PRIESTS OF ÁMEN

possessed a temple in Æpt from the earliest times, and that all
that they did was to rebuild Ámen's sanctuary. As soon as the
Theban princes became kings of Egypt their priests at once began
to declare that their god was not only another form of the
great creative Sun-god who had been worshipped for centuries at Ánu,
or Heliopolis, in the North of Egypt, under the names of Ra,
Temû, Kheperâ, and Heru-khuti, but that all the attributes which
were ascribed to them were contained in him, and that he was
greater than they. And as Thebes had become the capital instead

of Memphis, it followed as a matter of course that all the
attributes of all the great gods of Memphis were contained in Ámen
also. Thus by these means the priests of Ámen succeeded in
making their god, both theologically and politically, the greatest
of the gods in the country.

Owing to the unsettled state of Egypt under the XIIth and
XIVth Dynasties, and under the rule of the Hyksos, pretensions of
this kind passed unchallenged, especially as they were supported
by arms, and by the end of the XVIth Dynasty Ámen had
attained to an almost unrivalled position among the gods of the

land. And when his royal devotees in this dynasty succeeded in
expelling the Hyksos from the land, and their successors the kings
of the XVIIIth Dynasty carried war and conquest into Palestine
and founded Egyptian cities there, the power and glory of Ámen,
their god, who had enabled them to carry out this difficult work of
successful invasion, became extraordinarily great. His priests
began by asserting his equality with the other great gods of the
old sanctuaries of Heliopolis, Memphis, Heracleopolis, and other
ancient cities, and finally they satisfied, or, at all events, attempted
to do so, all worshipers of every form of the Sun-god Ra
by adding his name to that of Ámen, and thus forming a great god
who included within himself all the attributes of the primeval god
Ámen and of Ra. The highest conception of Ámen-Ra under the
XIXth and XXth Dynasties was that of an invisible creative
power which was the source of all life in heaven, and on the earth,
and in the great deep, and in the Underworld, and which made
itself manifest under the form of Ra. Nearly every attribute of
deity with which we are made familiar by the hymns to Ra was
ascribed to Ámen after his union with Ra; but the priests of Ámen
were not content with claiming that their god was one of the greatest
of the deities of Egypt, for they proceeded to declare that there was
no other god like him, and that he was the greatest of them all.

The power and might ascribed to Ámen-Ra are well described
in hymns which must be quoted in full. The first of these occurs
in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer (Brit. Mus., No. 3,991, sheet I.), where
it follows immediately after a hymn to Ra; this papyrus was
written in the reign of Seti I., and it is interesting to observe that
the two gods are addressed separately, and that the hymn to Ra
precedes that to Ámen-Ra. The text reads:—"Homage to thee,
Ámen-Ra, who dost rest upon Maat; as thou passest over the
heavens every face seeth thee. Thou dost wax great as thy
majesty doth advance, and thy rays [shine] upon all faces.
Thou art unknown, and no tongue hath power to declare thy
semblitude; only thou thyself [canst do this]. Thou art One,
even as is he that bringeth the fenâ basket. Men praise thee in
thy name, and they swear by thee, for thou art lord over them.
Thou hearest with thine ears and thou seest with thine eyes.
HYMN TO ÂMEN-RÂ

"Millions of years have gone over the world, and I cannot tell the
number of those through which thou hast passed. Thy heart
hath decreed a day of happiness in thy name of 'Traveller.'
Thou dost pass over and dost travel through untold spaces
[requiring] millions and hundreds of thousands of years [to pass
over]; thou passest through them in peace, and thou steerest
thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest;
this thou dost in one little moment of time, and then thou dost
sink down and dost make an end of the hours." How far the
attributes ascribed to Âmen-RÂ in this hymn represent those
generally bestowed upon the god in the XXth Dynasty is
unknown, but the points chiefly dwelt upon are the unity, and the
invisibility, and the long duration of the existence of the god;
nothing is said about Âmen-RÂ being self-begotten and self-born,
or of his great creative powers, or of his defeat of the serpent-fiend
NÂk, and it is quite clear that Hu-nefer drew a sharp distinction
between the attributes of the two gods.

The following hymn,1 which was probably written under the
XXth or XXIst Dynasty, well illustrates the growth of the power
both of Âmen-RÂ and of his priests:—"Praise be to Âmen-RÂ, the
Bull in Âmnu, the chief of all the gods, the beautiful god, the
beloved one, the giver of all warmth to all beautiful
cattle.2 Homage to thee, O Âmen-RÂ, lord of the thrones of the
two lands, the governor of the Apts (i.e., Thebes, north and south),
thou Bull of thy mother, who art chief in thy fields, whose steps are
long, who art lord of the land of the South, who art lord of the
MÂtchau peoples, and prince of Punt, and king of heaven, and first-
born god of earth, and lord of things which exist, and stablisher of
creation, yeâ, stablisher of all creation. Thou art One among the
gods by reason of his seasons. Thou art the beautiful Bull of the
company of the gods, thou art the chief of all the gods, thou art
the lord of Maat, and the father of the gods, and the creator of
earth according to thine own designs. Thy devices are greater
and more numerous than those of any other god. The gods
rejoice in thy beauties, and they ascribe praise unto thee in the
great double house, and at thy risings in (or, from) the double house
of flame. The gods love the smell of thee when thou comest from
Punt (i.e., the spice land), thou eldest born of the dew, who
comest from the land of the MÂtchau peoples, thou Beautiful
Face, who comest from the Divine Land (Neter-ta). The gods
tremble at thy feet when they recognize thy majesty as their
lord, thou lord who art feared, thou Being of whom awe is great,
thou Being whose souls are mighty, who hast possession of
"crows, who dost make offerings to be abundant, and who dost
make divine food (tehefu).

"Adorations be to thee, O thou creator of the gods, who hast
stretched out the heavens and made solid the earth. Thou art
the unfiring watchet, O Amsu-Åmen (or Min-Amen), the lord of
eternity, and maker of everlastingness, and to thee adorations
are paid, as the Governor of the Apts. Thou hast two horns
which endure, and thine aspects are beautiful, and thou art the
lord of the secret crown (responsibly) and thy double plumes are
lofty, thy tiara is one of beauty, and thy White Crown (\(\hat{\eta}\))
is lofty. The goddess Henen (towards), and the Uatchet
and goddesses (\(\hat{\eta}\)) (i.e., Nekhebet and Unkhetet), are about
thy face, and the crowns of the South and North (\(\hat{\eta}\)), and the
Nemenes crown, and the helmet crown are thy adornments (?) in
thy temple. Thy face is beautiful and thou receivest the Atef
crown (\(\hat{\eta}\)), and thou art beloved of the South and the North;
thou receivest the crowns of the South and the North, and thou
receivest the awese sceptre (\(\hat{\eta}\)), and thou art the lord of the
makes sceptre (\(\hat{\eta}\)), and of the whip (or flail, \(\hat{\eta}\)).\(^\dagger\) Thou art
the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White
Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of
brilliant rays. The gods ascribe praises unto thee, and he who
loveth thee stretcheth out his two hands to thee. Thy flame maketh
thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the Seseu fiend,
and it driveth its spear through the sky into the serpent-fiend
Nek and maketh it to vomit that which it hath swallowed.

"Homage to thee, O Râ, thou lord of Maat, whose shrine is
hidden, thou lord of the gods; thou art Kheperâ in thy boat,
and when thou diest speak the word the gods sprang into being.

\(^\dagger\) In the text of Unis (i. 306 b) we have, "O Unis, thou hast not departed
as one dead, but as one living thou hast gone to sit upon the throne of Osiris.

"Thy sceptre \(\hat{\eta}\) is in thy hand, and thou givest commands to the living, thy
sceptre sceptre \(\hat{\eta}\) and thy sceptre sceptre \(\hat{\eta}\) are in
thy hands, and thou givest commands to those whose places are hidden."
"Thou art Temu, who didst create beings endowed with reason; thou makest the colour of the skin of one race to be different from that of another, but, however many may be the varieties of mankind, it is thou that makest them all to live. Thou hearest the prayer of him that is oppressed, thou art kind of heart unto him that calleth upon thee, thou deliverest him that is afraid from him that is violent of heart, and thou judgest between the strong and the weak. Thou art the lord of intelligence, and knowledge is that which proceedeth from thy mouth. The Nile cometh at thy will, and thou art the greatly beloved lord of the palm tree who makest mortals to live. Thou makest every work to proceed, thou workest in the sky, and thou makest to come into being the beauties of the daylight; the gods rejoice in thy beauties, and their hearts live when they see thee. Hail, Ra, who art adored in the Apts, thou mighty one who risest in the shrine: O Ani (\(\text{\textbullet}\) \(\text{\textbullet}\) \(\text{\textbullet}\)), thou lord of the festival of the new moon, who makest the six days' festival and the festival of the last quarter of the moon. Hail, Prince, life, health, and strength, thou lord of all the gods, whose appearances are in the horizon, thou Governor of the ancestors of Aukert (i.e., the underworld), thy name is hidden from thy children in thy name 'Amen.'

"Hail to thee, O thou who art in peace, thou lord of joy of heart, thou crowned form, thou lord of the ureret crown, whose plumes are exalted, whose tiara is beautiful, whose White Crown is lofty, the gods love to look upon thee; the crowns of the South and North are established upon thy brow. Beloved art thou as thou passest through the two lands, as thou sendest forth rays from thy two beautiful eyes. The dead are rapturous with delight when thou shinest. The cattle become languid when thou shinest in full strength; beloved art thou when thou art in the southern sky, and thou art esteemed lovely when thou art in the northern sky. Thy beauties take possession of and carry away all hearts, and love for thee maketh all arms to relax, thy beautiful form maketh the hands to tremble, and all hearts melt at the sight of thee.

"Hail, thou Form who art One, thou creator of all things;
HYMN TO ÁMEN-RĀ

"hail, thou Only One, thou maker of things which exist. Men
"came forth from thy two eyes, and the gods sprung into being
"as the issue of thy mouth. Thou makest the green herbs whereby
"cattle live, and the staff of life for the use of man. Thou makest
"the fish to live in the rivers, and the feathered fowl in the sky;
"thou givest the breath of life to that which is in the egg, thou
"makest birds of every kind to live, and likewise the reptiles that
"creep and fly; thou causest the rats to live in their holes, and
"the birds that are on every green tree. Hail to thee, O thou
"who hast made all these things, thou Only One; thy might
"hath many forms. Thou watchest all men as they sleep, and
"thou seekest the good of thy brute creation. Hail, Amen, who
"dost establish all things, and who art Atum and Harmachis, all
"people adore thee, saying, 'Praise be to thee because of thy
"resting among us; homage to thee because thou hast created
"us.' All creatures say, 'Hail to thee!' and all lands praise
"thee; from the height of the sky, to the breadth of the earth,
"and to the depths of the sea thou art praised. The gods bow
"down before thy majesty to exalt the Will of their Creator; they
"rejoice when they meet their begetter, and say to thee, 'Come
"in peace, O father of the fathers of all the gods, who hast spread
"out the sky, and hast founded the earth, maker of things which
"are, creator of things which exist, thou Prince (life, health, and
"strength [to thee!]), thou Governor of the gods. We adore thy
"Will (or, soul) for thou hast made us; thou hast made us and
"hast given us birth.'

"Hail to thee, maker of all things, lord of Maāt, father of the
"gods, maker of men, creator of animals, lord of grain, who
"makest to live the cattle on the hills. Hail, Amen, bull,
"beautiful of face, beloved in the Apts, mighty of rising in the
"shrine, who art doubly crowned in Heliopolis; thou art the
"judge of Horus and Set in the Great Hall. Thou art the head
"of the company of the gods, Only One, who hast no second,
"thou governor of the Apts, Ani at the head of the company of the
"gods, living in Maāt daily, thou Horus of the East of the double
"horizon. Thou hast created the mountain, and the silver and
"real lapis-lazuli at thy will. Incense and fresh ānti are prepared

for thy nostrils, O beautiful Face, who comest forth from the
"land of the Mātchau, Amen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two
"lands, at the head of the Apts, Ani, the chief of thy shrine.
"Thou king who are One among the gods, thy names are manifold,
"and how many they are is unknown; thou shinest in the eastern
"and western horizons, and overthrowest thy enemies at thy birth
"daily. Thoth exalts thy two eyes, and maketh thee to set in
"splendour; the gods rejoice in thy beauties which those who are
"in thy [following] exalt. Thou art the lord of the Sekket Boat
"and of the Êtet Boat, which travel over the sky for thee in
"peace. Thy sailors rejoice when they see Nāk overthrown,
"and his limbs stabbed with the knife, and the fire devouring
"him, and his filthy soul beaten out of his filthy body, and his
"feet carried away. The gods rejoice, Rā is content, and Ammn
"(Heliopolis) is glad because the enemies of Ammn are over-
"thrown, and the heart of Neit-Ankh (i.e., Isis) is happy because
"the enemies of her lord are overthrown. The gods of Kher-aḥa
"rejoice, and those who dwell in the shrine are making obeisance
"when they see thee mighty in thy strength. Thou art the
"Sekhem (i.e., Power) of the gods, and Māt of the Apts in thy
"name of 'Maker of Māt.' Thou art the lord of šeḫet, food,
"the Bull of offerings (?) in thy name, 'Amen, Bull of his mother.'
"Thou art the fashioner of mortals, the creator, the maker of all
"things which are in thy name of Temu-Kheperi. Thou art the
"Great Hawk which gladdenseth the body; the Beautiful Face
"which gladdenseth the breast. Thou art the Form of [many]
"forms, with a lofty crown; the Untchti goddesses (i.e., Nekhebet
"and Uatchet) fly before his face. The hearts of the dead (?) go
"out to meet him, and the denizens of heaven turn to him; his
"appearances rejoice the two lands. Homage to thee, Amen-Rā,
"lord of the throne of the two lands; thy city loveth thy radiant
"light.'

The chief point of interest in connexion with this hymn is the
proof it affords of the completeness with which Amen had absorbed
all the attributes of Rā and of every other ancient form of the
Sun-god, and how in the course of about one hundred years he
had risen from the position of a mere local god to that of the
THE PRIEST KINGS

"king of the gods" of Egypt. In the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the wealth of his priesthood must have been enormous, and the religious and social powers which they possessed made them, in many respects, as powerful as the reigning family. Thebes, the capital of Egypt and the centre of the worship of Amun-Ra, was rightly called the "city of Amun," (the No-Amun of Nahum iii. 8), and there is reason to think that many of the great Egyptian raids in Syria and Nubia were made as much for the purpose of supplying funds for the maintenance of the temples, and services, and priests of Amun-Ra as for the glory and prestige of Egypt. The slavish homage which the Thothmes kings, and the Amen-hetepes, and the Ramessids paid to Amun-Ra, and their lavish gifts to his sanctuaries suggest that it was his priests who were, in reality, the makers of war and peace. Under the XXth Dynasty their power was still very great, and the list of the gifts which Ramesses III. made to their order illustrates their influence over this monarch. Towards the close of this dynasty we find that they had succeeded in obtaining authority from the feeble and incapable successors of Ramesses II. to levy taxes on the people of Thebes, and to appropriate to the use of their order certain of the revenues of the city; this was only what was to be expected, for, since the treasury of the god was no longer supplied by expeditions into Syria, the priests found poverty staring them in the face. When the last Ramesses was dead the high-priest of Amun-Ra became king of Egypt almost as a matter of course, and he and his immediate successors formed the XXIst Dynasty, or the Dynasty of priest-kings of Egypt.

Their chief aim was to maintain the power of their god and of their own order, and for some years they succeeded in doing so; but they were priests and not warriors, and their want of funds became more and more pressing, for the simple reason that they had no means of enforcing the payment of tribute by the peoples and tribes who, even under the later of the kings bearing the name of Ramesses, acknowledged the sovereignty of Egypt. Meanwhile the poverty of the inhabitants of Thebes increased rapidly, and they were not only unable to contribute to the maintenance of the acres of temple buildings and to the services of the god, but found it difficult to obtain a living. These facts are proved by many considerations, but chiefly by the robberies which are described or referred to in several papyri of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes; and the discoveries of the royal mummies at Dér al-Bahari shows that the Government of the period was unable either to protect the royal tombs or to suppress the gang of robbers who systematically pillaged them. The robberies were carried out with the connivance of several high officials, and it was to the interests of large numbers of the inhabitants of Thebes to make abortive the legal proceedings which were taken by the Government against them. Notwithstanding their growing poverty and waning influence the priests in no way abated the pretensions of their god or of themselves, and they continued to proclaim the glory and power of Amun-Ra in spite of the increasing power of the Libyans in the Delta.

In a very remarkable document written for Nesi-Khensu, the daughter of one of the priest-kings of Amun-Ra, the god is made to enter into an agreement to provide for the happiness and deification of the deceased in the Underworld, and the terms of this agreement are expressed with all the precision, and in the phraseology, of a legal document. This is interesting enough as illustrating the relations which the priests assumed to exist between themselves and their gods, but the introduction to the agreement is more important for our purpose here, because in it are enumerated all the chief attributes which were ascribed to Amun-Ra under the XXIst Dynasty. The following is a rendering of this portion of the papyrus of Nesi-Khensu:—

"This holy god, the lord of all the gods, Amun-Ra, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, the governors of Apt; the holy soul who came into being in the beginning; the great god who liveth by (or upon) Maat; the first divine matter which gave birth unto subsequent divine matter! the being through whom every

1 A hieroglyphic transcript of the hieratic text of this remarkable document, together with a French translation, has been published by Maspero in Les Monies Royales de Dér-al-Bahari, p. 59 ff.
2 or, "the primal past which gave birth unto the [other] two pasts."
[other] god hath existence; the One who hath made every-
thing which hath come into existence since primeval times when
the world was created; the being whose births are hidden, whose
eternity is manifold, and whose growths are unknown; the
holy Form, beloved, terrible, and mighty in his risings; the lord
of wealth, the power, Kheperê who createth every evolution of
his existence, except whom at the beginning none other existed;
who at the dawn in the primeval time was Atenu, the prince of
rays and beams of light; who having made himself [to be seen,
called] all men to live; who sailed over the celestial regions
and sailed not, for at dawn on the morrow his ordinances are
made permanent; who though an old man shineth in the form of
one that is young, and having brought (or led) the uttermost
parts of eternity goeth round about the celestial regions and
journeyeth through the Tuat to illumine the two lands which he
hath created; the God who acted as God, who moulded himself,
who made the heavens and the earth by his will (or heart); the
greatest of the great, the mightiest of the mighty, the prince who
is mightier than the gods, the young Bull with sharp horns, the
protector of the two lands in his mighty name of 'The everlasting
one who cometh and hath his might, who bringeth the
remotest limit of eternity,' the god-prince who hath been prince
from the time that he came into being, the conqueror of the two
lands by reason of his might, the terrible one of the double
divine face, the divine aged one, the divine form who dwelleth in
the forms of all the gods, the Lion-god with awesome eye, the
sovereign who casteth forth the Two Eyes, the lord of flame
[which goeth] against his enemies; the god Nu, the prince who
advanceth at his hour to vivify that which cometh forth upon his
potter's wheel, the disk of the Moon-god who openeth a way
both in heaven and upon earth for the beautiful form; the
beneficent (or operative) god, who is uniting, and who is
vigorously of heart both in rising and in setting, from whose
divine eyes cometh forth men and women; at whose utterance the
gods come into being, and food is created, and together food is
made, and all things which are come into being; the traverser of
eternity, the old man who maketh himself young [again], with
myriads of pairs of eyes and numberless pairs of ears, whose
light is the guide of the god of millions of years; the lord of
life, who giveth unto whom he pleaseth the circuit of the earth
along with the abode of his divine face, who setteth out upon his
journey and suffereth no mishap by the way, whose work none
can destroy; the lord of delight, whose name is sweet and
beloved, at dawn mankind make supplications unto him the
Mighty one of victory, the Mighty one of twofold strength, the
Possessor of fear, the young Bull who maketh an end of the
hostile ones, the Mighty one who doeth battle with his foes,
through whose divine plans the earth came into being; the
Soul who giveth light from his two Utchats (Eyes); the god
Ba'at who created the divine transformations; the holy one who
is unknown; the king who maketh kings to rule, and who
girdeth up the earth in its courses, and to whose souls the gods
and the goddesses pay homage by reason of the might of his
terror; since he hath gone before that which followeth endurinth;
the creator of the world by his secret counsels; the god Kheperê
who is unknown and who is more hidden than the [other] gods,
whose vicar is the divine Disk; the unknown one who hideth
himself from that which cometh forth from him; he is the flame
which sendeth forth rays of light with mighty splendour, but
though he can be seen in form and observation can be made of
him at his appearance yet he cannot be understood, and at dawn
mankind make supplication unto him; his risings are of crystal
among the company of the gods, and he is the beloved object of
every god; the god Nu cometh forward with the north wind in
this god who is hidden; who maketh decrees for millions of
double millions of years, whose ordinances are fixed and are not
destroyed, whose utterances are gracious, and whose statutes fail
not in his appointed time; who giveth duration of life and
doubleth the years of those unto whom he hath a favour; who
graciously protecteth him whom he hath set in his heart; who
hath formed eternity and everlastingness, the king of the South
and of the North, Amen-Râ, the king of the gods, the lord of
heaven and of earth, and of the deep, and of the two mountains
in whose form the earth began to exist, he the mighty one, who
FORMS OF ÁMEN-RĀ

"is more distinguished than all the gods of the first and foremost " company."

The definiteness of the assertions of this composition suggest that it formed the creed of the worshippers of Ámen-Rā, for every one of them appears to have been made with the express purpose of contradicting the pretensions urged by the priests of other gods, e.g., Aten and Osiris; and an examination of the sentences will show that Ámen is made to be the source of life of all things, both animate and inanimate, and that he is identified with the great unknown God who made the universe. It is, however, important to note that he is not in any way identified with Osiris in this text, a fact which seems to indicate that the national god of the Resurrection in Egypt was ignored by the priests of Ámen who composed the contents of Nes-Imenh’s papyrus. From what has been said above as to the importance of Ámen-Rā it will be evident that a large number of shrines of this god must have existed throughout the country, but in nearly all of them he was an intruder, and his priests must have lived chiefly upon the endowments which the pious Egyptians had provided for gods other than he.

We may now consider the various forms in which Ámen-Rā is depicted on monuments and papyri. His commonest form is that of a strong-bearded man who wears upon his head lofty double plumes, the various sections of which are coloured alternately red and green, or red and blue; round his neck he wears a deep collar or necklace, and his close-fitting tunic is supported by elaborate worked shoulder-straps. His arms and wrists are provided with armlets and bracelets, in his right hand is the symbol of life, and in his left the sceptre. Hanging from his tunic is the tail of some animal, the custom of wearing which by gods and kings was common in Egypt in the earliest times. In this form his title is “Ámen-Rā, lord of the throne of the two lands,” instead of the sign of life, he sometimes holds the khepesēw war knife, in his right hand.²

³ For a number of them see Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 18 ²
² Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 21.

FORMS OF ÁMEN-RĀ

At times he is given the head of a hawk which is surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent, or as “Ámen-Rā-Temu in Thebes” he has the head of a man surmounted by the solar disk encircled by a serpent; before him is the Akh, or, which is provided with human legs and arms, offering lotus flowers to the god. Thus he becomes the god both of Heliopolis and Thebes. In many scenes we find Ámen-Rā with the head of a ram, when he usually wears the solar disk, plumes, and uraeus; at times, however, he wears the disk and uraeus, or the disk only. In this form he is called “Ámen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, the dweller in Thebes, the great god who appeareth in the horizon.”

or “Ámen-Rā, lord of the thrones of the two lands, governor of “Ta-Kenset (Nubia).” Another form of Ámen-Rā is that in which he is represented with the body of the ithyphallic god Amsu, or Min, or Khem, i.e., as the personification of the power of generation. In this form he wears either the customary disk and plumes, or the united crowns of the South and North, and has one hand and arm raised to support, which he holds above his shoulder; he is called “Ámen-Rā, the bull of his mother,” and possesses all the attributes of Fa-ā, i.e., the “god of the lifted hand.”

¹ Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 19.
In one of the examples reproduced by Lanzoni, Amen-Ra in his ithyphallic form stands by the side of a pylon-shaped building, on the top of which are two trees, one on each side of a large lotus flower; the lotus flower represents the rising sun, which was supposed to issue daily from between two pomegranates. In another form Amen-Ra has the head of a crocodile, and he wears the crown which is composed of the solar disk, feathers, and horns, and is called the "dispenser of the life of Ra and of the years of Temun." Finally, the god was sometimes represented in the form of a goose; the animal sacred to him in many parts of Egypt, and all over Nubia, was the ram. In very late dynastic times, especially in the Ptolemaic period, it became customary to make figures of Amen-Ra in bronze in which every important attribute of the god was represented. In these he has the bearded head of a man, the body of a beetle with the wings of a hawk, the legs of a man with the feet and claws of a lion, and is provided with four hands and arms, and four wings, the last named being extended. One hand, which is stretched along the wing, grasps the symbols \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \) and two knives; another is raised to support \( \frac{1}{4} \), after the manner of the "god of the lifted hand;" a third holds the symbol of generation and fertility; and the fourth is lifted to his head. The face of the god is, in reality, that of the solar disk, from which proceed the heads and necks of eight rams. Resting on the disk is a pair of ram's horns, with a disk on each, and stretching upwards are the two characteristic plumes of the god Amen. From the tip of each of these projects a lion-headed uraeus which ejects moisture from its mouth. This form of the god was a production probably of the period immediately following the XXVIth Dynasty, but some modifications of it are not so old. The idea which underlies the figure is that of representing the paut or company of the gods, of which Amen was the chief, and of showing pictorially how every one of the eldest gods of Egypt was contained in him.

In the Sixth Recension of the Book of the Dead we find several passages relating to Amen, or Amen-Ra, which appear to belong to the same period, and as they illustrate the growth of a set of new ideas about the god Amen, some of them being probably of Nubian origin, they are reproduced here. The first is found in the Rubric to Chapter cxxii, which contains the texts to be recited over the amulet of the cow, and was composed with the view of keeping heat in the body of the deceased in the Underworld. The first address is made to the god PAR, \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \) which is clearly a form of Amen-Ra, for he is called "lord of the phallus," \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \) "lofty of plumes," "lord of transformations, whose skins (i.e., complexions) are manifold," \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \) the "god of many names," "the mighty runner of mighty strides," etc. The second address is to the Cow \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \) i.e., the goddess Mehet-er or Net, who made a picture of herself and placed it under the head of Ra when he was setting one evening, and is the petition which is to be said when a similar amulet is placed under the head of the deceased, and runs, "O Amen, O Amen, who art in "heaven, turn thy face upon the dead body of thy son, and make "him son and strong in the Underworld."

In Chapter cxxiii, we have the second passage as follows:—

"Hail, Amen, thou divine Bull Sarcab (\( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \frac{7}{4} \)), "thou lord of the two Uachtas, thy name is HES-TAPER-TECH-TAP-TAP-TA \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \frac{7}{4} \), the Osiris (i.e., the deceased) is the "emanation of thy two Uachtas, one of which is called Shar- " benchmarks \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \frac{7}{4}, \) and the other "Sharzubtahketa \( \frac{1}{2}, \frac{3}{4}, \frac{5}{4}, \frac{7}{4}, \)"

The magical name of the deceased is "Shaka-Amen-Shakaama er hatu Tem "sehet-chef-ef-tui," and on his behalf the following prayer is made:—" Grant that he may be of the land of Maat, let him not "be left in his condition of solitude, for he becometh to this land

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"wherein he will no more appear, and 'Ān' (?) (𓊱𓊷𓊷) is his name. O let him be a perfect spirit, or (as others say) a strong spirit, and let him be the soul of the mighty body which is in "San (Sais), the city of Nes (Neith)."

The third passage is Chapter clxv., which is really a petition to Āmen-Rā by the deceased wherein the most powerful of the magical names of the gods are enumerated. The vignette of the chapter contains the figure of an ithyphallic god with the body of a beetle; on his head are the characteristic plumes of Āmen, and his right arm is raised like that of Āmsu, or Min, the god of the reproductive powers of nature. The text reads, "Hail, thou "Bēketnenu (𓊳𓊷𓊱𓊷), Bekennu! Hail, Prince, Prince!
"Hail Āmen, Hail Āmen! Hail Pan, Hail Iukasa (𓊴𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), Hail God, Prince of the gods of the eastern "parts of heaven, Āmen-Neferkerti-Āmen (𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷)". Hail, thou whose skin is hidden, whose "form is secret, thou lord of the two horns [who wast born of] "Nut, thy name is Na-hir-k (𓊓𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), or Ka-rir-k, "(𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), and Kasalka (𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), "is thy name. Thy name is Aretti-kasal-k (𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), and thy name is Āmen-natu-ān-
"Kau-entek-share (𓊳𓊷𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), or Thokshekh-Āmen-Setethi; "(𓊳𓊷𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷)"
"(𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷). Hail, Amen, let me make supplication unto thee, "for I know thy name, and [the mention of] thy transformations "is in my mouth, and thy skin is before mine eyes. Come, I pray thee, and place thou thine heir and thine image, myself, in the "everlasting underworld. Grant thou that all my members may "repose in Neter-khertet (the underworld), or (as others say) "in Akeretet (the underworld); let my whole body become like "unto that of a god, let me escape from the evil chamber and let "me not be imprisoned therein; for I worship thy name. Thou "hast made for me a skin, and thou hast understood [my] speech, "and thou knowest it exceedingly well. Hidden (𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷)" is thy name, O Leemashaka (𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), "and I have made for thee a skin. Thy name is Bah-re-iq "(𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), thy name is Māqāthā (𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), "(𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), thy name is Nasa-
"qebubu (𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), thy name is Thunasa-
"Thanasa (𓊩𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), thy name is Sheshthathākathā "(𓊬𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷)."

"O Āmen, O Āmen, O God, O God, O Āmen, I adore thy "name, grant thou to me that I may understand thee; grant "thou that I may have peace in the Tuat (underworld), and that "I may possess all my members therein. And the divine Soul "which is in Nut saith, "I will make my divine strength to protect "thee, and I will perform everything which thou hast said." This interesting text was ordered to be recited over a figure of the "god of the lifted hand," i.e., of Āmen in his character of the god of generation and reproduction, painted blue, and the knowledge of it was to be kept from the god Sukāti (𓊩𓊷𓊳𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷𓊷), in the Tuat; if the directions given in the rubric were properly carried out it would enable the deceased to drink water in the underworld from the deepest and purest part of the celestial stream, and he would become "like the stars in the heavens above."

A perusal of the above composition shows that we are dealing with a class of ideas concerning Āmen, or Āmen-Rā, which, though clearly based on ancient Egyptian beliefs, are peculiar to the small group of Chapters which are found at the end of the Saite Recension of the Book of the Dead. The forms of the magical names of Āmen are not Egyptian, and they appear to indicate, as the late Dr. Birch said, a Nubian origin. The fact that the Chapters with the above prayers in them are found in a papyrus containing so complete a copy of the Saite Recension proves that
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assigned great antiquity to their existence. Of the attributes ascribed to Âmen in the Ancient Empire nothing is known, but, if we accept the meaning “hidden” which is usually given to his name, we must conclude that he was the personification of the hidden and unknown creative power which was associated with the primeval abyss gods in the creation of the world and all that is in it. The word or root âmen, certainly means “what is hidden,” “what is not seen,” “what cannot be seen,” and the like, and this fact is proved by scores of examples which may be collected from texts of all periods. In hymns to Âmen we often read that he is “hidden to his children,” and “hidden to gods and men,” and it has been stated that these expressions only refer to the “hiding,” i.e., “setting” of the sun each evening, and that they are only to be understood in a physical sense, and to mean nothing more than the disappearance of the god Âmen from the sight of men at the close of day. Now, not only is the god himself said to be “hidden,” but his name also is “hidden,” and his form, or similitude, is said to be “unknown;” these statements show that “hidden” when applied to Âmen, the great god, has reference to something more than the “sun which has disappeared below the horizon,” and that it indicates the god who cannot be seen with mortal eyes, and who is invisible, as well as inscrutable, to gods as well as men. In the times approaching the Ptolemaic period the name Âmen appears to have been connected with the root men, “to abide, to be permanent;” and one of the attributes which were applied to him was that of eternal.

Âmen is represented in five forms:—1. As a man, when he is seen seated on a throne, and holding in one hand the sceptre, and in the other the symbol of “life;” in this form he is one of the nine deities who compose the company of the gods of Âmen-Ra, the other eight being Âment, Nu, Nut, Hehui, Hehêt, Kekui, Keket, and Hathor. 2. As a man with the head of a frog, whilst his female counterpart Âment has the head of a uraeus. 3. As a man with the head of a uraeus, whilst his female counterpart has the head of a cat. 4. As an ape. 5. As a lion couchant upon a pedestal.

See Lanzone, op. cit., pl. 12.
most beautiful in all literature, dates from the Eighteenth Dynasty, although fragments of it have been found in an inscription of the earlier Second Intermediate period. The reader will note the tremendous universalistic concepts as compared with earlier religious texts.

The Great Hymn to Amen

Adoration of Amen-Ra, the Bull of Ionu, the chief of all the gods, the good god, the beloved, who gives life to all that is warm, and to every good herd:

I

Hail to you, Amen-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands who presides in Thebes!

Bull of his Mother, the first on his field!

Wide of stride, first in upper Egypt,

Lord of the Medjoi, and prince of Punt.

Greatest of heaven, eldest of earth,

Lord of what exists, who endures in all things.

Unique in his nature, like the essence of the gods.

Bull of the Ennead and chief of the gods.

Lord of Truth, father of the gods,

who made mankind and created the beasts.

Lord of what exists, who created the fruit tree,

who made the green herb and sustains life in cattle.

Beautiful form which Ptah fashioned, the beautiful, beloved youth, he whom the gods praise.

Who made them that are below and them that are above, he who illumines the Two Lands.

Who traverses the firmament in peace,

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra, True of Voice.

The chief of the Two Lands, great of strength, lord of reverence, who made all the earth.

More eminent of nature than any god, over whose beauty the gods rejoice.

To whom praise is given in the Great House, who is crowned in the House of Fire.

Whose sweet savour the gods love when he comes from Punt, richly perfumed when he comes down from the land of the Medjoi; fair of face, when he comes from the Land of the God.

The gods fawn at his feet, knowing His Majesty to be their lord—the fearful, the terrible, great of will, and mighty in appearance, who abounds in victuals and creates sustenance.

Jubilation to you who created the gods, raised up the sky and spread out the ground!

II

He has awakened, who is in health!

Min-Amen, the Lord of Eternity, who created Everlasting, possessor of praise, who presides over the Ennead.

As craftsman-god, he has given Amen his form.

It is interesting that the title here applies the epithet “True of Voice,” usually placed after names of the dead, to Ra, as if he were a deceased king.

The “Great House” and the “House of Fire” were the names of the sanctuaries in the ancient capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt.

A frequent epithet of Punt.

Min was a very ancient god of procreation, always represented with erect phallic and wielding a staff. In all his representations he also wears on his head the two tall plumes which Amen always wears, and like Amen was represented in human form (although Amen in some cases was shown as a ram, Min is always human in form). There was a close connection between Min and Amen, as well as between Min and Horus, and the divine name Min-Horus is often found.
Firm of horns and beautiful of face.

lord of the Serpent and lofty of plumes, with beauteous diadem and tall White Crown.

The Mekas-serpent and the Buto-serpent are above his face, the Double Crown, the Headcloth and the Blue Crown.

Fair of face when he takes the Atef-crown, beloved of the Upper Egyptian Crown and the Lower Egyptian. Lord of the Double Crown when he takes the ams-scepter.

The Field, who holds the Flail, Prince crowned beautifully with the White Crown. Lord of rays, who creates light, to whom the gods give praise. Who gives his hands to him whom he loves, while he assigns his foe to the fire.

It is his Eye which overthrows the enemy:

As "Bull." What follows is a description of the various insignia of royalty borne by the king.

The cobra-serpent on the king's diadem.

Buto was the ancient goddess of Lower Egypt and was represented by the cobra.

The striped headcloth which was worn only by the king, in movies, television, and so on, all the Egyptians are usually shown running around in the amulet-headdress, an amusing example of the ignorance of the producers of these moviemakers.

A stylized adaptation of the Double Crown, usually covered with small circles or spiral ornaments and colored blue. The king frequently wears the blue crown when riding in his war chariot.

An elaborate headpiece, consisting of two twisted ram's horns spread horizontally, surmounted by one or more Upper Egypt crowns in their primitive form, to which rough plumes are attached on either side. The Atef-crown is usually shown worn by Osiris.

A scepter in the form of a club or mace.

Another type of scepter, with a flat end.

The Field and the Crown are the most frequently shown symbols of royal authority, held by the king.

The following lines describe the daily struggle of Ra with his great enemy, the primordial serpent Apep, rendered by the Greeks as Apophis. Apep always attempts to prevent Ra from traversing the heavens in his Solar Bark and is always slain by Ra's spear.

The Eye of Ra, which is, of course, the sun itself, but it includes many more aspects of the god. Basically, it is through his Eye that Ra accomplishes much of what he wills, and it is most usually conceived of as a goddess. In the story of Hathor and the Destruction of Mankind (see Chapter 8), Ra sends forth his Eye to accomplish the work of destruction, and it goes forth as the goddess of Hathor. The cobra-goddess is another manifestation of the Eye of Ra.
Gods and Kings

Lord of the ninth day of the month, in whose honor men keep the sixth and the seventh day.30
Sovereign and Lord of all the gods:
Falcon41 in the midst of the horizon;
lord of the Silent Ones22 among men, whose name is hidden from his children, in his name of Amen.35
Praise unto you, O Fortunate One,
lord of joy and mighty in his appearing!
Lord of the Serpent and lofty of feathers,
with beauteous diadem and tall White Crown, the gods love to look upon you,
when the Double Crown rests on your brow.
Love of you is spread throughout the Two Lands, when your rays shine in the eyes.
The well-being of mankind are you when arising, and the beasts are languid when you shine.
You are beloved in the southern sky and are pleasant in the northern sky;
Your beauty captivates the hearts, and the love of you makes languid the arms.
Your beauteous form makes feeble the hands, and the hearts are forgetful50 when looking upon you.
You are the Only One, who made all that is; The One and Only, who made what exists.
From whose two eyes mankind issued.27

and from whose mouth the gods came into being.28
He who made herbage for the cattle and the fruit tree for men,
who made that wherein live the fish in the river, and the birds who inhabit the sky;
who gives breath to that which is in the egg, and causes to live the son of the worm.
He who made that wherein quails live, the worms, and flies likewise.
He who made that which the mice in their holes need, and nourishes the birds on every tree.
Praise unto you, who did make all this.
Unique One and Only, with the many hands!29
Who passes the night wakeful, when all men sleep, seeking the best for his creatures.
Amen, who endures in all things!
Atum, and Horus of the Double Horizon!40
Jubilation unto you because you weary yourself with us; reverence unto you, because you did create us!
"Praise unto you!" says every beast,
"Jubilation unto you!" says every wilderness, as high as is the heaven, as broad as is the earth, as deep as is the Great Green!43
The gods make obeisance unto Your Majesty, and extoll the might of their creator.
They rejoice when he who begat them draws nigh, and they say unto you: "Welcome, in peace! Father of the fathers of all gods,

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30 Festivals connected with Ra and/or Amen. They may have been moon festivals, and as such connected with Khonsu, the son of Amen of Thebes and associated with the moon.
31 The falcon is a frequent symbol of Ra and/or Horus.
32 The blessed dead in the necropolis.
33 See note 24. Note also the association of "silent" and "hidden."
34 That is, relaxed and content.
35 See previous note.
36 Or care.
37 Alluding to the myth of the creation of mankind from the tears of Ra. Another play upon words, the Egyptian rem in meaning "tears" and remet, meaning "mankind." See The Theology of Heliopolis.
38 Again in reference to the Heliopolitan Theology, Ra "spat out what is Shin, and emitted what is Tefnut." This may also indicate Amen-Ra's assimilation of the attributes of Ra, who created "what the heart conceived, and the tongue uttered." See The Theology of Memphis.
39 As having accomplished all this creation.
40 "Horus of the Double Horizon" or "Horus the Elder" was another aspect of Ra-Atum-Khepri.
41 This colorful metaphor was the regular Egyptian name for the (Mediterranean) Sea.
who raised up the sky and set down the ground,
who made that which is,
and created what exists!
O Sovereign, chief of the gods!
We revere your might, because you created us.
we shout for joy to you, because you have fashioned us.
we offer you praise, because you warned yourself with us!
Praise unto you, who made all that is.
Lord of Truth and father of the gods.
Who made mankind and created beasts.
Lord of grain, who made the sustenance of the beasts of the desert.
O Amen, Bull of the beautiful countenance, beloved in Karnak,
great of appearances in the House of the Benben,
crowned again in Iunu!
You who judged between the Two in the Great Hall,
chief of the Great Ennead.
Unique One and Only, without peer,
the of Iunu, who presides in Thebes,
the head of his Ennead, living daily on Truth.
Dweller in the Horizon, Horus of the East!
The wilderness creates for him silver and gold.
and real lapis lazuli for love of him,
myrrh and incense mixed from the land of the Medjoi,
and fresh myrrh for your nostrils.
Fait of face when he comes from the land of the Medjoi.
Amen-Ra, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, presiding in Thebes.
He of Iunu, presiding in his harem!

IV

The sole king, unique among the gods,
with multitudinous names, whose number is not known,

Horus and Sat.

There was a grade of priestesses of Amen who were considered "the women of the god," and who dwelt in his "harem."

The ancient gods had many names, some of them absolutely secret. See Chapter 7.

Who arises on the eastern horizon,
and sets on the western horizon,
Who is born early every day,
and every day overthrows his enemies?

Thoth lifts up his eyes, and delights in his excellence,
the gods rejoice in his beauty, and the heter-apes exult him.
Lord of the ship of evening and the ship of morning;
they traverse Nun for you in peace.
Your crew rejoices in seeing the enemy overcome,
and how his limbs are consumed by the knife.
The fire has devoured him.
and his soul is consumed yet more than his body.
The dragon, an end is made of his going:
the gods shout for joy
and the crew of Ra is in contentment.
Iunu is in joy; the foe of Atum is overthrown;
Thebes is content, and Iunu exults.
The gods of Babylon are in jubilation,
and they of Leopolis kiss the earth when they see him.
The Mistress of Life is glad:
the foe of her lord is overthrown.
Strong is his might,
the most mighty of the gods.
Righteous One, Lord of Thebes,
in this your name of Creator of Right!
Lord of victuals, Bull of provisions,
in this your name of Bull of his Mother.

42 Apophis and his fellow malevolent monstros.
43 A group of divine apes, frequently represented as jubilating over the sun-god at his arising.
44 The entrance of Ra in his Bark, consisting of the great divinities.
45 Babylon (not to be confused with the great city of the same name in Mesopotamia) and Leopolis were cities not far from modern Cairo.
46 The goddess of the Eye of Ra.
47 In Egyptian, Maat, "right, truth, justice" and so forth, and also personified as a goddess.
48 See note 1.
Who made all men that are and created all that is,
in this your name of Atum-Khepri!
Great Falcon, who makes festive the body,
    fair of face who makes festive the breast!
With pleasing form and the tall plumes,
    the Two Serpents rearing on his brow.
He to whom men's hearts come nestling,
    who suffers mankind to come out to him,
    who gladdens the Two Lands with his going forth!
Praise unto you, Amen-Ra,
    Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands,
    whose arising his city loves!
in the act of embracing a young Horus god who wears on his head the solar disk with plumes, and a tight-fitting cap with a uraeus in front of it, and who stands on the edge of the throne by the side of the god.

The principal female counterpart of Amen-Ra, the king of the gods, in the New Empire was Mut, $\text{\textcopyright} \, \text{\textcopyright}$, whose name means “Mother,” and in all her attributes we see that she was regarded as the great “world-mother,” who conceived and brought forth whatsoever exists. The pictures of the goddess usually represent her in the form of a woman wearing on her head the united crowns of the South and the North, and holding in her hands the papyrus sceptre and the emblem of life. Elsewhere we see her in female form standing upright, with her arms, to which large wings are attached, stretched out full length at right angles to her body; at her feet is the feather of Maat. She wears the united crowns, as before stated, but from each shoulder there projects the head of a vulture; one vulture wears the crown of the North, $\text{\textcopyright}$, and the other two plumes, $\text{\textcopyright}$, though sometimes each vulture head has upon it two plumes, which are probably those of Shu or Amen-Ra. In other pictures the goddess has the heads of a woman or man, a vulture, and a lioness, and she is provided with a phallus, and a pair of wings, and the claws of a lion or lioness. In the vignette of the clavigraph Chapter of the Book of the Dead she is associated with two dwarfs, each of whom has two faces, one of a hawk and one of a man, and each of whom has an arm lifted to support the symbol of the god Amsu or Min, and wears upon his head a disk and plumes. In the text which accompanies the vignette, though the three-headed goddess is distinctly called “Mut” in the Rubric, she is addressed as “Sekhet-Bast-Ra,” $\text{\textcopyright}$, a fact which accounts for the presence of the phallus and the male head on a woman’s body, and proves that Mut was believed to possess both the male and female attributes of reproduction.

We have already seen that the originally obscure god Amen was, chiefly through the force of political circumstances, made to

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1 Lanzoni, op. cit., pl. 196.
usurp the attributes and powers of the older gods of Egypt, and we can see by such figures of the goddess as those described above that Mut was, in like fashion, identified with the older goddesses of the land with whom, originally, she had nothing in common. Thus the head of the lioness which projects from one shoulder indicates that she was identified with Sekhet or Bast, and the vulture heads prove that her cult was grafted on to that of Nekhebet, and the double crowns show that she united in herself all the attributes of all the goddesses of the South and North.

Thus we find her name united with the names of other goddesses, e.g., Mut-Tempt, Mut-Uatchet-Bast, Mut-Sekhet-Bast-Menhit, and among her aspects she included those of Isis, and Iusia-set. Locally she usurped the position of Alment, the old female counterpart of Amen and of Ament, the personification of the ancient settlement Aipt, from which is derived the name "Thebes" (Ta-ipt); she was also identified with the goddess of Amentet, i.e., Hathor in one of her forms as lady of the
Underworld; and with the primeval goddess Amun, who formed one of the four goddesses of the company of the gods of Hermopolis, which was adopted in its entirety by the priests of Amun for their gods; and with the predynastic goddess Ta-Aker, or Asher, (or, Ashret, which probably derived its name from the large sacred lake which existed there; the temple of the goddess, Hqr-Mut, with its sanctuary, was situated a little to the south of the great temple of Amun-Ra. From the inscriptions which have been found on the ruins of her temple we find that she was styled "Mut, the great lady of Asher, lady of heaven, queen of the gods," and that she was thought to have existed with Nu in primeval time. She was, moreover, called "Mut, who gave birth, but was herself not born of any," and referred to as the "lady of the life of the two lands," and "lady of the house of Ptah, lady of heaven, queen of the two lands," etc.

The great temple of Mut at Thebes was built by Amun-Hetep III., about B.C. 1450, and was approached from the temple of Amun-Ra by an avenue of sphinxes; the southern half of the building overlooked a semi-circular lake on which the sacred procession of boats took place, and at intervals, both inside and outside the outer wall of the temple enclosure were placed statues of the goddess Mut, in a temple in the shape of a black basilid. Another famous sanctuary of Mut was situated in the city of PA-Khen-Amun, the HARMONIAC of Ptolemy (iv. 5 § 50), and the capital of the nome, Sma-Behutet, the Diospolites of Lower Egypt. This city was also called "Thebes of the North," or the "City of the North," to distinguish it from Thebes, the great city of Amun which is always referred to as the "City," or excellence. From the Egyptian word wsr, "city," is derived the Biblical form "No," and the "No Amun" of Nahum iii. 8, which "was situated among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose ripples were the sea, and her wall was from the sea," can hardly be another than the city of Amun and Mut in the Delta. Among the shrines of Mut must be mentioned Bekhen, a town in the Delta, which was probably situated in the sixth nome of Lower Egypt, the Khas, of the Egyptians, and the Gynaecopolites of the Greeks. Dr. Brugsch pointed out that the deities worshipped at Bekhen were "the Bull Osiris," Amun-Ra Mut, and Khnum, and he considered it probable that the city lay near the capital of the nome which was called Khasut, by the Egyptians and by the Greeks. Another shrine of Nu was situated at Nu, by which we are probably to understand the region in which HOPAION, or Hermopolis, lay. The district of Nu, according to Dr. Brugsch, formed the neutral border between the South and the North, and a text quoted by him concerning it, says, "When Horus and Set were dividing the country they took up their places one on one side of the boundary and the other on the other, and they agreed that the

1 The forms of the name given by Brugsch (Dict. Geogr., p. 79) are 

2 Champollion, Notices, ii. p. 207.

3 Dict. Geogr., p. 262.
"country of An should form the frontier of the country on one side of it, and that it should be the frontier of the other also."  

From what has been said above it appears that Mut was originally the female counterpart of Nu, and that she was one of the very few goddesses of whom it is declared that she was "never born," i.e., that she was self-produced. Her association with Nu suggests that she must be identified with or partake of some of the characteristics of a remarkable goddess who is mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (Unâs, line 181) under the name of Mut, a variant spelling of which is Mâuir, Her name occurs in a passage in which a prayer is made on behalf of Unâs that "he may see," and following is the petition, "O Râ, be good to him on this day since yesterday," (sic); after this come the words, "Unâs hath had union with the goddess Mut, Unâs hath drawn unto himself the flame of Isis, Unâs hath united himself to the lotus," etc. The only mention of Mut in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead is found in a hymn to Osiris, which forms the clxxxiii. Chapter; the deceased is made to say to the god, "Thou risest up like an exalted being upon thy standard, and thy beauties exalt the face of man and make long his footsteps." I have given unto thee the sovereignty of thy father Seb, and the goddess Mut, thy

1 Dict. Géog., p. 118.
2 Recueil de Travaux, tom. iii., p. 197, note 1.
3 If Mut, and Muvern, and Menn, and are the same goddess as, it would seem that her name was read as Mut, under the Early Empire.

KHENSU

"mother, who gave birth to the gods, brought thee forth as first-born of five gods, and created thy beauties and fashioned thy members." The papyrus which contains this passage was written during the reign of Seti I., about B.C. 1370, and it is evident that at that period Mut was identified with Nut, and that she was made to be the female counterpart of Seb.

The third member of the great triad of Thebes was Khensu, who was declared to be the son of Amen-Râ and Mut, and who was worshipped with great honour at Thebes. According to Dr. Brugsch¹, the name "Khensu" is derived from the root, "to travel, to move about, to run," and the li and Signor Lanzone² renders the name by "il fugatore, il persecutore"; for both groups of meanings there is authority in the texts, but the translations proposed by the former scholar represent the commonest meaning of the word. Khensu was, in fact, the "traveller," and as he was a form of Thoth and was identified by the Thebans with the Moon-god the epithet was appropriate. As far back as the time of Unâs the motion of Thoth as the Moon-god in the sky was indicated by the word khensu, for in line 194 we read, "Unâs goeth round about heaven like Râ, and travelleth through heaven like Thoth."³ In the passage of the text of the same king (line 510) which describes how he hunted, and killed and ate the gods, mention is made of the god "Khensu the slaughterer," who "cut their throats for the king, and drew out their intestines for him," and he is described as the "messenger whom he sent out to meet them." Khensu the slaughterer and the messenger can, then, be no other than Khensu the Moon-god of later times, and thus we see that, under the Early Empire, Khensu occupied a very important position in the mythology of the period as the "messenger" of the great gods, and the "traveller" who journeyed through the sky

¹ Religion, p. 359.
The god Thoth had a most important place in Egyptian thought and religious ideas, being the deity who invented writing, which was called “the words of the god.” The written characters were the means by which thought may be transmitted over any distance in space and time, and this is “magic.” Thus Thoth was not only the scribe of the gods and frequently their spokesman, but also their “attorney” and keeper of the sacred archives, and the repository of all knowledge and creative intelligence. Indeed, one may have the impression that Thoth was about the only one of the gods who was literate. As source of the magic words, Thoth was the inventor of the arts and sciences and custodian of truth and all that this implies, and as such he supervised and recorded the “justification” of the deceased before Osiris in the Other World. Because of his close association with magic, learning, and the mysteries of the world beyond, the Greeks who became acquainted with Egypt during the mid-first millennium B.C. equated him with their god Hermes, who had several similar attributes. The Alexandrian period saw a profuse development of mystic and alchemical writings in Greek, and this mystic corpus of “Hermetic” texts was naturally attributed to Thoth, whom the Greeks called Hermes Trismegistos, “thrice-greatest Hermes.”

Thoth was identified totemically with both the ibis-bird and the cynocephalus (dog-headed) ape or baboon, and his most common representation is as a man with the head and long, curved beak of the ibis. He was also closely associated with
the moon, and frequently wears the moon-disk resting in a
crescent on his head. In most examples, he is shown holding
a scribe’s palette, into which he is dipping his writing reed.

Thoth describes some aspects of himself in the following se-
lection from Chapter 182 of The Book of the Dead in E. A. W.
Budge’s translation (The Book of the Dead—The Chapters of
340 ff).

The book of establishing Osiris firmly, of giving breath to the Weary
of Heart, 1 while Thoth repulses the foes of Osiris, who comes there in
his forms of becoming, and is protected and made holy and guarded
in the Other World—that which has done Thoth himself.

I am Thoth, the excellent scribe, whose hands are pure, the lord of
the two horns, who makes iniquity to be destroyed, the scribe of right
and truth, who abominates wrongdoing. Behold, he is the writing reed
of the Lord of All, 2 the lord of laws, who gives forth the speech of
wisdom and understanding, whose words have dominion over the Two
Lands.

I am Thoth, the lord of right and truth, who judges right and
truth for the gods, the judge of words in their essence, whose words
triumph over violence.

I have scattered the darkness, I have driven away the whirlwind and
the storm, 3 and I have given the pleasant breeze of the north wind
unto Osiris, the Beautiful Being, 4 as he came forth from the body of
her who gave him birth.

I have made Ra to set as Osiris, and Osiris sets as Ra sets. I
have made him to enter the secret habitation to vivify the heart of
the Weary of Heart, the Holy Soul who is over the West, and to ex-
ult in joy to the Weary of Heart, the Beautiful Being, the son of Nut. 5

6 An epithet of Osiris at the “heart one,” after he had been done to death by Set.
7 An epithet of the great primeval god Ra. The rest of the sentence refers to Thoth, not
to Ra.
8 Referring to Set and his temeiri.
9 We refer, the Beautiful Being,” was one of the most frequently used epithets of
Osiris.
10 Osiris, Isis, Set, and Nephthys were the children of the earth-god Geb and the
sky-goddess Nut.

I am Thoth, praised of Ra, the lord of might, who brings to a
prosperous end that which he does, the mighty one of enchantments
who is in the boat of millions of years, 6 the lord of laws, whose
words of power gave strength to her who gave him birth, whose voice
subdues opposition and fighting, and who makes the praise of Ra in
his shrine.

I am Thoth, who made true the voice 7 of Osiris over his enemies.
I am Thoth, who issues the decree at dawn, and whose sight follows
on after his overthrow at his season, 8 the guide of heaven and earth
and the Other World, and the creator of the life of all peoples. 9 I
gave breath unto him who was in the hidden place 10 by means of
the might of the magical words of my utterance, that Osiris might be
true of voice over his enemies.

I came unto you, O lord of the Sacred Land, O Osiris, Bull of the
West, 11 and you were made flourishing forever. I set eternity as
magical protection for your members. I came having magical protc.
tion in my hand, and I guarded you with strength during the course
of each and every day. Magical protection and life were behind this
god, and his Divine Essence 12 was glorified with power.

The king of the Other World, the Ruler of the West, the possessor of the
heavens through truth of voice, firmly established upon him

6 The Solar Bark in which Ra crosses the sky daily, accompanied by several of the major
deities. Thoth is always figured among them.
7 At the famous judgment between Horus and Set, in which Horus contended for the
claims of his father Osiris, which he inherited. Thoth acted as “attorney” for Horus and
procured the vindication of his and Osiris’s claims. The epithet “true of voice,” meaning
to whom is justified before the tribunal, was a standard epithet of Osiris and regularly
used after the names of the deceased as being identified with the god.
8 He orders day to dawn and follows the course of the sun after it sets in its regular
time.
9 Thoth is here considered as ordering not only the visible world but also the world of
eternity, and as the creator of life.
10 Osiris.
11 Like most of the dying and resurrected fertility gods of the ancient world (for example,
Dioskysus, with whom Osiris was identified by the Greeks), he was regularly called Bull,
the powerful phallic totem par excellence. “The West” was a usual term for the Other
World.
12 Ra in Egyptian, the essential element of divinity of both gods and mortals. A mortal’s
ka was created with him and remained in the divine world during his lifetime, guiding
and protecting him as a tutelary genius. When a man died, he rejoined his ka.
is the \textit{Atef}-crown,\textsuperscript{13} he is diadem with the White Crown,\textsuperscript{14} and he grasps the Crook and the Flail.\textsuperscript{15} Unto him, the great one of souls, the great one of the \textit{Wereret}-crown,\textsuperscript{16} every god is gathered together, and love of him who is the Beautiful being, and whose existence is forever unto eternity, goes through their bodies.

Hail to you, O you who are over those in the West, who makes mortals to be born again, renewing your youth and always in your season, and who is more beautiful even than anything in your heart! Your son Horus has avenged you,\textsuperscript{17} and the dignities of Atum\textsuperscript{18} have been conferred upon you, O Beautiful Being! You are raised up, O Bull of the West, you are made firm, made firm in the body of Nut, who unites herself with you and who comes forth with you. Your heart is raised upon that which supports it, and your breast as it was at its beginning; your nose is made firm with life and prospering, you are living, you are renewed and you are young like Ra each and every day.\textsuperscript{19} Great, great is Osiris as one True of Voice and he is firmly established with life!

I am Thoth, and I have made content Horus and have quieted the two Divine Combatants\textsuperscript{20} in their season of storm. I have come, and I have washed the Red One. I have quieted the Stormy One,\textsuperscript{21} and I have made him swallow all manner of evil things.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{13} The \textit{Atef}-crown, which Osiris usually wears, consisted of the tall crown of Upper Egypt in its primitive form, with two ostrich plumes attached on either side and mounted upon a pair of twisted ram's horns.

\textsuperscript{14} The tall white crown of Upper Egypt.

\textsuperscript{15} The symbols of royal authority, analogous to the scepter of European kings. The flail was usually held in the right hand and the crook is the left, crossed diagonally over the chest.

\textsuperscript{16} The tall white crown set into the low red crown of Lower Egypt, and worn by the king as the Double Crown of the Two Lands.

\textsuperscript{17} A standard epithet of Horus is “Avenger of His Father.”

\textsuperscript{18} Ra-Atom-Khepri was the great primal god of Egypt.

\textsuperscript{19} All the foregoing refers to the resurrection of Osiris, here represented as being effected by the magic power of Thoth. Note that Isis is not mentioned at all.

\textsuperscript{20} Horus and Set.

\textsuperscript{21} Set is frequently represented as red in color, and associated with storm and turmoil. The Egyptians identified Set with the great Syro-Canaanite god Baal, who in one of his fertility aspects brings the rainstorm.

\textsuperscript{22} One of the various punishments meted out to Set after the great judgment. In the oldest variants of the myth, Set had to carry Horus on his back.

23 The city of Khem, or Khem, which the Greeks called Leotopolis, was situated close to the fork of the Delta. It was the ancient site of the worship of Horus Mekhenti-ity, or Mekhenti-waeryt, meaning “Horus endowed with his two eyes,” or “Horus deprived of his two eyes,” respectively. This alludes to the episode in the myth of the contestings of Horus and Set in which, in the course of a violent struggle between the two, Set tore out the eyes of Horus and Horus tore out the beak of Set. When peace was later brought about, these organs were returned to their respective owners. The “Things of the Night” probably refers to the ritual re-enactment of the battle, which constitutes the essential “mysteries” of every cult. Well known in Greece were the mysteries of Dionysus, in which the death and resurrection of the god were re-enacted, and the Eleusinian mysteries, in which were re-enacted the myth of Demeter and Persephone, and the latter’s “death,” that is, her abduction by Hades from Nysa below and her later ascent, on the divine plane, and the death and resurrection of Demeter-Persephone- Triptolemos on the human level. Compare also the symbolic consummation of the body and blood of Jesus in the Roman Catholic Mass. Most of the ancient mysteries were performed at night, at least in the Graeco-Roman world.

24 Ancient cities of Egypt.

25 Being possessing full attributes of divinity, such as the gods, or endowed with them by magic ceremonial, such as the spirits of the deceased.

26 Here Thoth is identified with Amulis, the jackal-headed god who superintended the embalming process, which was a sacred rite in itself with a special liturgy. The ritual of embalming was itself a re-enactment of the primal embalming by Amulis of the body of Osiris, with whom the deceased was identified.

27 The mummy of the deceased was impregnated with fragrant oils and resins.

28 Another name of the Solar Bark of Ra.

29 A dog or jackal-headed deity, probably an aspect of Amulis, who acted as the guide of the deceased on the way to the Other World.
of our earliest body of religious texts from Egypt, the *Pyramid Texts*, so-called because the texts were found inscribed upon the walls of the corridors and chambers of the pyramids of the kings of the Fifth and Sixth dynasties. What these texts are is a series of magic spells which bring this purpose about. It must be remembered that these ritual formulas are not there to tell us the story of Osiris, but to “make” the deceased king Osiris by the magical effectiveness of their words and of the ritual acts which accompanied them. For this reason, we do not find the story in a connected form. As a matter of fact, nowhere in ancient Egyptian literature do we find the entire story in a connected sequence. We find it only in a late text, with many non-Egyptian additions and speculations and written in Greek by a non-Egyptian: the essay *On Isis and Osiris* by Plutarch, who lived during the later first and early second century A.D. Various elements and aspects of the myth, however, are referred to in much of ancient Egyptian literature throughout its history, and one most unusual and amusing text deals anecdotally with *The Contending of Horus and Set*.

Our purpose here is to present the myth from the oldest source at our disposal, namely, the *Pyramid Texts* (see pages 49–57). Since as mentioned, these ritual texts do not tell the story in a connected order, as this was not their reason for being, what we have done is to gather separate spells referring to definite elements of the “story line” and arrange them in as best an ordered sequence as we can. If our compilation seems rather disjointed, it is because the spells, or groups of spells, have been taken out of context and rearranged to “tell” the story. In no way, however, has the meaning of a spell been stretched or changed, except those instances in which the deceased king is addressed or referred to as “Osiris So-and-So” or by his name alone. In these cases we have simply substituted “Osiris,” since that was what he was considered to be. The only complete English translation is by the Canadian Egyptologist Samuel A. B. Mercer: *The Pyramid Texts* (4 volumes, Macmillan, 1952), with commentary and additional essays, of which the translation comprises the first volume.

The texts from the various royal pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth dynasties were collated and published, first partially by Maspéro in 1894, and in a much more complete edition by Kurt Sethe in 1908–1910. Sethe’s edition has become the standard one, although from time to time new inscriptions have come to light from Old Kingdom pyramids, with parallel and/or additional texts. Each sentence of the texts (corresponding to a “verse” in the Bible) is referred to as a “spell” by scholars, and each group of spells dealing with a unit of the ritual is called an “utterance.” The corpus of texts as published by Sethe is made up of 2,217 spells or fragments of spells, divided into 714 utterances.

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[The birth of Osiris]

There came the waters of life which are in the sky: there came the waters of life which are in the earth. The sky burns for you, the earth trembles for you, before the birth of the god.

The two mountains open: the god comes into being, and assumes power over his body.

Behold Osiris! his feet shall be kissed by the pure waters which were in Atum, which the phallus of Shu has made, and which the vulva of Tefnut has caused to be.

Your Mother Nut has given you birth. God has wiped your mouth for you!

They have come, they have brought to you the pure waters which are in their father. They purify you and cleanse you as with incense.

A cool libation is poured out at the gate of Osiris. The face of every god is washed.

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1 Most likely referring to the vulva of Tefnut, who is mentioned in the next spell.
You wash your arms, O Osiris! The renewal of your youthful vigor is as a god.²

[Nut rejoices in the birth of her son, and all the gods rejoice with her!]

Nut, the gleaming,³ the great, says: “This is my son, my first-born, Osiris, opener of my womb! This is my beloved, in whom I am content.” Geb says: “This is my son, Osiris, of my body!”

Nut the great, she who is in the lower mansion,⁴ says: “This is my son, Osiris, my beloved, my eldest one, who is upon the throne of Geb, in whom he is content, to whom he gave his inheritance in the presence of the Great Ennead!”

All the gods are in exultation. They say: “How beautiful is Osiris, in whom his father Geb is content!”

Nut, this is your son is this one here, Osiris, of whom you have said: “One born to your father!” You have wiped for him his mouth.

[Osiris is assigned his place in the genealogy of the gods⁵]

Atum, this your son is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Shu, this your son is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Tefnut, this your son is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Geb, this your son is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Nut, this your son is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Isis, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Sel, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, who is made to endure and to live, so that he may punish you.

² The king is reborn and his powers are rejuvenated, in and with Osiris.
³ The word in Egyptian (akhet) may mean “glorious,” “luminous,” “beneficial.” The same root is found in the name of the famous Akhenaten (Akken-Aton, “the glory of the sun disk.”)
⁴ Heliopolis.
⁵ The genealogy is that of the Heliopolitan theology. See pages 51-52.

Nephthys, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live.

Thoth, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, who is made to endure and to live, so that he may punish you.⁵

Horus, this your father is this one here, Osiris, whom you have made to endure and to live!

[Osiris is declared king of Upper and Lower Egypt]

Nut-Nekhbet⁶ the great says: “This is my beloved, my son. I have given the Two Horizons to him, that he may be powerful over them like the Horus of the Two Horizons.”⁷ All the gods say: “It is a true thing that he is your beloved among your children. I will exercise divine protection over him eternally!” Nut the great, who is within the encircled mansion,⁸ says: “This is my son. Osiris, of my heart!”

All the gods say [to Nut]: “Your father Shu knows that you love him more than your mother Tefnut.”

He lives, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, beloved of Ra, living forever!

Heir of Geb, whom he loves, Osiris, beloved of the gods, Osiris, given life, endurance, joy, health, all happiness, like Ra!

Osiris, the beloved son of Geb, Osiris, son of Nut, opener of her womb, Osiris, endowed with life, endurance, health, like Ra forever!

[Isis and Nephthys given to Osiris as consorts]

Nut says: “Osiris, I have given to you your sister Isis, that she may hold you fast, that she may give you your heart of your body.”

Nut says: “Osiris, I have given to you your sister Nephthys, that she

⁶ One of the few references to Thoth as another brother of Osiris and an associate of Set. In most other texts Thoth is not a “villain” but the scribe and secretary of the gods and the executor of their decrees.
⁷ Nut here is identified with the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, the ancient tutelary deity of Upper Egypt.
⁸ An epithet of Atum, who is also called “the elder Horus,” not to be confused with Horus the son of Isis. The “horizons,” of course, are those of the east and the west, the rising and the setting sun.
⁹ The shrine in Heliopolis.
may hold you fast, that she may give you your heart of your body."

[Thoth aids Set against Osiris]

Behold what Set and Thoth have done, your two brothers, who knew not how to weep for you!
Set, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, who is made to endure and to live, that he may punish you!
Thoth, this your brother is this one here, Osiris, who is made to endure and to live, that he may punish you!

[Set binds Osiris and kills him]

[Horus] beats him who beats you: he binds him who binds you.
Have you [Set] acted against him? Have you said that he would die? He will not die! Osiris will live a life forever. Osiris is become, in spite of them, as the surviving bull of the wild bulls. Osiris is at their head; he will live and last forever!

[The search and lamentation for Osiris]

The *hat*-bird comes, the kite comes; they are Isis and Nephthys. They have come in search of their brother Osiris.
You who are here, weep for your brother! Isis, weep for your brother! Nephthys, weep for your brother!
Isis sits, her hands upon her head. Nephthys has indeed seized the tips of her breasts because of her brother Osiris. Amnis is on his belly, Osiris being wounded.

Isis and Nephthys have seen you; they have found you. Your two sisters, Isis and Nephthys, come to you. They hasten to the place in which you are, to the place where you were drowned. Your

10 See note 6.
11 Set and his followers. "The Followers of Set" are frequently referred to, and are punished with him. In various texts, reference is made to a series of mythical kings who reigned before Menes and were called "The Followers of Horus." Possibly "The Followers of Set" are the opposite numbers of these.
12 Literally, "the mourning bird." From the verb *hat,* "to mourn."
13 These are various attitudes of mourning. In many paintings and reliefs, mourning women are depicted with breasts exposed and lacerated.
14 In paintings and vignettes on papyri, Osiris is colored either black or green, evidently symbolic of his powerful fertility aspect—the fertile black mud of the Nile and the green of vegetation and water.
15 Buto was an ancient, semi-mythical center of Lower Egypt. "The Souls of Buto," probably the spirits of ancient ancestral kings, are frequently represented performing their stately ritual dance of mourning for Osiris.
16 The mythical place on the Nile where the drowned body of Osiris was washed up.
17 See note 15.
Osiris, who was placed upon his side by his brother Set, he who was in Nedyt stirs; his head is raised up by Ra. His abomination is to sleep; he hates to be wearied!

Osiris awakes in peace; he who was in Nedyt awakes in peace. His head is lifted up by Ra.

He rots not; he stinks not!

"Come, my child!" says Atum. "Come to us!" say they, say the gods to you, Osiris!

"Our brother is come to us—the eldest, the first-born of his father, the first-born of his mother."

You support the sky on your right side, having life. You live, because the gods ordained that you live. Osiris supports the sky on his right side, having life. He lives his life, because the gods have ordained that you live!

You lean on the earth on your left side, having joy. You live your life, because the gods have ordained that you live!

Osiris is the blood which came forth from Isis!* Osiris is the red blood which came forth from Nephthys!

[Osiris impregnates Isis]

Your sister comes to you, rejoicing for love of you!

Isis comes to you, rejoicing for love of you!

"I have assembled my brother; I have united his limbs. I have come, I lay hold of you; I have put your heart in your body for you. I have come, rejoicing for love of you! O Osiris, this source is within you! I am the water-hole; I am overflowing!"

You have placed her upon your phallus, that your seed may go into her, pointed like Sothis.* Horus the pointed has come forth from you as Horus who was in Sothis!

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* The menstrual blood of Isis had great life-giving power, and figured significantly in the spells of The Book of the Dead.

* That is, of the "water" (semen) of Osiris.

* Sothis is the Greek name for the star Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars. The Egyptian name for Sirius is Soqer, which means "the pointed one." The phallus of Osiris, having become "pointed," produced Horus, who in one of his aspects was also a powerful fertility-god (and equated with the phallic god Min) and therefore also "pointed."

...somebody was cut off...
the earth, for you are more exalted than he, in your name of "He of the Exalted Land."

Horus has caused that you seize him with your hand, without his escaping you. O Osiris, Horus has avenged you! He has done it for his ka in you, that you may be satisfied in your name of "Satisfied Ka."

[The return of the organs of Horus and Set after the battle]

Osiris is the messenger of the gods in search of the Eye of Horus. Osiris searched for it in Buto; he found it at Heliopolis. Osiris snatched it from the head of Set, at the place where they fought. The messenger of Horus, whom he loves, was Osiris, who has brought back to him his Eye. The messenger of Set, whom he loves, was Osiris, who has brought back to him his testicles.

You, Osiris, shall spit in the face of Horus in order to drive the injury away from him. You shall catch the testicles of Set, in order to drive away his mutilation. That one was born to you; this one was begotten by you.

You have been born, O Horus, as one whose name is "him at whom the earth quakes." You are begotten, O Set, as one whose name is "him at whom the sky trembles." That one [Horus] has not a mutilation; this one [Set] has not an injury. This one has not an injury; that one has not a mutilation.

[Horus gives his Eye to Osiris]

Your son Horus has smitten him; he has snatched back his Eye from him; he has given it to you, that you may become glorious thereby, that you may become mighty before the Glorious Ones.

O Osiris, arise! Horus comes, he reclaims you from the gods. Horus has loved you; he has equipped you with his Eye.

Horus has given you his Eye, the hard one. He has placed it for you, that you may be strong, and that all your enemies may fear you. Horus has completely filled you with his Eye, in this his name of "fullness of the god."

Horus has opened your eye for you, that you may see with it, in its name of "Opener of the Way."

[In a variant spell, Osiris eats the Eye:] that which you have eaten is an eye. Your body is full of it: your son Horus parts with it for you, that you may live by it.

[Horus as the Avenger of Osiris]

Horus says: Arise for me, father! Stand up for me, O Osiris! It is I: I am your son; I am Horus your avenger. I have smitten for you him who smote you. I have avenged you, O father Osiris, on him who did you evil.

O Osiris, Horus has found you! He rejoices over you. Go forth against your enemy; you are greater than he!

Horus has caused him to carry you: he has delivered you from your enemy. He has avenged you.

Horus has extended your enemy beneath you. You are older than he [Set] for you were born before him.

Horus has caused Thoth to bring your enemy to you. He has placed you upon his back, and he dares not resist you. Sit you down upon him!

Mount; sit upon him, so that he dare not resist you!

And the Ennead shall not allow Set to be free from carrying you forever!

27 Whether the phrase "whom he loves" serves the purposes of balance is immaterial. After the resolution of the conflict, all the gods live in harmony anyhow. The phrase may also be taken to mean that Set loves Osiris for returning to him his testicles.

28 Spittle, as one of the body fluids symbolising semen, has magical, life-giving powers among all ancient and primitive peoples. Ra-Atem-Kheper "spit out" Shu and Tefnut in the process of creating them (page 54). In Greek myth, Polyidus, who had given Glaucus the magic power of divination, made Glaucus spit into his mouth when he desired to recall the magic that he had given him (Apollo, The Library, III, iii, 2). Magic and divination are strongly connected with the fertility concept.

29 Horus and Set are often referred to as "brothers."

30 Choristic repetition (in which the order is reversed) is frequent in ritual magic.

31 To eat something is to assimilate its qualities. This is also the basis of cannibalism, which is magical in nature.

32 The most frequently mentioned token of the submission of Set is that he had to carry Osiris upon his back.
[Set's lying testimony, and his judgment]

Remember, Set, put in your heart this word which Geb spoke, the threat which the gods made against you in the house of the Prince, in Heliopolis, because you did strike Osiris to the ground!

As you, Set, did say: “I have not done this against him!” that you might prevail thereby; that you might be acquitted, and prevail in spite of Horus.

As you, Set, did say: “It is he who defied me!” As you, Set, did say: “It is he who came too near to me!”

Osiris desires to be justified by that which he has done; since Tefen, and Tefnut have justified Osiris, since the Two Truths have heard him, since Shu has been his advocate, since the Two Truths have given verdict, he has encompassed the thrones of Geb; he has raised himself to that which he wished.

So that his limbs are united, which were once hidden. He united himself with those who are in Nun. He concludes his defense in Heliopolis.

[The triumph of Osiris and Horus]

O Osiris, stand up, see that which your son has done for you! Awake, hear that which Horus has done for you!

He has caused Thoth to turn back for you the Followers of Set, and that he bring them to you all together.

Thoth has seized your enemy for you, so that he is beheaded together with his followers; there is not one whom he has spared!

Although Shu ("air") is the consort of Tefnut ("moisture"); Tefen, a grammatically masculine counterpart of Tefnut, is sometimes mentioned.

Godesses who are personifications of truth and justice, and who also figure in The Book of the Dead, they are double, like many aspects of ancient Egypt.

Before the divine tribunal of the Ennead, which declared Osiris "true of voice," that is, justified before the court. This epithet of the deceased king as having become Osiris and "justified" before the gods was later, in the Middle and New Kingdom periods, applied to the deceased nobles and commoners who also became Osiris by virtue of the mortuary spells and rituals.

Differing punishments, including disembemnt, and so on, are assigned to Set and his followers in various portions of the Pyramid Texts. Since they are divine, however, this does not mean that they are "killed dead." Set was always venerated, particularly in his city of Tanis-Avars. The killing and disembemnt of Set and his followers are to be taken as a Pickwickian sense.

He has beaten for you him who beats you. He has killed for you him who kills you, like a wild bull. He had bound for you him who binds you. He has put him under your great daughter who is in Kedem.

So that mourning ceased in the Two Palaces of the gods!

[The risen Osiris as the ongoing principle of life]

Osiris has come forth this day at the head of the full flood. Osiris is the crocodile with the flourishing green plume, with head erect, his breast lifted, the foaming one who has come forth from the thigh of the Great Tail which is in the gleaming heavens.

Osiris has come to his pools, which are in the land of the flood, in the great inundation, to the seats of contentment—green of fields, which are in the horizon.

Osiris makes green and fertile the fields in both lands of the horizon. Osiris has brought the gleam to the Great Eye in the midst of the field. Osiris receives his throne which is in the horizon.

Osiris rises as Sebek, son of Neith. Osiris eats with his mouth;

This reference is one of those which are unclear in our present state of information. All we can say about Kedem is that it probably refers to Syria-Canaan.

Just as the palace of the king is double (for Upper and Lower Egypt), so is the dwelling of the gods. See also note 34.

The Sited—in Egypt the crocodile, who was also the god Sebek (see below)—the erect head, "the foaming one," are all of obvious phallic significance, here epitomes of Osiris "at the head of the full flood." He has come forth from the "thigh," that is, the genital organs (and so frequently metaphorically for euphemism in the Old Testament of the "Great Tail," who is probably Ra. Elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts, Ra is called "Bull of Bulls," and the deceased, king, namely, Osiris, is referred to as seeing his tail.

As crocodile. Sacred crocodiles were kept in pools in the courtyards of the temples devoted to them. Many mummmied crocodiles have been found, some stuffed with papyri containing valuable texts that would otherwise have been lost.

Neith was the ancient warrior-goddess of Sais in the Delta, and is usually represented wearing the clinging, sheathlike single garment worn by women in the Old Kingdom, and holding a spear. She was sometimes equated with Nut. Her attributes lend support to the possibility that her name became transposed, by metathesis, into that of Athena, with whom the Greeks actually equated her. Sebek, as fertility deity, is identified in Egypt not only with Osiris, but also with Ra and Horus. We find great powers of fertility attributed to the crocodile by Nilotic peoples even in recent times; Budge reports that the genitals of male crocodiles were eaten by Sudanese natives as an aphrodisiac (E. A. W. Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection. London, P. L. Warner, 1911, p. 135).
Osiris urinates; Osiris copulates with his phallus. Osiris is lord of semen which women seize from their husbands, wherever Osiris wishes, according as his heart conceives.

O you whose life-giving tree becomes green, who is over his field; O opener of flowers, he who is on his sycamore; O you whose river-banks glisten with verdure, who is over his tree of charm!

O lord of green fields, rejoice this day! Osiris will henceforth be among you; Osiris will go forth in his environs. Osiris will live on that upon which you live.

O Bulls of Atum! Make Osiris green! Refresh Osiris more than the Red Crown which is upon his head, more than the floodwaters which are upon his thighs, more than the dates which are in his fist!\(^{42}\)

\(^{42}\) The reader will now readily recognize the strong phallic symbolism.
CHAPTER III

THE TRIAD OF ĀBU (ELEPHANTINE), KHNEMU, $\leftarrow$, SATET, $\leftarrow$, AND ĀNQET, $\leftarrow$

KHNNEMU, the first member of the great triad of Ābu, or Elephantine, is one of the oldest gods of Egypt, and we find him mentioned in the text of Unās in such a way as to show that even at the remote period of the reign of that king his cult was very old. The views which the Egyptians held concerning this god changed somewhat in the course of their long history, but the texts show that Khnemu always held an exalted position among the ancient gods of their country, and we know from Gnostic gems and papyri that he was a god of great importance in the eyes of certain semi-Christian sects for some two or three centuries after the birth of Christ. It is probable that Khnemu was one of the gods of the predynastic Egyptians who lived immediately before the archaic period, for his symbol was the flat-horned ram, and that animal appears to have been introduced into Egypt from the East; he disappears from the monuments before the period of the XIIth Dynasty. In the text of Unās the name of Khnemu is found in a section which contains twenty-five short paragraphs, the greater number of which must certainly date from a period far older than the reign of this king, for the forms of the words and the language are very archaic, and few of the names of the serpents which are addressed in them occur in later texts. Khnemu is represented on the monuments in the form of a ram-headed man who usually holds in his hands the sceptre $\leftarrow$, and the emblem of life, $\leftarrow$. He wears the White Crown, to which are sometimes attached plumes, uraei, a disk, etc.; in one example
quoted by Lanzoni he has the head of a hawk, which indicates that he possessed a solar aspect. As a water-god he is seen with outstretched hands over which flows water, and he is sometimes seen with a jug above his horns, which indicates his name.

The name of Khnumu is connected with the root $khnml$, "to join, to unite," and with $khnum$, "to build"; astronomically the name refers to the "conjunction" of the sun and moon at stated seasons of the year, and we know from the texts of all periods that Khnumu was the "builder" of gods and men. He it was who, according to the statements which were made by his priests at Elephantine, the chief seat of his worship, made the first egg from which sprang the sun, and he made the gods, and fashioned the first man upon a potter's wheel, and he continued to "build up" their bodies and maintain their life.

The portion of Egypt in which the worship of Khnumu was supreme extended from Thebes to Philae, but the principal sanctuaries of the god were at the two ends of the First Cataract, i.e., on Elephantine on the north and on Philae and the adjoining islands on the south. He was the god par excellence of the First Cataract, throughout which, with his female counterpart Satet and the local Nubian goddess Anqet, he was worshipped from the earliest dynasties; the goddess Satet was identified as a form of the star Sept, of Elephantine and of Menet, lady of Latopolis. An examination of the texts makes it clear that Khnumu was originally a water or river-god, and that in very early times he was regarded as the god of the Nile and of the annual Nile-flood, and as such he bore the name of Qnum, and appeared as the ram-headed god, Qnum. In the passages quoted by Signor Lanzoni and Dr. Brugsch he is called the "builder of men and the maker of the gods and the Father who was in the beginning,"; "maker of things which are, creator of things which shall be, the source

1 Lanzoni, p. 306, No. 4.
2 Brugsch, Religion, p. 290.
3 Dictionnaire, p. 557.
4 Religion, p. 291.
"of things which exist, Father of fathers, and Mother of mothers,"

Father of the fathers of the gods and goddesses, lord of created things from himself, maker of heaven, and earth, and the Tuat, and water, and mountains;", and "raiser up of heaven upon its four pillars and supporter of the same in the firmament,"

Khnum united within himself the attributes of the four great gods Rā, Shu, Qeb or Seb, and Osiris, and in this aspect he is represented in pictures with four rams' heads upon a human body; according to Dr. Brugsch these symbolize fire, air, earth, and water. When depicted with four heads Khnum was the type of the great primordial creative force, and was called SHEFT-HĀT, The first ram's head was the head of Rā, and symbolized Khnum of Elephantine; the second was the head of Shu, and symbolized Khnum of Latopolis; the third was the head of Seb, and symbolized Khnum of Hēt-urīt; and the fourth was the head of Osiris, and symbolized Khnum as lord of Hypselis. As SHEFT-HĀT Khnum was the lord of Hermopolis Magna and of Thmuis, and possessed all the attributes which have been enumerated above. From another text we learn that the four rams also symbolized the life of Rā, the life of Shu, the life of Seb, and the life of Osiris, and that the ram of Rā gave him sovereignty over the South and North, and identified him with the Ram of Mendes, Ba-neb-Teṭṭu, The principal shrines of KHNUM-RĀ were situated at Sunnu, the modern Syene, on the Island of Ābu, the modern Elephantine, and on the Island of Senmut, the modern Biggeh, which marked the frontier of Ta-kens, or Nubia. He appears in these as the Lord of all the

1 Or . The Island was also called , "Qebhet."
South of Egypt, and is associated with Isis, the great goddess of the South, and in fact is to the South of Egypt exactly what Itah-Tenen, who was associated with Nephthys, was to the Delta and the North of Egypt. To him was ascribed every attribute of Ra, and thus he is described as the god who existed before anything else was, who made himself, and who was the creative power which made and which sustains all things. When the cult of Khnumu-Ra became general in the south his priests increased the importance of their god by identifying him with Nu, the great primeval god of the watery abyss, and from being the local river-god of the Nile in the First Cataract he became the god of heaven; in the latter aspect he was said to dwell in the Island of Sennuat.

The views which were held about Khnumu-Ra as god of the earthly Nile are best illustrated by the famous inscription which was discovered on a rock on the Island of Suhail in 1899 by the late Mr. Charles W. Atkinson. According to it, in the sixth year of king Tcheser, who has been identified with the third king of the Third Dynasty, the whole of the region of the South, and the Island of Elephantine, and the district of Nubia were ruled by the high official Muter, the king sent a despatch to Muter informing him that he was in great grief by reason of the reports which were brought to him into the palace as he sat upon his throne, and because for seven years there had been no satisfactory inundation of the Nile. As the result of this grain of every kind was very scarce, vegetables and garden produce of every kind could not be found, and in fact the people had very little food to eat, and they were in such need that men were robbing their neighbours. Men wished to walk out, but could not do so for want of strength; children were crying for food, young men collapsed through lack of food, and the spirits of the aged were crushed to the earth, and they laid themselves down on the ground to die. In this terrible trouble king Tcheser remembered the god I-em-hetep, the son of Itah of the South Wall, who, it would seem, had once delivered Egypt from a similar calamity, but as his help was no longer forthcoming Tcheser asked his governor Muter to tell him where the Nile rose, and what god or goddess was its tutelary deity. In answer to this despatch Muter made his way immediately to the king, and gave him information on the matters about which he had asked questions. He told him that the Nile flood came forth from the Island of Elephantine wherein stood the first city that ever existed; out of it rose the Sun when he went forth to bestow life upon man, and therefore it is also called “Doubly Sweet Life,” the spot on the island out of which the river rose was the double cavern (?), which was likened to two breasts, from which all good things poured forth; this double cavern was, in fact, the “couch of the Nile,” and from it the Nile-god watched until the season of inundation drew nigh, and then he rushed forth like a vigorous young man, and filled the whole country. At Elephantine he rose to a height of twenty-eight cubits, but at Diospolis Parva in the Delta he rose seven cubits. The guardian of this flood was Khnumu, and it was he who kept the doors that held it in, and who drew back the bolts at the proper time. Muter next went on to describe the temple of Khnumu at Elephantine, and told his royal master that the other gods in it were Sept (Sothis), Anubis, and the Nekhbet. When the king heard these words he offered up sacrifices to the god, and in due course went into his temple to make supplication before him; finally Khnumu appeared before him, and said, “I am Khnumu the Creator. My hands rest upon thee to protect thy person, and to make sound thy body. I gave thee thine heart... . I am he who created himself. I am the primeval watery abyss, and I am Nile who riseth at his will.”
"to give health for me to those who toil. I am the guide and
director of all men, the Almighty, the father of the gods,
"Shu, the mighty possessor of the earth." Finally the god
promised that the Nile should rise every year, as in olden time,
and described the good which should come upon the land when he
had made an end of the famine. When Khnemu ceased to speak
king Tesher remembered that the god had complained that no
one took the trouble to repair his shrine, even though stone lay
near in abundance, and he immediately issued a decree in which
it was ordered that certain lands on each side of the Nile near
Elephantine should be set apart for the endowment of the temple
of Khnemu, and that a certain tax should be levied upon every
product of the neighbourhood, and devoted to the maintenance
of the priesthood of the god; the original text of the decree was
written upon wood, and as this was not lasting, the king ordered
that a copy of it should be cut upon a stone stele which should
be set in a prominent place. It is nowhere said that the god kept
his promise to Tesher, but we may assume that he did. The
form of the narrative of the Seven Years' Famine summarized
above is not older than the Ptolemaic period, but the subject
matter belongs to a much older time, and very probably represents
a tradition which dates from the Early Empire.

We have seen that the spirit, or soul, of Khnemu pervaded all
things, and that the god whose symbol was a ram was the creator
of men and gods, and in connexion with this must be noted
the fact that, together with Ptah, he built up the edifice of the
material universe according to the plans which he had made under
the guidance and direction of Thoth. As the architect of the
universe he possessed seven forms which are often alluded to in
texts; they are sometimes represented in pictures, and their names
are as follows:

\[ \text{Khnemu Nehef, "Khnemu the Creator."} \]
\[ \text{Khnemu Khenti-Tuat, "Khnemu, governor of} \]
\[ \text{the two lands."} \]

\[ \text{For the hieroglyphic text see Brugsch, } \]
\[ \text{Die biblischen sieben Jahre der} \]
\[ \text{Hungerwoth, Leipzig, 1891.} \]
FORMS OF KHNEMU

KHNEMU SEKHET ASHER-EP, "Khnemu, weaver of his light."

KHNEMU KHENTI PER-ANKH, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Life."

KHNEMU NEH-DA-ANKHET, "Khnemu, lord of the Land of Life."

KHNEMU KHENTI NERCHENEMIANKHET, "Khnemu, Governor of the House of Sweet Life."

KHNEMU NEA, "Khnemu, Lord."

Satet, שד, or Sater, שד; or, שד, was the principal female counterpart of Khnemu, and was worshipped with him at Elephantine, where she was a sister goddess of Anet. Her name appears to be connected with the root sat, שד, "to shoot, to eject, to pour out, to throw," and the like, and sat is also used in connexion with the scattering abroad and sowing of seed, and with the sprinkling of water; thus at any rate at one period she must have been regarded as the goddess of the inundation, who poured out and spread over the land the life-giving waters of the Nile, and as the goddess of fertility. She sometimes carries in her hands a bow and arrows, a fact which suggests that in her earliest form she was a goddess of the chase; according to Dr. Brugsch, she was identified by the Greeks with their goddess Hera. 1 In many pictures of the goddess we see her wearing the crown of the South and a pair of horns, which prove that she was a form of Ast-Sept, אסט-ספט, or Isis-Sothis. At the time when the temple of Dendera was built she was identified with the local goddess Isis-Hathor of Dendera, with Amenti, אמנט, of Thebes, and Menat, מנאט, of Heliopolis, and Renpet of

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1 This goddess must not be confounded with the Sater, אגול, who is represented in the form of a woman, and bears upon her head the Cheet, מנה, and was a local Alexandrian form of Isis; see Littau, Orientation, p. 118.

2 Religion, p. 209.
The Quarrel of Apophis and Sekemne

For nearly a century Asiatic Hyksos rulers and their vassals had dominated Egypt, controlling the Delta and Middle Egypt. This Ramesside story of the origins of the conflict between Thebes in the south and the Hyksos King Apophis must be evaluated critically against documents contemporaneous with the war of the expulsion of the Hyksos. For in later times there was a tendency to exaggerate the harshness of Hyksos domination and their impiety toward the gods of the Egyptian pantheon other than Seth, whom the Hyksos may have identified with Baal. (See John Van Seters, The Hyksos [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966], chap. 12. This story may contain a propagandistic element designed to enhance the prestige of the Theban god Amon-Re; see Jürgen von Beckerath, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten [Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1963], p. 110.) In the Ramesside historical romance King Apophis, seeking to agitate the Theban ruler Sekemne, presents him with a fantastic complaint. It is possible that the last continuation of the story would have presented more substantial immediate causes for the war that ensued. Although King Sekemne's mummy shows that he met with a violent death, it is probable that he did not die in battle against the Hyksos, as is frequently maintained, for an inscription of Sekemne's son and successor Kenose indicates that the war of the expulsion was initiated by Kenose. This war, continued by Kenose's brother Ahmose, paved the way for the formation of the Egyptian empire in Dynasty 18.

There are many lacunae in the text, and many of the restorations are conjectural. Bibliographical references will be found in Lefebvre, Romans et contes, p. 133; Wilson, in ANET, p. 231; and Erman, The Ancient Egyptians, p. xxiii. Donald B. Redford, in Oriantina 38 (1970): 1-51, reconsiders the problem of the tradition of the Hyksos presence in Egypt and comments upon this story in his discussion.

E. F. W.
of the Southern City with) a complaint ... [concerning the river, [but he was unable to compose it himself. Thereupon his] scribes and wise men ... and [high] officials [said: O so]vereign, [our lord, demand that there be a withdrawal from the canal of hippopotamuses [which lies at the east of the City 4 because] they don't let [sleep come] 'to us' either in the daytime or at night, [for the noise of them is] <in> our citizens' ear(s). And King Apophis, l.p.h., answered them saying: I shall send) to the Prince of the [Southern City]ry ... 'command[1] ... [that we may assess the power of the god who is] / with him as protector. He does not rely upon any god that is in the [entire land] except Amon-Re, King of the Gods.

Now after many days following this, King Apophis, l.p.h., then sent to the Prince of the Southern City <with> the complaint that his scribes and wise men had concocted for him. And when the messenger of King [Apophis, l.p.h., reached the Prince of the Southern City, he was then taken into the presence of the Prince of the Southern City. Then One 5 said to the messenger of King Apophis, l.p.h.: Why have you been sent to the Southern City? Wherefore have you come journeying here? 6 The messenger then told him: It is King Apophis, l.p.h., who has sent me to you in order to say, "Let there be a withdrawal from the canal of hippopotamuses which lies at the east of the City, because they don't let sleep come

1. See Wolfram Westendorf, in ZÄS 79 (1954): 65-67. An alternative is to replace h.taw as a writing of h.taw "time," and translate, "There was no Lord, l.p.h., <as> king of the time. It came to pass ... ."
2. I.e. Thebes.
3. The generally accepted emendation. The "town of the Asiatics" would thus be a designation of the Hyksos capital Avaris, whose location in the eastern Delta is still disputed. Von Beckerath, in "Untersuchungen," pp. 151-57, argues for its location some distance east of Kantir; see also the discussion of Van Seters, "Hyksos," chap. 9, where its location at Khatana-Kantir is suggested. However, the emendation to "town of the Asiatics" is by no means certain. Another possibility might be "town of Re-Artem," referring to Heliopolis, the city of the sun-god, see Redford, in Orientalia 39:50.
5. I.e. Sekenenre.
7. Lit. "Let one withdraw from," possibly a means of expressing that activity at the canal should be terminated.
to me either in the daytime or at night,” for the noise of them is in his citizens’ ear(s).

Then the Prince of the Southern City became stupefied for so long a while that he became unable to render [a reply] to the messenger of King Apophis, l.p.h. Finally the Prince of the Southern City said to him: Is it through this (remark) that your Lord, l.p.h., would investigate matters regarding [the canal of hippopotamuses which lies at the east of the Southern City]? Then the messenger [said to him: Effectuate the matters for which he sent me. [Then the Prince of the Southern City caused] the messenger of King Apophis, l.p.h., to be taken care of [with] good [things]: meat, cakes, . . . [The Prince of the Southern City said to him: Go and tell] your [lord], “As for whatever you will tell him, he will do it,” so you shall tell [him] . . . [Then the messenger of King] Apophis, l.p.h., hastened to journey to where / his Lord, l.p.h., was.

So the Prince of the Southern City had his high officials summoned, as well as every ranking soldier of his, and he repeated to them every issue concerning which King Apophis, l.p.h., had sent to him. Then they were uniformly silent for a long while, without being able to answer him, be it good or bad.

Then King Apophis, l.p.h., sent to . . .

(The remainder of the story is lost.)

8. Or simply, “hear words concerning.”
9. The text has “I,” referring to Seknure. The meaning of the passage is that whatever Apophis will tell his messenger or Seknure, Seknure will do it. Such confusion of pronouns is especially common in Late Egyptian.
AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BOOK OF HOURS

Nephthys the valiant.
Nephthys the strong-armed.
Nephthys who begat Horus.

19, 25 Nephthys potent of deeds.
Nephthys the wise . . .
Nephthys who awakes bale.

20, 25 To Nephthys acute of counsel.
[Nephthys] the bewigged.
Nephthys the sad at heart.
Nephthys in every place where her ka desires to be.

20, 5 Geb the first of the gods to rule.
Geb the greatest of the Five.
Geb lord of kingship.
Geb lord of Beshet.
Geb the greatest of the craftsmen . . .

20, 10 Geb great prince of Egypt.
Geb in the white shrine of Geb.
Geb in the Mansion of Sycamores.
Geb enthroned in the horizon.
Geb in the place of demons.

20, 15 Geb in the Mountain of Geb.
Geb in Sakhebu.
Geb in the Mountain of [Sakhebu].
Geb in Sergeti (?) .
Geb in the House of Ebony.

20, 20 Geb in the Great Mansion.
Geb in the Mansion of Begetting.
Geb in every place where his ka desires to be.
Thoth Lord of Khmun.
Thoth Lord of writing.

20, 25 Thoth pre-eminent in Kher-tehen.
Thoth pre-eminent in the Mansion of Books.
Thoth mighty of magic.

21, 1 Thoth Lord of the Palace.
Thoth in the House of Books.
Thoth under his moringa-trees.
Thoth who possesses the Sacred Eye.

TRANSLATION

21, 5 Thoth the scribe of rewards (?).
Thoth the throat of Him whose name is hidden.
Thoth the heart of Re.
Thoth the tongue of Atum.
Thoth the neck of Him who is south of his wall.

21, 10 Thoth who judged the rivals.
Thoth the guide of the gods.
Thoth who reckons all things.
Thoth who reckons time.
Thoth of the palette.

21, 15 Thoth the Chief Justice and Vizier.
Thoth the messenger of Re.
Thoth who hears prayer.
Thoth who exorcises demons.
Thoth the Power (?) of the Two Lands.

21, 20 Thoth who sets all things in their proper places.
Thoth the Bull of bulls in the Great Mansion.
Thoth-Atum.
Thoth in the Chosen Place.
Thoth who completes the Eye of Re.

21, 25 Thoth who completes the Eye of Horus.
Thoth the book-scribe.

22, 1 To Thoth . . .
Thoth . . .
Thoth . . .
Thoth the Baboon and Ape.

22, 5 Thoth the Moon in the Sacred Eye.
Thoth who [makes firm?] the Two Lands on the . . .
Thoth in every place where his ka desires to be.
Horus . . .
Horus the Child.

22, 10 Horus . . .
Horus son of [Isis].
Horus . . .
Horus in . . .
Har [rus] . . .

22, 15 Horus . . .
a. It is a later insertion above the line.

b. A common abbreviation of the name of Thoth, see Boylan, Thoth, 3. It has occurred already in 3,12; 5,x+20.

c. A very summary writing without the left-hand stroke, but for the epithet see 13,26.

d. The; again below in 21,17 (nhyt).