

**The Abydos Formula “The Wishes
of the Deceased for the Afterlife in
the Twelfth Dynasty”**

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Abstract :

Abydos acquired holiness for choosing its cemetery as a burial place for the rulers of the pre-dynastic period and the archaic period . The First Intermediate Period brought about great changes. The popularity of Osiris, the god of the afterlife, increased, and he became the god of Abydos. Individuals, especially in the Twelfth Dynasty, erected stelae in the region of the terrace of the great god in Abydos. They contained inscriptions of the owner and his family, biography, offerings, gods, especially Osiris. The stelae registered the wishes and petitions of the deceased he wished for in the afterlife. He wished to be a follower of Osiris, to be welcomed by the greats of Abydos, to be transfigured as Akh , to receive offerings, to take part in the procession of the "Neshmet boat", and to take part in ceremonies and festivals. The wishes reached twenty wishes in some of the stelae. While some stelae were limited to the minimum required. the wishes was called the Abydos Formula. The Abydos formula is considered a stage in the development of religious thought, It had its cultural and religious connotations and characteristics .

Keywords : stela,Abydos formula, wishes of the deceased, the afterlife, Osiris.

المخلص :

اكتسبت ابيدوس قدسية كبيرة لاختيار جبانته كمدفن لحكام عصر ما قبل الاسرات وملوك الاسرتين الاولى و الثانية . احدث عصر الانتقال الاول تغيرات كبيرة حيث زادت شعبية اوزير معبود العالم الآخر و اصبح المعبود الرسمي لابييدوس . نصب الافراد خاصة فى الاسرة الثانية عشرة لوحات حجرية فى منطقة درج المعبود العظيم فى ابيدوس مقابل وادى المواكب . احتوت غالبيتها على نقوش لصاحبها واسرته ، سيرته الذاتية ، القرابين ، صيغة القران ، المعبودات خاصة اوزير . سجلت نصوص اللوحات امنيات والتماسات للمتوفى يتمنى نوالها فى العالم الآخر . اهمها أن يصبح من اتباع اوزير ، يذكره عظام ابيدوس ، التحول إلى الهيئة النورانية ، تلقى القرابين ، المشاركة فى موكب مركب نشمت فى احتفال الهكر ، المشاركة فى الاحتفالات والاعياد . بلغت الامنيات عشرين امنية فى بعض اللوحات . بينما اقتصرت بعض اللوحات على الحد الادنى المطلوب منها . بسبب تكرار الامنيات اطلق عليها المصطلح "صيغة ابيدوس" . تعود ارهاصات الصيغة إلى الاسرة الحادية عشرة "صيغة ابيدوس الاقدم" ، وربما الدولة القديمة.صيغة ابيدوس مرحلة مهمة في تطور الفكر الديني و لها دلالاتها ومفاهيمها الدينية .

الكلمات الدالة : لوحة حجرية ، صيغة ابيدوس ، امنيات المتوفى ، العالم الآخر، اوزير.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

Introduction :

The central authority of the country fell at the end of the Old Kingdom for political and economic reasons that caused social collapse and religious changes. This led to social closeness and the aspiration of the common people to equality in the afterlife with the kings in the company of the gods, their followers, and the greats of the afterlife. Osiris became the god and lord of the underworld, and Abydos was the seat of his cult. In the Twelfth Dynasty individuals erected limestone stelae in the region of the terrace of the great god , which was the area between the temple of Osiris and his tomb in Umm al-Qa’ab, opposite the valley in which Osiris’s processions pass. The stelae contained the wishes of the deceased who wished to receive them in the afterlife.

Important of research :

The wishes that individuals recorded on their stone stelae , in the hope of obtaining them in the afterlife, are considered a distinctive event in the ancient Egyptian religion. In terms of the circumstances and events outside and within Abydos that led to the request of the wishes. The owners of the stelae were asking the priests to pronounce the wishes in order for them to become a reality. Diversity of wishes and their connotations and religious concepts. Temporal and spatial correlation with specific places in Abydos.

The Research Methodology :

The study relied on monitoring and analysis in two axes to reach the desired result.

Firstly : The reasons for the appearance of the formula from outside and inside Abydos:

Secondly : Studying the wishes of the deceased in the afterlife:

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

Firstly : The reasons for the appearance of the formula from outside and inside Abydos:

1- Reasons from outside Abydos:

The political and economic conditions that the Country experienced at the end of the Old Kingdom and the accompanying social effects were responsible for the major religious developments that took place after that, in the First Intermediate Period and the early Middle Kingdom. It seems that the long rule of King Pepy II at the end of the Old Kingdom led to political disintegration and the collapse of the central state system. As smaller political systems emerged in the regions, there was a lot of competition and aggression between them in what is known as the First Intermediate Period . Political struggles coincided with economic collapse, due to relatively low floods and thus less cultivated land and thus lower crop yields, leading to starvation for some⁽¹⁾ . Suffering and social problems were the inevitable result. Literature expressed the bitter events of that dark period. As mentioned in the papyrus (Pétersbourg 1115) within the teachings (advices) of King Kheti, ruler of Ihnasiya, from the ninth⁽²⁾ . The deteriorating political, economic and social conditions prompted people to seek refuge in which they could turn. Religion was their desired aspirations, especially the cult of Osiris. It was believed that Osiris was a true prehistoric ruler, who was loved and respected by the people.⁽³⁾ While some considered

1- Bard, K.,2008, An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt. Oxford:

Blackwell Publishing, pp.162-166.

2- Golenischeff , V.,1913, Les Papyrus hieratiques , Nos. 1115 , 1116A et 1116B de L’Ermitage imperial a Saint-Péterssbourg , St-Péterssbourg , pls.IX-XIV .

3- Kamil, J.,1982, Upper Egypt, Historical outline and description guide to the ancient sites, London , pp. 14-16.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

him one of the gods who ruled Egypt, such as Ra and Geb as stated in The Turin Papyrus and The History of Manetho ⁽⁴⁾. The use of the throne and the eye always in Osiris' name "𓂏" ⁽⁵⁾ Wsir " reflects a cosmic duality ⁽⁶⁾. He was always depicted in the form of a mummy, but he was the supreme god in the afterlife, sitting on his throne to judge the dead. In the Pyramid Texts, Osiris was the only god whose name was associated with the deceased king and he was addressed to him (Osiris-Unas) ⁽⁷⁾. And deities associated with the afterlife became part of his kingdom. He was referred to by the epithet "Kmi" "the Black" which alludes to his role in the underworld and the fertility of the land of Egypt ⁽⁸⁾. Where he was depicted lying down with plants growing from his body. Although the myth considered that Osiris was killed by throwing him into the Nile (water resource), he was considered the god of the flood, and the flood became a symbol of the resurrection of Osiris ⁽⁹⁾. For all this, the cult of Osiris prevailed with the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, in addition to the Egyptians' belief that it

4- Griffiths, J.G.,1982, Osiris, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, IV, Wiesbaden, col. 627 .

5- Leitz ,C.,2002 Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen,Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol.II ,Leuven,p.528.

6-Troy, L.,1986,Patterns of QueenShip in Ancient Egyptian Myth and history,Uppsala, , p. 35.

7- Griffiths, J.G.,1980, The origins of Osiris and his cult, Leiden, pp. 44-45.

8-Robin, G.,2001, Color symbolism, Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Egypt,vol.1, Oxford , p.291.

9- Te Velde, H., 1967,Seth God of confusion a study of his role in Egyptian mythology

and religion, in, Probl Äg, sechster band, Leiden, p. 86.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty” represents the values of justice and equality. Individuals became aspired to afterlife privileges that were reserved for kings, such as gaining a form or aspect of Osiris and integrating into the hierarchy of gods in the afterlife. What can be called democracy in the afterlife ⁽¹⁰⁾, participation in the afterlife on an equal footing with kings. The spells of the coffin text and the Abydos formula were the most important methods in the Middle Kingdom, to ensure that .

2- Reasons from within Abydos:

Abydos became the burial place of the elite of the eighth region since (Naqada 1) in the first half of the fourth millennium BC ⁽¹¹⁾ . With the beginning of the dynastic period, the rulers of Thinis led the unification of the country and formed the first and second dynasties, and they were buried in the cemetery of Umm al-Qa'ab, west of Abydos⁽¹²⁾. Abydos was located approximately between Middle and Upper Egypt, which made it one of the religious strategic centers in Egypt ⁽¹³⁾. Khenty Amentiu (the jackal) was the local god of Abydos, whose function was to protect the necropolis ⁽¹⁴⁾ . In the Pyramid Texts, He possessed the offerings needed by the deceased

10- Smith, M., 2009, Democratization of the Afterlife, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 1(1), pp.1-2.

11- Rice, M., 2003, *Egypt's Making the origins of ancient Egypt 5000- 2000 BC*, London, p.75.

12- Hikade, T., 2003, Getting the ritual right fishtail knives in predynastic Egypt, *SHR*, vol., XCVII, Leiden, Boston, p. 150.

13- David, R., 1981, A guide to Religious ritual at Abydos, Warminster, p.7.

14- Grieshammer, R., 1975, Chontamenti , *Lexikon der Ägyptologischen*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden , cols.964-965 .

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

⁽¹⁵⁾ . The pyramid texts referred to a visit (pilgrimage) to Abydos across the Nile ⁽¹⁶⁾ . With the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, Osiris merged with Khenty Amentiu and became the god of Abydos (Osiris Khenty Amentiu). And the rituals were performed for him ⁽¹⁷⁾ . Where the tomb of the king Djer from the first family was chosen to become the alleged tomb of Osiris in the cemetery of Umm al-Qa’b, according to his legend ⁽¹⁸⁾ .

A celebration, feast, or annual ritual was held for him, in which he represented some of the events of his legend, so he called it "The Secrets of Osiris" ⁽¹⁹⁾ . The symbols and emblems of Osiris were carried through the valley from the temple to the cemetery (fig.1) , where the rituals of the mysteries and pains of Osiris were performed ⁽²⁰⁾ . Thus, Abydos became one of the sacred

15- Carrier,C., 2009,Textes des Pyramides de L ’Egypte Anciene, Tome1,Textes des Pyramides D’Ounas et de Teti , Monaco , pp.170-171 .

16- Sethe ,K.,1910. Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den papierrabdrucken und photographien des Berliner museums ,zweiter band , Text,zweite Hälfte spruch 469-714(Pyr.906-2217), Leipzig , Pyr.1716 a-b.

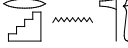
17- Wegner , J., 1996,The Mortuary complex of Senwosert III : Astudy of Middle kingdom state activity and the cult of Osiris at Abydos , University of Pennsylvania ., p.3.

18-.Leahy, A.,1989, A protective measure at Abydos, JEA, vol.75. London, p.55.


19-Schäfer,H.,1904, Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostriis III nach dem denkstein des oberschatzmeisters I-cher-nofrt im Berliner Museum ,Leipzig , pp. 5 – 40 .

20-.Hill, J.,2010,Window between words : The Ankh as a dominant theme in five middle kingdom mortuary monuments, Millions of Jubilees studies in Honor of David, P., Silverman, Cahier N39, vol.1., Le Caire , p. 237.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty” cities in ancient Egypt and became a religious center ⁽²¹⁾ .

So Individuals erected stone stelae in  *rwd n* .

ntr ʿ3 (The terrace of the great god "Osiris") ,Beside Osiris Temple ⁽²²⁾ . Specifically, between the Temple of Osiris to the east and his tomb to the west, opposite the valley ⁽²³⁾ (fig.1). Where the individuals

built chapels of bricks, they called them  . *mʿhʿt* ,

Which means tomb. They were symbolic buildings (cenotaphs), because they did not contain a place for burial, but only stelae ⁽²⁴⁾ . The stelae contained

21- O'Connor, D., 1969, Abydos and the University museum: 1898 1969 , Expedition 12/1 , Philadelphia, p.29.

22-Haeny, G., 1998, New kingdom " Mortuary Temples " and mansions of millions of years, in, Shafer, B., Temples of ancient Egypt, London, New York, p.91.

23 - It is a shallow valley that extends from the borders of the temple of Osiris Khenty Amentiu to the cemetery of Umm al-Qa'ab. It is also the separator between the northern and central cemeteries. And the valley was part of the sacred possessions of Osiris in Abydos. Processions of Osiris used to pass through it during feasts and celebrations from the temple to the cemetery, as well as pilgrims and visitors to the tomb of Osiris in Umm al-Qa'ab,

24 -All the chapels were built of mud bricks, and they all oriented to the northeast towards the Temple of Osiris and the procession road. They look identical to the Ka's chapels and some of them were familial. Some of them were very large (about 145 m) and medium ones (55 m), some of which contained statues, and some very small ones that contained ostraca as a stela . The chapels were either a single-room, walled building, without a roof, and had a forecourt surrounded by a low wall. Or a solid chapel that did not contain any rooms and walled, as the ceilings were vaulted and the painting is placed in the outer wall of the chapel.

Kemp, B, 1975, Abydos, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, vol.1, Wiesbaden, cols. 28-42; O'Connor, D., 1985, The cenotaphs of the middle kingdom at Abydos, in, Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar, edited by P., Posener-Krieger, IFAO, XCVII/3, Cairo, p.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

inscriptions of the owner and his family, his biography, offerings, gods, especially Osiris. Access to a good afterlife depended on knowledge and ritual, both of which are embodied in the language of recitation ⁽²⁵⁾

.Individuals recorded on the stelae their wishes and petitions that they wish would happen in the afterlife. And they differed from contemporary coffin texts ⁽²⁶⁾.

And because of the repetition of texts on the stelae, it was termed the "Abydos Formula". Lichtheim, M., considers that the formula dates back to the paintings of senior officials from the Eleventh Dynasty and calls it The older Abydos Formula ⁽²⁷⁾. It is possible that some of its religious and linguistic roots are older than that.

161-177; Simpson, W.K., 2001, A landscape of empty tombs, *Archaeology*, 54/3, May/June, New York, p. 46; Simpson, W.K., 1974, *The Terrace of the great God at Abydos: The offering of Dynasty 12 and 13*, New Haven and Philadelphia, p.10.

25- Hays, H., M., 2011a, The Death of the Democratisation of the Afterlife, in N. and H. Strudwick, eds., *Old Kingdom: New Perspectives. Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 115-130 .

26- Spells or chapters written in ink or inscribed in the interiors of more than two hundred coffins of the Middle Kingdom from various locations, the purpose of which is to assist the deceased in the afterlife. Lesko , L., H., 2001, Coffin Texts , Oxford Encyclopedia of ancient Egypt , vol. I , Oxford , p. 287

27- Lichtheim, M., 1988, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the middle kingdom a study and an anthology*, OBO, 84, Freiburg, pp.55-64.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

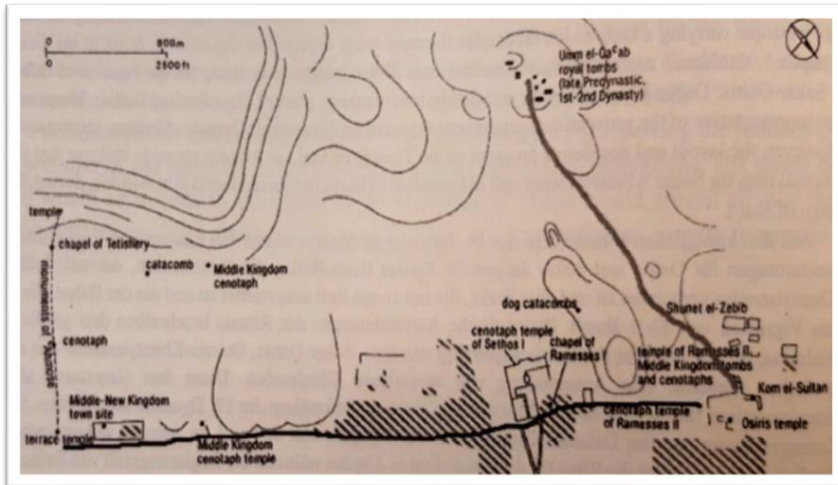


Fig.(1) The terrace of the Great God opposite the Valley of Processions, passing through the Temple of Osiris, to his tomb in Umm El-Qa'ab. After Eaton, K.,J.,2006,The festivals of Osiris and Sokar in the month of Khoiak : The evidence from nineteenth dynasty from monuments at Abydos, SAK 35, Hamburg ,fig.1.

Secondly: Studying the wishes of the deceased in the afterlife:

The aspirations of kings for the afterlife were fundamentally the same as those of their subjects. These aspirations fulfil in the same way by means of spells and ritual utterances ⁽²⁸⁾. Found in Abydos on about a thousand stelae from the Middle Kingdom alone ⁽²⁹⁾. The oldest of them dates back to the Fifth Dynasty and continued until the Fourteenth Dynasty, as well as in the New Kingdom ⁽³⁰⁾, and perhaps after that . The wishes

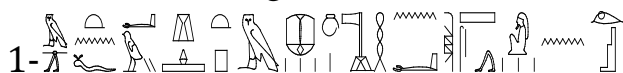
28- Smith,M.,2014, Osiris and the Deceased in Ancient Egypt : Perspectives from Four Millennia , *Annuaire de l'EPHE, section des Sciences religieuses (2012-2013)* ,p.89.

29- Franke, D., 2003,Middle Kingdom Hymns and other Sundry religious texts an inventory, SHR, vol. XCVII, Leiden ,p.95.

30- Freed, R., 1984,The development of Middle kingdom Egyptian relief sculpture schools of late Dynasty XI with an appendix on the trends of early Dynasty XII (2040-1878 B.C) New York university, p. 94.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

reached a standardized form only in the Twelfth Dynasty (around the reign of Senwosret I, ca. 1950 BC) ⁽³¹⁾. Although the wishes reached twenty wishes, it is noticeable that some of them are similar and perform the same meaning. They had some differences, but they conveyed the same meaning, and sometimes their number was less than twenty, perhaps according to the desire of the owner or the writing space on the stelae. Perhaps this is what made Kees call it (Abydenischen Totenformel) ⁽³²⁾. which won the favor of researchers and became a meaningful term ⁽³³⁾.



.....ms . t(w) n . f ^cwy hr htpw m hbw . nw . hry -
ntr hn^c šmsw . n . Wsir (May hands be stretched to him with offerings on the feasts of the necropolis together with the followers of Osiris). Stela of Imn m HAt BM 567 from the reign of King Senwosret III ⁽³⁴⁾.

Notes: It is possible that the celebration marked the successful rebirth of Osiris and the fertile land of Egypt ⁽³⁵⁾. Perhaps what is meant by followers here is the

31-Calabro ,D.,2020. The Reach, the Handclasp, and the Embrace gestures of the gods in the ancient Egyptian Abydos formula ,in, Seek Ye Words of Wisdom studies of the book of mormon•bible, and temple in honor of Stephen D. Ricks , edited by, Donald W. Parry Gaye Strathearn, and Shon D. Hopkin , p.291.

32- Kees,H., 1926, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter. Leipzig,pp.107,231,238.

33- In English Abydos formula, In French Formule Abydos, and Abydos-Formel in German .

34- Budge,W.,1912,Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian stelae &C. in The British Museum , part II , London ,pl.5.

35- An annual celebration, feast, or ritual was held for him, in which he represented some of the events of his legend, so he called it "The Secrets of Osiris." The ceremony consisted of two parts: the general procession: during which the god was carried in

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

righteous and innocent ancestors. Especially those buried in Abydos itself. Those who, because of their righteousness and piety, received the favor of Osiris and made sure to receive offerings regularly. The deceased aspires to belong to them and accompany them in the kingdom of Osiris. Old Kingdom offering formulas described both the king and the gods as providers of offerings. The king offers offerings to the gods, and after they have satisfied, the offerings are passed to the offering-tables, stelae, statues of human beings⁽³⁶⁾. The traditional offering formula is continued in the opening texts on the Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos.



s3h sw wrw nw ©dw šnyt imywt 3bdw
 (May he be transfigured by the greats of Busiris (and) the entourage in Abydos). stela of Wp – wAwt aA Munich GL.WAF 35, reign of the two kings, Senwosret I and Amenemhat II⁽³⁷⁾

Notes: *s3h* is a causative form derived from the root *3h*, which has a complex of meanings: "to radiate," "to be light," "to be spirit." Also derived from

Neshmet boat across the valley to the cemetery west of the temple. Secret procession: It continues in the desert, where secret rituals are held related to the secrets and pains of Osiris, his assassination, and then his victory over his enemies. The Feast of Osiris took place from mid-October to mid-November, the fourth month of the Akhet season (flood season). Eaton, K.,J, op cit., pp. 75-76 ; Hill, J., op cit., p. 237; Schäfer,H.,op cit., pp. 5 – 40 .
 36-Franke,D.,2003, The middle kingdom offering formulas a challenge ,JEA 89,pp.39-40.
 37- Sethe , K., 1924,Aegyptische Lesestücke , Texte des Mittleren Reiches , Leipzig , p.74.

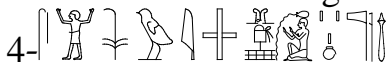
The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

the root is a noun, "3hw" (Akhw), "radiant power," "spiritual power," Akhu refers to the specific power of the sacred word. Through these spells the deceased becomes a "radiant spirit of light," a "transfigured one" and a member of the divine sphere. The idea of the radiant power of the sacred word . it developed on the basis of the sacramental interpretation of ritual⁽³⁸⁾. It was believed that the backbone of Osiris was buried in gdw (pw-*Wsir* -Busiris), ⁽³⁹⁾ . gdw had the same status in the north as Abydos in the south . The entourage of Abydos were often the greats of Abydos. And that the greats of ©dw (The righteous ancestors) were equal with them in the position, as the dead asked them to transfer him to a lighting body (3h).



wp . F w3wt mrt . F m htpt hn^c df3w (m htpt)
(May he open ways he wishes in peace,in peace)Stela of
Imn m h3t BM 567⁽⁴⁰⁾

Notes: Perhaps the roads intended here are those between his grave and the offering area, or that connect the world of the living with the underworld .



sk3i – sw imyw & 3 – wr w^cbw nw . ntr 3

38- Assmann,J., 1984, The search for god in ancient Egypt, translated from the German by David Lorton, London,pp.87-92.

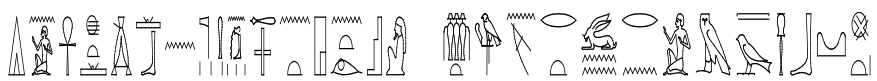
39- which was derived from gd- pillar, the symbol of Osiris. Its location is now the city of Abusir Bana in the Delta, about 5.5 km south of Samanud.

Gomaà,F.,1999,Busiris (Abusir Bana), in, Encyclopedia of the archaeology of ancient Egypt, edited by Bard, K., London, New York, pp. 207-208.


40-Budg,W., op cit., pl.5 .


The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”
 (May those in Ta-wer exalt(glorify) him the purified priests of the great god) stela of *Wp – w3wt ʿ3* Munich GL.WAF 35 ⁽⁴¹⁾ .

Notes: The texts indicate that those who glorify are the purified priests, perhaps it was by saying certain hymns, and it is possible that they had a role in this when embalming the deceased. *@r* was an employee of the reign of King Senwosret I ,He mentioned in his stela "Louvre C34"⁽⁴²⁾ .


dī .n.i ʿnh db3 n hmw –ntr n wʿbw ʿ3 imy(w) nt hwt nt
Wsir hnty-īmntyw n mrrt wnn rn . I m &3wr – 3bdw

(I gave a reward to the high purified priests who are in the temple of Osiris Khenty Amentiu the first of the Westerners in order that my name be recorded in the Tawer – Abydos) .


 5- *dī . t(w) n.f ʿwy m Nšmt hr w3wt imnt*
 (May hands be given him in the Neshmet-bark on the ways of the west). (stela of Imny -Twelfth Dynasty- BM 194 [162] ⁽⁴³⁾ .

Notes:  ⁽⁴⁴⁾ *Nšmt*, Neshmet Perhaps means (that which expels death) or (the one who expels death). Basically, it was a portable, boat-shaped shrine to the god Osiris. A statue of Osiris, his symbols, and emblems was placed in it, and the priests carried it on feasts. Nechmet had its own priests and staff, *wab – NSmt* (purified

41-Sethe,K.,op cit. , No. 15 , p.74.

42-Simpson .W.,K ., op cit. , pl.43

43-Budge , W.,1913, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian stelae &C. in The British Museum , part IV, London ,pl.33.

44- Leitz ,C.,op cit., vol.IV, p.360 .

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

priest of Neshmet) , *hm – ntr H nw Nšmt wrt* (second priest of the great Neshmet)⁽⁴⁵⁾ .Perhaps the purpose of the wish was to share with Osiris his journey on the boat of Neshmet for rebirth or resurrection.



dsr . f hpwt m msktt (May he ply the oars in the night – bark) . Stela of *Imn m h3t* BM 567 ⁽⁴⁶⁾ .

Notes: *msktt* and *m^cndt* were two hypothetical boats of the deity Ra, where *msktt* was believed to be for the god's night journey from west to east and *m^cndt* for its day journey from east to west ⁽⁴⁷⁾. Possibly the purpose of participating in the two boat trips *msktt* and *manDt* was rebirth the deceased.



skd . F m m^cndt (May he sail in the day-bark). Stela of Mry Louvre C.3 from the reign of King Senwosret I ⁽⁴⁸⁾ .



dd. t (w) n.i iw- m- htp in Wrw nw 3bdw (May "welcome in peace" be said to him by the greats of Abydos) stela of InHrt-nxt BM 575 ,From the reign of King Senwsret III⁽⁴⁹⁾ .

45- Jones ,D.,1988,A Glossary of ancient Egyptian nautical titles and terms,London ,pp.75 ,84; Pouls-wegner, M., 2002,The cult of Osiris at Abydos : an archaeological investigation of the development of an ancient Egyptian sacred center during the Eighteenth Dynasty, university of Pennsylvania, p.78.no.77 .

46-Budge,W., Hieroglyphic Texts II , pl. 5 .

47- Gardinar ,A.,2007,Egyptian Grammar being an introduction to the study of Hieroglyphs , Oxford , p. 291 , no. 5.

48- Gayet , A.,J.,1889, Stèles de la XIIe Dynastie , Musée du Louvre ,Paris ,pls.IV-V.

49-Budge , W., op cit.,pl.18 .

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

Notes: It is possible that the great were the justified and righteous of the dead who became followers of Osiris. The greats of Abydos are also mentioned in the Middle Kingdom coffin texts



dī n.ī htpw m-m wrw hr h3wt nt nbw rnw ink Wsir iw.ī iry 3bdw (May the offerings were given to me among the greats on the altars of those with names, because I am Osiris and I belong to Abydos) ⁽⁵⁰⁾ .

- šn "Shen" was Chief sculptor from the reign of King Amenemhat I, He mentioned in his stela



īī n . (. I) m htp r m'ht n irt n . (I) m 3ht imntt &3 wr 3bdw (I came in peace to this chapel which I have erected on the western horizon of Tawer -Abydos).

Perhaps this indicates that what is meant by the welcome upon arrival is the permission to enter the Ka of deceased into Abydos itself, and to participate in the offerings and celebrations, to be close to Osiris ⁽⁵¹⁾.



sd3 . f hn' ntr 3 r R – Pkr Nšmt wrt r nmtwt . s n hbw nw hrt – ntr (May he travel with the great god to Ra-Peker , and the great Neshmet-bark takes its course, on the feasts of the cemetery) .Stela of Mry (Louvre C.3) ⁽⁵²⁾

Notes: *Pkr* was the ancient Egyptian name for the Umm al-Qa'ab cemetery, *r – pkr* literally means entrance or

50- De Buck , A.,1947, The Egyptian Coffin Texts , III Texts of spells 164-267 , 1935 – 1961 , Chicago ,spell 237.

51- Faulkner , R.,1952, The stela of the master – sculptor Shen , JEA 38,p.4 .


52- Gayet , A.,J.,op cit.,pls.IV-V.

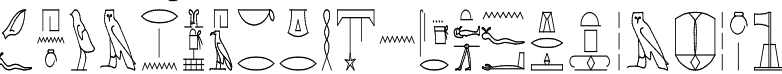
The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

mouth of the cemetery . Perhaps he means a mountain pass located behind Umm al-Qa'ab, and through it the souls enter the world of the afterlife ⁽⁵³⁾ .

10- 

s3h-sw k3-imnt hkn .hn^c. F m hpwt.f (May the bull –of-the-west transfigure him when he joins (him) at his oars) stela of *Wp – w3wt 3* Munich GL.WAF 35 ⁽⁵⁴⁾ .

Notes: kA imnt (the bull –of-the-west) or kA imnty (the western –bull) It was one of the titles of Osiris ⁽⁵⁵⁾ . The bull replaced in the Ramesside texts with the term  *k3 " imnt"* which coupled with the term *k3 izbty* and associated with the day –bark ,it was translated by Kitchen " the Spirit" ⁽⁵⁶⁾ .

11- 

sdm .f hnw m r . n .&3-wr h3 . k ir.(i) grh n sdrt . n .f hr-^c htpw m hbw nw hry-ntr (May he hear the jubilation from the mouth of Tawer at the Haker- Feast on the night of his sleep, aided by the offerings at the cemetery's feasts) stela of *'Ini-iti.f* Cairo 20516 From the reign of the two kings, Amenmhat I and Senwosret I ⁽⁵⁷⁾ .

Notes: The term *R . n .&3-wr* consists of two words *R* which means entrance or gate, and the name of the eighth region of Upper Egypt *&3-wr* ,And between them is the tool *n* , meaning the entrance (mouth) of Tawer.

53- Maspero ,G., 1916,Les Mystères d'Osiris , Etudes de Mythologie et d 'Archéologie Égyptienne VIII ,BiÉg 40 , Le Caire , p.336 .

54-Sethe,K.,op cit. , No. 15 , p.74.


55-Leitz ,C.,op cit.,vol.7 ,p.234.

56- Kitchen ,K.A.,1977, Ramesside Inscriptions , vol.I, Oxford,p.295.


57-Mariette ,A.,1890 Abydos,II description des fouilles ,Paris, pl.22.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

Perhaps it means one of the mountain valleys on the borders of Tawer, especially the western hills of Abydos. And the belief to enter the underworld of Osiris through it. or that it was a place of worship in Abydos itself. The celebration of Haker included the jubilation of victory over the enemies and the resurrection of Osiris. It also belonged to the dead who wished to join the god Osiris (58)

12-  *dndn . f w3wt nfrwt r pg3w 3ht - imntt r w3rt rdit htpt 3ryt 33t hmhmt* (May he tread the good ways that open the western lightland, to the ground that gives offerings, the portal great of fame) Stela of *Mry* Louvre C3 (59) .


Notes: The term *3ht* basically means horizon and has been used in texts to refer to (shrine - tomb - temple). The term *Imntt* was added to it, meaning (the western horizon). In fact, there is no specific place or building in Abydos that could be called the Western Horizon. Lichtheim believes that the association of "afterlife desires" with the term "western horizon" refers to the celestial regions in which Osiris resides, as well as the cemeteries of Abydos. She justifies her opinion by using the term *hi3* in the texts, as it was used in the meaning of (the sky and the Western desert). Where the wish of the

58-  *h3.k. ir.* I (come down to me) A celebration that appeared since the Middle Kingdom in the stelae of individuals, and in the New Kingdom it was mentioned in the Book of the Dead. It was associated with of Abydos and Thins, in Tawer It seems that the celebration took place on the twentieth day of the first month of the flood. Griffiths , J.G.,1977, Hakerfest , Lexikon der Ägyptological II , Wiesbaden , col. 929 .

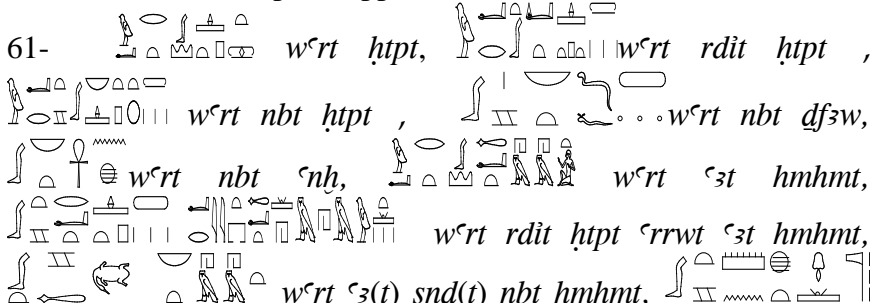
59- Gayet , A.,J.,op cit.,pls.IV-V.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

deceased in the Sixth Dynasty was to "cross the sky" only to reach the tomb in the desert. Because of the social and religious changes that occurred in the first intermediate period, the dead wanted to reach the "council of the gods" in reference to the "trial of the dead" and to reach the horizon where Osiris resides ⁽⁶⁰⁾. The term *wart* is mentioned in the texts in several forms . ⁽⁶¹⁾ It is possible that the names are mostly synonymous, and that they refer to the ritual area of Abydos and its tombs and temples. It is the area that receives and distributes offerings . Lichtheim, M. believes that the term *wart* in its various forms evoke the sanctity of Abydos in its totality of temples and cemeteries ⁽⁶²⁾ .

13- 
*s3h.sw \$nmw @kt tp- ˆ hpr hr h3t hr Mshnt nt 3bdw pr
m r3 n.Rˆ ds.f m dsr 3bdw* (May Khnum and Heket
transfigure him , the ancestors who rose before (on) the
first birthplace of Abydos , who came from the mouth of
Re himself when Abydos was sanctified on account of it)
Stela of *Imn m h3t* BM 567 ⁽⁶³⁾ .

60- Lichtheim, M., op cit. , pp. 48, 58-59,92.no.8.


61- 
*wˆrt htpt, wˆrt rdit htpt ,
wˆrt nbt htpt , wˆrt nbt df3w,
wˆrt nbt nh, wˆrt 3t hmhmt,
wˆrt rdit htpt ˆrrwt 3t hmhmt,
wˆrt 3(t) snd(t) nbt hmhmt, Wˆrt mnht ntrw.*


62- Lichtheim, M., op cit., p. 20 no. 5,p. 92 no. 5.


63- Budge , W., op cit.,pl.18 .

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

Notes: It is natural that the transfiguration is performed

by the god  (64) Khnum, Ram-god, creator of life on the potter's wheel, responsible for fashioning gods, mankind, cattle, birds and fish. The different speeches of

the human race are also his gift (65).  (66) Heqet-frog, goddess of childbirth, in the Pyramid Texts enables the king to ascend into the sky. Her life-giving powers enabled her to be adopted as a goddess fit to accompany Osiris in Abydos (67). The term *Mshnt nt ʒbdw* has

nothing to do with the goddess  (68) *Mshnt* Meskent), who was worshiped in Abydos and other places during the Middle Kingdom and beyond as a goddess of childbirth and determining the fate of newborn (69). The literal meaning of the term is “place of birth (seat-rest) of Abydos”. The term expresses the place of rebirth of the deceased in Abydos by Khnum and

64- Leitz, C., op cit., vol. VI, p.25.

65- He was also regarded as lord of the cataract as the BA -soul of the sun-god, hence his name becomes Khnum-RA. His other major role is probably derived from the procreative powers of the ram and the life-supporting river which make him eminently suitable as a creator-god. Hart, G., 2005. The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses, New York, pp.85-6.


66- Leitz, C., op cit., vol. V, p.490.

4 - she accelerates the final stages of labor. Amulets worn by women to protect them during childbirth often bear her image. she was called "Mistress of the Two Land". Hart, G., op cit., pp.67-8.

68- Leitz, C., op cit., vol. III, p.437.

69- De meulenaere, H., 1991, Meskhénet à Abydos, OLA.39. Religion und Philosophie im Alten Ägypten festgabe für philippe derchain, edited by, U verboeven and E. Graefe Leuven, pp. 243 – 251.

**The Abydos Formula “The Wishes
of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”**

16-  *b^ch.f m htpt dfz^w hzmt htw im n Wsir m w3g ⁽⁷⁴⁾ m dhwt^t ⁽⁷⁵⁾ m rk^h ⁽⁷⁶⁾ m tp-rnpt m hbw nbw irrw n ntr-^c3* (May he abound in offerings and provisions, all the offerings presented to Osiris on the wag-feast , the Thoth –feast , the flame –feast , the New-year's feast ⁽⁷⁷⁾ , the great feasts of the first and of the great procession (*hbw*

74- It is a funeral feast mentioned in the pyramids texts. There were offerings of food and cloth. So the dead wanted to take part in it. This feast was documented in several places. The most important ritual was boat models placed on top of the tomb towards Abydos for a whole day. Then the priest offers the offerings and changes the direction of the boats for a symbolic return to the tomb. Posner-Kriéger, P., 1986, Wag-fest, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, band VI, Weisbaden, cols. 1135-9.

75- A feast held since the Fifth Dynasty on New Year's Day. As a day of sacrifice for the deceased, in the first month of the Akhet season, which is named after Thoth. Helck, W., 1986, Thotfest, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, band VI, Weisbaden, col. 523.

76- It was a double feast called the first *Rkh-^c3* and the second *Rkh-nds*. It was celebrated in the season of prt. It was associated with the month of Mechir. Although it has been known since the Old Kingdom, its rituals are unknown. Known in the New Kingdom as the feast of Ptah. Its rituals appeared in the temples of Edfu, Dendera, and Esna. Altenmüller, H., 1977, Feste, Lexikon der Ägyptologie, band II, Weisbaden, cols. 177-8.

77- The rising of the star Sothis was called *wp rnpt*, "Opener of the Year." The first day of the year was called *tpy rnpt*. The twelfth month of the year was named *wp rnpt* after that feast, which always had to fall in it. Offering various offerings to the gods was the most important thing in this feast. Which was what the deceased wished to share. Parker, R.A., 1950, The Calendar of Ancient Egypt, Chicago, p. 38; El Sabban, S., 2000, Temple festival calendars of ancient Egypt, Liverpool, pp. 25-6.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”



spr.f d3d3t ntr šms.f sw r w3wt,f nbt w'bt imit t3-dsr
 (May he reach the god's council , may he follow him on all his pure ways in the sacred land) Stela of Mry Louvre C3 ⁽⁸³⁾ .

Notes:This wish is similar to the previous one to achieve the high position in the afterlife. Perhaps what is meant by reaching the council of the gods is an early indication of passing the trial before Osiris and the gods. By crossing the pure roads in the sacred Land to reach the Gardens of Osiris.



šsp.f htw hr htp 3 m hrt hrw ny r'-nb (May he receive things from the great altar in the course of every day) Stela of *Imn m h3t* BM 567 ⁽⁸⁴⁾ .

Notes:This is a recurring desire to obtain offerings, but constantly, to obtain them within the daily offerings made to Osiris.

Conclusions :

1- Wishes can be grouped into five groups or classifications. A- Participation in celebrations and festivals (to get offerings), B- Transfiguration in the form of Akh (to enter the heavenly realm), C- moving in the boats of the gods (to gain rebirth), D- Access to the world (seat) of the gods (for immortality), E- Glorification and acceptance from the greats of Abydos and Busiris (to enter the afterlife).

2- Wishes from a temporal and spatial perspective, some of which were happening in worldly life in Abydos itself, such as feasts, celebrations, processions, and receiving

83- Ibid .

84- Budge, W., op cit., pl.5.

The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”

offerings. And the others were in the world of the afterlife, such as the company of the gods, the greats, the transfiguration as Akh, and the transition in the boats of the gods. This was according to the religious belief that the components of the deceased's personality had freedom of movement between the two worlds.

3- The spatial link in the formula or the employment of places and locations conceptually on the paragraphs of the formula. Which means that the terrain in Abydos shaped beliefs and rituals. This is evidence that those passages of the formula are most likely the result of local religious ideas in Abydos itself. Some of the wishes were linked to a location or a natural feature in Abydos. Offerings were associated with the Wart region, rejoicing in the feast of Haker with *R3-n-t3-wr* region, participation in the "Neshmet barque" procession with Peker's cemetery, transfiguring in the form of Akh with *Mshnt (tpt) nt 3bdw*, festivities were associated with the valley, access to the Council of the Gods was associated with the western horizon - the sacred land - the beautiful roads.

4- For the deceased: The wishes did not mention things such as the reasons for the deceased's entitlement to them, except that he was *m3^c-hrw* and *im3hw*. Nor did it mention the negative confession by denying all wrongdoings and sins that deserve punishment. The wishes did not include escape from evil, torment, deprivation, and the dangers of the afterlife. Wishes did not include the enjoyment of what is in the life of this world except the offerings offered. As well as the company of family and friends and intercession for them in the council of the gods.

5- Other hidden motives for erecting stelae other than the fulfillment of wishes. Individuals built their chapels on the sacred property of Osiris, erecting their stelae in them

_____ **The Abydos Formula “The Wishes of the Deceased for the Afterlife in the Twelfth Dynasty”** and carving their wishes on them. Perhaps their purpose was pride and memorial and to show their great prestige to visitors and pilgrims to Abydos throughout the ages.

6- Ways to make wishes come true: The king was responsible for making offerings to the gods, of which the deceased would take a share, but he nevertheless had no part in the fulfillment of wishes. This was the role of the living from the castes of priests, especially the priests of the temple of Osiris. The deceased called them in the formula to recite hymns so that the wishes would come true. In his life, he would make an agreement with them or give them a reward for doing that task.

7- In religious terms: What came in the formula is considered an early fusion between the cult of Osiris and Ra. The symbols of the Osiris and Ra cults appeared side by side in the paragraphs of the formula.

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