

APPENDICES









Hermopolitan Texts

A. The Egyptian Texts

A large collection of various symbols and signs, including geometric shapes, letters, and abstract patterns, arranged in a grid-like fashion. The symbols include circles, triangles, squares, rectangles, and lines, some with internal patterns or markings. There are also some letters and numbers interspersed among the geometric shapes.

Handwritten musical notation on a three-line staff, featuring various rhythmic symbols and clefs.

ly in the name imn-(n)-ipt, Amānopē = "Amūn of Luxor." Tpt in ipt-swt, "Karnak", is from a different stem: cf. Theb.T. 145b (text), above.

it·sn špsy. Either "their august father" or "their father Shepsē." The same word occurs in Theb.T. 145b (text), above.

š(?)·nnw. Reading uncertain, as the sign preceding nnw is unclear. A place-name of Netherworld-association is doubtless meant, and the immediate reference may be to the lake in the "Urzeit-Bezirk" in Hermopolis: cf. Roeder, Kosmogonie, p. 27; and in ZAS 67 (1931), pp. 787-88. The latter seems likely in view of the following hft-hr-n-nb·s.

hft-hr-n-nb·s. "Opposite Her Lord," the Theban necropolis; v. BAR II, 655.

Theb.T. 90c

nhb. The reading is certain: cf. the traces of the lotus-det., and hm nhb of 145b (text), above.

lml-hnt. Traces suit either //// or ////.

Theb.T. 95c

nb n nnw. N for m; cf. nb m nnw of 145b.

pth. As a verb, pth means either "to sculpt" or "to open the mouth" (the latter with ref. to the funerary ritual). The writing in this case, with the det. employed as an ideogram, could conceivably be taken as passive of "to sculpt" (with reference to the Eight: "sculpted in White-Wall": cf. nb, "fashioned", used in this manner in Theb.T. 90c, 145b, and this text) or active of "to open the mouth." The latter is most probable, in view of the context in which pth occurs (the second of three phrases employing active verbs), and because of the fact that nb is used in the beginning of this text (a repetition seems unnecessary). The fact that the action takes place in Memphis indicates that pth is an obvious pun on the name of Ptah.

slkm. Space for ⲥ; cf. the writing in Sethe 6, 28, above.

Theb.T. 145b

ms·s[n] špsy(?). The writing is corrupt but fairly certain. N has been omitted from the suffix (or perhaps replaced by the plural strokes), and the ideo. (det.?) following ms·s is the common writing for špsy in these texts: cf. 35c, above.

dd. P. Anastasi IV, XVI, 9 (R. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies; Brown Egyptological Studies I, London, 1954; p. 213), contains the phrase iw·w t; hr dd, "they being carved with blossoms," which suggests that perhaps the word is used in this text verbally: "to blossom forth." The phrase immediately preceding the word in the text describes the creation of the "Lotus-blossom in which Rē" was."

Theb.T. 149b

[n r]. Sethe's restoration.

Sethe 6, 28

km? imn. Although km? could be either passive or active by form, the fact that the late texts clearly state that Amūn creates the Ogdoad, and not vice-versa, indicates a passive, or (more likely, in the absence of in) perf. relative.

Theb.T. 95k

ddw. The word is associated with the Djed-pillar of Osiris, and is used of a "class of spirits," especially of the dead (which is the conception of the Ogdoad in many late texts, some of which are reproduced here), to connote their connection with the qualities the pillar symbolizes ("rebirth," "stability," etc.).

C. Translation

Theb.T. 35c

The Eight: made in Thebes, whom Ta-tjenen created in Luxor; who swam downstream and reached the Island of Flames, who created Light on the Hill and made their seat in the Hermopolite nome under their father Shepsē. They entered their sanctuary on "Lake(?) of Nun" and are at rest in their Netherworld at "Opposite Her Lord," the place of their desire and their true nome.

Theb.T. 90c

The first primeval ones, the children of Land-Maker, the men and women who created Light: fashioned in Luxor by their father Ta-tjenen, in his workshop of the First Occasion, they swam downstream and reached the Island of Flames (where) they brought into being Rē' in the Lotus///. The Eight: they give praise to their heir as he illumines for them the land before them, in the beginning.

Theb.T. 95c

The Eight: fashioned in Nun, the fathers and mothers who made Light: born in Thebes, (they) opened (their) mouths in White-wall (Memphis) and brought forth the sun in the great prime waters. (They) travelled upstream with him to the abode of their birth, in order to receive the kingship for Wānd-Maker. Afterwards, they journeyed downstream to Balance of the Two Lands (Memphis) so that he might rule (on) the throne of Land-Maker. They com[pleted] their time in their sanctuary.

Theb.T. 145b

The Eight: fashioned in Nun, the fathers and mothers of the sun, to [whom] Shepsē gave birth (or: they gave birth to Shepsē) in Luxor: they swam in his train and stood upon the Hill (where) they fashioned the Lotus in which Rē' was, and Light blossomed forth(?) after darkness, in his name of Amūn the Elder.

Theb.T. 145i

The Eight: they came forth from Nun on the Hill in "Temple of the Benbēn" (Heliopolis). They travelled downstream to the eastern horizon of Demat; they entered Iat-djēme, the sacred

Netherworld of Kematef Amūn, father of the fathers of the Eight.

Theb.T. 149b

The first primeval ones, the children of Land-Maker, the men and women who created Light: fashioned by their father Ta-tje-nen, in his workshop on the First Occasion, they swam downstream and reached the Island of Flames. The Eight: they give praise [to Rē'] as he illumines for them the land.

Sethe 6, 28

The great Lords, the first primeval ones whom Amūn created: born in Thebes, they completed their time in Heliopolis, and then travelled upstream to Thebes and are at rest in their Netherworld in //.

Theb.T. 90k

The ancestors who made the Horizon-dweller, who created the Good Beginning in their time: Ma'at came from heaven in their day and joined with those upon earth. The land was overflowing, bellies were full, there was no shortage in the Two Lands, no walls collapsed, no thorns pricked -- in the time of the ancestral gods.

ThebTT. 95k

The spirits who made the sun, who created all effective spirits in their day. Ma'at came to earth in their time and fraternized with the gods. Food was overflowing in the bellies of the people; there was no evil in the land, no carrying off by crocodiles, no biting by serpents -- in the day of the primeval gods.

Sethe 6, 23

The elder gods who began Being, who love Ma'at and rest upon her, who made the Good Beginning in their time.

APPENDIX IIA


The Heliopolitan System in the Pyramid Texts

Source: Sethe, Pyr., by
line nos. as listed

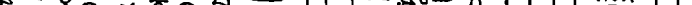

A. The Egyptian Texts

Utterance 301 (Pyramid of Unis)

446

- a. 
b. 
c. 
d. 

447

- a. 
b. 





Utterance 527 (Pyramid of Pepi I, Merenrē', Neferkarē' Pepi II)

1248

-

Utterance 587 (Pyramid of Neferkarē' Pepi II)


1587

- a. 
- b. 
- c. 
- d. 

where one text is destroyed or otherwise unreadable; horizontal dashes (----) indicate that the gap extends either across the whole line or across a part of it (continuation of the slashes). An unwritten space in the text (e.g., Utt. 600, 1653c(N)) indicates that one or more phrases or words of one text do not occur in the parallel text.

B. Notes

Utt. 301

- (446b) m hnmti. The lack of correlative texts makes it difficult to restore the gap in the word. Sethe gives , which seems to be possible only if ḥ is considered as det., since the (additional) det. ḥ follows the gap. There is obviously a word-play between hnmti and hnm:ti. The reference to "shade" at the end of the line makes it possible that hnmti is to be translated "wells" (dual) or the like, with the connotation of "oasis", since trees often grow around a well.
- (447b) šw pw, etc. Apparently a (later?) gloss.

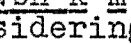
Utt. 527

- (1248a) hpr m šw (P,M,N). The legs-det. which follows m is senseless, especially since the import of the line is clear. It bears no visible relation either to m or to a separate phoneme iw, and may simply have been added (in the wrong place) under the influence of m-s in the earliest version (P) and included in the later copies.

Utt. 587

- (1587b) [hpr]r. Sethe's emendation.

Utt. 600

- (1652b) wbn.k m bnb (N). The best sense is provided by considering  as one word rather than as a hypothetical *bnw n bn. This seems the best reading in any case, considering the parallel of the preceding line: k: n.k m k: :. In wbn, the heron is used as a determinative-phonetic complement, and it is safe to assume that it is a phonogram in bnbn; the same holds true for its use in the word hwt-bn(bn), with the reference being to the ben(ben) itself, and not to the bird.
- (1652c) tfn.k m tfnt (N). The usual form of the verb is tf, but Bremner-Rhind gives once the variant tfn (XXVII, 1; cf. Appendix II). This may be simply a case of interchanging the verb-ending with the determinative.
- (1653a) m- k: (M,N). Several translations have been given: "with (thy) Ka"; "as the arm(s) of a Ka"; "in an action of Ka-(giving)". The last certainly conveys the sense of the line, but is difficult to justify from the words themselves. The second translation has the benefit of precedent, both in the fact that the ideogram k: shows two outstretched arms and in the fact

the Ka is recorded as being transmitted through an embrace; cf. Pyr. 585-587:

Thou hast closed thine arms round him, round him ...
O Osiris, move thyself to Horus; go to him ...
For thou art his Ka.

The safest translation, however, is the first, since it also conveys the sense of the text and is grammatically the soundest.

(1655c) mś(w) itm ... m rn·tn (N). Mś(w) may refer either to the preceding line or it may be a vocative in its own right: ·tn may refer to either case.

(1656b) lind·fl, etc.(M). Sethe's emendation.

C. Translation

Utterance 301

446

- a. Words to be said: Thy offering is thine, O Niu and Naunet,
- b. you (who are) the two well-springs enclosing the gods in your shade.
- c. Thy offering is thine, O Amūn and Amaunet,
- d. you (who are) the two well-springs enclosing the gods in your shade.

447

- a. Thy offering is thine, O Atum and Double-Lion, you who made your own godhood yourselves;
- b. that is, Shu and Tefēnet, who made the gods, who begot the gods, who established the gods.

Utterance 527

1248

- a. Words to be said: It is Atum who came into being as a masturbater, in Heliopolis:
- b. He placed his phallus in his fist
- c. and made passion with it:
- d. the two twins were born -- Shu and Tefēnet (M: that is, Shu and Tefēnet).

Utterance 587

1587

- a. Words to be said: Homage to thee, Atum!
- b. Homage to thee, [Khepre]r, who came into being of himself!
- c. Thou art High, in this thy name of "Hill".
- d. Thou dost come into being, in this thy name of Kheprer.

Utterance 600

1652

- a. Words to be said: Atum-Kheprer! Thou wert High, as the Hill,
- b. thou didst shine, as the benben in the Temple of the Ben-(ben) in Heliopolis.
- c. Thou didst spit forth as Shu, thou didst make emission as Tefēnet.

1653

- a. Thou didst place thine arms about them, with (thy) Ka, so

that thy Ka might be in them.

b. O Atum! Place thou thine arms about Neferkarē',

c. with (thy) Ka (M: Place thou thine arms about Merenrē', about this work, about this pyramid, with (thy) Ka),

d. so that the Ka of Neferkarē' (M: Merenrē') might be in it lasting unto eternity.

1655

a. O Great Ennead which is in Heliopolis:

b. Atum, Shu, Tefēnet, Gēb, Nūt, Osiris, Isis, Seth, Nephthys:

c. the children of Atum: his heart is glad for his children, in your name of "Nine-Bows".

1656

a. No one among you is apart from Atum, as he protects this Neferkarē',

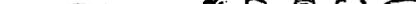
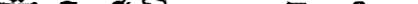
b. as he protects this pyramid of Neferkarē', as he protects this his work (M: as he protects this work, as he protects this pyramid)

c. from all the gods, from all the dead,





d. as he prevents anything bad from happening to it for eternity.

The Heliopolitan System in the Coffin Texts


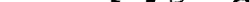

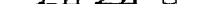
A. The Egyptian Texts




314. (a)  (b) 

318. (b) (c)

320. (a)  (b) 
 (c)  (d) 

326. (b) (c)

330. (a)  (b)  (c) 


332. (a)  (b)  (c) 

334. (a) (b)
 (c)

336. (a) (c)

338. (a) (b) (c)
(d)

340. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ x ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ
ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (d) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

342. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ
ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

344. (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

346. (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

348. (a) ገጠጠ 350. (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

352. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ x ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ
ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (d) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

354. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c)
ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

356. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

362. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

363. (e) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (f) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

364. (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

366. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

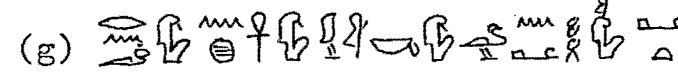
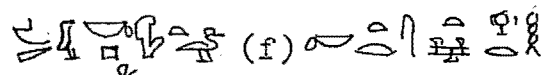
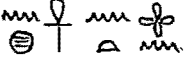
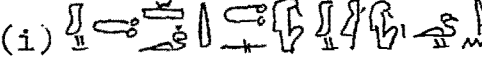

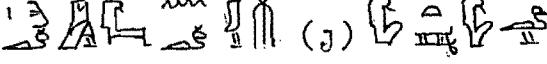
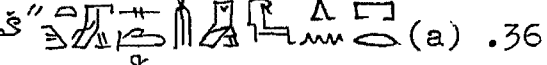
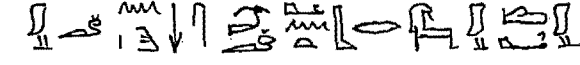

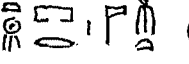
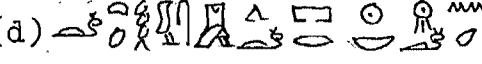
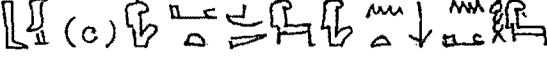

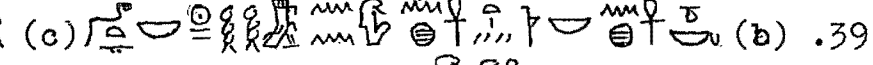
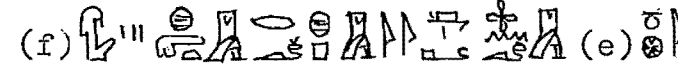
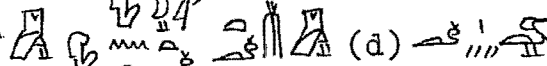
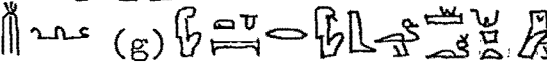
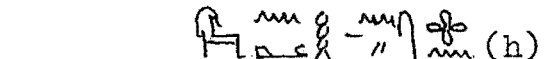
374. (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (d) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

376. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

380. (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

384. (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

385. (a) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (b) ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ (c) ገጠጠ
ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ ገጠጠ

(g)  (f) 
 (i)  (h) 
 (j) 
 (b)  (a) .36
 (d)  (c) 
 (c)  (b) .39
 (f)  (e)  (d)  (h)

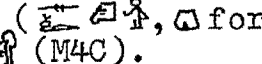



B. Notes

Spell 75 (main text: S1C)

314

(a) hprw m šw. See Appendix IIC, the first note to Chapter 85.




316

(b) šfg. Perhaps connected with sf, "be merciful" ( for ?); variant determinatives are  (G1E, A1C),  (M4C).

318

(c) hpr dš.f. Added from the variants; the epithet is absent only here and in S2C.


320

(b) išddw. The word occurs in various spellings in the variants: šidd, šdd, iddw, wddw, šid, šdr; det. is usually the same as in S1C, but variants are , , . The verb is apparently geminated šid, which is usually given as caus. 2ae-lit. (Faulkner, DME, p. 213); gemination here, however, indicates an original 3ae-inf. idi.(c) wšr.kwi / dnd.i r pšdt nb. Dnd r is properly "be angry at," but the context (b-c) suggests the secondary meaning "subdue" (Faulkner, DME, p. 323 top); r then properly belongs only to wšr.kwi. The "column-splitting" here parallels two dissimilar verb-forms, which suggests that the line is contracted from an original wšr.kwi r pšdt nb dnd.i pšdt (nb). The line occurs only in this Ms.

322

(a) šw. Here obviously the sun (pr.f m šht). This indicates that the epithet ntr hpr dš.f, which is applied to Shu (apparently) in 314b, refers to the creator (the sun) from 318b on.

326

(b) imw-b:h hprw. Most of the variants show the det.  or the

equivalent after imw-b;h, indicating the word is substantive, "those who existed aforetime, ancestors" (Faulkner, DME, p. 18), rather than prepositional; hpw is perf. act. part. modifying imw-b;h.

330

(b) f;w. Det. indicates this is nominal from f;, "lift up".

332

(a) idy. Although the form, substantially the same in all variants, is unusual, the parallel with 330c indicates this is a form of idi, "be deaf" (Faulkner, DME, p. 35: det. \emptyset). "Be afraid" is also possible.

334

(b) rh.n.i ... im. Only in this Ms.; all variants have n rh.f bw hpr.n.i im.

(c) w.kwi. Added from B1Bo. The whole line is a negation of 334a, and suggests that the negation n may have been omitted in that line (in all Mss.).

338

(b) nf;.n.f wi m šrt.f. This line does not occur in S1C; it is added from the variants.

(c) ink nf; irw. Nf; is used here adjectivally (and passively). The sense follows clearly from 338b: "He blew me out from his nose; therefore, I am 'that which is blown out' by nature." Semantically, nf; irw means "aeriform by nature," where aeriform is qualified by "the air which is blown out from the nose," "breath".

340

(a) ntr pn šps(y) hpr dš.f. The reading of B2L, which is substantially the same as most of the variants. S1C has $\text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ} \text{ḥ}$.

(b) wpš. Some versions read wp. The line refers to the sun's (nfr.f) illumination of the whole sky.

(c) dmd irw ntrw. Added from the variants (B2L version); the four strokes are common for the plural in B2L.

(d) iwtv rh ntr[w] rh rn.f. The second rh is superfluous.

342

(a) šmsw. Possibly "worship" (Faulkner, DME, p. 267), since the structure is easiest in that meaning.

hnmmt. Reading from the variants, where it is spelled out.

(b) rd.n.i m rdwy.f. Part of an elaboration (b-c) of 336a. This one phrase makes little sense in itself, and is probably simply stylistic, suggested by the paronym rd-rdwy and the parallel phrase which follows. The same probably holds for šw.n.i of 342c, which is clearly a pun on the name of the god; it is unlikely that šw m means "be devoid of, be missing from" (Faulkner, DME, p. 263) in this context, in view of the parallels of the preceding phrases.

344

(c) mš. In the original, the ḥ is directly under the ḥ ; the two are one sign.

346

(c) dbn.f. The det. after .f in this Ms. suggests this is an

epithet used as a proper name, probably of Osiris; the same writing occurs in several of the variants. The epithet translates "He-Recurs" (Faulkner, DME, p. 311), which may have one of two connotations (or both). In light of 346a-b, which refers to "vegetation in the fields," the name may connote Osiris' personification of the yearly agricultural cycle. On the other hand, m dw:t of 348a suggests Osiris' "encircling of the Netherworld"; this last function can be seen in Fig. 6: the legend identifying the top figure, who is in the form of a circle, reads: "It is Osiris, who encircles the Netherworld." A second possibility is to take dbn·f as relative, "what he encircles"; this is less likely, however, since a definite antecedent is lacking in the original (cf. CT II, 344d - 346b).

350

(c) hpr·n·i ... n. The past element ·n and the indirect genitive n are added from the variants.

352

(b) wpš. Cf. n. 340b.

354

(c) n mš·f wi m hf'·f. Cf. n. 344c. The variants read n mš·f wi m r·f.

362

(b) r rdt rh·f rht·n·i. Added from the variants.

363

(e-f) These lines occur only in 5 variant texts, immediately after 362b. The version used here is that of B2L.

380

(c) The line is completed from the variants; S1C has n hh·ś r·i.

384

(b+c) B2L version, which is clearer than S1C. Line b is difficult in all versions. Trt is doubtless infinitive, since it is written with the ~ in most of the variants. The Meir variants and the Theban coffin T3C suggest that mi(i) may be adverbial, "likewise", and this reading seems to be borne out by the 3 texts (S1C, T3C, M23C) that write r-dr (for kd) after mi. ~ is probably verbal di (m + sdm·f), rather than the prep. m-, in light of the suffix ·i in several of the variants (S1C, S2C, T3C, M23C). Mi kd is explained by the variant r-dr, and by the similar phrase in 385c; mi in this text (and several others) has changed from adverbial "likewise" to part of the phrase mi-kd, "entire(ity)." The sense is apparently that Shu came into being when "the entirety" was made -- in fact, that his making of "the entirety" brought him into being.

385

(b) św, m r·f. Added from the variants.

wdb·n·f św hr ddt·n·f. One of two connotations is possible (or again, perhaps both). Either the meaning is physical, in the same sense as dbn·f in 346c, or else is significant of the fact that creation has occurred once and for all,

and remains unaltered. "Turn back upon" is usually wdb r, while wdb hr is "turn towards" (Faulkner, DME, p. 76). The context, however, suggests the first meaning; hr as "because" or the like is not probable.

- (c) hr n ntt. The first n is superfluous.
dr. Most of the variants read dr.f; the suffix is the same as that of wdb.n.f and ddt.n.f of the preceding line, and as wdt.n.f of this line, and refers to the ntr hpr ds.f.

Spell 76 (main text: B2L)

- 3
 (b) imyt(w).śny. The reading imytw is probable, since no other interpretation makes sense in this context. The dual refers to the mht-wrt of 3a; this reference, rather than one to mht-wrt and to Gēb (of 2e-g), is confirmed by the same reading in 25e for mht-wrt alone. The name occurs as a personification either of the sky (Pyr. 289c, 1131b) or as the female counterpart of Nun (Pyr. 1063d); the use here suggests it personifies both -- the waters above and below the earth (cf. Jéquier, Considérations, p. 191).
 (e) ⊙. A common elaboration of the simple ⊙. The context and following im.f clearly indicate the meaning "day".

- 5
 (e) whmw. The sense is that once Shu had come into being, he begot the Hēh, who in a sense duplicate his function as supports of the sky. The word also occurs in 31e with the connotation "to continue".

- 6
 (c-e) These important lines occur only on the Gebelein coffin GlT. The numbering given here differs from CT II, 6: 6c is a variant of B2L's 6b in the original; 6d is composed of two lines -- CT II, 6c and 6d; 6e is the same as in the original.

Spell 77 (text: B1Bo)

- 18
 (d) hr. The variants indicate probably only the det. hr is lost here.
 (e) tfn.n.f św m tfnt śnt N pn hr-ś.f. The variants have hn' tfnt prt hr-ś.f (in the first person) in this line, in place of the verb-clause of B1Bo.
 (f) s;t. The whole Ennead is conceived as the "daughter" of Atum. The sense of the m (lacking in the variants) is apparently one of equivalence -- the birth of Shu and Tefēnet is the birth of the whole Ennead.
ntrw. Restored from the variants.
 (g) wd.k n N pn b.f. Hardly direct address; probably to be emended to wd(w) N pn b.f, with wd(w) Old Perf., in light of wd.kwi of the variants. B.f as subject of an active wd is equally possible.
hrw pw n hnnt n.i. This line is probably corrupt from an original typified by the variants: nwt hnskt mst ntrw. Hnnt does not translate well at all; mst is probably nominal in

BlBo (in light of the hrw n - clause), in place of the Old Perf. of the variants.

Spell 78 (main text: B2L)

19

- (a) rdy. Probably not perf. pass. part., in spite of the correction of B2L (44 added later); half of the variants have simply rd.n.

20

- (b-c) Added from A1C.

- (e) BlBo version. For nwt, the original (B2L) has t;, as do B1C and B1P, and A1C has pt.

Spell 79 (main text: B2L)

24

- (f) k;s. → for ~.

25

- (a) BlBo version, which is clearest. Nwt occurs only here; per-n(n)w is better emended.

- (c-d) Added from BlBo, the only text containing these lines.

Spell 80 (main text: B2L)

30

- (c) inm.i pw mddw t;w. Reading of mddw is assured by the signs in BlBo, G1T, and A1C (~~W~~) and by the phonetic complement in BlBo; mddw is probably nominal of mdd, "press" (Faulkner, DME, p. 124). The sense of the line is rather subtle: when one feels the pressure of the wind, he is touching the "skin" of Shu; in other words, Shu is immanent in the wind.

31

- (c) BlBo version.

32

- (a) bt.f. The first f occurs also in B1P, but is absent in B1C. The variant of B1C and the sense of the line suggest that bt is not to be taken as a separate word -- the first f should be deleted.

- (h,j) w't. A duā, to apply to both clauses following.

33

- (b) B1C version. In gb.i in s;i should be emended to in s;i (as in B2L); nh.f occurs in both Mss., but should probably be emended to nh.f, in view of the context. m rn.i. So in both extant versions, probably for m r.i, which makes better sense.

- (c-d) m ht r rmt(?). The line is exactly the same in all three variants (B1C, B2L, B7C). M ht is not parallel to imy swht; ht perhaps means "generation, people" (Faulkner, DME, p. 200) -- this is especially likely in view of the fact that it is not parallel to swht (as "womb") and in light of the following prt, which needs a fem. antecedent. R rmt is then probably corrupt for simple rmt.

- (f) nw. Variant from B1C; B2L has nwt, B1P has pt. The sense of the line indicates the B1C variant is the correct one.

- (h) § 𓆎. The reading is uncertain, although the meaning "support" is suggested by the context; the signs are unusual in all of the variants (cf. CT II, 33 n. 1, 3: 34 n. 1, 3). The hieratic 𓆎 of B7C suggests that perhaps 𓆎 is "support", is meant (cf. CT II, 35 n. 2).
- 34 (c) ir.ś gb. Occurs only here and exactly the same in B1P; n irt n.ś gb is probably the best emendation.
- (f) wn.in.śn. In occurs in all the texts, and has even been corrected from wnn.śn in B2L. However, wnn.śn is certainly meant.
- (j) in gb.i. 𓆎 expanded from 𓆎; B1C writes s.i.
- 35 (a) ipt n.n. To be emended to iptn (as in B1C). wrđ wrt. Wrđ is probably adj. modifying t.i, even though the fem. ending is absent in all versions. A verbal interpretation is difficult in this context.
- (e) n hrt.št r.k. Hrt is sđmt.f of hr, "be far" (Faulkner, DME, p. 175). The context asks for an interpretation different from the usual "not yet, before": cf. Gard. Eg.Gram., #402 end and last example.
- (g) wnm.k m s:t.k m; t. Wnm m, "eat of" (cf. Lacau, Text. rel., 23, 31; Urk. IV, 547, 14), rather than m, "with" (Gard., Eg.Gram., #162, 7a). The line is an extension of the idea that the gods "live on Ma'at" (cf. Frankfort, Religion, p. 55; BAR II, 299).

C. Translation

Spell 75

314. (a) Spell of the Ba of Shu, and of changing into Shu. (b) I am the Ba of Shu, the god who came into being of himself.
316. (b) I am the Ba of Shu, the god who is merciful(?) by nature.
318. (b) I came into being in the body of this god who came into being of himself, (c) I am coextensive with the god who came into being of himself.
320. (a) I came into being in him, (b) I am he who silenced heaven, I am he who calmed the lands, (c) for I am stronger than any Ennead, I subdue all the Enneads. (d) I am he who foretells
322. (a) him when he comes forth from the horizon.
326. (b) I repeated the words of the gods who existed aforetime, who came into being after me. (c) They ask
328. (a) Nun about my coming into being, (b) when they see me
330. (a) (after) I have arisen among them, (b) making a lifting as I came into being. (c) When I speak, the Ennead is silent,
332. (a) the gods (are) deaf(?). (b) I shall tell you my coming into being in my own form. (c) Do not ask Nun about my coming into being.
334. (a) Nun (did not) see me as I came into being, (b) he did not know the place in which I should come into being -- (c) my

coming into being was out of his sight, as I was alone.
 336. (a) I came into being in the body of the god who came into being of himself. (c) He created me in his heart,
 338. (a) he made me with his efficient power, (b) he blew me out from his nose. (c) I am aeriform by nature.
 340. (a) This august god who came into being of himself (338d) extended himself, (b) strewing heaven with his beauty, (c) forming (in himself) the sum total of the natures of the gods, (d) while the gods do not know his name,
 342. (a) and mankind worships (him). (b) I grew in his feet, I came into being in his arms, (c) I dried in his members.
 344. (c) I was not born (in) a birth.
 346. (c) I am within "He-Recurs", the Lord of the Green Field
 348. (a) in the Netherworld.
 350. (c) I came into being in the body of
 352. (a) this august god who came into being of himself, (b) who strews heaven with his beauty. (c) He forms (in himself) the sum total of the natures of the gods, (d) (he is) Lord of Ma'at.
 354. (a) He forms (in himself) the sum total of my nature -- (b) I am aeriform by nature. (c) He did not give me birth from his mouth (or: fist), he did not conceive me from his fist.
 356. (a) He blew me out from his nose, (b) he made me in the midst of his beauty.
 362. (a) I created my Ba behind me, (b) to have it know what I know.
 363. (e) Lo, I am throughout the whole sky, (f) my Ka embraces all lands.
 364. (b) When I beget, my Ba begets. (c) The seed of my Ba is
 365. (a) the people who are on the Isle of Flame, (b) my own seed is the gods.
 374. (c) I came forth from the god who came into being of himself, (d) who came into being alone, older than (all) the gods.
 376. (a) I am he who pierces the height of heaven.
 380. (b) I belong to the bāaze, to the flame, to the fire, (c) to the heat, to the blast of fire which comes from my mouth.
 384. (b) Indeed, I came into being at the same time that I made entirety, (c) coming forth from the mouth of this august god
 385. (a) who came into being of himself, (b) who does not turn back upon what he has spoken from his mouth, (c) because I am he who made (his) entirety in accordance with what he commanded

Spell 76

2. (b) I am weary upon the supports of Shu, (c) since the time when I lifted my daughter Nūt over my head, (d) giving her to my father Atum, while he (e) gave me Gēb under my feet, (f) that god who joins together the land for my father Atum, (g) who pulls together for him
 3. (a) the Great Flood. (b) I placed myself between them, (c) while the Ennead saw me not. (d) I am Shu, whom Atum created (e) on the day on which he himself came into being. (f) I was not formed in a womb, nor created in an egg, (g) nor conceived

(in) a conceiving.

4. (a) My father Atum (3h) spat me out as a spitting of his mouth, together with my sister Tefēnet. (b) She came forth after me, while I was still covered by the breath of the Heron's throat, (c) on the day on which Atum came into being (d) in the vastness, in the darkness, in Nun, in the invisible.

5. (a) I am Shu, father of the gods. (b) Atum had sent his lone (Eye) in search of my and my sister Tefēnet. (c) I am he who made light the darkness, (e) I am one who begot again the Heh in the vastness, in Nun,

6. (a) in the invisible, in the darkness. (b) I am Shu, who begot the gods. (c) I am he whom Atum begot. (d) He made me as the efflux of his members, whose names Atum made (e) as Nun created that day of Atum's speaking in the vastness, in the invisible, in the darkness.

Spell 77

18. (a) This N is the Ba of Shu, the predecessor of the blaze and the blast of fire, (b) whom Rē'-Atum shot forth from his hand, (c) making passion, (d) the choice of his mouth falling from his mouth. (e) He spat out N as Shu and emitted him as Tefēnet, the sister of this N, after him (f) as the Great Ennead, the daughter of Rē'-Atum, which shines on [the gods]. (g) This N placed his Ba in it as Gēb and Nūt, on that day of ... the birth of the gods.

Spell 78

19. (a) I am the Ba of Shu, who gave him Nūt over his head and Gēb under his feet -- (b) I am between them. (c) O ye eight Heh, whom Shu conceived, (d) whom Shu bore, whom Shu created, whom Shu joined together, (e) whom Shu begot as the efflux which is in his flesh, as the drippings of his seed.

20. (a) Begotten of Nun, created by Atum, (b) the supports of Shu, (c) who raised Nun under Atum, (d) who guard the way of Nun under Atum, (e) whose length is to the length of the sky, whose breadth is to the breadth of the earth.

Spell 79

23. (a) O ye eight Heh, who came forth from Shu, (b) whose names the flesh of Atum created

24. (a) as Nun spoke in the vastness, in Nun, in the invisible, in the darkness. (b) You know me. (c) I am he who created, begot, and joined you, (e) who made you as the speaking of Nun with Atum was created, (f) on the day on which Atum was high,

25. (a) within Nun (or: Nūt) -- Shu being coextensive with him -- (b) before he saw the Earth under his feet -- Shu being coextensive with him, -- (c) Shu being within Nun -- (d) before Aker and Gēb were formed, (e) before the Great Flood had come into being for Atum, that he might rest upon them.

Spell 80

29. (d) I am Shu, (e) whom Atum bore. (f) My garments are the wind of life (g) which came forth behind me from the mouth of Atum. (h) The wind opens up

30. (a) upon my path. (b) I am he who makes heaven light after darkness, (c) my skin is the pressure of the wind which comes forth after me (d) from the mouth of Atum, (e) my efflux is the storm of the heavens, (f) my fragrance is the tempest at twilight.

31. (a) The length of heaven is for my steps, the breadth of [this] land is for my foundation. (b) I am he whom Atum created, (c) I am in my place of everlastingness. (d) I am eternity who gave birth to millions, (e) continuing the spitting of Atum, (f) which came forth from his mouth when he put forth his hand

32. (a) to let his desire fall to the ground (b) Then Atum said: "It is my living daughter Tefēnet, (c) who is with her brother Shu (d) whose name is Life; (e) her name is Ma'at. (f) I live with my two children, my two little ones; (g) in fact, I am in the midst of them -- (h) one of them at my back, the other in front of me. (i) Life shall lay down with my daughter Ma'at -- (j) one within me, the other around me.

33. (a) I attended upon them, and their arms were about me. (b) My son Life, whom I begot from my mouth (or: in my name) -- (c) he knew how to give life to him who is in the egg, the generations(?) (d) of people which came forth from my Eye, which I had sent forth (e) when I was alone (f) with Nun in a state of inertness, (g) before I had found a place to stand or sit in, (h) before Heliopolis had been founded that I might be there or a support had been raised that I might sit on it;

34. (a) before I had made Nūt that she might be over my head, (c) (before I had) made Gēb (for) her; (d) before the first corporation had been born, (e) before the primeval Ennead had come into being (f) that it might be with me." (g) Then Atum said to Nun: (h) "I am immersed and very weary, (i) my mankind is inert. (g) It is my son Life who shall gladden my heart;

35. (a) he shall enliven my heart when he has collected these my very weary members." (b) Nun said to Atum: (c) "Kiss thy daughter Ma'at; put her to thy nose: (d) thy heart shall live (e) while she is not far from thee. (f) Thy daughter is Ma'at and thy son is Shu, whose name is Life. (g) Thou shalt eat of thy daughter Ma'at; (h) it is thy son Shu who shall raise thee up." (i) Indeed, (I am) Life, the son of Atum, (j) whom he bore from his nose;

36. (a) I came forth from his nostrils, (b) he placed me on his neck. He kisses me and my sister Ma'at (c) when he shines every day, coming forth from his egg. (d) The birth of the god is the appearance of daylight.

39. (b) I am Life, Lord of Years, living for eternity, Lord of everlastingness. (c) The eldest whom Atum made with his efficient power (d) when he gave birth to Shu and Tefēnet in Heliopolis, (e) when he was one and became three, (f) when he separated Gēb from Nūt, (g) before the first corporation had been born, before the (two) primeval Enneads had come into being, (h) that they might be with me.

APPENDIX IIC

The Heliopolitan System in the "Book of the Dead"

Chap. 17: BM10470, VII, 5-30. Chap. 85:
BM10470, XXVII, 1-7; BM10477, XXI, 9-18.
(Papyrus of Any, Papyrus of Nu)

Source: Budge, The Book of the Dead
(New York, 1960), pp. 376-380; 549-551.

A. The Egyptian Texts

Chapter 17

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24. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
25. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
26. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
27. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
28. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
29. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।
30. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।

[illegible]

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- Shrines, pp. 49, 106, and pl. 48), the rubric pw-ti rf sw has been omitted before nnw. Some versions also add mw pw before nnw (*ibid.*, p. 106 and pl. 48). The epithet it ntrw usually occurs after nnw pw.
- (10) km; ... imy-ht.f. This line usually varies from Ms. to Ms. Here, however, it seems particularly corrupt. For a more standard version, cf. the translations in *ANET*, p. 4, and Piankoff, *Shrines*, pp. 49 and 106. By comparison, the following corrections can be made here: after nnw pw (+it ntrw) the rubric ky dd and the words r' pw km; rn.f m ntrw psdt or r' pw km; rn.f nb psdt; in the latter case, it is uncertain whether nb should modify rn.f or is nominal in the phrase nb psdt.
- (11-12) hpr nn pw m ntrw. The usual form is hprw ntrw pw. The version here shows more clearly the relation between the gods and the members of the creator's body; in the usual reading, the relation is implied. The same wording occurs in the version on Tut-'ankh-amun's IInd Shrine (Piankoff, *Shrines*, p. 106).
- (12) ink iwtv hsf.f m ntrw. Following Wilson's translation, in which the reference of m ntrw to ink is more clearly stated than the usual "who is repulsed among the gods."
- (17) hftv.f. The usual version reads without the .f (cf. Piankoff, *Shrines*, pp. 50, 106).
- (18) hrw pwy n iw.n mn hb. Pwy for pw. Tw.n mn is the name of the feast, which perhaps explains the Q-det. which follows mn. Translation following Piankoff's translation of a similar version on Tut-'ankh-amun's Shrine II (*Shrines*, p. 106).
- (18-19) dhn.n.tw krs(t) pw wsir in it.f. The absence of im.f suggests that this clause is independent of the preceding hrw pw. In that case, either n has been omitted before wsir or pw wsir should read wsir pw.
- (20) hft wd.n.i wsir. To be emended to hft wd.n.tw wsir. This passage indicates that a ceremony surrounding the burial of Osiris and his accession as king of the Netherworld is at the base of the whole section. Cf. Frankfort, *Kingship*, pp. 104, 178-179, 193-194, and 206 for ritual battles fought at the interment of Osiris.
- (21) imntt pw ir.n.tw r b'w ntrw. Tr.n.tw most probably refers back to ir.n.tw 'h; of line 19, with the noun either understood or omitted.
- (22) nw pw rd.n.i. Undoubtedly corrupt. Nw pw should probably read nty or ntt (for r.s and hr.s following); the .i in rd.n.i is best deleted.
- (22-23) 'h' 'h;.n.f. 'h' is probably auxiliary here (~~=~~ for ~~~~~) but the verb-form is out of place in this context, where it seems that 'h;.f alone should follow h;y r.s as a clause of purpose. Perhaps the best solution is a clause of purpose with two verbs: 'h'.f 'h;.f hr.s.
- (25) nk.f im.f ds.f. The position of ds.f indicates that it

refers to hnnw rather than to r', although the brevity of the phrase may have suggested this order rather than n r' ds.f nk.f im.f.

bnw. To be read literally here, although the basic meaning of the sentence rests on the significance of the ben-ben-stone (bnbn or bn) (cf. Pyr. 1652b, Appendix IIA, in which the bnw-bird is used for bn). The translation "Phoenix", which is usually given for this word, derives from the stories of the classical writers, and is too suggestive of the classical myth for use in an Egyptian context, especially for a text of the XVIIIth Dynasty, such as the Papyrus of Ani.

- (26) nty m iwn. Probably for imy iwn, unless a nuance such as "the one which is in Heliopolis" is intended.

- (28) ir st;t.f ... h;t pw. St;t is probably the infinitive of st; ("his being enkindled") rather than the nouns st;t, "lamp, censer" (both: Faulkner, DME, p. 253); the det. h hardly fits a nominal interpretation, and suggests rather an action -- a malicious one. The reference implied by the word remains obscure, however; ir calls for a previous mention of st;, which is absent from this text. In n nty wnn makes no sense at all, as is. Nty wnn is certainly not agent (in) of st;t.f, and an emendation ir nty wnn, as a second nominal clause, is not likely. Two nouns preceding a pw-clause (as here) demand the construction ir X hn' Y; this, in fact, is probably the best emendation, since it demands simply reading h for 4 and u for u. Because of the character of the words which follow it, in is probably not interrogative here, although in several versions (in which st;t is absent) the reading is "What exists? It is his corpse (or filth)" (e.g., Piankoff, Shrines, p. 50); ir nty wnn (alone) is also common.

ky dd.n. For ky dd.

- (29) r nhh. The context indicates that r is to be read out.
(29-30) ir nhh ... grh pw. The pw following nhh is to be read after hrw; that following dt was perhaps added as a space-filler at the end of the line, and is also to be deleted.

Chapter 85

- (1) irt hprw m. In a general sense, "to make transformations" (Faulkner, DME, p. 27). However, as the text itself indicates, the wish of the deceased encompasses more than mere transformation; rather, it is concerned with the whole being of the god and of the deceased, and is a matter both of transformation and transubstantiation. In most cases, the use of hpr calls for an understanding of essences -- as is particularly evident in the word-plays of Papyrus Bremner-Rhind. Here, as in

all of the other "transformation" spells of the Book of the Dead -- in fact, in the Coffin Texts and the Pyramid Texts as well -- where the deceased is concerned with his existence in the next world, the thought is one of "trans-essenciation" -- the deceased wishes to become Atum in every respect.

- (2) hbnw. The word derives from hbn, "crime, accusation" (Faulkner, DME, p. 187), but the det. ⲓ suggests that a place rather than an action is meant. The reference is probably to the place in which the dꜣdꜣt judges the deceased and in which the "Weighing of the Heart" takes place; cf. BD Chapter 30: "My heart of my mother, my heart of my (very) being! Do not rise up against me, do not testify against me, do not contend against me before the Assessors!" An analogy with hbt, "place of execution" (Faulkner, loc.cit.) is probably also implied. sw. May refer either to hbnw or to sk (as a noun), but probably to both concepts together -- that is, "I will not know either condemnation or the eternal death which follows from condemnation."
- (3) bꜣ pw ntr. The absence of n before ntr suggests that the reading is adjectival -- "divine Ba." However, the participial phrase which follows ntr indicates that ntr is more likely nominal. The omission of n in this type of phrase (X pw n Y) seems to be a common feature of this papyrus.
- (4) nn mꜣꜣꜣ. According to the form, the meaning is future (Gard., Eg.Gram., #105, 2); however, a broader temporal extension of the concept seems to be indicated by the context, especially in view of the 'nhꜣꜣ' of the following phrase.
- (4-5) n kꜣꜣꜣ m mꜣꜣꜣꜣ 'nhꜣꜣ imꜣꜣꜣ. A "because"-clause (Gard., Eg.Gram., #164, 9); "ꜣ" is probably an abbreviation for the second ꜣ. M mꜣꜣꜣꜣ is usually rendered adverbially ("truly": Faulkner, DME, p. 101), but the context here calls for a nominal interpretation of mꜣꜣꜣꜣ (cf. following imꜣꜣꜣ): "I think mꜣꜣꜣꜣ-ly", "I think (only) according to mꜣꜣꜣꜣ."
- (7) pw. For pwꜣ; cf. identical form in line 5-6. imꜣꜣꜣꜣ. Referring to the objects of both rnꜣꜣꜣ-phrases. The sense is: "My becoming Rꜣꜣ' includes my becoming 'Ba' (5-6) as well as my becoming Khopri (6-7)."
- (9-10) bꜣꜣꜣ pw bꜣꜣꜣ ntrw. By itself: "My ba is the ba's of the gods." However, the three pw-clauses of line 9-10 follow from the one phrase of line 9, ink smsw pꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ, so that a more relative translation of pw is in order.
- (11) kkw. The context makes clear that the darkness of night rather than the Darkness of Nun (which is uncreated) is meant; the phrases following all refer to the sun.
- (11-12) mrrꜣꜣ phꜣꜣꜣꜣ drwꜣꜣꜣ. Mrr is more likely geminating

sdm.f in an adverb clause (Gard., Eg.Gram., #444, 1) than imperf. act. part. dependent upon drw. The w in ph.wi is doubtless superfluous, in view of the parallel sm.i of the following phrase. The antecedent to which drw.sn refers is uncertain, but drw hrt of line 11 seems most likely; something like "those boundaries" is probably meant.

- (12) hrt.i m i;rt.i. The words present some problems. T;rt is probably singular of i;rw, "rushes" (Faulkner, DME, p. 9). The det. suggests that some sort of ceremonial staff or "magic wand" is meant; this may relate to the preceding clause (sm.i hr rdwy.i) or to the clause following (d;ry.i bi;), the last perhaps with some connection to the equipment of the sun-bark. Hrt is more difficult. The word may be simply corrupt for hrp ("govern, control, guide," etc.), or it may have some connection with hryt, "butchery". The presence of the Δ in the verb, which is one of a series of sdm.f forms, suggests that the former is the case.
- (13) bi;. The usual rendering is "heaven, firmament" (Faulkner, DME, p. 80), and that is certainly the sense here. T.G. Allen, however, has pointed out the connection of this word with the root bi;, "copper, bronze," and has mentioned the fact that the usage was probably based on the conception of the sky as an expanse of metal, burnished by the sun's rays (cf. psd m itn.f, wbn m i;ht.f n nb, [wbln hr bi;: BM9900, XIV, 23: Budge, The Book of the Dead, p. 391). He gives the translation "metallic expanse," in view of these considerations (The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago; Oriental Institute Publications LXXXII, Chicago, 1960; pp. 90 and 95).
- (13-14) iry wsd.n(.i) ... nb 'wy. Difficult not so much syntactically as grammatically. Try(w) is most likely perf. pass. part. (Gard., Eg.Gram., #361; Erman, Neuäg.Gram., #366), with the pronoun i understood, and referring to bi; (as the plural strokes indicate). The w following iry is doubtless to be with sd (wsd), but the combination wsd.n dr presents a problem. Wsd means "(to) address, question, assent," but this makes little sense here; in view of the context, the verb is probably best read sd, "take away, remove", even though both the initial w and the det. suggest the former reading. R nb 'wy is most difficult. R probably does not follow upon nmitt, since the object is neither a place nor a person different from the subject. Nb 'wy is certainly not a divine epithet, as the absence of any significant det. shows. The only suggestion I can offer is that nb-'wy is a noun whose subject is identical with that of nmitt.i; r is tenuously read "as."
- (14-15) bi.i pw, etc. Cf. the identical passage in 9-10. In

this case, however, the pw-clauses are obviously independent.

- (15-16) hwn ... rn.i pw. Epithets probably referring to the omnipresence of the (morning) sun.
- (16) km(?). Despite the parallel of the following ir st.f, in which ir is perf. act. part. (with present meaning: Gard., Eg.Gram., #359; 367, 2), the fact that Nun is always uncreated indicates that km(?) is perf. relative (Gard., Eg.Gram., #380ff.).
- (17) nn m?i.tw, nn sd.tw. The construction indicates a future reference (although the usual form for the first verb is nn m?i.tw: Gard., Eg.Gram., #457), but, as in line 4 (q.v.), the sense is somewhat more extended than simple future -- "it will not be, as it is not now."
- dr.i dwt.i. May be taken in one of two ways. Either the reference has returned to the deceased as himself (as in line 2), who declares that he has removed all his evil and thus "sees his father," or the line is a continuance of the speech of the sun-god-creator. In the latter case, dwt.i is objective genitive ("what is evil to me": cf. Gard., Eg.Gram., p. 90 n. 4). There is a good case to be made for either interpretation. On the one hand, a return to the personal is not out of order here, and it seems unlikely that the sun-god-creator would refer to Atum (nb mšrw) as "my father." On the other hand, the god has been speaking as himself up to this point, and the deceased has already declared: "I do not know evil" (line 3-4). The determining factor seems to lie in dwt.i, and, as the objective genitive is apparently limited to "transitive" nouns (nouns which stem from a trans. verb, or which may be expressed as such), I have opted for the first possibility.
- (18) hnhnw. A puzzling expression. The det. ḥ indicates that this and the following imy-psdw are to be taken as epithets rather than as verbal expressions*hnhn.i imy psd.i or the like. The det. ḥ suggests an association with hn, "equip, command, govern," etc., but all the pertinent reduplicated forms of the verb are connected with "walking" (Faulkner, DME, p. 172; "hinder, detain," "dawdler(?), cripple(?)"), so that unless some obscure mythical expression is involved, the word refers to "command" or the like. An association with hnty, "eternity," etc. (" for "), is not likely.
- imy-psdw. The det. ḥ suggests a nominal interpretation. The sense is clear, but difficult to render succinctly in English. The literal meaning is "he who is within (the) light (the 'shining')," but the connotations of the combination are subtler, and approach a sentential sense: "He is manifest in the shining of the sun."
- Hb(t). An epithet for Thoth; cf. R. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies (Brown Egyptological Studies I, London,

1954), pp. 90, 424, 566. Its inclusion here is a mystery. Connection with the preceding words is doubtful, since "the Western Mound of the Ibis" calls for an indirect genitive (n), lacking here. Nor is a place-name meant, since the proper determinatives are absent. The occurrence of the word here seems inexplicable, and perhaps has little significance.

C. Translation

Chapter 17

5. I am Atum when I existed alone. I came into being in
6. Nun. I am Rē' when he appeared, when (he) began to rule [that which] he had [made].
7. Who is he? It is Rē' when (he) began to appear in
8. Herakleopolis as a king, as one who existed before the Lifting of Shu had taken place, being
9. on the Hill which is in Hermopolis. I am the great god who came into being of himself.
10. It is Nun. [Another saying. It is Rē'] who created his name(s) [as the gods] of the Ennead. Who
11. is he? It is Rē', who created the name(s) of his members, and that is how these came into being
12. as gods who are in [his] following. I am he among the gods who is not avoided.
13. Who is he? It is Atum, who is in his sun-disk. Another saying.
14. It is Rē' when he shines in the eastern horizon of the sky. I am Yesterday, while I know
15. Tomorrow. Who is he? As for Yesterday, it is Osiris.
16. As for Tomorrow, it is Rē' on that day of destroying
17. the enemies of the Lord of All and (on which) his son
18. Horus was made ruler. Another saying. It is the day of the feast "We Shall Remain" -- that
19. means that the burial of Osiris was ordered by his father Rē' and that the battle
20. of the gods was fought on the occasion of Osiris' being appointed Lord of the West. What is it?
21. It is the West, when (the battle) was fought against the ba's of the gods on the occasion of Osiris' being appointed to the district of the West. Another
22. saying. It is the West, to which Rē' had each god descend and then
23. fight over it. I know that god who is there.
24. Who is he? It is Osiris. Another saying. Rē' is his name,
25. and it is the phallus of Rē', the very thing with which he copulates. I am that Heron
26. which is in Heliopolis, I am Reckoner of what exists. Who
27. is he? It is Osiris. Another saying. It is his corpse. Another saying.
28. As for "his being enkindled(?)" and "what exists", it is the corpse. Another saying.
29. It is eternity and everlastingness. As for eternity, it is

day. As for everlastingness,
30. It is night.

Chapter 85

1. Changing into the Ba of Atum. Words to be said by the Osiris Scribe Any, justified.

2. I shall not enter into the place of condemnation, I shall not perish, I shall not know it. I am

3. Rē' who came forth from Nun. That is the ba [of] the god who created his members. My abomination

4. is evil; I do not see it, because I think according to Ma-'at, I live

5. on it. I am Hū, the imperishable, in this my name

6. of "Ba". I came into being of myself, with Nun, in this my name

7. of Khopri. I have become them, as Rē'. I am the Lord of the (sun)light.

9. I am the eldest of the primeval ones. This means that my ba

10. is the ba's of the gods of eternity. This means that my body is everlastingness, this means that my form is eternity, the Lord of years,

11. the Ruler of everlastingness. I am he who creates darkness, who makes his place in the limits of heaven. When I desire (it),

12. I reach their limits, I go upon my legs, I direct

13. with my staff, I cross the metallic expanse which (I) made(?). I remove and destroy (?) the hidden serpents

14. which are in my path, as a Lord of action (?). My ba is the ba's

15. of the gods of eternity. My body is everlastingness. I am a High one, the Lord of the land of Tebu. "Young man

16. in the city, boy in the fields" is my name; my name is imperishable. I am the Ba whom Nun created, who makes his place

17. in the necropolis. My nest remains unseen, my egg remains undisturbed. I drive out my evil, I see my father,

18. the Lord of evening. His body is that which is in Heliopolis, the Commander (?), Manifest in the shining (of the sun) upon the Western Mound. Ibis.

APPENDIX IID

The Heliopolitan System in Papyrus Bremner-Rhind

Pap. Bremner-Rhind (BM10188)

Text A: XXVI, 21 - XXVII, 5

Text B: XXVIII, 20 - XXIX, 6

Source: Faulkner, The Papyrus






























Bremner-Rhind (Bibliotheca

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A. The Egyptian Text

Text A

XXVI

21.                             

44. 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦

a different arrangement in the original of Text B. Whenever possible, Text A has been left in the original order.

A. mđ;t nt<y> rđ hprw nw r' shr 'pp dd-mdw nb-r-dr dd.f m-ht
B. mđ;t nt rđ hprw nw r' shr 'pp dd-mdw nb-r-dr dd.f

A. hpr.f ink pw hpr m hpri
B. hpr.i hpr hprw hprw.kwi m hpr n hpri hpr m sp-tpy hpr.

A. hpr.n.i hpr hpr hpr hpr nbt m-ht hpr.i
B. kwi m hpr n hpri hpr.i hpr hpr pw

A. 'š;t hprw m pr m r.i
B. n p;(w).n.i f̄w p;wt(yw) ir.n.i p;(w).

A.
B. n.i m p;wt(yw) p;[.n] rn.i f̄w.s[n] ir<s>[.n].i p;wt p;wt(yw)

A. nn
B. ir.i mrt.i nbt m t; pn wsht.n.i im.f ts.n.i drt.i w'.kwi nn

A. hpr pt nn hpr t; nn km; s;-t; ddft m bw pwy nn išš.n.i m šw
B. ms.sn nn išš.n.i m šw

A. nn tf.n.i m tfnt
B. nn tf.n.i m tfnt in.n.i r.i ds.i rn.i pw h̄k;w ink pw hpr.n.

A.
B. i m hpr[i] hpr.kwi m hpr n hpri hpr.n.i m p;wt(yw) hpr 'š;t

A. nn
B. hprw m tp-' nn hpr hpr nbt m t; pn ir.n.i iry nbt w'.kwi nn

A. hpr ky ir.n.f hn'.i ts.
B. hpr ky n ir.n.f hn'.i m bw pwy ir.i hprw im m b;.i pwy ts.

A. n.i im.sn m nnw m nn nn gm.n.i bw 'h'.n.i im ;ht.n.i m ib.i
B. n.i im m nnw m nn nn gm.n.i bw 'h'.n.i im ;ht.n.i m ib.i

A. snt.n.i m hr.i ir.n.i irw nbt w'.kwi snt.n.i m ib.i ds.i
B. snt.n.i m hr.i ir.n.i iry nbt w'.kwi snt.n.i m ib.i

A. hpr 'š;t hprw nw hprw m hprw nw ms(w) m hprw
B. km;.n.i ky hpr 'š;t hprw nw hpri hpr.in ms(w).sn m hprw

A. nw ms(w).sn ink pw išš.n.i m šw tfn.n.i m tfnt m-ht hpr.i
B. nw ms(w).sn ink pw išš.n.i m šw tf.n.i m tfnt hpr.n.i

A. m ntr w' ntr 3 pw r.i hpr.n.i m t; pn h'' irf šw tfnt m
B. m ntr w' ntr 3 pw r.i hpr ntrwy m t; pn h'' irf šw tfnt m

A. nnw wn.sn im.f in.sn n.i irt.i m-ht.sn m-ht
B. nnw wnn.sn im in irt.i in n.i sn m-ht hnty w;.sn

A. irf sm;.n.i 't.i h;t.i m hf'.i
B. r.i sm;.n.i m 't.i pr.sn im.i ds.i m-ht h;t.n.i m hf'.i ii

A. hr.n.i m r.i ds.i
B. n.i ib.i m drt.i ';; hr m r.i išš.n.i m šw tf.n.i

A. in it.
B. m tfnt <Repeat of hpr.n.i m ntr w' to tf.n.i m tfnt> in it.

- A. i nnw s;tt·sn irt·i m-s;·sn dr hnty w;·sn r·i
 B. i nnw [s];tt·sn irt·i m-s;·sn w;b sp-2 hnty //
- A. rm·n·i hr·sn m rmw pr m irt·i hpr
 B. [w;]b hf(;)y m rm·i rm(w) ir·i k;·n [irt?].i hpr
- A. rmt pw db(;) s m ;ht h'r·s r·i m-ht ii·s gm·s ir·
 B. rmt pw db(;)·n·i sw m ;h(t) h'r·n·s r·i m-ht ii·s
- A. n·i kt m st·s hr·n ;t·s<n> iw w;bw·s<n>
 B. kt rd m-hnw n st·s hr·n dndn·s iw w;bw·s hr w;bw
- A. db(;)·n·i itt<s> im·s pr·n·i m w;bw [hpr·i] ddft
 B. db(;)·n·i im sn'' im·s
- A. nbt hpr nbt im·sn ir·n·i shnty irf st·s m hr·i m-ht irf
 B. [ir·n·i slhnty irf st·s [m] hr·i
- A. hk(;)·s t; pn r dr·f ms·in šw tfnt [gb]hn' nwt ms·in gb
 B. hk(;)·n·s t; pn dr·f ms·n šw tfnt gb nwt [ms gb
- A. nwt wsir hr-(m)-hnty-n-irty stš ;st nbt-hwt m ht w' m-s;
 B. nwt] wsir hr-(m)-hnty-n-irty stš ;st nbt-hwt
- A. w' im·sn 'š;t·sn m t; pn
 B. <in> ms [·in]·sn km(;)·sn hpr(w) 'š;t m t; pn m
- A.
 B. hprw nw ms(w) m hprw nw ms(w)·sn

C. Notes

Text A

XXVI

- (21) hprw. "Creations", following Faulkner's observation (JEA 23 (1937), p. 181) that the text refers to the creations and not to the "forms" of Rē'.
dd·f m-ht hpr·f. M-ht with sdm·f either "after" or "when" (Gard, Eg. Gram., #178). In this case, either translation is feasible, but since the context is the immediate events of the creation, "when" is perhaps closest to the sense intended.
- (22) hpr hpr(w). Text A distinguishes the verb hpr (𐎢𐎠) and the two nouns hpr(w) (𐎢𐎠) and hprw (𐎢𐎠𐎡). The distinction seems to lie in the meaning intended: hpr is obviously the verb "to become, to come into being"; the nouns hpr(w) and hprw are two different writings of the same noun, which means both "form, shape" and "(modes of) being" (Faulkner, DME, p. 189). An analysis of the use of the first writing in Text A indicates that it is used to express a substantive from the verb, while hprw is more directly subjective: "form" (= "kinds of being", that which exercises hpr). Text B employs hprw alone, in the same position and therefore probably in the same sense as hpr(w), as well as directly, as hprw in Text A. Both texts also use the more common word irw for "form", which suggests a rigid interpretation of hprw as subjective. The

distinctions suggested by the original have been maintained, insofar as possible, by the translation here: hpr(w) is "being" (more precisely, and less stylistically, "becoming"), hprw is "kinds of being" (more precisely, "being"), and irw translates simply as "form". In both texts, there are a few instances where the distinction between hpr(w) and hprw does not seem to be so strictly observed.

m pr m r.i. Following Faulkner and Gunn (JEA 23 (1937), p. 181), who take pr as masc. part. used with m: "which came forth from my mouth".

nn hpr. For n hprt. Nn km? is the passive of this construction; cf. Gard., Eg. Gram., #404.

s?-t?. Perhaps corrupt for s?-t?, "snake". However, the translation "ground" (s?tw) fits equally well.

- (23) m nn(w). Cf. CT II, 33f (Appendix IIB): m nnwt; here, as in the instance from the Coffin Texts, nn(w) is substantive from nnw, "be inert".

?ht.n.i m ib.i. Faulkner translates this as "considered?", which he arrives at by comparison with snt.n.i m ib.i of XXVI, 24 (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182). In view of the common translation of ?h ib, "be serviceably minded" (Faulkner, DME, p. 4), and the fact that the ?hw are "effective spirits" (Frankfort, Religion, pp. 63-64, 100-101), there could well be a connotation of the god arousing his heart to consideration and action.

XXVII

- (1) s?tt.sn. This is the same word written ?ty in XXIX, 3. The root meaning "bring up" seems more likely here than the more common application "to educate".

w?sn r.i. There is probably a dual reference involved (.sn), both to the "wandering" of the Eye of the creator and to the wanderings of Tefenet in Nubia (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182).

- (1-2) m-ht hpr.i ... m t? pn. Cf. CT II, 39e (Appendix IIB): m wn.f w'y m hpr.f m hmt. M-ht is probably best translated "when", rather than "after"; the parallel of Text B (XXVIII, 26) omits m-ht altogether and alters the sdm.f of Text A to sdm.n.f, suggesting that the relative past time of the sdm.n.f (like that of m wn.f in CT) is also to be in the m-ht sdm.f of this line. Hpr ntrwy of Text B makes it probable that r.i in that text is to be taken in anticipatory emphasis: "in addition to me, two gods having come into being"; Text B therefore agrees with the line from CT II, in which the two additional gods are Shu and Tefenet. Text A, however, substitutes hpr.n.i for hpr ntrwy, which precludes translation of r.i as anticipatory in that text and indicates that hpr.n.i is in relative pasttime: "three gods came into being in addition to me, when I came into being." If Text A is not corrupt, then the extra god is perhaps the sun; cf. XXVII, 2, in which

Shu and Tefēnet bring to the creator his "Eye after them." However, the line from the Coffin Texts indicates that two, and not three, "additional" gods are meant.

- (2) rm·n·i hr·sn. Hr·sn probably referring to 't·i (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182).
- (3) ir·n·i shnty irf st·s m hr·i. "So I advanced its place in my face"; that is, the Eye is appeased by being made the Uraeus, which, according to the sentences which follow, "has power over the land".
- (4) hr·n ;t·s<n> iw w;bw·s<n>. Following Faulkner's emendation of the passage. hr r w;bw Faulkner takes as an idiom, meaning probably "to die away, to come to nothing"; ;t for ;d, "wrath"; iw a common writing for r in later times (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182).
itt<s> im·s. Faulkner's emendation (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182).
pr·n·i m w;bw. The meaning is obscure. Faulkner notes that w;bw, "roots", seems to have a special significance in the text (JEA 23 (1937), p. 182); perhaps it is merely an expression of the completely fundamental nature of the creator's origin.
- (5) m ht. The implication is that these creations follow in the natural order, from the creation of Shu and Tefēnet, and are in this way to be distinguished from the special creative act of the creator. The distinction is further underlined by the use of ·in in the verb-form.
hr hnt(y)-n-irty. "Horus the Far-Sighted"; n is purely orthographical (cf. Griffiths, in Chron. d'Eg. 33, no. 66 (1958), pp. 182-193).

Text B

XXVIII

- (20) m hprw n hpri. Singular use of hprw, as the following form of the indirect genitive n shows.
- (21) p;(w)·n·i. Faulkner (JEA 24 (1938), pp. 46-47) relates p; in this and the phrases following to the auxiliary p;w, "to have done in the past" (cf. Gard., Eg.Gram., #484). Used as an independent verb, p; is perhaps best translated adjectivally, "to be antecedent".
p;(w)·n·i iw ... p;(w)·n·i m. Faulkner (JEA 24 (1938), p. 47) suggests that the second phrase's m may have "a nuance of the superlative". While this is feasible (cf. Gard., Eg.Gram., #97, 3rd ex.), it is simpler to consider the second phrase as repetitive and not augmentive of the first; perhaps the second p;wtyw might be read as singular, m then expressing "as".
p;[·n] rn·i iw·s[n] ir<s>[·n]·i. Following Faulkner's emendation (JEA 24 (1938), p. 47). Although the simplest solution might be to take p; rn·i literally, and iw·s-ir·s as a miswriting of iw·f-ir·s(w), the following p;wt and p;wtyw would then make no sense. It is better to assume that the ending ·n·i of p;·n·i and the n·i of rn·i have been confused. Furthermore, a unique occurrence of p; as the definite article is unnecessary here.

- (22) wsht·n·i im·f. There are several possible interpretations of this difficult usage of wsh. Faulkner translates "I was all-pervading(?)," taking wsh in its primary meaning "to be spread out" (JEA 24 (1938), p. 47). It is also possible to read wsht n·i, "I have space" (cf. Urk. IV, 834, 17) or as a form of wsh m, "be proud of" (cf. Urk. IV, 350, 3; for a similar thought, cf. Appendix III, line 59). The discussions of Chapter 12, however, indicate that Faulkner's translation (perhaps better: "I was extended in it") is closest to the sense intended (cf. Lanczkowski, in Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte 5 (1953), p. 228). The "Book of the Heavenly Cow" contains a line similar to this: "the Ba of Rē' is all over the earth" (Piankoff, Shrines, p. 33), although in this case, it is probably the rays of the sun which are meant, rather than the essence of the creator himself (cf. ibid., p. 103).
- (22-23) hpr·n·i m hpr(i). Hprw probably corrupt for hprī, since "being" or "kinds of being" makes no sense in this context. m p;wtyw. Perhaps for m p;wty, "as a primeval one".
- (24) ir·i hprw im m b;·i pwy. The phrase is understandable in light of the Ba's function as an emanation or manifestation of its referent (cf. Chapter 13); all that exists is thus said here to be an emanation of the creator himself (cf. wsht·n·i im·f, n. XXVIII, 22, above).
- (25) km;·n·i ... ms(w)·sn. Faulkner notes (JEA 24 (1938), p. 47) that the whole text shows signs of corruption, especially in the last sentence, and suggests that the version of XXVI, 24, is nearer the archetype.
- (26-27) in irt·i ... hnty. Perhaps corrupt, especially in the group in irt·i in n·i sn. As it stands, the phrase is applicable to the action of the creator producing Shu and Tefēnet from out of the primeval waters (JEA 24 (1938), p. 47). The wording of Text A (XXVII, 2) has Shu and Tefēnet bringing the sun to the creator.
- (27) 'i' hr m r·i. Faulkner suggests the translation "seed fell from my mouth" (JEA 24 (1938), p. 48). However, 'i' could conceivably be verbal here (·i unexpressed), and the parallel hr·n·i m r·i of Text A (XXVII, 1) suggests the translation "(I) spat, letting fall from my mouth"; it is difficult to justify a connection of 'i' with the phrase just preceding.
- XXIX
- (3) w;bw sp-2 hnty ... k;·n [irt?].i. This section is almost hopelessly corrupt; it is necessary to refer to the corresponding section in Text A for any kind of intelligible sense (JEA 24 (1938), p. 48).
- (4) hr·n dndn·s fw w;bw hr w;bw. Cf. note on this idiom(?) under XXVII, 4, above. The text here apparently adds the further emphasis hr w;bw.
- (4-5) db(?)·n·i im sn' im·s. Faulkner reads the s of sn' with the preceding im, but a causal sn' referring to db(?)·n·i for its antecedent makes better sense.

- (5) [ir·n·i slhnty st·s [m] hr·i. Restoration after XXVII, 3. There has apparently been a lapsus in which the s of shnty combined with the s of the preceding im·s, resulting in the omission of ir·n·i.
ms·n šw tfnt gb nwt [ms·n gb nwt] wsir. Omitted phrase supplied from Text A (XXVII, 5). Ms·n gb nwt was probably omitted through homoteleuton with gb nwt of the first clause.
- (5-6) <in> ms [in] ·sn km? ·sn ... hprw nw ms(w)·sn. Intelligible but probably corrupt, a combination of hpr 'š;t hprw nw hprw m hprw nw ms(w) m hprw nw ms(w)·sn of XXVI, 24, with ms·sn 'š;t ·sn m t; pn of XXVII, 5; km? ·sn perhaps inserted under the influence of km? ·n·i ddft nbt of XXVII, 4 (JEA 24 (1938), p. 48).

C. Translation

Text A

XXVI

21. The Book of Knowing the Creations of Rē' and of Overthrowing 'Apōpi. Words to be said: The Lord of All, he spoke when he came into being: I am he who came into being as Khopri. When I came into being,

22. Being came into being, and all Being came into being when I came into being: many were the kinds of being which came forth from my mouth, when as yet heaven did not exist, earth did not exist, and no snakes or creeping things had been created in this place. I raised up (some) of them in

23. Nun from inertness, when I had as yet found no place to stand upon. I became effective in my heart, I surveyed with my face, and I made every form, I alone. I had not yet spat out as Shu nor emitted as Tefēnet, and no other had come into being

24. to act with me. I planned with my own heart, and there came into being a multitude of kinds of beings -- namely, the kinds of progeny and the kinds of their progeny. I am he who acted as husband with my fist, I copulated

XXVII

1. with my shadow, I let fall from my own mouth: I spat forth as Shu and emitted as Tefēnet. It was my father Nun who produced them, my Eye following after them since the ages of ages when they were far from me. When I came into being as

2. one god, there were three god(s) in addition to myself, as I came into being in this land. Then Shu and Tefēnet rejoiced in the inert waters in which they were. They brought me my Eye in their train, after I had united my members. I wept over them: that is how

3. men came into being -- from the tears which came forth from my Eye. It raged against me after it had returned and found that I had made another in its place, having replaced it with the Glorious Eye. So I advanced its place in my countenance, and when it ruled

4. this whole land its rage abated, (for) I replaced what had been taken from it. I came forth from the roots [and created]

all creeping things and all that exists among them. Then Shu and Tefēnet gave birth to

5. Gēb and Nūt, and Gēb and Nūt gave birth to Osiris, Horus Far-Sighted, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys from the womb, one after the other, and they gave birth to their multitudes in this land.

Text B

XXVIII

20. The Book of Knowing the Creations of Rē' and of Overthrowing 'Apōpi. Words to be said: The Lord of All, he says: I came into being, and Being came into being, I coming into being in the form of Khopri, who came into being on the First Occasion, I coming into being in the form

21. of Khopri. My coming into being was the coming into being of Being, because I was antecedent to the primeval ones, whom I made; I was the antecedent one among the primeval ones, and my name [was] antecedent to them, (since) I [had] made primeval time and the primeval ones.

22. I made whatever I wished in this land, and I was extended in it. I knit together my hand, being alone, when they were as yet unborn: I had not yet spat out as Shu nor emitted as Tefēnet. I used my own mouth, and "Magic" is my name. I am he who came into

23. being as Khopri, while I came into being in the form of Khopri. I came into being among the primeval ones, and there came into being a multitude of beings in the beginning, when no being had yet come into being in this land. I made all that was made, being alone, when no other

24. had come into being to act with me in this place. I made the beings therein as this my Ba; I raised (some) of them in Nun from a state of inertness, when I had as yet found no place to stand upon. I became effective in my heart,

25. I surveyed with my face, and I made all that was made, being alone. I planned with my own heart and created another Being, and manifold were the forms of Khopri. Then their progeny came into being -- namely, the forms of their progeny.

26. I am he who spat forth as Shu and emitted as Tefēnet. I came into being as one god: that was three god(s) -- in addition to myself, two gods having come into being in this land. Then Shu and Tefēnet rejoiced in Nun, in which they were. It was my Eye that brought

27. them to me after the ages of ages when they were far from me. I united my members, and they came forth from my own self. After I had acted as husband with my fist, my desire came to me in my hand. (I) made a discharge, letting fall from my mouth: I spat forth

XXIX

1. as Shu and emitted as Tefēnet. <Repeat of XXVII, 26 ("I came into being as one god") to XXIX, 1 ("emitted as Tefēnet"), extending from XXIX, 1, to XXIX, 2>.

2. It was my father

3. Nun who produced them, my Eye following after them [since]

the ages of ages ... when I wept with tears. My [Eye?] planned, and that is how men came into being.

4. I replaced it with the Glorious Eye, and it raged against me after it returned, (since) another had grown in its place. Its wrath fell down and abated. I made replacement, soothing

5. it, and [pro]moting its place [in] my countenance, and it ruled the whole land. Shu and Tefēnet gave birth to Gēb and Nūt, [and Gēb and Nūt gave birth to] Osiris, Horus Far-Sighted, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys, and they [then] gave birth and created

6. many beings in this land -- namely, the kinds of progeny and the kinds of their progeny.

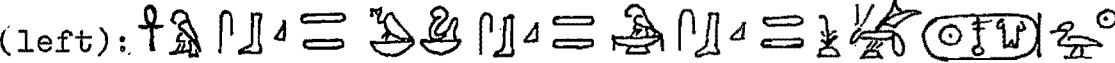
APPENDIX III


The Memphite Theology: BM498

Source: Sethe, DMT;
Junker, Götterlehre
and Pol. Lehre

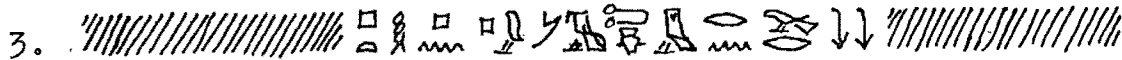
A. The Egyptian Text

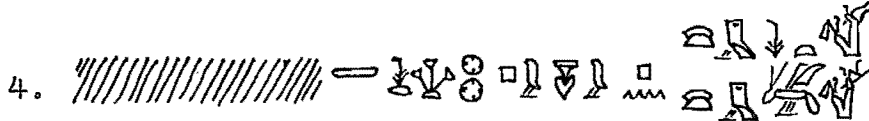
1. Dual inscription running across the top of the stone.

(left): 

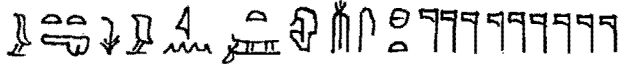
 (right): Identical with the left member, with the exception of the name skr substituted for the name pth.

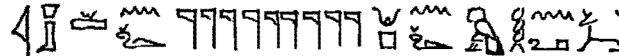
2. 

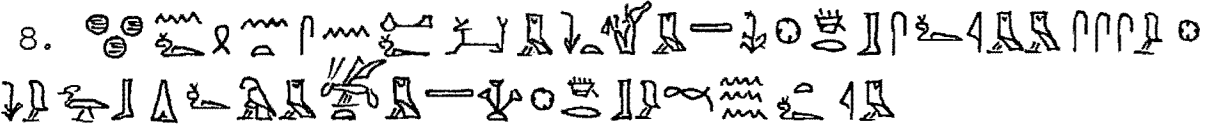
3. 

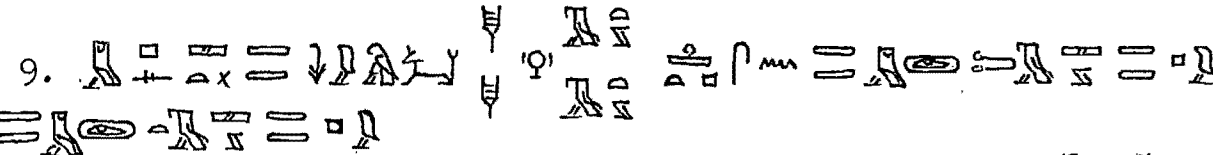
4. 

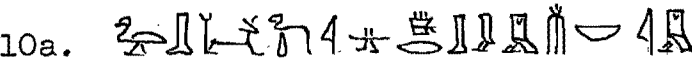
5. Large gap in the original Ms., destroyed ("by worms") and indicated in the stone by an uncarved row (Sethe).

6. (empty space)  (empty space)

7. (empty space)  (empty space)




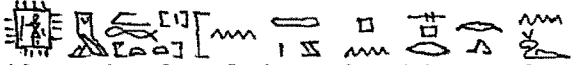

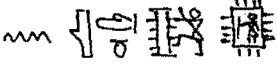


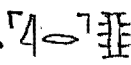
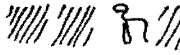

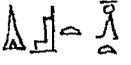
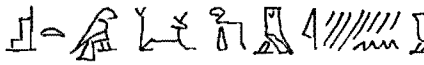
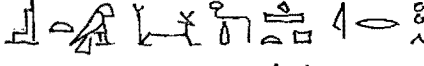
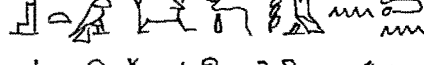
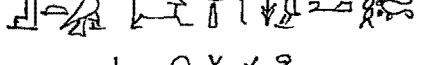
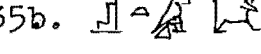

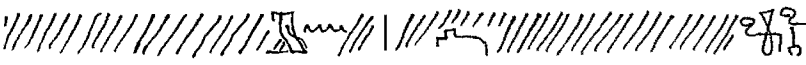
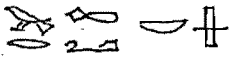

8. 

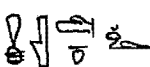
9. 


10a. 

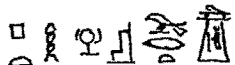
10b. 

- 11a. 11b.
- 12a. 12b.
- 10c.
- 11c.
- 12c.
- 13a. 13b.
- 14a. 14b.
- 15a. 15b.
- 16a. 16b.
- 17a. 17b.
- 18a. 18b.
- 13c.
- 14c.
- 15c.
- 16c.
- 17c. (break of 18cm = ca. 10 groups)
- 18c. (break of 26cm = ca. 14½ groups)
19. (break of 32½cm = ca. 19 groups)
- 20a.
- 21a.

- 20b. (break of about 27cm = ca. 16 groups) 
- 21b.  (break of about 29cm = 17 groups) 
22.  (break of about 49cm, from the stroke-determinative of gs-mhtt = 29 groups) 
23.  (break of 51½cm = about 30 groups)
- 24a.  (remainder lost)
- 25a-30a. Completely lost.
- 31a. Completely lost, except for the determinative(?)  at the end of the line.
- 32a. Completely lost except for  at the end of the line.
- 33a-35a. Completely lost.
- 24b. Completely lost.
- 25b.  (remainder lost)
- 26b.  (remainder lost)
- 27b. (break of 2.7cm = 1 group)  (break of 25½cm = 15 groups)
- 28b.  (break of 20cm = ca. 12 groups)
- 29b.  (break of 22½cm = 13 groups)
- 30b.  (break of 18½cm = 11 groups)
- 31b.  (break of 17cm = 10 groups)
- 32b-35b.  (remainder lost)
36. (break of 25cm = 15 groups)  (break of about 29cm = 17 groups)
37.  (remainder lost)
- 38-44. Completely lost.
45.  (remainder lost)
46.  (remainder lost)

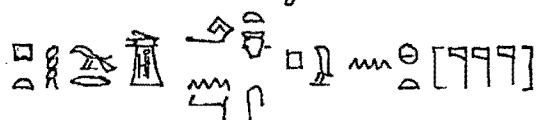
47.  (remainder lost)

48. 

49a. 

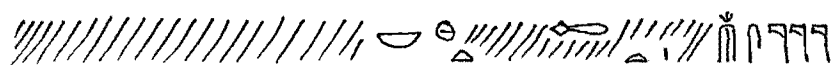
50a. 


51a. 


52a. 

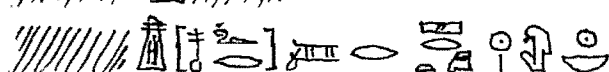
(remainder lost)

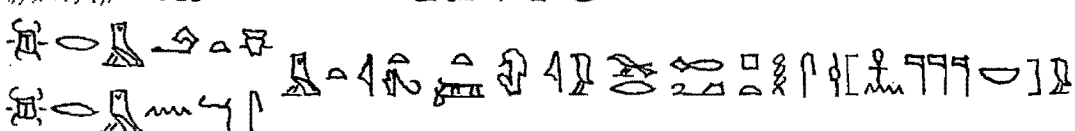
{The separation between lines 49a-52a and 49b-52b }
 {is unclear, as the end of the a-lines and the be- }
 {ginning of the b-lines are lost. }

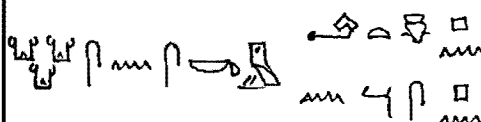
49b. 

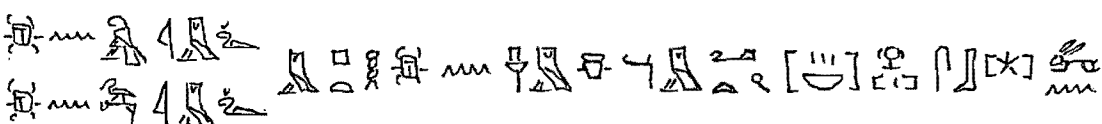
50b. 

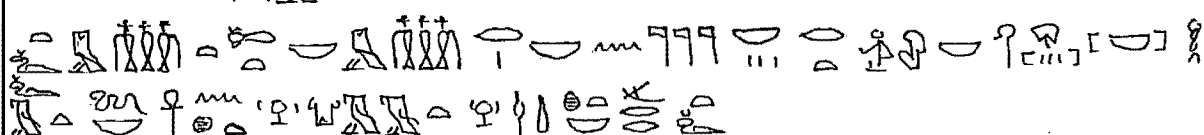
51b. 

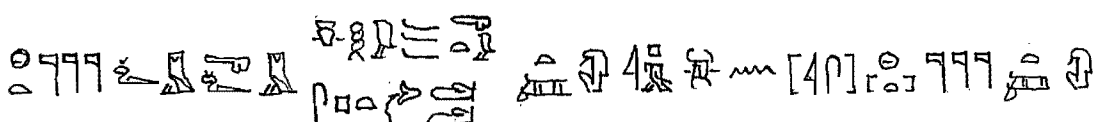
52b. 

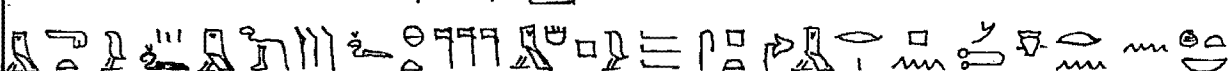
53. 

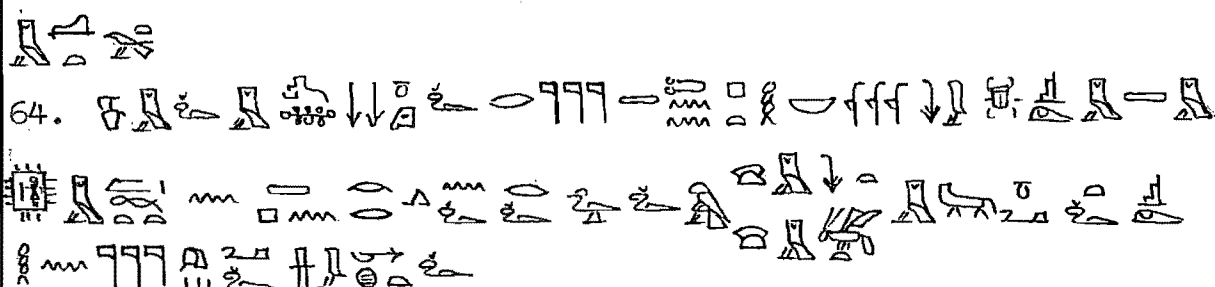
 (empty space: 21½cm = 14 groups)

54. 



55. 





B. Notes

- (8) dr. Junker (Pol. Lehre, p. 18) suggests "up to", but the reading "in" is fairly well established: cf. dr bw nb (Pyr. 976d); Edel, Altäg.Gram., #772b.
b[w m]s̄.f. Restoration certain: cf. bw ms̄.k im in 10a.
- (9) t̄s̄ t̄wy pw. Or, parenthetically, "that is the boundary of the Two Lands," although Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 26) does not think so. This phrase and the few words preceding it are erroneously repeated at the end of the line.
- (11c-12c) hr s̄ pw n s̄.f wp-ht.f. Cf. Pyr. 1814: "Thou art the eldest son of Gēb, his first-born, his heir," in which the King is addressed as Horus.
- (13b) tw. Object of wd.n.(i) of 13a; the n (or r) of predication has been omitted before wt.
wt. Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 29) attests several examples from the Pyramid Texts of the use of wt (wt.ti) to express priority of inheritance (Pyr. 2, 593a, 1615c; reduplicated: 1289a, 1690c, 1698c, 1814b, 1870b). Pyr. 576a substitutes wr for the wt.ti of an equivalent passage in 650a, thus assuring the significance. The jackal-det. perhaps through confusion with the OK ecclesiastical title Wt-Inpw, or perhaps ideo. for s̄.b, "senior",
- (14b) iw'.t(i). Comparison with the form w'.t(i) suggests, contrary to Sethe's opinion (Dram. Texte I, p. 30), that this is Gardiner's Old Perfective (Gard., Eg.Gram., ##309 ff.) = Sethe's "pseudo-participle" used independently (Gard., #312). ⤿ in this form (2 sing.) can precede the det. of the verb (Gard., #309). In this case, the verb is a form of iw', "inherit". This interpretation of the form brings 14b in line with the correspondences in the following lines (14a-b: verb-form to verb-form; 15a-b: noun to noun).
- (16a) n s̄ n s̄.(i). Reminiscent of the legal phrase s̄ n s̄, used in wills to confirm the line of legal inheritance.
- (16b) s̄.b šm'w [mhwl]. Space for the Lower Egyptian sign 𓂏, notwithstanding the frequency of the OK title s̄.b šm'w (Pyr. 727b, 1015c, 1257c, 2001b).
- (18b) ms̄ wp-w[w]t̄l. Or, as in Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 31), "on the Birthday of Wepwawet." Wepwawet is often identified with the king in the OK (Pyr. 1374a; 1009c var. 1979b; cf. Kees, in Mercer, PT IV, p. 126).
- (13c) šw dmd t̄ pn m̄:t̄ m rn wr, etc. Following Sethe's inter-

pretation of dmd as perf. pass. part., with św the Erzählungspartikel "thus" and not the 3rd. pers. masc. pron. św(t), "he" (Dram. Texte I, p. 32). M;t thus refers to t; and not to św.

- (14c) Wrt(y)-Hk;w. "Great of Magic", in reference to the uraeus and the vulture (cf. Urk, IV, 361, 15; 566, 2). śm;(w) t;wy m inb-(hd). Śm;(w) perf. pass. part., not active sdm·f referring to hr; cf. identical form śm;(w) in the phrase immediately following this one.
- (15c) hpr·n. Following Junker's interpretation (Götterlehre, p. 54) of the form as an older variant of iw sdm·f (Gard., Eg.Gram., ##461, 462), in which iw is the impersonal statement "the fact is that" (corresponding to hpr·n here) and the sdm·f clause a virtual adverb clause serving as predicate of iw; cf. also Edel, Altäg.Gram., #901 Anm. śn' / w;d. Cf. Fig. 9.
- (16c) m bw [śplr·sn im. Restoration after Sethe, Dram. Texte I, p. 36; cf. Pyr. 1188d, in which the boat-det. appears as det. of śpr. śm;(wy). Continuation of the series htpwy śm;(w(y)) of 15c. mh;t t;wy f;t t; rśy mhy im·s. Either an epithet of the temple of a noun-clause qualifying hwt-ptḥ, most likely the former.
- (18c) m dd. "Without delay", after Sethe, Dram. Texte I, pp. 37-38. Wilson (ANET, p. 5) gives "repeatedly" for the same words in line 62.
- (19) n mh·n. The usual form is n sdm·f: Edel, Altäg.Gram., 510. m;t(i). Following Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 39), in which ḏ is corrupt for ḏ: the form is then 3rd pers. fem. sing. (dual? plural?) of Gardiner's Old Perfective; cf. the form in line 62. [nbt-hwt ptr·śn ... hw]·sn. Restoration after line 62.
- (20a-21a) [wśir]. Sethe's restoration (Dram. Texte I, p. 40), by analogy with lines 15a ff.
- (48) ntrw hprw m pth. Erman (DMT, p. 935) translates "Götter, die aus Ptḥ entstanden"; Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 47) gives "Götter, die in Ptḥ Gestalt gewonnen haben = zu Ptḥ geworden sind"; Junker (Götterlehre, p. 18) renders "Die Götter, die in Ptḥ Gestalt haben." It is interesting to note that m can conceal a double expression here. On face value, the phrase could almost be taken as a title: "The (Following) Gods Become Ptḥ," based on the feeling of line 54: hr śb; (pn). This does not assume, as Frankfort thinks, "that there were gods before Ptḥ" (Kingship, Chap. II n. 7, p. 353) but rather that other gods have been assigned primacy in other cities because Ptḥ's role had never before been elucidated. Secondly, in view of the fact that Ptḥ is the ultimate source of all the gods (cf. Chapters 18 and 21), the phrase can also express the origin of the gods: "the gods who came forth from Ptḥ" (following Erman). This is especially convincing in view of the creation account which immediately follows the eight

- "equations". The whole translation hinges, of course, on the interpretation of m, and which of the two (or more) is the one originally intended will undoubtedly remain a moot point (although Sethe, Dram. Texte I, p. 47) attests the frequency of hprw m meaning "Gestalt von etwas annehmen"). For interpretation of the text, both are equally valid, and it is in an attempt to render both of the possibilities that I have translated hprw m noncomitally by "are".
- (49a) hr(y) st wrt. Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 47) calls this a common epithet of Ptah, and deBuck (Oerheuvcl, p. 99) suggests evidence to support the equation of the throne with the primeval hill. St wrt is a common epithet of Memphis (Sethe, loc.cit.).
- (50a) it [ir (i)tlm]. Space under the t of it would fit either the det. ir or the verb ir. Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 48) restores the latter, from the parallel mwt ms (i)tm of 51a.
- (49b) pwt(?). The position of the signs e and a supports the reading pwt rather than psdt.
- (52b) [nfr]-tm. Junker (Götterlehre, p. 39) gives examples of the phrase and uses them to support the restoration. For a discussion of the line, cf. Anthes, in ZAS 80 (1955), pp. 83-84.
- (53) hpr m h:t / m ns m tit (i)tm. Rejecting Junker's proposition in favor of Sethe's. Junker ignores the obvious translation in favor of his "Wer".
swd [r'nh n' ntrw nblw]. Following Junker's restoration, which is more in line with the usages of the text than Sethe's phwy.f.
k:w.sn sk. The use of the particle is - isk/ist - sk/st in the Memphite Theology is unusual. Edel (Altäg.Gram., #852) notes that the use of isk/ist (is) is distinguished in Old Egyptian by the writing isk for the enclitic particle (enclitic only in the Pyramid Texts) and the writing sk for the proclitic; in addition, the writing is is used for both. The Memphite Theology uses the particle is five times: (1) in lines 55 and 56 (is restored by Sethe, Dram. Texte I, p. 58, for line 55), in both places obviously enclitic, following hpr.nn (enclitic use of is in verbal sentences: Edel, #825); (2) in line 58 (written s), also in an obviously enclitic position: t;-tnn (i)s pw ms ntrw (cf. Edel, #824cc); (3) in line 61 (also written s), again clearly enclitic, in a nominal sentence: snwt-ntr(t;-tnn) (i)s st wrt hnm t ib ntrw; (4) in line 61, in which is must again be considered enclitic, since if it were proclitic, it would introduce an imperf. act. part. clause, which it never does. The fifth instance (line 56) is discussed below in this note. The particle sk occurs three times in the Memphite Theology, and is more difficult to interpret than is. Just from the contrast with is, sk could uniformly be considered as proclitic, and indeed Edel (##852-857) implies that the OK used sk only in that manner. However, the use of sk in line 53-54 strongly sug-

gests that, at least in the Memphite Theology, both forms were used enclitically. In line 53-54, śk occurs in the middle of the sequence swd 'nh n ntrw nbw k'w.śn śk m h't pn ns pn (empty space) hpr.n hr im.f hpr.n dhwti im.f m pth. The example of line 61, which uses k'w.śn is, suggests that śk is proclitic here. However, the construction of the sequence in 53-54 seems to preclude that interpretation. Both Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 53) and Junker (Götterlehre, pp. 42-43) remark that the empty space between lines 53 and 54 probably does not indicate a loss of text from the original Ms., as it usually does in the Shabaka Stone, since the beginning of line 54 follows perfectly, as a relative clause, from the end of line 53; moreover, the m-clauses of line 53 (end) are obviously dependent upon the swd-clause which precedes śk; finally, śk (is-śk) does not occur before prepositional clauses in any stage of the language. It seems most likely, then, that śk in line 53 is enclitic, emphasising k'w.śn. In line 56, śk occurs in the sequence sw ms ntrw nbw tm psdt.f śk hpr.n is mdw-ntr nb. If śk is proclitic here, then the occurrence of the enclitic is after the verb must be accounted for. Edel (#824cc) gives only one example which might correspond -- śk hrw is pw -- but this is in a nominal sentence with pw as subject. It may be reasonable to suppose that the usage could be extended to verbal sentences such as that of line 56, but in the light of the use of śk in line 53, the occurrence of is after the verb, and the apparent lack of verbal examples of the sort śk-verb-is, it is just as reasonable to suppose that śk is enclitic in line 56 also, dependent upon tm psdt.f and used emphatically to set that phrase off from the preceding sw ms ntrw nbw. The use of śk in line 59, in the sequence sw htp pth m-h't irt.f ... ht nb mdw-ntr nb śk ms.n.f ntrw, may be either enclitic (mdw-ntr nb śk) or proclitic (śk ms.n.f); there is no definite evidence that it is one rather than the other, although if śk is proclitic, it would seem to be the only example of that usage in the Memphite Theology.

(54) m 't inb], etc. I have taken m here as meaning primarily "in" and at the same time "through, by means of" rather than the more commonly translated "over". It seems to me that the text here is concerned with the actualization of the power of Heart and Tongue, as well as with an exposition of the basis of its cosmogony, describing the epistemology from which the etiological epistemology used to depict Ptah's creation is derived (cf. Frenkián, DTM, pp. 69, 74). The translation itself is based on what seems to be the general meaning of shm m, namely, to exert an influence with regard to something or someone, although I think the basic intention of m here is "through", in view of the fact that the etiological epistemology derives from (= has validity because of) the operation of heart and tongue in the natural order. This sense is borne out by

the hr šb? phrase which follows, in which the operation of heart and tongue in the natural order is given validity as deriving from the normative use which the creator made of these organs.

wnt·f, etc. Rejecting Junker's Naturlehre in favor of Sethe's interpretation (Dram. Texte I, p. 55), even though the dependence of wnt·f and the succeeding ·f-references upon Ptah (line 54) is considerably stretched.

- (55) ibhw / špty. Cf. Schott, in ZAS 74 (1938), pp. 94-96, for an extended discussion of uses of this analogy.

ipw. Restoration of ḳ for ḳ following Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 57 n. 1).

- (56) mš·n pšdt. Following Junker (Götterlehre, p. 58); this phrase is dependent upon r pn in line 55. This interpretation makes much more sense than does Sethe's independent mš·n (Dram. Texte, p. 59).

m? irty šdm 'nhwy šsn fnd t?w. Infinitive clauses (nominal), to which the following š·r·šn refers.

ntf dd. Šwt is the more common form, but ntf occurs at least once in the OK (Pyr. 2041(N)). Dd is most likely the imperf. act. part., used with the independent pronoun to express present continual action (Gard., Eg.Gram., #373, 2); Edel (Altäg.Gram., #630dd) gives only the masc. pl. form ddiw (Pyr. 1220d), but the form dd for the masc. sing. fits his paradigm (#629).

tm pšdt·f. Following Junker, who interprets tm as verbal (Götterlehre, p. 60). Since the det. ḳ is written in all other cases, its absence here must be significant of the verbal use of the stem.

- (57) ir(w). Imperf. pass. part., also written ir or ir ḳ (Edel, Altäg.Gram., #6555c).

irr. Imperf. act. part., usually written ir (*ibid.*, #630 cc).

m mdt tn ḳ?ḳ?ḳ? ib prt m nš šw di(w) m?ḳ? / di(w) išft n? irr mrrt / mš(d)t. Restoration following Sethe (Dram. Texte I, pp. 64-65) and Junker (Götterlehre, p. 61). Apparently the restored phrase (now widely accepted as probable) was lost through homoteleuton of tn with the last consonants of m?ḳ? n / išft n.

- (58) wḳ·f mdt n. Following Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 64), to be emended to wḳt-mdw tn.

irrt im?h n ht nb. J. Sainte Fare Garnot has studied the use of the word im?h in the Pyramid Texts, and he comes to the conclusion that im?h signifies, in the abstract, "attachment", a concept exemplified in particular cases as the attachment between an owner and his possessions, a lord and his serfs, and that between the dead and a particular god (im?h r, the im?hww being those "attached" to the sun-god or the god of the dead, e.g., Osiris) (in Mercer, PT IV, 95-106). The significance of its use in this passage is therefore that "all things" are "attached" to "the word which the Heart thought and which came forth

from the Tongue"; in other words, all things owe their existence to the Word of the creator -- they are contingent upon it for their significance. The relation here is similar to the distinction between the existence of parts and the whole formulated by Hegel; C.E.M. Joad comments on this relation in a manner which is enlightening for the relation expressed here: "An aesthetic whole ... is not only the sum of its parts, but is something more than their sum, and this "more", though dependent on the assemblage of the parts for its physical existence, is not itself contained in them. The whole, in fact, is a something added, like the bloom on a rose or the flush on the cheek of perfect health. Yet just because it is dependent on the parts for its existence in the physical world, the subtraction of any one of the parts destroys the whole ... If anyone doubts this, let him play the stretto of a Bach fugue or the concluding chords in the fugue without playing the fugue which precedes them. Played thus by themselves, the mounting complexities of the culminating stretto sound thin, the profound appeasement of the final chords unconvincing. They have lost what, for want of a better word, I can only term their 'significance.' They no longer matter, where once they mattered enormously" (Guide to Philosophy Random House, New York, 1935, p. 416 and p. 417 n. 1). It is interesting to note how united most translations are on this intention: the most common rendering is "significance" (Frankfort, Kingship, p. 29; Kees, Lesebuch, p. 11; Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 65) or a close equivalent ("worth": Breasted, Dawn of Conscience, p. 36; "value, dignity, worth, reverence": Wilson, ANET, p. 5). Two dissenting interpretations are that of Junker ("Wesen" Götterlehre, p. 62) and Grdseloff ("qui est exécuté en toute chose": Archiv Orientalny 20, 3-4 (1952), pp. 484-486).

- (61) htpy hnmy. Imperf. act. participles, following Junker (Götterlehre, p. 66 ff.), and Edel (Altägypt. Gram., #630ee). Although the form calls for an equivalence in translation ("and"), the syncretistic inferences ("as", "to be") are obvious enough.

šnwt-ntr(t?-tnn) (i)ś st wrt. It is not certain whether the ś written after the det. t?-tnn is to be taken as an abbreviated writing of the enclitic is (as in line 58) or as a phonetic complement of st. Either is plausible, though the new train of thought begun with the words šnwt-ntr could easily take the emphatic separative is; cf. also the (uncomplemented) spelling of st wrt in line 63.

nbt 'nh. Probably an epithet qualifying hwt-ptḥ. Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 72) suggests the additional epithet nbt wsr for the empty space. In any case, the words irrt 'nh t'wy im.s which follow the break depend upon hwt-ptḥ.

- (62) n wnt wsr mh.f hr mw.f. The construction is puzzling. N wnt obviously introduces a prepositional adverb clause of

cause ("because"), but the noun + sḏm.f construction following n wnt is more comparable to that used in a prepositional adverb clause following wnt (ntt) alone (Edel, Alt-Äg.Gram., #1021); the construction is also reminiscent of that used after n wnn (Edel, #899), which perhaps was the original intention here. The most plausible explanation seems to lie in considering wšr as being in anticipatory emphasis (the usual form is n wnt - verb - subject), which would account for the use of the pronoun .f after mh. Edel gives dr wnt as the older form of the conjunction (#1054), n ntt as the younger; however, the form wnt.f (for ntt.f) in line 54 suggests that n wnt is equally as valid in age as dr wnt (or perhaps an intermediary stage between dr wnt and n ntt).

mnḥ m, "Be distressed at." Sethe (Dram. Texte I, p. 73) gives two examples for this use of mnḥ: Urk. IV, 260, and Pyr. 1533a. For the first, Faulkner (DME, p. 109) gives the translation "be joyful(?)".

- (63) r tr, "in time". Cf. E. Otto, in Die Welt als Geschichte 14 (1954), p. 137, and Gardiner, in JEA 37 (1952), p. 109, for a discussion of the term. Both agree on the general meaning "right time", "fitting season" (Gk. καίρος). špr. Used actively and transitively, perhaps as ḡ-causative of pr.

- (64) hwt-ity. An epithet of Memphis, as the royal residence (Sethe, Dram. Texte I, p. 41, with examples).

C. Translation

1. (left): Live the Horus Splendid One of the Two Lands; the Two Ladies Splendid One of the Two Lands; the Horus of Gold Splendid One of the Two Lands; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferkarē'; the Son of Rē' Sha[baka], beloved of Ptah (right: of Sokar) South-of-His-Wall, living like Rē' forever.

2. Then His Majesty copied this text anew in the house of his father Ptah South-of-His-Wall, since His Majesty had found (it) as (something) which the ancestors had made, (it) being eaten by worms and unknown from beginning to end. Then [His Majesty] copi[ed it] anew, so that it was better than it had been formerly, in order that his name might be enduring and his monuments in the house of his father Ptah South-of-His-Wall be made to last in perpetuity, as (something) which the Son of Rē' [Shabaka] made for his father Ptah Ta-tjenen, that he might be given life forever.

3. //is this Ptah, acclaimed in (his) great name of [Ta-tjenen]//

4. //that is the North and the South. He who united this [land] appears as King of Upper Egypt (and) appears as King of Lower Egypt//

5. -----

6. (empty space) "(He who) begot himself," says Atum, "who created the Ennead" (empty space)

7. (empty space) The Ennead assembled to him (Gēb), and he judged between Horus and Seth (empty space)
8. He prevented their strife, placing Seth as King of Upper Egypt in Upper Egypt, at the pla[ce] where he was [bo]rn, namely, Sw. So Gēb placed Horus as King of Lower Egypt in Lower Egypt, at the place where his father was drowned, namely, "Division of the Two Lands." Thus Horus succeeded as ruler in (one) district and Seth succeeded as ruler in (the other) district; and they were in agreement over the Two Lands at 'Ayan. This was the fixing of the boundaries of the Two Lands.
- 10a. Words said by Gēb to Seth: "Go to the place in which thou wast born." 10b. Seth -- Upper Egypt.
- 11a. Words said by Gēb to Horus: "Go to the place in which thy father was drowned." 11b. Horus -- Lower Egypt.
- 12a. Words said by Gēb to Horus and Seth: "I have judged you." 12b. -- Upper and Lower Egypt.
- 10c. (It was) odious in the heart of Gēb (that) the portion of Horus was like (that of) Seth.
- 11c. So Gēb gave his inheritance to Horus, who was 12c. the son of his son, his first-born.
- 13a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "(I) have decreed"-- (13b) Horus -- "thee (to be) the eldest."
- 14a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "Thou alone" -- (14b) Horus -- "thou dost inherit."
- 15a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "To that heir" -- (15b) Horus -- "my inheritance."
- 16a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "To the son of (my) son" -- (16b) Horus -- "(as) Senior of Upper Egypt [and Lower Egypt]".
- 17a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "The first-born" -- (17b) Horus -- "(as) Wepwawet////"
- 18a. Words said by Gēb before the Ennead: "It is a son who is born" -- (18b) Horus -- "(as) the Birth of Wepwawe[t]."
- 13c. Horus succeeded as King upon earth. Thus was united this land, acclaimed in the great name of Ta-tjenen South-of-His-Wall, Lord of Eternity.
- 14c. The two "Great of Magic" grew at his forehead. Thus it was Horus who appeared as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, who united the Two Lands in the "(White) Wall" nome, the place where the Two Lands were united.
- 15c. The reed and the papyrus-plant were placed at the outer gates of the temple of Ptah. This means that Horus and Seth were reconciled and united, that they might act as brothers, that their strife might cease
- 16c. wherever they [might] be. They are united at the temple of Ptah, "Balance of the Two Lands in which the Two Lands are weighed." That is this land
- 17c. (break) of Osiris in the temple of Sokar
- 18c. (break) Nephthys and Isis without delay,
19. because Osiris was drowned in his water, Isis [and Nephthys] looking on. [They saw him and were distressed over him. Horus

commanded Isis and Nephthys without delay that they should catch hold of Osiris and prevent him from drowning.

20a. Words said by Horus to Isis and Nephthys: "Go; catch hold of [him]." -- Osiris¹.

21a. Words said by Isis and Nephthys to Osiris: "We have come and seized thee." -- Osiris¹.

20b. (break) [Thus] they [br]ought him to

21b. [land] (break) [Thus Osiris became] earth at

22. Mansion of the King, on the north side [of this land. He arrived at it] (break) And

23. Mansion of the King was built (break)

24a. Words said by Gēb to Thoth: (remainder lost)

25a-35a. Almost completely lost.

24b. Completely lost.

25b. Words said///// (remainder lost)

26b. Words said by ///// to Isis [and Nephthys?] (remainder lost)

27b. (break) Isis had brought (break)

28b. Words said by Isis to Horus and Seth: "Do not///// (break)

29b. Words said by Isis to Horus and Seth: "Peace///// (break)

30b. Words said by Isis to Horus and Seth: "(It is) pleasant for you to live(?)///// (break)

31b. Words said by Isis to Horus and Seth: "Thus he wipes away your tears///// (break)

32b-35b. Words said by Isis to Horus and Seth: (remainder lost)

36. (break) Mansion of the King. This place (break)

37-44. Almost completely lost.

45. Elder and great is the Lord who is in (remainder lost)

46. Lost.

47. complete///// (remainder lost).

48. The gods who are Ptaḥ:

49a. Ptaḥ in Great-Throne/////

50a. Ptaḥ -- Nun, the father [who begot] At um/////

51a. Ptaḥ -- Naunet, the mother who bore Atum/////

52a. Ptaḥ, the elder, he is the Heart and Tongue of the En-[nead]/////

49b. /////Lord(?) of the Primeval Time(?)/////great/////Lord? /////who bore the gods.

50b. /////Niut, who bore the gods.

51b. /////Ptaḥ///// (remainder lost)

52b. /////Ptaḥ -- [Nefer]tum at the nose of Rē' every day.

53. There originated in the Heart (and) upon the Tongue (something) in the form of Atum. Elder and great is Ptaḥ, who transmitted 'the life of'[all the gods] -- in fact, their Ka's -- through this Heart (empty space)

54. by which Horus becomes Ptaḥ, and through this Tongue by which Thoth becomes Ptaḥ. (So) the Heart and Tongue have power in and through [every] member in light of the teaching that he is within every body and within every mouth -- of all the gods, all men, [all] animals, all crawling creatures: (all) that lives -- and (in this manner) thinking and actualizing everything that he wishes.

55. His Ennead is in his presence as teeth (and) lips: that is (respectively), the semen and the hands of Atum. So [now] the Enn[lead] of Atum, (which can be considered) as (products of) his semen and fingers, is, however, the teeth and the lips in this mouth which pronounces the name(s) of all things, (this mouth) from which Shu and Tefēnet came forth,

56. and which gave birth to the Ennead. The seeing of the eyes, the hearing of the ears, and the nose's breathing of the air -- they report to the Heart, and it is this (latter) which causes every perception to come forth. It is the tongue which repeats what the heart thinks. Thus were all the gods born and his Ennead completed, in fact. Indeed, the whole divine order arose from what the Heart thought and what the Tongue commanded.

57. Thus were the Ka's made and the Hemsowē ordered -- (they) that make all sustenance and all food-offerings -- through this speech 'which the Heart thought and which came forth from the Tongue. Thus justice is given to' him who does what is loved and 'evil is given to' him who does what is abhorred. Thus life is given to the peaceful and death is given to the rebellious. Thus all labor and all arts are performed -- the actions of the arms, the going of the feet,

58. the movement of all members -- according to this effective speech which the Heart thought and which comes forth from the Tongue, and which (speech) constitutes the significance of all things. And it is said of Ptah: "(He) made the totality and gave existence to the gods." This is in fact Ta-tjenen, who gave birth to the gods and from whom all things come forth: namely, offering-food and sustenance,

59. offerings for the gods, and all good things. Thus it is found recognized (that) his power is greater than (that of) the gods; and thus was Ptah content after he had made all things -- in fact, the whole divine order. He gave birth to the gods, made their cities, and established their localities. He put all the gods in their (proper) shrine(s),

60. increased their offerings, established their shrines, and formed their (earthly) incorporations to their heart's content. Thus the gods entered into their incorporate forms -- of every (kind of) wood, every (kind of) costly stone, every (kind of) clay, and everything that grows all over him

61. through which they might take form. Thus he gathered to him all the gods -- in fact, their Ka's -- and (they are) content (in being) united with the Lord of the Two Lands. Now the Granary of the God (Ta-tjenen) is Great-Throne which rejoices the heart of the gods who are in the temple of Ptah "Mistress of Life [and Power?]", whence flows the life of the Two Lands",

62. because it was Osiris who was drowned in his water. Isis and Nephthys saw (it); they saw him (drowned) and were distressed over him. Horus commanded Isis and Nephthys without delay that they should catch hold of Osiris and prevent him from drowning.

63. They turned (their) head(s) in time, and thus they brought him to land. He entered the Secret Portals (of the Netherworld)

in the Glory of the Lords of Eternity, in the steps of (him) who shines in the horizon, upon the course of Rē', in Great-Throne.

64. He joined the Palace and associated with the gods of Ta-tjenen Ptah, Lord of Years. Thus did Osiris become earth in Mansion of the King, on the north side of this land, which he had reached. And his son Horus (in his turn) appeared as King of Upper Egypt and appeared as King of Lower Egypt, in the embrace of his father Osiris and in the company of his divine predecessors and of his followers.

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