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E. A. E. JELINKOVÁ

## The Shebtw in the temple at Edfu

The Inner Face of the Enclosure Wall of the Ptolemaic Temple at Edfu shows two scenes connected with the foundation and building of the temple<sup>1</sup>. In each of these there is represented an assembly of deities who were believed to attend such ceremonies. Among the deities represented we come across a couple of gods bearing very simple, but unusual names: Wa and 'Aā. We meet them associated with an assembly of gods who were believed to attend the foundation of a presumed mythical temple named Great-Seat (*st-wrt*), and who were Thoth and the Seven Sages<sup>2</sup>. Wa and 'Aā are also members of a procession of gods which was believed to have been performed on the day of the "Festival of Entering in the Temple" (*k r hwt-ntr*)<sup>3</sup>. In addition to these scenes Wa and 'Aā are found, in an attitude of adoration, in a primitive sacred place of the Falcon called Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor<sup>4</sup>.

These circumstances suggest that the Edfu tradition introduces us to a couple of gods who were believed to be connected with the mythical history of a temple and also with the history of primitive sacred places. Further research in the Edfu inscriptions confirms that these deities also had their cult in the Edfu Temple. We find among the ritual scenes engraved on the Outer Wall of the Pronaos of this temple a scene which shows Wa and 'Aā in a company of six other deities seated beyond the primaeval resting place of the Falcon, the Djeba<sup>5</sup>. On the evidence of the "offering formula" of this scene<sup>6</sup> it would seem that there was a tradition that Wa and 'Aā with their fellows were adored in that primaeval, mythical cultus-place of the Falcon, jointly with the Lord of Djeba and the Spear-god. An inscription which accompanies this scene seems to be an account of the origin and activities of these deities. A translation and an interpretation of this text is attempted in this paper.

## Translation

(358,9) These are the great gods, the Senior Ones<sup>(a)</sup>, the august Shebtw<sup>(b)</sup>, pre-eminent in Heracleopolis (*N'rt*)<sup>(c)</sup>. They are the divine Providers (*db3w*)<sup>(d)</sup> who provided for great and small<sup>(e)</sup>.

(358,10) Endue with power<sup>(f)</sup> everything is their work<sup>(g)</sup>. Excellent Souls<sup>(h)</sup>, great of reverence in Neref, sanctified of position in Remen-pet. They are (among) the Twenty Gods<sup>(i)</sup> who proclaimed the earth upon its foundation<sup>(j)</sup> since the time (358,11) of the Primaeval Age of Gods<sup>(k)</sup> unto the completion of Eternity. The Powers, the Sanctified Ones<sup>(l)</sup>, who endowed with power everything, even (?) the heavenly and earthly beings<sup>(m)</sup>, by the work of their hands.

Children of Tanen<sup>(n)</sup>, (358,12) (even) the offspring of the Creator<sup>(o)</sup>, Glorious Spirits of the Early Primaeval Age of Gods<sup>(p)</sup>. Brethern of the Sages and the Builder Gods [they are] (and) progeny created by Him-(358,13)-who-is-South-of-his-Enclosure<sup>(q)</sup>.

Two among them are leader(s)<sup>(r)</sup> for them, (namely) Wa and 'Aā<sup>(s)</sup>, the Lord(s) of the Island of Trampling<sup>(t)</sup>. They are the two gods who founded this place<sup>(u)</sup> and who were first (358,14) to exist therein in the company of Rē<sup>(v)</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>) E. VI. 168,10—169,7; 173,4—175,11 = XIII. pl. DXXXIX—DXLIV; E. VI. 318,15—319,15; 321,6—323,5; 327,4—327,12 = XIV. pl. DCHH—DCVI.

<sup>2</sup>) E. VI. 169,7.

<sup>3</sup>) E. VI. 322,3; 323,4.

<sup>4</sup>) E. VI. 186,1—2 = XIV. pl. DLXI.

<sup>5</sup>) E. X. pl. 105; this scene is studied in all details in our article to be published in the forthcoming issue of JEA. 47.

<sup>6</sup>) E. IV. 357,15—358,7 for the translation of all the explanatory texts of this scene see also JEA. 47.

When the reed came floating by<sup>(w)</sup>, (and) when a half of it was split<sup>(x)</sup>, they reached their lord<sup>(y)</sup> and they planted a slip (of reed) in the primaeval (358,15) water<sup>(z)</sup>. Then the Falcon came (and) the reed lifted him up<sup>(aa)</sup>. Thus Djeha (and) Wetjeset-Hor came into existence<sup>(bb)</sup>. Protection (had been established?)<sup>(cc)</sup>. The Shebtw praised in the front of (?) the lord<sup>(dd)</sup> when he came in the capacity<sup>(ee)</sup> of the Great God, even (358,16) the Nefer-Her<sup>(ff)</sup>. Adoration was given to him (and?) "Welcome" said the three (divine beings, namely)<sup>(gg)</sup>: Wa, 'Aâ (and) the *drty*-falcon<sup>(hh)</sup> upon the willow<sup>(ii)</sup>, great being the water-flood that lies close to the reed<sup>(jj)</sup>.

Then the great primaeval mound came into existence<sup>(kk)</sup> (358,17) by the agency of Hedjeti. Ptah emerged therefrom<sup>(ll)</sup> to protect his twins<sup>(mm)</sup> in his likeness of the Sekhem-her<sup>(nn)</sup>.

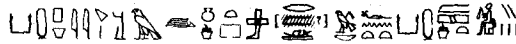
The Shebtw visited them<sup>(oo)</sup> (358,18) at their going to Heracleopolis<sup>(pp)</sup> to endue with power the substances jointly with their brethren<sup>(qq)</sup>. They went there after they joined with them<sup>(rr)</sup>, (359,1) they being at their head<sup>(ss)</sup>, abiding in their person(s) within Neb-shefyt<sup>(tt)</sup> like Râ' in his Great Seat. (359,2) Their statues were erected in the Place-in-which-the-snake-was-punished<sup>(uu)</sup> and the evildoer was punished<sup>(vv)</sup> because of his evil deeds. Their images shall not be destroyed<sup>(ww)</sup> in the "Mansion of the Ram"<sup>(xx)</sup>, and (359,3) their statues shall never perish in Mesen.

#### Commentary

(a) *ntrw ipnw sw ura*, this expression usually occurs in the headings of the Edfu texts describing the primaeval deities; cf. E. IV. 352,16; 384,12; 390,3; V. 85,7; VI. 173,4; 174,11. We think that this expression is a non-verbal sentence *A pn* with adjectival predicate, *urw* being used as a noun in apposition with the meaning "the Senior ones, the Eldest Ones", cf. Wb. I, 328,(14); 329,(1); *urw* is at Edfu a frequent name of the primaeval creative deities, cf. E. I. 289,1; IV. 266,5; 267,4; 267,5; 299,4; VI. 16,1; 2; 3; 173,4; 174,11.

(b) *sbtw*, cf. Wb. IV. 438,(9) defines this name as "deities acting at the foundation of the temple at Edfu" and refers only to Piehl, Inscr., II, 67—68. *sbtw* is a divine name and occurs only in the Edfu cosmogonical records and in some additional texts; see: E. III. 7,3. 6; IV. 353,3; 357,17; 358,3. 9. 18; 390,5; VI. 170,2; 173,6; 175,8; 177,1. 5. 7. 11. 12. 13. 14; 181,12—13; 182,5—6; 182,10. 12—13. 16; 183,3. 10. 11—12; 184,2. 11. 13. 15. 17—17; 320,11, see also JEA, 47.

This name might be a derivative of the verb *sbj* with its current meaning "to mix", cf. Wb. IV. 436, but there is no textual evidence to support this interpretation. In the Edfu cosmogonical records the name *sbtw* occurs twice in connexion with a verb *sb*. The first instance of the verb *sb* is in E. VI. 177,1; the Shebtw while associated with the Ghosts are said to *sb iht*. The second occurrence in E. VI. 184,14—15 is in a difficult and damaged passage. Nevertheless an interpretation can be attempted. The text reads:



for which we suggest, very tentatively, the rendering: "The name of the pöy-land is Wetjeset-Hor (even?) the *sbt*-place which was *sb* to [protect (*gs-dp*?)] its lord, that is the name of the Shebtw." Moreover a verb  $\text{𓂏}^{\times} \Delta$  *sb* can be quoted in the Philae inscriptions, cf. Philae 2392, Phot. 450 (= Wb. IV. 437,(2) which shows a close link with the idea of bringing or coming into existence, and which describes an activity of Khnum who attends the mother: "Thou art the Divine Image who caused the egg to live, who dispelled the darkness (and?) who *sb* the mother (or: who dispelled the darkness to *sb* the mother)."

The second Edfu instance seems to offer an argument supporting the view that the divine name *sbtw* could be taken as a derivative of that verb *sb*, and that precisely through the action of *sb* the place could be brought in a state such as to provide the protection for the god. Supposing on the other hand that the word *iht* in the first Edfu instance has the same meaning as in the expression *sw iht* (cf. below, p. 43—44 n. (f)), and that there might be some similarity with the quotation in the Philae inscriptions, we may suggest that *sb* might be in some way connected with the verb *sw*, and

that, perhaps, it might also describe some activity bearing on the origin of the sacred domains. Although there is no decisive evidence, one can hazard a guess and suggest that in these quotations, there is contained the verb  $\square \int \times \text{𐎃}$  meaning "to alter", "to transform" (cf. Wb. IV. 436, (8). (9) which however does not give an accurate rendering). If this be correct, the verb *šbj* would seem to be used with slightly modified meaning, and would seem to imply the idea of acting with a view to altering, to making change in the form of something which eventually bears on the nature of these *šbt*, affects them and transforms them into another form and appearance. Stressing here the result of the action *sw* (cf. below, p. 44), it would seem that *šb* might describe an act or process which involved the former action, and by virtue of which the nature of the *šbt* was altered or transformed so to give the origin and the appearance of the *pšy*-lands, and thus to provide for the god a land in which he could find protection, that is to say to transform a freshly emerged land into a sacred domain. This theoretical interpretation accords with the nature of the part played by the Shebtw in the creation. This was not an organic and physical process of creation, of a real making of something entirely new which had not yet existed. It was, as will be explained below (cf. p. 44) a latent process of giving a new appearance to what already was. Therefore the divine beings who were capable to act potentially might have been regarded as the *šbtjw* "the ones who transform", as creating powers who produced the coming into being by a continued change of the aspect of what was. The Edfu tradition introduces us to creators who acted by metamorphosis.

(c) *hnty Nrt*, as title of the Shebtw is unknown elsewhere. Although it agrees with the names such as "greatly revered in Neref", "sanctified of position in Remen-pet" (cf. 358,10) and with the reference to *Nb-šfyt* (359,1) this tradition cannot be at present confirmed by the Heracleopolitan texts.

(d) *gbšw*, as a divine name is also known from the Edfu texts only. It is used as a subsidiary name of the Shebtw. With exception of the main cosmogonical records of Edfu, it substitutes the former in E. IV. 328,5; VI. 17,11; 224,11; VII. 22,9. Because all the instances show the spelling *gbšw*, it is unlikely that this name can be connected with *gbšty*, cf. Wb. V. 562, (7-9). *gbšw* being associated with the verb *gbš* "to provide", it is reasonable to suppose that *gbšw* is a participle used as a noun; thus "the (divine) providers". It can also be suggested that this name might have been formed in the tradition of a later date and probably under influence of the name of the divine seat they were believed to have created, the *gbš*-perch, cf. below, p. 47, thus "the gods of the perch (djeba)". However it is not known whether this name might have been formed in the Edfu interpretation or whether it might have been of an earlier date.

— *gbš*, used with a direct object *wrw nšsw*, can mean "to provide, supply great and small", and this interpretation can be argued by the occurrence of *gbš* in E. III. 355,12 where the activities of these deities are described in summarised way that they arrayed (*gbš*) the gods in a blessed operation (*m tr nfr*). That *tr nfr* can refer to the creation of the primaeval sacred domain is confirmed by E. VI. 173,8 and 175,2. The suggested interpretation would fit with the nature of the activities of the Shebtw; *gbš* can, alternatively, contain the meaning "to substitute", cf. Wb. V. 555, (8). This second view would, however, require the reading *wrw n wrw*, cf. n. (e). The alternative interpretation could thus be: "The gods of Perch (Djeba) who substituted the most aged ones".

(e) For the group  $\text{𐎃} \text{𐎃} \text{𐎃}$  two readings can be suggested: a) *wrw nšsw* "great and small"; the reading *nšs* can be supported by the hieratic form of *nšs*, cf. P.B.M. 10209, I, 6 (unpublished); b) if we agree that the verb *gbš* is used with the meaning "to substitute", the reading *wrw n wrw* can be envisaged; lit. "the great of the great ones", i.e. "the eldest, the most aged ones". We suspect that there might be an allusion to a pre-existing generation of gods whom the Shebtw substituted in the work of creation. See E. IV. 358,11-12, the text hints at the view that the Shebtw were not the first generation of creators.

(f) *sw šbt nbt* is an interesting and not familiar expression which is only known to us from the Edfu cosmogonical records. It occurs in E. IV. 358,10. 11. 18; VI. 177,14; 184,11-12. *sw* is ap-

parently a verb which in the main described the activities of the Shebtiw, except one instance in which Tanen is mentioned, cf. E. VI. 183,7—8. There can hardly be any connexion with the verb *sw* quoted in Wb. IV. 59,(16. 17), the significance of which would not fit in our context, or with the verb *swt* meaning "to cause to be great", "to increase", cf. Wb. IV. 77,(9). There is no authority to justify the fall of the final *-t* in our instances. As *sw* occurs in the cosmogonical records only, theoretically it is likely that it can describe some activities of creation. This hypothesis seems to find confirmation in E. IV. 357,17, where the Shebtiw are said to *špr* "to bring into existence" the *pōy*-land. Moreover in E. VI. 183,7-8 Tanen is said to have *sw* two sacred symbols, described as staffs, to which the names *segemeh* and *sekhem-her* were given. In the abbreviated version of the same record it is said (cf. E. VI. 15,3—4) that Ptah-Tanen was in the Nun to protect the god by virtue of the *Segemeh* and *Sekhem-her*. We imagine that the picture quoted might allude to the creation of the protective symbols which were of special kind. The symbols might have been created in the Nun and were only brought into sight by virtue of the action *sw*. In E. VI. 184,11—12 allusion is made to "the time in which the Shebtiw recited the spells (*šjsw*). Wa and 'Aā having sped, were placed in the place in which the *īht* of the earth were *sw*". As a result of this action, it is explained that the primaeval water receded and a plot of land (*pōy*) was led forth. The text in E. VI. 177,13—14 tells us again about "the time in which the Shebtiw called (*nts*) the *īht* that were in sight. They sped and were placed in the place in which the *īht* of all the lands were *sw*. The primaeval water drew back therefrom. The place (*bw*) was delimited". Further evidence of the same action can be found in E. VI. 183,12. However instead by *sw* *īht*, the activities of the Shebtiw are described by the expression *dm* *īht*. In the following text there is a list of names of the *pōy*-lands. We suspect that the Edfu redactor might have abbreviated the original version and omitted the description of the receding water as recorded in E. VI. 177,14 and 184,14. If this be correct, we imagine that the *dm* *īht* action might have the same result and that the water receded so that the plots of earth lying beneath the water came into sight. From these hints we conjecture that *sw* may describe a definite action bearing on the origin of the *pōy*-lands, and that it may be, perhaps, a somewhat more accurate and rather technical rendering of *špr*. Certainly *sw* does not seem to refer to a physical or organic process of creation. The importance of "saying" which accompanies the *sw*-action is obvious from the quotations, and can be stressed by the parallel use with the verb *dm* "to name". It may tentatively be suggested that *sw* may have an analogous meaning. We imagine that *sw* may indicate the act of pronouncing of certain names or spells which were believed to cause to appear the things previously created but hidden beneath the water. The name once pronounced, the thing appeared. *sw* seems to describe a magic rite which was believed to form a part only of the process of the creation of the earth. It may tentatively be suggested that this rite might have been performed over some symbols, or substances of special kind, which symbolised that which was to be brought out of the water; in other words a rite which aimed at transforming the symbol into its real shape, here, for instance, the *īht* of the earth into land called *pōy*. This is reminiscent of the epithet of the Shebtiw in E. VI. 177,1: *šb* *īht*, (cf. above). Supposing that this epithet defines the main activities of the Shebtiw, it can be imagined that there might be some affinities of significance between *sw* *īht* and *šb* *īht*. If this deduction be correct, *sw* would seem to define a latent procedure of creation the outcome of which was that the symbols (*īht*) obtained their real, factual shape by virtue of pronouncing a specific name or spell. Regarding the result of this action, the appearance of a plot of earth, we venture to say that the word having been pronounced, it carried the power of transforming on the *īht* which became active and communicated the same power to another invisible species which subsequently appeared in its final and definite shape. The principle of this manner of creating would seem to consist of endowing with power by virtue of the word some special matter, here the earth hidden beneath the primaeval water, with a view to making it capable of coming into existence. We would therefore hazard a guess and suggest that the verb *sw* can enshrine the meaning "to endue with or to fill with power the *īht* of the earth". This *sw*-action would appear to be the essential act of the metamorphic


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way of the creation (*sb*). *-ht nbt*, a common expression seems to be substituted here for the *ht t3* in E. VI. 177,14; 184,12. *ht t3* lit. "the things of the earth" is known to us from the Edfu texts only. *ht* with apparently the same or closely related meaning occurs also in E. IV. 358,18; VI. 17,9. 10; 177,1; 177,6—7. 12. 13; 183,12; 184,4; 18. Referring to the meaning of *sw*, we picture substances of special kind which might have been kept, so far in this tradition, in the island of creation. Their nature is never described, however, these *ht* would appear to be symbols of what was to be created by a potential manner. In this tradition they would appear to be the essence of the coming into being of this Earth.

(g) *k3t.sn, k3t* is usual in describing the work of creation, cf. E. III. 317,17; 358,17; Urk. VIII. 72,19; 75,16; 120,2.

(h) *b3w ikrw*, the tradition that the Shebtw were dead gods of the Heracleopolitan nome is not known elsewhere, cf. below, p. 53 "Conclusions".

(i) The "Twenty Gods", no other evidence is known. The name refers undoubtedly to a group of creative deities; it seems to allude, however, to another tradition than that about the "Children of Tanen", cf. 358,11—12.

(j) *s3 (?) t3 hr ndbw.f*, there is some hesitation about the reading of the sign ; it can mean *s3* "to protect", cf. Fairman, A SAE, 43, p. 222, or *gd* "to say", cf. *ibid.*, p. 222; this one brings to mind the interpretation by *wp* or *tp*, cf. *ibid.*, p. 258, this word being used here as a synonym of *3sr*, cf. Wb. IV. 548. The nature of the activities of the Shebtw will support the second interpretation suggested. This one will also agree with the expression *hr ndbw.f*. — Two interpretations can be suggested for the expression *t3 hr ndbw.f*; either it is used with the meaning "the entire earth", cf. Wb. II. 368, (10), or *ndbw.f* alludes to a pre-existing foundation ground from which this world was believed to have been created. *ndbw* may imply the same meaning as *snwt* in E. VI. 182,6; *snwt wrt n h33 ndb* "the Great Foundation Ground of the Ruler of the Wing" which was the very spot in which the Shebtw performed the *sw ht t3*. See also E. IV. 390,6 which hints at a *snwt*-foundation ground preexisting the creation of the primaeval mound.


(k) *p3wtwyw*, referring to E. IV. 1,14 and VI. 14,13 this manner of writing is to be interpreted as *p3wt ntrw*, the "Primaeval Age of Gods".

(l) *shmw* as a name of creative powers occurs in E. IV. 390,6; V. 85,7; 181,7.

*-ntrjw*, does not seem to be used as an adjective epithet of *shmw*; it is rather another divine name "the Divinised Ones", used in apposition to *shmw*; *id.* in E. IV. 390,4.

(m) *r hryw n hryw*, the expression is not entirely clear. *r* might be used with the value of *m* of equivalence, cf. Junker, Gramm. Denderahstexte, p. 144. We suspect that this expression might be in apposition to *nn n3w* and may, perhaps, allude to the creation of heavenly and earthly beings, cf. Wb. III. 142,(9), mainly Philae 2061, Phot. 944: "Horus-Ré' who rose from the lotus and created the *hryw* and brought into existence the *hryw*"; *id.* E. III. 133,3.

(n) *msw Tnt*, this divine name occurs in the Edfu texts only, cf. E. I. 289,1; IV. 140,13; 353,2; 390,4. It seems to apply to three families of primaeval creative powers, who all together were regarded as *snw* "brethren", cf. E. IV. 353,2—3; 358,12; 390,4; VI. 173,6; in E. VI. 173,7 they are described as "the thirty gods who assumed the (kingly) office of their father Tanen". The theory about the Children of Tanen is known from the Edfu sources only, cf. below, p. 50 "Conclusion" and our separate study about the "Children of Tanen".

(o)  *hy*, "Creator" is a deliberately chosen interpretation. As a divine name it can be found in the Edfu texts only; cf. E. III. 268,14; 279,2; IV. 358,12; 359,13; V. 60,14; VII. 6,2. The context suggests that it may be used as a name of Tanen; *id.* in M. 21,6. Probably *wtt n hy* is a mere apposition to *msw Tnt*.

(p) *3hw n p3wtwyw tpyw*, used as a subsidiary name of the Shebtw; in E. IV. 353,3; VI. 173,6 the same name applies to the Builder Gods, in E. IV. 390,5 to the Sages.

— *p3wtw tpyw*, is frequently used in the Ptolemaic texts as a name of the Ogdoad, cf. Sethe, Amun, p. 46—47; E. III. 312,2; VI. 173,9; 174,11; 175,8. This view would be confirmed by E. IV. 353,3 giving the name of the Ogdoad instead of *p3wtw tpyw*. This relationship between the Ogdoad and the Children of Tanen, the latter being their Glorious Spirits, seems to be a little strange. We wonder whether the writing *p3wtw tpyw* should not be for *p3wt tpyt*, cf. the writing for the "primaeval age of gods" on l. 358,14, and above, p. 45 n. (k). It can tentatively be suggested that the Children of Tanen were regarded as "Glorious Spirits" rather of the Primaeval Age of Gods than those of the Ogdoad.

(q) *wttw km3. n Rsj-tnb. f.*, cf. E. VI. 175,7—8, Ptah is "builder of the Builder Gods, father of the Sages, Ancestor of the Shebtw and progenitor of the Early Primaeval Ones". E. IV. 353,2 shows somewhat modified description: "the Children of Tanen whom He-South-of-his-Enclosure had begotten, the progeny of Ba-neb-hyt". This is undoubtedly an additional view made in the tradition of a later date. The main sources of the Edfu Creation Myth, cf. E. VI. 181,12—14 do not mention Ptah as father of the Shebtw and their brethren.

(r) The suff. *-sn* must refer to the other Shebtw, cf. l. 358,18. *tp.sn* points to a distinction among the members of the family. Cf. E. IV. 358,18—359,1 refers to an association between Wa and 'Aä and the other Shebtw. The first cosmogonical record of Edfu, cf. E. VI. 181,12, indicates that Wa and 'Aä were brought to the island of creation ahead of the Shebtw. Because, perhaps, they were believed to be the first to start the creation of the earth and sacred domains, they were, in the tradition of a later date, given a privileged position within the family and were regarded as their leaders.

(s) Wa and 'Aä, as divine names occur in the Edfu cosmogonical records only; see: E. III. 31,12; VI. 14,14; 169,7; 181,13; 15; 184,3. 11; 186,1—2; 322,3; 323,4; as divine names they seem to be less usual, probably the Edfu tradition hints here at the existence of deities who were adored in the dim past of the prehistoric Egypt; cf. below, p. 51—52 "Conclusions".

(t) *nbw tw ttit*, as a title of Wa and 'Aä was undoubtedly made in the tradition of a later date. *tw ttit*, cf. E. VI. 181,12—13 is the name of the mythical island of creation in which the Shebtw were believed to perform the action of *sw tht*. It is natural that the tradition might regard them as "masters" of that island.

(u) *smn st tn*, it is unlikely that *st tn* can refer to the island itself. More probable is that the expression applies to the spot of the island in which Wa and 'Aä landed and planted the slip of reed, and which was called *gs-w'rt* first, cf. E. VI. 181,15—16. This expression seems to summarise the event recorded in E. IV. 358,14—16 = VI. 181,15—182,3.

(v) *š3' hpr tm. s.*, cf. E. VI. 181,13—14 Wa and 'Aä are described as the first divine beings who emerged from the water to the island as soon as the light came. *tm. s* must again refer to the same spot in which the *db3*-slip of reed had been planted. The interpretation of a later date substitutes Rē for the original Falcon, cf. E. VI. 182,4.

(w) The text in E. VI. 358,14—17 summarises the content of the first part of the first cosmogonical record of Edfu, cf. E. VI. 181,11—182,17.

*-hft ty nbt*, sim. in E. VI. 14,14 and VI. 177,6—7. However the main source does not mention the arriving or emerging of the reed, cf. E. VI. 181,14—15. It is said only that the reed was perceived.

— For *mš* describing the reed floating by the edges of the island, cf. Wb. II. 122,6; E. VI. 177,7.

(x) *tšj gs*, *gs* seems to describe a part of reed, cf. E. VI. 177,6; for *tšj*, cf. Wb. V. 329,(6), is possibly here employed with somewhat specified meaning "to split in two", id. in E. VI. 181,16 and in a more explicit version in E. VI. 177,6: "The top of the reed is to be split in two (*tšj*); a part (*gs*) thereof is that which had been cut therefrom (and) which is the part (*gs*) to be lifted up (*wts*) from the cutting (*tšj*)".

— The description of the events recorded can be interpreted in two different ways; either these events are said in main juxtaposed sentences, or we have here a three times repeated construction:

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temporal clause + main sentence. If the second interpretation be correct, *s<sup>3</sup>h.sn(r)nb.sn* and *ty Hr* would be to be linked as parallel with the temporal clause: *hft ty nbt*; the result of these three juxtaposed actions being: *hpr db<sup>3</sup>*; for an alternative rendering see JEA, 47.

(y) *s<sup>3</sup>h.sn(r)nb.sn*, the suff. *-sn* must refer to Wa and 'Aa, cf. E. VI. 181,16.

— For *db<sup>3</sup>* two readings can be suggested: either *ntr* or *nb*; id. in 358,15. It is not obvious to whom *nb* may refer. The main source (E. VI. 181,14) permits us to suggest either the god called *Htr-hr*, but there is no confirmative evidence that he was lord of the Shebtw, or the "Winged One" (cf. ibid. 182,1) or even the Ka who is said to arrive the reed having been removed (cf. ibid. 182,2), and who gave instructions for cutting the reed (cf. E. VI. 177,5—6). However in E. IV. 358,15 this presumed lord is the Nefer-her.

(z) *sddj.tw.sn db<sup>3</sup>*, id. E. IV. 358,3. *sddj*, lit. "to cause to endure"; however the object of this action, the *db<sup>3</sup>-slip*, suggests a somewhat modified meaning such as "to fix", to "establish firmly", thus "to plant". The object *db<sup>3</sup>* confirms that in the subsequent instances the same verb is once used as intransitive written as *db<sup>3</sup>*, cf. E. VI. 177,8; 181,16; once as transitive, causative showing the writing *db<sup>3</sup>*, cf. E. IV. 328,5; VI., 14,14; 17,11; 224,11; VII. 22,8. *-sddj.tw.sn*, can also be taken as a passive form, *sddj.tw.s*, *-s* referring to the *gs*-part, *n* being for *m* of equivalence; thus the second interpretation would be "It had been planted as *db<sup>3</sup>-perch* in the primaeval water".

*-db<sup>3</sup>* shows the determinative *db<sup>3</sup>*, id. in E. IV. 328,4; VI. 181,16; 184,14; 224,11. *db<sup>3</sup>* seems to be a technical term which applies to the *gs*-part of the reed which was taken from the cutting (*tšj*), cf. above, p. 46, n. (x), thus "slip of reed"; cf. E. VI. 181,16 *db<sup>3</sup> nbt* id. in 182,2 and more explicit instance in 182,1: "the name of the reed (*nbt*) which was in the primaeval water is *db<sup>3</sup>*". The use of this slip suggests the meaning "perch", cf. E. VI., 182,2—3: "the *db<sup>3</sup>-slip* of reed is the name of the Djeba-Perch in Wetjeset-Hor". This perch of reed was regarded as the first resting place of the Falcon, cf. E. IV. 358,3; VI. 17,11; 224,11; 323,4. For a more detailed discussion of the significance of this primaeval perch and further allusions to the planting of the perch, see our article in JEA, 47.

(aa) *ty btk wts sw nbt*, id. E. IV. 328,5; VI. 15,1; 184,14 alters: *spr btk wts btk in nbt*; *db<sup>3</sup>* can be read: either *ntr* or, or *btk*, or *Hr*. The cosmogonical records do not provide instances to solve the problem of reading.







— The reed (*nbt*) is in this tradition given a special function which is expressed by the word *wts*, "to uplift"; cf. E. IV. 2,2; VI. 11,7—8; 15,1; 177,8; 182,8; 323,4. It was believed that the outcome of the *wts*, "uplifting" of the god was the origin of a sacred place.


(bb) *hpr Db<sup>3</sup> hpr Wtst-Hr*, id. E. IV. 328,4; VI. 15,1; 177,9; 182,2—3; 224,11. It shows that the name of the first sacred domain of the Falcon was interpreted as having been derived from the words that describe the main component parts of the creation of this primitive place. This myth seems to reveal another, probably earlier tradition which was connected with the meaning of the mythological name Wetjeset-Hor, "the Litter-of-Horus", cf. Blackman-Fairman, Misc. Greg. p. 412, n. 5. That several traditions were attached to the name Wetjeset-Hor is confirmed by the lists of the mythological names of the Edfu Temple; cf. E. IV. 328,5—7; VII. 22,8—10.

— The way in which the name of the primaeval domain is written here is noteworthy. It shows that Wetjeset-Hor was regarded as a sacred domain (or nome) which enshrined the djeba-perch. This view finds support in E. VI. 182,2 and E. VI. 177,9; sim. VI. 17,11; 323,4 as has already been quoted in our article in JEA, 47.

(cc) *nhp* with the determinative *nb* is unusual, cf. Wb. II. 285,1. We suspect that we have here two verbs: a) *nhp* meaning "to protect", the determinative of which was omitted; cf. E. VI. 182,4; b) *nb* may be used with the meaning *tšw* "to praise", thus, perhaps, *tšw sbtyw*, "the Shebtw adored"; probably this sentence alludes to the adoration of the Sacred Falcon, cf. E. VI. 182,5.





(dd)  the interpretation of this group meets with some difficulties.  can mean *Sšy*, the god of Destiny, cf. Wb. IV. 404,(6). Referring to l. 358,14: *sšh.sn(r)nb*, we would prefer to see here a preposition + a noun. As  can be used with the value of *st*, we wonder whether there is no less usual writing of  cf. Wb. IV. 332,(7). If this be we must assume that  is wrongly for .


(ee) Read: *ms. fn (= m) ntr 's m Nfr-hr*; for , with the value of *m* cf. Fairman, ASAE, 43, p. 222 and Chassinat, BIFAO, 10, p. 175 ff. E. IV. 140,13, however, confirms the reading *ms*. See the main source in E. VI. 182,4 where this deity is described as "the Sanctified Ruler, the *šrtj*-falcon with divine head".

(ff) *Nfr-Hr* is the name of Ptah, cf. E. III. 32,13; VI. 179,8; 175,7. As the name of Ptah does not occur in the main source, cf. E. VI. 182,4, we suspect that this instance and E. VI. 15,1 might reveal the original form of Nefer-her, thus a falcon-like deity who was in the tradition of a later date equated with Ptah.

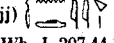




(gg) We think that there are two sentences and we would suggest the interpretation: *dj n. f tšw tšw(ty) in w'w*.

—  is used to indicate a "divine being"; cf. E. VI. 181,16; 182,1; 177,9; 177,7 seems to show yet another manner of writing: .

(hh) In the original tradition the Falcon seems to have been indicated as *ndb* "the Winged One", only, cf. E. VI. 182,1,7. However in the tradition of a later date this falcon seems to have been regarded as the *šrtj*-falcon, cf. E. VI. 15,3.


—  unusual writing for *šrtj*, csim. in. E. III. 202,16.

(ii) *tp trt* shows a discrepancy in the description, id. E. VI. 15,3. The later redactor substituted the *trt*-willow for the original perch of reed. In the main source of this myth, cf. E. VI. 184,3—5, the *trt*-willow was the divine seat of the falcon in another place of the island, and which was called "The-Place-of-the-Throne". According to E. III. 187,4—5, however, the *trt*-willow seems to be definitely associated with the *wšst*-throne.


(jj)  tentatively it might be suggested that this is a less usual writing for '*ndty*' cf. Wb. I. 207,11. However the determinative  makes this interpretation unlikely.  is used in plural in the main source, cf. E. VI. 182,3. Therefore we suspect that the interpretation may be '(adjective) + *ndy*, meaning  cf. Wb. II. 377,(11). If this be correct,  would seem to be used with the meaning *w* or *th*, sense which seems to be required by E. VI. 182,3: "Grea was the inundation <in> the fields that surround the *gs* (= djeba) of reed". The expression *m-swšw* seems to be replaced in our text by *wšh. s r-gs*; *r-gs* is in this context rather a preposition, "beside, close to".

(kk) *h'y wr*, the corresponding passage in the main source is to be found in E. VI. 182,13—14. Generally in the Edfu texts the primaeval mound is described as *h'y-wr*, cf. E. III. 7,4; IV. 390, V. 118,12; VI. 15,18; 183,18; VII. 23. 9. Although there is a theory that the mound was the first earth to emerge (cf. Sethe, Urgesch. § 224; Urk. VIII. 92,22; ASAE, 44, p. 135), it is clear from this and other Edfu documents that the mound emerged after the gods were settled down in their primaeval seats.

— There is no other authority to confirm that the mound was created by agency of Hedje or that this deity was a creator.

(ll) *pri Pth im, im* seems to refer to the mound from which the god was believed to emerge. Ptah is here as well as in E. VI. 15, 7—8 equated with the original Protector God,  *ntr-hn* (cf. E. VI. 182,17) who is said to "come thereupon in this place to protect (*hn*)" god in Wetjeset-Neter in the capacity of Segemeh".

(mm) *hr* seems to have been used with the final meaning, "for"; *nd* must be used as a verb only; for Ptah as the Protector of the Falcon cf. E. III. 8,9; VI. 325,9.

—  is the name of the Ogdoad, cf. E. VI. 174,12—13: "the Divine Twins of Him-South-of-his-Enclosure". We suspect that there might be a hint at a possible adoption and adaptation of the original myth about the emerging of the Protector god, because the main Edfu source does not refer to the Ogdoad.

(nn) *m snn.f n shm-hr*, differs from the main source in E. VI. 182,17 where the Protector god is said to assume the form of the god Heter-her. In this tradition, however, *shm-hr* would be the name of the form in which Ptah was believed to reveal himself and in which he protected the Falcon in his primaeval dwelling place, cf. E. VI. 15,4. This view hints at a relationship between the spear and Ptah whose embodiment the spear seems to have been in its original conception. Two different traditions seem to have been associated at this point. According to E. VI. 183,7—8, *shm-hr* seems to have been a primaeval deity who was believed to be embodied in a staff (*tbw*) upon which Tanen was believed to confer the magical power of protecting. Probably on these two traditions was based the later view that the spear emerged from the Nun, cf. E. IV. 358,2; VI. 185,15—16.

(oo) *hh.sn sbtyw*, for *hh* cf. Wb. III. 151,(11); *sn* seems to refer to Wa and 'Aä, the Falcon, Nefer-her and the Protector god who were visited by the Shebtw in Wetjeset-Hor, cf. below, p. 50 "Conclusions".

(pp) *r sm.sn n Hnn-nsw*, *sm* seems to be used as infinitive; for Heracleopolis, cf. below, p. 53 "Conclusions".

(qq) For *sw tht*, cf. above, p. 43—45; *m b snw.sn snw* must be Wa and 'Aä.

(rr) *m hnm.sn hn.sn*, the first suff. *sn* must refer to the Shebtw whereas the second suff. *sn* should refer to Wa and 'Aä. There is an obvious allusion to an association of the Shebtw in one definite family, cf. below, p. 51 "Conclusions".



(ss) *iw.sn is m hnt.sn*, the first suff. *sn* refers undoubtedly to Wa and 'Aä, cf. 358,13, both of them are called *tp*-"leaders" of the family.

(tt) *Nb-Sfyt*, as a subsidiary name of Heracleopolis Magna, cf. Gauthier, DG., III. p. 85. According to this tradition, Heracleopolis seems to have been the ultimate place in which the Shebtw were believed to dwell and to be buried, cf. 358,10 the allusion to the funerary service and below, p. 53 "Conclusion".

(uu) *st-db3-sfth*, there is most probably reference to the Temple of Edfu, as the place in which the evil-doer was punished. The later redactor associated the mythical fight of Horus against the snake with the myth about the primaeval djeba. This view is confirmed by the lists of the mythological names of the Edfu Temple, cf. E. IV. 328,7 and VII. 22,9. Edfu was called *Db3* because the evil-doer was punished there, cf. E. I. 160,3; IV. 10,9; VI. 65,11; 112,5—6; VII. 10,6—7; 25,13 and Blackman-Fairman, Misc. Greg., p. 413, n. 32.

(vv) *hr* with the meaning *hn* is frequent, cf. Junkér, Gramm. Denderahtexte, p. 151.

— *db3 thb*, refers to Seth, cf. E. IV. 173,3; 328,7; V. 73,10 and JEA, 29, p. 19,(2).

(ww) Considering the expression *n mrh* we suggest the correction of  in  *n sk*; *-s'h* seems to describe gods' statues at the front of which the funerary services were performed; cf. E. II. 166,3; IV. 84,4; 318,6; 390,14; VI. 58,16; VII. 280,6.

(xx) *Hwt-B2*, this spelling points to two interpretations: either "mansion of the Soul" or "mansion of the Ram"; at present it is the sole evidence to our knowledge. It can hardly be a sanctuary within the Temple at Edfu.

#### Conclusions

The record studied in this paper alludes to some traditions unknown elsewhere, and was probably composed by combining extracts from various doctrinal writings. The hypothesis that there might

have been extensive mythological and cosmogonical documents the summaries of which were used for the redaction of this record, finds support in the passage describing the origin of the mythical sacred place called Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor<sup>1</sup>. This is a mere summary of a part of the first cosmogonical record preserved in the Edfu texts<sup>2</sup>.

The record tells us about some divine beings called Shebtw who seem to have had their cultus-place in the Ptolemaic Temple at Edfu. Most probably they were adored there as creator gods as can be judged from a brief allusion in the offering formula of this ritual scene. The Shebtw are invoked as creators of the land (*p̄y*) for the cultus-place of Rā<sup>3</sup>. These deities are known at present only in Edfu documents, but it would be entirely wrong to imagine that the Shebtw were deities peculiar to the Edfu temple, perhaps Edfu local gods. The record sets out clearly that the Edfu tradition was based on another much earlier religious ground and definitely foreign to Edfu.

In principle the Shebtw were creators of the earth. They seem to have played an important rôle in the drama of creation, but are pictured as creators of special nature. They brought the world into existence by a procedure which seems to have been rather a magical procedure than an organic process of creation, for which, however, no parallel can be quoted at present. As is stated in the records, this procedure consisted of transforming symbols into their real shape<sup>4</sup>. The records quoted hint at a doctrine about some substances pre-existing this world which were believed to have been kept in the Island of Creation. Over these the Shebtw were believed to perform special rites connected with reciting of some spells and names. In this way, they were believed to fill with power these substances and thus to cause the earth to emerge plot by plot from beneath the Nun. By means of this operation they were believed to create the primaeval domain of the Falcon, and in the plots of land that emerged they created the resting place of the god. On such a place, it was believed that the sacred domains evolved. This belief does not seem to have been connected with the origin of the primaeval domain of the Falcon only. It may be supposed that this theory might have been applied to the origin of many other sacred places. It is precisely this point to which the Edfu record would seem to allude.

Edfu seems to have adopted a tradition about creative deities which previously was connected with Heracleopolis. There again this tradition seems not to have originally been at home. Although the Shebtw are described as creators of Heracleopolis<sup>5</sup> and are said to have been worshipped in the necropolis of that nome, it is unlikely to regard them as genuine Heracleopolitan gods. The Heracleopolitan theory about the dead creator gods was certainly based on a tradition which was brought to Heracleopolis from another place. It is important to point out that the record alludes to a journey the Shebtw were believed to undertake to Heracleopolis<sup>6</sup>. We do not know how to explain this point apart from suggesting that it is an allusion to the transferring of a tradition from one place to another.

The mention of Tanen, then the allusion to the revelation of Ptah<sup>7</sup> would seem to be reason for supposing that the myth in which the Shebtw acted as creators of the earth and as founders of sacred places was of Memphite origin. Theoretically the Shebtw would seem to be Memphite gods. This presumed view would agree with the nature of their activities: the bringing of the earth out of the Nun. At this point again there are some doubts whether this theory could be in essence Memphite. No other Memphite document mentions them. Moreover the relationship with Tanen appears to be expressed in somewhat arbitrary manner and further explanatory evidence is lacking.

<sup>1</sup>) E. IV. 358,13—17.

<sup>2</sup>) E. VI. 181,11—182,18.

<sup>3</sup>) E. IV. 357,17; the text reads: "(Hail to) the august Shebtw in thy train who brought into existence (*shpr*) the *p̄y*-land for thy great place (*bw-wr*)".

<sup>4</sup>) Cf. above, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup>) E. IV. 358,18, and above p. 42.

<sup>6</sup>) Cf. below, p. 53.

<sup>7</sup>) E. IV. 358,11. 17.

We may, perhaps, suggest that the Shebtw were only associated with Tanen in the tradition of a later date because they were creators of the earth.

The record indicates a distinction among the members of this divine family. Two of them, Wa and 'Aa, are described as the leaders of the group and they only were the "Lords of the Island of Trampling"<sup>1</sup>. This suggests that the theory about the creators of the earth might have been elaborated in Memphis; however, it seems to be likely that Memphis might have used an earlier tradition which originated outside of Memphis. There is no evidence to confirm that the mythical island, the Island of Trampling, could be identified with Memphis itself or was a sacred place within the Memphite nome.

The hypothesis about the pre-memphite background of this tradition seems to accord with the allusion to a visit of the Shebtw<sup>2</sup>. They are said to visit Wa and 'Aa and to unite with them subsequently. We imagine that the Shebtw might, perhaps, come to Wa and 'Aa in their original home. We picture them arriving at the Island of Trampling in the domain of Wetjeset-Hor. If this speculation be correct, it would seem that there is a hint of two different traditions. From this point it would seem likely that there might have been two places in which the tradition about the creators of the earth might originate.

Supplementary evidence for this hypothesis seems to be provided by the name of the Shebtw which seem to point distinctly to two different systems. In the ritual scene at Edfu the Shebtw are given names as follows<sup>3</sup>: 1. *W3* — "The Far distant"; 2. *'A3* — "The Great"; 3. *N'y* — "The Sailor"; 4. *Dsr-tp* — "The Sanctified of head"; 5. *Km3-s3-t3* — "The Creator of the Earth-snake"; 6. *Nb-h3ty* — "The Lord of the two hearts"; 7. *Nb-nh-w3s* — "The Lord of life and dominion"; 8. *Nb-shm-h3wt-try-dy-b3-nh-m-snf* — "The Lord, mighty-chested, who made slaughter, the Soul who lives on blood"<sup>4</sup>.

For the lack of other instances, little can be done to throw more light on the significance of all these names. The first and second name occurs in the first cosmogonical record of Edfu<sup>5</sup>. The names listed under 3—4—5 might refer to an original tradition which, however, cannot be verified elsewhere. The names 6—7 appear to be somewhat arbitrary and the name listed as 8 sounds a little strange. It may be justified in posing a question as to whether there are not two or three names associated in one. Tentatively we might suggest a division into three names, such as: a) *Nb-shm-h3wt*; b) *Try-dy*; c) *B3-nh-m-snf*<sup>6</sup>. If this be admitted, it would mean that the divine group of the earth creators consisted, in fact, of 10 members. We imagine that such a group of divine beings was formed by associating the eight Shebtw to the couple Wa-'Aa. The idea of associating can be justified by our record. An additional evidence can be quoted in the inscriptions of the Pylon of the Edfu Temple. The family of the Shebtw is there represented without Wa and 'Aa<sup>7</sup>.

As Wa and 'Aa were regarded in the tradition of a later date as their leaders, it can be assumed that this was the original tradition, and this could hardly be Memphite in origin. This hypothesis finds further support in the first cosmogonical record of Edfu of which a very brief summary was incorporated in our record. Wa and 'Aa only are mentioned there. Moreover the idea of "Tanen's Children" does not occur there at all. The deities with whom Wa and 'Aa lived in the mythical domain of the Falcon are not Memphite gods. These are: a deity called *Pn*—"This One", the Ka, the Heter-her, the sacred *dry*-falcon, the Falcon-Lord of the Djeba, the Protector-god, the God-of-the-Temple<sup>7</sup>. Tanen is mentioned there, but does not seem to intervene in the process of the

<sup>1</sup>) E. IV. 358,13 and above, p. 46, n. (s); (t).

<sup>2</sup>) E. IV. 358,17.

<sup>3</sup>) E. IV. 359,4—6.

<sup>4</sup>) Cf. above, p. 46, n. (s).

<sup>5</sup>) *B3-nh-m-snf* as divine name occurs in E. VIII. 103,3.

<sup>6</sup>) E. VIII. 102,17—103,5.

<sup>7</sup>) E. VI. 181,14; 182,2; 182,4; 182,17; 182,18.

creation of the domain of the Falcon<sup>1</sup>. It is certain from the interpretation preserved in that myth that Wa and 'Aa created the first resting place of the Falcon at the command of the Ka<sup>2</sup>. The lands in which the domains of the Falcon were founded, were created by the two Shebtiw by order of the God-of-the-Temple<sup>3</sup>, the final phase of their being brought into existence was again completed on the command of the Ka<sup>4</sup>. The origin of one place only within the mythical island seems to have been connected with Tanen<sup>5</sup>. Probably this one was his primaeva home. If this be correct, it would seem that Wa and 'Aa created Tanen's resting place.

The first cosmogonical record of Edfu provides an argument of value which permits us to say that originally the theory about Wa and 'Aa was a part only of a myth of creation in which the origin of the primaeva domain of the Falcon was explained. Wa and 'Aa would thus represent the rôle of the effective creators of the domain of the Falcon. Probably this myth was a small portion of myths and traditions associated with the original sacred place of the Falcon. The myth about Wa and 'Aa would be thus a Lower Egyptian tradition which might survive and have been modified in the Memphite doctrine. It should be recalled that Ptah is not mentioned in the main Edfu source about Wa and 'Aa. However we find him in the record studied, substituting for the original Protector god<sup>6</sup>.

We imagine therefore that the Lower Egyptian tradition might have been reversed in Memphis and probably affected by local needs and beliefs. There might have been, perhaps, written down another version of this myth in which the original gods were substituted by the Memphite gods and thus Tanen might have been placed ahead of this system of creators of the earth. There would be good reasons for supposing that Memphis adopted this myth because it dealt with the creation of the earth. We suspect that in Memphis, the priests probably inspired by the Lower Egyptian tradition, might elaborate either independantly or again under influence of another tradition foreign to Memphis, another myth about the earth creators who were subsequently placed in a subordinate position to Tanen and regarded as his children. As there was a group of eight deities, it is tentative to suspect a possible influence of the Hermopolitan doctrine. We may imagine that Memphis might elaborate its own system of Ogdoad<sup>7</sup>, and which were given the name "Shebtiw". Here should be recalled the allusion to the twenty gods which seems to point to a probable existence of yet another tradition about the creators of the earth, distinct from the theory about the "Children of Tanen"<sup>8</sup>. In this presumed tradition there seems to have been only two groups of deities who were believed to have been creators of the earth. It is likely that it might have been in Memphis where the myths of creation were brought to a more elaborated degree and finally were codified. However Memphis seems to have used traditions and myths about the creative deities which originated in other places.

The Memphite theory about the Shebtiw might have been taken over by other cultus-places claiming to have been the original sacred places and to have been created by the same gods. Our record mentions Heracleopolis as having been created by the group of the 10 Shebtiw. Heracleo-

<sup>1</sup>) E. VI. 183,3; it is said that Tanen was led in (?) by the Shebtiw after the Falcon had settled down in his Djeba and the protecting waters were created around his first domain and some of the pöy-land were already in existence.

<sup>2</sup>) E. VI. 182,2; 177,5—6.

<sup>3</sup>) E. VI. 183,10—11.

<sup>4</sup>) E. VI. 185,2.

<sup>5</sup>) E. VI. 184,2—3.

<sup>6</sup>) E. VI. 182,17.

<sup>7</sup>) The question of the companies of gods associated to the chief Memphite gods is not yet clear, cf. Sandman, the God Ptah, p. 198—203. However referring to the text quoted in the inscriptions of the Pylon of Edfu Temple, cf. E. VIII. 102,17—103,5, the significance of the names of the first member, *N'y* and the second member *Km3-t3* "The Creator of the Earth" are very tentative to imagine that there might have existed a theory about the creators of the earth, and which might have been independant from the presumed Lower Egyptian myth.

<sup>8</sup>) E. IV. 358,10.

polis is here described as the ultimate place they were supposed to have created. The Shebtw were believed to have been buried there after they had completed their work of creation. It is known from other sources that the Memphite tradition strongly affected the Heracleopolitan religious system. The Edfu record will be thus supplementary evidence for this theory. On the other hand, we know also that Heracleopolis claimed to have been the original island of creation in which the Creator came to land for the first time<sup>1</sup>. Therefore it does not seem to be surprising that in connexion with this belief Heracleopolis might adopt also a Lower Egyptian myth about the earth creators. Thus the Shebtw might have been regarded to be Heracleopolitan gods. It is possible, it may be suggested, that this myth about the Shebtw might have been furthermore modified by local traditions. The Lower Egyptian and Memphite creators of earth and sacred places seem to have been regarded as dead gods. This view seems to be foreign to Memphite doctrine and traditions, but seems to have been properly a Middle Egyptian tradition. Our hypothesis can be supplemented by other evidence from the Edfu texts. There are a certain number of ritual scenes bearing on the worship of dead gods. The most illustrative evidence is provided by the scenes of worship of the Nine Dead Gods<sup>2</sup>. These deities are said to be "Children of Rē"<sup>3</sup> who have been born in Wenu in Nāret<sup>4</sup>. They travelled over the desert to reach Behdet to hide their embodiment in the presence of Him-with-dappled-plumage<sup>5</sup>. In another text they are said to have been created by the Great Shining God in Hesert. They came forth from Neref and arrived at Behdet<sup>6</sup>. This group of nine gods was formed by associating deities who originated in different places and were taken over by the Middle Egyptian cultus-places. It is possible, it may be suggested, that the deities taken over by Middle Egyptian cultus-places from elsewhere were regarded in Middle Egypt as ancestral deities, and that this theory might have been generalised. We can hazard a guess that the Lower Egyptian and Memphite creative deities might have been regarded from the point of view of this theory also as ancestor gods. Thus the group of the earth creators called Shebtw might have been also connected with this theory and the Shebtw might have been worshipped in the Middle Egyptian sacred places as dead gods. These traditions seem to have been adopted by the late Upper Egyptian Temples. We noticed in the study of the Edfu ritual scenes that the worship of the ancestral deities was one of the prominent features of the ritual services of that temple. This theory applies in the main to the gods connected with the Creation<sup>7</sup>. In taking over the Middle Egyptian tradition the Edfu Temple seems to adopt old Lower Egyptian and Memphite myths. It can be expected that in this respect the myth about the earth creators called Shebtw was also adopted by the Edfu Temple. At this particular point other reasons, however, might play an important part.

Wa and 'Aā were believed to have been creators of the first sacred place of the Falcon, the Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor. As far as can be investigated in the texts bearing on the history of Edfu Temple, the mythical sacred place of the Falcon was regarded in the Edfu tradition as the "ancestor" of the Edfu Temple. Therefore it seems to be logical to imagine that Wa and 'Aā with their Memphite eight fellows, as creators of the first sacred place of the Falcon, might have been associated with the origin of the Temple at Edfu and thus to have been regarded as its symbolical

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 633ff.; Kees, *ZÄS*, 62, p. 73; 65, p. 71; Newberry, *Beni Hassan*, I, pl. 7; Jéquier, *Mon. fun. de Pépi II*, t. II, pl. 39.

<sup>2</sup> For the Edfu texts referring to the worship of the Nine Dead Gods see: E. I. 173,3—174,7; 382,4—15; II. 51,3—52,9; III. 301,8—301,16; 323,5—12; IV. 83,4—85,8; 102,17—103,13; 239,13—241,14; V. 61,17—63,16; 160,12—162,6; VII. 118,4—119,8; 279,16—281,2.

<sup>3</sup> E. I. 173,13; II. 51,13—14; III. 301,11; 323,8; V. 62,11—12; VII. 118,10.

<sup>4</sup> E. IV. 240,7.

<sup>5</sup> E. IV. 84,3—4; 240,7—8; VII. 118,13.

<sup>6</sup> E. V. 161,10.

<sup>7</sup> Frequently in the Edfu texts the creative deities were called *tpyw* cf. E. II. 255,16; III. 345,7; IV. 140,2; V. 85,3; 85,10; VI. 174,14; VII. 15,2; CD. V. 44,12. Tanen is said to be "the first (or chief) of the *tpyw* Ancestors who came into being at the beginning".

creators, its ancestral founders. The record studied in this paper and its connected ritual scene would illustrate one of the ancestral cults celebrated in the Edfu Temple. It was the cult of the ancestral founders of the Temple. The ritual scene is set in surroundings which reflect the configuration of the first sacred place of the Falcon, the Djeba in Wetjeset-Hor. Their worship is thus connected with the place they were believed to create in the dim past. And their worship seems to have been conceived as the re-enacting of a scene of adoration believed to have been performed in the mythical cultus-place of Horus.

JOACHIM SELIM KARIG

### Die Göttinger Isisstatuette

Hierzu Tafel IV

In seinem Aufsatz „Eine Stele des Horus auf den Krokodilen aus einer Aedicula konstantinischer Zeit“<sup>1)</sup> zieht v. Bissing als Vergleich auch die Göttinger Isisstatuette heran, die auf der Rückseite ihres Sitzes eine solche Stele trägt. Auf die Figur der Isis selber geht er allerdings nicht näher ein und erwähnt auch nicht die Inschrift, die sich an den Seiten des Thronsitzes befindet. Zudem lassen die beigelegten Abbildungen nur wenig von der Feinheit der Gestaltung und ihren Einzelheiten ahnen, so daß eine neue Behandlung dieses sehr interessanten Stückes gerechtfertigt erscheint.

Die Isisstatuette befindet sich seit 1862 im Besitz des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Göttingen (Inv. Nr. 3)<sup>2)</sup>, und zwar wurde sie seinerzeit mit einer Reihe anderer Stücke aus der Mineralogischen Sammlung übernommen. Nähere Angaben über die Fundumstände und die Erwerbung fehlen<sup>3)</sup>. Das Material ist ein nicht sehr feinkörniger Kalkstein marmorartigen Charakters von sehr hellem, etwas gelblichen Grau mit bräunlichen Adern und Flecken. Die Verwendung von Marmor oder marmorartigem Kalkstein für solche Statuetten findet sich verhältnismäßig selten. Meistens zieht man als Steinmaterial grauen oder schwarzen Schiefer vor oder benutzt Fayence. Die Oberfläche des sehr gut gearbeiteten Stückes ist sorgfältig geglättet, so daß sie einen leichten Glanz aufweist. Die Bruchstellen sind stark abgegriffen. Die Gesamthöhe der Statuette beträgt 110 mm. v. Bissing hat sie seinerzeit<sup>4)</sup> der frühen Ptolemäerzeit zugeschrieben, eine Datierung, für die sich im Folgenden weitere Belege finden.

Die Figur weist einige Beschädigungen auf. Der rechte Ellbogen der Isis ist auf Grund einer Ader im Stein abgebrochen, ebenso fehlt ihr linker Arm vom halben Oberarm ab. Ein Teil ihres rechten Unterschenkels ist abgestoßen, und es liegt nahe, diese Beschädigung mit dem Loch in Verbindung zu bringen, das von unten her in das Bein gebohrt worden ist. Vom Horusknaben fehlt der gesamte Oberkörper von den Hüften an aufwärts zusammen mit seinem linken Arm. Bedingt durch den gleichen Bruch entlang der Steinader sind auch seine beiden Füße abgebrochen. An den Seiten des Thronsitzes finden sich nur wenige kleine Absplitterungen. Die Stele ist fast unbeschädigt.

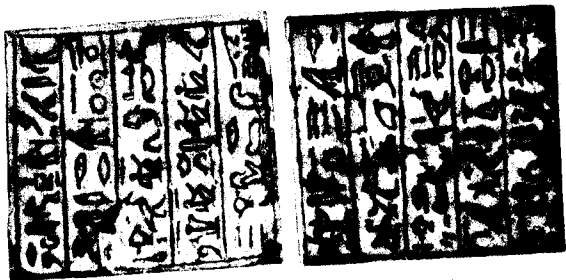
Die Darstellung zeigt die bekannte Gruppe von Isis und Horus. Die Göttin ist bekleidet mit dem üblichen, enganliegenden Gewand, das bis zur Hälfte der Unterschenkel reicht. Der Saum des oberen Ausschnittes ist vorn zwischen den Strähnen der Perücke angegeben. Sie trägt keinen weiteren Schmuck außer der Krone, die aber nicht wie meist aus Uräen gebildet wird, sondern glatt

<sup>1)</sup> Egyptian Religion 2 (1934) 140ff.

<sup>2)</sup> Wieseler, Nachrichten von der Georg August Universität und der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Januar 22, Nr. 2 (1862) 31ff.

<sup>3)</sup> Das Stück ist außerdem aufgeführt in: Hubo, Originalwerke in der archäologischen Abteilung, Göttingen (1887) 1f.

<sup>4)</sup> v. Bissing, a. a. O. 145.



Thronseiten



Rückansicht



Vorderansicht

Die Göttinger Isisstatuette  
(Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Göttingen, Inv. Nr. 3)