Pataikos, an Image of a Rejuvenation Divinity

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Abstract

Pataikos is considered one of the Egyptian dwarf-like divinities. His figurines were used as amulets since at least the Late Period, but he was widely known particularly during the Graeco-Roman period. In addition, the different figurines of Pataikos always carry attributes of creation and regeneration deities like the scarab and the lotus flower of Re, the god of the sun and regeneration. The research aims to study the origins of this divinity, his figurines, representations, and attributes in order to clarify his nature and function not only as a protector god; like the other dwarf-like deities in ancient Egypt, or as a diminutive form of Ptah used in amulets, but as an image of a rejuvenation divinity that possesses all qualities and traits of such deities.

Key words: Herodotus, regeneration, figurines, dwarf, Greco-Roman.

Introduction

Pataikos is one of the famous dwarf deities, who became particularly popular during the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods. His images were widely used as protective figurines along with the other dwarf and child deities; like Bes and Harpocrates. It is unclear whether these images represent various forms of Pataikos as one god or as Pataikoi as a group of divinities.

It is possible that the true emergence of this deity took place during the Middle Kingdom, or perhaps earlier in the late Old Kingdom, when his amulets first appeared. During the Late Period, his amulets had a mythical function to protect their wearers from evil in general, and not only vicious creatures such as scorpions and serpents. However, some scholars tend to consider him a creation of the Late Period whose emergence was influenced by foreign myths and gods like the Phoenician Pataikoi and the Greek Kabeiroi, rather than being a pure Egyptian innovation, and thus he had nothing to do with the Egyptian gods.

Historical Notes Concerning Pataikos

In fact, connecting the image of Pataikos with that of Ptah in the form long known as Ptah-Pataikos, is a doctrine based on Herodotus' testimony. Pataikos was mentioned by Herodotus in his book Historiae (III, 37.2-3), which he wrote in the fifth century BC, and in which he tells about Cambyses who visited the temple of Ptah (the Greek Hephaistos and Roman Vulcan) at Memphis where he mocked at a statuette of a dwarf god resembling that of the Phoenician Pataikoi (fig.1) that were used to decorate the prows of the Phoenician ships to protect the crews and their ships from any danger. He indicates in this passage: "He likewise went into the temple of Hephaistos, and made great sport of the image. For the image of Vulcan, is very like the Pataei of the Phoenicians, wherewith they ornament the prows of their war galleys. If persons have not seen these, I will explain in a different way - it is a figure resembling that of a pigmy". Herodotus goes on saying about Cambyses' visit: "Also he entered the temple of Kabeiroi, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaistos, and are said to be his sons". Herodotus in this passage identifies the images of Pataikos as those of Kabeiroi, sons of the Greek divinity Hephaistos who is identified with the Egyptian Ptah.

Name and Origins of Pataikos

The name "Pataikos" has no origins in the Egyptian language. There are two theories concerning his etymology; the first that it is a Greek diminutive form of the name of the Egyptian deity Ptah and the other theory, according to Blažek, the name of the Phoenician Pataikos (plural Patakiei) is originated from the Akkadian verb Pātāqu that means "to create", "to shape", or "to form", referring particularly to the action "to form brick, wall, building, statue", and "to create heaven, earth, mankind". Thus, Pataikos can be originally a Phoenician adaptation of the name of the Egyptian god Ptah "lord of artisans", who had a great cult in Memphis. The Assyrian record of this deity from the first millennium B.C. is Ptih.

Pataikos was not mentioned in any Egyptian texts or myths, although he is identified with the dwarf gods that are widely involved in magical spells. According to some scholars, the dwarf figurines started to be used only as amulets since very early periods, and in later times, they began to be associated with important deities, such as Ptah. Others believe that this relation between dwarfs and Ptah in general occurred at least since the Old Kingdom proved by the Old Kingdom tomb scenes in which dwarfs are depicted as jewelry makers (fig.2), and this took a mythical dimension later to create amulet dwarf figurines to be recognized as sons of Ptah or as diminutive forms of Ptah. But...
creator god himself. Despite that, there is the other opinion that believes that Pataikos was originally an influence of the introduction of foreign deities during the Late Period such as the Phoenician Pataikoi or the Greek Kabeiroi as has been mentioned. But this latter theory neglects the existence of the figurines of Pataikos since at least the New Kingdom or maybe earlier.

Representations of Pataikos

The figurines of Pataikos were used as amulets provided with a loop on the neck or the back of the statuette, sometimes with a pierced back pillar. They were made of faience, glazed steatite, ivory, wood, bronze, and cornelian. These images of Pataikos can be categorized into two main types; the first shows him as a sole dwarf, while the other type shows him with other deities as a compound or composed figurine. Generally, in both types, he is represented as a dwarf with short bandy legs, a protruding belly, and a large head if compared to the body with a snub nose and a flat forehead. He is usually shown naked with a bald head, and arms hanging down with closed hands. He is often represented wearing a broad collar and holding two knives in front of his chest (fig.8), and occasionally winged. He may wear an Atef crown with uraeus, or a cap with two plumes and a sun disk (figs.3, 4, 6).

For the first type mentioned above, Pataikos is shown standing alone without being accompanied with other divinities. For the second type, or in other words the compound figurines of Pataikos, the back is usually occupied by a winged figure of a goddess that might be Sekhmet, or Hathor, or Isis with a sun disk and two cow's horns on her head, and holding two feathers. This goddess in some cases is replaced by Maat indicated by her famous plume placed on her head. On either side of Pataikos, stand the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys. He often stands on two crocodiles and two falcons perching on his shoulders. In some cases two lions stand on his sides as well (figs.4, 6, and 7). One of the most common attribute of Pataikos is also the scarab beetle which is often depicted on his flat shaven head (fig.7). On the back in some cases, there is a representation of the smA-Awy, the sign of the unification of the two lands between the two fecundity gods in very few examples from the Late Period.

Sometimes Pataikos is shown in these compound figurines with more than one head. He can be depicted as a double-headed figure, or three or even four-headed, in order to increase the terrifying power of the figurine (fig.5). In some cases, the figurine has two different faces: that of Pataikos, and the other of an animal like a ram, baboon, or a falcon.

A part from being figured alone or accompanied with other divinities or attributes, another two types of the images of Pataikos' figurines can be distinguished; one in which he is represented as a child with the traditional Egyptian characteristics of depicting children, particularly the side hair lock, symbol of childhood in ancient Egypt (fig.4). The other type is images in which Pataikos is represented as an old man with wrinkles (figs.3 and 8).

By these features, Pataikos represented both childhood and old age at the same time:

Images of Pataikos as an Old Man

Pataikos is sometimes shown as an old man with a wrinkled forehead and sometimes with a beard as well. There are three ivory dancing figurines now in Egyptian Museum (JE 63858) found at el-Lisht and dated from the Middle Kingdom show three short old men with their hands raised while dancing (fig.3). They are represented with body deformity with prudent abdomen and wrinkled foreheads suggesting features of old dwarf men. They are largely considered as a group of very early images of Pataikos.

Images of Pataikos as a Child

The figurines of the Pataikos were regarded at least during the Greco-Roman Period and according to Herodotus (III, 37) as sons of Ptah, represented as deformed children. The representations of Pataikos evoke clear features of a child divinity. Many images of Pataikos show him with a side hair lock hanging on his right shoulder (fig.4). Therefore, as a child divinity, he is assimilated sometimes with Harpocrates or Horus the child standing on crocodiles and holding venomous animals in his hands (figs.5 and 7).

Identification of Pataikos with Major deities

The figurines of Pataikos are not considered independent deities, but manifestations of other major gods; creator gods like Ptah; solar deities like, Re, Harpocrates, and Amun-Re; lunar deities like Khonsu and Thoth; and deities of the other world and funeral beliefs like Osiris:

Pataikos and the Creator God Ptah

It is widely known among scholars that the images of Pataikos are associated with Ptah, either as a diminutive form of him, or as his children. This theory is based on the fact that dwarfs are connected with Ptah, and that this connection occurred at least since the Old Kingdom. Ptah is associated in this sense with dwarfs that are shown in the workshops scenes depicted on the walls of the Old Kingdom tombs; as he was the god of the craftsmen, and dwarfs appeared in these scenes as jewelry makers (fig.2). It was thus natural for Ptah, the chief and father of those dwarf creatures to have the same form of Pataikos, or in other words, the dwarf form since very early time. However, concerning this
opinion that links Pataikos with Ptah due to the representations of dwarfs on the walls of the tombs of the Old Kingdom as jewel makers; this can be applied on scenes from the Old Kingdom alone; as there are no similar representations of such dwarfs in later periods. Besides, dwarfs appear in these scenes as jewelers and did not appear as other craftsmen or metallurgists, while Ptah was a god of all crafts and metal works. In addition, Ptah himself was not considered a patron of goldsmiths and metalwork before the Middle Kingdom, meaning long time after the time of the representations of dwarf-like jewelers in the tombs of the Old Kingdom.

Away from this theory, there is another indication of the link between Ptah and Pataikos shown in the form that is widely known as Ptah-Pataikos. In this form, Pataikos takes the same appearance as that of Ptah and wears the same skullcap and a similar collar of Ptah (figs.4 and 7). In addition, he might be also linked with another form of Ptah, which is Ptah-Tatenen. This is indicated by the headdress of Ptah-Tatenen with two plumes and a sun disc on ram's horns, which he wears occasionally (fig.5).

The relation with Ptah is not only confined to representations, but also to inscriptions. Since the late New Kingdom there are texts in which a certain nameless god, who is close to Ptah, is simply called a "dwarf". In addition, some figurines of Pataikos bear the name of Ptah, and described as "Ptah giver of life", or "Ptah killer of serpents". Meanwhile, Ptah himself sometimes took the epithet of "Ptah the Dwarf". On a miniature sarcophagus from the Ptolemaic Period, a naked dwarf resembling our Pataikos is represented in profile with clenched fists and accompanied by a demotic inscription that says ptH Sm pnA mm(w) Iṣu m ASET "Ptah who listens, the dwarf" (fig.6).

Herodotus however, regarded these images not as dwarf forms of Ptah, but as his sons, as he identified them with Kabeiroi, sons of the Greek god Hephaistos, who was himself identified with the Egyptian Ptah.

The fact that Pataikos was a diminutive image of the creator god is reflected by the existence of the image of Maat sometimes accompanying Pataikos, and who is strongly connected with the concept of the creation and order of the cosmos, as she was the goddess of the cosmic harmony including justice, truth, order, balance, and cosmic law. In the funerary books, she is shown standing next to Re in his two barks; that of the day and that of the night, emphasizing the concept of maintaining order day and night. Maat also appears on the back pillar of the images of Pataikos with the ostrich plume, her symbol on her head and holding two tall feathers in her two hands. Pataikos himself is also represented sometimes holding two feathers of the same type of those of Maat but shorter.

Pataikos and Solar and Lunar Deities

Relation between Pataikos and Re

In fact, dwarfs in general were connected in ancient Egypt with the solar cult. Most of the magical texts from the New kingdom up to the Greco-Roman Period show dwarf gods as manifestations of Re, the sun-god. In some cases the scarab, the personification of the sun in the early morning, is replaced by a dwarf deity within the solar disk beside a ram god that symbolizes the evening sun (fig.7).

There are two attributes that connect Pataikos with the sun god Re; the first is the scarab placed on his head symbolizing the regeneration of Re (fig.7); as the scarab or the Egyptian Kheber is associated with regenerative concepts. The second is the lotus flower, the symbol of rejuvenation that sometimes replaces the scarab on his head. The lotus flower is related to the solar cult like that of the Kheber scarab, and like Kheber, it symbolizes regeneration as well. Solar symbols are also to be found in other images of Pataikos; like a cobra on the back, or two lions sometimes flanking the divinity.

Relation between Pataikos and Horus the Child

Pataikos is also significantly connected with the child god Harpocrates, or Horus the Child, one of the most common forms of Horus during the late and Greco-Roman Periods. Like Harpocrates on cippi, Pataikos is represented as a child with the side hair lock, standing on two crocodiles flanked by Isis and Nephthys (fig.7). In addition, Harpocrates himself was described as a dwarf. A formula on the famous Metternich Stela (iv. F.9-10) states that "the protection of Horus is that great dwarf (mmw) who goes through the underworld (or: the Two Lands) in the twilight". Moreover, Horus was also described in his temple at Edfu as a dwarf. In a text describing his divine birth, he is mentioned as "a lotus emerged in which there was a beautiful child who illuminated the earth with rays of light, a bud in which was a dwarf (mmw) whom Shu liked to see". The confusion between Harpocrates and Pataikos is greater during the Graeco-Roman period for they have similar representations, terracotta figurines of Harpocrates sometimes show him as an old dwarf with the child-like symbol of the side hair lock and band of buds on his head.

However, unlike Harpocrates, Pataikos never puts his finger at his mouth and instead of holding dangerous creatures in his two hands like Harpocrates; he grasps knives (fig.8) or serpents (fig.7), or biting snakes as he bites the tails of two serpents that frame his mouth like a mustache.

Pataikos took also attributes of another sun god, which is Amun-Re, as he wears the same headdress: two plumes and a solar disk, the headdress of Amun-Re (fig.5).
Relation between Pataikos and Khonsu

As being connected with the solar deities, Pataikos was also connected with the lunar divinities; such as Khonsu. Khonsu was a moon god, son of Ptah and Sekhmet in Memphis, but also the son of Amun-Re and Mut in Thebes. He is a child god, who is represented with the side hair lock with a full moon above a crescent on his head. Khonsu has also the same appearance of Ptah, as he is represented in a mummy-form with a broad collar. Being a moon god, he is shown with a moon disk on his head, which also Pataikos wears occasionally.

Relation between Pataikos and Osiris, the god of the Otherworld

Despite being connected with the solar cult and luminous powers, Pataikos on the other hand was connected with the other world divinities. This is due to the fact that dwarfs were generally linked with funeral beliefs. For instance, in the spell 164 in the Book of the Dead, the dwarfs are invoked with the goddesses Sekhmet-Bastet and Mut in order to protect the body of the deceased: "To be said over (an image of) Mut having three faces ... with one dwarf standing before her and (one) behind her, facing her, wearing twin plumes with upraised arm, having two faces-one like the face of a falcon, the other like a human face- (and a scourge and a phallus)".

This indicates the existence of a sort of a relationship between Pataikos and the god Osiris, the god of the underworld. This link is indicated by the Atef crown, the crown of Osiris, with which Pataikos is frequently represented (fig.8). Furthermore, in his compound images, Pataikos is flanked by Isis and Nephthys (fig.7); a theme that is strongly related to Osiris, who is usually, depicted being flanked by these two goddesses.

Different Functions of Pataikos

Small figurines of dwarfs appeared in Middle Kingdom and were used as magical charms connected with fertility. Furthermore, anonymous dwarf gods were invoked as helpers and protectors in magical texts from the New Kingdom up to the Greco-Roman Period. Images of Pataikos emerged as amulets used to protect from dangerous creatures like the other dwarf god, Bes.

Being a dwarf deity, Pataikos held the same magical functions of the dwarf divinities. His images were used as amulets since at least late New Kingdom (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties) on the neck. They seem to have been used particularly against evil animals. Therefore, he is usually represented standing on crocodiles and checking serpents. These amulets were used to protect both the dead and the living. At the same time they bear a regenerative and rejuvenation qualities ensured by the signs indicating these qualities under the plinths, like that of the Wedjat eye of Horus, and the lotus bud of Re.

Pataikos thus forms a special and unique class of divinities. He manifests many characteristics of certain gods to embody the regenerative and rejuvenation qualities. He is a divinity connected to Ptah and Ptah-tatenen based on the role of the latter as a creator god. He is particularly related to the concept of creation, as one of his famous attributes is the scarab which besides being a symbol of the solar cult and manifestation of the morning sun, it also embodies the concept of "xpt "coming into being", or creation. Pataikos is also connected with Maat that personified the harmony of the cosmos. Thus, Patikos was regarded as an embodiment of the protection of the ordered world, besides being a manifestation of the creator god.

The identification of Pataikos and Kheper can be based on the connection between the dwarfs and scarabs in general, as both have similar shapes with a large trunk and short curved limbs. Dwarfs and men bent by sickness or age were regarded with their hunchbacks as beetles. This is indicated by an astrological document dated from the second century A.D., which tells about a dwarf divinity responsible for curving in men: "This deity [...] produces hunchbacks or makes men bent by sickness, he causes dwarfs to be born and monstrosities shaped like a beetle, and persons with no eyes, and like a beast and dumb, and dead and toothless ...". Moreover, there is an astrological text from the second century A.D. that shows the connection between a dwarf divinity and the scarab, as responsible for human deformities. It says: "this deity causes long old age, until a man be sent by old age; he produces hunchbacks or makes men bent by sickness, he causes dwarfs to be born and shaped like a beetle, and persons with no eyes, and like a beast and dumb, and deaf and toothless".

Furthermore, the identification of the dwarf divinity Pataikos with Re and Harpocrates is not based on a certain myth, but more like a symbolic analogy. Generally, dwarfs were identified with the sun god in his young manifestation of Horus, particularly the form of Horus the Child or Harpocrates due to their similar physical appearance, but without putting a finger to his mouth.

The connection with the moon can be identified with Pataikos' association with Khonsu as it has been seen above. Comparable figures of baboon headed dwarfs are also symbols of Thoth that was himself a moon god too.

Like scarabs, Pataikos' figures carried the conception of creation and regeneration, which are important for funerary beliefs. Some were found in burials or associated with death. As mentioned above, Pataikos had connections with the other world divinities specially Osiris, being flanked by the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys (fig.7), thus replacing
Osiris who is frequently flanked by the same two goddesses. The depiction of Isis and Nephthys here is more related to the concept of the rebirth in the underworld rather than being identified with the god of the dead, expressing the concept of the regeneration.

For long, the figurines of Pataikos were recognized by scholars only as amulets that protected their owners from evil. This theory is based on the wide recognition of dwarfs as protective divinities and having the warrior character as indicated in magical texts. A text in the temple of Edfu and a number of magical texts describe Neith as being protected by wearing an amulet of the form of a dwarf god: "the protection of that dwarf of science who guards the neck of Neith." The connection between dwarfs and Neith is explained by their similar warrior depictions used to repel evil forces. In this sense, Pataikos is also assimilated with Bes, another dwarf divinity and a protector god. He is even represented with Bes in a glazed amulet (British Museum glazed ware 26316) back to back with Bes with the same body features.

Pataikos thus bears all attributes of a divinity of rejuvenation. First, he has a great connection with the creator god Ptah in general and the form Ptah-Tatenen in particular. Ptah himself is inscribed on a Pataikos figurine as "Ptah giver of life"; and he himself is often figured in a mummy form. This emphasizes that the creator god naturally should bear both qualities; birth and death. Moreover, it is more interesting to know that Pataikos was identified with two contradictory classes of divinities; those of the sun like Re and Harpocrates and those of the moon like Khonsu and Thot; which is another strong indication of his quality as a divinity of rejuvenation god who bears the two characters; the sun and the moon, or in other words the day and the night. Not only this, but he was also connected with Osiris the god of the underworld in a way to reflect the concept of the resurrection, or in other words the regenerative and rejuvenation characters rather than reflecting the concept of death itself. Concerning the attributes that Pataikos usually bears, they also reflect his nature as a rejuvenation divinity; particularly the scarab and lotus which are both related to the regenerative quality as has been shown previously.

It is also natural for the divinity of rejuvenation to be represented in two forms; as an old man dwarf with wrinkles, and at the same time as a child with the distinctive side hair lock of childhood reflecting the two qualities of youth and old age. It is also logically accepted for this divinity to be represented in the form of figurines used as amulets. Like the dwarf and children gods, Pataikos' figurines were used as protective amulets. But, as the god of rejuvenation, his amulets were worn to protect both the dead and living; and not only as a protective god of evil, but also as a guarantee of long life for the living and a new life for the dead.

More important is that it is possible that Pataikos as divinity, he had a cult or a temple of his own in antiquity. This corresponds to the fact that Herodotus when he tells about Cambyses' visit at Memphis, mentions that he had a temple in Memphis, perhaps close to that of Ptah and that he had a private sanctuary that only priests could enter according to Herodotus' passage. Scholars tend to deny that the dwarf god Pataikos could have had a cult or a temple of his own, but the passage of Herodotus confirms the existence of a private temple or at least a sanctuary dedicated to the cult of this divinity. Dwarf gods are not only limited to amulets, but can have a cult and a temple of their own, like in the case of the god Bes, the famous dwarf god in late and Greco-Roman Period who himself had a temple in Bahriya Oasis dedicated for his own cult.

Conclusion

- Pataikos is a complex deity who embodies characteristics of gods who bear regenerative and rejuvenation qualities like Ptah, Khaper, Harpocrates and Re.
- Pataikos simultaneously embodies the other world divinities especially Osiris, particularly in the way he is represented as flanked by the two goddesses Isis ad Nephthys.
- Pataikos is also assimilated with Bes, another dwarf divinity who is regarded as a protector and rejuvenation god.
- As a an image of a rejuvenation divinity, Pataikos is represented as an old man dwarf with wrinkles, and as a child with the side hair lock of childhood reflecting the two qualities of youth and old age.
- Pataikos' amulets were worn by both the dead and living; not only as a protector of evil, but also as a guarantee of long life for the living and a new life for the dead.
- There is possibility that Pataikos had a sanctuary and a cult of his own proved by the statement of Herodotus in which he tells about Cambyses' visit to his temple in Memphis.
Figure (1): A Phoenician coin represented with one of the Pataei

Figure (2): A scene of dwarf jewelry makers from the tomb of Mereruka, (Old Kingdom), Saqqara
Kosma, K., (2005), "Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt", *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, p.309, fig.8

Figure (3): Three ivory dancing figurines from the Middle Kingdom from el-Lisht
Figure (4): Pataikos represented as a child with a side hair lock
Kosma, K., (2006), Historical Review: Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt, *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 140A, p.308, fig.6

Figure (5): Green glazed amulets of Pataikos

Figure (6): A depiction of a naked dwarf inscribed as "Ptah who listens" on a wooden sarcophagus from the Ptolemaic Period
Figure (7): Figurine of Pataikos standing on two crocodiles and flanked by Isis and Nephthys, Brooklyn Museum (37.949E)

http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/4115/Figure_of_Pataikos

Figure (8): A figurine of Pataikos holding two knives, 3rd century B.C. (Ptolemaic Period), The Walters Museum of Art in Baltimore (48.1616)

http://art.thewalters.org/detail/19584/standing-pataikos-2/
References


7 Hephaistos was a smith and a magician and creator of enchanted weapons and jewels. He was lame on both feet perhaps reflecting the original dwarf form of this god. In iconography he is not depicted as a dwarf. The Greeks equated him with Pth, Pynch, G., (2002), *Handbook of Egyptian Mythology*, Oxford, p.181.


The Phoenician *Patōse* were seven in number. All or some of them are represented on Phoenician coins. They are said to have invented ships and therefore placed on the prow of the ships, specially the war-galleys as guard deities, Rawlinson, G., *The Religions of the Ancient Worlds*, London, 1880, p.171.

9 Dasen, V., (1993), p.84.

10 Kabeiroi are deities associated with Hephaistos as his sons or grandsons. They had a large body and bent legs. Dasen, V., (1993), p.196.


Hephaestos is the Greek god of fire and master of artisans. He was the husband of Aphrodite and father of Kabeiroi, who had marine powers and identified with crabs, Brisson, L., (1992), "Hephaestus", Greek and Egyptian Mythologies, Ed. Y. Bonnefoy, University of Chicago Press, p.84-6.


Cippi of Horus are types of magical stela intended for protection. They are represented with Harpocrates or Horus the child subduing dagerus animales and creatures; such as crocodiles, lions, scorpions, and serpents, Forrest, I., (2004), Isis Magic: Cultivating a Relationship with the Goddess of 10,000 Names, Minnesota, p.47.


Metternich stela is a magical stela made of greywacke dated from the time of the king Nectanebo II. It was given as a present from Mohamed Ali Pasha to Austrian chancellor the prince Metternich by whose name the stela is called after. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no.50.85). The main subject represented on this stela is Harpocrates standing on two crocodiles. It is inscribed with spells against illness and poison caused by serpents or scorpions. It was believed that it could heal the patient by drinking water after being poured on the stela by magical power of its spells, Burn, B., (2006), Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th ed., Yale University Press, p.23


In the chapel of the throne of Re, north wall (4); Dasen, V., (1993), p.93; Le Marqise de Rochefemontex, (1897), Le temple d'Edfu, 12, MMAP, Paris, 10, pl.XXIXb.


81 Faulkner, R. O., (1962), p.188.
87 Dasen, V., (1993), p.54; *P.Oxy* iii, no.465, 133 (text).
95 See p.1.