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Mohammed Refaat

Associate Professor, Archaeology Department, Faculty of Arts, New Valley University, Egypt,
mrefaat95@art.nvu.edu.eg

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THE DEITY B3PEF(Y) IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN RELIGION

BY

Mohammed Refaat

Associate Professor, Archaeology Department, Faculty of Arts, New Valley University, Egypt

ABSTRACT

[AR]

المعبود بابف(ى) فى الديانة المصرية القديمة

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى جمع المعلومات المتاحة الخاصة بالإله بابف(ى) لتحديد الشخصية الحقيقية لهذا الإله الذى كان واحدًا من الآلهة الثانوية وكان نادر الظهور سواء فى النصوص أو المناظر على الرغم من وجود كاهنات له، مما يشير إلى وجود تأثير له فى المجال الدينى. هذه الورقة هى أيضًا محاولة لتحليل الأشكال المختلفة لاسمه ودلالاتها، وايضًا تحليل دوره فى الديانة المصرية القديمة من خلال إشارات فى نصوص الأهرام، نصوص التوابيت، الكتب الدينية ومختلف النصوص التى ذكر فيها الإله، بالإضافة إلى الكاهنات اللاتى ارتبطن بخدمته.

[EN] This paper collects the available information concerning the deity *Bapef (y)* to determine the character of this minor deity who is rarely attested in texts and scenes. However, his clergy has been documented which means that he had an impact on the religious sphere. This paper also attempts to collect and analyze the various forms of his name and its significance, and to analyze the role of *Bapef (y)* in ancient Egyptian religion through the Pyramid texts, Coffin texts, personal monuments, religious books, and various texts where the deity is mentioned.

KEYWORDS: Bapef (y), Evil, Great Lake, Priestess Ram, Pyramid Texts, Soul.

I. INTRODUCTION

In ancient Egypt, there were many major gods who are well-known to us. In addition to these major gods, the ancient Egyptians believed in various other kinds of supernatural beings who are often considered minor deities. The earliest religious writings are populated with dreadful beings (especially underworld monsters and demon-like creatures), and throughout ancient Egyptian sources, there are references to demons and spirits, which seem similar to djinns and afrits (ghosts). Although the ghosts, or spirits, of the dead persons were also feared by the ancient Egyptians and were known as *akhu*¹, also the most terrible or at least most frequently feared creatures were the messengers. Meanwhile the *bau* of deities² were sometimes beneficial to the dead. The Egyptologists commonly used to give these creatures the name «demons». They were associated with caves, gates, tombs, lakes and pits of the underworld; the majority of these demons might be called «denizens of the netherworld». Bapef (y) is considered one of these obscure and minor beings. Although Zandee³ and Hornung⁴ gave brief commentaries, Ward⁵ also gave some worthwhile notes about the references to the deity in the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts and Books of the Afterlife with a discussion of the phrase «*imi dšr.f*». But there is no specific or comprehensive study of the essence of Bapef (y), so this paper will attempt to demystify the minor deity.

II- NAME

The full writing of the name of deity B3pf(y) has been traditionally translated by HART⁶, WILKINSON⁷, FAULKNER⁸ and others as «that soul».⁹ Using the translation of *b3* as «soul» is hardly accepted, but with regard to the other forms and translations of the word *b3*, it can be a ram especially if we consider the following epithets and titles:

A) the sacred ram «*b3 nb ddt*»: (ram of Mendes).

B) *b3 nḥ*: (the living ram) as the incarnation of various gods.

C) *b3 n pt* (ram of the sky) / *b3 nb pt* (ram the lord of the sky) two indications of Amun¹⁰.

So, it is better and logical to translate (ba) as ram, particularly with regard to forms that were frequently used in the name of the deity as the ram sign was used in most forms and representations of the deity. Rams were associated with (ba) which was associated with the solarized and reborn Osiris¹¹.

¹ DEMARÉE 1983: 189ff.

² WILKINSON 2003: 26.

³ ZANDEE 1960: 217, 296.

⁴ HORNUNG 1963: N°. 212.

⁵ WARD 1978: 117ff.

⁶ HART 2005: 45.

⁷ WILKINSON 2003: 201.

⁸ FAULKNER 1969: 71 N°.9, 179.

⁹ WB 1971: vol.1, 411 (7). For more about Ba and its various significances and concepts, see: ŽABKAR 1968: 5ff.

¹⁰ WB 1971: vol.1, 414 (9-14).

¹¹ GRAVES-BROWN 2018: 122 (note 99-100).

The second part of the name is the demonstrative adjective *Pf/ pfy* (that), which sometimes indicates dread, hostility or evil, and disdain¹²:

1- In Coffin Texts (74)¹³

«*pfy* (that) who has acted against you».

2- In P. *TURIN* 1993 [nineteenth dynasty]¹⁴

The Royal Decree of Osiris Khentimentu

«If the removal of *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon) and so on is delayed - then the enemy of the heaven will split asunder...».

3- In P. *LEIDEN* I 348 (nineteenth dynasty)¹⁵

A Spell of the *mh*- Dish for the remaining of the Heart on its place

«... oh gods, who run in front of Ra bark who establish heaven for Ra and the earth for Geb, come to see what the *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female has done...».

Another conjuration of the head

«oh, *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female, male antagonist, female antagonist, do not fall upon the head of (N)... »

A Headache Spell

«Backwards, *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female and so on who cause this pain (suffering) to (N)..., Oh (N) son of (N) Ra opens your body and keeps your flesh alive. His members are alive, but your poisons are blocked. You will not open your mouth; you will not take in fluids of an evil-faced one, *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female and so on who cause evil..., Break out that which you have taken in as all kinds of bad things of *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female and so on. For (N) son of (N) has arisen as Ra; his safeguarding is that eye of his, this safeguards him against evil, against all evil harms, against anything bad and hidden of *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female and so on...»

A Spell of drinking Beer

«Hail to you, lady of *Htpt* when he has set his heart (on it), there is no restraining Seth, when he sets his heart...in order to bear away the heart of *hfty* (enemy), *pfy* (fiend/ demon), *mt* (dead male), dead female and so on».

¹² Hornung indicated that it can be compared with the Latin word: «*iste*» which often has an unfavorable connection. HORNUNG 1963: N°. 212.; LEE & et Al 1968: 972.

¹³ DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, 308f.

¹⁴ PLEYTE 1869-1876: 122, I; BORGHOUTS 1978: N°.9.

¹⁵ BORGHOUTS 1971: N°. (35) vs. 11 (9); N°. (9) rt. 4.3; N°. (13) rt. 6,4; N°. (24) rt. 13, 3-5.

In the previous magical texts, *pfy* or sometimes *pfty* as in the pLeiden I 348, *pfy* is used in conjunction with evil and hostile beings (*hfty*¹⁶, *mt*¹⁷ and other). It was also used as a designation of Seth¹⁸:

4- On the Base of the Magical Statue of Leiden (Ptolemaic Period)¹⁹

«I'm Isis, pregnant with her fledgling, bearing Horus divine, and I gave birth to Horus, the son of Osiris... I hid him and concealed him for fear of that (*pfy*) (evil) one, ...».

Here, it was used as an indication of Seth as the enemy of Horus.

5- In P. Louvre 3129 of Pasherinmin (Ptolemaic Period)²⁰

«He brought the head of *pfy* (that), the wastrel».

Concerning the previous references, it is clear that the translation of the name of *B3pf(y)* is «That ram», and it seems that the scribes preferred to use a non-specific name by adding *pf* than using the real name of that deity. This may be an implication of fear, pain, woe, or taboo of using the real name.

The Name of this Deity was written in various Forms

Dating	Form	source	Bibliography
Old Kingdom		Mastaba of Mersyankh	DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.7.
		Mastaba of Mersyankh	DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.14.
		PT of Neith	SETHE 1908: 1930A
		PT of Teti	SETHE 1908: 334a
		PT of Pepi II	SETHE 1908: 334a
Middle Kingdom		CT (T2c)	DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, 284i.
		CT (S1C/ T1L/ B1L/ B15C)	DE BUCK 1947: vol.3, 258a
		CT (S2C)	DE BUCK 1947: vol.3, 258a
		CT (T1L)	DE BUCK 1956: vol.6, 401p
New Kingdom		Amduat	HORNUNG 1987: 288, N°. 212.



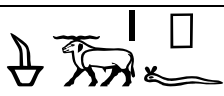

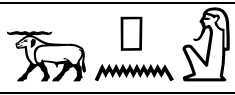



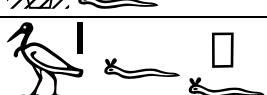
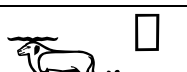


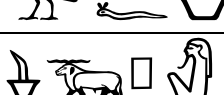
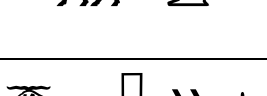


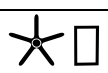

¹⁶Koenig indicates that *pfy* seems to replace the feminine (*hfty*). ZANDEE 1960: 217/296; KOENIG 1981: 33, N°.b.

¹⁷ ZANDEE 1960: 198.

¹⁸ WB 1971: vol.1, 507(7); VITTMANN 1984: 169, N°.v.





¹⁹ KLASSENS 1952: vol.4, M 169.

²⁰ URK 1929: vol.4, 15 (7).

		Amduat	HORNUNG 1987: 288, N ^r . 212.
		Amduat of Ramesses III	HORNUNG 1987: N ^r .355, note (d).
		Amduat of Ramesses VI	HORNUNG 1987: N ^r .355, note (d).
		Book of the Night (9 th hr/ 8 th gate)	ROULIN (II) 1996: 117 (S1)
		Book of the Night (9 th hr/ 8 th gate)	ROULIN (II) 1996: 117 (RV1a).
		Book of the Night (9 th hr/ 8 th gate)	ROULIN (II) 1996: 117 (RV1b).
		Book of the Night (middle zone)	ROULIN (II) 1996: 122 (RV1a)
		Book of the Night (middle zone)	ROULIN (II) 1996: 122 (RV1b).
		Book of the day and Night	PIANKOFF 1952: 26.
		Tomb of Senenmut	DORMAN 1991: PL.80-81.
		Statue of the queen Ti-3 from Giza	HELCK 1995: Doc.20, 44.
		Tomb of Ramsess IX	GUILMANT 1907: 41, 9.
26 th dynasty		Sarcophagi of Analmanni and Aspelta	DOLL 1978: 88 / 99-100.
Greek-Roman period		Pronaos of Dendara	BRUGSCH 1883: 28.
		Pronaos of Dendara	BRUGSCH 1883: 28.
		Pronaos of Dendara	BRUGSCH 1883: 28.
		Dendara Temple	CAUVILLE 2000: 224, 9-10
		Tebtunis Papyrus	OSING 1998: TAF. 17.

[TABLE 1]: ©Done by the researcher

By analyzing various forms of the spelling of the god name:

- A. On the Old Kingdom forms, the spouted pot  which gives phonetic (b321) was frequently used and was superseded later by ,  and , while on the PT 1930a of Neith two pot signs have been shown together. Ward²² indicated that the name of the deity is always spelled with the ba-ewer or the standing ram until the mythological texts of the New Kingdom, which use a ba-bird. This may not be entirely correct, because for spelling the Teti's name on PT 334 a, see [Table 1], the ba-bird is used with the ba-ewer. He also mentioned that using the ram indicates the meaning «supramundane power» which is also applied to using the ba-ewer and the seated god.
- B. These pots and vessels completely disappeared in the forms of the Greek-Roman, when the sacred ram was used. Rarely the Jabiru bird,²³ which is attested only once during the Old Kingdom²⁴ and is not attested in the Middle Kingdom, is used ; this indicates that the translation of *B3pf(y)* «that ram» could be more accurate and probable than «that soul». In the Amduat of Ramesses III, the bee «*bity*» is used for the word «*b3*». This may, however, be a scribal error.
- C. The determinative sign of the god was frequently used since the beginning of the Saitic and Greek-Roman periods.
- D. The demonstrative adjective *pf* was used until the late New Kingdom (tomb of Ramesses IX) when the scribe began to use *pfy*. *Pf* was still in use until the Greek-Roman period.
- E. Although the most common name of the deity is *B3pf(y)*, there are two variants of the demonstrative pronouns:
1. « *B3pn* »: the demonstrative *pn* «this» which indicates something nearby, was used rarely instead of *pf* in the deity name, as in the Book of the Night of Ramesses VI ²⁵.
 2. «*B3pw*»: the demonstrative pronoun *pw*, which can also mean «this» and was used later as an adjective²⁶, was rarely attested. It was used in the deity name in the Book of the Night on the sarcophagi of Analmani and Aspelta from Napata²⁷. Although the letter «*w*» was omitted, Doll²⁸ and Soukiassian²⁹ read the pronoun as *p(w)*.

²¹ FAIRMAN 1943: 191-328, N° 9.

²² WARD 1978: N°s. 232/ 235.

²³ GARDINER 1957: 470.

²⁴ SETHE 1908: 334 a (Teti pyramid). Ward mentioned that ram or the ewer only used for ba till the mythological texts of the Empire. WARD 1978: N°. 232, but with regards to (PT 334a of Teti), the scribe used the bird for the first time.

²⁵ GARDINER 1957: 85.

²⁶ GARDINER 1957: 85.

²⁷ DOLL 1978: 88; SOUKIASSIAN 1982: 333-3348 (8th hr).

²⁸ DOLL 1978: 99-100.

²⁹ SOUKIASSIAN 1982: 339.

The two different pronouns for the name variants of *B3pf(y)* were rare cases attested only in the times of the New Kingdom and Saitic period in Napata. But in any case, we cannot deny that they indicate the same deity.

III. ICONOGRAPHY

Although the name of the deity Bapef (y) was mentioned in texts since the 4th dynasty, there are no figural representations of the deity until the beginning of the New Kingdom when the deity was attested in the Books of the Afterlife (Amduat, Book of the Night and Day and The Book of the Night). The lack of imagery may be because of fear of representing this being; on the other hand, the lack of imagery may refer to the nature of Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, which rarely employ illustrated vignettes and representations³⁰.

The deity Bapef(y) was depicted in three main forms:

1-As a standing wrapped mummy with a long beard:



[FIGURE 1]: PIANKOFF 1952: 26, PL.I. (register IV).



[FIGURE 2]: ROULIN 1996: PL.XIII.



[FIGURE 3]: Roulin 1996: PL.XIV.

2-As a standing mummy figure, with two bulls' horns on his head and short or long beard.

³⁰ The vignettes accompanied religious texts attested for the first time in CT 466. DE BUCK 1954: vol.5, 359. A small bark is shown, and was the only case dated to the period before the New Kingdom. MUNRO 2017: 49-66.



[FIGURE 4]: GUILMANT 1907: 41.9.



[FIGURE 5]: ROULIN 1996: PL.XIV.



[FIGURE 6]: HORNUNG 1963: 3rd hour (212).

- 3- As an anthropomorphic, *criocephalic* deity. In Dendara temple³¹, he is shown with an atef crown on his head and holding a knife in both hands, while in the 5th hour of the Amduat³², he was shown without any attributes.



[FIGURE 7]:
HORNUNG 1963: N°. 355.



[FIGURE 8]:
CAUVILLE 1997(2): PL. 182-183.

In the earliest different forms of the deity, Bapef(y) was shown as a wrapped-mummy form during the end of the New Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, he was depicted as a living human wearing a short kilt until he was depicted as a *criocephalic* deity, which was used during the Greek-Roman period. Here the deity is shown as a guard and holds two knives. In the wrapped-mummy figure the deity was depicted with the horns of the bull. We cannot suggest that the bull horns were a mistake by the artist, as these features were repeated several times. In the Amduat the two forms (wrapped-mummy with bull horns and living human with a ram head) were shown together on 3rd and 5th hours³³.

³¹ CAUVILLE 1997(2): PL.182-183.

³² HORNUNG 1963: N°. 355.

³³ HORNUNG 1963: N°.212/355.

of sorts in general, he was not always an evil being. However, all the references just quoted actually applied.

2- *B3pf (y) imi šī wr: Bapēf (y) Who is in the Great Lake*

In the two passages of the Pyramid Texts (334a/ 1930a), the House of Bapēf (y) was associated with a dangerous lake «*šī wr*». This evil place - which the deceased has to pass in his journey to the heavens - was mentioned several times in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts. In PT 214⁴² the dead king must take care that he doesn't land in the lake «*NN z3 kw šī dd mdw zp 4*»: O NN beware of the lake- narrate four times⁴³. In CT 68⁴⁴, this Great Lake was mentioned as a place where the enemies of the dead king reach «*hr.sn n.k m šī wr*»: they will fall for you into the Great Lake. In CT 287⁴⁵, the deceased hopes to be spared from it «*šī wr n m33 (.i) sw*»: the Great Lake, I don't see it. In CT 839⁴⁶, the deceased was warned of the great lake: beware of the Great Lake.

The passage in PT 1931 lends details to the Great Lake which occurs as one in a series of dangerous places, which the dead king has to avoid⁴⁷. One of them is *hns*⁴⁸ water which belongs to the dead. Assmann mentioned that⁴⁹: «the dead has departed this place and the continuation of his way to the eternity thus entails, first and foremost to be far away from death. This lake that the deceased must cross harbors the peril of sinking along the journey, and it is important to avoid this danger». The embalming ritual called «Crossing the lake⁵⁰» mentioned: “this body of water», above all the dead had to survive the purification step which was represented as a lake in which the body was gutted and therefore cleansed of all deleterious substances.” Bapēf (y) was shown as one of the beings of the 9th hour of the Book of the Night, which takes place in a watery area⁵¹. All these references may indicate that Bapēf (y) rests on this terrible lake.

3- *B3pf (y) imi dšr.f*⁵²: (Bapēf (y) who is in his blood)

In CT 226 mentioned:

- CT 226⁵³



Rdi.n n.k B3pf (y) imi dšr.f imi dšrt.f

For that ram who is in his blood has given to you what is in his redness.

⁴² SETHE 1908: 136a.

⁴³ The same meaning shown in CT 839, DE BUCK 1961: vol.7, 41.

⁴⁴ DE BUCK 1935: vol.1, 291f.

⁴⁵ DE BUCK 1951: vol.4, 39.

⁴⁶ DE BUCK 1961: vol.4, 41g.

⁴⁷ ZANDEE 1960: 171-172.

⁴⁸ WB 1971: vol.3, 300 [8-9].

⁴⁹ ASSMANN 2005: 143-144.

⁵⁰ ASSMANN 2005: 32-33.

⁵¹ ROULIN 1996: PL. XIV.

⁵² For more about the significances of the word *dšr* see: LEFEBVRE 1949: 72-76.

⁵³ DE BUCK 1947: vol.3, 258a (T1L).

The one who fights instead of her lord the star of the underworld comes, who defends Osiris (who completely waked up) the one whose flame is painful Bape (fy), which is above his united ba, the lord of fear, Iwnmwtef.

5- Bapef(y) of the deceased

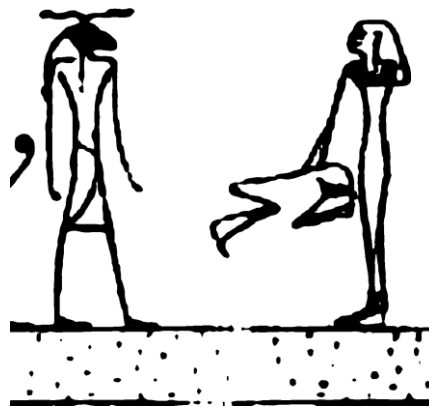
On the 5th hour of Amduat, Bapef (y) was shown standing as a ram-headed anthropomorphic deity with the epithet:



B3pf(y) iri mtw

Bapef (y) belongs to the deceased

In this scene [FIGURE 9], there is a lady facing Bapef (y) who grabs an enemy figure with outstretched hands. Her title is: “subversive who is cutting up the dead”⁶³. Although most of the references to this deity indicated that he was an enemy, this scene may be an indication of a beneficial role for Bapef (y) if we suppose that he defended the deceased through his epithet (belongs to the deceased). This role was enhanced by his role as a guide of the middle zone of the 9th hour of the Book of the Night in front of the bark (R V1b). Here he was the head of «*sšmw*» of the bark of the sun god, which is beneficial because he defends the sun god against his enemies⁶⁴. Faulkner translated CT 226⁶⁵: “drink your portion, consisting of the pure water which is issued on this plateau of citizens, for Bapef (y) (that ram) who is in his blood has given to you what is in his redness”, here, Bapef (y) is associated with funerary offerings, which suggests his helpful role.



[FIGURE 9] HORNUNG 1963: (N^{os}. 355-356).

⁶³ HORNUNG 1963: N^{os}. 355-356.

⁶⁴ ROULIN 1996: PL. XIV.

⁶⁵ FAULKNER 1973: 179.

V. Priesthood of Bapef (y)

In the earliest titulary evidence for the queenship, women of the royal families have an unusual status in the priesthood of the Old Kingdom. Although female members of important families during the Old and Middle Kingdoms often bear the title *hm (t) ntr* «prophetess», it was generally the goddesses Neith and Hathor whom they served in this position. Although they were usually associated with goddesses rather than gods⁶⁶, they were occasionally associated with the gods or kings, as a companion or friend to the god Horus. They could also be priestesses of the gods Seth, Bapef (y), *Djehwty* and *Tjasepef*, any of which could be forms of the King's appearance⁶⁷.

The name Bapef (y) was associated with priestesses since the Old Kingdom, specifically during the fourth dynasty when the title *hm (t) ntr B3pfy* was attested for the first time in the titularies of the queens *Merysankh* III and *Hetepheres* II. From this time onwards, there are references to this epithet on the monuments of Old Kingdom queens.. It was still in use during the New Kingdom [TABLE 2]⁶⁸.

Title's holders	Dating	Relatives	Other titles
Hetepheres II ⁶⁹	(4 th dyn.)	Daughter of the king Khufu	- <i>hmt nsw</i> - <i>s3t nsw</i> - <i>hm(t) ntr Djhwtj</i>
Khamerenebty I ⁷⁰	(4 th dyn.)	Daughter of the king Khufu	- <i>hmt nsw</i> - <i>s3t nsw</i> - <i>hm(t) ntr Djhwtj</i>
Merysankh III ⁷¹	(4 th dyn.)	Granddaughter of the Khufu	- <i>hmt nsw</i> - <i>wrt hst Djhwtj</i>
Khamerenebty II ⁷²	(4 th dyn.)	Daughter of the king Khafre	- <i>hmt nsw</i> - <i>s3t nsw</i> - <i>hm(t) ntr Djhwtj</i>
Khantkaus ⁷³	4 th dyn.	Queen	- <i>s3t ntr</i> - <i>mrt nsw</i> - <i>hm(t) ntr Djhwtj</i>
Ti ^c aa ⁷⁴	18 th dyn.	Wife of the king Thutmosis IV	- <i>mwt nsw</i> - <i>hmt nsw wrt</i> - <i>wrt hswt</i>

[TABLE 2]: © done by the researcher

⁶⁶ BLACKMAN 1982: 1101- 1105.

⁶⁷ TROY 1986: 94-94; BAUD 1999: 341.

⁶⁸ Lisa Kuchman classified *hm (t) ntr B3pfy* as one of the titles of religious functions which appear in the middle of the fourth dynasty. KUCHMANN 1977: 9ff.

⁶⁹ DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.14.

⁷⁰ URK 1903: vol.1, 155f.; BAUD 1995: 11-22.

⁷¹ DUNHAM & SIMPSON 1974: FIG.7.

⁷² VIVENNE 1997: 1-22, TAF.1.

⁷³ VERNER 2001: 83, PL. 17.

⁷⁴ Gitton mistakenly read the deity name as «Ba-pet». GITTON 1984: 89; ZIVIE-COCHE 1985: 389-401; HELCK 1995: 44.

With regards to the previous table, we can notice:

1. The title *hm(t) ntr B3pfy* was commonly used during the fourth dynasty, especially with the royal family during the period of *Khufu*, *Khafre*, and *Menkaure*. Although Jones⁷⁵ indicated that *Hegenuhedjet* (wife of *Sekhemkare* brother of *Menkaure*) held this title, there is no evidence of this because the title in question is scratched and not clear⁷⁶ so it is not certain whether the name of *Bapef* (y) is present or not. Troy⁷⁷ gave the possibility that there another unconfirmed case for this title bearer was *Sesheshet* (wife of *Teti*). Professor Troy has indicated that she may have been a priestess of *Tjasepef* or *Bapef* (y). This hypothesis may lead us to discuss another issue related with the names *Tjasepef* and *Ba (se) pef*. These two different forms are:

A. *Tjasepef*⁷⁸

It was a bull deity, probably represented as early as the first dynasty and named by queens during the Old kingdom in a religious title. The name was translated as the most masculine of its kind», but an interpretation as “the masculine of its threshing floor” should also be considered (*Threschen, Minfest*). *Tjasepef* is pictorially represented as a bull on a standard, while in front of him is a sign that looks either like a stele or like two sloping posts⁷⁹. From Saqqara, there is a seal impression of the first dynasty linked with this deity who Kees⁸⁰ linked to a group of characters «T+ lying ram+zp» and saw in it “[a] variant that is remarkable in terms of religious history”. However, this is likely to be a title that meant something like “man of Basepef” and is to be brought together with the ram sternum already documented in the 3rd dynasty. Later, a religious title of kings points to grain administration- the interpretation of *Zp* as «threshing floor» would be supported here- but also in the case of *Tjasepef*⁸¹.

B. *Ba(se)pef*

Ram of his «*Ienne*», was a very old harvest deity, similar to *Tjasepef* who takes the form of a bull. This deity was mentioned for the first time in vessel inscriptions from the Step Pyramid of Djoser at Saqqara⁸². The name of the deity is drawn with a ram, but not with bull⁸³, on a seal imprint of a supervisor of granary from Abydos. It is striking that except in the earliest documents, it is always written without the character «Z», which is why it is often referred to as *Bapef* (y)⁸⁴.

⁷⁵ JONES 2000: 512 (N^o. 1916).

⁷⁶ HASSAN 1943: 117, FIG.62.

⁷⁷ TROY 1986: N^o. 6.4.

⁷⁸ OTTO 1964: 9.

⁷⁹For *Tjaisepef* and his relation with fertility. HELCK 1954: 49-50; HELCK 1986: 607.

⁸⁰ KEES 1959: 566.

⁸¹ HELCK 1986: 607.

⁸² LACAU & LAUER 1965: 36, N^o. 46.

⁸³ KAPLONY 1963: N^o. 366.

⁸⁴ HELCK 1992: 1.

1. In fact, it is not possible to be sure if the two previous forms (*Basepef/ Tjaisepef*) are different forms of Bapef (y) or not. Helck⁸⁵ supposed that the naming of *Khamerernebti* I and II as bearers of the *hm (t) ntr B3 pfi* title by Christiane Zivie⁸⁶ is a confusion with *Tjaisepef*. However, the two are probably different forms of the name of Bapef (y) especially considering the previously mentioned iconographies of Bapef (y) which show him as human-headed with two bull horns. According to the confirmed references of Bapef (y) which dated back to the fourth dynasty, Ba(se)pef is attested only in the first dynasty with ram horns, not bull's⁸⁷, while *Tjaisepef*, also attested since the first dynasty, was still shown in bull form during the Middle Kingdom⁸⁸. All these references and indications may cause more confusion and lead us to suppose that the three different forms may be for one deity, Bapef (y).
2. There are not any references for the title *hm (t) ntr B3pfy* from the beginning of the sixth Dynasty until the beginning of the New Kingdom. This may be because of the general state when the royal women started to hold administrative titles. Baud mentioned⁸⁹: "under the disappearances, one counts the divine priesthoods of *Djehuty*, Bapef (y) and *Tjaisepef*, in the years doubtless at the end of the five dynasty (*Merysankh* IV) or at the very beginning of the sixth (*Sesheshet*). This is an interesting development, which shows that the queen no longer served as a priestess, at least under the guise of a certain administrative formalism."
3. By examining the cases of *Merysankh* III and her mother *Hetepheres* II, who appears in the formers' tomb where the sarcophagus of *Hetepheres* II has been found, Troy⁹⁰ saw that there is a high degree of identity between the titles of the two queens, especially in their roles as priestesses in the cult of *Djehuty* and Bapef (y). This may suggest that there was a transmission of status between mother and daughter, suggesting that *Merysankh* functioned as a priestess in the ceremonies for her mother. This phenomenon had occurred before, in the case of *Khamerernebti* I and her daughter *Khamerernebti* II who hold exactly the same titles as priestesses. These women have four titles of royal position in common, which are otherwise infrequently known in the 4th dynasty⁹¹. Begelsbacher-fischer⁹² classified the priestess of Bapef (y) in group (B), which includes the deities who played a minor role in the funerary inscriptions.
4. The title *hm (t) ntr* was misinterpreted as indicating the princesses who were heiresses, and who the king had to marry in order to legitimize the rule. Gitton⁹³ indicated that this misconception led to an assumption that the title had been applied to queens who are never recorded with it. These contortions practiced by scholars⁹⁴ to fit their theory

⁸⁵ HELCK 1992: 1.

⁸⁶ ZIVIE-COCHE 1985: 389-401.

⁸⁷ LEITEZ 2002: vol.2, 696.

⁸⁸ LEITEZ 2002: vol.7, 459.

⁸⁹ BAUD 1999: 343.

⁹⁰ TROY 1986: 110.

⁹¹ KUCHMANN 1977: 9.

⁹² BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER 1981: 249.

⁹³ GITTON 1987: 272-276.

⁹⁴ HANSEN 1940.

to facts have not shown great ingenuity. Gitton's study⁹⁵ about the queens of the eighteenth dynasty leads to the important conclusion that the title was a priestly one connected with the cult of Amun and that it had no dynastic significance.

5. Except for *Merysankh* III, fourth dynasty's queens held a title associated with *Djehuty*, "*hm(t) ntr Dhwtj*". They additionally held another title related to *Djehuty*, "*wrt hst Dhwtj*" the great of praising of *Djehuty*. *Djehuty* like Bapef (y) has an unfavorable side as he can cause painful wounds and who be labours his victims with his knife and thus he related with Seth (PT 1999c). *Djehuty* is also associated with blood (PT 163)⁹⁶. Baud⁹⁷ indicated that it is probable the priesthood of *Djehuty*, Bapef (y) and *Tjaisepef* concern gods who played a particular role for royalty⁹⁸.
6. All examples of the title holders came from Memphis, even in the New Kingdom, such as queen *Tiaa*, wife of king *Thutmosis* IV. The title may refer to a special cult for Bapef (y) in Memphis during the Old Kingdom; the title was revived during the reign of *Thutmosis* IV who gave importance to this area.
7. There isn't any evidence that men held this title and that may indicate that the title was limited to the royal women only.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Bapef (y) was a minor but puzzling deity. This deity is attested only on a few occasions, though references can be found from the Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, and the Greek-Roman period. His name was shown in various forms throughout these periods which associated him with both the Ba (soul) and Ba (Ram). There are several images of the deity in semi-human form with various heads (human, ram, and bull). Despite a number of references to this deity, his nature is not clear. This may be because of the paucity of evidence and references or it may be due to some uncertainty about what was intended by the name Bapef (y); the name probably means «that Ram», though it could also refer to a specific soul, or to a type of demons or underworld beings who played double roles (beneficial and harmful). Ancient Egyptian texts and scenes associated Bapef (y) with some evidence like the House of Bapef (y), Bapefy (y) who is in his blood, Bapef (y) who is in the Great Lake and Bapef (y) as a guide of the Eighth Portal of the Book of the Night. Although most texts indicate that Bapef (y) has an unfavorable nature, there are a few cases that imply a beneficial role with respect to the deceased and to the Sun-god in his bark. Bapef (y) was associated with a priesthood through the title *hm(t) ntr B3pfy* which was common during the Old Kingdom, though it attested only one more time during the eighteenth dynasty. This title was held only by royal women throughout the various periods.

⁹⁵ GITTON 1984.

⁹⁶ ZANDEE 1960: 216-217.

⁹⁷ BAUD 1999: 342.

⁹⁸ BEGELSBACHER-FISCHER 1981: 254-255.

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