













Altruistic Rite of God's Adoration

Dr. Waheid M. Shoaib

Religious rites in ancient Egypt were characterized as very rich and varied, not merely because ancient Egyptians were deeply religious and strongly attached to their deities, but also because they were extremely careful about satisfying their gods – the sole controllers over their destiny in the worldly life and in the afterlife. Were the multifarious scenes and texts typical of ancient Egyptians' direct acts of worship both individually and in groups, such acts were not necessarily personal (i.e. egoistic) but sometimes altruistic. These unselfish rituals of adoration are the keynote of the present study to be handled in light of some ancient Egyptian documents.

Terms and Kinds of Adoration

The ancient Egyptian language was expressive of ancient Egyptians' adoration of their gods (whether deities or kings) with words such as:  nis,¹  cš,²  dwi,³  dsw⁴ for 'call', 'invoke',  nḥi,⁵  sšzi,⁶  dbḥ⁷ (τΩΒΗ)⁸ for 'beg',  snmḥ,⁹  snm,¹⁰ for 'pray',  rmi¹¹ for 'weep',  spr¹² (СОПСП)¹³ for 'appeal to',  smꜣ¹⁴ (СМОУ)¹⁵

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¹ Wb II,204

² Wb I,227

³ Wb V,550

⁴ Wb V,609

⁵ Wb II,288

⁶ Wb IV,281

⁷ Wb V,439

⁸ W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 402a;J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976),184

⁹ Wb IV,165

¹⁰ Wb IV,165

¹¹ Wb II,416

¹² Wb IV,103

for 'pray', 'bless', *𐀀𐀃 dw3¹⁶ (𐀀𐀃) 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃, (rdi) i3w¹⁷, 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 'nsni',¹⁸ 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 'sw3š'¹⁹ for 'adore', 'worship', 'praise', 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 wšd²⁰ (Demotic: wšt, Coptic: ⲟⲩⲁⲡⲉⲧ)²¹ for 'address', and 𐀀𐀃𐀃 kni²² for 'lament', 'complaint'.

Furthermore, the ancient Egyptians inserted etymologically Semitic entries into their own dictionary such as: 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 d'k 'cry out, call',²³ 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 brk 'pray',²⁴ 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 ysbh (PN),²⁵ 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 irhll (PN)²⁶ for 'to praise' 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 hrn, mhrn 'praise',²⁷ 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 šll (𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃)²⁸ for 'worship', 'pray', 𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃 šrm (𐀀𐀃𐀃𐀃) 'do homage'.²⁹

Ancient Egyptian documents are replete with varieties of scenes and texts relevant to adorations and prayers of ancient Egyptians to their deities and kings (living or dead)³⁰ in order to obtain personal

¹³ Crum, *Dict.*, 352b; Černý, *Dict.*, 160

¹⁴ *Wb* IV, 125

¹⁵ Crum, *Dict.*, 334b; Černý, *Dict.*, 152

¹⁶ *Wb* V, 426

¹⁷ *Wb* I, 28

¹⁸ *Wb* IV, 171; R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch - Deutsch* (Mainz, 1995), 722. *Urk* IV, 1063, 16.

¹⁹ *Wb* IV, 63; *Urk* IV, 1818; 11, 1846; 14, 1850; 18, 1878; 15, 2116; 2, 2158; 9.

²⁰ *Wb* I, 375

²¹ Crum, *Dict.*, 504a; Černý, *Dict.*, 221

²² *Wb* V, 132

²³ *Wb* V, 541; J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 381; 570.

²⁴ Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 257; Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 104; 129

²⁵ Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 55; 59

²⁶ Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 216; 298

²⁷ Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 216; 296; 149; 191

²⁸ Crum, *Dict.*, 559a; Černý, *Dict.*, 240; *Urk*, VI, 129, 6

²⁹ Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 283-284; 406; Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 833

³⁰ J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Freiburg, Schweiz: Univ., Göttingen, 1999), 1-16, 407-420. The Egyptians adored their kings whether alive or dead. Their adoration took several different shapes such as the worship of their names or their statues. An excellent illustration of the veneration of kings deified after their deaths is the limestone stela of Ramessesemperre, from the temple of Thutmosis III at Gurob in the Faiyum. The owner of this

privileges in their life and in the afterworld. Many prayers were also done or said with the specific aim of extending a word of thanks to deities for their aid in facilitating the mundane, e.g. Thanksgiving prayers said by the leader Amenemhab³¹ to his god Amon for aiding him with disclosing the plan of the prince of Kadesh to penetrate into the Egyptian army and Need prayers said to get a god's help³² with filling a certain need as recovery from illness and relief of

=funerary monument is shown adoring on the right, while king Thutmosis III is seated on a throne. (L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles* (Bruxelles, 1923), 37 n° 133. See also: A. Radwan, 'Thutmosis III. als Gott', in H. Gucksch, D. Polz (Hrsg.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, R. Stadelmann gewidmet (Mainz, 1998), 329-340). A scene on the Hildesheim limestone stela of the soldier Qabeh-hesiu shows him standing in adoration before a statue of Ramesses II. (G. Roeder, 'Ramses II. als Gott: Nach den Hildesheimer Denksteinen aus Horbêt', *ZAS* 61 (1926), 59. 60. 63, Tf. 5.2). Amenhotep I was the patron of the New Kingdom workmen's community at Deir el-Medina. (J. Černý, 'Le Culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les Ouvriers de la Nécropole Thébaine', *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159-203.) An important literary expression of kingship cult is the Hymn to the King (in Egyptian *dwA nswt Urk* IV, 1999, 13). Many examples survive from the New Kingdom (see V. Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period: Papyrus Turin CG 54031*, *Münchener ägyptologische Studien* 37 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1978), 64-73.) and there are depictions of such worship in the form of an official kneeling with arms raised before the name of the king (*LD* III, 105f, 202b, 237c). An example found at Hermopolis and dating to the Ramesside Period is accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription giving the phrase *dwA nswt* (A. Hermann, 'Bericht über die Ausgrabung der deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition 1935', *MDAIK* 7 (1937), pl. 10 a.), while other representations are accompanied by a hieroglyphic inscription giving the phrases: *iAw nswt* (*LD* III, 202c), *iAw n kA nswt* (HqA) and *rdi iAw n nTr-nfr.* (*LD* III, 47a, 202b, 138n). The royal texts also showed the Egyptians' adoration of royal names, as in the text of king Sethos I on the temple of Kanais, in which he mentioned that he dug a well for the safety of travelers and for "sanx.sn *dwA-nTr Hr rn.i m nTr nnpwt iwt*" having my name worshipped in the years to come." *KRI* I, 66; 5-6. An example of adoring the royal statues is the scenes of the officials worshipping the king's statue such as the scene of Cairo stela JE 20395, in which its owner Mersouiotef is adoring the statue of deified king Ramesses III. R. El-Sayed, 'Stèles de particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIIIe à la XXe dynastie', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 155-162, pl. 46.

³¹ PM I/1, 170175, No. 85.

³² In the New Kingdom, a new aspect of adoration arose and got marked by direct contact between the worshipper and his god – an aspect evocative of monotheism itself which was clearly observed in the instructions of Amenemope and Ani. (S.A.B. Mercer, 'The Wisdom of Amenemope and Monotheism', *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1934), 18-20; idem, "The Wisdom of Amenemope and his Religious Ideas." *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1934), 27-69). Undoubtedly, Akhenaton's reforms helped implant this sublime idea in the Egyptians. (E. Iversen, 'The Reform of Akhenaten', *GM* 155 (1996), 55-59).

suffering.³³ A compelling example was Ramesses II who prayed to his god Amon for helping him with surmounting his logjam in the battle of Kadesh.³⁴

Definition and Dating of Altruistic Rites of God's Adoration

The altruistic rite of god's adoration can be defined as "an act of worship done by one person or a group of persons to a deity or a king in the interest of another king or person with the aim of getting earthly or religious benefits, showing greatest respect and love for either of them, as well as fighting an overwhelming desire for communicating with any of them. The texts unveiled the fact that ancient Egyptians had practiced such altruistic rituals as of the beginning of the Old Kingdom till the end of the Pharaonic periods.

Division of Altruistic Rites of God's Adoration

The altruistic rite of god's adoration was not only a funerary rite but also a secular one practiced by ancient Egyptians in the favor of the living and the dead, whether kings or persons. This rite was representative of political and religious conception in each era as evidenced by the great difference between both of them. The texts of Old Kingdom laid bare that Egyptians were practicing such altruistic rituals only in their god-king's favor, not in the interest of ordinary persons. Based on the dissemination of individualism stemming from the social revolution during the First Intermediate Period,³⁵ Middle and New Kingdoms witnessed widespread practices of such altruistic rites in persons' favor. Contrary to the

³³ Many funerary stelae of the sick who were cured of their illness just after their supplication to their gods were found especially at Deir el-Medina. See; B.Gunn; 'The Religion of the Poor in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 3(1916),81-94;J.Baines; 'Practical Religion and Piety', *JEA* 73 (1987),79-98.

³⁴ A.H.Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramsesses II* (Oxford, 1960), 9;*KRI* II,§111-125 .One of the four hymns found in the tomb of Ramesses IX is that in which a person is praising and praying to the god for helping him triumph over his foe who betrayed him and usurped his job, see, A. Erman, 'Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern', *ZÄS* 38(1900), 19-41.

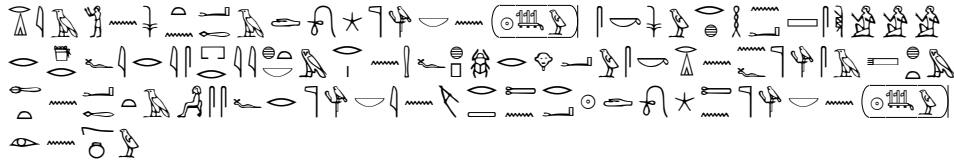
³⁵ S.Seidlmayer, 'The First Intermediate Period', *OHAE*, 118-174;E.Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1999), 42-47.

Old Kingdom, such ritual practices in the New Kingdom mirrored the human nature of kings and their roles as mediators between gods and peoples³⁶ as well as the conflict over the throne as exemplified in the deceased king's prayers to gods in the favor of the heir to the throne.

I. Rite of God's Adoration in the Living Kings' Favor

1.I In the Old Kingdom

1.1.I The false door inscription in the tomb of the chief physician Nenekhsekhmet at Saqqara makes clear that the king Sahure had offered him two false doors of Turra limestone to be placed in his mastaba. Hence, the chief physician prayed to all deities in the interest of the god-king and also asked the visitors of his tomb to pray to the gods in the king's favor as long as they adore the god Re. The chief physician himself is explicit on this.³⁷



rdi. ẓw n nswt ʿ3 dw3 ntr nb n S3hw-R^c sk sw rh hn^c šms.w r- dr.f ir
is pry ht nb m r3 n hm.f hpr hr-^cwy sk rdi.n n.f ntr si3 ht m ht n-^c3.t
špss.f r ntr nb in mri.tn R^c dw3.tn ntr nb n S3hw-R^c ir.n nw(.i).

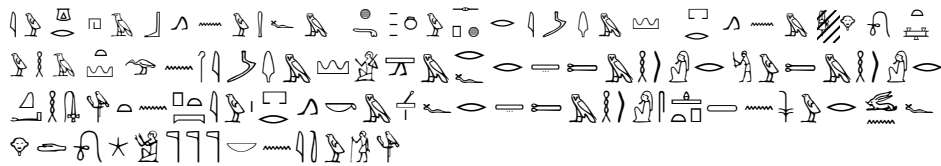
“Giving praise to the king greatly and lauded every god for Sahure's sake, for he knows the desire of the entire suite. When anything goes forth from the mouth of his majesty, it immediately comes to pass. For the god has given to him knowledge of things that are in the body, because he is more august than any god. If you love Re,

³⁶ D.P.Redford, ‘The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty’, in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 157-184; Radwan, in *Fs Stadelmann*, 329-349. Of the intercessory prayer in ancient Egypt and Bible; D.Sweeney, ‘intercessory prayer in ancient Egypt and Bible’ in S.Israelit-Grol (Ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt: The Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 213-230.

³⁷ *Urk I*, 38ff.

you shall praise every god for Sahure's sake, who did this for me³⁸
(or who constructed this my tomb).”³⁹

2.1.I In his narration of his third- expedition events⁴⁰ (one of his four major expeditions) inscribed on the facade of his tomb at Aswan, the governor of Upper Egypt Harkhuf mentioned that he followed the ‘Oasis route’ from Abydos⁴¹ where he witnessed a clash between two tribes: Yam in Upper Nubia⁴² and Temeh. He decided to make a compromise between them to show his good intentions and to secure the trade routes assigned to him by his king. To reach that compromise, he managed to calm down the stronger chieftain who accepted the compromise and prayed to all gods in the favor of the ruling king⁴³. Harkhuf is also explicit on this:⁴⁴



iw gr h3b.n wi hm.f m hmt.nw sp r Im3 pri.n.(i) m [T3-wr]hr w3t
wh3t gm.n.(i) h3 Im3 šmi r.f r t-Tmḥw r ḥwi Tmḥw r kḥ imntt n pt
iw pri kwi m-s3.f r t-Tmḥw sḥtp.n.(i) sw r wn.f hr dw3 ntr.(w) nb.w
n it.

“His Majesty sent me a third time to Yam. I set forth from the
Thinite nome⁴⁵ upon the Oasis⁴⁶ road, and found the chieftain of

³⁸ BAR I, § 240.

³⁹ Cf. P. der Manuelian, ‘The Giza Mastaba Nich and Full Frontal Figure of Redi-Nes’, in *For his Ka, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*. No. 55 (Chicago, 1994), 65.

⁴⁰ G.W. Murray, ‘Harkhuf’s Third Journey’, *GJ* 131, No. 1 (Mar., 1965), 72-75

⁴¹ M. Valloggia, ‘This sur la route des Oasis’, *BIFAO* 81s (1981), 185-190; L.L. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases* (Warminster, 1987), 51-52.

⁴² Yoyotte thought that Yam was located further north in the Libyan desert. J. Yoyotte, ‘Pour une localisation du pays de Yam’, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 137-178.

⁴³ O. Bates, *The Eastern Libyans* (London, 1914), 211.

⁴⁴ *Urk* I, 120f.

⁴⁵ M. Valloggia, *BIFAO* 81s (1981), 188.

⁴⁶ The word wHAt is first encountered towards the end of the Fifth Dynasty as a designation for a specific locality: Balat in the Dakhleh Oasis. Later on it was used for all the=

Yam gone to the Tjemeh-land to smite the Tjemeh to the western corner of heaven. I went forth in pursuit of him to the Tjemeh-land, and I satisfied him so that he praised all the gods for the Sovereign.”⁴⁷

Thus the preceding two texts lay bare that the language of the altruistic rite of god’s adoration prevalent in the Old Kingdom revolved around glorification and deification of the ruling king and expressed deepest gratitude for his generosity and openhandedness.

2.1 In the New Kingdom

The tone of altruistic rite of god’s adoration differed widely, being at that time expressive of the worshippers’ supplication to gods for protecting their kings and perpetuating their reign, as evidenced by the following examples:

1.2.I In the text on back of a black granite group of two seated statues in the Museum of Turin representing King Horemheb and his wife Mutnodjmet, the king told the story of his youth, his political life, his coronation in Thebes, and the outset of his rule. At the end of the text, the clergy prayed to Re for supporting their king and reinforcing his reign, saying:⁴⁸



nhp.sn r swšš n R^c tp-dwšyt r^c nb skši.k n.n nsyt n sš.k iri hrt ib.k
 Dsr-hpr.w-R^c-stpn-R^c di.k n.f ḥḥ.w m ḥb.w-sd di.k nḥt.w.f r tš.w
 nb.w mī Hr-sš-Ist mī štp.f ib.k m Iwnw m ḥnmt psdt.k.

=oases of the Libyan desert. The word occurs also in demotic, Coptic and Arabic. Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 52; J.Leclant, ‘Oasis. Histoire d’un mot’, in *À la croisée des études libyco-berbères. Mélanges offerts à P. Galand-Pernet et L. Galand* (Paris, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1993), 55-60.

⁴⁷ Gardiner, *E.Ph.* (Oxford, 1961), 100; BAR I, § 335; Lichtheim, *AEO*, I, 25.

⁴⁸ *Urk* IV, 2120, 12-17.

“They rise early to praise to Re in the morning every day: “May you exalt for us the kingdom of your son who satisfies your heart, Djeserkheperure, Setepnere (Horemheb). May you give to him a myriad of royal jubilees, and cause him to be victorious over all lands, like Hr-s3-Ist (Horus-son-of-Isis), according as he satisfied your heart in Heliopolis, united with your divine Ennead.”⁴⁹

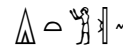

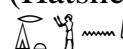
2.2.I The prayer of the Overseer of the treasury and works called Djehut on the stela on the façade of his tomb in Thebes (No. 11)⁵⁰ for the king Tuthmosis III and queen Hatshepsut :⁵¹



rdit i3w n Imn-R^c nsw ntr.w sw3š hm.f m hrt-hrw m wbn.f m i3btt pt
hri-tp cnh wd3 snb nsw-bity M3^ct-k3-R^c di cnh dd nswt-bity Mn-hpr-
R^c di cnh dd w3s snb mi R^c dd.

“Giving praise to Amon-Re, king of gods; adoring his majesty every day at his rising in the eastern heaven, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of king Maat-ka-Re (Hatshepsut), given life forever, and king Men-kheper-Re (Tuthmosis III), given life, stability, satisfaction, health, like Re, forever.”

3.2.1 Behind the doors at Deir el Bahri, Sennemut, the architect of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri, caused to be carved a small figures of himself kneeling or standing with hands upraised in the act – as the accompanying inscriptions tells us- of:

 (or ) rdit i3w n Imn (or Hwt-Hr)
hri-tp cnh- wd3-snb M3^ct-K3-r^c cnh dt “ giving praise to Amon (or
Hathor) on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of Maat-ka-Re
(Hatshepsut)–living forever”,⁵² or, in one instance:
 rdit i3w n Imn di.f sns n t3w

⁴⁹ BAR III,§32.

⁵⁰ PM I/1,21.

⁵¹ Urk IV,420,6-9.

⁵² W.C.Hayes, ‘Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut’, *MDAIK* 15(1957), 80-81,fig.I, G-K.

ʕ3-ḥpr-k3-Rʕ nḏm n mḥyt “giving praise to Amon that he may cause Aa-kheper-ka-Re(Tuthmosis I)to breath the sweet wind of north.”⁵³

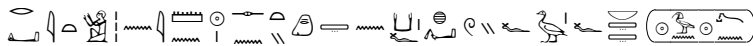
4.2.I In the preamble of a formal letter from the New kingdom (O. Toronto A 11),⁵⁴ the sender said to the receiver:⁵⁵



ḏd.n.(i) Imn Pth p3-Rʕ nṯr.w nb.w (m) st-m3ʕt ssnb pr-ʕ3 ʕnh-wḏ3-snb p3y.i nb nfr imy p3y.i nb m ḥswt.f m-mnt.

“I pray⁵⁶ to Amon, Ptah, Pre, and all the gods of the Place of Truth:“Preserve Pharaoh, L.P.H, and may my lord be in his favour daily.”

5.2.I A rock grotto at Gebel Silsileh for the chancellor Bay/Biya from the age of Merneptah-Siptah was found, with a scene of Bay praying to Amon in the favor of his king as a mediator between him and Amon.⁵⁷ Above this scene, there is a text pointing to the fact that the god had accepted the king’s prayers and endowed him with offerings (ḏd-mdw in Imn-Rʕ nsw-nṯrw ḏi.n.(i) n.k k3.w ḏf3.w), followed by king's names and titles and then a prayer said by Bay to the god Amon in the interest of his king with the aim of bestowing blessings and favors on him. In his supplication to the god Amon, Bay says:



⁵³ Hayes, *MDAIK* 15(1957),81,pl.XI,fig.I,M,L.

⁵⁴ This model letter is addressed by a chief of policeman to the well known vizier Khay, who was a contemporary of Ramesses II. The first part of the letter consists of the customary greetings and assurances that a writer's duties are being properly performed. The remaining part of the letter consists of the writer's complaints. A.H.Gardiner, ‘Hieratic Texts’, in Univ. of Toronto Studies: *Theban Ostraca*, I, ed. by A.H Gardiner, H. Thompson and J.G. Milnes, Toronto, and the Bodleian library, Oxford (Toronto: University of Toronto library, 1913), 16g-16k, Letter II, rt. 12-30.

⁵⁵ Gardiner, *Theban Ostraca*, I, 16h; rt. 16-18,16j;E.Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, SBLWAWs no. 1 (ed. by E.S. Meltzer, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 46, No.48.

⁵⁶ Literally ‘say’.

⁵⁷ *LD* III,202c.

rdi-ibw n Imn-R^c snty t3 n k3.f hwi.f s3.f nb-t3wy 3h-n-R^c - stp-n-R^c

“Giving praise to Amon-Re, kissing the earth for his ka. May he protect his son, lord of the two lands, Akhenresetepenre.”⁵⁸

6.2.I. Also, the kings were peculiarly characterized by the deities’ supplication to one another in the favor of their own safety and perpetuity and stability of their rule, as evidenced by Ancient Egyptian documents⁵⁹ such as Konosso inscription of king Neferhotep (Thirteenth Dynasty) and Speos Artemidos inscription of king Sethos I:

1.6.2.I The rock inscription at island of Konosso dating back to the reign of Neferhotep from the Thirteenth Dynasty and bearing a scene alluding to the god Montu’s and goddess Satet, mistress of Elephantine, response to prayers in king Neferhotep’s favor and with the aim of keeping him alive and safe.⁶⁰

2.6.2.I. The inscription on the goddess Pakhet’s temple walls in Speos Artemidos including prayers done by the goddess Pakhet to the god Thot in the favor of king Sethos I and Thot’s response to her prayers. The petitions of Pakhet reads:



imy n.f ^cnh dd w3s 3wt-ib nb hr.f imy n.f nhh mi hm.k dt wnn.k imy n.f nht hr nht mi Mnw 3w b3kw.sn n.f twt m ib w^c imy n.f mnmnt ^c3t snb snb smw mi tnw snhmw imy n.f h^cpyw wrw nfr m ht nbt imy n.f t3w m htp ... ib.f m bw nb mri.n.f imy n.f ntrw nbw stp.sn s3.sn h3.f m ^cnh dd w3s m sprt.n s3t.k wrt nn wsf ddt.i

⁵⁸ BAR III, § 648.

⁵⁹ Cf. U.Luft, *Beiträge zur Historisierung der Götterwelt und der Mythenschreibung*, Stud. Aeg. 4 (Budapest, 1978), passim.

⁶⁰ LD III.151h. The text of the scene should read as: “MnTw di.f anx Dd wAs n sA-Ra Nfr-Htp, STt nb(t)-Abw di.s anx Dd wAs n sA-Ra Nfr-Htp.”

“Grant him life, stability and dominion, and all joy from you (“him”). Grant him eternity just like your majesty, and everlasting (as long as) you exist. Grant him victory upon victory like Min, [over all foreign lands (?), whose chiefs] and grandees shall work for him, united with one mind. Grand him abundant and very healthy cattle, and herbage dense as grasshoppers. Grand him mighty Nile-flood, productive (“good”) in every respect. Grand him the lands in peace,[united?], [to follow] his heart's desire wherever he wishes. Grand him that all the gods may extend their protection around him with life, stability and dominion, by the petition of your eldest (or mighty)_daughter, without neglecting what I say!”⁶¹

II. Rite of God’s Adoration in the Dead Kings’ Favor

1. II. The unstable political conditions during intermediate periods had a great impact on the altruistic rite of god’s adoration, in which threats and menaces were, for the first time, given to whoever did not practice this rite in the ruling king’s favor. At the end of the text on the funerary sandstone stela, found at Abydos, of king Neferhotep, the king was threatening whoever disobeyed or ignored his royal decrees or whoever did not pray to the god Osiris in his own favor, saying:



nn ᶜnh rḳwty.f wì - - - - tm.t.sn ir ḥft wd pn n ḥm.ì tm.sn sᶜrw wì n nṯr pn špsy tm.t.sn imᓅ n irt.n.ì m ḥtp-nṯr.f tm.t.sn rdi n.ì ḥknw m ḥb nb n r3-pr pn m ḥnw ḥwt-nṯr.

“ He shall not live who is hostile to me..... who shall disregard the command of my majesty, who shall not exalt me to this august god, who shall not honor that which I have done concerning his offerings

⁶¹ KRI I,35f.

[who shall not] give to me praise at every feast of this temple, of the entire [lay priesthood] of the sanctuary of the temple.”⁶²

2. II. When the political conditions became stable in the New Kingdom and when its warrior-kings managed to establish the first military Egyptian empire, the Egyptians embarked boldly upon worshipping such kings being their protectors and their mediators to the gods.⁶³ A typical example is king Ahmose I, expeller of Hyksos and founder of Egyptian Empire, who was widely adored in all parts of the country,⁶⁴ particularly in Abydos where religious rites and a cenotaph were set up for his own sake. His statue was settling the disputes between all people, being the sacred mediator between them and their gods and the only one capable of communicating with his god-fathers.⁶⁵ The conclusive proof is the stela of priest Mose from Abydos, which is currently preserved in the Egyptian Museum (JE 43649): on the very top an image of the sacred bark carried by eight priests, in the middle of it a naos for the god Ahmose I in front of whom a figure of the queen Ahmose-Nofretere⁶⁶ with two sistra waving in her hands, and before the bark the priest Mose supplicating to his god Ahmose to testify and judge for his son Paser to regain his usurped field.⁶⁷

3.II. The conflict between kings of New Kingdom over the throne also had a major influence on the altruistic rite of god's adoration. This rite was mentioned by those kings whose enthronement was doubtful, as evidenced by two political documents:

⁶² BAR I, §765; W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 21-29.

⁶³ Černý, *BIFAO* 27(1927), 159-213; Radwan, in Fs Stadelmann, 329-349. H. Altenmüller, 'Amenophis I. als Mittler', *MDAIK* 37(1981), 1-7; D.B. Redford, *The Concept of Kingship*, 157-184.

⁶⁴ El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79(1979), 163.

⁶⁵ El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79(1979), 163.

⁶⁶ See W. Helck, 'Ahmesnofretere als Mittlerin', *ZÄS* 89(1958), 89-91; G. Hollender, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung ihres posthumer Kultes anhand der Privatgräber der thebanischen Nekropole* (Köln 1991).

⁶⁷ G. Legrain, 'Un miracle d'Ahmès I^{er} à Abydos sous le règne de Ramsès II', *ASAE* 16 (1916), 161-164.

1.3. II. The First Document is a text of the divine birth of the queen Hatshepsut who said that her earthly father Thutmosis I presented her as the next king to his courtiers and ordered them to obey her.⁶⁸ They all got thrilled, accepted her monarchy and prayed to gods for her own sake. The document elaborates on this:⁶⁹



sdm in nsw sr.w s^ch.w h3t rhyt wd-mdw tn nt hnt s^ch n s3t.f nswt-
bity M3^ct-k3-R^c ^cnh dt sn in sn r 3 r rdwy.f(y) hr mdw nsw im.sn
dw3.sn ntr.w nb.w n nswt-bity 3-hpr-k3-R^c ^cnh dt.

“The dignitaries of the king, the nobles and the chief of the people hear this command for the advancement of the dignity of his daughter, the king of upper and lower Egypt, Maat-ka-Re (Hatshepsut) living forever. They kissed the earth at his feet, when the royal word fell among them; they praised all the gods for the king of upper and lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-Ra (Tuthmosis I), living forever.”⁷⁰

2.3. II. The Second Document is Harris papyrus in which Ramesses IV, just after the assassination of his father Ramesses III, talked about many funerary prayers said by the dead king Ramesses III to many gods not only in his own favor but also in the favor of his crown prince Ramesses IV to support his rule and stabilize his kingship.⁷¹

III. Rite of God’s Adoration in the Favor of Living or Dead Persons

1. III. When individualism circulated among the Egyptians due to the sharp decline in kings’ absolute divinity in the First

⁶⁸ B.Ockinga, ‘Hatshepsut’s Election to Kingship: the Ba and Ka in Egyptian Royal Ideology’, *BACE* 6 (1995), 89-102.

⁶⁹ *Urk* IV,259.

⁷⁰ *BAR* II, § 238.

⁷¹ *BAR* IV, § 246,304,351,382.

Intermediate Period, the rite of god's adoration in the living or dead persons' favor abounded and diversified from the Middle Kingdom onwards.⁷² Many Middle Kingdom officials especially those contemporaneous with the reign of Amenemhat III left their inscriptions at Serabit el Khadim⁷³ and Wadi Maghara in Sinai, in which they tell the next generations to adore gods in their own favor.⁷⁴

2. III. In the Teaching of Kheti⁷⁵ - the 'Satire of the Trades', the father Kheti son of Duauf addresses to his son Pepy to worship the god in the favor of his parents to express deepest gratitude for their grace and favor, saying:

*  = 

dw3 nṯr it mwt.k ddy ḥr w3t nt ʿnhw

“praise god for your father, your mother, who set you on the path of life.”⁷⁶

The rite of Egyptians' adoration of gods in their compatriots' favor was not confined to response to the supplicants, but was also

⁷² S.Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: British Museum Press, 1992),155-158; S.Wiebach, *Sonnenlauf und kosmische Regeneration, zur Systematik der Lebensprozesse in den Unterweltsbüchern*, ÄAT 71(Wiesbaden, 2007), 147-155.

⁷³ A temple for Hathor ('Hathor mistress of turquoise') built in the Middle Kingdom at Serabit el Khadim and still important in the New Kingdom. Finds include private and royal stelae and many votive offerings, mostly from the Middle and New Kingdom, see: D. Valbelle, C. Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise. Sérabit el-Khadim au Moyen Empire* (Paris ,1996).

⁷⁴ BAR I,720,723; LD II,137f.

⁷⁵ A considerable number of scholars believe that both of Kheti son of Duauf who wrote 'Satire of the Trades' and Kheti who allegedly wrote the 'Instruction of Amenemhat I' are the same person. G.Posener, 'Literature', in *The Legacy of Egypt*, 2nd ed. (edit. by J. R. Harris; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971),,232; R.B.Parkinson,*Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 72; J.LFoster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992),, 242. Goedicke even suggested that 'Dispute of a Man with his Ba' , 'Instruction for Merikare', 'Tale of the Eloquent Peasant', 'Instruction of Amenemhat I' and 'satire of the Trades' were all written by the same Kheti. H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with his Ba:Papyrus Berlin 3024*(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press,1970),,3-8.

⁷⁶ W. Helck. *Die Lehre des dwA -ṯtjj* (Wiesbaden, 1970); Lichtheim, *AEO*,I,191.

expressive of an inner resolve to show love and respect for them, as did the father Nebre with his son Nakhtamon, the veracious Bekneamon with his friend Ramose, and the citizens with their compatriot Sishou.

3. III. The draughtsman Nebre who was working at Thebes necropolis during the reign of Ramesses II is worshipping and praying with his son Kha'y to the god Amon for relieving his another son's distress, the draughtsman Nakhtamon, and for curing him of his serious illness; the god consented to his prayers and restored good health to his son once again. The father talks about this on the stela⁷⁷ he dedicated to the god Amon: "He made hymns to his name, because of the greatness of his power: He made humble entreaties before him, in the presence of the whole land, for the draughtsman Nakhtamon, justified, who lay sick unto death, who was (under) the might of Amon, through his sin." At the end of the stela, he continues, "I will make this memorial in your name: and establish for you this hymn in writing upon it. For you did save me the draughtsman Nakhtamon:"- Thus said I, and you did hearken to me. Now mark, I do that which I have said. You are a lord to him that calls upon you, contented in truth, O lord of Thebes!⁷⁸

4. III. A letter dating from Ramesside Period (Merenptah-Seti II)and sent by the scribe of offering table Bakenamon to the Priest of Thoth Temple Ramose was found. The letter unearthed two important points: a) strict discipline and sequestration on the borders between Egypt and Syria as well as servants labor and their civil rights and b) the salutation exordium of the formal letters was not restricted to the sender's adoration of god in the ruling king's

⁷⁷ Now in the Berlin Museum No.23077,found in the Theban Necropolis.Gunn,*JEA* 3(1916),83

⁷⁸ Gunn, *JEA* 3(1916),83-85.

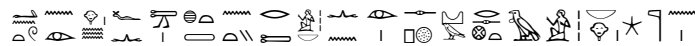
favor but extended to the receiver.⁷⁹ In a formal letter, the dispatcher says to the dispatchee:⁸⁰



r- nty tw.i hr dd n p3-R^c-Hr-3hty m p3y.f wbn m p3y.f htp.w n Pth
n3w nb.w pr R^c-ms.sw -mry-Imn 'nh-wd3-snb p3 k3 '3 n p3 R^c-3hty
imi n.k snb imi n.k 'nh imy rnp.i.k r^c nb.

“I call upon Pre-Harakhti at his sunrise and his sunset, to Ptah, to all the lords of house of Ramesses-Meriamon (Ramesses II) L.P.H., and to the great ka of Pre-Harakhte: ‘May they give you health, may they give you life and may you be young every day.’”

5. III. On the walls of Petosiris tomb, his father Sishou says:⁸¹

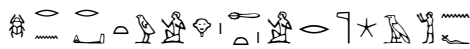


n.ti n iri hr mw.f n itt.i ht nty rmt nb nn iri.i sp dw r.s(n) niwtyw nb
hr dw3-ntr n.i iri.n.i

“I have never plundered anyone’s property, I have never committed a sin to be blamed for, and all my citizens adored the god for my own sake.”

6. III Last but not least, the ‘Tale of shipwrecked sailor’ revealed two striking points:

a) Persons could worship a god in the favor of another in recognition of his favor and grace.⁸²



hpr.n rdi.t wi hr ht.i r dw3-ntr n.f

⁷⁹ W. Wolf, ‘Papyrus Bologna 1086. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches’, ZAS 65 (1969), 89-97; Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 124-126.

⁸⁰ Pap.Beatty V, verso.2,3-6. Many examples of such formulas can be found in the study of Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 109-131.

⁸¹ M. G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris II* (Le Caire, 1923), 83, inscr.116;6.

⁸² Rec.de tarv. 28, line 166; A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden, 1977), 105;5.

“Then I put myself on my belly to adore for him⁸³ (i.e. Atum-Re).”⁸⁴

b) Kings could adore a god in the favor of persons to express deepest gratitude for their grace and favor:⁸⁵



ḥꜥ.n ḳ.kwī ḥr ṯty ms.(n).i (n).f in.w pn in.n.i m ḥnw n iw pn ḥꜥ.n
dw3-nṯr.n.f n.i ḥft ḥr ḳnb.wt t3 r dr.f

“Then I entered in before the sovereign; I presented to him these gifts, which I brought from within this island. Then he praised god for me in the presence of the officials of the whole land.”⁸⁶

Conclusions

The research led to the following conclusions:

First: The rite of god’s adoration in the favor of non-worshippers was one of the rites performed by the Egyptians from the of Old Kingdom to the end of Pharaonic periods.

Second: The selfless rite of god’s adoration included not merely the dead but also the living (kings or persons), which means it was a funerary and secular rite at the same time.

Third: This rite was marked by variety and multiplicity, being mostly performed by persons in the favor of others (kings or persons), and so did the gods perform it to one another only in the favor of kings.

Fourth: This rite differed from a period to another as a result of the political and religious changes in the ancient Egyptian society, as evidenced by the varied and different forms of such a rite. Each form expressed the soul and the religious-political concepts of each period.

⁸³ V.Vikentiev, ‘The Metrical Scheme of the "Shipwrecked Sailor"’, *BIFAO* 35(1935),34;29,5-6.

⁸⁴ M.-Th. Derchain-Urtel, ‘Die Schlange des Schiffbrüchigen’, *SAK* 1 (1974),83-104.

⁸⁵ Rec.de trav. 28,line 174-176; de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, 105; 12-13.

⁸⁶ Vikentiev,*BIFAO* 35 (1935),35;32-33.

تتناول هذه الدراسة نوع خاص من الطقوس الدينية المصرية القديمة فى ضوء النصوص المصرية القديمة، وهى شعيرة العبادة الإلهية الإيثارية. وتعنى هذه الشعيرة قيام شخص أو مجموعة من الأشخاص بعبادة إله أو ملك ليس للصالح الشخصى، وإنما لصالح شخص آخر قد يكون ملكى أو غير ملكى بهدف الحصول على منافع دنيوية أو دينية، علاوة على حرصهم على التعبير عن احترامهم وحبهم ورغبة التواصل معهم. وأوضحت الدراسة أن هذه الشعيرة لم تكن جنازية فقط، بل كانت أيضاً شعيرة دنيوية إذ مارسها المصريون لصالح الأحياء والأموات على حدٍ سواء. كما تتبعت الدراسة تأريخ هذه الشعيرة منذ الدولة القديمة لتؤكد على تطورها وفقاً لتطور المفاهيم الدينية والسياسية المصرية القديمة عبر العصور التاريخية المصرية القديمة. فقد خلت نصوص الدولة القديمة من ممارسة المصريين لتلك الشعيرة لصالح ذويهم واقتصر ممارستها لصالح الملك الإله. وشاعت فى الدولتين الوسطى والحديثة ممارسة تلك الشعيرة لصالح الأشخاص انطلاقاً من انتشار النزعة الفردية التى نجمت عن الثورة الاجتماعية إبان عصر الانتقال الأول. وخلافاً للدولة القديمة فقد عكست ممارسة تلك الشعيرة فى الدولة الحديثة الطبيعة البشرية للملوك وقيامهم بدور الوساطة بين الأرباب ورعاياهم. بالإضافة إلى أنها عكست أيضاً آنذاك الصراع على العرش وذلك بتعبد الملك المتوفى وتوسله للآلهة لصالح خليفته بدليل ما جاء فى النصوص المؤرخة بعصر الملكة حتشبسوت والملكين رمسيس الثالث والرابع.