#### The God Re-Horakhty-Khepri "R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty-Hpri" in Ancient Egypt

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#### Abstract

The beliefs and practices surrounding the ancient Egyptian gods and goddesses were the foundation of ancient Egyptian religion, which emerged somewhere in prehistory. This paper investigates the god **Re-Horakhty-Khepri**. The syncretism of two strong gods, Re and Horus, was one of the most significant events in Egyptian mythology, and it appears to have had a substantial philosophical and iconographic impact on Egyptian history. Re's power was augmented by this, which consisted of a falcon-headed man crowned with a sun disc; in the mornings, Re has combined with Horus to become **Re-Horakhty**. As for **Khepri** who was the form of the sun god which represented the solar disc rising on the eastern horizon. The Egyptians saw the scarab or dung beetle as a sign of the god due to the beetle's habit of rolling a ball of mud or dung over the ground in a manner indicative of the god pushing the solar disc across the sky in its earliest known occurrences, kheprer. The combination of these two gods is the aim of that study.

Keywords: A scarab, Solar Disc, Self-arose.

#### **Introduction:**

 $R^{-}$  Hr- $3hty^{1}$  Horus was venerated as a solar god. Horakhty, or 'Horus of the Two Horizons,' was the god of the rising and setting sun, but especially the god of the east and sunrise, and the deceased king is believed to be resurrected as Horakhty in the eastern sky in the Pyramid Texts. Horakhty was eventually lured into Heliopolis' sun cult and merged with its solar god as Re-Horakhty. Horus was the hawk-winged sun disc and appears to embody the idea of the sun passing across the sky. Horus was shown as a sun deity in falcon form as Hor-em-akhet, 'Horus who belongs to the Horizon'<sup>2</sup>. The element '3hty' can be a dual form of the noun '3ht' or 'horizon', there is a play on words when the king is said to be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> R.O. Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford, 1962, p. 468.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Egypt*, London, 2003, p. 205.

given power over the 'two horizons'; the east and the west as Horakhty<sup>3</sup>. Naturally, the Egyptians had to recognize that their king, as the 'son of Re' the sun-god, could not reach absolute identification with this aspect of Horus, especially after this form of Horus merged with the Heliopolitan sun-god to become Re-Horakhty<sup>4</sup>.

ŝ  $Hpr^{5}$  Khepri was the sun god's form that depicted the rising solar disc on the eastern horizon. As such, he was one of the three aspects of the solar deity who was 'Khepri in the morning, Re at noon, and Atum in the evening', though it is impossible to know whether the god originally served in this carefully defined role or whether he was given the position when he was fused into the Heliopolitan cult of the sun at some point. The Egyptians regarded the scarab or dung beetle as a sign of the god, hence the god's name, kheprer, is simply that of the scarab or dung beetle. The biology of the insect appears to underpin the god's name, as Khepri evokes the Egyptian verb kheper, which means "to develop" or "to come into being." Khepri was the god of the first sunlight at the dawn of creation, as the 'developing one,' and was thus associated with Atum as Atum-Khepri. Although Khepri's status as the morning sun remained fundamental and his basic mythological job was to raise the light from the horizon, he may be related to the solar god Re to some extent. Khepri was also linked to the theme of resurrection because he was a god who was constantly reborn<sup>6</sup>.

#### Methodology:

The methodology that will be held to achieve the objectives and the aim of the study is the descriptive and analytical one, by means of collected scenes and inscriptions concerning the subject of the research.

#### **Literature Review**

The god's iconography and name has been illustrated in the tombs, temples and even funerary objects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D.M. Doxey, "Re-Harakhty and Atum", *OEAE* II, 2000, p. 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> R.H. Wilkinson, - K.R. Weeks, *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings*, Oxford, 2001, p. 169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 477.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 205.

#### The God's Iconography and Inscriptions in the Temples:

#### A. The Temple of the king Sethos I at Abydos

Era: New Kingdom

In a scene in the in the Chapel of Re-Horakhti, North Wall, and Eastern Section:

The Enthroned god  $R^{r}$ -Hr-3hty-Hpri appears with a solar disc on his head (fig. 1). An uraeus is attached to the solar disc and a scarab is depicted in it. In his hands he is depicted holding the sign of life rh by his right hand and the w3s scepter by his left<sup>7</sup>. He appears in front of the kneeling king Sethos I, who is offering incense to



*dd mdw in R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty-Hpri hr-ib hwt-ntr Imn-Re* "Words spoken by Re-Horakhty-Khepri in the temple of Amun-Re<sup>9</sup>".

#### B. In Karnak

Era: Greaco-Roman

An inscription in the Pylon of the Temple of Montu (Bab el Abd):

A Designation of the god Montu in a Ritual scene (The dead Apophis: *sm3 '3pp*), an inscription  $\mathbb{R}^{\mathbb{R}} \times \mathbb{R}^{\mathbb{R}} \times \mathbb{$ 

Mnt(w) nb Iwnw Šm<sup>c</sup>w R<sup>c</sup>- Hr-3hty-Hpri hr-ib t3w.f r<sup>c</sup> m šntw.f R<sup>c</sup> rth sšm

Montu lord of Thebes, Re-Horakhty-Khepri in his nestling sun of his spells, Re the restrain leader.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> A.M. Calverley – A.H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume II, The Chapels of Amen-Rē*, <sup>′</sup>*Rē-* <sup>′</sup>*Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos,* London, 1935, pl. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Chr. Leitz, Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Band II., unter Mitarbeit von Frank Förster, Daniel von Recklinghausen und Bettina Ventker, Leuven; Paris, 2002, p. 633. <sup>9</sup> LGG IV, p. 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> K. Sethe, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus Griechisch-Römischer Zeit, Urkunden des Agyptischen Altertums; VIII*, Berlin, 1957, p. 9b.

# The God's Inscriptions in the Tombs:

Era: New Kingdom.

A. In The Tomb of Setau 'The high priest of Nekhbet', Tomb no. 4, in El Kab, an inscription reads:

*R<sup>c</sup>- Hr-3hty-Hpri hr-ib wi3 s hd t3wy m sti wnb.f* "Re- Harakhty-Khpri in his white 'bright' sacred bark, the two lands in his piercing rise".

**B.** In The Tomb of Amenwahsu 'A scribe during the reign of Ramesses II'19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty', Theban Tomb no. 111, in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Theban Necropolis - Louvre Stela C. 210; the god  $R^{c}$ -Hr-3hty-Hpri is invoked in a Solar Hymn in an inscription on the cornice of a Solar Bark; adorned by 2 cynocephali, 2 falcon

gods, and 2 jackal-headed genii<sup>12</sup>, as being: 2

*R<sup>c</sup>-* Hr-3hty-Hpri *imy msk.tt Tm* hr-*ib m nww*<sup>14</sup> "Re- Horakhty-Khepri who sail to the sun-god Atum in the middle of the water".

**C. In The Tomb of Amenemhat** 'Mayor of Thebes, Royal Scribe during the  $19^{th}$  Dynasty', Theban Tomb n. 163, in Dra' Abu el-Naga; the god *R*<sup>c</sup>-*H*r-*3hty*-*H*pri is invoked in a Solar Hymn in an inscription as being:

ii R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty-Hpri di.k pri Wsir zš-niswt Imn-m-h<sup>c</sup>t m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>hrw m -[hrww] [..]<sup>16</sup>

I (am) Re-Horakhty-Khepri (who) places you (in) the domain of Osiris, The royal official Amenemhat justified in [daytime].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, VI, Oxford, 1983, p. 555 (5); *LGG* IV, p. 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, III, Oxford, 1980, p. 306 (9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> *KRI*, III, p. 306 (9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> *LGG* IV, p. 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> J. Assmann, "Sonnenhymnem in Thebanischen Grabern, Theben 1", Mainz, 1983, STG 161 (8), p. 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Assmann, *STG* 161 (8), p. 221.

#### A. The God's Inscriptions in Stelaes:

Era: Ptolemaic period

**B. Stelae named by**  $\mathbb{A}^{\mathbb{P}^{(1)}}$  *Tr-Hrw son of*  $\mathbb{A}^{\mathbb{P}^{(1)}}$  *Ns-hr* in "Akhmin", Cairo Museum Catalogue, CG no. 22025 (11): Limestone, H. 0.68 cm, L. 0.40 cm. The hanger is occupied by the solar disc with wings surrounded of uraeus (fig. 3). The inscription in the 11<sup>th</sup> line:  $\mathbb{A}^{\mathbb{P}^{(1)}}$   $\mathbb{A}^{\mathbb{P$ 

C. Stelae named by Th-mss son of Dt-hr-Ns-hr in "Akhmin", Cairo Museum Catalogue, CG no. 22070 (4): Limestone, H. 0.79 cm, L. 0.51 cm (fig. 4). The inscription reads: Dt-hr-Ns-hr in "Akhmin", nhh i nd hrt.k R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty-Hpri "Extol 'Adore' to his lord eternally, I take your counsel (inquire) from Re-Horakhty-Khepri".

**D. Stelae named by**  $W3h-ib-r^{(N)}$   $v^{(N)}$  in "Thebes", The British Museum no. 8461, Sycamore 'Ficus sycamorous', H. 41.5 cm, W. 7.5 cm (fig. 5). The inscription

reads:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Acquired in Akhmin, Egypt, in 1894. Red-colored pictures and inscriptions abound. The solar disc, which has triple wings and is surrounded by uraeus, occupies the hanger. A solar disc with four bundles of rays erupting from it, flanked by two jackals diapered with fly swatters, is depicted in this symbol, in O. Koefoed – Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, Copenhague, 1948, p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *LGG* IV, p. 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>O. Koefoed – Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague, 1948, p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1904-1905, CG 22025 (11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>*LGG* IV, p. 633.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*, CG 22070 (4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, in the British Museum, HT XI, London, 1993, pl. 74,75,77.

*pr.s* "Re-Horakhty-Khepri, who arose in the world by himself, (who) rise in the heaven of his domain<sup>24</sup>.

**E. Stelae named by** *P3-hr-Hnsw* in "Thebes", The British Museum no. 8467, Sycamore 'Ficus sycamorous', H. 53 cm, W. 33 cm (fig. 6). The inscription reads:



*m* 3*ht* pr.s "Re-Horakhty-Khepri, beautifully ferry 'sail' across (and) rise in the heaven of his domain.

# **B.** The God's Inscriptions in Sarcophaguses:

**Rectangular Sarcophagus [CG 41009**], **named by**  $T3-b3-P3t \xrightarrow{1}{2}$ , in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 41009, Kushite Dynasty '25<sup>th</sup>', Long 2 m, Large 0.91 cm, H. 0.96 cm: On a wooden background (fig. 7), the text and figures are in blue. The deceased is standing to the left, hands lifted in devotion (green flesh; blue with red headband and green and red flowered cap; red dress with straps). The solar boat, towed by five gods, approaches the departed, the inscription in front of them reads:

 $R^{\circ}$   $R^{\circ$ 

# C. The God's Inscriptions in Statues:

**Statue of Montoumhat 'The 4<sup>th</sup> prophit of Amun',** [CG 412237], Karnak, The Temple of Mut, Thebes, Cairo Museum, no. 893: The height of this greyish green volcanic rock statue, according to the Cairo Museum's label, is 0.40m. Montoumhat appears kneeling, his hands on the top of a rounded stele that he raises erect in front of him, and it is complete, it is perfectly preserved. The face

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> *HT* XI, pl. 74,75,77; *LGG* IV, p. 633

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> *HT* XI, pl. 80, 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte*, Le Caire: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1913, *CG* 41009, p. 117.

has been idealized as that of a young man. Six columns of text are arranged in front and above Montouernhat (fig. 8) $^{27}$ , the inscription related to the god reads:

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[*m*] wbnt *i3bt* n pt "To adore Re-Horakhty-Khepri, who arose in the world by himself, when he rises on the eastern horizon of the  $sky^{29}$ ".

# **D.** The God's Inscriptions in Papyri:

**Pap. Brit. Mus. no. 10569 "Book of Hours",** Greaco-Roman era. The god Re-Horakhty-Khepri is invoked at the 9<sup>th</sup> hour of the Book of Hours, as  $\mathcal{H} \xrightarrow{\mathcal{A}} \mathcal{H}$ 

**1. Results and Discussion** This part is divided into 3 subdivisions:

A. The Name Forms and Titles of Re-Horakhty-Khepri.

B. The Relationship between Re-Horakhty-Khepri and Other Deities.

C. The Figures of Re-Horakhty-Khepri, and Accompanied Kings.

#### A. The Name Forms of Re-Horakhty-Khepri:

Table n°. 1:

Name Form	Location	
	Stela in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 22025 (11), Akhmin.	
	Stela in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 22070 (4), Akhmin.	
	Stela in the British Museum no. 8461.	
	Sarcophagus Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 41009.	
	Statue in the Temple of Mut, Cairo Museum, no. 893.	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> J. Leclant, *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville*, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, vol. I, 1961, p. 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Leclant, *Montouemhat: quatrième prophète d'Amon*, p.43-44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Leclant, p.43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> R.O. Faulkner, An Ancient Egyptian Book of Hours (Pap. Brit. Mus. 10569), Oxford, 1958, p. 27 (13).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> *BoH*, p. 43\*.

	Theban Tomb no. 111 "Sheikh Abd el-Qurna".
	The Chapel of Re-Horakhti, North Wall, Eastern Section, Abydos
	The Pylon of the Temple of Montu (Bab el Abd), Karnak.
	Stela in the British Museum, no. 8467.
	Tomb no. 4 "El Kab".
PC 3 # 13	Theban Tomb n. 163 "Dra' Abu el-Naga".
A. A. A. A. A.	Stela in Carlsberg Museum <i>AEIN</i> no. 892, Akhmin Papyrus in the British Museum no. 10569.

#### From the previous table, it is clear that:

According to	Epithet	Location
Coherent to the God's Name:	<i>hpr-ds.f</i> who create his own figures 'arose by himself.	<ul> <li>Stelae in Carlsberg Museum AEIN no. 892, Akhmin.</li> <li>Stela in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 22025 (11), Akhmin.</li> <li>Stelae in the British Museum no. 8461.</li> <li>Sarcophagus Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 41009.</li> </ul>

# The Epithets of Re-Horakhty-Khepri:

		- Statue of Montoumhat, Karnak CG 412237.
Rise in "Heaven" or "sky"	wbn.k m 3ht pr.s He rises in the heaven of his domain.	<ul> <li>Stelae in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 22025 (11), Akhmin.</li> <li>Stelae in the British Museum no. 8461.</li> </ul>
	wbn.k m 3ht pr.s	- Stela in the British Museum, no. 8467.
	He rises in the heaven of his domain.	Sarcophagus Cairo
		-Sarcophagus Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 41009.
	<i>wbnt i3bt n pt.</i> He rises on the eastern horizon of the sky	- Statue of Montoumhat, Karnak CG 412237.
Solar-Disk	hr-ib t3w.f r <sup>c</sup> m šntw.f in his nestling sun of his spells	- The Pylon of the Temple of Montu, Karnak.
Solar-Bark	الله من الله من hr-ib wi3 s	-Tomb no. 4 "El Kab"
	in his white 'bright' sacred bark f = f = f + f + f + f + f + f + f + f +	-Theban Tomb no. 111 "Sheikh Abd el-Qurna"
	<i>d3i nfr</i> beautifully ferry 'sail' across	- Stelae in the British Museum, no. 8467.

Features and Professions:	i nd hrt.k R <sup>c</sup> -Hr-3hty-Hpri I take your counsel (inquire) from Re-Harakhte Kheperi.	-Stelae in Cairo Museum Catalogue no. 22070 (4), Akhmin.
	[] <i>nis.f sgr R<sup>c</sup>- Hr-3hty-Hpri</i> [When?] He summons the Silent One Re-Horakhty-Khepri	- Papyrus in the Brit. Mus. no. 10569.
Relationship to Other Gods:	R <sup>c</sup> - <u>Hr-3hty-Hpri</u> imy msk.tt Tm Re-Horakhty-Khepri who sail to the sun-god Atum	- Theban Tomb no. 111 "Sheikh Abd el-Qurna"
	<i>ii R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty-Hpri di.k pri Wsir</i> I (am) Re-Horakhty-Khepri (who) places you (in) the domain of Osiris	-Theban Tomb n. 163 "Dra' Abu el-Naga"
Topography	hr-ib ḥwt-nt̪r Imn-Re in the temple of Amun-Re	- The Chapel of Re- Horakhti, the temple of Sethos I, Abydos

#### From the previous table, it is clear that:

-The epithet that is coherent to the god's name is as being *hpr-ds.f* who create his own figures 'arose by himself. This feature of self-arising might have been related to the god Khepri was also linked to the theme of resurrection because he was a god who was constantly reborn<sup>32</sup>.

-It is clear from the god's epithets the relationship between the god Re-Horakhty Khepri and the *Sky "Heaven*" since the god *Re-Horakhty* is known as "Re, who is Horus of the Two Horizons", hence the god Re was the sun god, and was portrayed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 205.

as a falcon and shared characteristics with the sky-god Horus and became *Re-Horakhty*<sup>33</sup>. *Khepri* was the form of the sun god which represented the solar disk rising on the eastern horizon. As such he was one of the three forms or aspects of the solar deity who was 'Khepri in the morning<sup>34</sup>; this might relate the god to the aspect of rising on the eastern horizon.

- The Solar-disc could also be detected in the god's epithets; hence the rising sun was the symbol for creation of the world, and the daily course of the sun the symbol of the world's cyclical renewal; hence the paramount importance of Re as creator and master of life<sup>35</sup>, and by default Re-Horakhty-Khepri.

-The Solar-bark has been interpreted as a symbolic space for the daily journey of the sun god Re<sup>36</sup> and the god Re-Horakhty-Khepri as well, accordingly it is also repeated in his epithets.

- The god's epithets related to his features and professions could be illustrated on being *The Counselor* and *The Silent One*.

- The title of the god related to topography is being *in the temple of Amun-Re, in Abydos*; that might indicate that the god's initial appearance was during the New Kingdom in Abydos.

# B. The Relationship between Re-Horakhty-Khepri and Other Deities:

-The Relationship between Re-Horakhty-Khepri and Other Deities could be detected in his epithets: His relationship to the god *Atum*<sup>37</sup> could be declared on the epithet "who sail to the sun-god Atum", and to the god *Osiris*<sup>38</sup> in "(who) places you (in) the domain of Osiris".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> M. Muller, "Re and Re-Horakhty", *OEAE* III, Cairo, 2001, p. 123; R.A. Wells, "Astronomy", *OEAE* I, Cairo, 2000, p. 145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> A. Cwiek, *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complex of the Old Kingdom*, Warsaw, 2003, p. 272.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Atum, is the god of creation. As 'he who is in his egg,' Atum floats in the primordial waters in an inchoate state, and creation begins with the separation of this'seed' of undeveloped matter from the primordial waters. In his incarnation as Re-Atum, the creator sun god, the freshly emerged deity sat on the primaeval mound, in J.V. Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt", in J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* III, New York, 1995, p. 1699; V.A. Tobin, 'Creation Myths', *OEAE* III, Cairo, 2002, p. 469.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  (*Wsir*), As a deity of death, resurrection, and fertility, Osiris was one of ancient Egypt's most important deities, appearing prominently in both monarchical ideology and popular religion. The significance of the god's name, as well as his actual origins, remain unknown. The name Osiris' origins is complicated by

**Atum:** The god Khepri was the god of the first sunlight at the dawn of creation, as the 'developing one,' and was thus associated with the god Atum, although Khepri's status as the morning sun remained fundamental<sup>39</sup>.

**Osiris:** As a deity of death and resurrection, should has been related to the god Re-Horakhty-Khepri who declares himself as self-arising and resurrected.

**Re:** Khepri basic mythological job was to raise the light from the horizon, he may be related to the solar god Re to some extent<sup>40</sup>. The Solar-bark has been interpreted as a symbolic space for the daily journey of the sun god Re and the god Re-Horakhty-Khepri as well, accordingly it is also repeated in his epithets.

# C. The Figures of Re-Horakhty-Khepri:

The god appeared in the temple of the king Sethos I, with a solar disc, an uraeus and a scarab is depicted in it. In his hands he appears holding the sign of life nh and the *w*3s scepter.

- The god only appeared accompanied with the kneeling king *Sethos I*, who is offering incense to the enthroned god (fig. 1).

\* *It should also be noted that*: The god's representations seem to be restricted to the temple of *the king Sethos I at Abydos* "New-Kingdom", and his inscriptions are restricted to the temple of *the god Montu in Karnak* "Greaco-Roman" and to some tombs in "El Kab", "Sheikh Abd el-Qurna", and "Dra' Abu el-Naga". The god also appeared in different funerary objects dated back to the Kushite Dynasty '25<sup>th</sup>', and to the Ptolemaic period.

its shortened hieroglyphic spelling, but a recent analysis concluded that it means 'mighty one.', in Faulkner, *CD*, p. 68; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammer*, p. 562; Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary*, p. 114.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Wilkinson, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses*, p. 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Wilkinson.

#### Figures



**Fig. 1** - The Chapel of Re-Harakhti, North Wall, Eastern Section, Lower Register, Middle scene. After, A.M. Calverley – A.H. Gardiner, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, Volume II, The Chapels of Amen-Rē, <sup>c</sup> Rē-<sup>c</sup>Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos, London, 1935, pl. 14.



Fig. 2 - Stela arched in the name of Inaros.

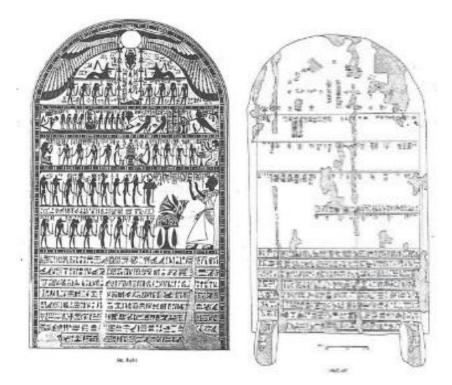
After, O. Koefoed – Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Copenhague, 1948, pl. 63.



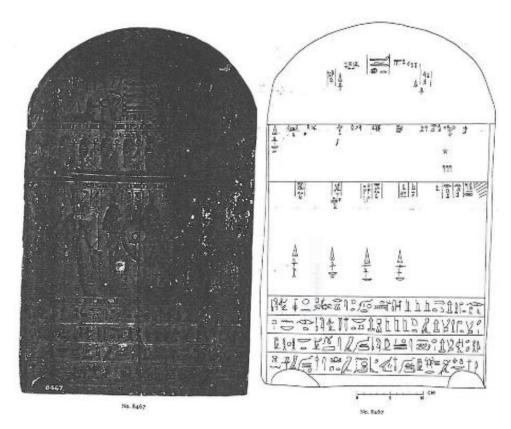
**Fig. 3** - Stela CG 22025 (11). After, A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1904-1905, CG 22025 (11).



**Fig. 4** - Stela CG 22070 (4). After, A. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaiques et romaines*, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1904-1905, CG 22070 (4).



**Fig. 5** - Stela BM. 8461. After, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc, in the British Museum, HT* XI, London, 1993, pl. 77, 75.



**Fig. 6** - Stela BM. 8467. After, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc, in the British Museum*, London, *HT* XI, 1993, *HT* XI, pl. 80, 81.

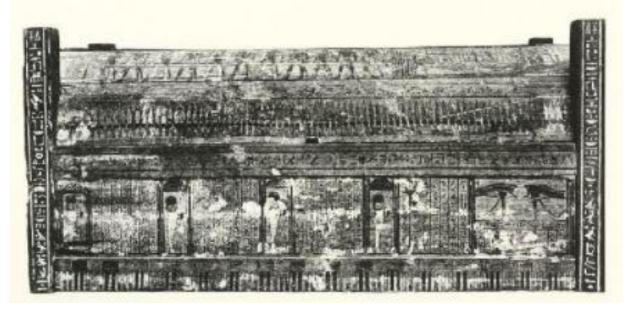
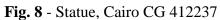


Fig. 7 - Sarcophagus CG 41009.

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