

Simile and Metaphor in the Religious Propaganda for the king:

A Case Study of Edfou VIII

Ahmed Khalafallah Safina

Archaeology Department, Faculty of Arts, New Valley University

Aksoo@art.nvu.edu.eg

Article information

Pages: 1-12

Vol: 2 (2024)

Received: 7/2023 Accepted: 10/2023

DOI: 10.21608/ARCHIN.2023.258242.1015

Abstract:

The focus of this paper is on the specific similes and metaphors which were most prominently present, with abundant systematically use, in the king's speech and in the return gifts given by the gods to him at Edfu temple. One of the aims here is not only to glorify him but most of all have to persuade people with his abilities in maintaining the integrity and internal cohesion of the society as well as to demonstrate the king's legitimacy and prestige. This aim was the trigger for the intensive production of religious propaganda. This study tries to examine the persuasion tactics used to deliver propagandistic messages directed to the public and a subtle display of social behaviors and political allegiances from a completely modern political angle. Using the marvelous of considered puns, play on words and power of metaphorical expressions were the religious media or archaic means of mass indoctrination. They also were used to create a pharaonic ideology or the absolutist theory of government by showing the king as supernatural power, for millennia, carrying out different exploits, some real, some fictitious to reaffirm that it was unthinkable to see Egypt or even the world without him.

المخلص:

تتناول هذه الدراسة التشبيه والاستعارة كظاهرة لغوية انتشرت بشكل كبير في نصوص حديث الملك ونصوص العطايا الإلهية أثناء ممارسة الطقوس والشعائر بمعبد إدفو، تظهر الدراسة أن التشبيهات البلاغية والتعبيرات المجازية لم تكن فقط لتمجيد شخص الملك الحاكم من منظور ديني بحت وإنما كانت بمثابة دعاية سياسية له في محاولة لإقناع الشعب بقدراته الخارقة في تحقيق السلام والأمن المجتمعي بهدف تحريم أي محاولات للخروج عليه أو منازعته، كما تسلط الدراسة الضوء على الطرق المختلفة التي اعتمد عليها كهان المعبد في تشكيل وعي الجمهور من خلال بث مجموعة من الرسائل الدينية تحمل في طياتها أبعاداً سياسية وتحليل تلك الرسائل من وجهة نظر سياسية حديثة، فإسهاب الكتابة في استخدام التشبيهات والتعبيرات البلاغية الفخمة كانت بمثابة وسيلة للترويج السياسي والتلقين المجتمعي، كما ساهمت أيضاً في خلق عقيدة خاصة تحيط الملك بهالة

من القدسية والتفخيم كملك يمتلك القدرة القوية والسلطان المطلق على نحو لا يمكن للشعب تصور رؤية مصر أو حتى أقطار العالم القديم بدون حكمته وعبقريته الفذة.

Keywords:

Simile, metaphor, religious propaganda, Edfu temple

الكلمات المفتاحية:

التشبيه، الاستعارة، الدعاية الدينية، معبد إدفو

1. Introduction :

One of the aims of simile and metaphor in the religious literary text lies in achieving a maximum effectiveness of the scribe's style as it includes figurative and imaginative concepts that enhance the effect of the language beauty and to make it more creative, interesting, novel, striking and rich by providing new insights with dramatic effect than those we are likely to come across in nonfigurative language. The term Simile is derived from the Latin word 'Simile' which means likenesses or resemblance.¹ It is fundamentally a claim of explicit likeness between two unrelated things to make them similar in one or more aspects by the use of the words 'like' or 'as'.² In the Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts, a particularly striking example of this is marked by using the likeness particle *mi* and its negative form *n mitt*. For example *ity nb knt nht mi s3 3st* "the sovereign, lord of strength and might is like son of Isis".³ *n <wn mitt.s>* "nothing is <resembling it>".⁴ Simile is the simplest method of overt comparison which conveys the beauty of message between the entities compared. A metaphor derived from the Greek verb 'Metaphoria' which means 'to carry'. It is a condensed simile of two different elements or things which share some common characteristics but without using the terms 'like' or 'as'.⁵ It is a figure of speech which imaginatively identifies a person, idea or object with another.⁶ For instance in the sentence *snn n Tkr* "he is the image of Thoth".⁷ In word plays: *ikr ikrw n ikr* "excellent of excellent things of the Excellent One".⁸ Here many attributes a god has, like influence, power, importance and so on are attributed to the king as a mean of identifying him with Thoth. A metaphor is implicit simile whose sense is not stated directly, so it needs much investigated by leaving its interpretation to the reader. Similes and metaphors are the mark of a true creative genius when the scribes saw likenesses between things and coined new meanings to help the readers to conceptualize concepts through literary creativity.⁹

¹ Roberts(, R. M.), & Kreuz,(R. J.), *Why do people use figurative language? Psychological Science*, 5, 1994, 159–163.

² Gibbs (RW), *the Poetics of Mind*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 40; Gentner,(D.), & Markman,(A. B.), *Structure mapping in analogy and similarity*. American Psychologist, 1997, 52, 45–56.

³ Edfou, VIII 58, 11; Kurth, D., Edfou VIII, 108.

⁴ Edfou, VIII 2, 4; Kurth, D., Edfou VIII, 2.

⁵ Richards, (IA), *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, New York, OUP, 1965, 89.

⁶ Webster,(N.), *Webster's new world dictionary of the American language*, Cleveland & New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964; Gentner,(D.), & Clement, (C.), *Evidence for relational selectivity in the interpretation of analogy and metaphor*. The Psychology of Learning and Motivation, 22 (1988), 307–358.

⁷ Edfou, I 67, 6; I 377, 17.

⁸ Edfou, IV 57, 2.

⁹ For best examples of metaphoric conceptualization occurred in the Middle Kingdom literature see, Parkinson,(R.), *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940– 1640 BC*. New York, 1997, 40. Lichtheim, (M.), *Maat in Egyptian autobiographies and related studies*, OBO 120, Fribourg, 1992, 30.

Probably, there is no engraved surface within the temple without the use of simile or metaphor in some form. It is an interesting question why this should be the case? The answer favored by most scholars would most probably be that it based mainly on the interaction and harmony between human beings and their environments such as the annual flood, mountains, sunrise, weather, fog and so on which all invite metaphoric conceptualization. Here, I am trying to establish that simile and metaphor were used to create a pharaonic ideology or the absolutist theory of government by showing the king as supernatural power, for millennia, carrying out different exploits, some real, some fictitious to reaffirm that it was unthinkable to see Egypt or even the world without him. Despite a clear weakness of those who reigned in and around this Period, religious propaganda¹ spoke very eloquently about the king as a charismatic leader and the chivalrous hero who was seeking Egypt's glory. So denying this kind of propaganda with the pretext that metaphoric conceptualizations had a religious purpose reaffirming the legitimacy of the rule of the king who was the upholder of *Maat* against the agents of chaos is an unreasonable pretext. We cannot exclude that using the religion to deliver persuasive messages for the propagandist are intimately related as old as recorded history.² It is interesting first to note that propaganda is based on three interweaving interweaving elements: first, making the reigning king win in what has been called the battle of people's minds; second, creating and spreading perspectives and religious messages by drawing imaginative concepts to influence directly on the audience's reactions and actions; third, each propaganda message is never entirely based on a clear lie or manipulation but it includes fragments of facts, beliefs, values, mythical dimension and the credibility of priests who make these statements to make collective consciousness of the Ancient Egyptians.

The focus of this paper is to go beyond the formalist view of reading the religious text to present a linguistic analysis of properties of metaphorical expressions and their propaganda function applying on the Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts published in *Edfou VIII* which is now translated by Dieter Kurth.³ The reasons for such choice to serve as a case study are: A) The texts of this volume show a deep awareness and ample evidence of the cognitive functions of simile and metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon used to serve the institution of divine kingship. No doubt it wasn't a new phenomenon but it rather refined and improved through abundant systematically use after centuries process of experimentation and chain of thought. B) Most of the engraved texts in this volume dated to Ptolemy XII, *Neos Dionysus Aulete*, who was not accepted by the Roman Senate and Alexandrians whose popular pressure forced him into exile in Rome. Also he was guilty and indulged in many reprehensible actions specially when he executed his daughter in Alexandria and made Egypt became virtually a client kingdom to Rome by falling it in crisis and bribes to Roman moneylenders.⁴ For the modern observer, he seemed contrary to the traditional Egyptian values, the religious propaganda via the power of simile, metaphor and other political ploys made all of these historical fallacies as if they didn't even exist and thus transferred the illusion of

¹ For previous studies see, Williams,(R. J.), *Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt*, in W. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom, Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek*, Toronto, 1964.; Posener,(G.), *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIIe dynastie*, Paris, 1956, 14, 17, 21, 84.; Crowley, L., *Ancient Advertising, Political Propaganda in Ancient Art of the Mediterranean Basin*, Paper presented at the Art of the Mediterranean Basin meeting, 2008.

² For persuasion as one of propaganda function in ancient Greeks see Cull,(N.), Culbert D. and Welch, D., *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion*, Santa Barbara, 2003, Introduction: Propaganda in Historical Perspective, XV-XXI.

³ Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, Unter Mitarbeit von Almuth Behrmann, Dagmar Budde, Andreas Effland, Heinz Felber, Eva Pardey, Stefan Rüter, Wolfgang Waitkus und Susanne Woodhouse, Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1998.

⁴ Siani-Davies, (M.), "Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans," *Historia* 46 (1997) 306-340.; Royer, J., "Le problème des dettes à la in de la république romaine," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 45 (1967) 191-240.; W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332-30 v.Chr.*, München, 2001, 683.

kingship into aggrandizement and royal deification to maintain the status quo intact. The expected results of the current study are to detect and analysis propaganda techniques as a public opinion creation agent which were used by the priests of Edfu temple.

2. A brief survey of Similes and metaphoric conceptualizations:

For the aim outlined above, the focus here will be on specific similes and metaphors which were most prominently present, with abundant systematically use, in the king's speech and in the return gifts given by the gods to him. Exaggeration in the comparison between the king and the gods specifically by highlighting their own aspects is a piece of propaganda. According to Egyptian thought, he was the living image of the gods who sat on the royal throne during the primordial period. So the boundaries between the Ptolemaic king and these gods are now so blurred. One of the aims here is not only to glorify him but most of all have to persuade people with his abilities in maintaining the integrity and internal cohesion of the society as well as to demonstrate the king's legitimacy and prestige. This aim was the trigger for the intensive production of religious propaganda. It is much in line with what modern political propaganda machine has to make. In fact, it is more of a case of a disinformation of the people who therefore have to support and continue supporting him forever. The following lines provide a brief survey of this linguistic phenomenon:

The god	Similes and metaphoric conceptualizations
Horus	- <i>ity nb kn̄t n̄ht mi s3-3st s3 R^c nb h^cw (Ptol. XII).</i> <i>The sovereign, lord of strength and might is like son of Isis, Son of Re, lord of diadems, (Ptol. XII).¹</i>
	- <i>Hr-nb ʕ3 ib ity nb kn̄(t) n̄ht mi s3-3st nswt-bit nb t3wy (Ptol. XII).</i> <i>Horus of Gold, great of heart, the sovereign, lord of strength and might is like son of Isis, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ptol. XII).²</i>
	- <i>sw mi B̄h̄dy pri-^c hr m^cb3 wr b3w r n̄trw dmd.</i> <i>He is like the Behdetitet, the valiant, who grasps the harpoon, great of might than all of the gods.³</i>
	- <i>sw mi Hr sndm.f hr b̄hdw.f iswi n Stš p(3) n̄ti m d̄rti.f.</i> <i>He is like Horus who rests in his Behdet and the testicles of Seth in his hands.⁴</i>
	- <i>sw mi Hr sm3 sbi n it.f t̄bi sdmt im.sn r h̄bt.</i> <i>He is like Horus, who kills his father's enemy (Seth), who grasps the knife into them (the enemies) at the Place of execution.⁵</i>
	- <i>ʕnh̄ n̄tr n̄fr iw^cw n R^c nb kn̄(t) n̄ht mi s3-3st stp n n̄tr h̄nt h̄hw h̄fnw r <nb>n Kmt</i> <i>May the good god live, the heir of Re, lord of strength and might is like son of Isis, he has chosen by the god for millions and hundreds of thousands to be <the Lord> of Egypt.⁶</i>
	- <i>ʕnh̄ n̄tr n̄fr snn n Hr šsp-ʕnh̄ nt(i) N̄d it.f nswt-bit nb t3wy (Ptol. XII).</i> <i>May the good god live, the image of Horus, the living image of the protector of his father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands, (Ptol. XII).⁷</i>
Re	- <i>Nswt bit (Ptol. XII) s3 R^c (Ptol. XII) snn n R^c iw^cw n ʔwn-h^c h̄nk mwt.f m mri(t).s.</i> <i>The king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ptol. XII), Son of Re (Ptol. XII), the mage of Re, heir of the moon god, who gifts his mother with what she loves.⁸</i>
	- <i>Nb h^cw (Ptol. XII), iw^cw n R^c w̄t n nb <šhtp mwt>.f m <3bi(.t)>.</i>

¹ Edfou, VIII 58, 11-12; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 108.

² Edfou, VIII 111, 17; ; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 200-201.

³ Edfou, VIII 35, 14; ; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 68.

⁴ Edfou, VIII 101, 11; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 180.

⁵ Edfou, VIII 119, 13; ; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 214.

⁶ Edfou, VIII 118, 1; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 211.

⁷ Edfou, VIII 127, 16-17; ; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 231.

⁸ Edfou, VIII 4, 3-4; ; Kurth,(D.), Edfou VIII, 6.

	<p><i>Lord of diadems, (Ptol. XII), heir of Re, born of the Golden One (Hathor), <who satisfies his mother> with <? What she desires>. ¹</i></p> <p>- <i>rdi.n.i n.k w3dti tsi.ti m h3t.k hci.k m t3 pn <mj> itn.</i> <i>I give to you the two eyes are tied on your forehead, so that you may shine in this land like the sun disk. ²</i></p> <p>- <i>s3 R^c (Ptol. XII), hnti n R^c hni (m) sktt n hwn si^r ntr m w3.f.</i> <i>Son of Re, (Ptol. XII), Image of Re, who rows the morning boat for the child, who lifts the god up in his boat. ³</i></p> <p>- <i>Tw.ti m htp nswt n T3-mri šsp-^cnh n biti R^c.</i> <i>Come in peace, King of Egypt, the living Image of King, Re. ⁴</i></p> <p>- <i>^cnh ntr nfr hnti n R^c <rr>n nb nbt-Twnt hwsj bhnti n k3.f.</i> <i>May the good god live, the image of Re, <nourished> of the Golden One (Hathor), mistress of Dendera, who built the two pylon towers for his ka. ⁵</i></p>
Osiris	<p>- <i>Nswt bit s3 R^c snn nt(i) Wsir hci mwt <.f> m mri(t).s.</i> <i>The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, the image of Osiris, who pleases <his> mother with what she loves. ⁶</i></p>
Ptah	<p>- <i>^cnh ntr nfr hnm.n Hnmw rwd ^cwi mi nb-hi.</i> <i>May the good god live, who is created by Khnum with strong arms like Neb-hi (Ptah). ⁷</i></p>

3. Effective dominant propaganda techniques :

The following pages try to examine the persuasion tactics used to deliver propagandistic messages directed to the public and a subtle display of social behaviors and political allegiances from a completely modern political angle. The returned divine gifts lavished upon the kings were evidently impressive enough to perpetuate the notion of the king as a victorious, decisive, uncompromising and all-powerful individual vanquishing his enemies with ease by the god's support in various battles and hardships. Even alone surrounding by enemies, he never lost a battle as he could invoke the god's presence and gained his attackers by political and military skill. By the same token the visual image of Ptolemy XII, particularly large, on the two bas-reliefs of the pylon was a form of propaganda. It had the ability to reach to a wide range of social classes once approaching to them. It depicted the king as a brave hero smiting a group of foreigners, who are shown subdued by their topknots like dominated captive, kneeling with the arms raised up and waiting for the blow by the mace in the presence of the gods. It was created with a visual manipulation with the assistance of the artists.⁸ Again he is shown with the same scene, with minor differences, subjugating and sacrificing enemies on the first pylon of Isis Temple at Philae with a gigantic figure to create a symbolic image of his victories.⁹ Despite this impressive picture would presumably be too wild claim to our mind but it more believable and appear convincing to the Ancient Egyptian mindset. Also, believing in the marvelous of considered puns, play on words and power of metaphorical

¹ *Edfou, VIII* 104, 6-7; ; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 185.

² *Edfou, VIII* 142, 5; ; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 258.

³ *Edfou, VIII* 21, 13-14; ; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 45.

⁴ *Edfou, VIII* 132, 5; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 239.

⁵ *Edfou, VIII* 95, 9; ; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 169.

⁶ *Edfou, VIII* 46, 10-11; ; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 87.

⁷ *Edfou, VIII* 134, 8-9; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 242.

⁸ *PM VI*, 121, 122; Watterson, (B.), *The house of Horus at Edfu. Ritual in an ancient Egyptian temple*. Tempus, Gloucestershire, 1998, 55, 56; Kurth,(D.), *The temple of Edfu. A guide by an Ancient Egyptian Priest*, Cairo/ New York, 2004, 66; Partridge, (R. B.), *Fighting pharaohs, Weapons and Warfare in Ancient Egypt*. Peartree Pub., Manchester, 2002, 294, 295.

⁹ Peters-Desterac (t, M., Philae). *Le domaine d'Isis. Du Rocher*, Monaco, 1997, 86.

expressions were most beneficial and enabled him to gain the trust of the people and made him as a political genius who enlarged the physical boundaries of the Egyptian Empire but through mock fights. The symbolic act of propaganda established a real relation with ideas that the king's character became a synonymous with might of gods and he thus brought political stability and prosperity to Egypt. The following examples show that as;

- *rdi.i n.k phty mi s3-3st snht.i .k r bṯnww.k.*

*I give to you the strength like the son of Isis and I strength your arm against your enemies.*¹

- *rdi.i n.k wsr r ḥw(t) bṯnww.k mi ir(t). <n.j> n s3-3st.*

*I give to you the strength to smite your enemies, as <I> did for son of Isis.*²

- *dd mdw rdi.i n.k phty m kn(t) nht iri dw r.k m nmt n(t) ḥm.k.*

*Words spoken, I give to you the strength with power and victory, so that whoever harms you will be condemned into the slaughterhouse of your majesty.*³

The texts were notorious for portraying Egypt's defeated foreign enemies with a formidable power, rough, savage, and frightening to enhance the king's victory as distinctive triumphal as if he had faced mythological creatures. The ancient scribes were particularly adept at using sophisticated propaganda ways to assert the totalitarian power of the king by depicting the military exploits abroad combined with the fear of the populace at home. This reflects how the propagandists had a great ability to understand the psychological fear of their audience. They were more negative in their treatment with the king's opponents by supporting a state of anxiety and a disturbing feeling by defining them as an unacceptable and coward people. Accordingly, they were an opposed image to the ingrained image of the vast majority of Egyptians and therefore were seen as Egypt's enemies and had to be defeated by the king. This conscious and intentional deception manipulation based on spreading panic and fear trying to suppress feuds and demanding strict obedience to mask over political problems and weakness. One of the texts depicted this picture by saying:

- *rdi.i n.k ḥd.k ḥr tp n pdt-9 ḥ^ci.ti m Hr tm3-^c rdi.i n.k iwntiw dmd m sp ḥwi.n.k tp.sn m mdn.k rdi.i n.k phty r sm3 ḥftyw.k snht.i .k r wni mw.k. rdi.i n.k rsi mḥti m i3w imntt i3btt m ksw rdi.i n.k phty r shr ḥftyw ḥk3.n.k tp.sn m kn(t) rdi.i n.k kn(t) mi Hr nht rth.n.k ibw rhyt.*

*I give to you your mace on the head of the nine bows, may you appears as Horus, the mighty arm. I give to you all nomads by bringing them to you and their heads into your knife. I gave to you the strength to kill your enemies, I strength your arm to make them in your water (as you wish). I give to you the south and the north in praise, the west and the east in bowing. I give to you the strength to kill your enemies by victoriously taking of their heads. I give to you the strength like Horus, the Strong one, you have intimidated the hearts of your people.*⁴

Despite ruthlessness is necessary in the political conflicts, but one should treat the opponents honorably to increase his own credibility and prestige. Accordingly, the priests made the king had impressed his supporters and enemies through the love and wise which the gods put in their hearts. This eloquence and clever manipulation reflects how they knew that success in the political

¹ *Edfou, VIII 77, 4-5; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 138.*

² *Edfou, VIII 77, 8- 9; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 139.*

³ *Edfou, VIII 77, 9-10; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 139.*

⁴ *Edfou, VIII 118, 9-12. Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 212.*

maneuvering depends on gaining strong loyalties and it was not necessary to exterminate or blacken the enemies all the time. This tactic was not only a military victory but also a social win by creating a sense of unity. This case depicted in one of the sentences by saying: *rdi.i mrw(t).k <sš>.ti hr hr-nb nn s3i.sn (n) <ptr>.k. I cause your love spreads among all people and no one is sated (get his enough) at seeing you.*¹

The second technique emerging from this hypothesis is to use simile and metaphor within mythological situations according with the audience's ideologically consistent. It is obvious that the king here doesn't belong to the humanity realm but he could at least elevate to the sphere of the divine as a living god-king. This created an idea about the king as a religious leader and it had a benefit of unifying the public under his authority. By this unique universe, it is harder to reveal the real character of the king who became less contested or not easily tarnished. One of the sentences shows a mythological allusion by saying: *sw mi Hr sndm.f hr bhdw.f iswi n Stš p(3) nti m drti.f. He is like Horus who rests in his Behdet and the testicles of Seth in his hands.*² This description calls to mind the long struggle between Horus and Seth when testicles of Seth were cut off by Horus in the battlefield. These testicles were equated with the necklace of *menat* when the king, Horus, presents them to the gods as the procreative power of Seth. One of the texts depicted this sense as: *nn nt(y) pf whi-sp.f <s^cr > <n.i> s(n) hr ^cwy.i. the testicles of that unsuccessful (Seth) <I have> <lifted> with my arms.*³ Another example from the same legend depicted the king as Horus who is fighting for his father and his legitimate inheritance as: *sw mi Hr sm3 sbi n it.f t3i sdmt im.sn r hbt. He is like Horus, who kills his father's enemy (Seth). He is at the Place of execution thrusting the knife into them (the enemies).*⁴ This is one of the deliberate uses of a propaganda ploy to sustain the supernatural significance of the king by a deliberate attempt to fuse the coronation ceremonies of the Ptolemaic king with a mythological allusion that Horus succeeds Osiris. The augmentation of a king's divine status played a crucial role to shape people's perceptions and direct their behavior for the ruler as a legitimate king. Considering that this mythological allusion is of great emotional value for the people. King's divine status is reflected in numerous texts within the opening sentences as:

- *hr nst it.f mi Hr k3 nht ity psd m T3-mry mi Hp-^cnh.*

*He is on the throne of his father like Horus, the strong bull, the ruler who shines in Egypt like the living Apis.*⁵

- *3 ib ity nb knt(t) nht mi s3-3st s3-R^c nb h^cw Ptolemy XII hn^c snt(f) hmt.f h^c3t.*

*Great of heart, the sovereign, lord of strength and might like son of Isis, son of Re, lord of crowns, Ptolemy XII, with his sister and his wife, the princess.*⁶

- *wnn s3-R^c Ptolemy XII hr <tm3>.f m h^c3 wr.*

*The son of Re is on his throne like the great sovereign.*⁷

¹ *Edfou, VIII 33, 16; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 65.*

² *Edfou, VIII 101, 11; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 180*

³ *Edfou, VIII 101, 7; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 179; Barguet, (P.), L'origine et la signification du contrepoids du collier-menat, BIFAO 52, 1953, 103-111; Ali, (A.), The chamber of Menat "L" at Dandera temple, unpublished master degree, Cairo, University, faculty of Archeology, 2002; Ali, (A.), A Reading of the Scenes and Texts of Egyptian Temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman period, Cairo University, (in Arabic) 2021.*

⁴ *Edfou, VIII 119, 13; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 214.*

⁵ *Edfou, VIII 159, 5; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 283.*

⁶ *Edfou, VIII 168, 17; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 298.*

⁷ *Edfou, VIII 63, 14; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 14.*

- [wⁿn s³-R^c] Ptolemy XII hr p.f m wr hsw(t) hr tpyw-t³.

[The son of Re], Ptolemy XII, is on his throne like the one who is very much in favor with the inhabitants of the earth. ¹

- Wnn nswt bit Ptolemy XII hr siw^c f m ity n kbhwy.

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy XII, is on his throne as ruler of Egypt. ²

The third technique in this hypothesis depends mainly upon the inspiration of the powerful southern strongholds like Hierakonpolis, the center of supremacy of the Abydene kings. Here, the central feature of this technique is to make the succession ceremony and the coronation of the king have some power in itself by providing religious equations or rather unbridled chains. In a way the king's political support is received from this city and its god as in the battles of control Egypt. One wonders whether the king had to make a processional march to this city and other towns or it is an imaginative play or a token act. One cannot dismiss that this typical Egyptian equivocation shows the Ptolemaic king as a successor of the primordial kings in a way reminds the people with Narmer's victory over the Lower Egyptian kingdom. This persuasion tactic made his new rule seem appropriate and justified. This can be asserted through two examples come as:

- sw mi hm-h^d pri m Nhn hr mdh tp m wrti.

He is like the servant of the white crown who comes from Hierakonpolis with adorned head with the two urae. ³

- sw mi hm-h^dt pri H^d-nhn hr itt hrt n mwt. f r <mrwt.s>.

"He is like the servant of the white crown who comes from Hierakonpolis and provides <his mother> with her needs according to her <pleasure>. ⁴

The fourth technique of this propaganda campaign is spending lavishly by using Egypt's significant wealth to expand and beautify the temple by integrating the Greek art and architecture with the Egyptian motifs into a cultural landscape. This was a spectacular way served a dual purpose as it was not only to get the god's blessed in return but above all to create a monumental marker of his success and to enhance his reputation by a continuous reminder of his concrete benefits to the temple. One of the texts recorded that he had funded the temple for enlargements and full decoration of the two pylons towers as ^cnh ntr nfr hnti n R^c <rr>n nb nbt-Iwnt h^wsi bhnti n k³.f, may the good god live, the image of Re, <nourished> of the Golden One (Hathor), mistress of Dendera, who built the two pylon towers for his ka. ⁵ There is a little explanation as to why a claim of likeness between him and Re in the previous example. It could have to show him as the one who had the ancient knowledge to build according to the ancient plan like Re. One of the texts depicted the building of the temple by saying; w³h.ti m bw wn.sn mi ntt r sphrw isw, the temple is laid out like that which was in ancient times. ⁶ Also one of the sentences depicted his building activity inside inside the temple by saying; sw mi s³ Hh nfr db^cw ³h drty hr s^ch mnw, he is like the son of Heh, with

¹ Edfou, VIII 170, 6-7; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 300.

² Edfou, VIII 119, 12; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 214.

³ Edfou, VIII 121, 4; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 217.

⁴ Edfou, VIII 140, 6; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 254.

⁵ Edfou, VIII 95, 9; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 169.

⁶ Edfou, VIII 111,4; Kurth, (D.), Edfou VIII, 199.

perfect fingers and shiny hands erecting the monument. ¹ He also built the Temple of Wennina, located at Wennina al Sheikh Hamad near Sohag Governorate. ² Ultimately, this propaganda campaign served the continuation of his rule and authority through his adherence to the values of the past, a goal that required a constant attention with the god's house and he thus assisted to bring people to the traditional religious practice.

Also the significance of performing rituals and holding beneficent titles often reaches beyond their strict religious intentions. These titles are a most effective tool of disseminating a message not only in religious context but also to become a politically useful medium and a symbol of the king's dedication to the welfare of the gods in their temples through oversaw the completion of rites, sacrifices and sacred duties which preserve the traditional religion of Egypt. For example, the texts claimed that the king is like the perfect scout, the chief of the foreign lands, who roams in the land-of-the-gods in pruning incense. ³ Also he is the one who offers a grain offering to his father, who multiplies the sacrifices to the gods" in offering of the field. ⁴ All of this attributes created own persona of the king who became the symbol of modesty, temperance, and faithfulness by sponsoring temples in the public eye. This political language enabled Ptolemy XII to gain significant privileges and virtues in order to further legitimize authority. Also we read over and over shared essential attributes between the royal acts and solar events especially in offerings of the mirror, ⁵ mesektet, ⁶ feather crown, ⁷ by highlighting own aspects of brightness and the creative power of the sun god for the king. This denoted to the wish of ruling Egypt forever as the sun or it was an explicit likeness between the light of the sun and the appearance of Pharaoh on the throne at public function. Both previous meanings are well illustrated by two texts as:

- *hr nst it.f mi Hr k3 nht ity psd m T3-mry mi Hp-⁵nh.*

He is on the throne of his father like Horus, the ruler who shines in Egypt like the living Apis. ⁸

- *rdi.n.i n.k w3dti tsi.ti h⁵i.k m h3t.k m t3 pn <mj> itn.*

I give to you the two eyes are tied on your forehead, so that you may shine in this land like the sun disk. ⁹

The tendency of thought to transform the likeness into religious ideology by depicted the king continually like Re and he therefore was distinct from others. This had a profound influence and created a powerful scenario on the minds and created deliberate propaganda message of the divine right for kings which none could claim or incite against it. ¹⁰

¹ Edfou, VIII 139, 6-7; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 252.

² Petrie, (F.), *Athribis*, London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Quaritch, 1908.; El-Farag, (R.), Kaplony-Heckel, (U.) & Kuhlmann, (K. P.), *Recent Archaeological Explorations at Athribis (Hw.t rpjj.t)*, MDAIK 41(1985):, 1-8.; El-Masry, (Y.), *More Recent Excavations at Athribis in Upper Egypt*, MDAIK 57(2001), 205-218.

³ *Edfou*, VIII 141, 3. Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 255.

⁴ *Edfou*, VIII 19, 1; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 40.

⁵ *Edfou*, VIII 4, 3-4; VIII 104, 6-7; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 6, 158.

⁶ *Edfou*, VIII 21, 13; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 45.

⁷ *Edfou*, VIII 142, 5; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 258.

⁸ *Edfou*, VIII 159, 5; Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 283.

⁹ *Edfou*, VIII 142, 5 Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII*, 258.

¹⁰ Frankfort, (H.), *Kingship and the Gods, A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*, London, 1948, 149-150.

The fifth technique of this hypothesis refers to the God's election of him as his representative on the earth and the embodiment of the state suppressing crime and promotes public justice as a beneficent man finds a solution to every illegal behavior. These occasional references almost exclusively assert the divine right of king and gain the trust and backing of the people. Such ideas had a profound influence to make the obedience from his people and the hopeless state of resisting from the enemies. This picture depicted in two sentences as:

- *ḥnḥ ntr nfr iwꜥw n Rꜥ nb kn(t) nḥt mi s3-3st stp n ntr ḥnt ḥhw ḥfnw r <nb>n Kmt*

*May the good god live, the heir of Re, lord of strength and might is like son of Isis, he has chosen by the god for millions and hundreds of thousands to be <the Lord> of Egypt.*¹

- *iw.ti m ḥtp iri m3ꜥt m t3 iri tp-nfr mi rh-sw.*

*Come in peace, the one who makes the justice on the earth, who performs Maat like Thoth.*²

Conclusions:

Based on our discussion thus far, the questions that can be raised here; is it truly possible to regard these religious texts as propaganda? Did the masses were entirely mere ploys in the priest's hands? To attempt to answer the both questions, we first have to know who were behind this propaganda campaign. In fact, it is likely that it was not Ptolemy XII who insisted on this religious propaganda or any kind of honor, the priests who had put in continuous effort to preserve long-term stability and enhance Egypt's status and prestige to avoid placing it in a vulnerable position, civil war and political strife which other countries had fallen into. They had known that the fall of the Egyptian Kingdom may entirely due to internal cause and public discontent. So they tried to keep the religious and intellectual climate in Egypt, as always, had a level of respect for the gods and kings by using the marvelous of considered puns, play on words and power of metaphorical expressions which were the religious media or archaic means of mass indoctrination. By this way, they contributed to the success of the Pharaoh state and to bolster him politically by controlling the ancient public opinion even in the worst of times.

If we account the persuasion tactics propaganda that is now used to deliver propagandistic messages by its modern standards, we will agree that they are entirely applicable and have a structure identical to a modern propaganda piece alike to what we today label as a propaganda machine. In Edfu texts, the religious propaganda was so efficient because it had two recognizable symbols; the Ptolemaic king, personified the state itself, as the guardian of the cosmic order and the mythical dimension, the divine origin of the state, and the credibility of priests who make these statements to make collective consciousness of the Ancient Egyptian. The religious propaganda succeeded to accentuate the high stature of the Ptolemaic king as the one who possessed unique abilities than others.

¹ *Edfou*, VIII 118, 1; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 211.

² *Edfou*, VIII 124, 1; Kurth,(D.), *Edfou VIII*, 222.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Ali, (A.), *The chamber of Menat "L" at Dandera temple*, unpublished master thesis, Cairo, University, faculty of Archeology, 2002.
- Ali, (A.), *A Reading of the Scenes and Texts of Egyptian Temples in the Ptolemaic and Roman period*, Cairo University, 2021.
- Amer, (H.) & Morardet, (B.) *Les dates de la construction du temple majeur d'Hathor à Dendara à l'époque gréco-romaine*, ASAE 69 (1983), 255-258.
- Cauville, (S.), *Le temple de Dendara: guide archéologique 2*, Bibliothèque Générale 12, Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire., 1990.
- Crowley, (L.), *Ancient Advertising, Political Propaganda in Ancient Art of the Mediterranean Basin*, Paper presented at the Art of the Mediterranean Basin meeting, 2008.
- Cull, (N.), Culbert, (D.) and Welch, (D.), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion, Santa Barbara*, 2003, Introduction: Propaganda in Historical Perspective.
- El-Farag, (R.), Kaplony-Heckel,(U.) & Kuhlmann,(K. P.), *Recent Archaeological Explorations at Athribis (Hw.t rpjj.t)*, MDAIK 41(1985), 1-8.
- El-Masry, (Y.), *More Recent Excavations at Athribis in Upper Egypt*, MDAIK 57(2001), 205-218.
- Fairman, (H. W.), *Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple*, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester, Vol. 37. No. 1, 165-203. 1954: 167.
- Frankfort, (H.), *Kingship and the Gods, A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society & Nature*, London, 1948.
- Gentner, (D.), & Clement, C., *Evidence for relational selectivity in the interpretation of analogy and metaphor*. The Psychology of Learning and Motivation, 22 (1988), 307–358.
- Gentner,(D.), & Markman, (A. B.), *Structure mapping in analogy and similarity*, American Psychologist, 1997.
- Gibbs (RW.), *the Poetics of Mind*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Junker, (H.), *Der grosse Pylon des Temples der Isis in Philä*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, Wien: R. M. Rohneer, 1958.
- Kurth, (D.), *Edfou VIII Unter Mitarbeit von Almuth Behrmann*, Dagmar Budde, Andreas Effland, Heinz Felber, Eva Pardey, Stefan Rüter, Wolfgang Waitkus und Susanne Woodhouse, Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz, 1998.
- Kurth, (D.), *The temple of Edfu. A guide by an Ancient Egyptian Priest*, Cairo/ New York, 2004.
- Lichtheim, (M.), *Maat in Egyptian autobiographies and related studies*, OBO 120, Fribourg, (1992).
- Parkinson, (R.), *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940– 1640 BC*. New York, 1997.
- Partridge, (R. B.), *Fighting pharaohs, Weapons and Warfare in Ancient Egypt*. Peartree Pub., Manchester. 2002.
- Peters-Desterac t, M., Philae. *Le domaine d'Isis. Du Rocher*, Monaco, 1997.
- Petrie,(F.), *Athribis*, London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, Quaritch, 1908.
- Posener, (G.), *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIIe dynastie*, Paris, 1956.

- Richards, I.A., *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, New York, OUP, 1965.
- Roberts, (R. M.), & Kreuz, ((R. J.), *Why do people use figurative language?* *Psychological Science*, 5, 1994.
- Royer, (J.), “*Le problème des dettes à la in de la république romaine,*” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 45 (1967) 191-240.
- Sales, J. Das C., «*O massacre ritual dos inimigos nos templos ptolomaicos*». In A. R. dos Santos y J. Varandas (Coords.), *A Guerra na Antiguidade II*, Lisboa, 2008, 63-69.
- Siani-Davies, (M.), “*Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans,*” *Historia* 46 (1997) 306-340.
- W. Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit: 332-30 v.Chr.*, München, 2001.
- Watterson, (B.), *The house of Horus at Edfu, ritual in an ancient Egyptian temple*, Stroud: Tempus, 1998.
- Watterson, (B.), *The house of Horus at Edfu. Ritual in an ancient Egyptian temple.* Tempus, Gloucestershire, 1998.
- Webster, (N.), *Webster's new world dictionary of the American language.* Cleveland & New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964.
- Wilkinson, (R. H.), *The complete temples of ancient Egypt*, Thames & Hudson, London, 2000.
- Williams, (R. J.), *Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt*, in W. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom, Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek*, Toronto, 1964.