*, or *hr* (“bewahrt sein vor”).

15. Although the general title of the hymn is “Adoring the god four times,” the poet makes it clear that it is Isis whom the king adores; cf. the titles to Hymns V and VI: the king adores his mother Isis.

16. Lit.: Isis is “effective (*ḥt*) in Heaven before Re” and in his barque, from which she “repels Apopis with the effectiveness (*ḥw*) of her utterance” (strophe 5). Both, *ḥt* and *ḥw* are derived from the basic meaning of *ḥ*, “to be efficient, effective.”

17. An epithet also attributed to other goddesses; e.g., Nut is said to be “the Great-One who bore the gods”; see Faulkner, *An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours*, 19, 6. See also Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 133; Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, p. 138, n. 7; and esp. Assmann, LdÄ IV, 266–71.

18. The “Mighty One” refers to the “Uraeus-Diadem.” See Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 59, n. 41.

19. Isis, assimilated to Hathor, Tefēnet, or Sakhmet, is here also the raging goddess, pacified and brought back from the desert by Shu and Thoth, sent by her father Re. See, e.g., F. Daumas, LdÄ I, 724–27 (“Besänftigung”); Derchain, *Elkab*, I, pp. 58ff.; A. Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, pp. 66f.; Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, pp. 131f. Elsewhere at Philae Isis is assimilated to Sakhmet;

Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 58, ll. 5–6; cf. also the hymn to Ptah, in which it is said that it was this god “who pacified (or propitiated) the Great One in her rage” (Žabkar, ZÄS 108, p. 165).

20. See chap. 6, Commentary, n. 103; chap. 5, Translation.

21. *Sfb(w)*, “purified,” is an old perfective; for this meaning of *sfb*, see *Wb.* IV, 116, 20.

22. Lit.: the past evils of the year. *Hṣwy* is understood here in the meaning of “early, past” (cf. *Wb.* III, 29, 19–20), rather than “foremost.”

23. “His evils” may refer either to evils committed by the king, or, more probably, to the evils directed against him by the inimical forces of the passing year. Lines 1 and 2 of this strophe are reminiscent of BD 17 (*Urk.* V, Abschnitt 11 and 12; CT IV, 208–10): “My wrongdoing has been removed, my evil has been done away with, the evil that adhered to me has been cast away” (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 28).

24. Lit.: “anew (*n mṣwt*).”

25. Cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, p. 373, ex. 3; Lefebvre, *Grammaire*, § 153; for the statement itself cf. Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 99, no. 42: “I have not reviled the God in my city (*n sṯt.ṯ nṯr m nṯwt.ṯ*)” (the text in E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, II [London, 1910], p. 136, no. 42).

26. For *dṯ(w) tmsw*, “who inflict injuries,” see BD 125: “messengers who inflict injuries and bring about punishment (*wṯwtyw ddyw tmsw ṣḥpryw idryt*),” Budge, *Book of the Dead*, II, p. 142 (Pap. of Nu). For the phrase *tmsw n ḥrt-rnpt* (lit.: injuries of the yearly share, or if *n* is to be understood as standing for *m*: injuries as a yearly share), see *Wb.* V, 370, 3 (= Berlin Ph. 350; Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 99, tabl. I, pls. XXX and XXXI, Naos extérieur; PM VI, p. 247, [386]–[387]) where Augustus is shown adoring Isis and Horus, and the goddess is asked to “save him (Augustus) from the injuries of this year, (for) he is Re who comes forth and extends offerings to you (*nḥm s(w) mṣ tmsw n rnpt tn, ntf Rṣ pri dṯi ḥtpw (n) ḥr.t*).” For “the assessors and the scribes (of the *dṯdṯt*-tribunal)” or “the scribes of the assessors,” see Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte*, p. 8, n. c; *Wb.* V, 528, 14. Here, in Hymn VIII, the concept of the scribes of the courts of justice has been applied to the scribes of the judgment hall of the Netherworld. For a similar example see Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 11, ll. 3–4, where Isis addresses the king: “I cause you to be justified on the Day of judgment before the Great Assembly (lit.: great *dṯdṯt*-tribunal) of Judges (*dṯi (mṣ-)ḥrw.k m ḥrw ryt m-bḥ dṯdṯt ṣt sdmyw*).”

27. *Idrw*, “the herds,” are, metaphorically, the sinners, *ṯsftyw*, who are dragged to the slaughter-house like animals; cf. *Wb.* II, 264, 2–3; BD 17 (*Urk.* V, Abschnitt 23; CT IV, 300): “God, mysterious of form . . . who lassos sinners (and hauls them) to his slaughtering-block” (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 30b). Cf. another text of BD 17 (*Urk.* V, Abschnitt 20; CT IV, 254): “Hail to you, lords of truth, Assessors around Osiris, who bring about massacre among sinners,” or “who inspire terror in sinners” (Allen, *Book of the Dead*, p. 29, no. 13).

28. *Nht* here means the inimical magic spells that accompany the passing year; for a similar phrase see J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* (OIP 3, 1930), p. 480—“Followers of the year and its yield (*ṯmyw-ḥt rnpt ḥrt ṯs*)”—and D. Jankuhn, *Das Buch “Schutz des Hauses,”* pp. 7f.

29. In contrast to the inimical spells of the passing year, the New Year brings to the king the reassurance of renewed life.

30. *Smsw tpy Gb*; see Žabkar, ZÄS 108, pp. 143f. Similarly referred to in the Book of the Dead (Ani); see Budge,

*Book of the Dead*, I, (1910), p. 12; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 29.

31. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 42, tabl. I. Similarly so in Room V; see ZÄS 108, pp. 143f. B: Osiris is “King of Heaven, ruler of the lands, great sovereign in the Underworld.”

32. On *hrw nfr*, see J. Černý, ZÄS 72 (1946), p. 9; H. S. Smith, JEA 54 (1968), p. 212; M. Weinfeld in Groll, ed., *Pharaonic Egypt*, pp. 320, 325, n. 11.

33. See *Wb.* I, 527, 7; III, 240, 4–6; 241, 13. For the use of *h'i* in relation to the king, see D. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 3–27. On *h'i* and *h'w* in general, in relation to the king and the god, see Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, I, pp. 271f.; II, p. 274; III, p. 212.

34. *Urk.* II, 148, 1; F. Daumas, *Les moyens d'expression du Grec et de l'Égyptien* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 176ff.

35. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, I, p. 430.

36. See *ibid.*, pp. 303–433; H. W. Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” pp. 171, 184, 188; F. Daumas, *LdÄ* IV, 466–72.

37. Gutbub appropriately remarks that the Court at Philae may have functioned both as the “Cour du Nouvel An” and as “Ouabit (*W'bt*),” *Mélanges Vercoutter*, p. 134.

38. For similar expressions see S. Schott, “Die Reinigung Pharaos in einem mephitischen Tempel,” *NAWG*, I, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Nr. 3 (1957), p. 48, with further references; *Wb.* IV, 533, 15; *Esna* V, p. 11 (b). Cf. also *Edfou* VI, 264–69, and see Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, II, pp. 618ff. Although in these Edfu texts there is a distinction between *rnpt tn*, “this year,” that is, this passing year, and *rnpt nfr(t)*, “the good year,” that is, the New Year (*ibid.*, p. 616, n. 2; p. 617, n. 3: la bonne année, la nouvelle année), it seems that *rnpt tn* in some instances may also apply to the New Year, and that the evils of *rnpt tn* in *Edfou* VI, 96, 12 and 264, 2–5 may refer either to the passing year, or, as Alliot understood it, to the New Year (*Le culte d'Horus*, pp. 618f.: pour cette année); see also P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 25f. It seems that the two phrases *rnpt tn* and *rnpt nfr(t)* are not as consistently distinguished at Edfu, as they are in Hymn VIII at Philae.

39. See Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, pp. 18, 51; p. 79, n. 347; p. 111, n. 257; Meeks, *Génies*, pp. 45f.; Meeks in Cazelles and Feuillet, eds., *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 49–50 A 443; Jankuhn, *Das Buch “Schutz des Hauses,”* pp. 5ff.

40. In this relief in Room XII of the Temple of Isis, Ptolemy II offers a ritual object called *wtt* (elsewhere *šbt*, *wnšb*, *wšb*) to the irate lioness-goddess Sakhmet to appease and befriend her. On these terms see E. Graefe in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens* (zu Ehren von W. Westendorf), II (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 895–905; and on their meaning see D. Kurth, *Die Dekoration der Säulen im Pronaos des Tempels von Edfu*, pp. 161f. See also Vittman, ZÄS 111, pp. 166f., where Sakhmet, Thoth, Isis, Nephthys, and *Horus-imy-šnw*t are invoked as protection against enemies.

41. See Meeks, *Génies*, p. 46, and n. 172; J.-C. Goyon, *Chr. d'Ég.* 45 (1970), p. 274, n. (m), with further references.

42. See H. Goedicke, *LdÄ* V, 918f., and esp. P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 34 (1982–83), pp. 123–25.

43. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, pp. 475–85; see also Jankuhn, *Das Buch “Schutz des Hauses,”* p. 7.

44. See Meeks, *Génies*, p. 46, and n. 174.

45. See *Edfou* III, pp. 300f., 303; VI, pp. 264–69; Alliot,

*Le culte d'Horus*, II, pp. 618f.; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, pp. 58f., 16\*f.; Meeks, *Génies*, p. 46; Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet*, p. 235, no. 48; p. 244, no. 1. See also Daumas, *LdÄ* I, 724f.; H. Sternberg, *LdÄ* V, 328. On all these problems associated with Sakhmet see Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde* and consult his detailed indexes; see also J. Yoyotte, *BSFE* 87–88 (1980), pp. 46–75.

46. See Meeks, *Génies*, p. 46, and n. 174; Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde*, pp. 8ff., 283ff.

47. A. H. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1955), p. 16, Pap. XVII; see also Vernus, *RdÉ* 34, p. 124, no. (15).

48. See, e.g., Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, pp. 19, 53; Fairman, *MDAIK* 16, p. 88, n. *b*, p. 91; Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus*, I, pp. 135ff.

49. See Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, pp. 25ff.

50. See further Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, p. 114, n. (277); Jankuhn, *Das Buch “Schutz des Hauses,”* pp. 127ff.; E. Graefe in W. Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion* (GO IV, Reihe: Ägypten, Band 9, Wiesbaden, 1979), p. 75.

51. See R. Grieshammer, “Zum ‘Sitz im Leben’ des negativen Sündenbekenntnisses,” *ZDMG*, Suppl. II, XVIII, pp. 19–25, with further bibliography; F. Junge in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 109f.

52. See R. Merkelbach in *Religions en Égypte Hellénistique et Romaine*, pp. 69–73; R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 2 (1968), pp. 3–30; Grieshammer, “Zum ‘Sitz Im Leben,’” pp. 19f., with further references.

53. K. Sethe, “Übersetzung und Kommentar, IV, Spruch 467, §§ 891ff. See also Spruch 688, § 2083a–c; Grieshammer, “Zum ‘Sitz im Leben,’” p. 21, n. 9; H. Junker, *Die Pyramidenzeit* (Zurich and Cologne, 1949), pp. 80ff.; J. G. Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool, 1960), pp. 79ff.; Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, pp. 181f.; J. Leclant, *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 1982–1983, pp. 532, 536. Cf. also Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, pp. 156f.

54. C. Seeber, *LdÄ* III, 249, with full bibliography.

55. Grieshammer, “Zum ‘Sitz im Leben,’” p. 25, states that the fact that the scene of psychostasia accompanies BD 30 and not BD 125 indicates that the concept of judgment and negative confession were not inseparably connected. The problem of the relationship of the text of the Book of the Dead and the vignettes and other representations that accompany it is very intricate and has not been studied in detail as yet. What Grieshammer said may be true in some cases, but in others it is not. E.g., in the Papyrus Ani, the text of BD 30 accompanies the scene of psychostasia, but, among some smaller scenes at the end of the long negative confession, that of psychostasia also appears (see *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum*, 2d ed. [London, 1894], pls. 3, 32). In the same papyrus, the text of BD 30 on pl. 15 is not accompanied by the psychostasia. In the Papyri Ryerson and Milbank, BD 125 with the negative confessions is accompanied by larger scenes of the psychostasia (see T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* [Chicago, 1960], pls. XXXIVf., LXXXf.), while in the same two papyri BD 30 shows no scene of the psychostasia (*ibid.*, pls. XVIII, LXIV).

56. J. G. Griffiths, in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano* (Leiden, 1982), p. 203.

57. The naos, Egyptian *k3ri*, indicates here the small shrine in the Sanctuary of the temple in which the cult-image of the deity was kept; see Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple, A Lexicographical Study*, pp. 127f. Apparently three such granite naoi were found in the Temple of Isis at Philae; see PM VI, 256, and 244, n. 1. Two naoi are represented in relief on the north wall of the Court of the Temple of Isis (Berlin Phs. 704–5).

58. See, e.g., Amun Ritual 10, 2–3; Moret, *Rituel*, p. 105; H. Kees, *Priestertum*, I, p. 291; A. H. Gardiner, *Ritual of Amenophis I* (Hier. Pap. in the BM, 3d ser., London, 1935), p. 89. For Philae see Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 22, tabl. VIII, and Berlin Ph. 707 (Court): “I am the High Priest, son of the High Priest in this temple.” For Edfu see, e.g., Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, p. 143, where, instead of *hm-ntr*, *w<sup>b</sup>-s* is used. The king, in his priestly function, refers to himself sometimes as *’Iwn-mwt.f*, e.g., at Philae; see Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 21, tabl. VI, and Berlin Ph. 705 (Court): “I am *’Iwn-mwt.f* who purifies this sanctuary”; cf. Kees, *Priestertum*, I, p. 76.

59. This formula occurs in several variations. For some examples see E. Naville, *Deir El Bahari*, IV, pl. 95; R. Caminos, *The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, I, p. 22, n. 5, with further references; p. 23, n. 1; II, p. 12; H. Ricke, G. R. Hughes, and E. F. Wente, *Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (Chicago, 1967), p. 10, pl. 4; Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, p. 141, etc. For Philae see Zabkar, *The Building Inscriptions of the Temples of Philae* (forthcoming).

60. Moret, *Rituel*, p. 105; Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 22, tabl. VIII; Berlin Ph. 707 (Court).

61. E.g., Calverley et al., *The Temple of Seti I at Abydos*, II, pl. 14; Moret, *Rituel*, p. 42 (Amun Ritual 4, 2); K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 163; Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, pp. 144f.

62. Calverley et al., *The Temple of Seti I at Abydos*, II, pl. 22; the king is standing before the naos of Ptah: *iw dr.n.i dwt nb iry r t3 . . . iw.i w<sup>b</sup>.kwi*; the same text in the scene showing the king before the naos of Harakhti. See also Moret, *Rituel*, p. 36, n. 1; R. David, *A Guide to Religious Ritual at Abydos*, p. 63.

63. Grieshammer, “Zum ‘Sitz im Leben,’” p. 25.

64. See H. Junker, “Vorschriften für den Tempelkult in Philae,” pp. 151–60.

65. Alliot, *Le culte d’Horus*, I, pp. 142–45.

66. Fairman, MDAIK 16, pp. 91f.; Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” p. 179.

67. My collation, which should in no way be considered as final, has established the following text of this version of Hymn VIII in the Court. The king offers the menat-necklace to his mother (Isis): *Hnk mnit n mwt.f* (line 1) *’li.n Ptlwmys hr.t nb(t) ’nh m hrw pn nfr h<sup>c</sup>.n.t im.f ts.f n.t tpt smn.f n.t* (l. 2) *wsrt Ptlwmys s3.t Hr iw k3.t m htp nb(t) ’nh m hrw (pn nfr h<sup>c</sup>.n.t im.f) shtpt* (l. 3) *ntrw m-ht nšni mry(t) R<sup>c</sup> wnnt m-hnw w3.f hr hsf pp m (3hw tp-r3.t)* (l. 4) *mt Ptlwmys iw hr.t dw3.f nfrw.t sfh sw n (sdbw h3wtyw ?)* (l. 5) *skm.n.f st-db3w.f n rnpt tn (sdbw.f) rwiw iw s3.f (?) r.s iw ir.n.f (htpw) hr.s iw* (l. 6) *hr.f r nbt* (written erroneously with *k* for *nb* and *t* for *t*) *ii.t (n) m3wt iw s3 R<sup>c</sup> Ptlwmys h<sup>c</sup>.t m nsu-biti hr st Hr dt*. As can be seen when compared with the text of Hymn VIII of Room VII transcribed at the beginning of this chapter, the editor omitted the first six lines of the invocation and then copied *ad litteram* the three following strophes of Hymn VIII; from the end of his line 4 on, he excerpted and abbrevi-

ated the longer version of Hymn VIII, and he ended with a brief prayer for the king, that he may gloriously appear on the throne of Horus forever. It is to be observed that although Hymn VIII has the general title “Adoring the god four times,” and a specific title, “King Ptolemy adores his mother (Isis),” the text of the hymn in the Court has been applied to a different cultic purpose: “Offering the *mnit*-necklace to his mother (Isis).” On the relationship of the title and the text—the *mnit*-necklace is not mentioned at all in the text of the hymn—see the discussion of a similar text by E. Graefe in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 71–77, esp. 76f.

68. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 20, tabl. I, pl. 7 (the text is very defective); Berlin Ph. 703.

69. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, II, p. 301.

70. See Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, p. 45.

71. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 42, tabl. I’; p. 43, tabl. III’; p. 44, tabl. IV.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 40, tabl. I; p. 42, tabl. I’.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 42, tabl. I’; Berlin Phs. 1063–64.

74. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, p. 74; p. 119, n. 308; cf. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 230, l. 18.

75. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, pp. 46–52.

76. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, pp. 134f.; see Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal*, p. 47; see also chap. I, end of Commentary.

77. Without going into details, a simple comparison between the translation of Hymn VIII given here and that of Bresciani (Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 67), will reveal that the Assuan text as it stands can be more satisfactorily translated.

## Conclusion

1. See Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 157, with bibliography; Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, p. 61.

2. See J. Assmann, *LdÄ IV*, 266f.; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 140.

3. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 9, ll. 13–15.

4. See V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (Toronto, 1972), p. 17.

5. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 74.

6. *Edfou I*, 384, l. 5.

7. See chap. 5, n. 8. On the union of Re and Hathor see E. Wente in G. Kadish, ed., *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35, 1969), pp. 90f. (Tomb of Kheruef), with further bibliography; C. Traunecker, *JSSEA 14* (1984), p. 61. In this case, too, Isis’ attribute of “Spouse of Re” has been transferred to her through her assimilation to Hathor.

8. See *Wb.* III, 124–5; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 49: “Horus-Râ, taureau vigoureux, Horus femelle, Maîtresse des Deux Pays, Cléopâtre.”

9. See Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, p. 149.

10. See *ibid.*, p. 120; Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, p. 50.

11. See Bénédite, *Le temple de Philae*, p. 51, Soubassement (S), 17–19, and Berlin Ph. 1086: *’In.i n.t H<sup>c</sup>py rnpt* (for *rnpy*) *hr ii(t) r tr.f nn 3bw*, “I bring you the young Hapy coming at his time, unfailingly (lit.: without cessation).”

12. Otto von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (Bollingen Series XLVIII, Princeton, N.J., 1974), p. 164.

## Epilogue

1. W. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte* (Berlin, 1930), p. 4.
2. The word *hymn* is used here in a broad sense of a religious poem addressed to a god or goddess, a eulogy, or, as R. Reitzenstein was first to call it, an aretalogy. See on this Peek, *Isishymnus von Andros*, p. 25, n. 1; D. Müller, *OLZ* 67 (1972), p. 118; J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book*, pp. 187f., 320; Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée*, pp. 1ff.
3. See a bibliographical summary in Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 8–11; D. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 11f.; G. Hölbl, *LdÄ* VI, 957, n. 38.
4. See Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 12–14.
5. See *ibid.*, p. 12.
6. See *ibid.*; A.-J. Festugière, *Etudes de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris, 1972), p. 162.
7. R. Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische Isispropaganda* (APAW Nr. 14, 1943, Berlin, 1944).
8. A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 21 (1949), pp. 221–28; see also Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 12f.
9. A.-J. Festugière, *Harvard Theological Review* 42 (1949), pp. 209–34; A.-J. Festugière, *Etudes*, pp. 139ff.
10. See *ibid.*, p. 161; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 13.
11. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 91.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
13. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*; see his brief summary, pp. 232ff.
14. See Müller, *OLZ* 67, pp. 118–30.
15. P. Derchain, *RdE* 22 (1970), p. 214.
16. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 19, 114, and cf. p. 103.
17. *Ibid.*, p. VII.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 76, 107.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 46f.; cf. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 28, n. 3 and Diodorus I, 13.
20. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 47ff.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 55 and n. 107.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 103ff.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 110ff.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
26. See V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (American Studies in Papyrology 12, Toronto, 1972), p. 17; see also pp. 34, 49, 63 (Isidorus' hymns 2, 3, and 4). On Isis-Hermouthis see J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai dans la religion et l'onomastique* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 102 and passim; E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* (Paris, 1969), p. 641; C. Beinlich-Seeber, *LdÄ* V, 232f.
27. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. XI (London, 1915), pp. 190–220.
28. On "Thiouis" see Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 643; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 145, 167; J. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 225; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 31; H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien* (Vienna, 1910), p. 59, no. 51; p. 117, no. 66.
29. For "Queen of the gods," βασιλεία θεῶν, see n. 90; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 19; Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 641; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 69, n. 157.
30. On "Ruler of all," παντοκράτειρα, see Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 21; Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 641; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 242; see n. 90.
31. Deo is Demeter. See Liddel-Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* under Δηῶ, ὄος; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 21.
32. For this reading see J. G. Griffiths, *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 284; on a more common reading, *Ναυαία*, see Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 643; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 29.
33. Correct Vanderlip's reading (*Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17) ὀδονηραῖς (l. 30) to ὀδυνηραῖς, clearly seen on her pl. VI.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 50f.; Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 646; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, II, p. 940, n. 432.
35. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 63–65, 72f.; Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 650; E. Bresciani, *LdÄ* III, 1271f.
36. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 644f.; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 38f., 41f.
37. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, p. 672.
38. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 11, n. 25; pp. 45, 76, 107.
39. See, however, Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 90, where she refers to "an eleven-line polyonymos [sic] or myrionymos [sic] passage."
40. See Harder, *Karpokrates von Chalkis*, pp. 47ff.
41. See Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 92.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
43. B. A. van Groningen, "De Papyro Oxyrhynchita 1380," (Dissertation, Groningen, 1921), pp. 29ff.
44. W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge* (Berlin, 1917), pp. 54f.
45. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 81f.
46. *Dendara* I, p. 21, ll. 1ff.
47. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 92.
48. See Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 12; C. M. Zivie, *LdÄ* IV, 30.
49. L. Habachi, *LdÄ* I, 682f.
50. For the text see bibliography in Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 8f. and Peek, *Isishymnus von Andros*, pp. 22ff. For translations see W. Peek, *Die Antike* 6 (1930), pp. 326f.; Müller, *OLZ* 67, p. 118; F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions* (New York, 1953), pp. 131ff.
51. See Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 39; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 323.
52. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 144.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 166, 243.
55. Y. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie d'Isis à Maronée*.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 110.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 23.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 54ff.
60. Lit.: "endowed with eyes (ἐνομματισθεῖς)" by Helios (Sun) and Selene (Moon), with whom Serapis and Isis are identified; cf. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 62f.
61. Cf. Isidorus' hymn 1, ll. 23f. in Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17, and in Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*, p. 633; see above, sec. 1.
62. "By first recalling many gods," lit.: "by passing through the pronaos of many gods." On this "architectural" metaphor see Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 74.

63. See *ibid.*, pp. 75f., where Grandjean also discusses a similar phrase in the Kyme aretalogy, l. 3b; cf. a reference to Isis “excellent in writing (*mnḥ sš*)” in C. De Wit, *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet*, III, p. 76.

64. Cf. Kyme aretalogy, l. 31, and Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 82f.

66. Cf. Kyme aretalogy, ll. 19f., and Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 87f.

67. Cf. Kyme aretalogy, l. 57, and Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 91f.

68. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 94f.

69. Cf. Kyme aretalogy, ll. 18, 27, and Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 98ff.

70. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 111.

71. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 7ff.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 320.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 321; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 37, n. 52.

74. Pessinuntia refers to Cybele, the “Great Mother,” whose most important cult center was the city of Pessinus. Among the foreign deities worshipped at Pessinus was Isis. See Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 148ff.

75. Called so because of Cecrops, the first king of Attica, represented with human torso ending in the form of a serpent, who symbolized the autochthonous claim of the Athenians. In his reign, Poseidon and Athena (Minerva) contended for the possession of Attica, and Cecrops decided in favor of the goddess. Cecrops introduced the first elements of civilized life in Attica. The cult of Isis at Athens dates to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., and in the second century B.C. the goddess became very popular; see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 149.

76. Paphos, on the west coast of Cyprus, was the home of Aphrodite (Venus), often identified with Isis. See *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, 86; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 149f.

77. Diana Dictynna was worshipped in Crete as a goddess of hunting and associated with Britomartis and Artemis. The cult of Isis at Crete goes back to the third or second century B.C., in which period a sanctuary was dedicated to Isis and Serapis at Gortyn. In *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, 82, Isis is also called Dictynnis in Crete; see Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 150.

78. Demeter and Proserpina were worshipped in Syracuse and Ortygia as well as other places in Sicily. Serapis and Isis were also worshipped in Sicily from the second century B.C., and Isis is identified with Proserpine (Persephassa) in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 27.

79. On the identification of the Eleusinian Demeter (Ceres) and Isis, see text with nn. 152ff. Here, in the mind of Apuleius, Demeter is a form of Isis; cf. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 151f.

80. Hera-Juno is equated with Isis in Isidorus’ hymn 1, l. 21; Diodorus I, 25; *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, 32, 34, 60, 68; cf. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 152.

81. The Greek Enyo, a goddess of war who accompanies Ares in battle, was equated with Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, the sister or wife of Mars. On Isis as “mistress of war” see text with nn. 138ff. See also Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 152.

82. Hecate was identified with Selene, Artemis, and Persephone. Being thus, as it were, a threefold goddess, she is represented with three bodies or three heads and called Tergemina, Triformis, Triceps, etc. As a goddess of the Underworld, she could send forth at night all kinds of demons; she taught sorcery and witchcraft and was invoked by magicians.

Isis was equated with her because of her association with the Underworld and because magic was ascribed to both of them. In *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, 113, Isis is called Hecate in Caria. See further Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 152f.

83. A form of Nemesis worshipped at Rhamnus in Attica. Nemesis was identified with Tychê, Hygieia, Nikê, and Isis, as Isis Nemesis. Cf. aretalogy of Kyme, ll. 34–35; see further Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 153f.

84. See Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 156f.

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 75f.

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 101f.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 137–58, 320–25.

88. See *ibid.*, pp. 74f., 140f.

89. *Ibid.*, pp. 74f., 142f.

90. See Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 242.

91. See chap. 5, Commentary, sec. 1; this reference is of the time of Tiberius.

92. See Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, pp. 204–8.

93. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, pp. 37, 40 (of Hathor at Dendera); Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 38 (of Nekhbet at Elkab), pp. 39, 49 (of Hathor at Elkab).

94. Cf. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 144.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 74f.

96. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 11ff.; E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1970), p. 264; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 145.

97. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 13, l. 9: *n* (for *nn*) *kt hr-hw.s*, lit.: “there is no other beside her.”

98. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 100f.

99. See Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, pp. 19, 36, 51.

100. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 24f.

101. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 321.

102. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, chap. 52; see J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 73.

103. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 74ff.

104. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 37f.

105. The same idea is similarly expressed by Junge in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, p. 96.

106. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 321.

107. A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theological Review* 27 (1934), p. 61.

108. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 72f.

109. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 38f.

110. J. Sandys’ translation in *The Odes of Pindar* (Loeb Classical Library), pp. 123, 535; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 40.

111. Grandjean, *Une nouvelle aretalogie*, p. 39.

112. B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, I (New York, 1937), p. 290.

113. See Kurth, *Himmel stützen*, p. 137, n. 4. This could be an example of the transference of the attribute of another deity to Isis. See Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 38.

114. For this classification of statements see Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 91, where he separated M 55 from M 56, although, on p. 74, he treated the two statements together; they indeed should be considered as expressing the same idea.

115. Müller, *OLZ* 67, pp. 121f., 124.

116. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 122, n. 2, and p. 124.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

118. Here, too, Müller does not classify this statement with those that he considers “mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit ägyptisch,” but puts it in the last category; see *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 91, and cf. p. 37. See, e.g., *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, pp. 196, 203, in which Isis is associated with Bubastis in the first lines of an unfortunately damaged text.
119. It is strange that Festugière, a Hellenist, has clearly seen the Egyptian character of these two statements, M 44 and M 45, and that Müller, having adduced some very pertinent Egyptian texts, and having stated, “Jedenfalls sind M 44 und M 45 ihrem Inhalt und z. T. auch ihrer Formulierung nach ägyptisch und nur auf Grund ägyptischer mythologischer Vorstellungen zu erklären” (*Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 74), finally classified both statements as: “Im Kern . . . auf ägyptisches Gedankengut zurückgehend, aber gräzisiert” (p. 91).
120. Festugière, *Etudes*, pp. 160ff.
121. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside*, p. 303; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 323f.
122. T. E. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* (London, 1923), p. 129.
123. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 324.
124. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 69.
125. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
126. P. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 27 (1970), pp. 22f.
127. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside*, p. 303.
128. Cf. Peet, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, p. 129.
129. Abd el Mohsen Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637* (Cairo, 1966), pl. XL, 9–10.
130. A.-P. Zivie, *LdÄ V*, 201–6, with full bibliography.
131. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 27, pp. 22f.
132. Zivie, *LdÄ V*, 205, n. 23.
133. *Pap. Oxy.* 1380, p. 226f.
134. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 100f.
135. Zivie, *LdÄ V*, 202.
136. *Ibid.*, 204.
137. M. F. Laming-Macadam, *The Temple of Kawa*, I (London, 1949), pp. 25, 27.
138. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 72.
139. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
141. Müller, *OLZ* 67, p. 124.
142. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 169, ll. 13–14 (time of Ptolemy VI); pp. 174, ll. 10–11; 252, l. 16; Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 9, ll. 17–19. See also Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 168f.
143. Peek, *Der Isishymnus von Andros*, pp. 21, 65, ll. 142–44.
144. Peek, *Die Antike* 6, p. 331.
145. Müller, *OLZ* 67, p. 124.
146. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
147. For the reading of the verb see Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 33f., and for the meaning, *ibid.*, p. 45.
148. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 71.
149. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
150. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, pp. 14ff., 141, 13–17.
151. Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 174f.; Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon*, pp. 43f., 48f.
152. See Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 17.
153. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
154. Beinlich-Seeber, *LdÄ V*, 232–36.
155. Bonnet, *RÄRG*, p. 804; Beinlich-Seeber, *LdÄ V*, 233; 235, n. 23; Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, p. 155.
156. Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 22.
157. A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bibl. Aegypt. 1, 1932), p. 57.
158. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 32, 90; for translation see E. Wente in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 123f. See also Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside*, p. 309.
159. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 32.
160. Festugière, *Etudes*, p. 168; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 11, no. 12; see the text in A.-J. Festugière and A. D. Nock, *Corpus Hermeticum*, IV (Paris, 1954), pp. 21f. On the meaning of *Kore Kosmou*, see H. Jackson, *Chr. d'Ég.* 61 (1986), pp. 116–35.
161. Festugière, *Etudes*, p. 166.
162. Cf. Diodorus I, 14, and the Kyme aretalogy, l. 21.
163. Cf. Kyme aretalogy, 11.23f.
164. Cf. *ibid.*, ll. 4 and 7, in which, however, the word shelter (σκέπη) is not mentioned. The rest of the *Kore Kosmou* aretalogy also shows similarities with the Kyme aretalogy.
165. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 23f.; Vanderlip, *Four Greek Hymns*, p. 23.
166. See sec. 2, Kyme aretalogy, ll. 23–24; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 50: Ἐγὼ ἀγάλματα θεῶν τειμᾶν ἐδίδαξα, ἐγὼ τεμένη θεῶν ἰδρυσάμην.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 50f.
168. This is part of a litany-like text engraved on the thickness of the Gate of Philadelphus, but of the time of Tiberius. See *PM VI*, 214 (68); *Berlin Phs.* 164–65.
169. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 51.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
171. See chap. 2, Commentary, sec. 3; Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), p. 166.
172. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, chap. 13.
173. Peek, *Isishymnus von Andros*, p. 129, 9.
174. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 42f.; Müller, *OLZ* 67, p. 122.
175. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 42f.; Müller, *OLZ* 67, p. 122; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 178ff.
176. See chap. II, Commentary, sec. 3. The Egyptian text here uses terms similar to *smn, dr: ms mʿt shtm is*; see Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108, p. 142.
177. A. Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), p. 737; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 43, n. 6.
178. See Plutarch, *De Iside*, chap. 13; Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108, p. 166.
179. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 43; Müller *OLZ* 67, p. 122.
180. Similarly stated by Müller in *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 43; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 84f.
181. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 35f.
182. See Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 41 (*Edfou VIII*, 101, 16).
183. *Ibid.*
184. *Dendara VI*, 37, 5–6; *Dendara I*, 105, 14; cf. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 20; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, 39, n. 10.
185. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 121, l. 14.
186. F. Daumas, *ZÄS* 95 (1968), p. 111.
187. *Dendara II*, 81, 15–16; Derchain, *Elkab*, I, p. 28.
188. Derchain, *Elkab*, I, pp. 56f., n. 26.
189. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 321.
190. Derchain, *Bibl. Or.* 27, pp. 21f.; see also Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons*, p. 45.
191. J. G. Griffiths, *Journal of Harvard Theological Stud-*

- ies (JHTS), new series, vol. XXIX, pt. I (1978), pp. 147–51; J. G. Griffiths, *Classical Philology* 80 (1985), pp. 139–41.
192. Griffiths, JHTS XXIX, p. 150.
193. See Griffiths, *Classical Philology* 80, p. 146, n. 4.
194. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 243.
195. For writing, see Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*, pp. 46f.
196. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 74ff.; S. Morenz and D. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Rolle des Schicksals in der ägyptischen Religion* (ASAW 52, 1960); Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shai*; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 166f., 241f., 243f.
197. A. H. Gardiner, ZÄS 42 (1905), pp. 28f., III, l. 15; J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon*, p. 56; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 166.
198. Gardiner, ZÄS 42, pp. 28f.; Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon*, p. 58; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 85; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 166.
199. Junker, *Der grosse Pylon*, p. 76, ll. 3–6.
200. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 76f.
201. Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, p. 110, no. 17 (cf. nos. 18, 19); p. 121, nos. 19–21; p. 137, nos. 18–20; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, p. 166.
202. Beinlich-Seeber, LdÄ V, 232f.; Morenz and Müller, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 21f.
203. Gardiner, ZÄS 42, p. 39; Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon*, p. 103.
204. See Gardiner, ZÄS 42, p. 39, n. 2, referring to Maspero's *Etudes égyptiennes*, I, pp. 24–27; Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, p. 227, n. *cn*.
205. Morenz and Müller, *Untersuchungen*, p. 22.
206. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 44, l. 6, p. 49.
207. Text in Morenz and Müller, *Untersuchungen*, p. 21, who cite some other similar examples; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 81.
208. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 84.
209. *Ibid.*
210. *Ibid.*
211. *Wb* II, 437, 5; Müller, *Isis Aretalogien*, p. 84.
212. See chap. 6, Commentary, sec. 1, n. III; chap. 8, Translation. As to the phrases “Giver of Life, Lady of Life,” *di(t) ’nh nb(t) ’nh*, although *di(t) ’nh* is frequently translated as “given life,” it seems that in some instances, such as in reference to a deity where it is not part of a set formula discussed by Gardiner (*Grammar* § 378), or in this case, where it is followed by a strengthening epithet, “Lady of Life,” *di(t)* can be plausibly explained as an active participle: “One who gives life,” or “Giver of Life.” W. Schenkel's remark (MDAIK 37 [1981], p. 427, n. 1b) that in that case the participle, since it is an imperfective one, would have been written *dd(j)-’nh* does not apply necessarily to Late Egyptian (see Erman, NG § 367), and certainly not to Ptolemaic writings (see Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, § 165).
213. Bresciani et al., *Assuan*, p. 105; cf. “Isis who grants old age in the temple of Saïs”; El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, p. 146, n. *c*; A. Leahy, JEA 72 (1986), p. 226, no. 14.
214. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, p. 31, l. 7.
215. Festugière, *Etudes*, p. 160; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 28.
216. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 28–31.
217. It is impossible to be certain about Müller's final classification of the aretalogical statements. At the end of his book, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 91, he established five categories, each category containing the complete number of the state-

ments assigned to it, while in OLZ 67, pp. 119f., he speaks only of three categories, each comprising an incomplete number of statements and ending with *etc.*

218. It seems that M 22 speaks of the institution of the initiation into mysteries (“I taught men,” or “I showed to men”); a Greek author and reader would certainly have thought here of Isis having assumed this function from Demeter. The question of the existence and nature of Egyptian Isiac mysteries in Hellenistic times and the problems related to it are reexamined in such works as Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, pp. 76–79, 103f.; Junge in Westendorf, ed., *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, pp. 93–115; E. Wente, JNES 41 (1982), pp. 161–79; Griffiths, *The Isis-Book*, pp. 258f., 307f.; and esp. Griffiths in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds.), *Soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano* (Leiden, 1982), pp. 192–219; Hölbl, LdÄ VI, 947ff. See also Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 49; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 230, n. 2; Daumas, LdÄ II, 1027f.; J. Leclant, *Annuaire*, Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, T. XCI (1982–83), p. 228.

219. On the sudden emergence of the islands from the sea, an idea well attested in antiquity, see Peek, *Isis hymnus von Andros*, pp. 70f. and his translation in *Die Antike* 6, p. 330.

220. Festugière, *Etudes*, p. 161.

221. *Ibid.*

222. Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 87: “nahm er als Vorlage die Isisgestalt, die uns aus den späten ägyptischen Tempelinschriften entgegentritt.”

223. Festugière, *Etudes*, p. 161; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 87f.; Müller, OLZ 67, pp. 129f.

224. Fairman, “Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple,” p. 167; S. Cauville, *Edfou* (Bibliothèque Générale VI, Cairo, 1984), pp. 62f.

225. Berlin Phs. 23–25; See Hintze, *Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat Es Sufra*, pp. 43f. Cf. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus*, p. 137, ll. 22–26. For particular phrases of this brief hymn see Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis*, pp. 143f., 206, 208, 98; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 73; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, pp. 199f.

226. See, e.g., Peek, *Isishymnus von Andros*, p. 122; Grandjean, *Une nouvelle arétalogie*, p. 122; Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, p. 12.

227. See Müller, *Isis-Aretalogien*, pp. 12f.

228. Peek, *Isishymnus von Andros*, p. 15, l. 7.

229. *Ibid.*, p. 25, n. 3; Müller, OLZ 67, p. 129.

230. It is somewhat surprising to notice that, in the most recent reference to this problem, Hölbl, LdÄ VI, 957, n. 38, stated: “Dass der Text von Kyme, wie in Z. 2 behauptet, die Übersetzung eines äg. Originals aus Memphis darstellt, hat Bergman, op. cit. [Ich bin Isis] bewiesen.”

231. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, I, p. 670.

232. This would have involved a research more difficult than that of the author of the “Aretalogy of Asclepius,” who, we are told (and should we take his statement literally?), in translating into Greek an Egyptian “book” apparently found in the Temple of Imhotep at Memphis in the time of Nectanebo, “filled up defects and struck out superfluties, and in telling a rather long tale, spoke briefly and narrated once for all a complicated story.” See *Pap. Oxy.* 1381 in Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. XI, p. 228, ll. 174–81, translation on p. 231; D. Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep* (MÄS 36, 1977), pp. 93ff., with bibliography.

233. C. Préaux, *Le monde Hellénistique*, II (Paris, 1978), p. 657.



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