

Saints in Ancient Egypt

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Abstract

Some dead individuals lie somewhere between deities and the ordinary dead, these are the people sometimes referred to as “saints”, a term that will be assumed here. Amenhotep son of Hapu falls into this category while on his way to becoming a god. Unfortunately, the line between saints and deities is vague. This is complicated by the fact that the Egyptians themselves do not seem to have had rigid conceptions about it. So, the study will focus on the interaction of the living with these “saints”, discuss relevant sources, which are texts that rely on “saints” as a helpful force, responding to requests and giving out rewards. The research is collecting the source evidence related to Mehu, Heqaib and Amenhotep son of Hapu, as well as discussing the stelae related to this concept, besides the reasons of the popularity of these individuals after their death.

Introduction

Two straightforward examples of deification are Imhotep and Amenhotep son of Hapu. Imhotep is most famous for being the chief architect of Djoser of the Third Dynasty.¹ Amenhotep was also the chief architect for his king, in his case Amenhotep III of the Eighteenth Dynasty.² In a process beginning in the Late Period, these two did undoubtedly become divinities.³ Various qualities of the “saint” or deity have been emphasized by different scholars. Quaegebeur, for example, stressed the public nature of their worship,⁴ while Fischer argued that true deification is only gained by those who possessed a temple (*hwt-ntr*) and priests to carry out a religious cult.⁵ There is no good description of what started the process of deification, and the Egyptians themselves do not seem to have a clear conception about it. However, the main concern of the research is discussing the source evidences that they were worshiped in later periods and have interacted with humans in some sort, besides collecting the material concerning the interaction with the living and their way of helping them.

Mehu

A Sixth Dynasty vizier buried at Saqqara, His name is recorded in a tomb of a man called *Bi3*.⁶ An architrave from this tomb included a “request to the living” in which

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Bi3 promised that Mehu would reward the living if they provided the requested offerings:⁷

ḥsy ṯn nb(.i) rꜥ nb ...

(My) lord shall favor you every day...

Clearly, this is not the only example of a request of the living in which the aid of the dead is assured. Yet, this request is different. when the aid of the deceased is usually promised. In the texts discussed here, the role of the dead is parallel to that of the gods. In other contemporary requests the verb *ḥsi* is used to describe the reward of various deities.

Bi3 was a funerary priest of Mehu, whose help is promising. Apparently, he hoped that Mehu would fulfil the request because he had served him well. The people to whom the request was addressed, that is, the people who would benefit from the deceased's help, they were also Mehu's funerary priests. *Bi3* may have hoped that the deceased would wish to look after his own funerary priests.

Bi3's using Mehu's help in this way seems to show the unusual worship that he had for the deceased. However, this worship was still contained within the usual limits of the funerary cult. It was limited to one family of funerary priests, and too soon after the death of Mehu. *Bi3*'s particular piety to Mehu is surely due to the fact that the man was his employer, supplying him with profits, as well as Mehu being a vizier, the highest official in the country. *Bi3*'s piety is shown in his tomb, in which Mehu appears in contexts usually set aside gods. We have already seen the presence of Mehu in the requests to the living. We also see from the tomb inscriptions that two of the sons of *Bi3* had theophoric names combining that of Mehu.⁸ The vizier also appears in the formula honored before (*im3ḥw ḥr*), in the position usually filled by a deity, but sometimes by the king.⁹

Heqaib

Heqaib, a caravan leader and governor of Aswan during the reign of Pepi II, provides the widest range of data about the individuals discussed in the research.¹⁰ This evidence comes from two of his cult places, the hall next to his tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb no. 35), and his sanctuary at Elephantine. When Sarenput I built this sanctuary, it included a shrine dedicated to saint Heqaib. Among the inscriptions on the shrine was a request that Heqaib prolong (*sk*) Sarenput's years (*rnpwt*) of life.¹¹

m3 m ḥr.k irit.n(.i) n.k imi iri nṯr n iri n.f sk rnpwt.i tp t3 sm3ꜥ ḥrw(.i), m ḥrt-nṯr

See with your eyes what (I) have done for you. May a god act for he who acts for him, prolonging my years on earth and justifying (me) in the necropolis.

The giving of life to mortals is usually a divine privilege. Some of the requests to the living promise that the living will be granted a long life, but do not specify who is to see this promise carried out. The owners of a number of requests promised that they would protect those who helped them in the judgement in the afterlife.¹² Sarenput's

request that Heqaib justifies (*smꜣꜥ hrw*) him in the necropolis may be for the same sort of protection. Clearly Sarenput expects Heqaib to grant him this in return for what he has done for him, like constructing a sanctuary for him and providing him with a cult.

Heqaib appears in several requests on finds from his sanctuary at Elephantine. Five of the nine requests from the site promise the living some sort of reward involving Heqaib, if they make offerings to the owner of the text.¹³ Two of these requests, promise that the living will be admitted to see the saint during his festival. The remaining three requests promise that the deceased will favor (*hꜣsi*) the living. This same verb has been seen in the request involving Mehu. One request comes from a chapel set up by a man called Heqaib, who was the local governor (*hꜣty-ꜥ*) as well as the overseer (*imy-r*) of the priests (*hꜣmw-ntr*) of his namesake, the saint Heqaib.¹⁴ In order to persuade the living to make offerings, Heqaib plays on the fact that they want (*mri*) the saint to favor (*hꜣsi*) them. The same means of persuasion is found in two requests from the site that dates to the Thirteenth Dynasty. The text belonged to a chamberlain (*jmy-r ꜥhnwty*), while the name of the owner of text has been lost. Another text also promises the living that Heqaib will hear (*sdm*) the call (*ꜥš*) of the living.¹⁵

The dead were known to pass on petitions to the gods, and that may be what is envisaged here. It is also possible that Heqaib was appearing more as a god, listening to requests, than as the deceased passing on the request. However, the dead themselves could be petitioned, for example by letters to the dead, and there may be nothing unusual about this promise. When *Biꜣ* promised the help of Mehu in his request, he seems to have expected the deceased to provide this aid in return for *Biꜣ* looking after his funerary cult. The same thing seems to be the case with a text from the Heqaib sanctuary. The chapel to which this text belonged also included an offering table. The inscription on this object reveals that the offerings were to be dedicated to the saint Heqaib. The owner of text presumably expected Heqaib's help in return for this service. Ordinary requests make no attempt to persuade the gods to fulfil the promises made on their behalf. The living seemed to take their help for granted, and same may have been true of the texts from Elephantine. The texts contained no reason why Heqaib should help the living.

In his sanctuary, Heqaib also appears on stela no. 10 set up by Sarenput I. This is an unusual text, in which Sarenput encourages Heqaib's funerary priests to carry out their duty. Like the requests, the text promises rewards for those who do as requested. These rewards are to be carried out by Heqaib:

*i wꜥbw nw rpꜥ hꜣkꜣ-ib mri sꜥh pn mrwt ꜣh n.f imꜣ-ib n srwd pr.f ꜥtp ib.f m
iri.tn n.f m-ht is ꜥip ꜥꜥtp sw dbꜣ.f wꜣb.f m ddt n hm. n ntr ꜥꜥpr sw*

O wab-priests of the noble Heqaib, as this noble likes the love of he who is beneficial to him, the kindness of he who restores his house, his heart shall be content with what you do for him. Now, after he who pacifies him rests,

he shall repay his answer always - a god is not ignorant of he who nourishes him.¹⁶

Sarenput guarantees the priests that they would be repaid by Heqaib for their service to him. Heqaib is said to repay (*dbꜣ*), by responding to their appeals or requests. No doubt, this has the same meaning as the promise made as discussed above, in which Heqaib would hear (*sdm*) the call (*ꜥš*) of the living. In order to earn Heqaib's help, the priests must *shꜣp* him. This verb is the causative of *hꜣp*, which has already been encountered in the letters to the dead and the request, where it refers to the dead being content with the living, and willing to help them. The idea of loyal funerary priests being rewarded by the deceased has already been encountered in the request of *Biꜣ*, who expected the help of his master Mehu. There may be more to this text than the reward for loyal service. Sarenput states that Heqaib will be content (*hꜣp*) if he is properly looked after. This may have the implication that if the saint is not treated correctly, he will show his anger against the living.

These sources date to a long time after Heqaib's death. He was a Sixth Dynasty official, and these texts belong to the Middle Kingdom. This raises the question of why the living should have expected help from this particular deceased. Heqaib may have died some time before, but he had not been forgotten. Like the recent dead, Heqaib was receiving a cult at this time. Indeed, it seems that his cult had been more or less continuous since his death. The cult may have originally taken place at his house,¹⁷ and is known at a hall attached to his tomb,¹⁸ as well as a sanctuary at Elephantine.¹⁹

Heqaib was more than an individual who had been fortunate enough to have his cult maintained. Finds from the places associated with his cult show that certain individuals held him in particularly high respect. In various texts from these sites, Heqaib appears in contexts in which only gods are usually found. We have already seen the saint in appeals and being approached with a request. He is also to be found in a range of other contexts. As with Mehu, Heqaib appears in the formula honored before (*imꜣhw hr*),²⁰ and as an element in theophoric names.²¹ The saint is found in a number of *hꜣp di nsw* formulae, most often on his own,²² but also together with the triad of chief local deities, Satis, Khnum and Anukis.²³ These formulae appear in parallel with other *hꜣp di nsw* involving local deities,²⁴ or the funerary deities Osiris and Wepwawet.²⁵ In a couple of texts, Heqaib is referred to as a god (*ntr*).²⁶

At the time of Sarenput, the cult of Heqaib was either active, or had been active in the not too distant past. It seems that there had already been a sanctuary dedicated to Heqaib at Elephantine. This had been built by Wahankh Intef of the Eleventh Dynasty, although Sarenput claimed that it was ruined when he started work at the site. Sarenput seems to have been moral in regard to the dead, and his texts from the Heqaib sanctuary show his devotion to his ancestors.²⁷

As a result, it is not entirely surprising that Sarenput should have become devoted to the saint whose lastingness must have added to him a certain fame. Sarenput's piety to Heqaib is shown in the texts from the sanctuary, in which, for example, he calls himself Heqaib's son.²⁸ This devotion led Sarenput to rebuild Heqaib's sanctuary and

renew his cult, in return for which he expected Heqaib's favor. Once Sarenput had set the stage for this new degree of worship towards Heqaib, it is not surprising that others followed. During the remainder of the Twelfth Dynasty, the family of Sarenput carried on the tradition of adding to the sanctuary.

Other members of their circle, the elite of the local area, also adopted the cult of Heqaib and left monuments at the site.²⁹ Where the elite led, others eventually followed. In the Thirteenth Dynasty, the sanctuary seems to have been opened up, and a more diverse range of people left monuments there.³⁰ Then the cult of Heqaib seem to have extended beyond the cataract area.³¹

Amenhotep son of Hapu

Merit-Neith, a daughter of Psammetichus I of the Twenty Sixth Dynasty, presented a statue to Amenhotep son of Hapu. This statue was inscribed with a request that he cure the eye illness from which she was suffering, the text states:

*i rpꜥ imn-ḥtp sꜣ ḥpw mꜣꜥ ḥrw mi pꜣ swnw nfr mk wi mn.i m irty(=i) iḥ di.k
snb.j ḥr ꜥwy*

O noble Amenhotep, son of Hapu, justified! Come, O good physician! Look, I suffer in (my) eyes. May you make me healthy immediately.³²

Unlike Sarenput's request that Heqaib granted him a long life, a request that was general and current, Merit-Neith's request was for a cure for a precise problem. It is known that the dead were requested or were capable of granting healing. By presenting Amenhotep with the statue, which apparently represented the saint himself, Merit-Neith hoped to persuade him to look kindly upon her request. Like Heqaib, Amenhotep was requested for help a long time after his death. He had lived during the Eighteenth Dynasty, while Merit-Neith donated her statue in the Twenty Sixth Dynasty. Again, like Heqaib, Amenhotep seems to have had a cult at this time.

A papyrus dated eight years before the Merit-Neith statue mentions a chapel (*kꜣr*) at Thebes.³³ This chapel is otherwise unknown, but there is plenty of other evidence that a cult had long been carried out in the Theban area. Amenhotep had been provided with a tomb, but his cult had centered around his funerary temple on the west bank at Thebes.³⁴ The cult performed there was presumably funerary in nature, albeit on a grand scale. The funerary foundation was initially endowed by Amenhotep III, and the temple continued to function for some time.

The temple was still active in the late Ramesside period. Workers attached to the temple are mentioned in tomb robbery papyri dating to the reigns of Ramses IX and Ramses XI.³⁵ Details about the original foundation are known from stela B.M. 138, a later version of a decree issued by Amenhotep III to protect the funerary foundation.³⁶ Stela B.M.138 was carved in the Twenty First Dynasty, and it has been suggested that it was made to help the secure of the income of the temple at a time when it was in decline.³⁷ Additions to the temple and a new enclosure wall were built at some point after the reign of Ramses IV, and possibly at the same time as stela B.M.138. The Theban priest-kings are known to have reorganized several of the most popular cults of the Theban necropolis.³⁸

The Twenty-Six Dynasty evidence for the chapel of Amenhotep shows that his cult either continued till or was recovered in the Late Period. At this time, the cult seems to have been restricted to the Theban area. Even after it had developed into true deification, it remained a largely Theban phenomenon. This raises the question of why a member of the Saite royal family would have requested to a Theban saint for help.

Wildung has suggested that the Merit-Neith statue is not sufficient evidence upon which to base a claim that Amenhotep had a cult place in the Delta. He suggested that even if Merit-Neith had lived entirely at Sais and not with her sister Nitocris in Thebes, the statue would have been set up in Amenhotep's cult place at Thebes.³⁹ Wild, on the other hand, believed that the statue had been erected in the temple of Khenty-khety of Kem-wer in the nome of Athribis.⁴⁰ Amenhotep may have been recommended to Merit-Neith by her sister Nitocris, who was in Thebes. We have seen that Amenhotep probably had a cult in Thebes at this time, and that his statues in Karnak may have resulted in a reputation for listening to requests. Wild also suggested that Amenhotep may have been recommended to Merit-Neith by her father, Psammetichus.

The first command of Psammetichus, given to him by Assurbanipal, had been the town of Athribis. It was in this town that Amenhotep had been born and spent the first part of his career, something of which Psammetichus may have been aware. This would make Amenhotep something of a local saint in this town, even though there is no surviving evidence for any commemoration of him at this period. The analysis of Wild or Wildung may be correct, the help of Amenhotep must have been wanted because of his reputation as a saint, that existed in a particular area.

Reasons for Popularity after Death

There is an only evidence for Mehu having been valued by one particular family, rather than by a group of followers, so he will be excluded from this discussion. Status and popularity in life did not necessarily continue after death. Nevertheless, in the cases of Heqaib and Amenhotep son of Hapu these factors seemingly led to sainthood, and even deification. Heqaib was not just an important official, but the chief local official, the governor (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ*) of Elephantine. This may be significant, set the local nature of his cult, which was not extended outside the territory of Heqaib's influence during life. Habachi has suggested that Heqaib's popularity may have been due to his military achievements, or because of him having a long life, which was viewed as a sign of divine favor.⁴¹

The cult of Heqaib was supported by both private individuals and a series of kings. His popularity among the citizens of Elephantine is shown by the length of time in which his cult survived, and by the large numbers of finds associated with his cult. The evidence suggests that Wahankh Intef of the Eleventh Dynasty built a sanctuary to Heqaib on Elephantine.⁴² But Sarenput I replaced this construction with his own, he may have been encouraged by Senusret I, whose favor he appreciated.⁴³ Royal investment of the site is shown by a series of twelve finds or inscriptions left by kings of the Eleventh to Thirteenth Dynasties.⁴⁴

Amenhotep son of Hapu had several things in common with Heqaib. Like Heqaib, he was a high official, in his case a royal scribe (*sꜣ nsw*). There is clear evidence that Amenhotep has a greatly honored status during his life, something not found in the case of Heqaib. Amenhotep was important in the favor of his king, who allowed him the honor of erecting some statues in Karnak.

The inscriptions on these statues show his character, and his extraordinary achievements and position. Amenhotep was even granted favors that were considered royal entitlements, such as his participation in the sed-festival of the king. Similar to Heqaib, Amenhotep had popularity among both private persons and royalty.

The worship of the Amenhotep can be seen in the Ramesside tomb no.359, which belonged to Inherkhau. One of the scenes in the tomb shows Amenhotep being adored by the tomb owner, and also as having a place among various royal figures honored in the Theban area.⁴⁵ The same depiction of Amenhotep is found on O. Berlin 21447, which came from Deir el-Medina and dates to the reign of Ramses III.⁴⁶

This popularity may have been influenced by the fact that Amenhotep presented himself as an intermediary between the people and Amun, precisely appointed to this role by the king. Two of his statues in Karnak are inscribed with requests to the living to make him offerings, and as an incentive Amenhotep claims that he is an intermediary (*whmw*) of Amun, able to report (*smi*) the requests of people to the god.⁴⁷ These statues have been worn away by the touch of many people seeking the aid of Amenhotep. It is hard to state when this was exactly done, but it may have begun after his death. It was also with a royal support, to maintain the cult of Amenhotep till at least the Twenty First Dynasty.

The *ꜣh ikr n R^c* stelae

The *ꜣh ikr n R^c* stelae are a series of stelae that are mostly from Deir el-Medina.⁴⁸ Together with offering tables and libation basins, these stelae were installed in individual households, for use in the offering cult of deceased family members. The stelae depict the deceased to whom they are dedicated, and these individuals are called “spirit” *ꜣh* or “able spirit” *ꜣh ikr*. However, several individuals from Deir el-Medina had more than one of the stelae dedicated to them, and this section will discuss the significance of this.

A man named Khamuy appears frequently, being found on no less than eight of the stelae (A32-34). Khamuy is the sole dedicatee of these stelae.⁴⁹ He also shares stelae (A35-38) with a man named Pennub, and (A39) with both Pennub and a woman called Webkhet. Webkhet is probably the same as the sole dedicatee of stela A6.⁵⁰

Stelae A13 and 14 were dedicated to a man called Panakht, while Hapy'o is the sole dedicatee of stelae A29 and 30. It might be expected that each family, or branch of a family, would have their own dead for whom it provided the household cult of which the stelae formed a part. If so, these individuals found on more than one stela would be something odd. Perhaps two stelae could be dedicated to one person, but it must be significant when the same man is found on no less than eight stelae.

Demaree opinion that these individuals who appeared more than once were the subjects of a special piety among a wider section of the community.⁵¹ Unfortunately, the dedicators of most of the stelae being discussed here are not named. Stela A29 is the one case where the dedicator is known, and she is the mother of the deceased. When the dedicator is known, they are always a close relative of the deceased.⁵² It is a disappointment that Demaree does not explain how close relatives could constitute the wider community.

It is possible that the stelae were dedicated by people who weren't connected to the deceased. In this case, the deceased would be something of a minor saint, and the stelae would be similar to other cultic objects dedicated to such individuals. It was unusual for a private individual to provide a cult for someone with no personal connection. It has been seen in the case of Heqaib, who was provided with a cult by Sarenput I, and is also likely in the case of Isi.⁵³ Such cults, though, were conducted at the tomb of the saint, or a sanctuary specially dedicated to them, not in the house of the individual responsible for them. It is hard to identify the individuals who had more than one stela dedicated to them. If Demaree's identifications are correct, then, the information known about them does not immediately suggest why they might have been particularly worshiped. The one possible exception is Pennub. It has been suggested that Pennub the Elder, with whom this man should probably be identified, enjoyed a position of influence within the community.⁵⁴ However, this claim has been disputed.⁵⁵ All things considered, it does not seem reasonable that these stelae were dedicated by people outside of the person close relatives.

It seems much more likely that these stelae were dedicated by relatives, or some other close associate of the deceased. The question is whether the multiple dedications to certain individuals show that these particular dead enjoyed an unusual degree of popularity. It is possible that these individuals received a cult from their extended family, perhaps from different branches of the same family. Maybe junior branches of a family commemorated the dead of the main branch.

The dead who are commemorated by *ꜣḥ ikr n R^c* stelae and who received a household cult from family members, seem to be the same as *ꜣḥw* in certain instructional texts. It is described as family members, who receive a cult within the house. If they are not treated correctly, they are capable of causing all kinds of misfortunes for the living. At the same time, if the living looked after them properly, they expected the dead to help them in return. If *ꜣḥ ikr n R^c* stelae reveal a similar practice, then people would have used them to interact with deceased. These dead would probably have belonged to the recent, rather than the remote past,⁵⁶ and the living would have attempted to pacify them and to obtain their help.

Conclusions

People might make requests to saints, just as they did to the ordinary dead. They might also use saints in requests to the living, in a context usually used for gods. The unusual text on stela No 10⁵⁷ from the Heqaib sanctuary promises the priests of the sanctuary that the saint will reward them for the loyal service. This text may also imply that the deceased would make his anger known if he was not properly looked after.

The relationship between the saints and those interacting with them fall into two categories. Firstly, people might create minor saints from those closely associated with them. Mehu was particularly worshiped by one of his funerary priests. The same may be true for the individuals who had more than one *šh ikr n R^c* stela dedicated to them. These may be deceased individuals held in particularly high regard by those close to them. These minor saints had only a limited number of followers, and the period for which they were honored must have been short.

People also created saints from whom they had no personal connection. In the case of Heqaib, the people of Elephantine and the surrounding area showed particular piety to their chief local official. Amenhotep son of Hapu also received particular worship, but again this was largely restricted to Thebes, the city where he had grown and then been buried. These cults could continue for some time. Both Heqaib and Amenhotep seem to have received a cult almost continuously for several centuries after their deaths. The number of followers could also be large, as shown from the large number of finds associated with Heqaib, and the degree of wear on the intermediary statues of Amenhotep.

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Endnote

¹ Wildung, “Imhotep”, in *LÄ* III, 145-148. See also Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*.

² Helck, “Amenophis”, in *LÄ* I, 219-221; Robichon & Varille, *Le Temple du Scribe Royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*; Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*; Habachi, *Elephantine IV*; – *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, 2 vols.; Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*.

³ Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep. Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*.

⁴ Quaegebeur, “Les «Saints» égyptiens préchrétiens”, in *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8 (1977), pp. 129-143

⁵ See Fischer, “*Bỉ̄z* and the Deified Vizier *Mḥw*”, in *JARCE* 4 (1965), pp. 49-53. On p. 52 he explained that the actual god has to possess a *ḥwt-ntr* or *ḥm-ntr*, and says this didn't happen until the Late Period.

⁶ Wilson, “A Group of Sixth Dynasty Inscriptions”, *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 243-264; Altenmüller, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*; the architrave was discussed in: Edel, “Inchriften des Alten Reichs”, in *ZÄS* 83(1958), pp. 3-18; Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pp. 49-53.

⁷ Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pp. 49-53.

⁸ Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pp. 49-53.

⁹ Architrave is published in Fischer, *JARCE* 4 (1965), pp. 49-53.

¹⁰ Habachi, “Heqaib”, in *LÄ* II, 1120-1122; for the bibliography see Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*.

¹¹ Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 30, fig 3e.

¹² Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 31.

¹³ Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 32

¹⁴ Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 33.

- ¹⁵ Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 36
- ¹⁶ Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 32.
- ¹⁷ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 160, after Junge, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), p. 107.
- ¹⁸ The hall is discussed by Habachi, *Sixteen Studies on Lower Nubia*, pp. 11-27.
- ¹⁹ The sanctuary is also published in Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*. p. 22.
- ²⁰ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, text no. 60.
- ²¹ There are masculine and feminine theophorous names including the name Heqaib, or Tieni 'the aged one' an epithet applied to him. These are discussed in Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 162.
- ²² Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, texts nos. 20(?), 36g, 44, 52, 56, 70(?), 71(?) and 94.
- ²³ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, texts nos. 36a, 43, 89 and 92.
- ²⁴ The triad Satis, Khnum and Anukis appear in Habachi's texts no. 36a and e. Satis, Khnum and the gods of Elephantine (*ntrw imyw 3bw*) appears in Habachi's text no. 52.
- ²⁵ Osiris appears in Habachi's texts nos. 34,36d, 43 and 56. Wepwawet appears only together with Osiris in text no. 36d.
- ²⁶ Habachi's texts nos. 2 and 10.
- ²⁷ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 159.
- ²⁸ This is on the shrine of Heqaib, see Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, no. 2, p. 28, fig. 3a.
- ²⁹ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 159.
- ³⁰ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 159-160.
- ³¹ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 162.
- ³² Statue base Brooklyn Museum 65.47, discussed in Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep*, pp. 277-278, and in Wild, "Ex-voto d'une princesse saïte à Amen-hotep-fils de Hapou", in *MDAIK* 16, (1958), pp. 406-413.
- ³³ P. Louvre 2432 I, line 4. This text is dated to year 29 of Psammetichus I.
- ³⁴ This temple was excavated by Robichon & Varille, *Le Temple du Scribe Royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*.
- ³⁵ P. B. M. 10053, recto 6,1 and 6,5, and verso 16; P. B. M. 10054, verso 2,1-6 and 4,8; P. B. M. 10068, verso 5, 21. Published in Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, pp. 64- 65, 96,108,119 pls. VII- XIX, XV, XXI.
- ³⁶ Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep*, pp. 82-83.
- ³⁷ Robichon & Varille, *Le Temple du Scribe Royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, p.16.
- ³⁸ Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep*, pp. 84-85.
- ³⁹ Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, pp. 277-8.
- ⁴⁰ Wild, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp. 406-413. The discussion of the statue's original location is on p. 412.
- ⁴¹ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 161.
- ⁴² Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 158.
- ⁴³ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 158.
- ⁴⁴ Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, p. 109.

- ⁴⁵ Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, p. 46.
- ⁴⁶ Černý & Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, n. 568, p. 287.
- ⁴⁷ Cairo JE 44861 and 44862.
- ⁴⁸ Demaree, The *zh ikr n R^c* Stelae.
- ⁴⁹ Demaree, stelae A32-34.
- ⁵⁰ Demaree, The *zh ikr n R^c* Stelae.
- ⁵¹ Demaree, The *zh ikr n R^c* Stelae, p. 282.
- ⁵² Demaree, The *zh ikr n R^c* Stelae, p. 282.
- ⁵³ Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinist dans l'Egypte ancienne", in *BIFAO* 37 (1937-8), pp. 93-160.
- ⁵⁴ Green , *Orientalia* 45 (1976), p. 398.
- ⁵⁵ Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, p. 226
- ⁵⁶ Demaree, The *zh ikr n R^c* Stelae, p. 282.
- ⁵⁷ stela no. 10.



الأولياء في مصر القديمة

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المخلص

يقع بعض الموتى في مكان ما بين الآلهة والموتى العاديين، فهؤلاء هم الأشخاص الذين يشار إليهم أحياناً باسم "الأولياء" أو "القديسين"، وهو المصطلح الذي سيتم افتراضه هنا. يندرج أمنتب ابن هابو في هذه الفئة بينما كان في طريقه لأن يصبح إلهاً. للأسف هذا أيضا لا يوضح الفارق بين الأولياء والآلهة. المصريون أنفسهم لا يبدو أن لديهم مفاهيم واضحة حول هذا الموضوع. هذه الدراسة ستركز على العلاقة مع هؤلاء "الأولياء". من خلال مناقشة المصادر ذات الصلة، والتي هي النصوص التي تعتمد على "الأولياء" كقوة مفيدة للبشر، والاستجابة للطلبات ومنح المكافآت. يجمع البحث الأدلة المتعلقة بميجو وحقا إب وأمنتب بن هابو، بالإضافة إلى مناقشة الصلايات المتعلقة بمثل هذا المفهوم، إلى جانب أسباب شعبية هؤلاء الأفراد بعد وفاتهم.

معلومات المقالة

الكلمات المفتاحية

الأولياء؛ ميجو؛ أمنتب ابن هابو؛ حقيب.

(JAAUTH)

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