

THE CONSECRATION OF AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE ACCORDING TO THE USE OF EDFU

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

THE two texts which are the subject of this article form part of the frieze-decoration on the exterior of the east and west walls of the Outer Hypostyle Hall of the temple of Horus at Edfu,^a Text I being on the west, and Text II on the east, wall.^b Published as long ago as 1929 in Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*,^c IV, 330-1, they have never, so far as we are aware, been translated or commented upon. In fact, despite their interesting content, they seem to have entirely escaped the notice of scholars, apart from a reference by us^d to the significant words $\underbrace{\text{𓂏}-\text{𓂏}}_{\text{𓂏}}$, 'Opening the Mouth of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father' (i.e. of Edfu temple), in Text II. Recognizing their important bearing on at least one Egyptian belief, we have long been anxious to remedy this neglect, and we hope that the following study of the two texts will be of some value, not only to students of the religious beliefs and practices of the ancient Egyptians, but to scholars working in the wider field of comparative religion.

It will be seen that we have made great use of the late Sir E. A. Wallis Budge's *The Book of Opening the Mouth*.^e This we have done not without good reason, for the work in question is not only, like all that scholar's publications, admirably written and full of useful references, but likely to be more accessible to many readers of the *Journal* than Schiaparelli's *Il Libro dei Funerali*.^f

In the translation and commentary contained in volume I of his work Budge divides the Rite of Opening the Mouth into twenty-nine Ceremonies,^g an arrangement we have found very convenient in dealing with the captions that form the main content of our two texts. But here we must warn the reader who is not an Egyptologist that Budge's translation is frequently inaccurate and misleading. However, since in this article we are more concerned with the designations and order of the ceremonies composing the rite than with the formulae which would have followed the captions in a full or fuller version of it, we felt that for convenience sake these disadvantages could be disregarded. Nevertheless, to save the Egyptologist, who may require them, undue trouble, we have inserted, wherever we have thought it expedient to do so, the appropriate references to Schiaparelli's above-mentioned work and also to Dümichen's *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap*,^h immediately after citing Budge's more popular publication.ⁱ It should here be stated that the Rite of Opening the Mouth is described

^a Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.*, VI, 156, (288)-(289); 157, (297)-(300).

^b See *ibid.*, 130, plan.

^c Hereafter referred to as *E.*; see *JEA* XXVIII, 32, n. 1.

^d In *JEA* XXVIII, 38, n. 2.

^e 2 vols., London, 1909.

^f 3 vols., Turin, 1882-90.

^g Regularly referred to hereafter as Ceremony I, II, III, etc., without mention of author or volume.

^h 3 vols., Leipzig, 1884-6.

ⁱ Note that the three works in question are hereafter referred to as Budge, I and II; Schiaparelli, I, etc.; Dümichen, I, etc. Furthermore Moret, *Rit.* = Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, and Mar., *Abyd.* = Mariette, *Abydos*, I.

and discussed in some detail by Gardiner in Davies-Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhät*, 57 ff., by Blackman, *JEA* x, 53 ff. (see also op. cit. v, 159 ff.), and by Baly, op. cit. xvi, 173 ff.

The captions in Text I are referred to as Caption I. 1, etc., those in Text II as Caption II. 1, etc. The notes indicated by numerals are those composing the Commentary. Footnotes are indicated by letters of the alphabet. The numerals in square brackets denote the pages and lines in Chassinat's publication.

TRANSLATION

TEXT I

[330, 12] (*Long live the Good God, who makes a memorial [in] Behdet, constructs the Great Seat of Harakhti, completes the Sanctuary of the Holy Winged Orb, and adorns [the Mansion]*)⁴ [330, 13] of Horus of the Horus-gods, (even he) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rer-Living-Similitude-of-Amun*)⁵

[330, 14] *The Great Seat of Rer is built to perfection, the temple is noble with girdle-wall on all four sides thereof, which He-who-is-South-of-his-Wall has fashioned* [330, 15] *and the Creator-gods have created.*⁸

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIRECTORY⁹ OF A MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES: * 1. *Supervision of the rite by the Lord of Hermopolis.*¹⁰ 2. *Asperging with the nmst-ewers and red pitchers.*¹² 3. *Substance of the god.*¹³ 4. *Incense on the fire.*¹⁴ 5. *Touching the mouth and eyes: arraying [331, 1] in the head-cloth.*¹⁵ 6. *Presenting oil.*¹⁶ 7. *Putting on the holy raiment.*¹⁷ 8. *Proffering the broad-collar.*¹⁸ 9. *Salutation with the nmst-ewer.*¹⁹ 10. *Chanting beatifications.*²¹ 11. *Presenting the requirements of the offering-table.*²² 12. *Censing [331, 2] the Uraeus-goddess and the gods and goddesses.*²³ 13. *Adoring Rer.*²⁴ 14. *Summoning the gods.*²⁵ 15. *Rer shines forth having united with Macet and Macet having united with his brow.*²⁶ 16. *Reciting [331, 3] the htp-dl-nsw-formula.*²⁸ 17. *Setting the meal in order upon the altar.*²⁹ 18. *Purifying the sanctuary and cleansing the temple.*³⁰ 19. *Rewarding its craftsmen from the oblation and gladdening their hearts [331, 4] with largess (swt-*t*).*³¹ 20. *Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord.*³²

Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, may he show favour to his son, his beloved, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt [331, 5] (Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rer-Living-Similitude-of-Amun), for his handiwork and reward him with life, stability, and happiness upon the Throne of Horus at the head of the living for ever.

TEXT II

[331, 7] (*Long live the Good God, who fashions [a memorial] in Mesen, brightens the Great Seat with his beauty, constructs [the Mansion-of-the-Falcon of] the Falcon of Gold, and confers benefactions on the Lord of the Sky, [331, 8] (even he) the Son of Rer, (Ptolemaeus-may-he-live-for-ever-Beloved-of-Ptah), given life.*

* See below, p. 85 f.

[331, 9] *To be spoken: Wtjset-Hor of the Falcon of Gold, the temple of Rē, it is complete with a girdle-wall,³⁵ the (very) spit of Shu,³⁶ fashioned by [331, 10] the Lusty Bull.³⁷*

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIRECTORY OF A MASTER OF THE CEREMONIES (continued): 1. Purification by the Lords of Purification.³⁸ 2. Ptah takes his chisel to open the mouth and Seker uncloses the eyes.³⁹ 3. Taking the Sorcerer.⁴⁰ 4. Presenting the finger of fine gold.⁴¹ 5. Proffering [331, 11] the Copper Adze of Anubis.⁴² 6. Ushering in the Courtiers: opening the eyes with their adze and touching the mouth with the four slabs.⁴³ 7. Beheading a smn-goose and [331, 12] decapitating a goat.⁴⁴ 8. Pointing at⁴⁵ an Upper Egyptian male ox.⁴⁶ 9. Slaughtering long-horned cattle⁴⁷ and strangling geese.⁴⁸ 10. Presenting a great oblation of bread, flesh, and beer.⁴⁹ [331, 13] 11. Opening the Mouth of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father.⁵⁰ 12. Censing its cult-chambers and purifying its chapels.⁵¹ 13. Seker feeds⁵² the priesthood (wnwt)⁵³ from the oblation:⁵⁴ gladdening their heart(s) with [331, 14] their largess. 14. Ceding Wtjset-Hor to its lord by His Majesty.⁵⁵

Horus the Behdetite, great god, lord of the sky, may he show favour to his beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [331, 15] (Heir-of-the-Beneficent-God-and-of-the-Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess-Chosen-of-Ptah-Justiciar-of-Rē-Living-Similitude-of-Amūn), and reward him with life, stability, and happiness upon the Throne of Horus [331, 16] at the head of the living for ever.

COMMENTARY

1. Restoring []³⁵, the *n* unquestionably representing the preposition *m*, as with variant writings *o*, *o*, or *o* it frequently does at Edfu; see, e.g. *E.* VI, 67, 1; 351, 6; VII, 271, 15-16; VIII, 5, 11 (—); II, 47, 2; V, 296, 17; VI, 69, 7; VIII, 135, 20 (o); VI, 155, 9 (o); IV, 13, 4 (o); see also Fairman, *Bull. Inst. fr.* XLIII, 92, nn. 3 and 4.

2. For *hws st wrt n Hr-ihy* see *E.* II, 61, 10; III, 107, 14; cf. *hws Wtst*, *E.* VII, 299, 8; *hws ht-ntr*, VII, 49, 4; cf. also *dbi nhbw m ns* []³⁶, *E.* III, 107, 3. 3. *o* = *rk*.

4. Restoring []³⁷, *Hwt-Hr-Hrw* being a common name of Edfu temple, e.g. *E.* I, 541, 6; 562, 13; 568, 10-11; 571, 10; III, 87, 11; IV, 234, 8; 330, 5; V, 175, 18; VII, 37, 13; 42, 12-13; 107, 17.

5. Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, not as stated in Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* VI, 156, Ptolemy X. The Goddess-who-loves-her-Mother-the-Saviour-Goddess is Cleopatra III.

6. For *s(t)p-tt r-mnh* see also *E.* I, 251, 2; VII, 49, 5; cf. IV, 7, 10; 13, 5; V, 4, 5; *D.* II, 209, 2.

7. In dealing with this difficult word *ifd* the important thing to realize is that in the 'building texts' it has several closely allied meanings originating in the common concept of four-sidedness, hence squareness, hence rectangularity.

A. *ifd* = 'girdle-wall', 'enclosure wall'. The best and most conclusive example of this is (1) []³⁵, 'It is the (enclosure-)wall of the Balcony-of-the-Falcon which embraces the Nest-of-Him-with-the-Dappled-Plumage, the girdle-wall of Throne-of-the-Protector-of-his-Father', *E.* VI, 6, 7, from a description of the girdle-wall. We think that *Wb.* I, 71, 13, is quite wrong in

* In the original the three chicks are replaced by three hawks and the nest has the shape of the sign *o*.

taking *ifd* as 'Name eines Heiligtums in Edfu'. The context clearly shows that *ifd* can refer only to the girdle-wall. For the spelling see Fairman's remark *Bull. Inst. fr. XLIII*, 106 with n. 2. Other examples are:

(2) *Hw-nf hr-su m* [Egyptian] (10) *mi nty r ifd* etc., 'He protected them with this wall on all four sides' of them, (namely) with a girdle-wall, according to what is in the book etc.', *E. VI*, 10, 9-10.

(3) [Egyptian] (9) [Egyptian], 'This temple is beautiful^b with a girdle-wall on (all) four sides of it', *E. VII*, 19, 8-9.

(4) [Egyptian] 'Ye who march round this beautiful ambulatory, who walk round the girdle-wall of the Great Seat', *E. VII*, 4, 7. Though [Egyptian] may just possibly mean 'the four sides' here, the rendering we have offered seems to be the most satisfactory.

(5) *Wtst-Hr nt bik n nbw . . .* [Egyptian], 'Wetset-Hor of the Falcon of Gold . . . it is complete (*crk*) with a girdle-wall',^c *E. IV*, 331, 9.

(6) It is here that we must place *E. IV*, 330, 14, the passage which has given rise to this long note. Observe that the parallels show that we must regard *šps* as 3rd pers. sing. Old Perfective without *š*, despite the gender of *hwt-ntr*. For the masc. form occurring where we should expect the fem. see *E. III*, 1, 14, as contrasted with III, 86, 13-14.

(7) *Swtš-ti hm-s m rrw [nw] ht-ntr-s* [Egyptian], 'Her Majesty is venerated in the names of her temple. The sacred enclosure, how happy is he who enters it, to see [it] is like (seeing) the horizon of Rē', *E. VII*, 23, 12. Here *ifd* may possibly mean 'girdle-wall', but seems rather to represent the area enclosed by that wall, i.e. means 'sacred enclosure'.

B. *ifd* = 'four sides' of a building. (8) *nh ntr nfr crk mru* [Egyptian], '(Long) live the Good God who completes the monument in Mesen, the four sides of its wall being round about it', *E. VI*, 351, 6.

(9) *Pd šsr in Ššit Rhs m-rb Hmwu nn* [Egyptian], 'The cord was stretched by Seshat and Rekhes together with these Creator-gods who have established the four sides of their wall, a wall (namely) of 300 by 400 (cubits)', *E. IV*, 353, 6-7. Similarly *E. IV*, 14, 7, where *ifd* cannot possibly mean 'girdle-wall', since the text was inscribed before that wall was built.

(10) For the example in *E. VI*, 10, 9, see no. 2 above.

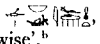
Arising out of this meaning is an adverbial use applied to persons: (11) [Egyptian] *hm-f hr hr(t) nht-f*, 'The chiefs of tens are with him, on all sides of His Majesty, protecting him', *E. III*, 32, 9-10. Presumably *ifd-f* is for *hr ifd-f*, with ellipse of *hr*.


C. The specialized use of *ifd* in the dimensions of rooms: (12) [Egyptian], *E. VII*, 14, 2; see also VII, 15, 8-16, 1; IV, 5, 6; 6, 2; and cf. IV, 5, 4-5. In these examples the scribe seems to be describing a room of which each wall was eight cubits long, and so we should possibly translate, '(each of) the four walls is eight cubits'. But we wonder whether in each case this phrase is not in apposition to what immediately precedes it

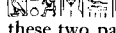
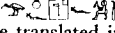


^a See below under B.

^b Taking *nfr* as 3rd pers. masc. sing. Old Perfective; cf. *šps* in *E. IV*, 330, 14.



^c Actually constructed in the reign of Ptolemy VIII, Soter II. the Ptolemy named in our two texts.

and whether we should not translate, 'a square (room), namely, of eight cubits'.^a Hence (13) , *E.* IV, 6, 3, should perhaps be rendered 'each one is a square (room) likewise'.^b

D. The expression  appears to have two meanings: (a) 'on the four sides of', i.e. 'round about', examples *E.* VII, 19, 8-9; IV, 330, 14 = nos. 3 and 6 above.^c

(b) (14) , *E.* III, 1, 14. (15) , *E.* III, 86, 13-14.^d In neither of these two passages can *hr tfd-s* be translated in the same way as in those cited above in (a), and it is important to note that in *E.* III, 26, 9, the parallel to *E.* III, 1, 14,  is replaced by . Probably, therefore, what is meant is that the temple stands firmly on its basis or on its four corners (see *Wb.* I, 71, 2). So perhaps we should render *E.* III, 1, 14, 'This temple is nobly set upon its four corners', and *E.* III, 86, 13-14, 'he enters his city joyfully) having found his temple nobly set upon its four corners'.

8. For the participation of Ptaḥ in the construction of temples see *E.* I, 65, 18; 90, 3; II, 26, 15; 27, 8; IV, 7, 6; 14, 6; and cf. I, 231, 3; IV, 35, 2; *D.* I, 31, 6. For the similar role of the Creator-gods see *E.* IV, 7, 5; 14, 7; 352, 16; 353, 6; VI, 174, 8; 175, 1; 320, 11.

9. For  see *E.* I, 567, 19-568, 1; III, 276, 3-4; 347, 13; IV, 243, 4; V, 30, 7; 96, 17; 238, 15; VII, 326, 10; cf. *E.* I, 568, 1, where *sm hs* is replaced by *sd hs* 'reading the rite', and I, 540, 4, where the *sm*-priest is said to have deft hands and pure fingers  'in the task of celebrating(?) the rite'. Cf. also III, 286, 9.

10. For Thoth as Master of the Ceremonies at the founding of a temple see *E.* VI, 7, 2; 174, 7-8; *D.* I, 31, 8; 32, 7; cf. *E.* IV, 57, 2, where it is said of the king that he 'directs the ceremonial like the Lord of the *hdn*-plant (i.e., Thoth)'.^e

11. *Phr hr* means literally 'walking round', i.e., round the cultus-object, sprinkling it the while with water or fumigating it with burning incense. 'Asperging' is, perhaps, the best rendering of *phr hr* in this particular context.

12. = Ceremonies III-IV, Budge, I, 14-19; see also Moret, *Rit.* 171 ff.; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, 50; Hastings, *ERE* XII, 773², (2). For *phr hr sp 4 m 4t nmswt* at Edfu see *E.* I, 163, 14; II, 247, 10; III, 45, 5; 336, 3, and for *phr hr sp 4 m 4t dsrwt*, see *E.* I, 170, 16; II, 264, 7; III, 22, 11; 338, 14. For what are clearly the same ceremonies, though with a slightly different heading to the formula, *swcb* 'purifying' being substituted for *phr hr*, see *E.* I, 36, 3; 45, 10; III, 122, 6; 173, 15; IV, 59, 14; 214, 10; VII, 52, 13; 53, 10. For the sacramental significance of these lustrations and of the purifications with natron and incense see Blackman in Hastings, *ERE* X, 479, V, 4; *Rec. trav.* XXXIX, 44 ff.; *Theology*, I, 134 ff.

13. *Iht-ntr* is a term for both natron and incense, see *E.* II, 33, 2; 75, 10. 12; III, 109, 3; 110, 1; *Wb.* I, 124, 18. Here it is employed in both senses, and this caption epitomizes Ceremonies V-VII (Budge, I, 20-5; Schiaparelli, I, 30 ff.; see also Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 33-5; Moret, *Rit.* 171 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 34), the purification of the mouth with ten pellets of natron and five of incense. For representations at Edfu of

^a Cf. no. 7 above.

^b Taking  as the *m* of equivalence and not as a writing of *lm*.

^c *Rfd* seems to bear much the same meaning in *E.* VI, 351, 6 = A. no. 2, above.

^d N.B.—Both these texts were inscribed *before* the girdle-wall was built and refer specifically to the original nucleus of the Temple.

^e Or perhaps rather 'compiling'.

the ceremony with five pellets of Upper Egyptian natron see *E.* I, 48, 17; 427, 7; III, 336, 12, with five pellets of Lower Egyptian natron see *E.* I, 36, 10; III, 337, 15; IV, 60, 14; with five pellets of incense see *E.* I, 49, 6.

14. = Ceremony VIII, Budge, I, 25 f.; Schiaparelli, I, 48 f.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 36; see also *E.* I, 49, 13; II, 266, 15.

15. = Ceremony XXVI, first episode, Budge, I, 94. The words *sk r irty: smcr m nms* almost certainly form not two captions but one, for according to the *Bw-th-Imm* version of the Opening of the Mouth (Budge, II, 40; Schiaparelli, II, 10) the *sm*-priest, when presenting the statue with the head-cloth (*nms*), is bidden to touch its mouth and eyes (*sk r irty*) four times. The arraying of the cultus-image in the *nms* is also an episode in the daily temple-liturgy; see Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 10; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 50; also *E.* I, 429, 12; II, 81, 6; III, 286, 14. Note that Budge includes in his Ceremony XXVI what really amount to eight Ceremonies, the arraying in the *nms*, the putting on of the various coloured cloths, and the proffering of the broad collar (*wsh*).

16. = Ceremony XXVII, first episode, Budge, I, 105; Schiaparelli, II, 42 ff.; see also Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 12; Moret, *Rit.* 190 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 51; *E.* I, 45, 14; 77, 19; 133, 14; 171, 18; 239, 3; 263, 5; 276, 7; 431, 14; II, 43, 6; 186, 13; IV, 114, 4; V, 68, 5; 83, 7; 174, 6; 179, 6; 184, 11; 196, 2; 272, 13; 284, 5; VI, 100, 2; VII, 76, 4; VIII, 52, 8; 60, 12. This caption seems to be misplaced, for both in the Opening of the Mouth and in the daily temple-liturgy the correct place for this ceremony is *after* the proffering of the broad collar, see Budge, I, 102, 5; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 39.

Probably the caption 'presenting oil' is meant to cover, not only the anointings with various unguents, but the applications of the green and black eye-pigments which are also included in Ceremony XXVII, Budge, I, 105-8.

17. In the one word *ntry* are probably summarized all the coloured cloths or wrappings, the offering of which forms part of Ceremony XXVI, Budge, I, 96-101; Schiaparelli, II, 14 ff.; Moret, *Rit.* 178 ff.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 11 and 17-19; *JMEOS*, 1918-19, 39; 50.

For *ntry* = *irtyw*, 'light-blue cloth', see *E.* I, 31, 4; = *mnht*, 'cloth', see *E.* I, 178, 5; III, 140, 17; VII, 306, 8. For other examples of *mnht* at Edfu see *E.* I, 46, 2; 98, 3; 177, 14; 164, 18; 177, 14; 187, 18; 237, 16; 273, 8; 279, 10; 376, 4; 421, 7; 422, 13; 428, 9; 430, 10; 480, 10; III, 140, 10; 191, 9 (adjacent to a scene depicting the offering of the *wsh*-collar); IV, 238, 17; 278, 11; V, 185, 17; 190, 2; 196, 2; 247, 10; VII, 99, 6; 157, 14; 260, 9; 306, 7; 318, 6. For *mnht hdt*, 'white cloth' (Budge, I, 96), see *E.* I, 44, 19; 45, 6; 124, 15; 244, 15; 296, 17; 423, 5; for *mnht wdt*, 'green cloth' (Budge, I, 99), see *E.* I, 121, 15; 296, 7; for *mnht insy*, 'red cloth' (Budge, I, 100): no corresponding relief at Edfu, though see *E.* VI, 83, 10; for *mnht idmi*, 'dark red cloth' (Budge, I, 101), see *E.* I, 31, 10; 126, 14; 432, 17; and for *mnht irtyw*, 'light blue cloth', see *E.* I, 31, 2; 126, 14; 289, 14; 432, 9.

18. = Ceremony XXVI, last episode, Budge, I, 102; Schiaparelli, II, 37 ff.; Mar. *Abyd.* I, tabl. 16. Perhaps this caption also covers the various episodes which Budge, I, 108 ff., includes in his Ceremony XXVIII, and that may account for the apparent misplacing of Caption I. 6.

I

2

in

F.

he

m.

cit

rdi

40,

W₁

E.

Dér

den

proc

to it

ever

19. See Budge, I, 121; Schiaparelli, II, 128 ff.; *E.* I, 37, 8; 77, 2; 163, 4; 431, 7; 470, 11; II, 140, 7; 142, 10; 266, 3; III, 246, 10; VI, 3, 10; VII, 202, 11; cf. II, 48, 6. Though this ceremony does not occur in the Karnak or Abydos temple-liturgy, its presence in this text and in so many Edfu reliefs suggests that it did occur in the Edfu temple-liturgy.

20. For this meaning of the verb *irt* see, e.g., *Pap. Bremner-Rhind*, 26, 6. 12.

21. See Budge, II, 199 = Dümichen, II, Pl. XII; Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 78; Blackman, *Meir*, II, 20; III, 29, where it is pointed out that this ceremony, when funerary, is closely associated with the presentation of food-offerings; cf. *E.* v, 97, 1.

22. See Budge, II, 95; 99; Gunn, *Harageh*, 21, n. 1; *Simuhe*, B 195; Blackman, *Meir*, II, Pl. X; also *E.* IV, 242, 17-18, where this ceremony, along with others listed in Text II, is mentioned in an Opening of the Mouth formula. Cf. also Mariette, *Denderah*, I, 32, and Budge, II, 198 = Dümichen, II, Pl. XII, where the ceremonies *nis dbht htp* and *irt htp dl nsw* are closely associated.

23. See Budge, I, 112 f. and 115 ff.; II, 66 ff. = Schiaparelli, II, 87 ff.; 97 ff.; *JMEOS* 1918-19, 49; *Mar. Abyd.* I, tabl. 3.

24. Cf. Moret, *Rit.* 135 ff.; Budge, I, 140.

25. Cf. Hastings, *ERE* XII, 779¹; also *JEA* XXXI, 61, n. 3; *E.* III, 129, 8-9.

26. Evidently the opening words of a hymn, or an extract therefrom, chanted at the offering of Maet; cf. Budge, I, 140, l. 22; II, 85, l. 2; 105, ll. 2-3. For this ceremony see also Moret, *Rit.* 138 ff., especially noting 140, l. 5, *hnm hcv-k m Mst*, etc.

27. See above, n. 20.

28. See Budge, II, 102; 199 = Schiaparelli, II, 174; Dümichen, II, Pl. XII; see also Hastings, *ERE* XII, 779¹, with nn. 5 and 6; *E.* III, 75, 13; 247, 12; VI, 153, 6-7; VII, 271, 15-16.

29. See Schiaparelli, II, 174; *ERE* XII, loc. cit.; *Mar. Abyd.* I, pls. 38c; 40c; 50.

30. Corresponds to Caption II. 12, see below, pp. 86; 90.

31. While the group 𓄀𓄁 in *E.* IV, 331, 12, is probably to be read *t twf hnt*, in this instance it is almost certainly to be read *cbt*, being really parallel with 𓄀𓄁 , *E.* IV, 331, 13. For other examples of 𓄀𓄁 = *cbt* see *E.* VIII, 10, 3; 18, 11-12; cf. VII, 206, 4. Both here and in Caption II. 18 *m cbt* might possibly be rendered 'with a meal', for which meaning of *cbt* see *Wb.* I, 167, 12, but on the whole we prefer 'from the oblation'.

32. This caption, I. 20, finds a parallel in II. 14; see below, p. 86. For other citations of this ceremony in the Edfu reliefs, in which it is more frequently designated *rdl(t) pr n nb-f*, see *E.* I, 57, 11; 70, 11; III, 111, 7; IV, 73, 4; 229, 6; VI, 91, 11; VII, 40, 2; 56, 10. See also *rdl(t) St-wrt-n-Rc-dr-bih n 'py psd m iht*, *E.* II, 33, 10; *rdl(t) Wst-nt-Nd-it-f n Sr-3st*, *ibid.* 62, 13; and *swd St-wrt n Rc nb pt, rdl(t) Wst n Nd-it-f*, *E.* IV, 346, 13-14. For earlier mention of the ceremony see F. Ll. Griffith, *Siut and Dér Rifeh*, pl. 6, l. 278; *Wb.* I, Belegstellen, 513, 8; Bissing-Kees, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures*, I, 12 f.; Bissing and Kees, op. cit. 13, produce evidence suggesting that the time for consecrating a temple and 'ceding' it to its lord was the night of the New Year and furthermore that at the beginning of every New Year a temple was rehallowed and handed over once more to its divine

occupant. Fairman has remarked to Blackman that though *rdit pr n nb-f* usually appears in the captions to the formulae in the reliefs concerned with this ceremony, in the 'building inscriptions' the ceremony is normally referred to as *swd ket n nb-s* or *swd pr n nb-f*, see, e.g., *E. IV, 9, 1*; an exception is *E. IV, 20, 1*.

33. Restoring $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$; cf. *E. IV, 330, 12*, and for $\text{---} = m$ see n. 1.

34. Clearly a name for Edfu temple must be supplied. A likely restoration is $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$, for which cf. *E. II, 9, 13*. *Hwt-Btk* is a common designation of Edfu, see, e.g., *E. I, 568, 11*; 569, 7; II, 19, (36); IV, 286, 13; V, 165, 13; VI, 5, 6. Another possibility is $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ which occurs again in this same text, *E. IV, 331, 9*.

35. See above, n. 7, A, 5.

36. Is the determinative $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ here a scribe's error, and should we emend --- and translate 'the (very) spit of Shu', the meaning being that like that god the building in question was a miraculous creation and therefore 'the spit of him'? For this interpretation of *isš n Sw* see *JEA XXXI, 64, n. 29*. Fairman feels somewhat inclined to regard $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ as a writing of *isš* 'build', 'construct', *Wb. IV, 549, 7*, because of the parallelism with *E. IV, 330, 14-15*, but agrees that Shu as a constructor-god sounds a bit strange.

37. A designation of Ptah, see *E. VI, 175, 7*, and perhaps 174, 12; see also *E. III, 191, 2*; 279, 2; IV, 238, 8; 385, 15.

38. Apparently a summarization of Captions I. 2-4 (see below, p. 86). The *nbw cbw*, who are also mentioned in *E. II, 272, 12*, and III, 333, 9-10, are probably Horus, Geb, Thoth, and *Dwn-cwy*, Geb having taken the place occupied by Seth in the earlier versions of the lustration formulae; see, e.g., *E. I, 428, 4. 6*; III, 334, 5-7; 337, 17-338, 1; IV, 215, 7; probably also II, 247, 11;* see also Blackman, *Rec. trav. xxxix, 64*; Budge, II, 3-9; Moret, *Rit. 204-7*; and cf. Dümichen, II, pl. XI, horizontal line 3.

39. An episode in Ceremony XVI = Budge, I, 78 f.; Schiaparelli, I, 127 ff.; Dümichen, II, pl. IV; Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhät, 59*. For the participation of Ptah and Seker^b in this operation see Budge, II, 110; Schiaparelli, II, 205 f.; *Wb. II, Belegst., 188, 8*. Note that the chisel is usually handled by Seker (*Wb. II, loc. cit.*; Budge, II, loc. cit.; Lefebvre, *Petosiris, II, 62 = Text 82, ll. 69-71*), not, as here, by Ptah. With the writing of *mdt* 'chisel' in our text cf. $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$, Lefebvre, *ibid.*, I, 70. The $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ has been placed before $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ simply to obtain a better grouping between two tall signs.

This chisel is usually said to be of copper, *bi*, but in one instance, Schiaparelli, II, 206 (*Bw-th-Imm* version), the material mentioned is iron, *bi-n-pt*. In our text the name of the metal is not given.

The employment of the *sdm-f* and *sdm-in-f* forms suggests that here we have a rubric or part of a rubric rather than a normal caption to a formula; see below, p. 85 f.

For the Rite of Opening the Mouth performed on behalf of divinities at Edfu see *E. I, 173, 3*; III, 277, 3; 286, 6; IV, 242, 15; V, 90, 12; 238, 10; VII, 325, 18.

40. An episode in Ceremony XII = Budge, I, 70; II, 26; Schiaparelli, I, 111; Dümichen, II, pl. II; Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 59. The 'Sorcerer' (*wr-hk/w*)

* Where $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ is parallel with $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} \text{---} \\ \text{---} \end{smallmatrix} \right]$ in *E. I, 428, 4*.

^b Cf. *E. VII, 326, 10*, where the King officiating as *sm*-priest and 'directing the rite' (*šm hr*) is designated 'son of Seker'.

g
a.
C
D
ak
D
U
ma
Ce
cap
4
464.
48
10-1
IV, 3
A.
88; II,
in the
enemie
XVIII,
^b Set

was a wavy rod or wand terminating in the head of a ram. For a good example see Dümichen, II, loc. cit. Note that the correct reading is *wr-hksw* not *wrt-hksw*, see *Wb.* I, 328, 4. The *w* is clearly a corrupt form employed not only here as an ideogram, but again in *E.* I, 207, 15 = XI, pl. CCXCIII. The ram-headed rod, in an almost vertical position, occurs as an ideogram in *E.* IV, 243, 1. The sign *w* is again incorrectly employed as determinative in *wr-hksw*, *E.* I, 207, 17 = XI, pl. CCXCIII; cf. also *w* as a spelling of *Wrt-hksw*, Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, 26.

41. Another episode in Ceremony XVI = Budge, I, 78 f.; 177 f.; II, 30; 154; Schiaparelli, I, 128; Dümichen, II, pl. IV; Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 59.

42. An episode in both Ceremony XII and XXIV = Budge, I, 68; 92; 168 f.; 184; II, 23; 38; 140; 179; Schiaparelli, I, 104 f.; 59 f.; Dümichen, II, pl. II.

43. In other versions of the Opening of the Mouth no mention is made of an adze of the Courtiers nor of their opening the mouth of the statue with it. Furthermore, the four slabs (*cbwt*) are not manipulated by them but by the *sr-mryf*, who 'wipes' or 'touches' the eyes and mouth of the statue therewith, and so opens them, an episode in Ceremony XXIII = Budge, I, 86 f.; 180 f.; II, 160 f.; 166-8; Schiaparelli, I, 144 ff.; Dümichen, II, pls. V and VI. Davies-Gardiner, op. cit. 59 f. It seems, therefore, not improbable that *smrw*, is a corruption of *sr-mryf*.

44. A beheaded goose was also offered when the foundations of a temple were plotted with cord and poles, see Bissing-Kees, op. cit. 6; *E.* II, 31, 3; III, 105, 5; 114, 15; 167, 12; IV, 352, 3; VI, 168, 10. For the goat-victim see the n. 46 below.

45. See Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 147, n. 41a.

46. The sacrifice of a bull, which precedes the offering of the beheaded goose and goat in the normal versions of this rite, constitutes along with that offering and the above-mentioned 'touching' of the mouth and eyes with the four *cbwt* the main part of Ceremony XXIII = Budge, I, 85-90; II, 17 f. with 167 f.; 176; Schiaparelli, I, 150 ff.; Dümichen, II, pl. I. The slaughter of a bull and the decapitating of a goat and goose also figure in Ceremony XI^a = Budge, I, 47 f.; II, 131 f.; Schiaparelli, I, 85 ff.; Dümichen, II, pl. VII. In the latter Ceremony the first-named victim is called 'an Upper-Egyptian ox', *ng šmcy*, Dümichen, II, pl. I; in the former 'a Lower-Egyptian male victim', *šsr try mhy*, Dümichen, II, pl. V. In our version of the Rite the two Ceremonies seem to have been compressed into one.^b For another Edfu example of the caption (*r)dl(t) r r ng šmcy* see *E.* IV, 242, 18-243, 1; see also Sethe, *Dram. Texte*, 110, n. 8a.

47. Frequently mentioned as victims in the Edfu texts, e.g. *E.* I, 113, 5; 452, 4; 464, 15; 489, 16; 497, 13; 526, 10; 527, 10; III, 197, 1; IV, 284, 16, *et passim*.

48. For *ro*-geese as victims see, e.g., *E.* I, 58, 12; 111, 4, 14-15; 306, 12, 15; 374, 10-11, 13; 464, 14; 476, 4, 6-7; 496, 6; 537, 11; 555, 16; 565, 8; II, 163, 12; III, 301, 6; IV, 311, 9; 392, 5; VI, 204, 4; 205, 1; VII, 101, 8; 125, 10-11.

^a According to the *Bw-th-lmn* version two goats, not one, were beheaded in both ceremonies, Budge, I, 48; 88; II, 20; 35; Schiaparelli, I, 87; 152. Note also that both in that and in the Petamenôpe version, as well as in the much earlier *Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus* = Sethe, op. cit. 146; 153, the goat and the goose symbolize enemies, as so regularly do the victims, both birds and beasts, in Ptolemaic temple-texts; see Junker, *ZAS.* XLVIII, 69 ff.; Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* xxx, 10 with n. 1; Blackman, *JEA* xxxi, 72.

^b See below, p. 87 f.

49. See above, n. 31.
 50. See below, p. 85.
 51. Parallel with Caption I. 18; see below, p. 90. With this use of *swt* cf. *E.* III, 26, 10.
 52. Probably the officiant is meant who impersonated this god in the rite just concluded; see Caption II. 2.
 53. $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ is evidently a writing of $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$ 'priesthood', *Wb.* I, 317, 7-8, rather than of $\text{𓄏} \text{𓄏} \text{𓄏}$, *wnyw*, 'inhabitants', *Wb.* I, 310, 2.
 54. I.e., probably the 'great oblation' mentioned in Caption II. 10; see n. 31 above.
 55. Parallel with Caption I. 20; see above, n. 32.

CONCLUSIONS

The two texts translated and annotated above consist mainly of the captions or headings to a number of the formulae appointed to be recited during the performance of the ceremonies comprising the Rite of Opening the Mouth. It was not until our article in *Misc. Gregoriana*, 397 ff., was in print that these two texts attracted our notice, when we promptly realized the importance of their bearing on certain ideas expressed in the hymns and litanies with which that article is concerned, ideas discussed by us both in the Commentary, n. 9, and in the Conclusions, but not treated at such length or in such detail as they would have been had the material, with which we are now dealing, been known to us. However, we pointed out that in the above-mentioned litanies Horus the Behdetite and the o-templar divinities male and female, the various parts of Horus' body, the ornaments or emblems which he wore or carried, his temple with its halls, chapels, pillars and gates, its images, the figures in the reliefs carved upon its walls, the boat-shrine in the Holy of Holies, and all the other furnishings, 'are called upon to rouse themselves from slumber, being clearly regarded, one and all, as separate animate beings who sleep during the hours of darkness, but "awake in peace" as soon as the sun appears on the horizon and sheds its light upon them'. That the Egyptians believed that divinities could become immanent at will in the figures depicting them in the temple wall-reliefs, which thus became alive and active, was clearly demonstrated many years ago by Junker.^a Speaking of how far the temple-reliefs depicting the Osirian mysteries actually represent the carrying out of those rites, and of what relation the former bear to the latter, he says: 'From the representations showing them to us in progress we really learn nothing as to how they were actually performed, for the pictures have a purpose of their own. They not only serve to decorate or illustrate, but stand in a close relationship to the rite. In their own selves everything that they depict is carried out, seeing that the divine spirit (*der Geist*) of the god and of his retinue enters into the figures.' After illustrating and amplifying this statement by quoting from, and commenting on, a most significant inscription in the temple of Denderah,^b he goes on to say: 'Thus the same conception that we meet with in regard to the sculptures in the tombs is here transferred to the temple reliefs, or rather the same idea underlies them both. In the latter as in the former all

^a *Stundenuachen*, 6 f.


^b Mariette, *Denderah*, IV, 44a = Dümichen, *Hist. Inschr.* II, 35f.

l
c
t
t
t
t
a
ti
o
t
cu
th
af

be
en
ce
an
Cr
pré
and
the
list
that
not

* J.
d B

the scenes are alive, in that the divine spirit (*der Geist*), enters the figures and really eats and drinks what is set before him, whether painted or named in writing. With the temple and its sculptures the king has fashioned for the god "a monument for his ka" which is not only to proclaim his deeds and his might and depict his cult, but is to carry on in itself, beside the service of the priests and other officiants, a continuous actual cult through the indwelling of the divine ka.

Blackman in his article *The Stela of Nebipusenuosret*^a dealt at some length with this Egyptian belief that divinities and the dead could become immanent in the representations of them sculptured or painted on temple and tomb-chapel walls and naturally also in their statues. 'This belief, he maintained, accounted for the erection of cenotaphs and memorial stelae at Abydos. The dead person, it was supposed, could participate in the various ceremonies performed there in honour of Osiris by becoming immanent in his portrait carved on the stela, and so partake of the spiritual benefits that such participation would secure for him. As Blackman suggested in the same article,^b we can now understand why Neferektah, speaking in his tomb-chapel in the Memphite necropolis, was able to say of his wife and child buried in far distant Coptus, 'they are in Coptus and are also here in this tomb by the craft of a good scribe'.^c As is well known, the Opening of the Mouth was regularly performed on behalf of the statues of divine and human beings, statuettes used for magical purposes, and even on behalf of the heart-scarab, to imbue them with life and identify them with the beings or creatures they represented.^d Our two texts, with the significant words  etc., quoted at the beginning of this article, indicate that the Rite of Consecration of a temple employed at Edfu consisted partly, if not entirely, in a version of the Opening of the Mouth, the sequence and character of the ceremonies composing the rite suggesting that first of all it was performed on behalf of the cultus-statues (see below) and that then the 'Mouth of the Temple' itself was opened. The idea evidently was that not only the cultus-statues were enabled to become alive and active through the due performance of this rite, but the figures in the wall-reliefs also and the entire edifice with all its appurtenances.

We can in no wise claim that the archetype of our two texts was a copy of the service-book used at the Consecration of Edfu Temple, for it appears to have consisted almost entirely of the captions to the formulae appointed to be recited while the various ceremonies were being enacted. In fact it was probably but a brief résumé of the rite, and might be compared with what Drioton thinks the existing version of the Memphite *Creation Drama* must be regarded as being, 'le directoire d'un cérémoniaire pour la préparation et la célébration d'un mystère',^e though it was evidently far more compressed and curtailed than is that 'directory'. Probably the main requirement of the Master of the Ceremonies, for whom the archetype of the two Edfu texts was drawn up, was a list of the various ceremonies comprising the rite arranged in their proper sequence so that all might be performed in an orderly manner and the solemn progress of the ritual not marred by mistakes or hesitations. This requirement was supplied by the captions

^a *JEA* xxi, 1 ff.

^b *Ibid.* 6, with n. 6.

^c Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, 137.

^d Blackman, *JEA* v, 159 f.; 8, 57.

^e *Le Théâtre égyptien*, Cairo, 1942, 21.

to the formulae appertaining to those ceremonies, with perhaps a few instructions included as to the role to be played by this or that officiant at a given moment, especially if the officiant in question had to impersonate a divinity (see Captions II. 2 and 13). In the complete service-book, of course, such instructions or rubrics inserted at intervals in the formulae would have been numerous, as, e.g., in the *Bw-th-Imn* version of the Opening of the Mouth.^a As we shall see, the captions to certain ceremonies have somewhat surprisingly found no place in our text. Such omissions are doubtless due to the fact that the allotted space on the walls was limited, and so the already brief 'directory' had to be even further curtailed to find room for it in the frieze.^b

On what principle did the scribe who drew up this abbreviated version of the 'directory' divide the captions between the two texts? Far from being haphazard, as might appear at first sight, he obviously had in mind a very definite plan. It has long been the accepted view that the Opening of the Mouth and the daily temple-liturgy are, apart from a number of ceremonies essentially peculiar to the former, practically identical rites. Both comprise an elaborate toilet followed by a meal, which, indeed, except for certain preliminary ceremonies, are the main features of the temple-liturgy.^c What the scribe has done is to place the captions common to both rites on the west wall (see above, p. 75) and those peculiar to the Opening of the Mouth on the east wall. Thus on one side of the Outer Hypostyle Hall we have an abbreviated version of the daily temple-liturgy and on the other side a rather more abbreviated version of the Opening of the Mouth, the former supplying, however, what is lacking in the latter. Taken this way, the two texts can represent both a single and two separate rites.

Judging from the fairly numerous reliefs at Edfu depicting the Opening of the Mouth of a divinity^d and from the fact that a shortened form thereof was included in the funerary liturgy,^e it is possible that a similar shortened version also found a place in the temple-liturgy despite the fact that there are no allusions to any such ceremonies either in the Abydos or Karnak versions of the rite.^f But if the Edfu temple-liturgy did comprise a shortened form of the Opening of the Mouth, then not only does Text I supplement Text II, but conversely the latter completes the former.

But while accepting the view expressed in the previous paragraphs, we must not overlook the fact that our scribe also planned to make either group of captions as complete a version of the rite it represents as the wall-space permitted. Thus Caption II. 1 seems to be a summarization of Captions I. 2-4, Captions II. 9 and 10 similarly appear to correspond to Captions I. 10-17, while Captions I. 18-20 find their parallel in Captions II. 12-14.^g In carrying out his plan the scribe was possibly prompted by a feeling for symmetry, but probably more by a desire to make the two texts as independent of one another as possible owing to their being so widely separated the one from the other, by the whole breadth, in fact, of the façade of the Outer Hypostyle Hall.

^a Budge, II, 1 ff.; Schiaparelli, I, 22 ff.

^b Cf. the somewhat similar observations made in *JEA* xxviii, 35.

^c Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhät*, 60 f.; Blackman, *JMEOS* 1918-19, pp. 27 ff.; *JEA* x, 53 ff.; Hastings, *ERE* xii, 778 f.

^d See n. 39.

^e See, e.g., *Pyrr.*, § 30; Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.* 76; Blackman, *Meir*, II, pl. vi; III, pl. xxi.

^f Perhaps the Opening of the Mouth was included in the temple-liturgy only at stated intervals or on special occasions such as New Year's Day, see n. 32.

^g See the table on p. 91.

Now the current Egyptian belief being that the same magic power resided in the texts inscribed on their temple- and tomb-walls as in the similarly situated reliefs,^a it was naturally desired to make our two texts as magically efficacious as possible and so ensure that the ceremonies they embody should continue to be performed, either as one combined rite, or as two single rites celebrated simultaneously. Thus, it was felt, the mysterious life originally imparted to the whole temple and its occupants by the Rite of Consecration would perpetually be renewed,^b that is to say as long as the two texts remained intact.^c Nevertheless, it must also be borne in mind that the actual performance of such ceremonies and the recitation of the accompanying formulae were naturally regarded as more efficacious than sculptured representations and mere written words.^d

We should now, perhaps, present the reader with a brief but consecutive description^e of the Rite of Opening the Mouth as celebrated, or rather as we think it was celebrated, for the hallowing of Edfu temple. The description will be based on the content of our two texts themselves and on information derived from various sources, full references to which will be found in the Commentary. We hope that the table at the end of the article will make this account of the rite more intelligible to the reader and enable him to gain a clear picture of these somewhat complicated proceedings. First be it observed that we have no definite information as to where the main portion of the rite was performed, but, since our texts were placed on the exterior walls of the Outer Hypostyle Hall (see p. 75), it possibly took place in that part of the temple. Seeing that Caption I. 1 states that the rite was directed by Thoth,¹⁰ it is not unlikely that the Master of the Ceremonies, who may well have been the Chief Lector, impersonated that god.^f No mention is made of any cultus-statues, for the captions relating to Ceremonies I and II^g have been omitted, doubtless in the cutting-down process; but their presence is plainly implied by Captions I. 5-8 and II. 1-5.

Having asperged the statues of Horus and the co-templar divinities^h with holy water¹² and presented them with pellets of natron and incense for the purifying of their mouths,¹³ the officiants censured them¹⁴ (Captions I. 2-4 = Ceremonies III-VIII). There are no captions referring to Ceremonies IX and X,¹ while Ceremony XI¹ is assimilated to Ceremony XXIII (= Captions II. 6-8).^k The latter is in parts practically

^a See Blackman, *Meir*, II, 16; *JEA* XXI, 8; Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.* 92, § 9, end.

^b See Blackman, *JEA* V, 160, concluding sentence; see also above, n. 32.

^c See Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* XXVIII, 38 with n. 3.

^d See Blackman, *JEA* XX, 8.

^e The notes indicated here by numerals are, as stated on p. 76, those composing the Commentary.

^f Cf. the possible impersonation of Imhotep by the Reader, who was presumably the Chief Lector, during the performance of the Edfu Religious Drama (Myth C), *JEA* XXVIII, 36. ^g Budge, I, 9-13.

^h We are presuming that all the cultus-statues in the temple were grouped together for reconsecration in the Outer Hypostyle Hall, though the officiants may, of course, have gone from chapel to chapel 'opening the mouth' of each statue individually. We use the word 'reconsecration' because the mouths of the images in question had probably already been 'opened' in the *Hwt-nbw*, 'House of Gold' = the sculptor's workshop (see Davies-Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 57 f.; Blackman, *JEA* V, 159). But the Egyptian view would almost certainly have been that when it was necessary to hallow or rehallow (see n. 32) a temple, it was essential to reconsecrate the cultus-statues to make quite sure that they were fit for the divinities to become immanent therein (see Blackman, *JEA*, V, 160, end of last paragraph). Indeed, as already stated on p. 80, a form of the Opening of the Mouth may have been performed on their behalf daily.

¹ Budge, I, 26-46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 47 ff.

^k See nn. 43, 44, and 46.

seem to have been amalgamated. But note that the editor, in effecting this amalgamation, substituted the Upper Egyptian bull proper to Ceremony XI for the Lower Egyptian victim proper to Ceremony XXIII, though, having regard to its position in the rite, Caption II. 8 is more closely related to the latter ceremony than to the former. We suggest that the editor deliberately chose the Upper Egyptian bull because he was the priest of an Upper Egyptian temple; cf. the use at Edfu of the sign 𓆎 for *m* instead of 𓆏 , to which Fairman draws attention in *Bull. Inst. fr.* XLIII, 86, n. 1. For the symbolic meaning ascribed to the victims see p. 83, n. a.

A further opening of the mouth and eyes with the *Dw-wr* and *Dwn-(?)* adzes, of which the ritual act prescribed in the first part of Caption II. 6 may be the equivalent, forms the main feature of Ceremony XXIV.⁴² This, as we have already seen, would not be the only change in the usual sequence of Ceremonies occurring in our 'directory'. After a preliminary censuring (Ceremony XXV) not recorded in either of the texts, each of the statues was arrayed in the white head-cloth (*nms*), the officiant having first 'wiped' its mouth with it (Caption I. 5 = Ceremony XXVI, first episode).¹⁵ Then having anointed the statues (Caption I. 6 = Ceremony XXVII)¹⁶ and having placed upon them the prescribed wrappings of various coloured cloths (Caption I. 7 = Ceremony XXVI),¹⁷ the officiant hung round the neck of each a 'broad collar', composed, no doubt, of brightly coloured faience beads (Caption I. 8 = Ceremony XXVI, last episode).¹⁸ At first sight all reference to Ceremony XXVIII,¹⁹ which consisted in the presentation of certain insignia of sovereignty, seems to be lacking. But in the Edfu rite the presentation of all ornaments and insignia may have formed a single Ceremony, and our editor may have thought that mention of the 'broad collar' sufficiently represented the whole series of related episodes. The toilet-ceremonies ended with an officiant censuring the statues (Ceremony XXIX)²⁰ of which there is no mention here, and holding up before their faces a *nms*-ewer full of holy water (Caption I. 9).¹⁹

The next series of ceremonies is mainly concerned with the laying of a repast before the statues, with which the daily temple-liturgy and the Opening of the Mouth regularly terminated, and the preparations therefor. Perhaps we should point out here that in this 'directory' the order of ceremonies preliminary to the actual meal differs somewhat from that postulated by Blackman²¹ for the almost identical group of ceremonies forming part of the ordinary daily temple-liturgy. This order, however, may have been customary at Edfu and the divergence may not be due to a scribe's or draughtsman's carelessness. The preparations for the banquet began probably with the slaughter of oxen and geese (Caption II. 9). After the chanting of 'beatifications' (Caption I. 10) by an officiant or possibly a small choir of officiants,²¹ 'the requirements of the offering-table' were presented (Caption I. 11),²² these consisting, no doubt, of articles of food and drink and various table-vessels. No mention, it will be observed, is made of the washing of the altar,²³ a somewhat surprising omission. Incense was now burned to the Uraeus-goddess and all the divinities of Egypt (Caption I. 12),²³ two acts of worship which normally seem to have preceded not only the preparations for the

^a Budge, I, 108 ff.

^b Ibid. 111.

^c See Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778 f.

^d Budge, I, 128; II, 90; Mar., *Abyd.* I, pl. XXI; *E* I, 471, 6-14; Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778^c with n. 5.

banquet, but the 'salutation with the *nmsi-ewer*'.^a After the chanting of a hymn of praise to Rē (Caption I. 13)²⁴ the gods were summoned to their repast (Caption I. 14)²⁵ and then the image of the goddess Ma'et was presented to the sun-god, as the words of Caption I. 15 clearly imply.²⁶ The presentation of Ma'et immediately after the gods are 'summoned' is by no means inappropriate, for Ma'et was regarded both as a substitute for food and drink and as the organ whereby they were transmitted to the belly and the breath of life was inhaled.^b The presentation of Ma'et and the offering of food and drink are accordingly closely associated in the *Bw-ih-*imn** version of the Opening of the Mouth.^c The recitation of the formula beginning with 'An offering which the King gives' (Caption I. 16), doubtless to the accompaniment of the usual gesture,²⁸ was followed by the ceremony known as 'Setting the meal in order upon the altar' (Caption I. 17),²⁹ a performance one would have expected to occur earlier in the proceedings.^d The rite, so far as the statues were concerned, then terminated in the offering of 'a great oblation' of bread, meat, and beer (Caption II. 10).

This ceremonial repast ended, the 'Opening of the Mouth' of the temple (Caption II. 11) was enacted, probably a much abbreviated form of the rite just concluded. Captions I. 18 and II. 12 suggest that the officiating priests visited each hall and chapel separately, censuring and asperging them, and, it may well be, making mimetic gestures with their ceremonial adzes and other implements. It was presumably by means of these performances that not only the temple as a whole, but all its individual parts and furnishings became alive and active. The divinities could now become immanent at will in their figures appearing in the reliefs, while the inanimate objects depicted therein became the actual equivalents of what they represented—food, vessels, floral offerings, and the like.

When the service of consecration was over and, so one would suppose, the statues of the divinities had been carried in solemn procession to their respective sanctuaries,^e the craftsmen who had participated in the building and decorating of the temple were given a meal consisting, it would seem, of bread, meat, and beer (Caption I. 19), and the members of the temple priesthood were similarly, but probably separately, entertained. Since Caption II. 13 states that Seker, doubtless the officiant who had impersonated that god in the rite just celebrated,³² feasted the priesthood, we may presume that the meal of which the priests partook was presided over by him. We know of no other Egyptian text which alludes to the custom of giving a meal to the craftsmen after they had finished constructing a temple. It is, however, not an uncommon practice in England to give the workmen a dinner on the completion of an important building, especially a church. Indeed, we are informed that in the latter case the providing of such a feast is regarded as a matter of course.

With the 'ceding' of the sacred edifice to its divine owner (Captions I. 20, II. 14),³² a proceeding in which the Pharaoh himself was supposed to take the leading part, the consecration solemnities came to an end.

^a Budge, I, 112 ff.

^b See Blackman-Fairman, *Misc. Gregoriana*, 420 f., n. 98. The significance of the offering of Ma'et will be discussed at length by us in a treatise now in preparation.

^c See Budge, II, 99 ff.

^d See Hastings, *ERE* XII, 778^b-779^b.

^e Cf. Dümichen, II, pls. XII f.; Budge, II, 200 ff.; *E.* I, 538 ff.; pls. XXXVIII ff.

... to de
... living cycle as show

1. TRUE AWARENESS

ORIGINATING
ACTION



2. PHYSICAL R

THE LIVING

A holy (whole)
on each moment.
correctly with true feel

... we are ready to see
Michael, the Arch-ang

TABLE

Caption	Text I	Caption	Text II	Ceremony	Budge, 1
1	Supervision of the rite by the Lord of Hermopolis	—	—	—	—
2	Asperging with the <i>nmst</i> - ewers and red pitchers	1	Purification by the Lords of Purification	III-IV V-VII VIII XVI	pp. 14-19 pp. 20-5 p. 25 f. p. 78 f.
3	Substance of the god				
4	Incense on the fire				
—	—				
—	—	2	Ptah takes his chisel to open the mouth and Seker un- closes the eyes	XII	p. 70
—	—	3	Taking the Sorcerer	XVI	p. 78 f.
—	—	4	Presenting the finger of fine gold	XII and XXIV	pp. 68; 92
—	—	5	Proffering the Copper Adze of Anubis	XXIII	p. 86 f.
—	—	6	Ushering in the Courtiers: opening the eyes with their adze and touching the mouth with the four slabs.	XXIII	pp. 87 ff.
—	—	7	Beheading a <i>smn</i> -goose and decapitating a goat	XXIII	p. 85 f.
—	—	8	Pointing at an Upper Egypt- ian male ox	XXVI	pp. 94 ff.
5	Touching the mouth and eyes: arraying in the head- cloth	—	—	—	—
6	Presenting oil	—	—	XXVII	p. 105
7	Putting on the holy raiment	—	—	XXVI	pp. 96 ff.
8	Proffering the broad collar	—	—	XXVI	p. 102
9	Salutation with the <i>nmst</i> - ewer	—	—	'Supplementary Ceremony'	p. 121
—	—	9	Slaughtering long-horned cattle and strangling geese	—	—
10	Chanting beatifications	—	—	—	Budge, II, 199; 201
11	Presenting the require- ments of the offering- table	—	—	—	Budge, II, 95, 99, 198.
12	Censing the Uraeus-god- dess and the gods and goddesses	—	—	—	Budge, I, 112 ff., 115 ff.
13	Adoring Re ^t	—	—	—	Cf. Budge, I, 140
14	Summoning the Gods	—	—	—	—
15	Re ^t shines forth, etc.	—	—	—	Cf. Budge, I, 140, I, 22; II, 85, I, 2; 105, II, 2-3
16	Reciting the <i>htp-di-nso</i> - formula	—	—	—	Budge, II, 102, 199
17	Setting the meal in order upon the altar	—	—	—	Schiaparelli, II, 174
—	—	10	Presenting a great oblation of bread, flesh and beer	—	—
—	—	11	Opening the Mouth of Throne - of - the - Pro- tector-of-his-Father	—	—
18	Purifying the sanctuary and cleansing the temple	12	Censing its cult-chambers and purifying its chapels	—	—
19	Rewarding its craftsmen from the oblation, etc.	13	Seker feeds the priesthood from the oblation, etc.	—	—
20	Ceding the Great Seat by His Majesty to its lord	14	Ceding Wejset-ljor to its lord by His Majesty	—	—