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THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH[✓]

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In a recently written but not yet published article I was concerned to show that four sandstone blocks in the Vatican Museum emanate from the temple erected at Hermonthis (Armant) by Tuthmosis III in honour of Mont, the principal deity of that important Upper Egyptian town. One of the blocks bears the remains of a scene of well-known type: Tuthmosis III stands facing left, while streams of vivifying *ankh*-signs are poured over his head by a destroyed god on either side of him.¹ My attempt to provide a commentary led to developments which would have lengthened my article to an undesirable extent. The following pages are devoted to what had there to be omitted.

For information concerning Egyptian rites of purification one turns naturally to the important series of papers of which Blackman was the author.² The ramifications of the subject are enormous, since all religious ceremonies of Pharaonic times, whether performed on behalf of a deity, a deceased noble, or the living king, were prefaced by some act of ritual cleansing of which the object was sometimes the officiant and sometimes the intended beneficiary. Happily I am not called upon to deal with this topic in more than a limited way. The royal purification in question can be segregated from other similar rites in a manner that has not hitherto been properly recognized, and the texts accompanying the scenes where it is depicted yield a self-sufficient explanation of its purpose beyond which it is superfluous to look.

Before proceeding farther, it will be well to cast a comprehensive glance over the material available for the elucidation of this particular rite. I have here confined myself to pre-Ptolemaic representations. From various publications it proved possible to assemble eleven parallels to the Vatican fragment, these ranging from the reign of Hashepsowé to that of Philip Arrhidaeus. Though these sufficed to demonstrate my main contentions, it seemed advisable to seek the help of the best authority on such religious scenes. I confess my surprise at having received from Dr. Nelson a list of twenty-four³ still existing, though mostly unpublished, at Thebes alone, these excluding, moreover, the few scenes exhibiting deities other than those in which I was mainly interested, namely Horus, Seth, and Thoth. To Nelson's list, here printed immediately after this paragraph, I have added the nine others previously utilized by me. The same scholar has added to my indebtedness by providing prints from the Chicago negatives of seven scenes at Thebes which for my particular purpose were more illuminating than the rest. This gift was accompanied by permission from Dr. Hughes, the Field-director of the Oriental Institute, to make whatever use of them I liked. To both colleagues I tender my sincerest thanks.

¹ Description in Marucchi, *Il Museo egizio Vaticano*, p. 131, No. 129A. A photograph will appear in my article in vol. 2 of the *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, to be published by the University of Pisa.

² See particularly *Rec. trav.* 39, 44 ff., where a résumé of the previous papers is given. Also to be consulted is his article *Purification (Egyptian)* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 10.

³ On his No. 9 see below, p. 4, n. 1.

Scenes representing the Baptism of Pharaoh

Nos. 1-24, as well as No. 6A, are those enumerated by Nelson, the indications in brackets after the serial number giving the position of the scene as shown in his work entitled *Key Plans showing locations of Theban Temple Decorations*. Nos. 25-32, together with No. 27A, are those added by myself from various publications.

A. *Theban scenes of the King being purified by two gods but containing text mentioning four gods:*

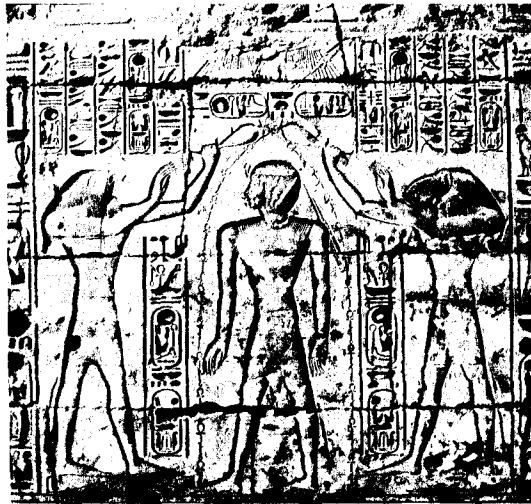
1. (Gur. 169) Sethos I embraced by Amūn, both together being purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Sethos I, Theban necropolis, rear wall of second room on right opening off hypostyle hall. Unpublished.)
2. (KB 152) Ramesses II purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east wall, 1st reg., south-east corner of hall. Unpublished.)
3. (MH. A 270) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Medinet Habu, Temple of Ramesses III, west side of second court on portico, 1st register, second scene on right of central axis. Unpublished.)
4. (Kh. 368) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, ambulatory about bark-shrine, east wall, 1st reg. See pl. I, top.)
5. (Kh. 294) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, east wall of hypostyle hall, 1st reg. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 238a.)
6. (Kh. 209) Herihor purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temple of Khons, 1st court, west wall, 2nd reg., west end of portico. Unpublished.)

6A. Ramesses III. See below under E.

B. *Theban scenes with text mentioning only the two deities depicted as participating:*

7. (KD 458) Hashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, room XII, north of granite shrine. Jéquier, *Temples Memphites et Thébains*, I, 24, 3.)
8. Hashepsowē purified by Horus and Thoth. (On one of the blocks from Hashepsowē's red sandstone shrine, to be published by Lacau.)¹
9. (KD 514) Tuthmosis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, westernmost of the three rooms north of the court of the XIIth Dyn. Unpublished.)
10. (KF 329) Tuthmosis III purified by two gods with small figure standing on *sm*-symbol immediately behind king. Upper half of the figures gone with the wall. (Karnak, Tuthmosis III's Festival Hall, room XXVI, north wall. Unpublished.)
11. (Lux. F 35) Amenophis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Luxor temp., room XVII, east wall, 1st reg. Unpublished.)
12. (Lux. E 229) Amenophis III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Luxor temp., room XIV, west wall, 1st reg. Unpublished.)
13. (KB 230) Sethos I purified by Horus and Seth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, east face of north tower of second pylon, 3rd reg. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 124.)
14. (KB 293) Sethos I, kneeling on *sm*-symbol, purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, hypostyle hall, north wall, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 58, bottom.)
15. (KL 6) Ramesses II purified by two human-headed deities, names lost. Third scene in series of (1) king leaving palace, (2) king carried in chair by Souls, (3) king purified.
16. (KG 110) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 8th pylon, north face, 2nd reg. Scene unpublished, but mentioned Champollion, op. cit. II, 192 for text.)

¹ Nelson's No. 9, said to be published Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, (III), 64, appears to be a mistake.



Ramses IV being purified by Horus and Thoth. Temple of Khons (No. 4 of the list)

♀
life

♁
Dominion
Power

Washing

Anointment



Sethos I being purified by Horus and Seth. From a relief (now destroyed by fire) formerly in the Brussels Museum. (No. 27 of the list)

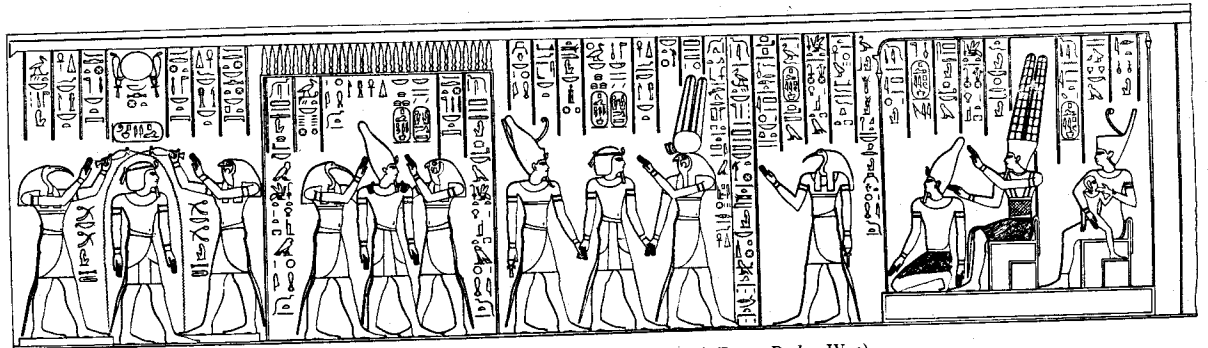
Immortality

ETERNAL life

Work

Glory

THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH



From the Sanctuary of Philip Arrhidaeus at Karnak (Leps., *Denkm.* IV, 2)
THE BAPTISM OF PHARAOH

17. (MH. A 147) Ramesses III purified by Horus and Seth. (*Medinet Habu* (Chicago), IV, pl. 234.)
 18. (Kh. 433) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Temp. of Khons, room IV, north wall. Unpublished.)
 19. (KG 179) Ramesses IV purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 9th pylon, east tower, north face. Unpublished.)
 20. (KG 19) Ramesses XI purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, 1st court of south extension, north wall. Unpublished.)
 21. (KL 118) Taharqa purified by two deities, heads and above lost with wall. (Karnak, edifice of Taharqa by lake, exterior, north side. Unpublished.)
 22. (KI 228) King (Ramesses II or Taharqa?) purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, temple of Ramesses II between great temple and east gate of temple enclosure, screen between two of the columns in north row of portico, south face. Unpublished.)
 23. (KD 214) Philip purified by Horus and Thoth. (Karnak, granite shrine, exterior, south face. Leps., *Denkm.* IV, 2, c, see too Porter and Moss, II, 38 (84). Here reproduced in pl. II.)
 24. (KI 140) Possibly a fragment of purification scene, Ramesside. (Karnak, small chapel of Tuthmosis III behind great temple, exterior, north end.)
- C. *Scenes depicting two of the gods Horus, Seth, or Thoth from sites other than Thebes:*
25. Armant, now in the Vatican Museum. Scene figuring Tuthmosis III as described in the first paragraph of this article.
 26. Amada. Amenophis II between Thoth of Khmün on the left and (Horus) the Behdetite on the right. Leps., *Denkm.* III, 65, d = Gauthier, *Temple d' Amada*, pp. 114-16, with pl. 23, A.
 27. Heliopolis? Granite block showing in the centre Sethos I between (Seth) the Ombite on the left, and (Horus) the Behdetite on the right. Capart, *Recueil de Monuments*, I (1902), pl. 39. Here reproduced, pl. I, bottom.
 - 27A. Abydos, Sethos I. See below under E.
 28. Abydos. Ramesses II between Thoth on the left and Harsiëse' on the right. Capart, *Temple de Sêti I^r* (*Abydos*), pl. 5.
 29. Derr. Ramesses II between Horus on the right and Thoth on the left. Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, pl. 43, with pp. 55-6.
 30. Wādi es-Sebū'. Ramesses II between Horus the Behdetite on his left and Thoth on his right. The nearly illegible legends of this scene perhaps indicate that it ought to have been classed under category A above. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi es-Sebouā*, pl. 38, A, with p. 149.
- D. *Scenes where two gods other than Horus, Seth, or Thoth are shown:*
31. Thebes, Dēr el-Bahri. Hashepsowē, small and doubtless intended as an infant, between Amūn on the right and Rē'-Ḥarakhti on the left. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (III), pl. 56, left.
 32. Thebes, Luxor temple. Amenophis III, similarly as infant between Mont on the right and Atum on the left. Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, pl. 75, fig. 186.
- E. *Scenes undoubtedly belonging to the same category, but showing only one officiating deity:*
- 27A. Abydos, Temple of Sethos I. The king stands facing Horus wearing the side-lock, i.e. as 'Iwn-mwt.f' 'Pillar of His Mother', who pours over him encircling streams of *cankh*- and *was*-signs out of three *hes*-vases. Calverley and Broome, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III, pl. 35.
 - 6A. (MH 423) Ramesses III embraced by Atum receiving streams of water from a *hes*-vase held by Horus wearing the side-lock. (*Medinet Habu*, rear room 21. Unpublished.)

¹ So according to Porter and Moss, VI, 6, top. Capart's photograph extends to the right no farther than the figure of the king.

In the following discussion the individual scenes will be quoted by their serial number. Most examples comprise four separate hieroglyphic legends, one over each of the two gods and often extending behind him, and one on each side between the god and the king. The former pair are referred to by the initial letter of the name of the god in question, followed by *r* or *l* according as the god in question stands to right or left of the king. The second pair are referred to by a capital K for King, followed by *r* or *l* as before. Thus in the scene reproduced photographically in pl. I, top, the inscription over Horus is designated 4 Hl, while the single column between Thoth and the King is given as 4 Kr.

The first thing to be determined is the context to which this type of representation belongs. In some cases the rite it depicts has been clearly recognized by scholars as an episode in the coronation ceremonies, or at least in a real or imaginative series where the royal prerogatives were bestowed or confirmed—in the latter event I am thinking of the *Sed*-festival. Owing to the piecemeal way in which our examples have been published, or in some instances (e.g. Nos. 8, 25, 27) because the picture stands on an isolated block or (No. 29) is without any informative context, it has not been realized that this generalization, at least so far as our material allows us to judge, is without exception. Blackman has failed to recognize this, and takes several of the examples above quoted (Nos. 13, 29, and even 23, where the evidence to the contrary is particularly clear) as depicting the king as in course of being purified before officiating in a temple.¹ The absence of this scene from the six famous chapels in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos where the daily cult is depicted bears irrefutable witness against this contention, and if somewhat similar representations are found in the funerary cult of either deceased nobles² or the Osirianized king,³ it is always the dead person, not the officiant, who is the recipient of the purifying streams. This does not mean, of course, that the officiant in temples had not likewise to undergo purificatory preparation for his priestly functions; all that is argued here is that the particular scene with which we are concerned in this article belongs to a wholly different set of ceremonies. It is a curious fact, for which no explanation seems forthcoming, that at these royal purifications it is the *hes*-vase (O.K. *hzi*)⁴, not the *nemset*-jar or any other, which is invariably used—this has been verified in Nos. 1-7, 13, 17, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 27A, and 6A, in fact in all properly visible pre-Ptolemaic examples accessible to me either through publications or in photograph. Černý reminds me of the magnificent inlaid models of a *hes*-vase found in the funerary temple of Neferirkarēt;⁴ evidently this type of vessel was specially suited to ceremonies in honour of the king himself.


The analogy of our rite to that of Christian baptism is close enough to justify the title given to this article. In both cases a symbolic cleansing by means of water serves as initiation into a properly legitimated religious life. It must not, however, be assumed too hastily that the ceremony was always enacted on the actual day of coronation. Sometimes it may have been performed far earlier; sometimes it may not have been

¹ *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 40, 87, n. 91; see too the caption to the Roman example, *ibid.*, pl. 5, No. 2.

² See the examples reproduced in the figures, *Rec. trav.* 30, 53-5.


³ *JNES* 8, 219, fig. 15.

⁴ Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-kei-er*, 59 ff., with the accompanying figures and plates.

performed at all. It is not mentioned in the Ramesseum dramatic papyrus; the purpose and occasion of the ritual there commemorated are wholly obscure to me. In any case it must never be forgotten that temple sculptures and tomb paintings are not necessarily authentic records of real happenings, but may merely belong to the world of imagination and make-believe. Are we to accept as gospel truth that Pharaoh's chariot was always the first to dash into the midst of his enemies and that they always succumbed at the first impact? But according to theory at least the *hes*-purification had its definite place in a series of ritual acts culminating in the new king's presentation to the supreme god of the realm. Though of very late date, the four episodes reproduced from Lepsius in our pl. II admirably illustrate this conception. First comes the purification by Horus and Thoth (No. 23 of the list above). Next the same two gods¹ place the crown of Upper Egypt upon the king's head. Then Mont of Thebes and Atum of Heliopolis take Philip Arrhidaeus by the hand and, at the invitation of Thoth, lead him into the presence of Amen-Rē. Lastly, that august deity adjusts the crown anew, thus acknowledging the coronation to have been properly accomplished, while behind him, quite unexpectedly, his spouse Amaunē suckles the young monarch, for that very purpose spirited back into babyhood. No. 13 of the list has a closely similar set of scenes, as may be seen from the publication. At Dēr el-Bahri and Luxor a famous sequence of reliefs traces the careers of Ḥashepsowē and Amenophis III respectively from their divine procreation to the actual accession. Here the baptism (Nos. 31, 32) is shown as performed upon the person of an infant, so that there is no pretence of enactment on the very day of coronation. Nevertheless, the accompanying words reveal that that consummation was already envisaged: both gods are accorded the same speech, as follows:  Words spoken: *Be pure together with thy ka, (namely) thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, thou living (eternally).*² It is not often that the legends beside the picture of the *hes*-purification allude to its ultimate purpose, but they do so in one Karnak example of the time of Sethos I (13 Sd), where we read: *I purify thee with life and dominion,³ that thou mayst grow young (rnp!k) like thy father Rē and make Sed-festival like Atum, being arisen gloriously as*

¹ For the presence of Thoth here see below, p. 8, n. 1.

² Sethe, on p. 112 of his translation of *Urk.* IV, 242, renders: *Du bist rein mit deinem Ka (in) deiner grossen Würde eines Königs von Ober- und Unterägypten.* Since the preposition *m* is omitted over both gods alike at Dēr el-Bahri and at Luxor there can be no justification for not regarding *sh't* (or *sh'k*) *wr* as in apposition to *h'f* (*h'k*). The implication that the king's *ka* is identical with his kingly office is less startling than some Egyptologists may find it. In my articles *PSBA* 37, 257; 38, 83, I pointed out that the word *ka* is sometimes very nearly equivalent to our 'attribute'. Sometimes as subject of verbs like *mri* 'love' or *hst* 'praise' it seems synonymous with our 'nature' or 'temperament'. And sometimes, even more strangely, the Egyptian word *ka* appears to stand for something as external and fortuitous as a man's 'rank' or 'fortune'; so in the phrase *whose ka the lord of the Two Lands made* (*Urk.* IV, 486, 3; Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua* (CCG), 2; Lepsius, *Denkm.* Text, III, 275): I believe too that the epithet *nḥb kꜣw* found in Middle Kingdom texts signifies *linking or combining attributes*, whether those taken from others (*Pyr.* 512) or those acquired by personal effort (e.g. Cairo 20001; *Bersheh*, II, 13, 14; *Sûf*, pl. 16, 5), cf. particularly the parallel expression *nḥb iwt* in *Sûf*, I, 266. We may ask whether the English word 'personality' might not best embrace these various applications of the Egyptian word. The main point in which the Egyptian conception of 'personality' would then differ from our own is that it assumes a separation from the owner's physical person, just as was done with the *ba* and sometimes even with the 'name' or the 'shadow', see Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhät*, 99 f.

³ For this rendering of  see below, p. 12.

prince of joy. In the above statements I have naturally had to confine myself to what could be gleaned from the publications and from the photographs sent by Nelson; valuable confirmation, however, is afforded by the following extract from the letter with which that scholar accompanied his gift:





I think it is certain that the purification rite is *not* part of the daily temple service. It frequently, perhaps generally, occurs as part of a series of acts culminating in the king kneeling before Amūn as he receives regalia, jubilees, life, or the like. The series may include all, or some, of the following scenes: (1) The king leaves the palace, its door shown behind him. (2) The king is purified by the gods. (3) The king is led by two gods into the temple. (4) The king has the crown placed on his head by some god. (5) The king enters the shrine of Amūn and, generally, kneels before the deity, while Thoth may write the royal titulary and *'Iwn-mwt:f* announces the good things done for the king. The king is not the officiant in these rites as he is in the temple service, but instead is the recipient of the acts and of the favours of the gods.¹



I pass now to a second question concerning the rite which is of equal, if not greater, importance. What is the reason that Thoth so often appears facing Horus as the second officiating deity? Earlier attempts to answer this question have all unwarrantably assumed that Thoth is here deputizing for Seth. Since in the examples enumerated above Thoth occurs twenty-two times and Seth only thrice it might seem more reasonable to suppose that in the rare cases where Seth is found he is deputizing for Thoth. Two of the three cases (Nos. 13, 27) belong to the reign of Sethos I, whose own name shows in what favour was then held the god of his home in the north-eastern Delta; but no such explanation will account for the third occurrence (No. 17). On the evidence before us we have every ground for believing that Thoth was the normal and original deity figured in this particular scene. Our oldest representations date back no farther than the Eighteenth Dynasty, where all six cases (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 26) depict Thoth. We have absolutely no right to assume that because Horus and Seth are the gods usually seen crowning the king therefore Seth must have been the original god in the purification ceremony; in that case the crowns to be presented were those of Upper and of Lower Egypt, and Seth was the god of the former half of the country, as Horus was of the latter.¹ No such bipartite division of the country is to be assumed in the rite here discussed, and the presence of Thoth there will be seen to have been due to a different, if not entirely unrelated, reason.



The latest writer on this topic is E. Otto,² and although he, like his predecessors, was obsessed with the notion that when Thoth is depicted he is a substitute for Seth, it seems desirable to summarize his argument. Starting from this false premiss and using inadequate material, he conjectured that the preference apparently shown to Thoth in the Eighteenth Dynasty was due to the hatred still felt for Seth as the god of the Hyksos, while the latter's return to acceptability, if not to popularity, in the Nineteenth Dynasty was accounted for by the reason mentioned in my last paragraph. Otto

¹ For these locations see my article *JEA* 30, 23 ff. The reason why in the crowning seen in pl. II Thoth is the partner of Horus is doubtless that by the reign of Philip Arrhidaeus Seth had become so detested that the depiction of him was avoided wherever possible; Thoth had served as partner to Horus in the preceding purification, and accordingly seemed quite a suitable substitute for Seth here.

² *Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth*, in *Orientalia*, 7 (1938), 69 ff.

purification is  as in the later nome-lists, while at least one Old Kingdom nome-list gives the form , which is the form in most Pyramid Text passages, as we have seen. It is possible that from the very start the name was read as *Dwn-mwi* 'Spreader of Wings', since that epithet occurs, not only spelt out  on an Asyūt coffin of the Middle Kingdom,¹ but also written  in *Pyr.* § 1098 (N). But we are not seriously concerned with the reading here; another possibility for the Old Kingdom is perhaps 'Anti';² Kees had successfully demolished Sepa favoured by the older Egyptologists.³ All that for our particular purpose we required to establish is that he was the eponymous god of the XVIIIth Upper Egyptian nome, and by virtue of that a fitting representative of the East. Consequently Thoth must be the god of the West. Sethe, in his commentary on Spell 217, tried to explain this by reference to Thoth's Delta cults.⁴ Otto, much more sensibly, thought it due to his position as the principal deity of Khmūn (Hermopolis magna, El-Ashmūnēn).⁵ We shall see that the scenes of our rite confirm the latter hypothesis.

What convinced me from the start that Horus and Thoth, or much more rarely Horus and Seth, were envisaged in our rite as two of the four gods of the cardinal points was, firstly, the mention of all four in the legends of a published scene of the reign of Rameses XI. Here, over Horus we read (5 Hr): *Words spoken by the Behdetite: Thy purification is the purification of Horus, thy purification is the purification of Seth, thy purification [sic];* opposite, over Thoth we find (5 Tl): *Words spoken by the lord of Khmūn: thy purification is the purification of Thoth, thy purification is the purification of  Dwen-cauey.*⁶ These inscriptions will be recognized as the exact counterpart of the later purification formula discussed by Otto—the formula which imitates that of the censuring in the Pyramid Texts, where the four gods have been demonstrated to be those of the cardinal points. Nelson strengthened my surmise by adding six more examples where the four gods are named (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 6A); the earliest of these (No. 1) dates from the reign of Sethos I; a better preserved one of the time of Rameses IV (No. 4) is here reproduced, pl. I, top.⁷ I had also noticed that in certain cases (Nos. 13, 23, 26, 31) where only two gods are named the legends next the king show the words *Thy purification is my purification* clearly reminiscent of the same formula. Accompanying that shortened version (Nos. 26, 31, cf. too Nos. 3, 29) we sometimes find ⁸ *Words to be recited four times.* As long ago as 1887 Maspero⁸ conjectured that this instruction

¹ In the publication Chassinat-Palanque, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, 127, the determinatives look somewhat like the claw , but De Buck confirms that they are certainly wings, and show the same form as in the variant with the bird  on another coffin from the same site (op. cit., 187). Also *Wb.* v, 432 interprets 'nwy as 'wings', but does not give any word 'n as 'wing' in *Wb.* i, 187-90.

² *Onomastica*, II, under No. 384b of *On. Am.*

³ *ZAS* 58, 92.

⁴ *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten*, I, pp. 55, 60.

⁵ Op. cit. 71. On the following page, however, he appears to lose sight of this possibility.

⁶ The original 'nwy (see above) has been changed into 'wy 'arms' doubtless because the former word had become obsolete and its meaning forgotten. The same change is found in an Edfu nome-list, Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* 1385, under the XVIIIth nome.

⁷ Here the complete formula with all four gods stands, not only over the head of Horus the [Behdet]ite, but also over the head of Thoth 'who is in Khmūn'.

⁸ In his article *Le rituel du sacrifice funéraire*, originally printed in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 15, but later repeated *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie*, 1, see particularly pp. 293-4. See too Sethe, *Von Zahlen u. Zahlworten*, 31-3.

to the officiant—for such it is—indicates a rite to be performed consecutively at each of the four cardinal points. The words to be spoken on these occasions are indubitably those with which we first became acquainted in *Pyr.* § 27, varied slightly whenever necessary and perhaps abbreviated at times. The fourfold performance and recitation was of widespread usage, by no means confined to the rite alone studied in this article.

A last clue to the virtual presence in our rite of all four gods of the cardinal points is to be found in the epithets accorded to three of them. Horus is often described as the Behdetite (Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 23, 26, 27) and it was by reason of his connexion with the town of Behdet in the far north that he obtained his right to be the official representative of that region.¹ In all three cases where Seth replaces Thoth (see above, p. 8) he is designated *Nbty* 'the Ombite' in reference to his home at Ombos near the modern Upper Egyptian town of Kūs. Since these appellations belong to a genuine tradition of very ancient date I see no justification for refusing equal credence to the epithets *lord of Khmūn* (Nos. 5, 6, 26) or *who is in Khmūn* (No. 4) accorded to Thoth, even if in regarding that god as owing his right to represent the West to his connexion with Hermopolis Magna we have to reject Sethe's verdict that Spell 217 of the Pyramid Texts was a product of Lower Egypt in his postulated Heliopolitan period.²

To sum up the results of the foregoing argument, we find that in reality the *hes*-purification was quadrilateral, not bilateral. Why then were not all four gods depicted? I believe it was because such a mode of depiction was not artistically satisfactory. We have, indeed, pictures of the closely analogous funerary purification performed by four priests, see the annexed fig. 1.³ But this design is exceedingly clumsy, and it is difficult to imagine that such important deities as Horus, Thoth, and Seth would have submitted to depiction in such miniature form. But if, then, the scenes we have been studying are to be considered as abbreviations and if all four gods were always implicitly present, why was Thoth given the preference over Seth as the partner of Horus? I believe it was because to an Egyptian spectator the combination of Horus and Seth would have suggested restriction to a north-south application, as in the reliefs of the crowning. In the combination of Horus and Thoth there would have been found a broad hint of the virtual presence of the two missing members of the four. We thus see that the notion that Thoth here replaces Seth is an illusion.

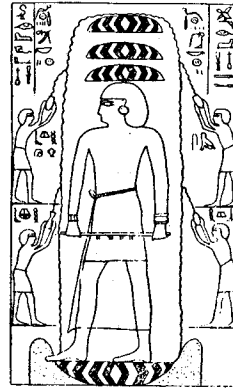


FIG. 1

Lastly, the meaning of the rite as a whole. When actually performed, what was in fact poured over the king's head was water, and this we find depicted in a few rare

¹ See my article quoted above, p. 8, n. 1.

² See the work cited above, p. 10, n. 4.

³ From the Theban tomb of Sennūfe (No. 96B); reproduced from *Rec. trav.* 22, 91; two other examples of the same design, Davies, *The Tomb of Kenamūn*, pl. 63; id., *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. 15. The priests here, of course, represented the four gods of our royal rite, and in the scene here shown four separate priests were engaged in the ceremony, two ordinary lector-priests, the chief lector, and the *setem*-priest.

instances (Nos. 1, 6A, 23, 32). Usually, however, it was preferred to exhibit the symbols for the benefits which the purifying streams were supposed to confer; in some cases we find only the *rankh* 𓆎, i.e. the symbol for 'life' (Nos. 5, 6, 7, 13, 26), but rather more often this alternates with another symbol 𓆏 (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 17, 27, 28, 29), the meaning of which is more disputed.¹ Since this is regularly seen in the hands of divinities both male and female,² it seems probable that it signifies 'divine power', and I propose the translation 'dominion' in the sense in which that word is employed in the Authorized Version of our Bible. Contexts are lacking in which the signification of this symbol, whether read as *wis* or as *dcm*, is plain, but since it is shown erect between heaven and earth on each side of many royal monuments,³ once again probably to be interpreted quadrilaterally, I believe it may there be construed as the specific power of each of the gods of the cardinal points. It would appear, accordingly, that the rite was intended to transfer to the Pharaoh a goodly portion of the power of the divinities who presided over the four quarters of the globe. Perhaps their gift to the Pharaoh was not entirely unreciprocated, since after the words *Thy purification is the purification of X* we often find the expression 𓆏 *is phr*, lit. *utterance turned round*, the equivalent of our *and vice versa* (e.g. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4). Transactions in remote antiquity between god and king were habitually conducted on a business basis.

¹ The most complete discussion is that in Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets*, 176 ff., where the view taken by the author approximates to that here adopted. The sense given in *Wb.* 1, 260, namely *Wohlergehen, Glück* (in both cases with a note of interrogation) seems extremely unlikely, and would render superfluous *wi-tb* sometimes found in the enumeration of kingly attributes.

² The only case known to me where this type of sceptre is seen in the hands of an ordinary human being is in a scene of measuring the crops, where an old man carries it while swearing to the boundaries of a corn-field, *JEA* 20, pl. 10, fig. 2.

³ Perhaps the oldest example is on the comb figured *JEA* 30, pl. 6, fig. 4. Others are Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-rer*, 1, 45; Anthes, *Hatnub*, pls. 4, 5. Since this design regularly forms a framework to the name or names of the king, to which in addition the vulture-goddess is seen offering the symbols 𓆏 and 𓆏, the whole may be taken to symbolize her gift to the king of all power even from the four corners of the world.

Washing / Anointing

♀ life - immortality

♂ Dominus - eternal life (That of God)

♀ life - mortality

♂ Dominus - eternal life (That of God)

♀

♂