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Genesis in Egypt
The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts

by

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Preface

It is a persistent, if no longer intentional, bias of Western thought that “serious” philosophy began with the Greeks. In the sense of philosophy as a science—a system of intellectual principles developed according to fixed rules of investigation—this is true. But in the broader sense of philosophy as a system of human thought it is, of course, erroneous. All human beings ponder, speculate, and attempt to communicate abstract concepts to others, and the pre-Hellenic peoples of the Near East were no exception. What renders their thinking less than “philosophical” to us are two limitations of Western—not ancient—thought.

We have divorced philosophy, as a discipline, from religion. In the former we appreciate reality *objectively*, as something capable of study; in the latter we understand it *subjectively*, as something that can only be experienced. This dichotomy did not govern ancient Near Eastern thought. To it, all appreciation of reality was subjective—“I-Thou” rather than “I-It.” The results of ancient speculation are therefore communicated in the context of religion rather than science. This may render them less immediately appreciable to us as valid attempts to understand the universe, but it does not diminish their value as records of human thought. Once alerted to the difference, however, we have little difficulty in recognizing that validity.

It is far more difficult for us to appreciate the concepts themselves—not because they are necessarily alien to our own experience of the world, but because of the images through which the ancients have communicated them to us. To minds accustomed to abstractions like energy and matter, the image of a creator producing the first beings through masturbation seems to have little value in the overall history of human attempts to explain the origins of the universe. This is a matter of form, not content. The biological imagery provided the ancient Egyptian with a means of visualizing and communicating basic concepts that are more familiar to us as abstract principles or the terms of an equation. To appreciate the true intellectual content of ancient thought, we have to look behind the images for the concepts those images are meant to convey.

The present book is an attempt to do just that in the area of ancient Egyptian cosmology and cosmogony. To judge from the surviving texts, this was a subject of continual fascination for the intellectuals who were, at one and the same time, Egypt’s philosophers, theologians, physicists and authors. Nearly every religious text, and many that we might classify as secular, reflect then-current thinking on what the universe is like and how it came to be. No one text, however, records the results of such speculation for that reason alone. All have an ulterior purpose that supersedes the purely speculative. In keeping with the unity of religion and philosophy in Egyptian thought, they are hymns and prayers, funerary and temple liturgies, and spells meant to aid the deceased in passing

from this life to the next. Reconstructing Egyptian cosmology and cosmogony from such sources is equivalent to recovering the richness of medieval philosophy from a Roman Catholic missal or the Book of Common Prayer.

There are literally thousands of such texts to choose from. The sixteen translated and discussed here include some often cited and others less familiar. In every case, they were selected because they seem best to represent the major themes and developments in Egyptian cosmogony. Once appreciated, the concepts they reflect and illustrate can be recognized in many other texts, though not always as clearly or concisely expressed.

With the exception of some necessary background material, I have limited the scope of this study to translation and discussion of the texts themselves. Grammatical and technical discussion has been included where it seemed necessary to justify the translation of a passage or explain the sense of a critical Egyptian term. For the most part these have been relegated to the back matter, so as not to interrupt the flow of exposition. I hope it will also make the book interesting and useful to others besides Egyptologists. In the same vein, I have kept scholarly references to a minimum as well. This book could not have been written without the pioneering research of generations of Egyptologists, past and present. I freely acknowledge by debt to all of them. Many of the ideas discussed here have been analyzed and expounded somewhere else before. I have tried in most instances to acknowledge the major sources for these concepts, both as a guide for further reading and as a source of alternative interpretations.

The subject of this study has intrigued me for a long time. Some of the ideas developed here appeared in a rudimentary form in my unpublished Bachelor's thesis, and I am grateful to my college professors at St. Meinrad for encouraging and tolerating my interest in what was a somewhat unorthodox subject for a philosophy major. The book's proximate cause—to use an apt metaphor—was a graduate seminar I led at Yale University in the winter of 1986–87. I am particularly grateful to Prof. William Kelly Simpson, both for the initial opportunity to teach that course and for his generosity in allowing the book to be published in the present series. Without his encouragement, and the support of the William K. and Marilyn M. Simpson Endowment for Egyptology at Yale University and the Marilyn M. Simpson Charitable Trust, it could not have been written.

I. The Egyptian Universe

Though reflected in texts and depictions from the earliest periods of Egyptian civilization, the traditional Egyptian concept of the universe is best revealed by a relief and accompanying inscriptions from the ceiling of Seti I's cenotaph at Abydos (Dynasty 19, ca. 1280 B.C.—Plate 1). The same relief appears on one of the ceilings in the tomb of Ramesses IV (Dynasty 20, ca. 1150 B.C.). Its texts were later copied, with Demotic commentary, in two second-century A.D. papyri from the Fayum—one of the few surviving examples of Egyptian discussion of their own philosophical texts. The original may be of Middle Kingdom origin.²

The relief depicts the sky, as the goddess Nut, extended as a canopy over the earth (here labeled "sands") and separated from it by the atmosphere, in the form of the god Shu. Along the body of the sky are depicted stars and the sun in various stages of its daily journey. The accompanying texts explain both the illustrations and their relationship to the visible and conjectural universe.

Text 1. From the Cenotaph of Seti I

A. Outside the Cosmos

(1) *Texts to the right and above Nut*

The uniform darkness, fount of the gods,
the place from which birds come:
this is from her northwestern side up to her southeastern side,
open to the Duat that is on her northern side,
5 with her rear in the east and her head in the west.

How these birds exist is with their faces as people and their nature as birds,
one of them speaking to the other with the speech of crying.
After they come to eat plants and to get nourished in the Black Land,
alighting under the brightness of the sky,
10 then they change into their nature of birds.

How the upper side of this sky exists is in uniform darkness,
the southern, northern, western and eastern limits of which are unknown,
these having been fixed in the Waters, in inertness.
There is no light of the Ram there: he does not appear there—
15 (a place) whose south, north, west and east land is unknown by the gods or
akhs,

there being no brightness there.

And as for every place void of sky and void of land, that is the entire Duat.

(2) *Falcon on standard (text to left of Nut)*

It is on her southeastern side, above Punt, that this god exists,
and it is in advance of the brightness of the sky that he is moving.

B. Description of Nut

- (1) *Arms* Her right arm is on the northwestern side,
the left on the southeastern side.
- (2) *Head* Her head is the western horizon,
her mouth is the west.
- (3) *Mouth* The western horizon.
- (4) *Crotch* The eastern horizon.

C. Cycle of the Sun

(1) *Winged sun-disk at Nut's mouth*

When the Incarnation of this god enters is at her first hour of evening,
becoming effective again in the embrace of his father Osiris, and becoming
purified therein.

When the Incarnation of this god rests from life in the Duat is at her second
hour of pregnancy.

- 5 Then the Incarnation of this god is governing the westerners,
and giving directions in the Duat.

Then the Incarnation of this god comes forth on earth again,
having come into the world, young,

his physical strength growing great again, like the first occasion of his primeval
state.

Then he is developed into the great god, the winged disk.

- 10 When this god sails to the limits of the basin of the sky,
she causes him to enter again into night, into the middle of the night,
and as he sails inside the dusk
these stars are behind him.

- 15 When the Incarnation of this god enters her mouth, inside the Duat,
it stays open after he sails inside her,
so that these sailing stars may enter after him
and come forth after him.

Where they course is to their locales.

(2) *Sun-disk before Nut's foot*

The redness after birth,
 as he becomes pure in the embrace of his father Osiris.
 Then his father lives,
 as he becomes effective again through him,
 5 as he opens in his splitting
 and swims in his redness.

(3) *Sun-disk at Nut's foot (text on leg)*

The Incarnation of this god comes forth from her rear.
 Then he is on course toward the world, apparent and born.
 Then he produces himself above.
 Then he parts the thighs of his mother Nut.
 5 Then he goes away to the sky.

(4) *Winged scarab*

When the Incarnation of this god comes forth from the Duat,
 these stars come forth after him at the birthplace.
 Then he is reared in the birthplace.
 Then he becomes effective again through his father Osiris, in the Abydene nome,
 on the first occasion of his primeval state.
 5 Then he is developed and goes away to the sky, in the hour of "She Has Gone to
 Rest."
 Then he is dominant, having come into the world.
 Then his heart and his physical strength develop.
 Then Geb sees the Chick, when the Sun has shown himself as he comes forth.
 Then he is entered into this (winged scarab).
 10 Then he is developed, like his original developing in the world on the first
 occasion.

Commentary

The texts translated here, along with the accompanying illustration (Plate 1), give a fairly concise picture of the ancient Egyptians' understanding of the universe. In this view, the world of human experience is bounded by land below and sky above, separated from one another by the atmosphere. Within these limits the cycle of daily life takes place, defined by the rising and setting of the sun. What lies outside them is beyond the realm of human knowledge—"unknown by (even) the gods or spirits" (Text 1A1, 15)—though not beyond the limits of speculation.³

In their attempt to understand what this outer universe might be like, the Egyptian philosophers resorted to a series of contrasts with the known world. Where the world is

finite, what lies beyond it is limitless—"the southern, northern, western and eastern limits of which are unknown" (Text 1A1, 12). The known world is lit by the sun; the universe outside is uniformly and perpetually dark, "there being no brightness there" (Text 1A1, 16). And where the known world is characterized by the activity of daily life, the other is motionless, "in inertness" (Text 1A1, 13).

The term used in these texts to refer to the outer universe—"uniform darkness"—is more descriptive than denominative. The more usual term *nw* () , translated as "Waters" or "Primeval Waters" (Text 1A1, 13), reflects the Egyptians' concept of the universe as a limitless ocean of dark and motionless water, within which the world of life floats as a sphere of air and light. The texts describe this ocean as existing above the sky (Text 1A1, 11). Its association with the sky is reflected in the determinative , to which early texts sometimes add the determinative for water.⁴ Its liquid nature is also clear in references to its waters.⁵

The name *nw* ("Nu") may, in fact, derive from an ancient word for "water"—one that gave the value *n* to the hieroglyph  and is the root of such words as *nwjj* and *nwjjt* 'waters.'⁶ Early writings use either one of three  signs. Both spellings represent *nw*, as indicated by the fuller spellings  and .⁷ What is probably the same word⁸ appears in two Pyramid Texts passages as —a group that has been read *njw* but more likely represents *nwj* 'the watery one.'⁹ The Coptic vocalization *nouin* indicates a different structure, *nnw*.¹⁰ This may be a secondary form, perhaps based on associations with the verb *n(j)nj* 'be inert' (e.g., Text 1A1, 13)¹¹—an association that goes back at least to the Coffin Texts:

I am the Waters (*nw*).

I am inert (*njnj*). (CT V 312e-f; cf. CT V 316f-g)

I am a baby (*nw*)¹² of his mother.

I am a child, son of Hathor.

I am an inert one (*njnj*) in the Waters (*nw*). (CT IV 182i-k)

The same texts also refer to the darkness of the Waters.¹³

The Primeval Waters also exist below the earth—reflected in the early variant spelling  (Pyr. 1446a M). As such, they are the source of water in this world, especially that of the Nile.¹⁴ When referring to this "netherworld," the Egyptians often used a feminine counterpart of *nw*, *n(n)wt*. The name appears in the Pyramid Texts usually as  ¹⁵ a spelling that indicates the feminine *nwt* 'watery one.' In this form it is contrasted with the word *pt* 'sky,' as in

When you need to go forth to the sky, you go forth . . .

When you need to descend to the netherworld, you descend. (Pyr. 149a-b)

A second spelling, , also appears as early as the Pyramid Texts, often as a counterpart of *nw*.¹⁶ At some point this was probably read *nnt*, reflected in the later Greek vocalization *nauni* ("Naunet").¹⁷ Like the masculine, however, both forms seem to refer to the same entity.¹⁸

Both terms for the universe of water that exists outside this world have in common the hieroglyph , representing the vault of the sky. This vault is what keeps the waters from the world.¹⁹ The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts speak of "keeping the sky clear of the earth and the Waters."²⁰ The same image appears in the Hebrew account of creation:

God said, "Let there be a vault through the middle of the waters to divide the waters in two." And so it was.

God made the vault, and it divided the waters under the vault from the waters above the vault. God called the vault "heaven." (Gen. 1:6-7)

In the Egyptian conception, the sky is not so much a solid "ceiling" as a kind of interface between the surface of the Waters and the dry atmosphere. The sun sails on these waters just as people can sail on the Nile: "The bark of the Sun courses through the Waters."²¹

The sun's disappearance ("inside" the sky) at night and its reappearance each morning suggested to the Egyptians a cycle of death and rebirth. This in turn pointed to the feminine character of the sky, conceptualized in the goddess Nut, "who gives birth to the Sun every day" (Pyr. 1688b). Her name (*nwt*) may be a feminine adjective meaning 'of the Waters,' though the etymology is far from certain.²² The illustration reproduced in Plate 1 shows the sky as Nut. As a vault, the sky rests on the earth in all directions—as a goddess, she touches the earth with her feet and hands.

Since the sun rises ("is born") in the east, the goddess faces west, "with her rear in the east and her head in the west" (Text 1A1, 5). The orientation described in Text 1B is toward the summer solstice rather than the cardinal directions.²³ At that point in the year (about June 21), the sun rises farthest north and sets farthest south. At the time of Seti I (1291-1279 B.C.), that date coincided approximately with the beginning of the Egyptian year²⁴—an appropriate focus for a monument such as Seti's cenotaph, devoted to rebirth.

The solstitial orientation here also accounts for the description of the "uniform darkness" in Text 1A1: "this is from her northwestern side up to her southeastern side" (Text 1A1, 3). When the sun's path is from northeast (rising) to southwest (setting), the opposite sides of the vault (northwest to southeast) are not visited by the sun and are therefore points at which the outer darkness impinges on the world.²⁵ The southeast is the domain of the falcon-god described in Text 1A2—possibly Sopdu²⁶—and is labeled "What constricts the intestines," a (patently psychological) term for darkness.²⁷ In the text the god is described as being "in advance of the brightness of the sky"—possibly a reference to the fact that this area of darkness moves throughout the year as the sun's path moves from north to south.

As Text 1A1 makes clear, the Waters lie beyond not just the human world but that of the sun as well: "he does not appear there . . . there being no brightness there" (Text 1A1, 14, 16). Yet at night the sun clearly passes out of human experience, to a place that is neither earth nor sky. That third locale is the Duat, which Text 1A1 describes in negative terms as every place within the world that is neither earth nor sky (Text 1A1, 17). Egyptian texts include this term among the elements of the known world²⁸—in contrast to the Waters, which are "unknown" (Text 1A1, 12, 15). When the sun sets it "rests from life in(to) the Duat" (Text 1C1, 3), and when it rises it "comes forth from the Duat" (Text 1C4, 1).

In keeping with the notion of sunrise as (re)birth, Text 1C1-C4 locates the Duat within

the body of Nut—that is, somehow “inside” the sky. At sunset, the sun “enters her mouth, inside the Duat” (Text 1C1, 14). This is equivalent to the moment of conception, “at her second hour of pregnancy.”²⁹ During the night, the sun “sails inside her” (Text 1C1, 15) and “gives directions in the Duat” (Text 1C1, 5). At dawn “he parts the thighs of his mother Nut” (Text 1C3, 4), “as he opens in his splitting and swims in his redness” (Text 1C2, 5–6) of “after birth” (Text 1C2, 1), and moves into the day sky, “apparent and born” (Text 1C3, 2).

It is apparent, both from the description of the texts and from the accompanying illustrations, that the entrance to and exit from the Duat are not precisely at the visible horizon, where the sky seems to touch the earth. Rather, they lie somewhat below the apparent intersection of sky and earth. This explains why the sky remains light after sunset and becomes light before sunrise: the sun does not “rest from life in the Duat” until “her second hour of pregnancy” (Text 1C1, 3) and is born some two hours before actual sunrise (Text 1C4, 5).³⁰ In the space between birth and sunrise the sun “becomes effective (*akh*) again” (Text 1C2, 4; C4, 4), and the same thing occurs between sunset and conception (Text 1C1, 2). This process occurs in the “place of becoming effective,” the Akhet. In the pyramids of the Old Kingdom, the deceased is envisioned as arising from the Duat (the sarcophagus chamber) and proceeding through the Akhet (the antechamber) before rising from the pyramid into the light of day with the sun.³¹

While in the Duat, the sun is said to be “governing the westerners” (Text 1C1, 4). This is in keeping with the Egyptian conception of the Duat as a place where gods live along with human beings who have died: “the location of the *bas* and the gods and the shadows and the *akhs*.”³² Like the sun, many of these beings are free to travel between the Duat and the world of daylight: Text 1A1 envisions some of them in the migratory birds that fly into Egypt from what were then unknown places to the north (Text 1A1, 2 and 6–10).³³

The same text seems to describe an interface between the Duat and the “uniform darkness” also lying to the north (Text 1A1, 4). The Waters, in fact, flow through the Duat, and the sun is pictured traveling on them at night, “resting in his bark on the Waters, in the Duat.”³⁴ In the same vein, the sun appears in the morning from “the secret cavern of the Duat, where this great god is born, as he comes forth from the Waters and comes to rest on the belly of Nut.”³⁵ This moment is illustrated at the end of the Book of Gates (Plate 2).³⁶ The Waters, shown both as water and as a god, lift the bark containing the sun into the waterless space of the world: the accompanying inscription describes “how these arms come out of the water and raise up this god.” At the top of the scene Nut stands on “Osiris encircling the Duat”³⁷ and is shown “receiving the Sun.”

The relationship between Nut and the Duat in this scene reflects an ambivalence in the Egyptian conception of the Duat. On one hand, the Duat is thought to lie inside Nut’s body, as in Text 1C1 and 1C4. This is a concept as old as the Pyramid Texts:

The sky has conceived him,
the Duat has given him birth. (Pyr. 1527a)³⁸

On the other hand there are indications—equally as old—that the Duat was also envisioned as lying beneath the earth. The Pyramid Texts associate the Duat with the earth and its gods Geb and Aker, and the Coffin Texts refer to the “lower Duat.”³⁹ This ambiguity is probably no more than a reflection of the fact that the Duat, though part of the world, is inaccessible to the living, outside the realm of normal human experience—though its topography and inhabitants are nonetheless conjectured in great detail in the *Amduat* and similar funerary “books.”⁴⁰

Together, sky, land and Duat comprise the world of the ancient Egyptian—a kind of “bubble”⁴¹ of air and light within the otherwise unbroken infinity of dark waters. These elements form the background to the Egyptian understanding of the cycle of life and human destiny, determined by the daily drama of sunset and sunrise. They are also the starting-point for all Egyptian speculation on the origins of the universe.

II. The Elements of Creation

Among the elements of the Egyptian universe described in the preceding chapter, one characteristic should not be overlooked. As both text and illustrations make clear, the Egyptians lived in a universe composed not of *things*, but of *beings*.⁴² Each element is not merely a physical component, but a distinct individual with a unique personality and will. The sky is not an inanimate vault, but a goddess who conceives the sun each night and gives birth to him in the morning. The atmosphere that separates sky from earth is not an empty void, but a god. The Duat is not merely a mysterious region through which the sun passes at night, but the god Osiris. Even the vast and lifeless outer waters have an identity, as the god Nu.

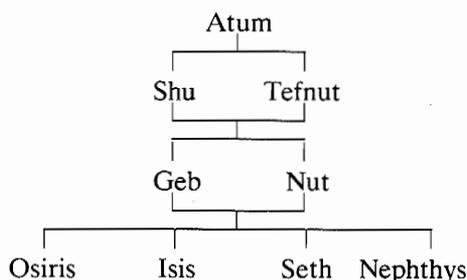
Understanding this characteristic of the Egyptian worldview is crucial to any appreciation of the ancient creation accounts. In a universe composed of living beings, creation and existence are not the product of impersonal forces and elements but the story of individual wills and actions. To understand the meaning of the story, it is therefore essential to understand the character of its actors—the gods.

Besides the general term “the gods,” the totality of forces and elements that comprise the Egyptian universe is also summarized in the term *psdt* ‘Ennead.’ Though its literal meaning is “group of nine”—reflected in writings such as  and  (with nine “god” signs)⁴³—there is sufficient evidence that this term was also used to refer to the gods in general, without specific number.⁴⁴ Given the hieroglyphic use of three signs as an indication of plurality, it has been suggested that the Ennead may have been understood as a “plural of plurals,” or an indeterminate amount.⁴⁵ “The gods” and “the Ennead” are often used as synonyms, or even variants, of one another.⁴⁶ At the same time, however, it is equally clear that the Ennead was also understood as a literal group of nine gods. In the *Amduat*, for example, a group of nine gods is referred to as “that Ennead of gods,” and in the Coffin Texts the phrase “nine gods” occurs as a variant of “Ennead.”⁴⁷

In its classic use, the concept of the Ennead describes the interrelationship between nine fundamental forces and elements of the Egyptian universe. Of these, four are primarily operative in the world of life and death as it exists after the creation. Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys represent the opposing but balanced principles of order and disorder, growth and destruction, and the transmission of life.⁴⁸ The remaining five also function in this world, but have as well a central role in the Egyptian understanding of how the created universe came to be.

The concept of the Ennead includes not just the association of its members but the relationship between them as well. In the texts translated in the preceding chapter, for example, the Duat was defined as neither earth nor sky (Text 1 A1, 17). Its identity is

therefore conceptually dependent on that of earth and sky. In Egyptian terms, this means that the god Osiris—who is, among other things, the Duat (see p. 6)—derives from the goddess Nut (the sky) and the god Geb (the earth), a relationship that is expressed in the Ennead, where Osiris is the son of Geb and Nut: “I am Osiris, son of Geb, child of Nut.”⁴⁹ This kind of “genealogical” relationship exists among all the members of the Ennead:



It is no more than a means of expressing the interdependence and causality that the Egyptians saw among the various forces and elements of the natural world.

Proceeding up the scale of existence, earth and sky in their turn depend on the atmosphere that separates them: Geb and Nut are the children of Shu and his consort Tefnut.⁵⁰ Shu appears in the illustration reproduced in Plate 1 as a god standing on the earth and supporting the sky above him. The name Shu (*šw*) is probably a noun meaning “void” or “emptiness,” derived from a verb with the dual connotation of “empty” and “dry.”⁵¹ The concept of the atmosphere as a dry void in the Waters is well suited to the Egyptians’ picture of the universe. The nature of the goddess with whom Shu is paired is more obscure. The name Tefnut (*tfnt*) has no clear etymology,⁵² and the goddess’s function—apart from her relationship to Shu—is equally ambiguous. It is remotely possible that Tefnut is the atmosphere of the lower world as Shu is of the upper: “the earth is held up under Nut by your arms, Tefnut” (Pyr. 1405a).⁵³

At the head of the Ennead stands the god Atum, father of Shu and Tefnut.⁵⁴ As the source of the Ennead, Atum is “father of the gods” (Pyr. 1521a, 1546a). As the origin of all the forces and elements of nature, he is “lord of totality” (CT III 27b) and “lord to the limits of the sky” (CT VI 341b-c), or more simply “lord to the limit” (*nb-r-dr*: e.g., CT VI 131k). The name Atum (*j.tmw*) is a form of the verb *tm*—probably a “noun of action” of the same type as *j.qdw* ‘builder’ from the verb *qd*.⁵⁵ *Tm* means both ‘complete, finish’ and ‘not be.’ Both connotations are associated with Atum. The name sometimes has the same determinative as the negative verb (سـمى: e.g., CT I 348b), but is also associated with the notion of “completeness”: Atum is called “lord of totality” (*nb tm*, CT II 27b, 353a) and “the completed one” (*tmm*, CT II 174e), and the deceased’s flesh in the Pyramid Texts is said to be “complete in/as Atum” (Pyr. 1298b). The two senses are in fact aspects of a single root meaning, much like English “finish,” which has both productive and destructive connotations (“finish a task,” “finish a meal”). Atum is the “Finisher”—the one who both “brings to completion” and “finishes” in the process.⁵⁶

In cosmogony as well as cosmology, Atum is “lord of totality.” All the elements and forces in the world derive from him—as the genealogy of the Ennead suggests. The first elements to appear at the creation are manifestations of him—not just the atmosphere (Shu) but also the first mound of earth to emerge from the Primeval Waters and the newborn sun (“Scarab”) rising above it:

Hail, Atum—
 hail, Scarab, self-developing—
 as you become high, in this your identity of the Mound;
 as you develop, in this your identity of the Scarab! (Pyr. 1587a-d)⁵⁷

As the origin of all life, Atum is also one form of the creator:

Hail, Atum!—
 who made the sky, who created what exists;
 who emerged as land, who created seed;
 lord of what is, who gave birth to the gods;
 great god, self-developing. (BD 79)⁵⁸

The one element that is noticeably absent from the group represented by the Ennead is the apex of creation, the sun. In part this may be because Atum himself is identified with the sun. The Coffin Texts speak of “Atum in his disk” (CT IV 191d), and describe him as the sun:

My father Atum will kiss me as he emerges from the eastern Akhet;
 his heart will be content at seeing me as he proceeds in rest to the
 western Akhet. (Text 8, 93–94)

In the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, the sun and Atum are often identified in the joint name Re-Atum (𓂏𓂛). In some instances it is clear that this term refers to two distinct gods. The Coffin Texts (and Middle Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts) sometimes write it as two divine names—for example, CT VI 301b “I am 𓂏𓂛𓂏𓂛,” for which a variant has “I am Re, I am Atum.”⁵⁹ More often, however, the combined name is treated as that of a single god⁶⁰—the sun as an aspect of Atum: “I am Atum in his identity of Re” (CT III 396a-b). When Re and Atum are viewed as separate aspects of the sun, Atum is usually the evening sun: “Re in your rising, Atum in your setting.”⁶¹

Another name for the sun, which the Pyramid Texts also identify with Atum, is Kheprer (*hpr* ‘Scarab’). In its earliest occurrences, the term is clearly that which the Egyptians used for the scarab beetle itself.⁶² Probably for phonological reasons, however, the name is also understood as a form of the verb *hpr* ‘develop’⁶³—as in the passage cited above, where Atum is addressed “as you develop (*hpr.k*), in this your identity of the Scarab (*hpr*).” Both interpretations are consonant with the image of the newborn sun—“born from the earth” like a scarab beetle, and “developing in the eastern side of the sky.”⁶⁴ As the morning sun, Kheprer is also the sun at the dawn of creation: “I have self-developed in my identity of Khepre(r)” (CT IV 62m). The popular analogy of the

sun with the ball of dung in which the scarab beetle rolls its eggs is also reflected in references to “Khepre carrying his ball” and in the hieroglyph , and has as much to do with the “developmental” (*hpr*) aspect of the god as it does with the image from nature.⁶⁵ For this reason, Khepre(r) is a name not only for the morning sun but for the sun in general as well.⁶⁶

For the latter, however, the Egyptians most often used one of two terms: *jtn* (“Aten”) or *rʿw* (“Re”). The word *jtn* means “disk,” and refers essentially to the visible sun; only under Akhenaten does it fully achieve the status of a deity in its own right.⁶⁷ The word *rʿw* means “sun,” and is used in that sense in the expression *rʿw nb* ‘every day’ (literally, ‘every sun’) and in physical descriptions such as “when the sun was at the zenith.”⁶⁸ As an element of nature, however, Re is also a god, “who rises (*variant* shines) in his disk.”⁶⁹ The god and the sun are one and the same—“Re in his daytime”⁷⁰—but the sun can also be understood as merely a part (a manifestation) of the god, most often “that eye of Re that spends the night conceived and is born every day.”⁷¹ This ambiguity gives rise to such apparently paradoxical expressions as “Re in the midst of his eye” (CT VI 262b) and “Re, father of Re” (CT II 158f).

Paradoxically too, the sun can be understood not only as the source of the Ennead (in his identification with Atum) but also as the product of the Ennead, in his identification with the god Horus. As the son of Osiris and Isis, Horus is the “tenth member” of the Ennead.⁷² As “heir of his father” (CT VI 185d) he is both the culmination and the prime beneficiary of the great cycle of natural elements incorporated in the Ennead:

Horus is justified before the complete Ennead,
for kingship has been given to him on earth . . . ,
the throne of Geb and the functional office of Atum have been allotted to him.
(BD 183)⁷³

This pivotal role places Horus at the focal point of the cycle represented in the Ennead, as the sun is the focal point of the created world. His “kingship on earth” is the same natural principle that is manifest in the sun’s domination of all creation:

Horus, son of Isis, has become effective since his entrance:
he has become lord of the bark and has inherited the sky;
he has become the representative of the lord to the limit since his entrance into
it.
It is this Horus, son of Isis, who officiates over the skies in their totality and the
gods in them. (CT VI 390d-h)

Horus is therefore manifest in the sun as well: he is “Horus in his disk,” “lord of the sky,” “the one of Nut at the zenith.”⁷⁴ His name (*hrw*) is probably an original reference to the sun, as the “Far One.”⁷⁵ In this aspect he is often called “Horus of the Akhet” (Harakhti)—“Ho. us of the Akhet at the break of day,” “son of Nut . . . lord of the sky . . . alive like the sun”⁷⁶—or more fully, “the Sun, Horus of the Akhet” (Re-Harakhti).⁷⁷

At the same time, however, Horus's function is not limited by this physical manifestation. As with Re, the sun can be viewed as merely one aspect of the god: "that great, bright eye of Horus, at whose perfection the Ennead grows excited when it rises in the eastern Akhet."⁷⁸ Horus, in fact, is "chief of the starry sky, who makes the sun live every day" (Pyr. 449b).

In Egyptian cosmology, these different sun-gods reflect a logic of relationships, centered on the predominant role of the sun in daily life. In broadest terms, the sun is simply "the Sun" (Re). As the source—and the finish—of all life, it is Atum, "as he emerges from the eastern Akhet . . . as he proceeds in rest to the western Akhet" (CT II 41d/e). As the beginning of the process of daily life, it is Khepre(r), "as he develops in the eastern side of the sky" (Pyr. 2079c-d). And as the predominant force in the world it is Horus, "lord of the sky" and "foremost of the living" (CT I 51c). Each of these essential principles of daily life exists in and of itself, yet each too is inextricably bound up with the process of life that is manifest par excellence in the natural phenomenon of the sun. While each principle—each god—has a distinct character and function, therefore, each is also manifest in the one unifying principle of the sun: "Re . . . in his disk," "Horus in his disk," "Atum in his disk," or simply "he who is in his disk."⁷⁹

The same concepts underlie Egyptian cosmogony. Each natural principle has a specific function in the creation analogous to that of daily life. Atum is the source of all existence, "who created what exists" (CT IV 60e). Khepre(r) is the proximate cause of creation, as "the sun (Re), who emerged from the Primeval Waters in my identity of Khepre" (CT IV 62c-d). And Horus is the final cause, at once the "hereditary king of the gods" (Pyr. 1458c) and the "representative of the lord to the limit" (CT VI 390f).

In the same way, the natural principles and interrelationships conceptualized in the Ennead also figure in the story of creation, from its origin in Atum to its culmination in the first sunrise. The full account of that story is not preserved in any one document. Much like the gods who are its chief characters, the Egyptian Genesis cannot be pinned down to a single authoritative description. It survives instead in a number of texts and passages, each of which approaches the subject from a different perspective. Underlying all of these, however, is a remarkably consistent vision of how the world came to be the way it is.

III. The Process of Creation

The texts translated and discussed below are by no means the complete corpus of Egyptian creation accounts. They are, however, broadly representative of the major themes in the story, and encompass as well an era of speculative thought that stretches from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2600 B.C.) to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period (ca. 332 B.C.) Because the interest here is more conceptual than historical, the texts are arranged in expository rather than chronological order. Undoubtedly, the Egyptian philosophy of creation grew in complexity and detail throughout history. Even so, the earliest texts reveal a degree of sophistication in thought—if not in language—at least equal to those from the very end of the pharaonic era.

A. The Origin of Matter

Text 2. From CT 714

I am the Waters, unique, without second.
That is where I developed,
 on the great occasion of my floating that happened to me.
I am the one who had developed—
5 Circlet, who is in his egg.
I am the one who began therein, (in) the Waters.
See, the Flood is subtracted from me:
 see, I am the remainder.
It was through my effectiveness that I brought about my body.
10 I am the one who made me.
 It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself.

Text 3. From PT 527

Atum is the one who developed growing ithyphallic, in Heliopolis.
He put his penis in his grasp
that he might make orgasm with it,
and the two siblings were born—Shu and Tefnut.

Text 4. From PT 600

Atum Scarab!
When you became high, as the high ground—

- when you rose, as the benben, in the Phoenix Enclosure, in
 Heliopolis—
 you sneezed Shu,
 5 you spat Tefnut,
 and you put your arms about them, as the arms of *ka*, that your *ka*
 might be in them.

Commentary

These three short texts give a concise description of the universe in the first few moments of the creation. Text 2 identifies the Primeval Waters as the milieu within which the creation unfolds. These are described not only as *nw(j)* 'Watery' but also by the term *ḥḥw* 'Flood.' Like *nw(j)*, the latter word is determined both by the hieroglyph of water and that of the sky-vault.⁸⁰ The two terms, and their feminine counterparts, are often used together.⁸¹ In BD 175, the creator describes the end of the world with the words: "I am going to destroy all that I have made, and this world is going to return to the Waters (*nw*) and the Flood (*ḥwḥw*), like its first state."⁸²

At the moment of creation, Atum is "floating" in these waters as a seed (Text 2, 5 "circlet")⁸³ of undeveloped matter (Text 2, 5 "who is in his egg"). Creation involves the distinction between this primordial mass and the surrounding waters: "See, the Flood is subtracted from me: see, I am the remainder" (Text 2, 7–8). The creation itself is a process of the unfolding of this undifferentiated mass into the elements of nature—a process viewed by the Egyptians as Atum's self-realization of his own physical substance (Text 2, 9–11).

The Pyramid Texts passages translated in Texts 3 and 4 reflect the first stages in this process—the formation of a void within the primordial mass. Given the "subjective" form of Egyptian thought, this is expressed in the generation of Atum's "children," Shu and Tefnut. The images in Texts 3 and 4 present a typically Egyptian solution to two propositions essential to this developmental view of creation: the continuity of matter from the original mass to the differentiated elements of the world, and the creation of diversity from unity.

Creation requires a creator: in Egyptian terms, progeny require a progenitor. Text 3 describes the transmission of matter from the original Monad to the first two elements of nature, and answers at the same time the question "How could a lone parent produce offspring?" Text 4 deals with the same problems more "abstractly," through word-association: the void (*šw*) is created through Atum's "sneeze" (*jšš*), and its female counterpart (*tfnt*) through Atum's "spit" (*tf*).⁸⁴ This text also deals with a further notion: the transmission of life-force, or energy (*ka*), from the first being to his first realizations.⁸⁵

B. The Creation of the Void

The concepts treated summarily in Texts 2–4 are elaborated in greater detail in an important series of Coffin Texts spells (CT 75–80), which have as their subject the god Shu. The first spell describes the creation of this first element of nature.

Text 5. From CT 75

I am the *ba* of Shu, the self-developing god:
 it is in the body of the self-developing god that I have developed.
 I am the *ba* of Shu, the god mysterious(?) of form:
 it is in the body of the self-developing god that I have become tied
 together.

5 I am the utmost extent of the self-developing god:
 it is in him that I have developed.

I am the one who stills the sky for him,
 I am the one who silences the earth for him.

I am the one who foretells him when he emerges from the Akhet,
 10 putting fear of him into those who seek his identity.

I am one who is with millions, who hears the affairs of millions.
 I am the one who transmits the sentence of the self-developing god
 to his multitude.

I am the one who officiates over his bark-crew,
 being stronger and more raging than every Ennead.

15 The speech of the original gods, who developed after me, has been
 repeated to me,
 when they asked of the Waters my development,
 seeing my strength in the great bark that the self-developing god
 sails,
 and how I have acted among them,
 causing my reputation according to my development.

20 I shall speak. Become still, Ennead!
 Become silent, gods, and I will tell you my development myself.
 Don't ask my development of the Waters.

When the Waters saw me, I was already developed.

He does not know where I developed.

25 He did not see with his face how I developed.

It is in the body of the great self-developing god that I have
 developed.

He created me in his heart,
 he made me in his efficacy,
 he exhaled me from his nose.

30 I am exhale-like of form,
 created by that august self-developing god
 who strews the sky with his perfection,
 the total of the gods' forms,
 whose identity the gods who sail him do not know,

- 35 whom the "sun-folk" follow.
 It is in his feet that I have grown,
 in his arms that I have developed,
 in his limbs that I have made a void.
 He created me himself in his heart,
 40 he made me in his efficacy.
 I was not born by birth.
 . . .
 I am one exhale-like of form.
 He did not give me birth with his mouth,
 he did not conceive me with his fist.
 45 He exhaled me from his nose,
 he made me in the midst of his perfection,
 which excites those who are in the inaccessible places when he
 strews the sky with his perfection.
 . . .
 My clothes are the wind of life:
 it came forth about me, from the mouth of Atum.
 50 How I developed was in the god who developed on his own,
 alone, older than the gods.
 I am the one who touches for him the height of the sky.
 I am the one who brings to him his efficacy,
 who unites for him his million of *ka* placed in protection of his associates
 . . . ,
 55 because it was through creation in its entirety that I developed,
 at the speech of that august self-developing god
 who does not turn back on what he has said.
 For I am the one who made to the limit, according to his command.
 . . .
 I am the god mysterious(?) of form,
 but I am in the utmost extent of sunlight.

Commentary

The text of CT 75 is a complex tapestry of images, in some cases with more than one level of reference. On the surface it is "funerary" in nature, intended to provide the deceased with ammunition to combat the obstacles to a successful afterlife. Interspersed with the more "philosophical" passages translated here are others that reflect this purpose: for instance,

"You have your *ba*, you have your ability,"
 says the self-developing one about me.

My *ba* shall not be taken by falcons,
 my *ba* shall not be grasped by pigs,
 my *ba* shall not be grabbed by horizon-gods,
 my *ba* shall not be warded off by magic. (CT I 396c–98b)

The deceased (speaking in the first person) becomes unimpedable through identification with the god Shu—more specifically, as the “*ba* of Shu”: a manifestation of the god, a form in which the god exists.⁸⁶ Although the deceased speaks as the *ba* of Shu, however, in most cases it is clear that the god himself is the speaker.⁸⁷

There is a similar ambiguity in the term “self-developing god” (*ntr hpr ds.f* ‘god who developed on his own’). This is typically an epithet of the first being—often, Atum.⁸⁸ It can also refer to the sun, as it does several times in CT 75 (lines 9, 13, 17, 32, 34, 47). And in the first line of CT 75, it apparently describes the god Shu (Text 5, 1). This ambivalence becomes understandable, however, in light of the Egyptian notion that both the sun and the void in which it rises are developments (*hprw*) of the original being, Atum, himself.

As the primordial Monad from which the world developed, Atum contains within himself all the elements of creation: he is “the total of the gods’ forms” (line 33), and all that exists is “his million of *ka*” (line 54). The void within which the sun rises and sets fills the extent of the created world. In Egyptian terms, Shu has “developed in the body of the self-developing god” (lines 2, 4, 26): he has “grown in his feet” and “developed in his arms,” and in doing so has “made a void in his limbs” (lines 36–38). Like the air inside a balloon, the void and its light fill the entirety of the world: “I am the utmost extent (literally, “the one who is in the limit”) of the self-developing god” (line 5), “I am in the utmost extent of sunlight” (line 60). Its upper limit—the skin of the balloon—is the sky-vault: “I am the one who touches for him the height of the sky” (line 52). And since the void has grown entirely within the substance of the primordial Monad, it is inaccessible to the Primeval Waters that surround it (lines 15–25).

Because the void determines the extent of the created world, its creation is in one sense the first act of creation. In the Ennead, therefore, Shu is the first child of Atum (together with Tefnut). His birth sets in motion the entire “chain-reaction” of the creation: “it was through creation in its entirety that I developed” (line 55). Shu can therefore be described as “the one who made to the limit” (line 58). The first sunrise is also dependent on this act, since sunrise presupposes a place within which the sun can appear. Shu is therefore “the one who foretells him when he emerges from the Akhet” (line 9).

Shu’s own existence, of course, is dependent on the first being, the origin of all existence, Atum. Despite the epithet “self-developing,” which CT 75 appears to ascribe to Shu in its opening line, the Egyptians clearly viewed Shu’s creation as part of the process of Atum’s own self-realization: “he created me in his heart, he made me in his efficacy” (lines 27–28, 39–40). It is part of the final process of the “finishing” (*tm*) of Atum (the “Finisher”) in the forces and elements of the world: “he made me in the midst of his perfection” (line 46). By making the completion of that process possible,

Shu's creation brings about Atum's self-realization: "I am the one who brings to him his efficacy" (line 53).

C. The Definition of the World

The creation of a void within the substance of the primordial Monad brought with it, of necessity, the distinction of elements that had previously been undifferentiated. This process is described in CT 76, which follows CT 75 immediately without a break in most copies.⁸⁹

Text 6. From CT 76

- O you 8 Infinite Ones, who are at the parts of the sky,
 whom Shu made from the efflux of his limbs,
 who tie together the ladder for Atum!
 Come to meet your father in me!
- 5 Give me your arms,
 tie together a ladder for me.
 I am the one who created you,
 I am the one who made you,
 as I was made by my father Atum.
- 10 For I am weary at the Uplifting of Shu,
 since I lifted my daughter Nut atop me
 that I might give her to my father Atum in his utmost extent.
 I have put Geb under my feet:
 this god is tying together the land for my father Atum,
 15 and drawing together the Great Flood for him.
 I have put myself between them
 without the Ennead seeing me.
- It is I who am Shu,
 whom Atum created on the day that he developed.
- 20 I was not built in the womb,
 I was not tied together in the egg,
 I was not conceived in conception.
 My father Atum sneezed me in a sneeze of his mouth,
 together with my sister Tefnut.
- 25 How she emerged was after me,
 while I was still hooded with the air of the Phoenix's throat,
 on the day that Atum developed
 out of the Flood, out of the Waters,
 out of the Darkness, out of Chaos.

30 It is I who am Shu, father of the gods,
 in search of whom, together with my sister Tefnut, Atum had sent
 his Sole Eye.
 I am the one who made it possible for it to give brilliance to the
 Darkness.
 It found me as a man of infinite number:
 I am the begetter of repeated millions
 35 out of the Flood, out of the Waters,
 out of the Darkness, out of Chaos.
 It is I who am Shu, begetter of the gods.

Commentary

CT 76 opens with an address to eight beings derived from (created by) the god Shu.⁹⁰ The word describing these gods, *hhw*, is related to the noun *hh* 'infinite number,' although the exact nature of the relationship is not clear. The role of these "Infinite Ones," however, is relatively unambiguous: they stand "at the parts of the sky" (line 1) and help support it, two at each limb of the sky-goddess. This image is depicted in Plate 3, where the sky is represented not as a woman but as a cow. The accompanying text describes, in part, the function of the "Infinite Ones":

Then Nut was trembling because of the height.
 Then the Incarnation of the Sun said: "Would that I had an infinite number
 supporting her,"
 and that is how the Infinite Ones developed.⁹¹

The sky as depicted in Plate 3 is called "The Great Flood" (*mhhjt wrt*: cf. line 15), a reference to its character as the "surface" of the outer Waters. This same image lies behind a passage from the Book of the Dead:

I have seen the sun that was born yesterday at the thighs of the Great Flood . . .
Who is he? He is that one of the waters of the sky. (BD 17)⁹²

The ostensible reason for the creation of the "Infinite Ones" is to aid Shu in supporting the sky-vault (lines 10–11). Shu's role, however, is the pivotal one, both in the created world and in the process of its creation. Before the creation, all things were undifferentiated in the primordial Monad, Atum. The creation of a void (Shu) within that unity inevitably produced, at the same time, a distinction between Top and Bottom—between the sky-vault above the void (line 11 "my daughter Nut atop me") and the earth beneath it (line 16 "Geb under my feet"), with the void separating the two (line 16 "I have put myself between them"). This new construction is now the entirety of what was the Monad: the sky-vault extends "to my father Atum in his utmost extent" (line 12); the earth "is tying together the land for my father Atum" (line 14) and also defines the extent of the

sky-vault (line 15 “drawing together the Great Flood for him”).⁹³ Between them, the void exists as air derived from the same primordial matter—“a sneeze of his mouth” (line 23), “hooded with air” (line 26).⁹⁴

CT 76 makes clear that the creation of the void is simultaneous with the Monad’s development into the created world: “whom Atum created on the day that he developed” (line 19, cf. line 27). It is the first act in that process, preceding the development of the other elements of nature (line 17 “without the Ennead seeing me”). The creation of the void is a necessary precondition for the ultimate act of creation, the first sunrise: Atum sends the sun (his “Sole Eye”; see p. 11) “in search of” Shu and Tefnut (line 31), and the void is what “made it possible for it (the sun) to give brilliance to the Darkness” (line 32). In the same vein, the creation of the void is the act from which all of creation follows: Shu is therefore “father of the gods” (line 30), “begetter of the gods” (line 37), and “the begetter of repeated millions” (line 34).

Besides giving definition to the world’s limits, the creation of the void with its top and bottom also further defines the contrast between the pre- and post-creation universe. CT 714 describes the universe before creation as a simple duality between the Primeval Waters and the Monad floating within them: “See, the Flood is subtracted from me: see, I am the remainder” (Text 2, 7–8). CT 76 introduces four concepts that further characterize the pre-creation universe by contrast with the created world: “the Flood . . . the Waters . . . the Darkness . . . Chaos” (Text 6, 28–29/35–36).

The first two terms, “Flood” (*hhw*) and “Waters” (*nw*), characterize the substance of the universe that enveloped the primordial Monad and that surrounds the world after creation. Where the world is finite, the universe outside it is an infinite expanse, the “Flood” (see p. 14). Where the void is dry, the outer universe is “Waters” (see p. 4). CT 76 treats both terms as divine names, presumably because both are elements of the external universe.

The second pair of terms, “Darkness” (*kkw*) and “Chaos” (*tnmw*), are treated only as abstract nouns, without divine determinative. These describe qualities rather than elements of the external/pre-creation universe. Darkness contrasts with the light of the created world. Unlike the darkness of night, that of the outer universe is “uniform,” never broken by the sun’s light (see p. 4). The meaning of the fourth term, here translated as “Chaos,” is more obscure than the other three. Its root verb *tnm* means ‘go astray’ and is used both in the literal sense (‘become lost’) and figuratively (‘stray from correct behavior’).⁹⁵ As an abstract in this context, it may refer to the undetermined character of the external universe (“Nowhere” vs. the defined “Where” of the world) or to its lack of order (vs. the Order—Maat—of the created world).⁹⁶

In the later periods of Egyptian history (perhaps as early as the New Kingdom), the theologians of Hermopolis developed these four concepts into a fuller philosophical system that complemented the existing cosmogony of earlier generations.⁹⁷ The contrast between these qualities and their opposites in the created world were seen as a kind of “dynamic tension” between potentiality and actuality that somehow contributed to the act that initiated creation. The four original concepts of the Coffin Texts developed into

four pairs of gods and goddesses (the Ogdoad) who took part in the birth of the world: "the fathers and mothers who developed in the beginning, who gave birth to the sun, who created Atum."⁹⁸ Although this creative function of the four concepts does not seem to be present in the Coffin Texts, its early origins are implicit in the description of the Primeval Waters as "inert" (i.e., inactive, potential) and in the epithet "father of the gods," which is given to the Waters already in the Coffin Texts.⁹⁹

D. The Creation of Order

Following CT 75–76 are three shorter spells, CT 77–79. Of these, CT 77 deals with the birth of Shu and combines the two motifs already apparent in the Pyramid Texts (see Texts 3–4). CT 79 is a short reprise of CT 76. The remaining spell, CT 78, and the much longer CT 80 further refine the creation theology of CT 75–76 by explaining how the natural order of existence derives from the first act of creation, the development of the void.

Text 7. From CT 78

I am the *ba* of Shu,
to whom was given Nut atop him and Geb under his feet.
I am between them.

...

I am Eternal Recurrence, father of an infinite number.

5 My sister is Tefnut, daughter of Atum, who bore the Ennead.

...

I am the one who bore repeated millions for Atum:
that is Eternal Sameness, that is my sister Tefnut.

Text 8. From CT 80

O you 8 Infinite Ones—an infinite number of Infinite Ones,
who encircle the sky with your arms,
who draw together the sky and horizon of Geb!
Shu has given you birth out of the Flood, out of the Waters,
5 out of Chaos, out of the Darkness,
that he might allot you to Geb and Nut,
while Shu is Eternal Recurrence and Tefnut is Eternal Sameness.
I am the *ba* of Shu who is at the Great Flood,
who goes up to the sky as he wishes,
10 who goes down to the earth as his heart decides.
Come in excitement to greet the god in me!

- I am Shu, child of Atum.
 My clothing is the air of life,
 which emerged for it around me, from the mouth of Atum
 15 and opens for it the winds on my path.
 I am the one who made possible the sky's brilliance after the Darkness.
 My skin is the pressure of the wind,
 which emerged behind me from the mouth of Atum.
 My efflux is the storm-cloud of the sky,
 20 my fumes are the storm of half-light.
 For the length of the sky is for my strides,
 and the breadth of the earth is for my foundations.
- I am the one whom Atum created,
 and I am bound for my place of Eternal Sameness.
 25 It is I who am Eternal Recurrence,
 who bore repeated millions;
 who Atum sneezed,
 who emerged from his mouth, as he used his hand,
 and who stopped his spit from being let fall for the earth.
- 30 Then said Atum: "My living daughter is Tefnut.
 She will exist with her brother Shu.
 Life is his identity,
 Order is her identity.
 I shall live with my twins, my fledglings,
 35 with me in their midst—
 one of them at my back,
 one of them in my belly.
 Life will lie with my daughter Order—
 one of them inside,
 40 one of them about me.
 It is on them that I have come to rely,
 with their arms about me.
 It is my son who shall live,
 he whom I begot in my identity,
 45 for he has learned how to enliven the one in the egg, in the respective womb.
 as mankind, that emerged from my eye—
 (the eye) that I sent forth when I was alone with the Waters, in inertness,
 not finding a place in which I could stand or sit,
 before Heliopolis had been founded, in which I could exist;
 50 before the Lotus had been tied together, on which I could sit;
 before I had made Nut so she could be over my head and Geb could
 marry her;

before the first Corps was born,
before the two original Enneads had developed and started existing with me.”

Then said Atum to the Waters: “I am floating, very weary,
55 the natives inert.

It is my son Life, who lifts up my heart, that will enliven my heart
when he has drawn together these very weary limbs of mine.”

The Waters said to Atum: “Kiss your daughter Order.
Put her to your nose and your heart will live.

60 They will not be far from you—

• that is, your daughter Order and your son Shu, whose identity is Life.
It is of your daughter Order that you shall eat,
it is your son Shu that shall elevate you.”

I, in fact, am Life, son of Atum—

65 it is from his nose that he bore me,
it is from his nostrils that I emerged.

I shall put myself at his collar,

that he may kiss me and my sister Order,
when he rises every day and emerges from his egg,

70 when the god is born in the emergence of sunlight
and homage is said to him by those whom he begot.

...

I am Life, lord of years,

Life of Eternal Recurrence, lord of Eternal Sameness—
the eldest that Atum made with his efficacy,

75 when he gave birth to Shu and Tefnut in Heliopolis,
when he was one and developed into three,
when he parted Geb from Nut,
before the first Corps was born,
before the two original Enneads developed
80 and were existing with me.

It is in his nose that he conceived me,
it is from his nostrils that I emerged.

He has placed me at his collar
and he does not let me get far from him.

85 My identity is Life, son of the original god:
how I live is in the *bznw* of my father Atum.

I am Life at his collar, the one who freshens the throat—
whom Atum made as Grain

90 when he sent me down to this land, to the Isle of Fires,
when my identity became Osiris, son of Geb.

- I am Life, for whom the length of the sky and the breadth of Geb were made:
 it is from me that presented offerings emerge for the god.
 My father Atum will kiss me as he emerges from the eastern Akhet;
 his heart will be content at seeing me as he proceeds in rest to the western
 Akhet.
- 95 He will find me on his way,
 and I will tie on his head and enliven his uraeus.
 I will fix the head of Isis on her neck,
 and assemble Osiris's bones.
 I will make firm his flesh every day
 100 and make fresh his parts every day—
 falcons off birds, jackals off prowling,
 pigs off the highlands, hippopotami off the cultivation,
 men off grain, crocodiles off fish,
 fish off the waters in the Inundation—
 105 as Atum has ordered.
 I will lead them and enliven them,
 through my mouth, which is Life in their nostrils.
 I will lead my breath into their throats,
 after I have tied on their heads through the Annunciation that is in my mouth,
 110 which my father Atum, who emerged from the eastern Akhet, has given me.
 I will enliven the little fish and the crawling things on Geb's back.
 I, in fact, am Life that is under Nut.

Commentary

CT 80 both summarizes the creation account elaborated in CT 75–79 and develops it further by describing how the creation evolved from a single source into the diversity of created existence.

In the Egyptian view, all that now exists began as a unity, a primordial Monad—Atum—floating in the dark, lifeless infinity of pre-creation (“the Flood, the Waters, Chaos and Darkness”). Atum describes his pre-creation state as “when I was alone (literally, “one”) with the Waters” (line 47). In this primordial universe, the Monad exists in a lifeless state, “in inertness” (line 47), with the life-forms that are to develop from it in a similar state of inertness: “I am floating, very weary, the natives inert” (lines 54–55). Creation is the enlivening of this inert potentiality: “Life . . . will enliven my heart when he has drawn together these very weary limbs of mine” (lines 56–57).

The process of creation begins as a “dialogue” between non-existence and the potentiality of the Monad: “Then said Atum to the Waters” (line 54), “The Waters said to Atum” (line 58). Its first event is the creation of a void within the substance of the Monad. CT 80 describes the nature of this void, as air, in one of the best illustrations of the Egyptian concept of divine forces immanent in nature that has survived (lines 12–

22). The creation of the void produced simultaneously a distinction between Top and Bottom—sky and earth—within the void, and preceded the development of all the other elements of nature: “the eldest that Atum made with his efficacy, when he gave birth to Shu and Tefnut in Heliopolis . . . , when he parted Geb from Nut, before the first Corps¹⁰⁰ was born, before the two original Enneads developed” (lines 74–79).

The same initial act produced the phenomenon of Place (note that the birth of Shu and Tefnut is described as taking place “in Heliopolis”). The pre-creation universe was without Place—an undefined “Chaos” (*nmw*) in which the Monad floated

not finding a place in which I could stand or sit,
before Heliopolis had been founded, in which I could exist;
before the Lotus¹⁰¹ had been tied together, on which I could sit;
before I had made Nut so she could be over my head and Geb could marry her
(lines 48–51).

This concept is also expressed in Atum’s initial manifestation as the Primeval Mound, in any of several descriptions: “the high ground . . . the benben” (Text 4, 2–3) and “the Isle of Fires” (line 89).¹⁰²

In the heliocentric world of ancient Egypt, the creation of these elements was less an end in itself than a backdrop to the prime act of creation, the first sunrise. This act itself is a further manifestation—development—of the primordial Monad (line 110 “Atum, who emerged from the eastern Akhet”). The creation of the void makes it possible: Shu is “the predecessor of the flame and heat” (CT 77: CT II 18a), “who foretells him when he emerges from the Akhet” (Text 5, 9) and “made possible the sky’s brilliance after the Darkness” (line 16: cf. Text 6, 32).

The primary theme of CT 80, however, is not the creation of these physical elements of the world but rather, the relationship between their creation and the makeup of the world as it now exists—the theme of creation extended into the world of everyday existence. The text develops this theme through two pairs of parallel concepts: Life and Order, Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness.¹⁰³ Because the first act of creation—the birth of Shu and Tefnut—began the cycle of existence, these pairs are identified with the two gods: “My living daughter is Tefnut. She will exist with her brother Shu. Life is his identity, Order is her identity” (lines 30–34), “Shu is Eternal Recurrence and Tefnut is Eternal Sameness” (line 7).

Both pairs are aspects of a more fundamental set of principles that inform the ancient Egyptian world: *stasis*, the notion of creation as perfect and complete, and *change*, the notion of life as dynamic and recurrent. The dichotomy is expressed in two Egyptian verbs that appear throughout CT 80: *wnn* ‘exist’ (stasis) and *hpr* ‘develop’ (change). It is also elaborated throughout the spell in a series of contrastive pairs:

<i>stasis (wnn):</i>	<i>change (hpr):</i>
Tefnut (<i>tfnt</i>)	Shu (<i>šw</i>)
Order (<i>mꜣꜥt</i>)	Life (<i>ꜥnh</i>)
Eternal Sameness (<i>dt</i>)	Eternal Recurrence (<i>nhh</i>) ¹⁰⁴

Shu's nature and role in the physical universe is clear and well elaborated in the texts that have been translated and discussed so far. Tefnut's physical nature and function is less clear (see p. 9), but in any case is less important here than the alignment of contrastive concepts that are identified with her. Order ("Maat") is the Egyptian concept of the arrangement and relationship that underlies and governs all aspects of existence, somewhat akin to the western notion of natural law. It extends from the elements of nature (the world of the gods) into the moral and social behavior of mankind.¹⁰⁵ In the Egyptian view, this is a static principle, created perfect and immutable from the beginning:

Order is effective: its appropriateness lasts.

It has not been disturbed since the time of the one who made it.¹⁰⁶

Order is the principle that makes the whole of existence possible:

The Waters said to Atum: "Kiss your daughter Order.

Put her to your nose and your heart will live" (lines 58–59).

Viewed as the sum of its parts, each governed by the principle of Order, the created world is an eternally changeless construct in which every element and its function are forever the same—the sky always above the earth, the Nile always flowing through Egypt, day always following night, kingship always governing the affairs of man. This unchanging pattern of existence, which was produced whole and perfect at the creation, is a second static principle, that of Eternal Sameness.¹⁰⁷ Once fashioned by the creator's command, it is immutable: its author "does not turn back on what he has said" (Text 5, 57).

Yet within this unchanging and ordered construct there are also dynamic forces at work. The sun rises and sets; the Nile floods and recedes; men are born, grow old, and die. Things do not just exist (*wnn*): they develop and change (*hpr*). This is the principle of Life, which coexists with Order in the world and derives from the same source: "Life will lie with my daughter Order . . . It is on them that I have come to rely, with their arms about me" (lines 38, 40–41). Life itself, of course, is part of the Order of existence. Although things in the world change, they do so as part of a cyclical pattern that is always the same: the sun does not rise in the west; people are not born old to grow young. This apparently paradoxical union of immutability and change is expressed in the Egyptian concept of Eternal Recurrence.

CT 78 and 80 link the conceptual pairs of Order and Eternal Sameness, Life and Eternal Recurrence, with the birth of Tefnut and Shu as a means of expressing their origin in the act that began creation. The dynamic principles of Life and Eternal Recurrence are the link between this first act and the daily creation of new life. Life is the temporal extension ("Eternal Recurrence") of the fixed pattern of existence established at the creation: "I am Life, lord of years, Life of Eternal Recurrence, lord of Eternal Sameness" (lines 72–73). This is the theme elaborated in the second half of CT 80. Life is the "son of the original god" (line 85), "the eldest that Atum made" (line 74), but its

proper role is in daily life—in the growth of sustenance (lines 87–88), in the cycle of the sun (lines 93–96), and in the life-cycle of all living things (lines 97–112).

The Egyptian notions of Order and Eternal Sameness, Life and Eternal Recurrence, reflect a view of the world that is like a play on the cosmic scale. Like a play, the characters and script are always the same. Yet each performance of the play is different, with different actors and different settings. The Order of the world, its Eternal Sameness, was written in the beginning and remains fixed; its acting out, in the Eternal Recurrence of Life, is new each day. CT 335, and its descendant BD 17, reflect this concept in an explanation of the term *ntt wn* ‘that which exists’:

As for that which exists,
 It is Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness.
 As for Eternal Recurrence, it is day;
 as for Eternal Sameness, it is night (Text 10, 11–12c-f: p. 34 below)

Where the creation first established the forces and elements of the natural world, and their order, Life reproduces this same model daily. By extending the fixed pattern of existence into daily life, the principle of Eternal Recurrence produces infinite “copies” of the first creation:

I am Eternal Recurrence, father of an infinite number.
 My sister is Tefnut, daughter of Atum, who bore the Ennead.

...
 I am the one who bore repeated millions for Atum (Text 7, 4–6).

These lines from CT 78 sound a subsidiary theme that is also echoed in CT 80—the development of diversity from unity. Before the creation, all things existed as one within the primordial Monad, “living in one body, before two things had developed in this world.”¹⁰⁸ The creation differentiated the Monad into the infinite diversity of existence. CT 80 describes the first stage in this “splitting of the Atum” with the words “when he was one and developed into three” (line 76). The same theme is developed much more elaborately in the next text.

E. The Development of Diversity

Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (pBM 10188) is a collection of four separate texts, compiled at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.¹⁰⁹ The third of these, entitled “Scroll of Overthrowing Apophis,”¹¹⁰ contains nine sections, each also called a “scroll.” Two of those sections exist in other copies: the “Scroll of Driving Back Apophis” (pBremner-Rhind 26, 10–11), on a statue-group from the time of Ramesses III; and a spell from the first section, in the later papyrus Louvre 3135.¹¹¹

The fifth and sixth sections are of interest here. The beginning of each contains the same text, in slightly different versions (pBremner-Rhind 26, 21–27, 5 and 28, 20–29, 6). A “quotation” from this text in an earlier papyrus suggests that the original may

derive from the New Kingdom.¹¹² The first version is the more concise of the two and is translated here. Variants and additions from the second version, where significant, are noted in the textual notes and commentary.

Text 9. From Papyrus Bremner-Rhind

Scroll of knowing the development of the Sun and of Overthrowing Apophis.
Recitation of the Lord to the Limit, which he spoke after he developed:

For my part, the fact is that I developed as Developer.

When I developed, development developed.

- 5 All development developed after I developed,
developments becoming many in emerging from my mouth,
without the sky having developed,
without the earth having developed,
without the ground or snakes having been created in that place.

- 10 It was out of the Waters, out of inertness, that I became tied together in them,
without having found a place in which I could stand.

I became effective in my heart,

I surveyed with my face.

I made every form alone,

- 15 without having sneezed Shu,
without having spat Tefnut,
without another having developed and acted with me.

When I surveyed in my heart by myself,

the developments of developments became many,

- 20 in the developments of children
and in the developments of their children.

For my part, the fact is that I acted as husband with my fist,

I copulated with my hand,

I let fall from my mouth by myself,

- 25 I sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut.

It is my father, the Waters, that tended them,

with my eye after them since the time they became apart from me.

After I developed as one god,

that was three gods with respect to me.

- 30 When I developed into this world,
Shu and Tefnut grew excited in the inert waters in which they were,
and brought me my eye after them.

...

Then Shu and Tefnut gave birth to Geb and Nut.

Then Geb and Nut gave birth to Osiris, Horus the Two-Eyed, Seth, Isis and
Nephthys,

15 from one womb, one after the other,
and they gave birth to their multitude in this world.

Commentary

Text 9 is built around the concept expressed by the Egyptian verb *hpr* and its derivative *hprw*. Though *hpr* is often translated 'come into being,' the actual Egyptian sense is closer to the meanings 'change, develop, evolve.' The abstract *hprw* refers to any stage in the process of development, a process that may be viewed either as sequential or as a series of alternatives. The phrase *jrj hprw* 'make developments,' for example, is the Egyptian idiom for 'grow up'—i.e., with reference to the various stages of development that a human being goes through during life, from baby to adult.¹¹³ The same term is used to refer to the various modes of existence that a god or deceased human being might adopt: offerings for a deceased man, for example, are given "to his *ka* . . . to his *ba*, to his *akh*, to his corpse, to his shadow, to all his *hprw*."¹¹⁴

The concept of *hpr* implies an ending state different from that which existed before the process began. In Egyptian, this state is expressed by means of the locative preposition *m* 'in.' The locative character of the preposition can sometimes seem to be ambiguous. In line 30, for example, it is not immediately clear whether the author meant to say that the god developed *into* the world or *in* the world. The ambiguity, however, is only apparent.¹¹⁵ Text 9 is concerned with describing how the totality of existence derives from a single original source. The world in all its diversity is the *hprw* of that source, the infinite modes of being into which—in which, as which—the primordial Monad has developed.

Though named only as the "Lord to the Limit" (line 2), the source in question is clearly Atum, whom the Coffin Texts call "lord of *hprw*."¹¹⁶ As the source of all existence, he is the point at which the process of "development" began: "When I developed, development developed" (line 4). Inherently, therefore, he is prior to all of existence: "All development developed after I developed" (line 5). The second version of the text expands on this theme:

For I was prior to the original ones, whom I made,
The reason I was prior in the group of original ones,
my identity being prior to it,
was that I made the original state and the original ones . . .
When I developed in the group of original ones,
developments became many initially,
without any development having developed (previously) in this world
(pBremner-Rhind 28, 21 and 23)

Inherent also is the notion of Atum's singularity before the process of development began, explicit in the qualification "alone" (line 14) and in the words "without another having developed and acted with me" (line 17).

The process of development begins with Atum's own development (lines 4–5). This refers not to the creation of the primordial Monad itself but rather to the beginning of the process through which the preexisting but inert Monad evolved into the elements of the world: "It was out of the Waters, out of inertness, that I became tied together" (line 10). The second version makes this relationship clear: "My developing—that was the developing of development" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 21). The causality implicit in this concept makes it possible to refer to Atum as a creator: "I made every form" (line 14), and in the second version, "I made everything (I) desired in this world" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 21–22), "I created other developments" (28, 25). Creation, in fact, is the product of his thought and expression: "I became effective in my heart" (lines 12 and 17), "developments becoming many in emergence from my mouth" (line 6); the second version adds "I used my own mouth—my identity is Magic" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 22).

Atum is also the material cause of creation: the world has evolved from his essence. This notion is more clearly expressed in the second version of Text 9, in the words "I made everything (I) desired in this world, I broadened out in it" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 21–22). The process of Atum's material transformation into the world involves two primary "developments" (*hprw*) of the god: as the sun (line 3 "I developed as Developer"—see p. 10 above), and as the first two elements of nature, Shu and Tefnut (lines 22–25). The physical derivation of these two elements from Atum is expressed through the dual images of sneezing/spitting and procreation. The fact that the two images express the same reality is reflected in the line "I let fall from my mouth" (line 24), which the second version expands: "After I acted as husband with my fist, my heart came to me in my hand, ejaculation being fallen from my mouth" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 27). Atum's development into a void within the Primeval Waters makes possible his development into the sun: "When I developed into this world, Shu and Tefnut grew excited in the inert waters in which they were, and brought me my eye after them" (lines 30–33; cf. lines 26–27).

This first development of the primordial Monad is also the first instance of the process of development itself (line 4 "When I developed, development developed"), and the first stage in the evolution of unity into diversity: "After I developed as *one* god, that was *three* gods with respect to me" (lines 28–29). The process continued geometrically, through the transmission of the original matter into the elements of the world: "the developments of developments became many, in the developments of children and in the developments of their children" (lines 19–21). In this way, the infinite variety of all existence can be traced back to a single ultimate source, a linear progression that is summarized in the image of the Ennead (lines 33–36).

F. The Role of the Sun

The texts translated so far in this chapter concentrate on the development of nature in general and of its first constituents, the void with its top and bottom, in particular. In the Egyptian view, however, these elements exist not merely in and of themselves but as

background to the greatest determinant of existence, the daily cycle of the sun. In Egyptian creation accounts they set the stage for the act that both prompted and concluded the creation, the sun's first rising. The primacy of this act is reflected in the notion that the sun, as well as the (other) elements of nature, is a development (*hprw*) of the original source of all existence, Atum.

There are numerous texts, particularly from the New Kingdom, that deal with the sun's pivotal role in the creation.¹¹⁷ One of the earliest and most important of these is Spell 335 of the Coffin Texts. In the New Kingdom and later it appears as Spell 17 of the Book of the Dead; its title, "Spell for Emerging by Day," becomes the title of the Book of the Dead as a whole. The spell is important not only for its text but also for the extensive glosses of each line that accumulated throughout its lifetime, beginning as early as the Middle Kingdom. The basic text as it appears in most Coffin Texts copies is translated here, with the glosses translated in the commentary following.

Text 10. From CT 335 = BD 17

Spell for emerging by day in the necropolis.

The word developed, all was mine

when I existed alone.

I am the Sun in his first appearances.

- 5 I am the great self-developing god,
 who created his identities, lord of the Enneads,
 the unopposable one of the gods.

Yesterday is mine; I know tomorrow.

It is in accordance with my say that the gods' battleship was made,

- 10 and I know the identity of that great god who is in it.

I am the great Phoenix that is in Heliopolis,
 the accountant of that which exists.

Commentary

The text translated here is the beginning of a long spell equating the deceased's passage from the tomb to daylight with that of the sun from night to day. The spell is in two parts. In the first (CT IV 184/85a–292/93a) the deceased speaks as the sun (line 4 "I am the Sun"). In the second, he speaks to the sun in its identities of Re, Atum, Osiris, and Khepre(r). The spell's opening lines, translated here, conceptualize creation and existence in terms of the sun.

The first lines, which are not glossed, describe the speaker's primacy of existence: all that was to become the world was his when no other being existed (lines 2–3). The creation itself is described as the development of the creator's word (line 2)—a concept that has been noted, almost in passing, in the texts translated earlier in this chapter (Texts 5, 12/56–57; 8, 105; 9, 6) and will be developed further in Chapter 4.

The remaining lines are glossed, amounting to the Egyptians own commentary on the meaning of this text. These ancient commentaries, and their significance, are discussed in the remainder of this section.

- (4) I am the Sun in his first appearances.
 a *That is him rising in the east of the sky.*
 b *Variant: it is the beginning of the Sun appearing over the world. (CT IV 187d-f)*
 c *Who then is he?*
 d *It is the Sun when he began the reign he has exercised.*
 e *It is the Sun's beginning to appear in the kingship he has exercised,*
 f *when Shu's uplifting had not yet occurred,*
 g *he being on the high ground in Hermopolis*
 h *when the children of weakness had been given to him as the Hermopolitans.*
 (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 32–33)

The first lines of the spell (2–3) describe the sun's "possession" of all existence even before the creation. An allusion to the act of creation (line 2 "The word developed") is followed by a reference to the first event in that process, the rising of the sun "in his first appearances" (line 4). The Coffin Texts gloss explains this line as a clear reference to the first sunrise (line 4b "the beginning of the Sun appearing over the world"). The fuller Book of the Dead gloss also makes reference to this act, in the image of the Primeval Mound (line 4g "he being on the high ground") over which the sun first rose. But it is more concerned with developing the theme of the sun's dominance over all creation (lines 4d-e)—a law of nature so fundamental that it can be thought of as pre-dating even the creation of the world in which it is exercised (line 4f "when Shu's uplifting had not yet occurred"). Not only the world but also the elements of the outer universe are subsumed in that hegemony: at his rising over the Primeval Mound, they are "given to him" (line 4h).¹¹⁸

- (5) I am the great self-developing god,
 a *Who is he, the great self-developing god?*
 b *It is water: it is the Waters, father of the gods. (CT IV 188/89b-c)*
 c *Variant: it is the Sun. (Naville, Totenbuch II 34)*

Two gods can be thought of as "self-developing"—that is, not dependent on the act of creation for their existence. Interestingly, the Coffin Texts identify only one of these, the Primeval Waters that existed before creation (lines 5a-b). The Book of the Dead extends this characteristic to the sun as well (line 5c).

- (6) who created his identities, lord of the Enneads,
 a *Who then is he?*
 b *It is the Sun when he created the identities of his parts.*
 c *It is those gods who are after him developing. (Naville, Totenbuch II 34–35)*

This gloss occurs only in the Book of the Dead, possibly because the sense of the line

is clear enough in the original. The world is the creator's own self-realization, his development into the elements of nature (line 6 "the Enneads," line 6c "the gods who are after him"). All things that exist are developments (*hprw*) of the creator himself: "he created the identities of his parts" (line 6b).

(7) the unopposable one of the gods.

a *Who is it?*

b *It is Atum in his disk.* (CT IV 191c-d)

c *Variant: it is the Sun rising in the eastern Akhet of the sky.* (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 35)

The adjective "unopposable" suggests a view of creation as inevitable. This applies both to the development of the original source into the sun (line 7b "Atum in his disk") as well as to the sunrise itself (line 7c).

(8) Yesterday is mine, I know tomorrow.

a *As for yesterday, it is Osiris;*

b *as for tomorrow, it is the Sun.*

c *Who then is it?*

d *The day of We Are Enduring.*

e *It is the burial of Osiris and causing his son Horus to rule.* (CT IV 193b-e)

f *Who then is he?*

g *As for yesterday, it is Osiris;*

h *as for tomorrow, it is the Sun,*

i *on the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed*

j *and his son Horus was caused to rule.*

k *It is the day of We Are Enduring.*

l *It is the burial of Osiris being directed by his father the Sun* (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 36-37)

This line (8) links the original creation (described in lines 2-7) with the cycle of daily life. From this point, most of the Coffin Texts copies have at least part of the gloss of each line as well as the original line itself. This is probably a reflection of the spell's purpose. The references to the original creation, in lines 2-7, serve as background to the more apposite concern for how the "inevitability" of the sun's cycle relates to the deceased's hope for new life.

The creation produced not only existence but also change (see the discussion on pp. 25-26 above). As the determinant of all life, the sun both embodies in itself the pattern of existence (line 8 "Yesterday is mine") and determines the ongoing development of that pattern (line 8 "I know tomorrow"). The glosses equate this duality on the one hand with Osiris, the principle of potential new life, and on the other with the sun, the manifest realization of that potential (lines 8a-b/g-h). The two together embody the cycle of life—a cycle that began at the creation (line 8i "the day when the enemies of the Lord to the Limit were destroyed") and continues in daily life (lines 8d/k "the day of We Are

Enduring"). In human terms, this equates to the cycle of generations: "It is the burial of Osiris and causing his son Horus to rule" (lines 8e and 8j/l).

- (9) It is in accordance with my say that the gods' battleship was made,
 a *As for the god's battleship, it is the West.*
 b *It was made in order to battle the gods' enemies.* (CT IV 194/95b-d)
 c *What then is it?*
 d *It is the West.*
 e *It was made against the gods' ba's*
 f *in accordance with the command of Osiris, lord of the western cemetery.*
 g *Variant: this is what the Sun caused every god to board.*
 h *Then he fought it for them.* (Navelle, *Totenbuch* II 37–38)

Like the creation, life is a recurrent dialogue, a struggle between the principles of development and inertia. Continued existence is a recurring battle for re-creation, exemplified in the sun's nightly journey (lines 9a/d "It is the West"), where he combats the forces that can keep this re-creation from happening (line 9b).

- (10) and I know the identity of that great god who is in it.
 a *The Acclaimed, the Sun, is his identity.* (CT IV 196/97c)¹¹⁹
 b *Who then is he?*
 c *It is Osiris.*
 d *Variant: the Acclaimed, the Sun, is his identity.*
 e *It is the ba of the Sun, by means of which he copulates himself.* (Navelle, *Totenbuch* II 39)

The Coffin Texts glosses identify the principal force at work in the struggle for existence as the sun (line 10a). Book of the Dead copies add the notion of the sun as Osiris, the principle with which the sun becomes merged in the Duat (line 10c).¹²⁰ This principle is what gives the sun its power to produce life (line 10e).¹²¹

- (11) I am the great Phoenix that is in Heliopolis,
 (12) the accountant of that which exists.
 a *Who then is he?*
 b *It is Osiris.*
 c *As for that which exists,*
 d *it is Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness.*
 e *As for Eternal Recurrence, it is day;*
 f *as for Eternal Sameness, it is night.* (CT IV 200/201b–202/203b = Navelle, *Totenbuch* II 40–41)

In the Egyptian view, life is the ongoing recurrence of the pattern of existence created in the beginning (lines 11–12c-d: see pp. 25–26 above). The ultimate symbol and determinant of that cycle is the sun (lines 11–12). Creation is the triumph of light over darkness—a cycle in which darkness is not so much the antagonist of light as its unrealized

potential: darkness is light waiting to happen. The pattern of existence is potential in the same way, the potential script of the play of life. The daily realization of that potential—the “acting out” of the play—is true existence (lines 11–12e-f). What makes possible the transition from potential to actual is the principle of re-creation, Osiris—the same force that produces a live plant from the potential of an apparently lifeless seed (lines 11–12a-b).

It is easy to appreciate why a text built around these themes should have been included in a corpus of funerary spells. The Egyptian understanding of creation—both original and as renewed each day—is inherently optimistic. Lifelessness contains the seeds of life.

IV. *The Means of Creation*

The creation accounts discussed in Chapter 3 reflect a philosophy that is more developmental than causal. In this view, the question of an external agent is superfluous. The world owes its existence to the development of an original, preexisting Monad. This concept is summarized in the expression *hpr-ds.f* 'self-developing.' Creation is the process through which the primordial unity developed into the finished diversity of the world, much as a complex plant grows from a single seed or a human being from a single-celled embryo. The force that promoted this process came not from outside the Monad but from within it. It is a process of "self-development."

There is, nonetheless, a train of causality inherent in the process of self-development, since the created world derives its existence, as well as its material substance, from the primordial source from which it grew. Throughout the texts translated in Chapter 3, it is evident that their authors viewed the process as having been initiated by the source itself:

It was through my effectiveness that I brought about my body.

I am the one who made me.

It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself (Text 2, 9–11)

In the main, these texts are concerned with explaining how the process developed rather than with analyzing the means by which it was accomplished. The images of Shu's birth through Atum's masturbation or sneezing (Texts 3–4) are not so much a true creation etiology as an attempt to explain the transmission of matter from a single source to its multiple realizations in the world.

Running through these texts, however, is a secondary theme of creation by means of the spoken word.¹²² CT 335/BD 17 seems to describe the creation as the development of the word (Text 10, 2), and relates the process of Atum's self-realization to this concept by explaining how he "created the identities ('names') of his parts" (Text 10, 6b). More specifically, Atum's self-realization begins as a *concept* and is given reality through being *expressed*: "It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself" (Text 2, 11); "He created me in his heart, he made me in his efficacy" (Text 5, 27–28/39–40); "I surveyed in my heart by myself" (Text 9, 18) and "I used my own mouth—my identity is Magic" (pBremner-Rhind 28, 22).

A. The Force of "Magic"

The last term, "Magic," is the principle through which a spoken command is translated into reality. Like other forces, it is an element of the Egyptian world, and is not limited

to speech alone. Anything that produces an effect can be thought of as having this force.¹²³ Its role in the creation is described in Spell 261 of the Coffin Texts.

Text 11. From CT 261

Becoming Magic.

O noble ones who are before the lord of totality!

Behold, I am come to you.

Be afraid of me, in accordance with what you have learned.

- 5 I am the one whom the Sole Lord made
 • before two things had developed in this world,
 when he sent his sole eye,
 when he was alone,
 when something came from his mouth,
 10 when his million of *ka* was in protection of his associates,
 when he spoke with the one who developed with him, than whom he is
 mightier,
 when he took Annunciation in his mouth.
 I, in fact, am that son of the one who bore all,
 15 being in protection of that which the Sole Lord commanded.
 I am the one who gave life to the Ennead.
 I am Acts-As-He-Likes, father of the gods,
 high of stand,
 who made the god functional in accordance with that which he who bore all
 commanded,
 20 a noble god, who speaks and eats with his mouth.

...

All was mine before you developed, gods.

Go down, you who came at the end!

I am Magic.

Commentary

CT 261 identifies the deceased with the force of Magic, a role that enables him to command the gods (lines 4/22) and function as a living being (line 20). The value in this identification is the priority that Magic has over all created things, including the other forces of nature (lines 6/21–22). Magic itself, however, is subordinate and subsequent to the creator himself: “I am the one whom the Sole Lord made” (line 5), “that son of the one who bore all” (line 14). It came about at the creator’s first utterance, “when something came from his mouth” (line 9), in the “dialogue” between potentiality and nonexistence that initiated the development of creation: “when he spoke with the one who developed with him” (line 11: see p. 24 above).

The text indicates that Magic came into existence when the creator “took Annunciation in his mouth” (line 13). “Annunciation” (*hw*) is a term derived from the verb *hww* ‘announce,’¹²⁴ and refers to the (divine) principle of creative speech: “speech which is so effective that it creates.”¹²⁵ It forms a conceptual pair with the principle of “Perception” (*sjj*), with which it is often linked¹²⁶ and from which it logically follows. In the created world, “Perception” and “Annunciation” are the means by which the forces of nature—the gods and the king—perceive what needs to be done and cause it to happen.¹²⁷ Their function *par excellence*, however, is in the creation itself. The creator first perceives the world as a concept: “I became effective in my heart . . . I surveyed in my heart by myself” (Text 9, 12/18). He then gives reality to that perception through creative speech, “Annunciation, that spoke in the darkness” (CT VII 481g):

I am the one who made what is and caused what was not to develop:
when I spoke, Annunciation developed. (CT IV 145b-c)

Magic is the force that makes Annunciation effective. Through this principle, the creator’s *fiat* acts to produce the world from the primordial Monad. Magic is what “made the god functional in accordance with that which he who bore all commanded” (line 19). In effect, therefore, Magic brought about the existence of all the forces and elements that developed from that original source: it is “father of the gods” (line 17), “who gave life to the Ennead” (line 16).

B. Ptah

Line 19 of Text 11 seems to imply a distinction in the mind of its Egyptian author between the primordial Monad (“the god”) who is “made functional” and the creator (“he who bore all”), whose command initiated the process. This could be merely another instance of the Egyptian practice of looking at a concept from more than one angle simultaneously (see p. 11 above). Perhaps deliberately, the text refers to the creator not by name but by epithet only: as “Sole Lord” (lines 5/15), “he who bore all” (lines 14/19), and “lord of totality” (line 2). The last of these is in fact an epithet of Atum, and the spell’s description of the creator is the same as that applied to Atum in other texts.¹²⁸ There is, however, another god whose function is closely bound up with the notion of creative speech and the creation itself: the Memphite god Ptah.¹²⁹

Ptah’s role in the creation is already alluded to in the Coffin Texts, but is most fully developed in texts of the Ramesside period. From the Coffin Texts, CT 647 (Text 12) is a long spell entitled “Protection in Ptah.” It survives in one copy only, on a Middle Kingdom coffin from Gebelein. Among Ramesside texts, there is an eloquent *précis* of Ptah’s creative role on a private stela from the time of Ramesses II, now in Copenhagen (Text 13). The most extensive “treatise” on the god is preserved on a papyrus of the 22nd Dynasty (Text 14), parts of which may be of Ramesside origin.¹³⁰

Text 12. From CT 647

I am the one who makes vegetation grow,
 who makes green the banks of the Nile Valley,
 lord of the highlands, who makes green the wadis;
 he who is over the Nubians, Asiatics, and Libyans,
 5 for the Nine Bows have been gathered for me,
 and totality has been given to me by the Sun, Lord to the Limit.
 I am South of His Wall, sovereign of the gods.
 I am King of the sky,
 Distributor of *kas*, who officiates over the Two Lands;
 10 Distributor of *kas*, who gives *bas*, manifestations, *kas* and beginnings.
 I am Distributor of *kas*, and they live according to my action:
 when I wish, I make it possible for them to live,
 there being none of them who can speak to me
 except for the one who made that unique identity of mine,
 15 because I am Annunciation in his mouth
 and Perception in his belly.

Text 13. From a Ramesside Stela

Yours truly is praising your perfection,
 Ptah the great, South of His Wall;
 Ta-tenen in the midst of Memphis.
 Noble god of the first occasion,
 5 who built people and gave birth to the gods,
 original one who made it possible for all to live;
 in whose heart it was spoken, who saw them develop,
 who foretold what was not and thought of what is.
 There is nothing that has developed without him,
 10 he whose development is their development in the course of each day,
 antecedent of what he has determined.
 You have set the world to its laws like you made it,
 and the Black Land is fixed under your command, like the first occasion.

Text 14. From the Berlin "Hymn to Ptah"

Worshipping Ptah, father of the gods, Ta-tenen, eldest of the originals, at
 daybreak.

Recitation:

Greetings, Ptah, father of the gods,
 Ta-tenen, eldest of the originals,

- . . .
 5 who begot himself by himself, without any developing having developed;
 who crafted the world in the design of his heart,
 when his developments developed.
 Model who gave birth to all that is,
 begetter who created what exists.
- . . .
 10 Greetings before your originals,
 whom you made after you developed in the god's body.
 Who built his body by himself,
 without the earth having developed, without the sky having developed,
 without the waters having been introduced.
- 15 You tied together the world, you totaled your flesh,
 you took account of your parts and found yourself alone,
 place-maker, god who smelted the Two Lands.
 There is no father of yours who begot you in your developing,
 no mother of yours who gave you birth:
- 20 your own Uniter,
 active one who came forth active.
 When you stood up on the land in its inertness,
 it drew together thereafter,
 you being in your form of Ta-tenen,
 in your development of Combiner of the Two Lands.
- 25 The one whom your mouth begot and your arms have created—
 you took him from the Waters,
 your action copying your perfection:
 your son, distinguished in his developing,
 30 who dispels for you the uniform darkness with the radiance of his two eyes.
- . . .
 Be fearful of him, be afraid of him—
 this god who made your needs.
 Give adulation to his might
 and become content through his two sound eyes.
- 35 His words will be the balance of the Two Lands,
 with no bypassing the utterance he has made.
 The great name that lays storms,
 which everyone fears when his *ba* develops—
 Magic, that has control of the gods,
 40 whose respect is great in the Ennead:
 the reckoning of him is in what he has begun,
 his control is among that which he has made.

Commentary

The god Ptah is closely associated with the city of Memphis, a relationship that is reflected both in his epithet "South of His Wall" and in the New Kingdom name of the city, *hwt-*

k3-ptḥ 'Enclosure of Ptah's *ka*,' derived from the name of his temple.¹³¹ The etymology of Ptah's name is unknown; it is apparently related to a verb with the same root, also of unknown meaning.¹³² Although Ptah occurs in names of individuals in the Old Kingdom, and is referred to twice in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 560b = 566b, 1482c), it is not until the Coffin Texts that we have any substantial evidence for the god's function. Apart from CT 647, discussed below, he appears elsewhere in these texts as a builder.¹³³ From the Middle Kingdom on, he is revered as patron of craftsmen in general and of builders, masons, and sculptors in particular.¹³⁴

Ptah is most closely associated with two other Memphite gods. The first of these, Sokar, is both a god of the cemetery/netherworld and is associated with metal-working.¹³⁵ Ptah and Sokar are syncretised already in the Coffin Texts.¹³⁶ Together they present a peculiarly Memphite synthesis of opposites: Ptah representing Memphis, earth and stone, and life;¹³⁷ Sokar representing the Memphite necropolis,¹³⁸ sky and metal, and the next world.

From the time of Ramesses II, Ptah is also associated with the Memphite god Tatenen (Text 13, 2–3; 14, 1–4/24).¹³⁹ This god first appears in the Middle Kingdom, with a function related both to land and to the Primeval Waters.¹⁴⁰ His name means "Land that becomes increasingly distinct," a reference to the Primeval Mound (cf. Text 14, 22–25).¹⁴¹ Although the link between Ptah and Ta-tenen is not attested until the later years of Ramesses II, there is an earlier relationship between Ptah and a Memphite god called *ḥntj-tmnt* 'Foremost of that which becomes increasingly distinct,' dating to the Old Kingdom.¹⁴² Ptah's early function as an earth-god (Text 12, 1–3) may also reflect this association.

CT 647 describes three of Ptah's functions: he is the power of growth in the earth (lines 1–3), a medium through which life is transmitted (lines 9–12), and the power of creative speech that arises from perception (lines 14–16). These are linked in Ptah's role as king of the world (lines 4–8)—a role parallel with, and antecedent to, that of the human pharaoh. Ramesses III's hymn from the great Harris papyrus calls Ptah "the one who leads the King to his throne, in his identity of King of the Two Lands."¹⁴³ Like the pharaoh, Ptah controls the means of agriculture, which "makes green" not only "the banks of the Nile Valley" but even "the wadis" of the desert (lines 2–3). Like the pharaoh, too, he is the conduit through which life-energy (*ka*) passes to all living things (lines 9–12). And like the pharaoh, he operates by recognizing what needs to be done and effecting it through his command (lines 15–16).

The author of CT 647 apparently perceived Ptah's function as the exact cosmic counterpart of Egyptian kingship. Though absolute in its scope, it is nonetheless subordinate to a higher power, from which it derives. The Ptah of CT 647 is ruler but not creator. Though he is "sovereign of the gods" (line 7), that dominion is "given to me by the Sun, Lord to the Limit" (line 6). His relationship to this higher power is also the basis of his dominion over creation: Ptah is the joint principle of creative thought and utterance through which the creator first operated (lines 14–16). This is the same principle that continues to operate in the created world, in the "Lord to the Limit"'s rule of nature and the pharaoh's rule of humanity.

In the hymns translated in Texts 13 and 14, the principle of *pars pro toto* has elevated Ptah from creative medium to creator. He is now the one "in whose heart it was spoken . . . who foretold what was not and thought of what is" (Text 13, 7–8), "who crafted the world in the design of his heart" (Text 14, 6). Like Atum, he is described as self-developing (Text 14, 5/12–20), antecedent of all existence (Text 13, 9–11; Text 14, 7–9), and source of the sun (Text 14, 26–30/34). This does not necessarily indicate a historical change in the god's role, however. Like Shu (p. 17), Ptah could undoubtedly be understood by the Egyptians as both created and creator simultaneously. The same hymn that lauds him as "Model who gave birth to all that is, begetter who created what exists" (Text 14, 8–9; cf. 13, 11) also describes how he "developed in the god's body" (Text 14, 11)¹⁴⁴ and identifies him as "Magic" (Text 14, 39), the same force that, in CT 261, is the "son of the one who bore all" (Text 11, 14).

In each of these texts, from the Middle Kingdom through the Ramesside period, the one theme that remains constant is Ptah's association with the principle of creative thought and utterance. As the conceptualization of this principle, Ptah's role in the creation is analogous to that of Shu as described in Texts 5–8. Shu is a *physical* principle, the first material "development" of the creator. Ptah is an *intellectual* principle, the first instance of the creator's mind and will at work. Though each can be thought of as causative in the creation—in Egyptian terms, as "father of the gods" (Text 6, 30; Text 14, 3)—the physical and the intellectual are complementary, not contrastive, principles. The synthesis of their role in the creation is the subject of the next text.

C. The In-formation of Matter

The text known as the "Memphite Theology" was inscribed on a slab of black granite during the reign of the 25th-Dynasty pharaoh Shabaka (ca. 715–701 B.C.) for erection in the temple of Ptah in Memphis.¹⁴⁵ Its content is laid out in 63 vertical columns of retrograde hieroglyphs (facing the end of the text rather than its beginning) under two lines of a horizontal dedicatory inscription (Plate 4). The middle of the stone has been largely destroyed through later reuse as a millstone; the damage affects 40 of the 63 columns.

The beginning (left side) of the document contains a "dramatic" text of the same genre as the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus, recounting how Egypt was first divided into two kingdoms under Horus and Seth, then united into one land under Horus at Memphis. The ending of this text is lost in the damaged middle portion of the stone. On the right side are 11 columns of what appears to be a complete creation account (columns 53–64), most of which is translated below (Text 15).

Shabaka's dedicatory inscription indicates that the stone was carved to perpetuate the text of an older document that had deteriorated with age:

His Incarnation copied this writing anew in the house of his father Ptah, South of His Wall, when His Incarnation found it as something that the predecessors had made, worm-eaten and unknowable from beginning to end. Then His Incarnation

copied it anew—and it is better than its former contents—for the sake of his name enduring and making his monuments last in the house of his father Ptah, South of His Wall, for the length of Eternal Sameness, as something that the Son of Re Shabaka did for his father Ptah Ta-tenen that he might achieve given-life eternally.¹⁴⁶

Until recently, general opinion dated the original mentioned by Shabaka to the Old Kingdom or even earlier, on the basis of the text's archaic language and orthography as well as the political prominence of Memphis that it supposedly reflects.¹⁴⁷ A study in the early 1970s presented counter-evidence for viewing the text as an archaizing composition of the 25th Dynasty.¹⁴⁸

The stone itself contains some internal features that do suggest an earlier original. The columns of "dramatic" text are closely similar in layout and composition to the Middle Kingdom Ramasseum Dramatic Papyrus, both written with retrograde hieroglyphs. Columns 3–7 at the beginning of the document, though well preserved, are incomplete, suggesting the damaged original that Shabaka refers to—probably the outermost edge of a scroll rolled from right to left.¹⁴⁹ More recent research indicates the reign of Ramesses II as the earliest possible date for the original, on the basis of the text's syncretism and description of the gods Ptah and Ta-tenen.¹⁵⁰

Text 15. From the "Memphite Theology"

Through the heart and through the tongue something developed into Atum's image.

And great and important is Ptah,
who gave life to all the gods and their *kas* as well
through this heart and this tongue

5 through which Horus and Thoth both became Ptah.

It has developed that the heart and tongue have control of all limbs,
showing that he is preeminent in every body and in every mouth—
of all the gods, and all people, all animals, and all crawling things that live—
planning and governing everything he wishes.

10 His Ennead is before him, in teeth and lips—
that seed and those hands of Atum:

for it is through his seed and his fingers that Atum's Ennead developed,
but the Ennead is teeth and lips in this mouth

that pronounced the identity of everything,
15 and from which Shu and Tefnut emerged
and gave birth to the Ennead.

The eyes' seeing, the ears' hearing, the nose's breathing of air send up to the heart,

and *it* is what causes every conclusion to emerge;
it is the tongue that repeats what the heart plans.

- 20 So were all the gods born,
 Atum and his Ennead as well,
 for it is through what the heart plans and the tongue commands that every
 divine speech has developed.
- So were the male life-principles made
 and the female life-principles set in place—
- 25 they who make all sustenance and every offering—
 through that word that makes what is loved and what is hated.
- So has life been given to him who has calm
 and death given to him who has wrongdoing.
- So was made all construction and all craft,
- 30 the hands' doing, the feet's going, and every limb's movement,
 according as he governs that which the heart thinks,
 which emerges through the tongue,
 and which facilitates everything.
- It has developed that Ptah is called "He who made all and caused the gods to
 develop,"
- 35 since he is Ta-tenen, who gave birth to the gods,
 from whom everything has emerged—
 food-offerings and sustenance, gods' offerings, and every perfect thing.
- So is it found and recognized that his physical strength is greater than the gods'.
 So has Ptah come to rest after his making everything and every divine speech as
 well,
- 40 having given birth to the gods,
 having made their villages,
 having founded their nomes,
 having set the gods in their cult-places,
 having made sure their bread-offerings,
- 45 having founded their shrines,
 having made their bodies resemble what contents them.
- So have the gods entered their bodies—
 of every kind of wood, every kind of mineral, every kind of frit,
 everything that grows all over him, in which they have developed.
- 50 So were gathered to him all the gods and their *kas* as well,
 content and combined in the lord of the Two Lands.

Commentary

The final twelve columns of Shabaka's stone (columns 53–64) have been nearly universally recognized as a "mythology" that is largely independent of, though linked with, the preceding "dramatic" text (columns 3–52).¹⁵¹ The text of these columns consists of three

sections, each with a different topic. The first two, translated here, deal with the creative role of Ptah as “heart and tongue” (lines 1–33) and as Ta-tenen (lines 34–51). The final section (columns 61–64) reiterates the major themes of the “dramatic” text and links the “mythology” of Ptah with the cycle of kingship as manifest in Memphis—a theme sounded by the phrase “lord of the Two Lands” (line 51) that ends the second section.

On first reading, the two sections translated as Text 15 seem to deal with several disjointed themes: a cosmogony of “heart and tongue” (lines 1, 10–16, 20–21), a somewhat “scientific” description of how “heart and tongue” operate in nature (lines 6–9, 17–19, 22–23), an explanation of Ta-tenen’s creative function (lines 35–37, 41–49), and an attempt to link each of these themes with Ptah (lines 2–5, 34, 38–39, 50–51). This apparent diversity of themes has given some commentators the impression that the text was compiled from a number of different sources, with the introduction of Ptah being a superficial “political” attempt to assert the priority of the god and his city. A closer reading, however, reveals the text to be a tightly reasoned exposition of Ptah’s role as the bridge between the intellectual principle of creation and its material realization in the substance of the created world. This can be paraphrased as follows.

In the process of creation, the creator’s thought (“heart”) and command (“tongue”) operated on the primordial Monad to produce from it the forces and elements of the world—products that “reflect” the character and substance from which they derive: “Through the heart and through the tongue something developed into Atum’s image” (line 1). This intellectual creative principle is in fact Ptah (lines 2–4), although its components can be identified separately as the forces embodied in the gods Horus (command) and Thoth (perception) (line 5). The operation of this principle in the creation is exactly analogous with the way in which it continues to operate in sentient beings (lines 6–9): that is, through conceptualization (“planning”) and action (“governing”).

As causes, conceptualization and action are antecedent to the material result they produce. In the creation, therefore, the development of all things from the substance of the primordial Monad is dependent on the intellectual principle that caused the development to take place (lines 10–16). All created things—represented in sum by the concept of the Ennead—are the agents through which the creator’s concept and command were translated into material reality: the “teeth and lips in this mouth that pronounced the identity of everything” (lines 13–14). As such, their role in the creation was analogous to the way in which the senses serve as agents of the mind (lines 17–19).

Because of the way in which it was created, the world in its entirety (line 21 “Atum and his Ennead as well”) is both the product of the creator’s divine decree and the image of the primordial source from which it was produced. This is a concept that is reflected in the phrase “Atum’s image” in the beginning of the text (line 1), and repeated in the idiom *mdw-ntr* ‘divine speech’ (lines 22, 39). Both “image” (*tjt*) and “divine speech” are also terms used of hieroglyphic writing, which to the Egyptian mind was a means for capturing reality through symbols.¹⁵² In effect, all creation is a hieroglyphic text of the creator’s original concept (lines 20–22)—as CT 335/BD 17 puts it, “The word developed” (Text 10, 2). This “text” includes not just the static elements of existence, but the dynamic

principles of life, social behavior, and all activity (lines 23–30). And all is governed by the same intellectual principle that first produced it: the working of the mind, translated into action, “which facilitates everything” (lines 31–33).

This principle, of course, is Ptah: “according as *he* governs” (line 31). But Ptah has another aspect as well—a physical principle that is the font of all matter, conceptualized in his identification with Ta-tenen, the Primeval Mound that was the first matter to emerge at the creation (lines 34–39; see p. 41). Not only is his non-material power antecedent to all things (lines 2–4), but his material power precedes them as well (line 38).

It is perhaps easiest to appreciate this combination of the material and non-material if we recall that among Ptah’s functions is that of patron of craftsmen—in particular, stonemasons and sculptors (p. 41). The production of a building or statue involves a process of “in-formation,” in which a concept originally present only in the artisan’s mind in-forms—is imprinted in—raw material through his actions. A block of stone that has been carved into a statue, for example, is materially the same after the process has been completed, yet it has also transcended its original raw state: it is now something that it was not before, the representation (*tjt* ‘image’) of another reality. What has made the difference between the original and final state is the action that has in-formed it with the sculptor’s concept.

This principle of in-formation, which links the intellectual with the material, is what the Egyptian theologians conceptualized in the god Ptah. In larger terms, it is the same principle through which the will of all living things works to transform the world around them. Ultimately, it is the principle through which the creator’s will acted upon the original raw material of the Monad to produce the world.

The similarity of this concept to the Greek notion of *logos* (“Word”) has long been recognized.¹⁵³ The opening words of John’s Gospel, devoid of their Christian implications, could easily have been appreciated by the Egyptian author(s) of the “Memphite Theology” as a summary of their own view of the creation:

In the beginning was the Word,
and the Word was with God,
and the Word was God.
He was in the beginning with God.
Through him all things came into being,
and of all that has come into being not one thing came into being except through
him. (John 1:1–3)

The theme of the creative *logos*, though central to the “Memphite Theology,” is not new to it. As noted in the beginning of this chapter, its antecedents go back at least to the Coffin Texts. Within the accounts that deal with the developmental process of creation, such as those translated in Chapter 3, it describes the means through which Atum effected his own development, by “surveying in his heart” (Text 9, 18) and realizing the concept through “the speech of that august self-developing god” (Text 5, 56). The “Memphite Theology” reflects the same notion when it describes how “Atum’s image” devel-

oped “through the heart and through the tongue” (line 1). Here, however, the principle is viewed as operating upon Atum from a higher source: “So were all the gods born, Atum and his Ennead as well” (lines 20–21).

It is easy to conclude that this higher power is Ptah. The text clearly refers to “his making everything and every divine speech as well” (line 39). The earlier description in the Coffin Texts, however, just as clearly subordinates Ptah to a creator, to whom he functions as “Annunciation in his mouth and Perception in his belly” (Text 12, 15–16). Though separated by perhaps 800 years, the two texts are not necessarily incompatible. The theme of the “Memphite Theology” is first and foremost the creative function of thought, utterance, and in-formation—principles that are conceptualized in the god Ptah. When the text speaks of Ptah’s creative actions, it is therefore explaining the causative role of these principles. Ptah “gave life to the gods and their *kas* as well” (line 3)¹⁵⁴ *as*, rather than *through*, the principle of creative thought and utterance, and *as* the principle that in-forms matter, he “*is called* ‘He who made all and caused the gods to develop’” (line 34).

In general, the “Memphite Theology” is concerned less with the creator’s actions than with explaining the means through which his concept of the world became transformed into reality. That means is the principle embodied in Ptah. Egyptian concepts of the creator himself are the subject of the next chapter.

V. The Creator

Egyptian creation accounts seem to vacillate between two alternative views of the creator. On the one hand, there is a notion of the creator as “self-developing”—a preexisting being in whom all existence was inherent and through whose self-realization all creation evolved. This is perhaps the oldest of the two notions and apparently prevalent in Egyptian thought. In creation accounts it is especially appropriate to Atum, the primordial Monad. But it is also used of other gods, such as the sun (Text 10, 5 and 5c, 6 and 6a-c)—which is Atum’s first “development” (Text 10, 7b)—and Ptah (Text 14, 5 and 12–20). As a concept it derives logically from the preeminent Egyptian understanding of divinity as immanent in the forces and elements of the created world.

On the other hand, there is an equally persistent notion of the creator as somehow independent of his creation.¹⁵⁵ This concept may underlie, at least in part, the unnamed “Lord of All” and “Sole Lord . . . who bore all” in CT 261 (Text 11), who creates by means of Magic. It seems also to govern the New Kingdom description of Ptah as a god who “crafted the world in the design of his heart” (Text 14, 6) and “in whose heart it was spoken . . . who foretold what was not and thought of what is” (Text 13, 7–8). The greatest development of this transcendental notion of the creator, however, occurs in the Ramesside theology centered around the Theban god Amun.¹⁵⁶

The name “Amun” (*jmnw*) itself suggests transcendence—or at least, imperceptibility in and of itself. It derives from the verb *jmn*, which means both ‘conceal’ and ‘be hidden,’ and from its vocalization seems to belong to the same noun-class as the name of Atum.¹⁵⁷ Its meaning is indicated by the related epithet *jmn-rn* or *jmn-rn.f* ‘he whose identity is hidden,’ which is commonly used as an etymology for “Amun” from the New Kingdom on.¹⁵⁸ The name “Amun” itself is probably best understood as reflexive “Self-Concealing.” That at least is the sense of several New Kingdom “etymologies,” which speak of Amun “concealing himself” (Text 16, B5; E18).

Amun first appears in the Pyramid Texts, in three passages. Each of these already reflects one of the god’s three basic aspects that are developed more fully in the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom. In Pepi II’s copy of Pyr. 1712b, his name may appear in a list of gods where the earlier copy of Merenre has the name of the god Min. From the 12th Dynasty onward, Amun is often represented in the same form as Min, with the epithet *k3-mjw.f* ‘bull of his mother.’ This aspect emphasizes Amun’s creative power, a force that is also manifest in Min, the principle of fertility. As “bull of his mother.” Amun is “the principle of the creator who begets himself and all beings.”¹⁵⁹ The temple of Luxor was dedicated to this aspect of the god.¹⁶⁰

In Pyr. 1540b, the deceased king is called “son of Geb . . . on Amun’s throne.” This prefigures the god’s later epithet “lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.” It reflects his

preeminent function in daily life as ruler of all existence, a role also characterized in such epithets as “chief of the Two Lands,” “chief of the gods,” and “king of the gods.” Since the role of universal ruler was also understood by the Egyptians as proper to the dominant force of existence, the sun (see Text 10, 4d-e), Amun in this function was usually viewed as manifest in the sun (Amun-Re). This is the aspect to which Amun’s great “state” temple of Karnak was devoted.

What is chronologically the earliest reference to Amun appears in Pyr. 446c, first attested in the pyramid of Unis. Here he appears together with a feminine counterpart, Amaunet, in a litany of gods that also includes the Primeval Waters (Nu and Naunet) and Atum, Shu and Tefnut (Pyr. 446–47). The text calls both the Waters and the Amun-pair “wellspring(?) of the gods, who provided the gods with their shelter” (Pyr. 446b/d),¹⁶¹ while Atum’s offspring are given a more direct role as gods “who made their divinity and their bodies themselves . . . who made the gods, begot the gods, and established the gods” (Pyr. 447a-b). This earliest reference therefore ranks Amun as a primordial god together with the universe as it existed before the creation, in contrast to the gods that were involved in the development of creation. The same association is reflected in a joint mention of Amun and Nu in the Coffin Texts (CT VII 470a). It culminates much later in the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, where Amun and Amaunet appear together with the Waters, the Flood, and Darkness as one of the four pairs of “fathers and mothers who came into being in the beginning, who gave birth to the sun, who created Atum.”¹⁶²

These three aspects of Amun—primordial god, creative principle, and ruler of existence—are developed in detail in many texts of the New Kingdom. For the god’s role in the creation, however, none is more eloquent than the series of descriptions contained in Papyrus Leiden I 350. This document, which dates from near the end of Ramesses II’s reign (ca. 1228 B.C.),¹⁶³ was originally divided into 26 “chapters” (Egyptian *hwt* ‘enclosure’), of which the final 22 have survived in whole or in part. The chapters are numbered artificially from 1 to 10 (chapter 1 through the beginning of chapter 5 lost), then by tens from 10 through 100, and by hundreds from 100 through 800. Most begin and end with a word that is similar in sound to the chapter’s number. Six of the most illuminating are translated and discussed here. Each deals with a different aspect of Amun as creator.

Text 16. From Papyrus Leiden I 350

A. Self-Generating

40th Chapter.

The one who crafted himself, whose appearance is unknown.

Perfect aspect, which developed into a sacred emanation.

Who built his processional images and created himself by himself.

5 Perfect icon, whom his heart made perfect.

Who knit his fluid together with his body
to bring about his egg in isolation.

Development of development, model of birth.

that began with the creator extends into the generational process of continuing life (lines B10–11).

C. Source of the Creation

[90th Chapter].

The Ennead is combined in your body:
your image is every god, joined in your person.
You emerged first, you began from the start.

- 5 Amun, whose identity is hidden from the gods;
oldest elder, more distinguished than these.
Ta-tenen, who smelted [himself] by himself, in Ptah:
the toes of his body are the Hermopolitans.
Who appeared in the Sun, from the Waters, that he might rejuvenate.
- 10 Who sneezed, [as Atum, from] his [mouth,
and gave birth to] Shu and Tefnut combined in manifestation.
Who appears on his throne as his heart prompts,
who rules for himself all that is, in his [disk].
Who binds together for himself the kingship of Eternal Recurrence,
- 15 down to Eternal Sameness, permanent as Sole Lord.
Light was his development on the first occasion,
with all that exists in stillness for awe of him.
He honked by voice, as the Great Honker,
at the District, creating for himself while he was alone.
- 20 He began speaking in the midst of silence,
opening every eye and causing them to look.
He began crying out while the world was in stillness,
his yell in circulation while he had no second,
that he might give birth to what is and cause them to live,
- 25 and cause every man to know the way to walk.
Their hearts live when they see him.
his are the effective forms of the Ennead.

Commentary

“Chapter 90” continues the theme of Amun’s preeminent causative role by explaining how the various “developments” of the creation in fact derive from, and are manifestations of, Amun himself. The entire pantheon is nothing more than the sum total and image of the creator, whose existence precedes theirs (lines C2–6). The first elements of the creation—the Primeval Mound and the sun—as well as the pre-creation universe that surrounded them, all emanate from the creation (lines C7–9). The primordial Monad, and its first development into the void and the sun, are also his manifestations (lines

C10–17). And his was the voice that pronounced the first creative utterance, shattering the stillness of nonexistence and setting the entire process of creation in motion (lines C18–26).

D. Preexisting

100th Chapter.

Who began development on the first occasion.

Amun, who developed in the beginning, whose emanation is unknown,
no god developing prior to him,

- 5 no other god with him to tell of his appearance,
there being no mother of his for whom his name was made,
and no father of his who begot him so as to say "It is I."

Who smelted his egg by himself.

Power secret of birth, creator of his (own) perfection.

- 10 Divine god, who developed by himself
and every god developed since he began himself.

Commentary

As the ultimate source of all creation (line D2), the creator precedes all things. There is therefore no other god who can comprehend his true nature (lines D3-7). The absence of any cause prior to the creator himself means that the creator must be self-developing, the source of his own existence (lines D8–11).

E. Transcendent

200th Chapter.

Secret of development but glittering of forms,
wonderful god of many developments.

All gods boast in him,

- 5 in order to magnify themselves in his perfection, like his divinity.
The Sun himself is joined with his person.
He is the Great One in Heliopolis,
who is also called Ta-tenen.
Amun, who emerged from the Waters that he might lead mankind.
- 10 Another of his developments is the Hermopolitans.
Original one who begot the original ones and caused the Sun to be born,
completing himself in Atum, one body with him.
He is the Lord to the Limit, who began existence.
It is his *ba*, they say, that is the one who is in the sky.
- 15 *He* is the one who is in the Duat, foremost of the east.

- His *ba* is in the sky, his body in the west,
 and his cult-image in Southern Heliopolis, elevating his appearances.
 Amun is one, concealing himself from them.
 He is hidden from the gods, and his aspect is unknown.
- 20 He is farther than the sky, he is deeper than the Duat.
 No god knows his true appearance,
 no processional image of his is unfolded through inscriptions,
 no one testifies to him accurately.
 He is too secret to uncover his awesomeness,
- 25 he is too great to investigate, too powerful to know.
 Instantaneously falling face to face into death
 is for the one who expresses his secret identity, unknowingly or knowingly.
 There is no god who knows how to invoke him with it.
 Manifest one whose identity is hidden, inasmuch as it is inaccessible.

Commentary

This "chapter" is perhaps the clearest surviving expression of the Egyptian concepts of immanent and transcendent divinity, and of the acceptance of both in Egyptian thought. It can be divided into two parts, the first dealing with immanence (lines E3–17) and the second with transcendence (lines E18–28).¹⁶⁴ The two themes are sounded in both the opening and closing lines. As a god who exists before and apart from the created world, Amun is transcendent: "Secret of development" (line E2), "whose identity is concealed, inasmuch as it is inaccessible" (line E29). But as the cause and "model" (line A8) of existence, he can be comprehended through that which he has created: "Manifest one" (line E29), "glittering of forms" (line E2).¹⁶⁵ This recalls the description of Ptah as (transcendent) creator: "the reckoning of him is in what he has begun" (Text 14, 41).

The "immanent" section of the text (lines E3–17) stresses the fact that all the elements and forces of the created world are no more than "developments" of the transcendent creator (lines E3–5). The sun (lines E6–7, 9, and 14), the Primeval Mound (line E8), and the pre-creation universe (lines E10–11) are all manifestations of him. The primordial Monad is nothing more than the material realization of the creator's own substance (line E12). In the recurrent cycle of daily life, he is both the physical power of rejuvenation conceptualized in Osiris ("the one who is in the Duat," whose "body is in the west") and the life-giving power of the sun itself ("foremost of the east," whose "*ba* is in the sky") (lines E15–16). And he touches the world of human beings through his cult-image, resident in Thebes (line E17).

Yet behind all these "many developments" (line E3) lies a single, unknowable god (lines E18–19). This god is truly transcendent, not confined to the material limitations of the created universe (lines E20–21). Because he exists outside the realm of created experience, his true nature is indescribable and unknowable, even to the (immanent!) gods themselves (lines E21–25 and 28). This in itself is an interesting witness to Egyptian

epistemology. Knowledge is “Perception,” the internalization of reality in the mind. The process implies subordination of the perceived to the perceiver and explains why, to the Egyptians, knowledge of someone’s identity (*rn* ‘name’) gave control over that individual.¹⁶⁶ Since the transcendent creator is greater than all else, knowledge of his identity is a contradiction in terms—a physical impossibility bringing instant annihilation to anyone who might stumble upon it, even inadvertently (lines E26–27). Only through the elements and pattern of existence is the creator at all knowable: “the reckoning of him is in what he has begun” (Text 14, 41).

F. One

300th Chapter.

All the gods are three:

Amun, the Sun, and Ptah, without their seconds.

His identity is hidden in Amun,

5 his is the Sun as face, his body is Ptah.

Their towns are on earth, fixed for the span of Eternal Recurrence:

Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis, according to the pattern of Eternal Sameness.

When a message is sent from the sky, it is heard in Heliopolis,

and repeated to (Ptah) Perfect of Aspect in Memphis,

10 put in a report, in Thoth’s writing,

directed to the town of Amun, bearing their concerns,

and the matter is answered in Thebes

by an oracle emerging, intended for the Ennead.

Everything that comes from his—Amun’s—mouth,

15 the gods are bound by it, according to what has been decreed.

When a message is sent, for killing or for giving life,

life or death are in it for everyone

except him—Amun together with the Sun

[and Ptah]: total, 3.

Commentary

The theme of all things as manifestations of a single transcendent deity, elaborated in the preceding “chapters.” is here given its ultimate extension in the realm of daily life and human affairs.¹⁶⁷ The triune dogma with which this “chapter” opens equates all Egyptian concepts of divinity to three expressions (lines F2–3). In spite of its surface plurality, however, the statement betrays an underlying view of divinity as one—revealed in the singular pronoun “his” (lines F4–5 and 14) and “him” (line F18). Translated conceptually rather than literally, it describes an ultimately *single* deity: who is transcendent, above creation—

His identity is hidden in Amun (line F4);

whose prime manifestation in the world is the greatest force in nature, the source of all continuing life—

His is the Sun as face (line F5);

and who, through the principle of in-formation, extended his own essence into the multitude of “developments” that comprise the created world—

His body is Ptah (line F5).

The deity touches the realm of human affairs in the tripartite theology and cult of Egypt's three great religious centers (in the Ramesside period) (lines F6–7): Thebes, “town of Amun” (line F11); Heliopolis (“Sun-city”); and Memphis, “Enclosure of Ptah's *ka*.”¹⁶⁸ The theologies of these three centers reveal the god's working in the continuing cycle of life (lines F8–13). Not only man but also the whole of creation is subject to this single supreme being: “everything that comes from his mouth” (line F14) is “intended for the Ennead” (line F13), and “the gods are bound by it, according to what has been decreed” (line F15). All creation is governed by the pattern of existence, which he created in the beginning and which he maintains in continual operation (lines F16–17). Only one being is above this cycle of life (line F18, “except him”)—the creator himself, transcendent god (Amun) yet immanent source of all life (the Sun) and being (Ptah) (lines F18–19).

VI. *Genesis in Egypt*

Though primarily funerary or “religious” in purpose, the documents examined above amount to a sourcebook of ancient Egyptian physics. This is because they deal with, or at least reflect, the Egyptian understanding of what the universe is like, how it works, and how it came to be. Unlike classical Newtonian physics, however—but increasingly like modern physics—the Egyptian explanations are more *metaphysical* than physical. They are concerned primarily with what lies beyond physical reality.

There are other differences as well. The Egyptian documents reflect a subjective rather than objective view of reality: concepts are expressed not in terms of mechanical forces and physical elements but in human terms, as the wills and personalities of sentient beings (the gods). And none of the Egyptian sources is the record of scientific or philosophical speculation for its own sake. All serve some practical end, whether the worship of god or the attempt to secure a successful afterlife for the dead. Yet there is at base a fundamental sameness between the Egyptian record and our own more familiar tradition. Like later philosophers and scientists, the Egyptian thinkers must have speculated, discussed, and passed on their concepts to subsequent generations.

This continuity of tradition is reflected in the creation accounts we have examined. Despite differences in age and origin, imagery and subject matter, these sources all reflect an understanding of creation that was remarkably consistent throughout the 2300 years of history they span.

In part, this was due to a consistent view of the universe, as discussed in Chapter 1. To the Egyptians, the world of experience was a finite “box” of light, space, and order within an infinite expanse of dark, formless waters. The limits of this space were defined by the earth below and the surface of the outer waters above, held off the earth by the atmosphere. Earth is the domain of the mortal: man, animals, plants, “fish and the crawling things” (Text 8, 111). Across the surface of the waters above sail the sun during the day and the stars at night.

At night the sun clearly passes outside human experience—as do the stars during the day and human beings themselves at death. Yet these remain somehow within the biosphere, since the outer waters are in “uniform darkness,” “there being no brightness there” (Text 1A1, 16). The Egyptian solution to this enigma is the Duat, a region that is accessible to the world yet inaccessible (“secret”) to the living. The texts—and therefore the Egyptians themselves—are ambivalent about its location. It is neither earth nor sky; it may lie “within” the sky or below the earth, or both. Nonetheless, its internal geography and its inhabitants could be imagined in great detail. The Duat is a dangerous region, yet full of the power of regeneration. Like a mother’s womb, it is where the sun, and the human dead, are reborn to rise into new life each dawn.

What lies outside the biosphere of earth, sky, and Duat is not “nothingness” but a universe that is the antithesis of all that defines the world. It is infinite, where the world is bounded; formless and chaotic, where the world is shaped and ordered; inert, where the world is active; and wholly uniform in substance (water), where the world is materially diverse. Yet it is not utterly divorced from the world. The sun and stars sail on its surface, its waters are the source of the Nile and groundwater, and on it float beings that are brought to life each night by the sun’s passing.¹⁶⁹ The universe beyond the biosphere is not merely the negation of existence: it is also existence waiting to happen.

Like many features of Egyptian culture, Egyptian cosmology is a construct of opposites in balance: nonexistence and potentiality balanced against existence and reality. Within the sphere of existence, life itself is a further balance, between the static and the dynamic. The Egyptian world is an unchanging pattern of elements, forces, and relationships (“Eternal Sameness”) that is continually changing in its realization (“Eternal Recurrence”)—a play with fixed script and characters, enacted anew each day. Each reenactment is transient: only the pattern itself (“Order”) is normative and significant:

Order is effective: its appropriateness lasts.

It has not been disturbed since the time of the one who made it.¹⁷⁰

This explains the importance of the creation in Egyptian thought: it is the “first occasion” (*zp tpj*), when the pattern of existence was both established and first enacted.

The Hermopolitan theologians of the Ptolemaic period were impressed by the “tension” implicit in the contrast between the antithetical characteristics of the external universe and their counterpart in the created world. From that concept they abstracted a cosmogony that attributed the creation to those forces—as a kind of dialectic between nonexistence and potentiality, which somehow triggered the realization of existence. We can find forerunners of these ideas as far back as the Coffin Texts, in the dialogue between Atum and the Primeval Waters, and in the description of creation occurring “out of the Flood, out of the Waters, out of Darkness, out of Chaos” (Text 6, 28–29 and 35–36). But it is questionable whether the full creative role assigned to this dialectic by the Ptolemaic philosophers was present to the same extent in earlier cosmogonies. For most of Egyptian history the pre-creation universe is the context within which the creation occurred, as it is the antithesis against which the created world is balanced. Its positive aspect of potential existence, however, is an early feature of Egyptian thought, reflected (for example) in the description of the Primeval Waters as “father of the gods” in the Coffin Texts.¹⁷¹

Fundamental to Egyptian cosmogony at all periods is the notion of the primordial Monad, a single source from which all existence derived, conceptualized in the god Atum. Before the creation, the Monad existed as a single, undifferentiated seed (Text 2, 5 “Cirlet, who is in his egg”) of potentiality, floating inert in the Primeval Waters. Creation is the process through which the One became the Many—through which the Monad developed into the Ennead, sum of all the diverse forces and elements that constitute the biosphere. The Egyptians described the process in generational terms, reflecting both

the proximate and the material causality of the creation. The world developed from the Monad as a plant develops from a seed. Each of its numberless constituent parts derives both its substance and its energy from the one original source. The process is developmental, not historical. In creation the Monad is not disintegrated but realized. Atum continues to exist, both as the sum of all creation (Text 5, 33 “the total of the gods’ forms”) and as its continuing source of life.

The creation itself is described in a series of discrete yet interdependent events. Within the Monad appeared a space devoid (Shu) of the Primeval Waters, separating earth (Geb) from the surface of the Waters (Nut). As the Waters receded, the first mound of land became distinct (Ta-tenen), and the sun rose over it to begin the ever-recurring cycle of life. These images are self-evidently cosmological in reference, but they also express more abstract concepts of the creation of space and time. Before the creation, space did not exist (Text 8, 47–48 “when I was alone with the Waters . . . not finding a place in which I could stand or sit”; similarly, Text 9, 11). The first developments defined space, in the void and the Primeval Mound from which “the Flood is subtracted” (Text 2, 7). They also initiated time, defined by “the Sun’s beginning to appear in the kingship he has exercised” (Text 10, 4e). The creation initiated both the fixed pattern of existence and the continually changing cycle of life—a duality that expresses not only the Egyptian concept of time but the whole of existence itself: “As for that which exists, it is Eternal Recurrence and Eternal Sameness” (Text 10, 11–12c-d).

To judge from the surviving texts, the process of creation, in all its ramifications, was the dominant interest of Egyptian cosmogony. For most Egyptians a developmental cosmogony may have been a sufficiently satisfying explanation of the origin and significance of reality. It was enough to understand that existence in all its diversity grew out of a single primordial source, without inquiring further into how that process was accomplished or what may have set it in motion. Atum is simply “self-developing.” The world is his “perfection,” cause enough in itself for the process of self-realization through which the potential One became the existent Many.

At least as early as the Coffin Texts, however, there is evidence of a search for a more fundamental understanding of causality. This manifests itself in the theme of creation through the spoken word. Speculation here moves beyond the notion of process to that of means. In its earliest form (at least, as preserved), the concept imparts causality to the Monad itself. Atum does not merely “develop”; he *causes* his own self-realization:

I am the great self-developing god,
who created his identities . . . (Text 10, 5–6)

It was through my effectiveness that I brought about my body.
I am the one who made me.

It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself (Text 2, 9–11).

The means is “Magic”—specifically, the use of creative power to actualize a concept of

reality. Atum “surveyed in [his] heart” (Text 9, 18), “took Annunciation in his mouth” (Text 11, 13), and “created the identities of his parts” (Text 10, 6b).

This is an intellectual principle, in contrast to the material principle conceptualized in Atum and his first realizations. Its two components are intellectual as well: the formation of a concept (“Perception”) and the actualization of that concept by means of a command that is inherently compelling (“Annunciation”). Because of its causal role, the intellectual principle is antecedent to the material: “Magic” is “the one whom the Sole Lord made before two things had developed in this world” (Text 11, 5–6). The creation first existed in the mind of the creator: he “crafted the world in the design of his heart” (Text 14, 6), “foretold what was not and thought of what is” (Text 13, 8).

This may not amount to absolute creation *ex nihilo*. The concept that arose in the creator’s mind had its own antecedent. The Egyptian term *sjj* ‘perception’ implies recognition rather than pure cognition. The Bremner-Rhind account echoes this connotation in its description of the creator “surveying” in his heart and with his sight, using a term (*sntj*) whose primary application is in the measuring of fields and laying out of building plans.¹⁷² Since nothing created existed (Text 11, 6 “before two things had developed in this world”), the object of the creator’s “perception” and “surveying” was apparently the plan of the world—its “Order” and “Eternal Sameness”—as it existed in potentiality within the primordial Monad. Once perceived, the plan was actualized in the identification of its constituent parts—through Annunciation by “this mouth that pronounced the identity of everything” (Text 15, 14). As the end product of that process, all creation is to its cause as Word is to Speech: “the word developed” (Text 10, 2). In the metaphor of the “Memphite Theology,” creation is “divine speech” (Text 15, 22 and 29)—an image of the creator’s concept, as hieroglyphs are images of reality.

Historically, the recognition of an intellectual cause antecedent to the material apparently gave rise to two further lines of speculation, separate but complementary. One of these was concerned with explaining how the intellectual causality became translated into material reality. This may have been developed by the theologians of Memphis—at any rate, the solution was found in the principle of in-formation conceptualized in the Memphite god Ptah. As preserved, its ultimate codification is recorded in the “Memphite Theology,” dating probably to the reign of Ramesses II (ca. 1250 B.C.), but the train of speculation itself goes back at least to the time of the Coffin Texts.

In the human sphere, Ptah is the principle that translates the concept of a statue or a building from the craftsman’s mind into the final physical artifact embodying that concept. Ptah therefore unites intellectual and material causality in one principle. According to the “Memphite Theology,” this is how all creation is accomplished on the human scale:

So was made all construction and all craft,
the hands’ doing, the feet’s going, and every limb’s movement,
according as he governs that which the heart thinks,
which emerges through the tongue,
and which facilitates everything (Text 15, 29–33).

The same principle operated in the ultimate act of creation, the creation of existence itself:

So were all the gods born,
Atum and his Ennead as well,
for it is through what the heart plans and the tongue commands that every divine
speech has developed (Text 15, 20–23).

In the creation, Ptah is both intellectual principle (“heart and tongue”)—“I am Annunciation in his mouth and Perception in his belly” (Text 12, 15–16)—and material causality. The latter is emphasized in his association with the Primeval Mound (Ta-tenen), first manifestation of matter in the world. In the principle conceptualized in Ptah, the Memphite theologians were able to explain the critical link between the creator’s first perception of reality and the realization of that perception in the material universe. In effect, Ptah “translated” the creator’s expressed perception into reality by in-forming the raw potentiality of the primordial Monad with the creator’s concept, just as he translates the sculptor’s vision into a statue by in-forming a raw block of stone. That is the theme of the “Memphite Theology,” as expressed concisely in its opening lines:

Through the heart and through the tongue something developed into Atum’s
image.
And great and important is Ptah,
who gave life to all the gods and their *kas* as well
through this heart and this tongue (Text 15, 1–4).

The Memphite cosmogony linked the notion of intellectual causality with its final product, material reality—from cause to caused. A parallel line of speculation worked in the other direction—from cause to causer—and developed a cosmogony centered on the Ultimate Cause, conceptualized in the Theban god Amun. The parallel was apparently historical as well as conceptual. Amun’s creative role can be traced back at least to the Middle Kingdom, if not to the Pyramid Texts, but like that of Ptah it is most fully developed in the New Kingdom.

The cosmogony of Amun is an answer to the question of ultimate causality: Where did the intellectual principle come from? Whose “heart” first perceived the pattern of existence, and whose “tongue” commanded it into being? The Memphite cosmogony is noncommittal on these questions—except where, *pars pro toto*, the principle is assigned to Ptah himself. The “Memphite Theology” does not name the owner of “this mouth that pronounced the identity of everything” (Text 15, 13–14). The cosmogony of Atum had reached an answer in the notion of a “self-developing” Monad who “created the identities of his parts” (Text 10, 6b)—creation through introspection:

I am the one who made me.
It was as I wished, according to my heart, that I built myself (Text 2, 10–11).

As persistent as it was in Egyptian thought, however, the concept of a self-developing

creation did not short-circuit the search for an ultimate principle. The “Memphite Theology” itself suggests that the concept was not totally satisfying:

It is through his seed and his fingers that Atum’s Ennead developed,
but the Ennead is teeth and lips in this mouth
that pronounced the name of everything,
and from which Shu and Tefnut emerged
and gave birth to the Ennead.

...

So were all the gods born,
Atum and his Ennead as well (Text 15, 12–16, 20–21).

Ultimately, the cause of all creation must lie outside creation, “farther than the sky . . . deeper than the Duat” (Text 16, E20) and “hidden from the gods” (Text 16, C5; E19). That ultimate principle is Amun, “the Hidden.”

Amun is the Egyptian conceptualization of the First Principle, the ultimate cause of all creation. His is the mind that perceived existence and the voice that commanded it into being: he “began speaking in the midst of silence” (Text 16, C20) and “began development on the first occasion” (Text 16, D2). In fact, the intellectual principle through which the creation was accomplished derives from him:

Perception is his heart, Annunciation his lips.
His energy (*ka*) is that which exists through his tongue.¹⁷³

The material principle of creation derives from him as well: he “completed himself in Atum, one body with him” (Text 16, E12). Even the characteristics of the universe before creation originated in him: “The Hermopolitans were your first development until you completed these, while you were alone” (Text 16, B2–3).

In effect, if not precisely in intention, the Egyptian concept of Amun is that of a transcendental creator: the ultimate cause who existed before, and independent of, his creation. Alone of all the Egyptian gods, Amun’s true nature is not comprehended in the phenomena of existence.

Amun is one, concealing himself . . .
He is hidden from the gods, and his aspect is unknown.
He is farther than the sky, he is deeper than the Duat.
No god knows his true appearance (Text 16, E18–22).

It therefore lies beyond human knowledge, essentially unknowable.

No one testifies to him accurately.
He is too secret to uncover his awesomeness,
he is too great to investigate, too powerful to know.

...

Manifest one whose identity is hidden, inasmuch as it is inaccessible (Text 16, E23–25 and 29).



Notes

1. See in particular the introductory essay by H. Frankfort in *Intellectual Adventure*, 3–27.
2. See Parker, *EAT* I 54, bottom.
3. For an excellent analysis see the discussion by John A. Wilson in Frankfort et al., *Intellectual Adventure*, 44–49.
4. E.g., CT I 302a.
5. CT IV 188/89c, VI 309d = Pyr. [*1984a], VI 334p; cf. CT IV 26a, V 46b. The Pyramid Texts use the term in parallel with *ḳgbj* ‘flood’ (Pyr. 551b; cf. CT VI 400e).
6. Gardiner, *EG Sign-List*, N35; *Wb* II 221.
7. CT I 328/29a, 332/33c. CT II 169a, 171i; VII 226t.
8. From parallelism with *n(n)wt*: see below.
9. Pyr. 207b and 446a, in all copies. For 𓂏 as a spelling of *wj* see Edel, *AäG* §§ 91, 167aa. Variants such as 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 (Pyr. 1078c P^aNt, 1778b, *1780a NAba) and 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 (Pyr. 1460a M) could also represent the same form, written as a “false dual” (cf. Edel, *AäG* §§ 290, 292).
10. Sethe, *Amun*, § 127.
11. Cf. late spellings with the sign 𓂏 : *Wb* II 214; Sethe, *Amun*, § 127.
12. *Wb* II 215, 23.
13. CT VII 460f, 474l.
14. Hornung, *Amduat*, 65 n. 7. *Wb* II 215, 8–9.
15. Pyr. 149a, 1456–58b, 1466a, 1467b, 1485a.
16. Pyr. 166a, 207b, 446a, 1691b.
17. Sethe, *Amun*, § 127.
18. Cf. Hornung, *Amduat* I 192, 6 *nw nwt* = III 24, 5 *nw nnwt*. Compare also the apparently identical demonstratives *nw* and *nn* ‘this’ (Edel, *AäG* § 196). It is possible that, at least in the Pyramid Texts, 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 is a spelling of *nw(j)t*: cf. Edel, *AäG* § 298.
19. Although they sometimes “leak through” as rain: W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1929) 31, 15–16 (pBerlin 3048 8, 4).
20. Pyr. 1778a = CT VI 310l, VII 199f. See James K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt* (OBO 59: Göttingen, 1985), 30–32.
21. CT VI 313p. Cf. CT VI 66l; Piankoff, *Livre du jour*, 80 = Piankoff, *Ramesses VI* I 428, II pls. 149 and 196.
22. Barta, *Neunheit*, 100–101. Cf. the spelling 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 (*nwt?*) in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 1173a N, 1184b M, 1454a P, 2041) and the Coffin Texts variant 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 (CT III 263d, VII 144f—cf. CT II 169a, 171i; VII 226t).
23. See the textual note to Text 1, B1, p. 102.
24. Parker, *EAT* I 128.

25. Cf. pCarlsberg I 1, 6 "the circumference of the sky in which the Sun does not rise": Parker, *EAT* I 43 and pl. 36.
26. See R. Giveon, "Soped in Sinai," in Junge, *Studien Westendorf* II 777-84.
27. See the textual note to Text 1, A2, p. 75.
28. *Wb* V 415, 10.
29. For the notion of conception by mouth, cf. the Tale of Two Brothers: "Then a chip of wood flew up, entering the lady's mouth. Then she swallowed, becoming pregnant." A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (BA 1: Brussels, 1932), 28, 5-7.
30. See the textual note to this line, p. 77, and cf. Parker, *EAT* I 82-83. In the "Book of Night" and the Amduat, the sun's birth occurs at the end of the eleventh hour, with sunrise at the end of the twelfth: Piankoff, *Livre du jour*, 80 = Piankoff, *Ramesses VI* I 428, II pls. 149 and 196; Hornung, *Amduat* I 192-93 = III 24-25.
31. See J. Spiegel, *Die Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide* (ÄA 23: Wiesbaden, 1971), 25 and Fig. 2. For the meaning of *akh* see F. Friedman, *Serapis* 8 (1984-85) 39-46.
32. Hornung, *Amduat* I 1, 1; II 2-3.
33. See O. Goelet, *BES* 5 (1983) 41-60.
34. Hornung, *Amduat* I 88, 6.
35. Hornung, *Amduat* I 193, 4-5 = III 25, 281-82.
36. Hornung, *Pforten* I 410, II 289-92; Piankoff, *Ramesses VI* I Figs. 156 and 73, II pl. 62. Cf. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* II pl. 36.
37. Cf. Hornung, *Amduat* I 57, 9.
38. Cf. Pyr. 820c-21, 1082a-b.
39. Pyr 1014a, 1986b; CT II 119i, IV 114c.
40. Hornung, *Unterweltsbücher*, 25-52.
41. Or better, "box": cf. the rectangular void in Plate 2 and the consistently flat rendering of the sky-vault (☐), the earth (◄), and the region beneath the earth (◄).
42. See Frankfort, in *Intellectual Adventure*, 4-20.
43. E.g., Pyr. 1238c = N 1055+36, Pyr. 794a = 1012b. For the derivation, see Edel, *AaG* § 404.
44. Barta, *Neunheit*, 48-50.
45. Kees, *Götterglaube*, 151. See also Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 217-19 = *Conceptions of God*, 221-23.
46. Pyr. 254b, 537b = 538b, 1233 (cf. N 1055+33); CT I 330c-33a, IV 30i-j. As variants in CT IV 312a.
47. Hornung, *Amduat* I 77, 5; CT IV 191a (M57C). See also D. B. Redford's discussion of the influence of the Ennead on Manetho's dynastic divisions: *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books* (SSEA Publications 4: Mississauga, 1985), 52, 233-39, 326-27.
48. Barta, *Neunheit*, 105-35.
49. CT VI 215g-h; cf. CT III 264c/e-f.
50. For Geb, see Pyr. 1615a/c; for Nut, Pyr. 5d, 779b, 784a.
51. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 45; *Wb* IV 426-27, 429. The homonymous verb *šwj* 'go up' (*Wb* IV 431) is used only intransitively in the earliest texts (Allen, *Inflection*, p. 573) and is therefore

not likely to be the source of a name meaning “Lifter” or the like. The noun *šw* ‘light’ (*Wb* IV 430–31) first appears in the Middle Kingdom: see Barta, *Neunheit*, 86. Neither word is likely to be the origin of Shu’s name.

52. See Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 472; Barta, *Neunheit*, 89–94. Neither the supposed relationship with *tfnt* ‘orphan’ nor a derivation from *tfn* ‘be deformed?’ (so U. Verhoeven, *Lexikon* VI 300) are supported by textual evidence; and the word-play with *tf* ‘spit’ is apparently only onomatopoeic, like that between *šw* ‘Shu’ and *jšš* ‘sneeze.’

53. Cf. also the two Heliopolitan shrines of Shu and Tefnut—respectively, the “upper” and “lower” *mnst*: Barta, *Neunheit*, 87, 93.

54. E.g., Pyr. 1870a-b; CT II 3d, 32b-c, 44a.

55. Edel, *AäG* § 226; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 184, II n. 807. Cf. the fuller spellings in the Coffin Texts (e.g., CT I 348b) and the possible variant writings *šdmw* (CT VI 302j) and *j'tm'w* (CT VI 281f). The initial reed-leaf shows that the root is not 2ae-gem. *tm* ‘close’: cf. Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 40–50 and Table 3.

56. Osing, *Nominalbildung* II n. 807, argues for the meaning “Non-Existing” and against both “Finisher” and “Finished.” His reasons are two: that the nominal pattern *j.tmw* is used only for repetitive or occupational terms (*j.qdw* ‘builder’) and not single acts (such as the creation); and that the basic meaning of *tm* ‘complete’ is transitive rather than intransitive. The former would be incompatible with transitive “Finisher,” referring to a single act of creation; the latter, with intransitive “Who Is Complete.” The distinction between single and “occupational” acts, however, is probably too rigid in view of the Egyptian understanding of creation as a process renewed daily: as “lord of totality” Atum “completes” in himself the created world. For the intransitive use of *tm*, see Pyr. 1009a = 1978a and CT VI 109a-b.

57. Cf. also Pyr. 199a (in N 719 + 19, Nt 570–71) and 1248a N, 1652a.

58. Naville, *Totenbuch* I 90, 2–4; II 172. Cf. CT IV 60e-f.

59. Other examples of this spelling appear in CT II 165d, 174a, 180b; III 195j; V 301b S2C; VI 195i; and in the Middle Kingdom copies of Pyr. 145b-c (B10C, BH3C, Ab2Le, B6Bo, M5C, T8C) and 152–60a (B10C, M5C, T8C, B6Bo, B4Bo, B6C). Variants are  (Pyr. 145b-c B4Bo) and  (CT VI 96b; VII 210b/i, 211f); also  (Pyr. 145b-c B6C, 152–60a B6C) and *j.tm zp 2* (Pyr. 152–60a B4BO). In CT VI 96b-c,  is referred to in the dual; in CT VII 486e and 488h-i, *r'* and *tm* appear as two separate gods sequentially in a list of gods.

60. Pyr. 152–60a. CT II 2d, 5b, 18b, 35i, 109f, 218c; III 169h, 208d; IV 75b-d, 92c-d, 312b, 382d; VI 177k-n, 216h, 292c; VII 173f, 210b, 214b, 217g, 222g-h. Both *r'* and *r'-tm* appear in CT VII 211f-g. In the Coffin Texts  is sometimes merely a graphic variant of *tm* (CT III 353a, in the phrase *nb tm*).

61. BD 151A: Budge, *Book of the Dead*, 488, 6–7. Cf. BD 15B3: Naville, *Totenbuch* I 20, 8–9.

62. V. Wessetzky, *BSEG* 4 (1980) 97–98, suggests a derivation from the verb *hpr* ‘develop,’ but the form *hprr* is a standard pattern for nouns referring to small animals: Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 296–99.

63. *hpr* > *hprj*: cf. Pyr. 1757b N *hpr* = Nt *hpr*, 2083d Nt *hpr* = N *hpr*, and 199b WNNt *hpr* = BHIC *hprj*. The form *hprj* itself is probably an imperfective active participle (Allen,

85. An embrace ("you put your arms about them . . . that your *ka* might be in them," Text 4, 6–7) is the standard means of transmission: see P. Kaplony, *Lexikon* III 275; Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder* I 103–105. For the transmission of *ka* from father to son, cf. Ptahhotep 204 (pPrisse 7, 11) "He is your son: he belongs to your *ka*'s begetting."

86. For the *ba* of a god see Žabkar, *Ba*, 11–15.

87. For the identity, cf. CT II 19a–21b "I am the *ba* of Shu . . . O you 8 Infinite Ones . . . come . . . to meet Shu in me."

88. *Wb* III 261, 7; Myśliwicz, *Atum* II 175.

89. See CT II 1 nn. 1–2.

90. Hence, not the later Hermopolitan Ogdoad (see below), who predate the creation: Sethe, *Amun*, § 120.

91. Hornung, *Himmelskuh*, verses 155–57.

92. Naville, *Totenbuch* I 24, 34–36. Cf. CT IV 244/45a–250/51a.

93. The verb *s3q* 'draw together' is also used in medical texts to describe the constriction of a pupil or the uterus (*Wb med* II 712). The image here is apparently of the land's edges "drawing together" the edges of the sky-vault resting on them.

94. The verb translated here as "hooded" is also the root of '*fn*t 'headcloth' (*Wb* I 183, 4). The "Phoenix" (*bnw* 'heron') is usually a form of the sun: cf. BD 180 "I am the secret Phoenix: I am the one who enters to rest in the Duat and comes forth to rest in Nut. I am the lord of the sky" (Naville, *Totenbuch* I 204, 31–32). Here apparently as a form of (Re) Atum (cf. Text 4, 3, above).

95. For the first sense, see Sin. B96 and BD 169 (Naville, *Totenbuch* I 190, 22–23). For the second, see Peas. B1, 96/131/188 and *Urk* IV 363, 13.

96. The last was suggested by Prof. Simpson.

97. Sethe, *Amun*, §§ 63–177.

98. Sethe, *Amun*, § 100.

99. CT IV 189c: see Barta, *Neunheit*, 84.

100. Of gods: see Barta, *Neunheit*, 185. The Pyramid Texts refer to "the great Corps that was born prior, in Heliopolis" (Pyr. 1041a) as well as to "the Corps of the Ennead" (Pyr. 1250e, 1689a *1920b). The same concept figures in the Horus-name of several kings from Dynasties 1–4: "Companion of the Corps" (*smr-ht*), "Divine One of the Corps" (*ntrj-ht* = Djoser), "Capable One of the Corps" (*sh̄m-ht*), "Bull of the Corps" (*k3-ht* = Mycerinus), and "Noble One of the Corps" (*šps-ht* = Shepses-kaf).

101. One of the images of the first place in which the sun rose: see S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, 1954); S. Sauneron, in *La naissance du monde*, 54–58; H. Schlögl, *Der Sonnengott auf der Blüte* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 5: Basel-Genf, 1977).

102. See de Buck, *Oerheuvell*.

103. The discussion that follows owes much to J. Assmann's analysis, in *Ägypten*, 90–97 and 209–215, and *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 9–48.

104. W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 136–41; Assmann, *Ägypten*, 210; Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 44–45 n. 156. The alignment of grammatical gender in these pairs (feminine vs. masculine) is noteworthy, and may not be entirely accidental.

105. Among many discussions, see especially J. Wilson, in *Intellectual Adventure*, 82–84 and 105–109; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 51–52, and *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 53–65; Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 113–36, and *Gott und Mensch*, 118–53; Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, 67–72; and W. Helck, *Lexikon* III 1110–19.

106. Ptahhotep 88–89 (pBM 10509 2, 7). See W. Helck, *Lexikon* III 1111.

107. For *dt* and *nhh*, see E. Otto, in *Der Welt als Geschichte* 14 (1954) 145–46; Assmann, *Ägypten*, 90–97, and *Zeit und Ewigkeit*, 9–48.

108. CT II 396b; similar CT III 382e–83e.

109. Faulkner, *Bremner-Rhind*, viii.

110. Apophis is the serpent who is the sun's enemy in his passage through the Duat: see E. Hornung and A. Brodbeck, *Lexikon* I 350–52.

111. E. Drioton, *ASAE* 39 (1939) 57–89. J.–C. Goyon, *RdE* 20 (1968) 65.

112. P. Vernus, *GM* 43 (1981) 73–74.

113. *Wb* III 266, 14. See also the discussion in the textual note to Text 9, 1.

114. *Urk* IV 1061, 4–6.

115. Cf. also R. Hannig et al., *JAC* 1 (1986) 145–47.

116. CT V 211f. See p. 9 above, as well as the description of his creation of Shu and Tefnut in lines 15–16 and 22–25 (cf. Texts 3–4).

117. See especially J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*.

118. The term *msw bđšt* 'children of weakness' evidently refers here to the Hermopolitan Ogdoad, at least in nucleus. Cf. the later description of the Ogdoad as *nnjw* 'inert ones': Sethe, *Amun*, §§ 87–88. In the Book of Gates, the "children of weakness" are allies of Apophis: Hornung, *Pforten* I 356, 359–60; II 239, 247.

119. Variants: "It is the Acclaimed: the Sun is his identity" (L1NY); "It is the Acclaimed; it is the Sun" (T1C^b); "It is the Acclaimed, the *ba* of the Sun" (BH1Br)—among others. These suggest that *hknw r* are two terms in apposition rather than a construct "Acclaimer of the Sun."

120. Cf. CT IV 276/77a–280/81a. See Barta, *Neunheit*, 142–48; Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 86–87 and pl. 5 = *Conceptions of God*, 95–96 and pl. 1.

121. Variants omit *qs.f* 'himself,' making it unlikely that this is the object of *nk.f* 'he copulates.' For "the *ba* . . . by means of which he copulates," cf. CT I 360c–66b; II 67c–68d, 77a–80d; IV 71e–72b. See also Žabkar, *Ba*, 101–103.

122. See J. Zandee, in *Verbum* (Festschrift H. W. Obbink, Studia Theologica Rhena-Traiectina 6: Utrecht, 1964), 33–66.

123. See Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 202–205 = *Conceptions of God*, 207–209.

124. Correct *Wb* III 44, 3, with Allen, *Inflection*, § 732 s.v. The verb is also the root of *hwwtj* 'announcer' (*Wb* III 44, 4–5).

125. J. Wilson, in *Intellectual Adventure*, 57. See also H. Altenmüller, *Lexikon* III 65–68.

126. *Wb* III 44, 9.

127. A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA* 38 (1916) 43–54, 83–95, and *PSBA* 39 (1917) 138–39; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 56, 61, 362 n. 1. For *hw* as a property of the gods see also CT II 107d and Text 8, 109.

128. For "lord of totality" see p. 9 above. Compare Text 11, 6 with Texts 6, 31; 8, 46–47; 9,

27/32; Text 11, 7 with Texts 8, 47; 10, 3; Text 11, 9 with Text 5, 55–56; Text 11, 10 with Text 5, 54; and Text 11, 15/19 with Texts 5, 58; 8, 105/109–10.

129. Sandman-Holmberg, *Ptah*; H. Te Velde, *Lexikon* IV 1177–80.

130. W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1929) 17.

131. See C. Zivie, *Lexikon* IV 25–26.

132. Used as an adjectival predicate in CT VI 267a; *Urk* IV 1944, 1; and BD 15 (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 500, 26). The verb *pth* ‘fashion, shape’ (*Wb* I 565, 11) is Ptolemaic (J. Assmann, *MDAIK* 27 [1971] 16 n. 36) and possibly derived from the god’s name. The verb *pth* ‘open’ (*Wb* I 565, 12–15) is also late, and may be a Semitic loanword.

133. CT V 2b (B1Bo*) “my house that Ptah built”; VI 243b-c “your house that Isis made for you, whose walls Ptah has erected.”

134. Sandman-Holmberg, *Ptah*, 45–46 and 54; cf. *Urk* IV 1386, 6. It has been suggested that the close-fitting cap worn by his images may derive from an artisan’s: J. Zandee, *BiOr* 24 (1967) 40; H. te Velde, *Lexikon* IV 1178. The title of his high-priest, *wr hrp hmwt* ‘chief of the direction of craft,’ may reflect an original secular function of this office: D. Wildung, *Lexikon* II 1256–57.

135. E. Brovarski, *Lexikon* V 1056–59. Sokar is specifically god of the Giza and Abusir cemeteries (Pyr. 445b-c): see C. Zivie, *Lexikon* V 304–306; G. A. Gaballa and K. A. Kitchen, *Or* 38 (1969) 20–21. For the association with metal (specifically, *bj*) see Pyr 138c, *1967b–68d, and CT VII 15c-h.

136. CT I 249g (but as *two* gods in 249h), VI 367e-f.

137. Cf. the epithet *nb ‘nh* ‘lord of life’ in CT VI 269q/u (in CT 647).

138. The name Saqqara probably derives indirectly from that of Sokar: W. Helck, *Lexikon* V 386.

139. Schlögl, *Tatenen*, 54–55.

140. Schlögl, *Tatenen*, 13–20, 70–71.

141. *T3-tnnj*, with the imperfective active participle of 3ae-inf. *tnj* ‘become distinct’ (*Wb* V 374–75). For the various spellings of the name see Schlögl, *Tatenen*, 156–84. For the participial form, cf. Allen, *Inflection*, § 632B. For the god’s role as Primeval Mound, see S. Schott, *NAWG* 1965, 11, 190.

142. The noun *tnnt* refers to a Memphite cult-place (*Wb* V 382, 1). In the Old Kingdom, individuals are occasionally priests of both gods simultaneously: A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l’ancien empire* (Paris, 1889; republished Hildesheim, 1976) 112–13, 5; 414, 4. In the Coffin Texts *hntj-tnnt* is one of the four aspects of Ptah (CT III 180c, 182d–83a); cf. also Schlögl, *Tatenen*, 106; Sandman Holmberg, *Ptah*, 218.

143. pHarris I 44, 7.

144. Compare the description of Shu’s origin in Text 5, 2–6/26–28/36–40/50.

145. J. H. Breasted, *ZÄS* 39 (1902) 39–40; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 1–2.

146. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 20.

147. The *locus classicus* is Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 2–5. Cf. H. Altenmüller, *Lexikon* I 1068–69.

148. F. Junge, *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 195–204.

149. Cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 86; also J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1947), 26.

150. Schlögl, *Tatenen*, 110–17.

151. The independence of this section is underlined by the blank space in the lower third of column 53. While this is in fact the first of the twelve final columns of text, the retrograde orientation of the hieroglyphs makes it appear to be the last, with the text “ending” two-thirds down the column. The list of “the gods who have developed into Ptah” in columns 48–52 is therefore a separate section.

152. See the notes to lines 1 and 22. For the Egyptian view of hieroglyphs see H. Fischer, *Lexikon* II 1195–96.

153. First by J. H. Breasted, *ZÄS* 39 (1902) 53–54.

154. Note that CT 647 also describes Ptah as life-giver (Text 12, 11–12); and cf. Text 13, 6.

155. See Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 23–29; Morenz, *Heraufkunft*, 20–21; Hornung, *Der Eine und Die Vielen*, 181–91 = *Conceptions of God*, 186–96; J. Assmann, *Ägypten*, 274–77, and *Lexikon* II 771–76.

156. On Amun, see Sethe, *Amun*, §§ 155–260; E. Otto, *Lexikon* I 237–48; and Assmann, *Re und Amun*.

157. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 184. Vocalization in cuneiform *amana* = Coptic *amoun* < **ja-mán*ˁw. For the verb see *Wb* I 83, 12–13 and 16; for a possible example of the intransitive use in Old Egyptian (suggested by Osing, *Nominalbildung* II n. 808) see Allen, *Inflection*, § 736 s.v. For the derivation of “Atum” see p. 9 above. The vocalization suggests that Amun’s name is not a perfective participle, either active or passive: see J. Osing, in *Form und Mass, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 12: Wiesbaden, 1987), 340–42 and 346–50. Its close association with the epithet *jmn-rn.f* suggests that it is not an imperfective participle, since that form is not attested in the *adjective-noun* construction: Allen, *Inflection*, § 610; cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 134; Edel, *AäG* § 332.

158. Sethe, *Amun*, § 179. The epithet occurs as early as the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 399a, 1778a) and probably contains the passive participle of *jmn*: cf. Pyr. 276c *hmm rn.f* ‘whose identity is unknown,’ with the passive participle of 2-lit. *hm*. The two forms *jmn-rn* and *jmn-rn.f* both occur in the phrase *hwt jmn-rn.f* ‘enclosure of him whose identity is hidden’ (Pyr. 1778a; CT II 207a, 220a, 221e, 223a; VI 310k) and as variants in Pyr. 1778a *hwt jmn-rn* = CT VI 310k *hwt jmn-rn.f*. *Wb* I 84, 1 is therefore wrong in attempting to distinguish between the two.

159. E. Otto, *Lexikon* I 243. Cf. L. Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985) 258–59.

160. L. Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985) 251–94.

161. For *mšnmj* (*Wb* II 134, 3–4; cf. *Wb* II 134, 5 = *Wb* III 381, 8–11), cf. Pyr. 1962b = CT VI 309a, where the “tamarisk-field” is also called *mšnmt/šnmt* of the gods; similarly, CT VII 197f.

162. Sethe, *Amun*, § 100. See the commentary to Text 6, above. For Amun and Amaunet in the Ogdoad, see Sethe, *Amun*, §§ 142–77.

163. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 13.

164. See Assmann, *Ägypten*, 274–76.

165. For the *ba* (*b3jj* ‘manifest one’) as the manifestation of a god, see Žabkar, *Ba*, 11–15. Note that the phrase “glittering of forms” (*tjḥnt jrws*) uses the word *jrws* ‘form,’ from the verb *jrj* ‘make.’

166. See Frankfort, in *Intellectual Adventure*, 13; P. Vernus, *Lexikon* IV 320–21.

167. See Assmann, *Ägypten*, 276–77.

168. Cf. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 215–16 = *Conceptions of God*, 219–20.

169. For the last, see the 9th hour of the Book of Gates: Hornung, *Pforten* II 214–19. On the interface between “nothingness” and existence, see especially Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 166–70 = *Conceptions of God*, 172–85.

170. Ptahhotep 88–89 (pBM 10509 2, 7). See p. 26 above.

171. See p. 21. Note also the description of the deceased king’s conception and birth in/from the Waters in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 132c, 1040a, 1701a), and of the Waters as “wellspring(?)” of the gods (Pyr. 446b).

172. *Wb* IV 177, 10–13.

173. pLeiden I 350 5, 16–17. Some translations have interpreted *k3.f* as the verb ‘he planned,’ but the writing is that of the noun, and the remainder of the “chapter” from which this excerpt is taken is concerned with other parts of Amun’s anatomy. See Assmann, *Hymnen*, 588–89.

174. See de Buck, *Oerhevel*, 69.

175. Pyr. 447a-b, 1248a-b (Text 3), 1587a-d, 1652a-53a (Text 4).

176. First in Pyr. 1587a (see p. 9). Cf. also Pyr. 447a-b (p. 49).

177. Perception and Annunciation occur in the Pyramid Texts (Pyr. 300c, 307a–b) but not in the context of a creation account. The notion of creation by word is not evident in the Pyramid Texts.

178. E.g., Text 2, 9–11; Text 5, 27–28, 39–40, 55–58; Text 10, 2, 5–6, 9; cf. Text 8, 109–10.

Textual Notes

Text 1

Publications: Frankfort, *Cenotaph* I 72–86, II pl. 81; Parker, *EAT* I 36–94, pls. 30–51; Hornung, *Unterweltbücher* 485–86.

- Al* Parker's texts Dd (1–5), Ee (6–10), L (11–17); *EAT* I pls. 50, 46.
- 1 *kkw zmjw* 'uniform darkness.' Literally 'joined (= unbroken) darkness': Parker, *EAT* I 52. In the Book of Gates this term refers to hours 2–11 of night—i.e., those whose darkness is undiluted by light.
qbhw 'fount.' Used elsewhere to describe the source of the Inundation and of groundwater (*Wb* V 28, 2; 29, 5–6). Also used as a term for the sky, specifically as a medium for travelling by boat (Pyr. 374c, 465a, 873c-d, 917a-b, 1049a, 1990b).
 - 3 Following pCarlsberg I 4, 29. Seti's text has "up to her northeastern side."
 - 4 *wb3 n* 'open to.' *Wb med* I 171.
 - 6 Probably meant to indicate that these beings look like men but behave like birds, with *qd* used abstractly (cf. *Wb* V 75, 5–76, 1).
 - 7 *mdw rmt* 'the speech of crying.' Possibly for *mdw rmt* 'human speech,' but the determinatives do not support. Cf. Hornung, *Amduat* I 138, 3–4 "There is heard the sound of something in this cavern like the sound of men wailing." In any case, surely a reference to the mournful cry of birds.
 - 8 *jr m ht* 'after' with geminated *sdm.f*: Westendorf, *GMT* § 229,2.
 - 13 *s(mn) nn* 'these having been fixed.' Following pCarlsberg I 2, 26. Possibly intransitive (*Wb* IV 134, 8–21). *nn* apparently refers to *drw* 'limits' (line 12).
nnw 'inertness.' Verbal noun of *njn* 'be slack, inert' (*Wb* II 203, 7; 275, 2–16). The verb is used both of people ('lazy': *Wb* II 275, 3–5/9) and of the waters of the Inundation ('slack, motionless': *Wb* II 275, 7–10; cf. CT IV 343c).
 - 14 pCarlsberg I 2, 27 glosses this line *mn h' n p3 r' n-jm=w* 'There is no rising of the Sun there.' The hieratic text writes *šw* with determinatives suggesting an interpretation of the word as *šwj* 'go up' (*Wb* IV 431, 14–16) or *hjj* 'go aloft' (*Wb* III 237). Despite the (apparent) absence of a determinative, the original may have intended *šw* 'light' (*Wb* IV 430, 7). Cf. Piankoff, *Quererts*, pl. 34, 8–9 (= pl. 33, 9–34, 1; sim. 36, 9–10; 49, 6–8) "This is how these exist, who do not see the Sun's brightness, who do not hear his speech. How they exist is in uniform darkness, not seeing the Sun's rays." Seti's text has room for a determinative (seated god?) between the ram-sign and *[jj]m*, followed by a broken group and another apparent *[jj]m* before *jwt(j)* of line 15 (Parker, *EAT* I pl. 31). In light of pCarlsberg's gloss restore possibly *nn šw [n] b3 [jj]m [nj*

- ḥ* 'n.f. j]m. For *bj* 'Ram' as a form of the sun, see Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 85–87 and pl. 5 = *Conceptions of God*, 93–96 and pl. 1.
- 15 *ntrw 3ḥj[w]* 'the gods or *akhs*.' That is, the original non-human denizens of the next world ("the gods") and the human beings who have made the successful transition from this world to the next: cf. Pyr. 969b MN *3ḥjw.f ntrw* 'his divine *akhs*' = 969b P *ntrw ntr(j)w* 'the gods who have become divine' (Allen, *Inflection*, § 564C).
- 16 *ḥdwt[t]* 'brightness.' Despite the determinative in the copies of Seti and Ramesses IV, surely for *Wb* III 208, 14 *ḥdwt* 'brightness,' as shown by pCarlsberg I 2, 30 *ḥddwj* (*Wb* III 215, 8–17).
- 17 *bw nb šw n pt šw n t3* 'every place void of sky and void of land.' Possibly 'every void place of sky or earth,' but the repetition of *šw* suggests this is for *šw m* 'void of.' For *n* in place of *m* see *Wb* II 194, 8; Erman, *NäG* § 608.
- p3* for *pw*: Černý-Groll, *LEG* § 57.7; S. Groll, *Non-verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London, 1967), 4–9.
- A2 Parker's text A: *EAT* I pl. 44.
Both the orientation of the vulture-goddess (*nḥbt*) and the description in pCarlsberg I 1, 6–23 indicate that the figure of the falcon on a standard (Frankfort, *Cenotaph* II pl. 82; Parker, *EAT* I pl. 32) belongs with this scene. The legend above the falcon reads *rth-q3b* 'What constricts the intestines,' which pCarlsberg I 1, 23–24 contrasts as a term for darkness with its opposite *srq-j.ḥijjt* 'What lets the throat breathe,' a term for light. For the restoration of the vertical column of text see Parker, *EAT* I 45.
- B Parker's texts Jj (1), Gg (2), Q (3) and P (4): *EAT* I pls. 51, 50, 47, 46.
- B1 The orientation here is toward the southwest rather than due south—the same orientation reflected in Text 1 A1, 3 and A2, 1. This would seem to indicate a solstitial (south-north) rather than equinoctial (due east-west) alignment. In that orientation, the sunrise is farthest north = summer solstice, reflected as well in the accompanying astronomical description of the stars in the first month of Inundation (1 *3ḥt*), the beginning of the Egyptian calendar year (Parker, *EAT* I 54–55).
- B2 Or "Her head is in . . . her mouth is in," but the label in line 3 (on Nut's cheek) suggests an identification.
- C1 Parker's texts Aa (1–13) and Bb (14–18): *EAT* I pls. 48–49.
- 1 *ḥm* 'Incarnation'—the physical manifestation of a divinity (king, god, or deceased): see J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20: Munich, 1984), 39; E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches* (ASAW 61: Berlin, 1970) I 23.
- wnt.^rs tpj¹ n ḥ3w* 'her first hour of evening': Parker, *EAT* I 62. *ḥ3wj* is the first hour of night, beginning at sunset: Parker, *EAT* I 35.
- 2 *3ḥ.f 'n* 'becoming effective again.' Similarly in C2, 4; C4, 4. Despite the determinative (and suffix *.f* in Seti's text and pCarlsberg I 3, 43), 'n is undoubtedly the adverb 'again' (*Wb* I 189, 8–11): cf. Pyr. 636, *1886.
- 3 *wnt 2nw.s m bk3t* 'her second hour of pregnancy.' *bk3t* is a term for hours 2–4 of night

- (Parker, *EAT* I 35), but here—and probably in origin—it can be understood literally, as a verbal noun (or participle?) of *bkj* ‘become pregnant.’
- 4 *sw* ‘Then.’ For this construction, see most recently W. Barta, *ZÄS* 112 (1985) 94–104. Its grammatical value is still imperfectly understood, but the usual apparently “continuative” value suits all examples in these texts.
- 6 *gr* ‘again,’ also in line 8. For other examples, see H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt* (Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies: Baltimore, 1977), 76; W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Kleine Ägyptische Texte: Wiesbaden, 1977), 79; as well as R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brown Egyptological Studies 1: London, 1954), 387.
- 10 *bjw* ‘basin.’ See E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj* (Dissertation: University of Cologne, 1971), 40–66. Like *qbhw* (see the note to A1, 1, above), this term is associated with the sky often in the context of navigation by boat (e.g., Pyr. 1121a, CT IV 63i = BD 85, BD 15) or swimming (CT IV 294b).
- 11 *wšw* ‘middle of the night.’ Hours 5–8 of the night: Parker, *EAT* I 35.
- 12 *snkw* ‘dusk.’ A term that can be used also of hair and the face, like English “dusky”: E. Hornung, *Anbetung des Re* I 61, 71, 270; II 115 n. 146, 117 n. 172.
- 15 *wbj* ‘it stays open.’ 3ms old perfective with *rs* ‘her mouth’ as antecedent. pCarlsberg I 3, 33 has *wbj.f*.
- 16 *sqdw* ‘sailing stars.’ Otherwise unattested, but cf. Pyr. 374a/c, 1171c-d. pCarlsberg I 3, 34 has *sbw*, but *sqdw* is clear in Ramesses IV’s text: Parker, *EAT* I pl. 49 Bb.
- C2 Parker’s texts G (1), F (2–4) and E (5–6): *EAT* I pl. 44.
- 1 *dšrt* ‘redness.’ Written ideographically with the red crown, but the interpretation in pCarlsberg I 2, 1–3 (Parker, *EAT* I 49) is clear: “The redness comes after birth. It is the color that comes in the sun-disk at dawn . . . his rays being upon earth in the color named. . . . The red crown is that which is read *dšrt*.” The 3ms in the lines following refers to the sun-disk depicted.
- 4 ‘n ‘again.’ See the note to C1, 2, above.
- 5 *m ps.f* ‘in his splitting.’ Referring to the sun’s birth: see line C3, 4. Ramesses IV’s  looks like a misreading of Seti’s . Parker’s emendation *nhp(t).f* (*EAT* I 48) is not supported by Ramesses IV’s  for Seti’s , nor by the interpretation of pCarlsberg I 1, 39 (Parker, *EAT* I 48) “It opens to the sky.”
- C3 Parker’s texts M–O: *EAT* I pl. 46.
- 2 *zj* ‘on course’ (3ms old perfective). The verb is used of motion to (*r*) or under (*hr*), often deliberate, as in a procession (*Wb* III 413, 1–2; 418, 15–17): cf. Pyr. 798b = 1716a.
- 3 *rʿr.f* ‘he produces himself.’ Probably the same word as Ptolemaic *rʿr*, used (intransitively) of the Inundation over (*r s3*) the land (*Wb* I 210, 2). The transitive use here suggests a connection with New Kingdom *rʿr* ‘carry out’ (a command), ‘produce’ (something), ‘assign’ (people) (*Wb* I 209, 15–18).
- hr s3* ‘above.’ *Wb* I 210, 2 *rʿr r s3* suggests a reference to *t3* ‘the world’ of line 2—hence, adverbial ‘over, above’ (*Wb* IV 9, 7), though adverbial ‘out’ (*Wb* IV 13, 1) is also possible. Adverbial ‘after’ (*Wb* IV 12, 13) is less likely.

- 5 *shr.f* 'he goes away.' Used intransitively (*Wb* IV 219, 11).
- C4 Parker's texts J-K (1-8) and H (9-10): *EAT* I pls. 45, 44.
- 2-3 *nmstt* 'birthplace.' pCarlsberg I 2, 4/6 has *msqt*, but the earlier texts both have *nmstt*—possibly an *m*-formation of 3ae-inf. *msj* 'give birth' (with dissimilation of **mmstt* > *nmstt*).
- 5 *shp.n.s* 'She Has Gone to Rest.' The name of the ninth hour of night: Parker, *EAT* I 51.
- 8 *w* 'Chick.' Referring to the newborn sun. The otherwise unattested origin of the phonetic value of the quail-chick, its meaning suggested by the determinative. pCarlsberg I 2, 18 has *h* 'newborn' (*Wb* III 217, 3-8).
- m d.n sw r^c* 'when the Sun has shown himself.' The construction is clear in both early texts, though *m sdm.n.f* is otherwise apparently unattested. pCarlsberg I 2, 18 has the infinitival construction *m dt sw r^c*.
- 9 *pn* 'this.' Either modifying the winged scarab above (suggested by the space left blank between *m* and *pn*: Parker, *EAT* I 46), or as a noun (cf. Edel, *AäG* § 187). pCarlsberg I 1, 28-29 explains: "that is to say, the form of Kheperer that is in [the picture]" (Parker, *EAT* I 46).

Text 2

Publication: CT VI 343j-344d

- 2 *hpr.n.j jm* 'That is where I developed.' Although the text clearly opens with the Primeval Waters as speaker, the speaker here and in the remainder of the spell is Atum: cf. CT II 34g-h. *jm* refers to the Primeval Waters: cf. line 6.
- 4 *p³ hpr.f* 'who had developed.' Usually with the infinitive: Edel, *AäG* § 903; Gardiner, *EG* § 484; Lefebvre, *GEC* § 411; Westendorf, *GMT* § 324. The anteriority expressed here is probably with reference to *zp wr* 'the great occasion.'
- 5 *dbnn* 'circlet'—diminutive of *dbn* 'circle': cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 298.
- 6 *jm nw* 'therein, (in) the Waters.' The spelling of the nisbe *jm(j)-swht.f* 'who is in his egg' in line 5 indicates that this is the adverb rather than a nisbe. *nw* is in apposition.
- 7-8 *pr n.j . . . wd³.j* 'is subtracted from me . . . I am the remainder.' For the mathematical use of these terms, see *Wb* I 525, 1 and 400, 19 (both in Problem 28 of the Rhind mathematical papyrus).
- 9 *3hw.j* 'my effectiveness.' For the concept, see F. Friedman, *Serapis* 8 (1984-85) 39-46.

Text 3

Publication: Pyr. 1248a-d.

- 1 *tm pw hpr* 'Atum is the one who developed,' following P. M has *tm hpr* (old perfective) 'Atum developed.' N has reinterpreted this as a vocative *tm hpr* 'Atum Scarab,' with

following *m* plus walking-legs as imperative 'come' and 1248b *wdjj n.f* as dual imperative 'put for him': see Allen, *Inflection*, § 171B.

m jw s3w jr.f 'growing ithyphallic.' *jw* is either a verbal noun or a participle; *s3w* is the old perfective (3ms) of *s3wj* 'cause to be long'; *jr.f* indicates either the reflexive nature of the action (Edel, *AäG* § 821) or its relationship with the action of *hpr* preceding. Literally, 'as one who comes extended' (cf. *jw.s-3.s*) or 'in coming extended.'

- 2 *wd.n.f* 'he put.' Or possibly *wd n.f* 'who put,' if 1248a *jw* is a participle. N's *wdjj n.f* is probably a reinterpreted dual imperative: see the note to line 1 above.
- 4 *ms* 'were born.' Or possibly 'who bore,' parallel with participial(?) *wd n.f*. Not final: see Allen, *Inflection*, § 499.

Text 4

Publication: Pyr. 1652a–1653a.

- 2–3 *q3.n.k . . . wbn.n.k* 'when you became high . . . when you rose.' "Emphatic" use is unlikely, since the verbal action here is equal or greater in importance to the adverbial adjuncts. The alternative—adopted here—is balanced clauses (see Allen, *Inflection*, § 409). Lines 2 and 3 may be balanced ("When you became high . . . you rose") but a more complex balancing of two pairs (lines 2–3 vs. 4–5), as translated here, yields better sense.
- 4 *jšš.n.k* 'you sneezed.' For the sense of the verb cf. *jšš t3ww* 'sneeze air': Sethe, *Amun*, § 212; R. Parker, J. Leclant and J.-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa* (Brown Egyptological Studies 8: Providence, 1979), 71 and pl. 27, 17.
- 6 *d.n.k* 'and you put.' For the continuative use of the *sdm.n.f* see Allen, *Inflection*, § 422C–D.

Text 5

Publications: CT I 314b–405c. De Buck, "Plaats en betekenis van Sjoe"; R. O. Faulkner, *JEOL* 18 (1964) 266–71; J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 97 (1971) 155–62, 98 (1972) 149–55, 99 (1973) 48–63.

- 2 *hpr.n.j m*—less likely 'I became' (*Wb* III 261, 15). The parallel with CT I 318/19b *t3z.n.j m* indicates that *m* here is 'in' rather than 'as.'
- 3 *sfg jrw* 'mysterious(?) of form,' using the S, T, and BH texts. The phrase is used in reference to the sun (cf. Pyr. *1061f = CT III 74e); in the CT it is also found in the context of judgment (CT II 58a, 62d, 63f). *Pace Wb* IV 118, 7, it does not refer to Osiris: see Hornung, *Amduat* I 35 n. 14. The translation given here is based on Pyr. 665a, where *sfg* occurs apparently parallel with *št3* 'secret'; in CT II 87d, 90b, it is given the determinatives  and . The word is also used in the expression *sfg h^c*

- as the name of a god 'mysterious(?) of body, (but) with many vessels': P. Vernus, *Athribis* (BdE 74: Cairo, 1978), 183.
- 4 *ḥz.n.j* 'I have become tied together.' For the middle radical see Edel, *AäG* § 29. The verb is regularly transitive, but the context here indicates an intransitive (reflexive) use. Another example may occur in Pyr. 1965c/*1966b—cf. CT VI 309m-n, VII 198a-b.
- 5 *jm dr* 'the utmost extent.' Literally, 'the one who is in the limit.' Cf. CT II 2d (Text 6, 12); also Pyr. 879a.
- 8 *sjdd* 'who silences.' The root *jdj* is used of censoring in the Pyramid Texts (*Wb* I 152, 5–11) and of quenching a fire in the Coffin Texts (CT VII 96j-m, 275a). The root meaning is apparently 'sprinkle' (with the hand: ): hence, perhaps, also 'quell' (in parallel with *gr*: CT I 330c-32a, III 387c-d, V 217b-c). The same root may be present with another extended meaning in the verb *jdj* 'become deaf' and 'deafen' (*Wb* I 151, 13–15). The causative *sjdj* is used with the sense 'quell' or the like (in CT VI 125d-e, as a variant of *shr* 'fell'), with object of combatants (CT VI 136j), enemies (CT IV 97k, V 246d-e, VI 125d-e) and foreign lands (CT V 390l).
- 9 *sr* 'who foretells.' BH2C *j.sr* shows that this is the (2-lit.) imperfective participle (see Allen, *Inflection*, § 612). For CT I 320/21d–322/23b, cf. CT IV 75a-b.
- 10 *d.j* 'putting.' The imperfective participles in preceding clauses favor the *sdm.f* here rather than the apparent perfective participle of some copies. A1C has the imperfective participle *dd*.
d'rw 'who seek.' BH2C has *ndw* 'who ask': cf. Pyr *1942a = N 733, Nt 771.
- 11 *jm ḥhw* 'who is with millions.' For *m* 'with/among' people, see Edel, *AäG* § 758d; Gardiner, *EG* § 162, 7a; Lefebvre, *GEC* § 490, 8.
- 12 For transmission of the god's sentence, cf. CT VII 328, 515f-g; BD 36.
- 13 *srr* 'who officiates over.' For *srj* as a transitive verb, cf. CT VI 390h.
- 14 *dnd.k* 'raging.' *dnd*, later *dndn*, describes a quality directed against an enemy (*Wb* V 579, 4 = 471, 4/22); also used of fire (*Wb* V 471, 23—cf. *Wb* V 530, 1, and the spelling in CT IV 328g). Variant *ḥj.kw* 'aggressive' (M-Ann).
- 15 *whm n.j* 'has been repeated to me.' The passive is clear from the context and from the variant *sdm.n.j* 'I have heard' (M-Ann, G1T, A1C).
- 16 *nd.sn* 'they asked.' S2C has *ndw* 'who asked.' For *ndm* 'ask of' someone, cf. Pyr. *1942a (N 733, Nt 771).
hprw.j 'my development.' Treated as plural in B1Bo, B6C, but singular in B3C. Variant *hpr.j* (S1C, S2C, M4C) is possibly the *sdm.f* 'how I developed.' For the meaning(s) of *hprw*, see the note to Text 9, 1, below.
- 17 *wsrw.j* 'my strength.' Variants *wsr.j*, possibly 'how I am strong' (M4C, M5C, G1T, A1C), and *wj wsr.k* 'me strong' (S1C, S2C).
sqdd ntr 'that the god sails.' *sqdj* can be used of sailing in a boat (intransitive) or of people conveying someone by boat (transitive: cf. CT I 340d) but apparently not of a boat conveying someone. Hence, relative *sdm.f* here (cf. B1Bo *sqddw*), with *ntr* as subject. For this use cf. Pyr. 368c, CT II 198b.
- 18 For the idiom, see R. J. Williams, in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35: Chicago, 1969), 94; cf. pPrisse 2, 6–7.

- 19 *hprw.j* 'my development.' Variant *hpr.j* (S1C, S2C, T3C, M3C) possibly 'how I developed.'
- 20 *dd.j* 'I shall speak.' Variant *iw.j dd.j* 'I am speaking' (S1C, S2C).
gr 'become still.' Variant *j.gr* (G1T), also *gr.t* 'be still' (3fs old perfective; B1C, B2L, B1P). Some texts have *n* after *gr* (M3C, M20C, [M4C], M5C, M6C), possibly for dative *n.(j)* 'for me.'
- 21 *hprw.j* 'my development.' Variant (S1C) "how I developed into my form."
- 22 *m nd* 'don't ask.' The variant *nd.j* 'I ask(?)' (B1C, B2L, B1P) makes little sense here.
hprw.j 'my development.' B3C is clearly singular. Variants *hpr.j* (S1C), possibly 'how I developed,' and *hprw r'* (B1Bo) 'the sun's development.' For the latter, see the Commentary.
- 25 *nj m3.f* 'he did not see.' Variant *nj m3.n.f* or *nj m3.n.f* 'not seeing': for this adverbial construction, see Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 336, 437.
hpr.j 'how I developed.' The past tense is clear from variants with *hpr.n.j* (B1C, B2L, B1P, M4C). Other variants have *hprw.j* 'my development.' B1Bo adds *w.k* 'I being alone.'
- 29 *nf3.n.f* 'he exhaled.' The verb appears as *nfj* in Late Egyptian (Wb II 250, 11) > Coptic *nife*. Related words are *nfwt* 'breath' (CT II 38b, 44f; V 286e) and *nfj/nfw* 'breath/wind' > Coptic *nif* (Wb II 250, 16–18; Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 82). The final *j* appears only in the Coffin Texts but is reflex in *nf(3)w* 'sailor' (Wb II 251, 1–7) > Coptic *neef* (**nf3*~*w* > **nf3*~*w*, pace Osing, *Nominalbildung* I, 317).
- 31 *qm3.n* 'created.' Relative *sdm.n.f*. Variant *pd.n* 'spread out' (S1C); also *qm3.n wj* (*sdm.n.f*: T3C, BH2C).
- 35 *hnmmt* 'sun-folk.' See Gardiner, *AEO* I 98, 111–12.
- 38 *sw.n.j* 'I have made a void.' *swj* 'ascend' (Wb IV 431, 14–26) is less likely from the context and *swj* 'dry' (Wb IV 429, 5–9) is regularly determined by \odot . The parallel with line 37 indicates that *m* here is 'in' rather than part of the usual expression 'void of.'
- 41 *ms.n.t.j* 'I was born.' Variant *msj.j* (G1T, A1C): see Allen, *Inflection*, § 722C.
- 45 Variant "he caused 'me' to be exhaled" (B6C).
- 47 *sh^{cc}* 'which excites.' Possibly with reference to lines 45–46 *wj* 'me' ('who excites'). Variant "that I might cause excitement among the millions of gods who are in the inaccessible places" (G1T, A1C).
stiw 'inaccessible places.' A designation of the Duat: Hornung, *Anbetung des Re* I 4; II, 49, 99 nn. 15–16. For *st3* with reference to places see Wb IV 553, 1; A. Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara* (Los Angeles, 1978) Fig. 23, 3; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969–) II 155, 14; 168, 11; 169, 15; 172, 5; 193, 6; 241, 11.
- 48 For the nominal sentence, note *pw* in M5C.
- 50 *hpr.n.j. m* 'I developed in.' Cf. the note to line 2 above. Lines 52–54 following indicate that the speaker and the god are distinct (cf. also B3C, where the subject is feminine). Variant *pr.n.j hnt* (S1C, S2C, T3C, M6C, M23C, Sq5C, G1T) 'I emerged from': cf. Wb III 303, 22 (used of a son, from his father).
- 51 *w'j.j* 'alone.' Referring to line 50 *ntr hpr ds.f*. Variant *hpr w'j.j* (S1C, T3C, M23C) 'who developed alone.'

- 52 *dm* 'who touches.' Variants have reinterpreted the verb as *dmḏ* 'who unites' (B1C) and *ḏz* 'who ties together' (T3C: CT I 377d). For the verb *dm* (*Wb* V 449, 5) cf. Pyr. 392a, 603a.
n.f 'for him.' Referring to the god: cf. B3C. with feminine subject.
- 53 *jnn* 'who brings.' S1C and M23C have (passive) *jnnw n.f* 'to whom is brought,' apparently reinterpreting *n.f* as referring to the speaker. The sense here is possibly "bring about": cf. Peas. B1, 255–56 and Leb. 57 for this use of *jn.j*.
- 54 *ḏb* 'who unites.' S1C has reinterpreted as passive '*bw n.f* 'for whom is united.'
ḏḏ.f n k3 'his million of *ka*.' For the construction, see Edel, *AäG* § 399. Note also the variant *ḏḏw ntr* 'millions of god' in CT II 356/57c (G1T, A1C).
- *d.w* 'placed.' Variant *dj.j*. The examples with final *w* show that this is not the perfective passive participle (Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 632–33). The old perfective here may be used for "result": Allen, *Inflection*, § 589.
m z3 wḏwt.f 'in protection of his associates.' Cf. CT III 383e.
- 55 *ḏpr.n.j js m ˆ jrt mj qd*. Literally, 'it was through making entirely that I developed.' For *ḏpr m ˆ* see *Wb* III 261, 1 and Westendorf, *GMT* § 290, 7. Variants: *m ˆ jr mj qd* 'through the one who made entirely' (B1C, B2L, B1P); *m ˆ jrt mjj r.j*. 'through making similarly to me' (M3C, M5C, M28C); and *ḏpr.n js m ˆ j jrt mjj r ḏr* 'it is through my agency that making similarly has developed' (S1C, S2C, T3C, M23C, G1T).
- 56 *ḏr prt m r* 'at the speech.' Variant *ḏft mdw* 'at the speaking' (M6C).
- 57 *jwt wḏb.n.f sw* 'who does not turn back.' For the phrase, cf. A. Piankoff, *BIFAO* 42 (1942) pl. 36, 4–5; similarly, *Urk* IV 367, 11–12. Variant *jwt nwd.n* 'who(se speech) does not deviate' (for *nwd* see Allen, *Inflection*, p. 557).
- 60 *ḏḏw* 'sunlight.' The physical phenomenon: cf. *Urk* IV 19, 11; 518, 3–4.

Text 6

Publications: CT II 1a–6b. J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 60–71.

- 1 'wt 'parts.' Written as 'chambers' (*Wb* I 160, 1) in B1C, but with the determinative of 'limb, body part' in other MSS (as in line 2).
- 2 'wt.f 'his limbs.' Variant *ḏf.f* 'his flesh' (B1Bo, G1T): cf. CT II 19e.
- 3 *tm* 'Atum.' Variants "Shu" (B1Bo), "Re-Atum" (G1T).
- 9 G1T has the active "as my father Atum created me."
- 10 *ḏr ztzw šw* 'at the Uplifting of Shu.' The prepositions *m* and *ḏr* are used with *wrd* to indicate the cause of "weariness" (*Wb* I 337, 11–13; 338, 1–2). *ḏr* here may also have the sense of being "at" an action (cf. Lefebvre, *GEC* § 492, 4; Allen, *Inflection*, § 667). For the verbal noun *stzw* 'uplifting' see *Wb* IV 361, 4–7.
- 11 *ḏr ḏ3.j* 'since I lifted.' Temporal: R. Anthes, in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35: Chicago, 1969), 9. Variant *ḏr ḏ3.t.j*, probably *sdm.t.f* with the same sense (Anthes, *op. cit.*, 8–9).

- tp.j* 'atop me.' For the variant *tpw.j* see Edel, *AäG* § 771. G1T has the puzzling variant *jt.j mjwt.j* 'my father and my mother' (cf. CT II 2d) for *zjt.j* 'my daughter.'
- 14 *ntr pn t̄z.f* 'this god is tying together.' For the construction, see Allen, *Inflection*, § 275. Variant (B1Bo, G1T) *t̄z.f* 'that he might tie together.'
- 16 *rd.n.(j) wj* 'I have put myself.' Variant (G1T) *d.j wj* 'putting myself.'
- 17 For the adverbial construction, with either *sdm.n.f* or (subjunctive) *sdm.f*, see the note to Text 5, 25, above. A variant has the affirmative "that men and gods might see him" (B1Bo).
- 19 *hrw hpr.n.f jm* 'on the day that he developed.' Despite the spelling with "divine" determinative, the reading *hrw* is clear from the context: cf. CT II 7f.
- 22 Variant "I was not born by birth."
- 26 *t̄ww* 'air.' Variant (B1Bo, G1T) "air of life."
- 28–29 *m* 'out of.' For *hpr m* with this meaning see *Wb* III 261, 14.
- 31 *p̄3.n.* Relative *sdm.n.f*. For the resumption (*m h̄h.j*) with 1s rather than 3d-person pronoun, cf. Allen, *Inflection*, § 54, 3.
- 32 Cf. CT II 30b and VI 154k. For *s̄sp* 'dazzle' ('cause to be blind') see Allen, *Inflection*, § 749. A conflation of B1C, B2L, and B1P yields the literal meaning "I am the one who made dazzling possible for it (referring to line 31 "Sole Eye") during the Darkness"; for *n* 'during' see Edel, *AäG* § 757e; Gardiner, *EG* § 164, 8; Lefebvre, *GEC* § 489, 4. The parallel in CT II 30b has *m ht kkw* 'after the Darkness.' B1Bo and G1T have the variant "I am/NN is the one who made brilliant the Darkness for it."
- 33 *z n h̄h* 'a man of infinite number.' Cf. Peas. B1, 95 *z n nh̄h* 'a man of Eternal Recurrence' (i.e., someone who will live forever).
- 37 Variant (G1T) "whom Atum begot."

Text 7

Publications: CT II 19a-b/22a-b/23a-c. J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 100 (1974) 141–45.

- 4 Variant "grandfather of an infinite number."
- 5 Variants "Tefnut, oldest daughter of Re-Atum," and "the oldest woman, daughter of Atum."
mst 'who bore.' B1C has *msjt* 'born of.'
- 7 The best text is probably B1C *dt pw tfnt* 'Eternal Sameness is Tefnut.' The second *pw* in most copies is probably erroneous: the original text may have been **dt pw snt.j tfnt* 'Eternal Sameness is my sister Tefnut.' Cf. Text 8, 7.

Text 8

Publications: CT II 27d–36e/39b–43h. J. Zandee, *ZÄS* 101 (1974) 62–80.

- 1 For *m* see Gardiner, *EG* § 96 (end). For the construction *h̄h n h̄h* 'infinite number of Infinites,' see Edel, *AäG* § 399. Variant (G1T, A1C) *h̄h n h̄hwj* 'infinite number of pairs of Infinites.'

- 2 *šnnw* . . . *m* 'encircle . . . with.' *Wb* IV 489, 5–6. The variant *šnnw n pt* may be influenced by the term *šnw n pt* 'circuit of the sky' (*Wb* IV 492, 3–9), if the *n* before *pt* is not corrupt for plural strokes (cf. G1T, A1C).
- 3 *škr n gbb* 'horizon of Geb.' Cf. *škrw nw pt* 'horizons of the sky' (CT VI 270q).
- 7 *sk* 'while.' For the construction see J. Allen, in *Crossroad*, 22–25 and 33.
- 12 *msw n* 'child of.' Not the *s_{dm}.n.f* relative: Edel, *AäG* § 667; E. Edel, *ZÄS* 84 (1959) 112–13.
- 14–15 *nj* 'for it.' That is, for life (line 13). For the adverb *nj* see Edel, *AäG* § 751a. Variants (G1T, A1C) have reinterpreted *n.j* 'for me.'
- 17 *jnm.j* 'my skin.' The parallel with *hbsw* 'clothing' (line 13) makes this meaning (*Wb* I 96, 14–18) more likely than the alternative 'color' (*Wb* I 96, 19–20).
m_{ddw} 'pressure.' The root verb has the meanings 'press' (*Wb med* I 416), 'strike' (*Wb* II 191, 14–192, 2), and 'adhere to' (*Wb* II 192, 3–5): the root meaning seems to be one of forceful touching or pressure. G1C and A1T have the variant *m_{ddjw}*: this may be a mpl active participle (cf. Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 58, 615; Gardiner, *EG* § 357) agreeing with preceding *jnm(w).j* (written as plural).
- 19–20 *qrr* 'storm-cloud,' *nšnj* 'storm.' See A. Roccati, in Junge, *Studien Westendorf* I 346. For *qrr* see also Gardiner, *AEO* I 5. In the Pyramid Texts it has the determinative of wind (Pyr. 261a, 281a) and fire (N 754); cf. also *hrw qrj* 'voice of the storm-cloud' = thunder (Sh.S. 57; Naville, *Totenbuch* I 53, 6). *nšnj* 'storm' also has thunder (Hornung, *Amduat* I 93, 7), and is used in parallel with *d'* 'storm-wind' (Sh.S. 30–32, 97–98). The variant *šnjt* 'hail' in A1C and G1T is less suited to the sense of *jdt* 'fumes' (see next).
- 20 *jdt* 'fumes.' The determinative in most copies suggests rain, but *jdt* is also used of a god's scent (Pyr. 456a; *Urk* IV 339, 15). It is a by-product of burning incense (W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* [Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, 5: New Haven, 1974], pl. 31, ANOC 69.1 vert. 4–5) and gives off smoke (Pyr. 365b).
jhhw 'half-light.' Dawn or dusk: *Wb* I 126, 2–4. Here perhaps the "half-light" of the storm itself.
- 21–22 Cf. CT V: 240h-i. *grgt* 'foundation' (*Wb* V 188, 14–16) is used opposite *pt* 'sky' in Pyr. 881a.
- 23 Variant "I am the *ba* of Shu, whom Atum created."
- 24 *jw(j) r* 'I am bound for.' See Allen, *Inflection*, p. 520 n. 111; Edel, *AäG* § 760a. G1T and A1C have *jw.j m* 'I am in.'
- 25 Variant "Because I am Eternal Recurrence."
- 26 G1T and A1C add "for Atum," and end here.
- 28 *d.f d_{rt}.f* 'as he used his hand.' Cf. *rdj hr* 'pay attention' ('use the face': *Wb* III 126, 15/17–18).
- 29 This meaning of *šbj* (*Wb* I 6, 2–17) seems likelier than the alternative 'desire' ("whom his spit desired to let fall").
n tš 'for the earth.' Not 'to the ground,' which is regularly *r tš* with *hr* and *šhr* (*Wb* III 320, 13; IV 257, 17 and 258, 1).

- 30 The word-order follows the Middle Egyptian rule for an *A pw* sentence with modifying adjective: Edel, *AäG* § 357; Gardiner, *EG* § 130; Lefebvre, *GEC* § 609; Westendorf, *GMT* § 404, 2. For *A pw B* in statements of kinship see Edel, *AäG* § 966.
- 34 *ḫtj* 'fledgling.' Cf. CT IV 276/77a/c, 280/81b *ḫwj*. This is clearly the same formation as *zḫtj* (*Wb* III 412, 9), though otherwise unattested.
- 36–37 Probably derived from an original split column *w^c / w^c.snj r-sḫ / m-ḫt.j*; similarly in lines 39–40. Alternatively, the initial word could be a noun *w^ctj* 'pair' on the pattern of *zḫtj* and *ḫtj*, otherwise unattested.
- 41 '*h^c.n.j* 'I have come to reply.' Cf. *Wb* I 219, 18. The same usage possibly in Hornung, *Anbetung des Re* II 38, 13.
- 47 *m nnwt* 'in inertness.' Cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 85; more often *nnw* (*Wb* II 275, 9–12; cf. CT VI 144e).
- 48 *nj gm.n.j* 'not finding.' Variant *nj gm.j*. See the note to Text 5, 25, above.
- 50 *qḥd* 'lotus.' For the reading, cf. Pyr. 541d *qḥd wḥd* and the determinative there. Cf. also Pyr. 284c *ḫrj qḥ(d)t.f*, CT I 94b *tpj qḥdt.f* 'he who is on/atop his lotus.'
- 51 *wnn.s* 'so she could be.' B1C has the more usual subjunctive form *wn.s*. The geminated form in other copies may be the prospective ("*sdmw.f*") used adverbially (Allen, *Inflection*, § 286)—if not as a clause of "future circumstance," then as virtual future relative (after a proper name: cf. Edel, *AäG* § 1051; Gardiner, *EG* § 198, 1; Allen, *Inflection*, § 282B) 'who would be over my head.'
- jrj* 'marry.' *Wb* III 77, 9 (*Urk* IV 2, 15).
- 53 *psdwt pḫttj* 'the two original Enneads.' Despite the plural strokes after *psdt*, the dual seems clear from B2L/B1P *pḫttj* and the parallel in line 79. For the two Enneads, see Barta, *Neunheit*, 50–60.
- wn.jn.sn* 'and started existing.' The form is clear not only from the spelling but also from the secondary insertion of a reed-leaf in B2L. For this use of the form, cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 429, 2.
- 55 *p^cwt nnj.j* 'the natives inert.' For *p^cwt* see Gardiner, *AEO* I 108–10. *nnj.j* is the 3mpl old perfective (Gardiner, *EG* § 309; Edel, *AäG* §§ 572, 574cc). B1P has the variant *m nnjj* 'in inertness' (for the nominal form see CT VI 144e T2L).
- 56 The context indicates that *s^cnh.f ḫḫtj.j* is the second element of the "participial statement": the preceding *tz jb.j* would be past, less likely in the context. Note the use of *ḫḫtj* in the physical sense (in conjunction with line 57 *sḫq.n.f^cwt.j* 'when he has drawn together my limbs'), vs. *jb* in the spiritual sense in the preceding phrase. Cf. Gardiner, *AEO* I 250–51; *Wb med* I 40–42 §§ 5–8.
- 57 *wrd* 'weary.' The absence of a feminine ending in all copies is unusual, but the context seems to demand this attributive interpretation.
- 58 *sn* 'kiss.' Or 'inhale': cf. CT VI 271e "I am Order in (*m*) the Sun's nose."
- 60 *nj ḫr.sn* 'they will not be far.' The variant in B2L/B1P *nj ḫr(t) st* may mean 'without the distancing of them from you,' with *st* as object of the infinitive (Gardiner, *EG* § 300)—though *ḫrj* otherwise appears as transitive first in the New Kingdom (*Wb* III 146, 3). It is not a negated adjectival sentence: see J. Allen, in *Crossroad*, 12.

- 61 “Your daughter Order” in line 58 suggests this is not “Your daughter is Order” but rather an explanatory gloss. For the construction, cf. Pyr. 1248d M. For the position of *pw*, cf. Edel, *AäG* § 305.
- 70 The best text seems to be B7C. The variant in the other three copies may read *ms.t ntr pr.t j̄ḥw* ‘when the god is born and sunlight is sent forth.’ For transitive *prj*, cf. *prj ḥrw* ‘send forth the voice’ (Pyr. 23b, 488b, 2118a).
- 73 ‘*nḥ n nhḥ* ‘Life of Eternal Recurrence.’ The parallel with *nb dt*, and the divine determinative in B2L/B1P, indicate this meaning rather than ‘who lives forever.’
- 80 *wnn.snj* ‘and were existing.’ Cf. the note to line 51, above.
- 83 *wd.n.f* ‘he has placed.’ Cf. line 67. For the spelling, see Allen, *Inflection*, § 167.
- 86 *bznw*. The meaning is unknown—possibly a mineral: Harris, *Minerals*, 190–91. The same root may appear as a verb in CT VI 301o, VII 53l.
- 93 *j.sn* ‘will kiss.’ For the form see Allen, *Inflection*, § 367.
- 101–104 B1C has an initial ‘*nḥ*, making these lines a complete sentence: “Falcons live off birds,” etc. In the other copies, these clauses specify what is meant by line 100 “make fresh his parts,” with the first noun in each clause in apposition to “his parts” and the adverbial phrase indicating the means.
- 107 The divine determinative after ‘*nḥ* indicates that this is a noun rather than the adjective “living.” It stands in apposition to *r.j* ‘my mouth’—note B7c [*r.j*] *pw n ‘nḥ* ‘this my mouth of life.’ *r.j* is possibly used in the extended sense of ‘speech’ (*Wb* II 391, 23–24); cf. line 109.
- 110 *pr* ‘who emerged.’ For B1C *m pr* cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 96, 2.
- 111 *ḥddw* ‘little fish.’ Possibly related to *ḥwdw* ‘beater’ (*Wb* III 250, 4; cf. Percy E. Newberry, *The Rock Tombs of Beni Hasan I* [Archaeological Survey of Egypt, 1: London, 1893] pl. 29). The full form may be *ḥwdd*: see Osing, *Nominalbildung* I 296–99. The word is clearly related to Ptolemaic *ḥdw* ‘fish, fowl’ (*Wb* III 355, 19–20).
ḥrw ‘which are on.’ Modifying the collective *ḥfjt* (*Wb* III 73, 4–5). For collectives with *mpl* modifiers see Edel, *AäG* § 988; Gardiner, *EG* § 188, 1.

Text 9

Publications: Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 59, 15–61, 12. Major translations and commentary: R. O. Faulkner, *JEA* 23 (1937) 172–73, *JEA* 24 (1938) 41–42; Piankoff, *Shrines*, 24; J. A. Wilson, in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950), 6–7; Sauneron, *La Naissance du monde*, 48–51.

- 1 *ntj* ‘of.’ Korostovstev, *GNE* § 46.
*ḥprw*³ ‘developments.’ *Wb* III 265, 17–266 is corrected by Osing, *Nominalbildung* II 550–62 and 882–86; cf. also R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (HÄB 7: Hildesheim, 1978), 133–65. Following Osing, two words are to be distinguished in the nominal form *ḥpr(w)*: the infinitive *ḥpr*, meaning ‘process of development, change’; and the

verbal noun *hprw*, meaning ‘development, stage of development’ (Assmann, *Ägypten*, 75: “Selbstentfaltung in der Zeit”). The infinitive is preserved in Coptic *šōpe* < **háp* ʀ. The verbal noun is often written as a plural, but is vocalized differently in both singular and plural: sg. **hú(p)r* ʷ (e.g., cuneiform *Nap-hu’ru-ria* = *nfr-hprw-r*^c) and pl. **hupirw* ʷ (in cuneiform *Mana-hpi-ria* = *mn-hprw-r*^c). The text translated here distinguishes three writings: (1) that of the verb (*hpr*), with book-roll determinative (*sdm.f*, *sdm.n.f*, and participle(?) *hprj*); (2) the same form with plural strokes (*hpr*^s), apparently with the meaning of the infinitive ‘process of development’ (only in lines 4–5); and (3) a form with written (curl) *w*, plural strokes, and the determinatives of the upright mummy and the falcon on a standard (*hprw*^s). The latter has the meaning of the verbal noun, and is treated grammatically as a plural (in lines 1 and 19–21). The second version of the text (pBremner-Rhind 28, 20–29, 6) uses only *hpr* and *hprw*^s, with the latter used both for *hpr*^s and *hprw*^s of the first version (treated as singular in 28, 20–21 *hpr.kw m hprw*^s *n hprj* ‘I being developed into the (stage of) development of Developer’).

- 3 *jnk pw hpr.j* ‘For my part, the fact is that I developed.’ The same construction occurs in line 22. The second version uses a construction with the *sdm.n.f*: *jnk pw hpr.n.j* (pBremner-Rhind 28, 22–23), *jnk pw jšš.n.j* (28, 26). This, the use of *pw*, and the 1s resumptive suggest that the construction is the same as the Middle Egyptian *jnk pw sdm.n.j*: Gardiner, *EG* §§ 190, 1 and 325, 332 end; Lefebvre, *GEC* §§ 614–15; Westendorf, *GMT* § 91ee; F. Junge, *Syntax der Mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz, 1978), 60–62; H. J. Polotsky, “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (Tel Aviv, 1976), 41–44. For *hpr m* see *Wb* III 261, 15.

- 4–5 The second version uses only the first line of this couplet, in the form *hpr.j hpr hprw*^s (pBremner-Rhind 28, 20) and *hpr.j hpr hprw*^s *pw* (28, 21) ‘My developing—that was the developing of development,’ the latter clearly a nominal-sentence construction. The earlier parallel (quotation?) in pTurin 54065 has

hpr.n. (j) hpr.n hprt
hpr.n hprt [nb m] ht hpr.j

When I developed, that which has developed developed.
 All that has developed has developed after I developed

(P. Vernus, *GM* 43 [1981] 73–74; F. Junge and A. Loprieno, in *Crossroad*, 195 and 271–72), with balanced and “emphatic” constructions. pBremner-Rhind generally uses the *sdm.n.f* with 1s subject and the *sdm.f* with nominal subject (as here), though not consistently: cf. 26, 21/24 vs. 28, 22/26; 27, 6 vs. 27, 7; 26, 22 and 27, 1 vs. 27, 2 and 28, 27 = 29, 2; 28, 4/13 vs. 29, 7. For the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* in “traditional Egyptian,” see H. Oikawa, in *L'égyptologie en 1979* (Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 595: Paris, 1982), 53–54; P. Vernus, *RdE* 32 (1980) 117–21.

- 6 *ššr* ‘becoming many.’ Either an adjectival predicate or *sdm.f*, the latter likelier from the context. For the spelling see Erman, *NäG* § 217.

- 7-9 *nn hpr*, etc. With the *sdm.f* (lines 7-8 and 17), *sdm.n.f* (lines 15-16), and passive *sdm.f* (line 9). For the adverbial use of these constructions, see B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), 159-60 and 113-14; Allen, *Inflection*, §§ 336, 437. These are clearly counterparts of the standard Middle Egyptian *nj sdm.t.f*.
- 9 *bt pwjj* 'that place.' These texts generally use *pwjj/twjj* for non-immediate reference (pBremner-Rhind 27, 8/14-16/25; 28, 2/7-8/24) vs. immediate *pn* (27, 2/4-5/7; 28, 16/22-23/26; 29, 1/6/9-10/16). In 27, 8/16 *rn.s pwjj* = 27, 16 *rn.s pffj*.
- 10 *ḥz.n.j jm.sn* 'I became tied together in them.' For intransitive *ḥz* see the note to Text 5, 4, above. *m* with the transitive verb usually has the meaning 'tie onto' (*Wb* V 397, 18), 'tie with' (*Wb* V 398, 18/20); for the meaning here, cf. pBremner-Rhind 30, 13 *jm.k ḥpr jm.k ḥz* 'you shall not develop, you shall not become tied together.' The verb *ḥz* can be a late spelling of *ḥzj* 'lift up' (*Wb* V 396, 12; 399, 2; 405, 1) but probably not here: cf. the different spelling of *ḥzj* in 22, 5/11/14.
- 17 Or perhaps *nn hpr kj jr n.f ḥn'.j* 'without another having developed who could act for himself with me.' For the continuative *sdm.n.f* cf. Allen, *Inflection*, § 422; J. H. Johnson, *Serapis* 6 (1980) 69-73.
- 19 *hpr 'š3* 'became many.' 'š3 is the *sdm.f* or infinitive 'become many,' with *hprw'3 nw hprw'3* as subject: literally, 'there developed the becoming-many of the developments of developments.'
- 22 *ḥ3d.n.j* 'I acted as husband.' For the verb (a spelling of *hj*) see *Wb* III 476, 1. Cf. pLeiden I 350 5, 2-3 *hj 3mm.f nn wn k3t* 'who acted as husband with his fist, there being no vagina' (Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 [1905] 36).
- 23 *djj.n.j* 'I copulated.' Corrected from *ḥ3.n.j* (Faulkner, *Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 60 n. b-c). The verb is usually *d3* (*Wb* V 414, 8) and is found as such in the Coffin Texts and Book of the Dead in the phrase *nj bn.k nj d3.k* and variants: CT VI 220x = H. Kees, *ZÄS* 57 (1922) 113; BD 39 and 45 = Naville, *Totenbuch* I 53, 11 and 60, 3. Later copies use the reduplicated forms, *bnbn/bnn* (*Wb* I 459, 17 and 460, 6) and *d3d3/djdj* (*Wb* V 419, 4), which also appear in pBremner-Rhind in the phrase *nn bnbn.k nn ḥ3.k* and variants (23, 19; 24, 16; 25, 17-18; 29, 13; 31, 3). For the sense, see R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* II (Warminster, 1977) 196 n. 18: "*bn* > *bnb* > *bnbn* stands basically for what is stiff and upright . . . while *d3* > *d3d3* stands for to-and-fro movement."
- 27 *m s3.sn* 'after them.' Possibly in the sense of "looking after them" (cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 178), but the second version has *jn jrt.j jn n.j sn* 'it is my eye that got them for me' (pBremner-Rhind 29, 1) suggesting the meaning 'follow after, pursue.'
- 28 *m ḥ(t) ḥpr.j* 'after I developed.' For *m ḥt* used initially, see Gardiner, *EG* § 178; Westendorf, *GMT* p. 246 n. 2.
- 29 *ntr 3 pw r.j* 'that was three gods with respect to me.' An adverbial sentence predicated by *pw*: cf. J. Allen, in *Crossroad*, 14.
- 31 *nnw* 'inert waters.' Not written like *nw* 'the Waters' (lines 10 and 26) nor like *nn(w)* 'inertness' (line 10). The second version has *nw* 'the Waters' (pBremner-Rhind 28, 26), repeated in 29, 1, with a spelling like that in line 31.

- 35 *ḥt w^ct m s3*. Probably with haplography for *ḥt w^ct w^c m s3*. Cf. Erman, *Näg* § 241, 2; also Edel, *AäG* § 378; Lefebvre, *GEC*, § 193.
- 36 *ms³.sn* 'they gave birth.' For the spelling of the verb, cf. line 33 *ms³.jn*.

Text 10

Publications: CT IV 184–201f (including glosses). U. 830Röbler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des ägyptischen Totenbuches* (GOF 4, 10: Wiesbaden, 1979). Naville, *Totenbuch* I 23, 1–4; II 29–41.

- 1 *pṛt m hrw* 'emerging by day.' For the sense, cf. *Urk* IV 148, 12; 433, 11–12.
- 2 *ḥpr* 'developed.' For the grammatical form (*sdm.f*) see Allen, *Inflection*, § 309.
- mdt* 'the word.' So in most copies. Variant *mdw* 'speech' in M4C, T2Be, M1NY. The former is a concrete noun meaning 'word, content (of a letter or decree), matter, affair' (*Wb* II 181, 7–182, 2); the latter is a noun of action meaning 'speech, speaking' (*Wb* II 180, 4–12).
- nnk tm* 'all was mine.' Cf. CT II 166c; IV 340a-c, 348d-e; VII 107c, 178i. For *nnk* see M. Gilula, *RdE* 20 (1968) 55–61. BD copies have generally reinterpreted this line as *ḥpr mdt n nb tm jnk tm* 'The word of the All-lord developed: I am Atum' (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 31).
- 3 *wnn.j* 'when I existed.' Variant *wn.j* (L3Li, M57C) and *m wnn.j* (T3Be). The latter construction is standard in BD copies (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 31).
- 5 *nṛ* '3' 'the great god.' T3L has the variant *r^c* 'the Sun.'
- 6 Variants *qm3.n n.f nb psdt* 'for whom the lord of the Ennead created' (L1NY, T1Be, L3Li) and *qm3 n.f psdwt* 'who created the Enneads for himself' (M1NY).
- 7 *ḥsf m* normally means 'bar from' (*Wb* III 335, 13; 336, 18) or 'encounter' (*Wb* III 337, 3). Neither meaning suits this context. The translation here takes *jwtj ḥsf* as a noun phrase, with *m* as partitive (Gardiner, *EG* § 162, 5; Edel, *AäG* § 758f).
- 8 *nnk sf* 'yesterday is mine.' Cf. the 2s in Sq4Sq *wsjr NN pn n.k sf*. Variant *jn k sf* 'I am yesterday' (T2Be)—if not for (*nj*)-*jn k sf*: cf. the spelling in B1Y.
- 9 '*ḥt* 'battleship.' Numerous copies have the house determinative (= 'battleplace'). BH1Br has the (phonological) variant *jhnt*: cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung* II 538 n. 373 and 778–80.
- dd.j* 'my say.' Variant *wd.j* 'my command': T1C^a, B1Y, T2Be, and standard in BD copies (Naville, *Totenbuch* II 37).
- 11 *jn k* 'I (am.)' Variant *iw.j rh.kw* 'I know' (T2Be).
- 12 *irj sjp/sjpt* 'accountant.' Literally, 'the one who pertains to reckoning.' Cf. G. Englund, *Akh—une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Uppsala, 1978), 81; H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Néferhotep (I) et Neb-néfer à Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo, 1979) II pl. 13.

Text 11

Publications: CT III 382a–389e, Asyut version.

- 5 Variant "I am the identity that the Sole Lord made" (S1C^b). B1Bo has "on account of the identity of the Sole Lord."

- 7 B1Bo has “after he sent.”
- 8 *m wn.f* ‘when he was.’ Note the alternation with *m wnn hḥ.f*, with nominal subject, in CT III 383e (line 10), indicating that the form is that of the infinitive. B1Bo has *n wn.f* ‘because he was.’
- 10 B1Bo adds “who shine in his eye” after “associates.”
- 11 B1Bo has the variant “when he spoke to Scarab.”
- 12 *wsr.f r.f* ‘than whom he is mightier.’ Relative *sḏm.f*. Circumstantial “he being mightier than him” is less likely, since the old perfective is regularly used to express circumstantial quality (Edel, *AäG* § 466). B1Bo begins a new sentence here: “This NN became mighty when he (the god) became mighty.”
- 13 *ḥw* ‘Annunciation.’ Restored from B1Bo. For “taking” something to the mouth, cf. Pyr. 32b, 36b. For speech *tp r* ‘upon the mouth’ see *Wb* V 275, 9. The idiom *jtj ḥw* may have the sense of “starting to announce”: cf. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsut à Karnak* (Cairo, 1977) I 123 n. e; compare English “take flight.” B1Bo has the variant “This NN has taken Annunciation in his mouth.”
- 14 *z3 pw* ‘that son.’ There is no obvious referent for *pw*, unless its function is to relate the term “son” to the description that precedes (lines 5–13). B1Bo has “In fact, as for this NN, he is the son of her whom Atum bore,” and adds “born without a mother.”
- 15 *z3* ‘protection.’ S1C^a has the human determinative, perhaps indicating “I am the protection,” unless the word “magician” is meant (*Wb* III 415, 18)—but cf. Text 5, 54. B1Bo adds “This NN is one whose *kas* smite.”
- 16 B1Bo adds “the encountered one of the gods, that which was encountered for them without that noble one, lord of noble ones, having made them.”
- 19 *smnh* ‘made functional.’ The root meaning of *mnḥ*, though often translated as ‘excellent’ or the like, seems from the word’s uses to be related more fundamentally to the notion of functionality. A king who is *mnḥ* is one who *jr 3ḥwt n jt.f* ‘does what is effective for his father’ and is *jwtj nn* ‘not inactive’ (*Wb Belegstellen* II 85, 6). An individual who is *ḥmww ḏb’w* ‘skilled of fingers’ can be described as *mnḥ jb* ‘functional-minded’ (Cairo 20539 I 6). In a man’s life, “becoming functional” follows on his education and determines his career: “I reached (the age of) understanding, I learned, and I became functional . . . one whose functionality promoted his place” (*Urk* IV 945, 2–4/7). The abstract *mnḥw* ‘functionality’ is translated in Greek as *euergesia* ‘doing good’ (*Wb* II 86, 16–17). The causative *smnh* is often used of buildings that are “made functional,” either new or rebuilt (*Wb* IV 137, 3–12). It can also be applied to the enactment of laws or decrees, the carrying out of plans, and the (re)establishment of Order (*Wb* IV 136, 9/15–16).
- ntr* ‘the god.’ B1Bo has “the gods”; also, “the eldest god” for “he who bore all.”
- 20 B1Bo has only “who speaks (or ‘spoke’) with his mouth,” and omits “a noble god.”
- 21 B1Bo has *n.f jm tm* ‘All was his’—for the construction, see M. Gilula, *RdE* 20 (1968) 55–57—and the variant “without you having developed.”
- 22 *ḥr pḥwj* ‘at the end.’ *Wb* I 536, 17. B1Bo has “It is to (him) that you should go down, you who come at NN’s rear.”
- 23 B1Bo adds the adjective “noble.”

Text 12

Publications: CT VI 268c-o.

- 9 *nḥb-k3w* 'Distributor of *kas*.' For this god and the meaning of *nḥb*, see W. Barta, *Lexikon* IV 388–90.
- 10 *š3w* 'beginnings.' *Wb* IV 407, 7—unless *š3w* 'fates' is meant (*Wb* IV 403–404).
- 14 [*jr*] 'the one who made.' Restoration suggested by the traces (CT VI 268 n. 1) and by the need for a referent for lines 15–16 "his mouth . . . his belly."

Text 13

Publications: NCG 897/AEIN 54, 1–5. O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg* (BA 6: Brussels, 1936), 57; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes* (Publications de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, 1: Copenhagen, 1948), 37 and pl. 37, A. Translation: Assmann, *Hymnen*, 466.

- 5 *qd rhwt ms-ntrw* 'who built people and gave birth to the gods.' Cf. *Urk* IV 1850, 2–3 "Ta-tenen, who caused mankind and the gods to develop."
- 7 *dd.tw* 'it was spoken.' Relative *sdm.f* referring to line 4 "noble god": cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 388; Lefebvre, *GEC* § 473; Westendorf, *GMT* § 317aa.
- 10 *hpr.w hpr.f* 'he whose development is their development.' Literally, 'he who they develop when he develops': *hpr.w* is a relative *sdm.f* with 3pl subject.
- 11 *hnt* 'antecedent.' *Wb* III 303, 21–24.
- 12 *d.n.k t3 r* 'you have set the world to.' *Wb* II 467, 25.

Text 14

Publications: pBerlin 3048 2, 1–2; 3, 1–2; 4, 3–5, 1; 11, 4–8. G. Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den kgl. Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1905) II 36–46; W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1029) 17–44; S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 65–102. Translation: Assman, *Hymnen*, 322–25, 332–33.

- 5 *hpr3* 'developing.' The same spelling in line 29, vs. *hprw3*, with standing mummy determinative, in line 7. See the discussion in the note to Text 9, line 1, above.
- 6 *hm* 'who crafted.' Cf. pBerlin 3048 8, 2 (Wolf E8) *m rn.f n hm t3* 'in his identity of world-crafter.'
- 7 *hpr hprw3.f* 'when his developments developed.' For the spelling of the verb, cf. line 38. But pBerlin 3048 8, 8 (Wolf E35) apparently treats this phrase as an epithet: *m rn.f n hpr hprw3* 'in his identity of development of developments.'

- 8–9 Note the word-play *twt* ‘model’ vs. *wtt* ‘begetter,’ also the gender reference *twt* (feminine) *ms* ‘model who gave birth’ vs. *wtt* (masculine) *qm3m* ‘begetter who created.’
- 11 *h^s-ntr* ‘god’s body.’ Also the term for the king’s/Osiris’s body and its image (*Wb* III 39, 1–5); cf. W. Helck, *Lexikon* II 816.
- 23 *s3q.n.f* ‘it drew together.’ The sense seems clear from the context, though *s3q* is otherwise transitive. Cf. the note to Text 5, 4. For the verb’s meaning, see n. 93.
- 27 Cf. pBerlin 3048 10, 3–4 (Wolf H16–18) “when your son said of you . . . he who created me in the Waters”—showing that *sw* here refers to line 29 *z3.k* ‘your son.’
- 31 *j nr^s . . . j snd^s* ‘be fearful . . . be afraid.’ Plural imperatives with preceding interjection. Probably not prefixed forms: cf. pBerlin 3048 7, 8–9 (Wolf D88–89) *sndw^s n.f jr^s n.f hknw^s* ‘be afraid of him, make homage to him.’ The Late Egyptian prefixed forms are apparently all of verbs with weak medial or final radicals (reinterpreted as 2-lit.): Erman, *NäG* § 349; Korostovstev, *GNE* § 267; Černý-Groll, *LEG*, p. 342. This would suit *nr^s* (< *nrj*) but not *sndw^s*.
- 34 *hr* ‘through.’ This preposition is not usual with *hip*—here probably in a spatio-temporal sense: i.e., “when (one of) his two sound eyes is present.”
- 35 *mh3t t3wj* ‘balance of the Two Lands.’ Here perhaps meant literally as well as the figurative epithet of Memphis (*Wb* II 130, 13).
- 36 *tp* (< *r*) ‘the utterance.’ *znj* is not used with the preposition *tp*. Cf. pBerlin 3048 6, 1–2 (Wolf D50) *nn th3 wd.n.k n.sn* ‘without violating what you have commanded them.’
- 37 *sqd* ‘that lays.’ Probably for *sqr*: cf. *Wb* IV 310, 6.

Text 15

Publications: Text: J. H. Breasted, *ZÄS* 39 (1902) 39–54; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 1–80; Junker, *Götterlehre* and *Politische Lehre*. Translation and Commentary: Erman, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*; J. A. Wilson, in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1950), 4–6; S. Sauneron, in *La naissance du monde*, 62–64; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley, 1973–80) I 51–57; F. Junge, *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 195–204.

- 1 *hpr m* ‘something developed into.’ For the idiom, see *Wb* III 261, 14 and 262, 21. For omission of the subject, see Gardiner, *EG* § 486; Westendorf, *GMT* § 455a; K.-H. Priese, *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 123–24. For the construction, cf. S. Groll, in *Form und Mass, Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht*, (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 12: Wiesbaden, 1987), 161–65.
- tjt* ‘image.’ Used of images, hieroglyphic signs, and symbols (*Wb* V 239, 1–3; 240, 6). The sense of *m tjt* ‘in the function/capacity of’ may also be meant: R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 64 (1978) 157.

- 2 For *jw* with adjectival predicate, see Gardiner, *EG* § 142; for combined predicates, Gardiner, *EG* § 488; Edel, *AäG* § 1144.
- 3 *s*“*nh*” [*ntrw nb*]*w* ‘who gave life to all the gods.’ Sethe read *swd* // // // [*ntrw nb*]*w* (*Dramatische Texte*, 50 n. 2, 52), but in this text *w**d* regularly has a complementary *w* (columns 13a, 57, 58, 62) except, once, in the expression *w**d*-*mdw* (column 54). There is space enough for two groups before [*nb*]*w*, one of which was probably *ntrw*. For the other, Sethe restores *ph**tj*.*f* *n* (*Dramatische Texte*, 52); Junker, more plausibly, ‘*nh* *n*’ (*Götterlehre*, 41). The sign read as *w**d* by Sethe may in fact be the ‘*nh*’-sign, with complementary *nh* as the missing group before [*ntrw*]: cf. pBerlin 3048 2, 5–6 (Wolf B10) [*s*]*nh* *ntrw*.
sk ‘as well.’ For Old Egyptian *js**t* (Edel, *AäG* §§ 317, 829). Other examples occur in lines 21, 39, and 50.
- 5 *hpr.n*. The use of *pn* ‘this’ in line 4 indicates a relative *s**dm.n.f* (cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 53), despite the space left blank at the end of column 53 (for which, see n. 97).
- 6 *hpr.n* ‘It has developed.’ For the construction see *Wb* III 262, 22–263, 1.
- 7 *hr sb*(3) ‘showing.’ Probably not “because of the teaching,” for which *Wb* IV 85–86 *sb**jjt* would be expected. The masculine *sb**j*(*w*) (*Wb* IV 85, 6–7) refers to the act of teaching, not what is taught. *sb**j* is not otherwise attested with a noun-clause as object.
wnt.f ‘that he.’ The 3ms pronoun here and following refers to Ptah rather than “heart” and/or “tongue”—cf. line 31 *w**d*.*f* *mdw* ‘he governs’ and line 10 *ps**d*.*f* ‘his Ennead.’
m hnt ‘preeminent in.’ Cf. *Wb* III 302, 11.
- 8 ‘*nh**t*’ ‘that live.’ The absence of *nb*, if deliberate, suggests that this is not another object of *n* ‘of’ but a participle modifying the preceding noun-phrases collectively. The feminine ending is probably influenced by the gender of the two or three noun-phrases modified.
- 9 *hr k**3**t* ‘planning.’ Despite the gemination, parallel *hr w**d* *mdw* ‘governing’ indicates that this is not a participle but the infinitive (3ae-inf. *k**3**j*).
- 10 Cf. Pyr. 1100a-b “My lips are the two Enneads: I am the great expression.” See S. Schott, *ZÄS* 74 (1938) 94–96.
- 11 *jp**tjw* ‘that . . . these.’ Junge, *MDAIK* 29 (1973) 197–98, takes this as *jp**3*, an “archaizing” form of the Late Egyptian subject *n**3*. Sethe and others have read *jp*^r*w*³, the Old Egyptian plural demonstrative as subject, but *jp**w* in Old Egyptian is only demonstrative: the regular plural subject is *nw/nn* (Edel, *AäG* § 959). As written, the form may be the Old Egyptian feminine dual demonstrative (Nt 49 = N 216 + 20: cf. Edel, *AäG* § 182 Nachtrag), with number and gender influenced by *drtj* ‘hands’ (cf. Edel, *AäG* § 986).
- 12 *hpr.n js*. For the construction see J. Allen, *GM* 32 (1979) 8–9.
- 16 *ms.n* ‘and gave birth.’ With omitted subject: see Gardiner, *EG* § 486 Obs. 2; Lefebvre, *GEC*, § 540, 2c; Edel, *AäG* § 992. For the image of lines 15–16 cf. Text 6, 30/37 and Text 7, 5; also Pyr. 447b.
- 17 *s*^r.*sn* ‘send up,’ i.e., information. Cf. *Urk* IV 257, 17 (Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 60).
- 18 ‘*rq**jjt*’ ‘conclusion.’ Meaning suggested by *Wb* I 212, 3–6 ‘*rq*’ ‘complete, finish’; *Wb* I 212, 8–9 ‘*rq**jj*’ ‘last day’ (of the month/year); and *Wb* I 212, 10–15 ‘*rq*’ ‘understand.’

- 20 *sw ms* 'So were born.' See the note to Text 1C1, 4; also K.-H. Priese, *ZÄS* 98 (1972) 121.
- 21 *tm* 'Atum.' Without the usual divine determinative, but the meaning seems clear from the following *psdt.f sk* 'and his Ennead as well.'
- 22 *mdw-ntr* 'divine speech.' In line 39 as well. Usually with reference to hieroglyphs: *Wb* II 180–81.
- 24 *hm(w)swt* 'female life-principles.' See the extended discussion by Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 62–63; also P. Kaplony, *Lexikon* II 1117–19, with 1119 n. 13 on this passage. Cf. *Pyr.* 2040a-b.
- 26 *jrr mrrt/msdt* 'that makes what is loved and what is hated.' Unless there is an omission—as suggested by Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 64—*jrr* must refer to the preceding *mdt tn* 'that word,' with the feminine ending omitted (cf. the note to line 31 below).
- 27 *sw d 'nh* 'So has life been given.' Cf. pBerlin 3048 9, 11a (Wolf G32) "who gives life to the one he has chosen."
- 31 *wd.f mdt* 'he governs.' If correct, the pronoun can only refer to Ptah, since the following object (lines 31–32) rules out either "heart" or "tongue" as subject. *mdt* here for usual *mdw* (*Wb* I 396, 3).
- 33 *jrrt smw* 'which facilitates.' See B. Grdseloff, *ArOr* 20 (1952) 484–86. The root meaning of *smj* (*Wb* IV 120, 7–19) seems to be 'help.' The verbal noun *smw/smt* (*Wb* IV 120, 10 and 14–19) has the meaning 'help.'
- 38 *sw 'gm* 'So is it found.' The bird does not look like the *gm* bird in line 2 of the stone and is more like the ibis of *dhwtj* in column 54, though not on a standard: Breasted, *ZÄS* 39 (1902) pl. 1–2; Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 67–68. Of various possible readings, *gm* seems to be the only one that fits the context.
- s3* 'and recognized.' For *s33* 'understand' with noun-clause object, *Wb* IV 16, 6 cites only this passage. Read *s(j)3*, parallel to *gm*: for this verb with noun-clause object, see *Wb* IV 30, 20; Westendorf, *GMT* §§ 213, 5 and 225, 2.
- 3* *ph.tj.f* 'his strength is great.' Cf. CT VI 267k, VII 154j; also pBerlin 3048 2, 4 (Wolf B6) and 8, 9 (Wolf E38).
- 43 *hr hm.zn* 'in their cult-places.' Cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 69; *Wb* III 280, 10. For *rdj hr* cf. *Wb* II 467, 28 and 33.
- 46 See Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 69.
- 48 *'3t* 'mineral,' *jm* 'frit.' See Harris, *Minerals*, 21–22, 200.
- 49 *hr ht.w.f* 'all over him.' Cf. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte*, 69–70; Edel, *AäG* § 798. The meaning "on" (*Wb* III 347, 14) occurs in *Pyr.* 1067b. Cf. pBerlin 3048 6, 3 (Wolf D54) "the wood of life grows on you."
- 50 *f'b n.f* 'were gathered to him.' Cf. *Pyr.* 1728a, 1646b: Allen, *Inflection*, § 564D.
- 51 *h.p.jj hnm.jj* 'content and combined.' 3mpl old perfective: Allen, *Inflection*, § 564E; Edel, *AäG* § 574cc; Gardiner, *EG* § 309.
- nb t3.wj* 'lord of the Two Lands.' Cf. pHarris I 79, 7 "as lord of the Two Lands, like Tatenen."

Text 16

Publications: A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 12–42; Erman, *Der Leidener Amonshymnus*; Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*. Major additional translations and commentary by Assmann, *Hymnen*, 312–21; G. Fecht, *ZÄS* 91 (1964) 46–52.

A pLeiden I 350 2, 26–28.

2 *qj* 'appearance.' The word is used of a subject's external appearance (*Wb* V 15, 6–12),

way of acting (*Wb* V 16, 1–5), and situation (*Wb* V 16, 6–8)—in essence, the form in which one is perceived by others.

- 5 *šm nfr* ‘perfect icon.’ For the meaning of *šm* see E. Hornung, in O. Loretz, *Die Gott-ebenbildlichkeit des Menschen* (Munich, 1967), 137–39; Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 52–53 = *Conceptions of God*, 62–63.

†*snfr*¹ *jb.f* ‘whom his heart made perfect.’ The reading *snfr* is conjectural: the hieratic does not look like the expected signs (cf. preceding *nfr*).

- 8 *hprw hprw* ‘Development of development.’ The text has the standing-mummy and divine determinatives after the second *hprw*; the first is undetermined. This suggests a distinction between verbal noun and verb-form, respectively: see the note to Text 9, 1 above. The same phrase is used of Ptah in Text 14, 7, with the same written distinction (see the note to that line, above).

- 9 *m bw m3^c* ‘in proper order.’ Despite the verse-point between *bw* and *m3^c*, the reading and sense seem clear. The relationship of this line to the next, and the sense of the final line, are unclear.

B pLeiden I 350 3, 22–26.

- 3 *r km.k* ‘until you completed.’ Gardiner, *EG* § 163, 11; Lefebvre, *GEC*, § 719, 2 and 743. Only exceptionally is this construction used to express purpose (Gardiner, *EG* § 740, end).

- 4 *zšt3w* ‘was secreted.’ Probably a passive participle used as adjectival predicate (Gardiner, *EG* § 374B and Add.) rather than passive *sdm.f*. The same probably in line 8 *wtz* ‘was raised aloft.’

- 5 *jmn.^rk¹* ‘you concealed,’ with the second *n* for *k*. Cf. pHarris Magical 4, 4–5 *jmn.k tw m jmn* ‘you concealed yourself as Amun.’ It is also possible that the second *n* is a dit-tograph, which would yield adjectival *jmn tw* ‘you are hidden’—but line 9 *hrw.k tw* ‘you distanced yourself’ suggests the verbal construction.

- 10 *jt[w]* ‘fathers.’ Probable from the hieratic, though the snake determinative is only a line.

C pLeiden I 350 3, [28]–4, 8.

- 10–11 The restoration is suggested by the context. Mention of Atum is indicated not only by the verb *jšš* ‘who sneezed’ and the appearance of Shu and Tefnut in the following line, but also by the reference to the “other” creator-gods Ptah and Ta-tenen in line 7.

- 13 *m pjj.f [jm]* ‘in his [disk].’ Space and context indicate a short masculine noun, and the context suggests a solar reference (cf. Text 10, 4d-e and 7b).

- 18 *ngg.f hrw* ‘he honked by voice.’ Either *m* is omitted in the change of line (pLeiden I 350 4, 5–6) or *hrw* is used as “adverbial absolute” (cf. Gardiner, *EG* § 88; Edel, *AäG* § 303). For the image, cf. pHarris Magical 7, 7 “the voice of the Great Honker was heard in the night.”

- 19 *sw3w* ‘the District.’ *Wb* IV 62, 5—apparently a reference to the Primeval Mound.

hr qm3 n.f ‘creating for himself.’ The preposition is possibly an error—so Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 32 n. 4—influenced by the common phrase *sw3 hr* ‘pass by.’ If so, read *sw3w qm3.n.f* ‘the District he created.’

- 20 *wp.f mdt* 'He began speaking.' Literally, 'he parted words.' Cf. the phrase *wpj r* 'open the mouth' to someone = speak to someone (*Wb* II 300, 1–2). The phrase here is probably deliberate, in parallel with line 21 *wn.f jrt-nb* 'opening every eye.'
- 27 The translation—and significance—of this line is obscured by the uncertain form of its last word(s). For the construction *ntf 3h3w* see Gardiner, *EG* § 114, 3. Gardiner transliterated the signs following as *m{n}w* 'distinguished': *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 31. Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*, pl. 4 n. 2, suggested either *r 3w.sn* 'all' or *n ntrw nbw* 'of all the gods.' The ending puns of other "chapters" suggests a word-play here on *psdjw* '90,' and the hieratic signs could be corrupt for *psdt* 'Ennead.'
- D pLeiden I 350 4, 9–11.
- 5 *m d.f* 'with him.' Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 32, and Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*, pl. 4, transcribe *hn^c.f*, but the hieratic shows no *n*. The Late Egyptian equivalent *m d.f* is probably meant.
- 6 *jrjj n.z rn.f* 'for whom his name was made.' A possible reflection of Egyptian custom in naming newborns: see G. Posener, *RdE* 22 (1970) 204–205; also Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*, 74.
- 7 *jnk pw* 'It is I.' For the spelling of *jnk* see Erman, *NäG*, § 99. For the expression, cf. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 99 n. 41.
- 11 *hpr.n* 'and . . . developed.' Relative *s_{dm}.n.f*—literally, 'and who—every god developed since he began himself.'
- E pLeiden I 350 4, 12–21.
- 7 *ntf* 'He.' The choice of this construction here and in lines 13 and 15, instead of the *A pw* pattern, is undoubtedly for reasons of emphasis ("predicate"). Note too the article *p3* in lines 7 and 15, reinforcing the sense of the second element in each nominal sentence as given ("subject").
- 11 *p3wt^tj wtt^t* 'original one who begot.' Written *p3wtjw* with following penis determinative, possibly from an original *p3 wtt* 'the one who begot.'
- 12 *m d.f* 'with him.' See the note to D5, above.
- 22 *prh.w* 'unfolded.' Like a flower: *Wb* I 532, 7. For the construction (negated subject plus old perfective) see Allen, *Inflection*, § 578.
- hr zh3w* 'through inscriptions.' Not "in writing," which is normally *m zh3w* (*Wb* II 478). For the preposition *hr*, cf. the expressions *hr rn* 'by name' and *hr htm* 'by seal' (Gardiner, *EG* § 165, 9). The image here is probably of temple inscriptions.
- 23 'q(3)t 'accurately.' For 'q3 used adverbially, see *Wb* I 233, 14. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905) 34, and Zandee, *Hymnen aan Amon*, pl. 4, transcribe *qrjtt(?)*, but the signs can be read as alphabetical 'qw followed by two "throw-sticks."
- 24–25 The construction here switches from adjectival (E20 *w3 sw . . . mdd sw*) to subject plus old perfective (E24–25 *sw st3.w . . . sw '3.j*), possibly because of the semantic sense of adjective-verb plus *r*.
- 27 *wd* 'who expresses.' Cf. *Wb* I 386, 17 and 387, 9–11.

- F pLeiden I 350 4, 21–26.
- 2–3 3 *pw ntrw nbw* ‘All the gods are three.’ The three names in line 3 indicate that the “predicate” of the nominal-sentence construction in line 2 is 3 rather than *ntrw nbw* ‘all the gods.’
- 4 *jmn rn.f* ‘His identity is hidden.’ The parallel attributions in line 5 indicate that *rn* ‘identity’ is subject here rather than part of the usual epithet *jmn-rn.f* ‘he whose identity is hidden.’
- 5 *ntf* ‘his is.’ The context suggests this adjectival construction (Gardiner, *EG* § 114, 3) rather than the “emphatic” nominal pattern (“*He is the Sun*”: cf. the note to line E7).
- 6 *nwt.sn hr t3* ‘their towns are on earth.’ The writing of *hr* indicates the preposition rather than a nisbe ‘which are on.’
- 15 *smn ntr3 hr.f* ‘the gods are bound by it.’ The usual intransitive meaning of *smn hr* ‘hold fast at’ a place (*Wb* IV 134, 14) does not suit the context. The meaning here is suggested also by line 13 preceding. For the neuter (F14 *prt nb* ‘everything that comes’) resumed by the masculine pronoun (F15 *hr.f* ‘by it’) see Gardiner, *EG* § 511, 4; Erman, *NäG*, §381 end.
- 16 *jw.st r sm3m r s'nh* ‘for killing or for giving life.’ Context, and the similar construction *jw.st n psdt* ‘intended for the Ennead’ in line 13, suggest that this is an adverbial clause (‘it being for killing or for giving life’) and not the future construction *jw.f r sdm*.
- 19 The restoration seems to be demanded not only by context but also by the final reference to a “total: 3.”

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Abbreviations and References

- ÄA *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen*. Wiesbaden.
 AäG Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*. 2 vols. *Analecta Orientalia* 34 and 39. Rome, 1955 and 1964.
 AEO A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 vols. London, 1947.
 AH *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*. Geneva.
 AHAW *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*. Heidelberg.
 APAW *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*. Berlin.
 ArOr *Archiv Orientalni*. Prague, Paris, Stuttgart.
 ASAE *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*. Cairo.
 ASAW *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*. Berlin.
 BA *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*. Brussels.
 BD *Book of the Dead* ("Chapter" numbers).
 BdE *Bibliothèque d'étude*. Cairo.
 BES *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*. New York.
 BIFAO *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*. Cairo.
 BiOr *Bibliotheca Orientalis*. Leiden.
 BSEGE *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève*. Geneva.
 CdE *Chronique d'Égypte*. Brussels.
 Crossroad Gertie Englund and Paul Frandsen, eds., *Crossroad*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications, 1. Copenhagen, 1987.
 CT *Coffin Texts*. Arabic numerals refer to Spell numbers. Roman numerals followed by Arabic numerals refer to volume and page numbers of de Buck's publication.
 EAT Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*. See the Bibliography.
 EG Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*. 3d edition, revised. London, 1957.
 GEC Gustave Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*. 2d edition. BdE 12. Cairo, 1955.
 GM *Göttinger Miszellen*. Göttingen.
 GMT Wolfhart Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*. Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägypter, 8. Berlin, 1962.
 GNE M. Korostovstev, *Grammaire du néo-égyptien*. Moscow, 1973.
 GOF *Göttinger Orient-Forschung*, IV. Reihe: Ägypten. Göttingen.
 HÄB *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge*. Hildesheim.
 Inflection James P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*. *Bibliotheca Aegyptia*, 2. Malibu, 1984.
 JAC *Journal of Ancient Civilizations*. Changchun, China.

- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Boston.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archeology*. London.
- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux."* Leiden.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- Leb. Adolf Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*. APAW 1896. Berlin, 1896. Numbers refer to the line numbers of the text.
- LEG Jaroslav Černý and Sarah Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Studia Pohl: Series Maior: Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui, vol. 4. Rome, 1975.
- Lexikon Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. 6 vols. Wiesbaden, 1972–86.
- MÄS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin.
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Berlin, Wiesbaden.
- NäG Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*. 2d edition. Leipzig, 1933; reprinted Hildesheim, 1968.
- NAWG *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse*. Göttingen.
- OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Freiburg.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications. Chicago.
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Leiden.
- Or *Orientalia*, new series. Rome.
- pBerlin 3048 For bibliography, see the Textual Notes to Text 14.
- pBremner-Rhind For bibliography, see the Textual Notes to Text 9.
- pCarlsberg I For bibliography, see the Textual Notes to Text 1.
- Peas. F. Vogelsang and A. H. Gardiner, *Die Klagen des Bauern*. Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches I. Berlin, 1908. Numbers refer to column/line numbers of the papyri.
- pHarris. Wolja Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*. BA 5. Brussels, 1933.
- pHarris Magical H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris, herausgegeben und erklärt*. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.fil. Meddelelser 14, 2. Copenhagen, 1927. Numbers refer to sheet and column of the papyrus.
- pLeiden I 350 For bibliography, see the Textual Notes to Text 16.
- pPrisse Alan H. Gardiner, "The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethren," *JEA* 32 (1946) 71–74.
- PT Pyramid Texts ("Utterance" numbers).
- Ptahhotep Zbyněk Žába, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*. Prague, 1956.
- Pyr. Pyramid Texts: section numbers of Sethe's publication (see the Bibliography). Asterisked numbers refer to renumbered sections: see Allen, *Inflection*, 659–662.

- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris.
- SAOC *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*. Chicago.
- Serapis. Chicago.
- Sh.S "The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor," in Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (BA 2: Brussels, 1932), 41–48.
- Sin. "The Story of Sinuhe," in Aylward M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (BA 2: Brussels, 1932), 1–41.
- SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse. Berlin.
- SSAW Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse. Berlin.
- UGAA Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens. Leipzig, Berlin; reprinted, Hildesheim.
- Urk IV Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. In 22 fascicles (fascicles 1–16, 2d ed.). *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 4. Leipzig, 1914; reprinted Berlin and Graz, 1961 (fascicles 1–16); Berlin, 1955–61 (fascicles 17–22). Numbers refer to page and line of the volume.
- VIO Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen. Berlin.
- Wb Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. plus 5 vols. of *Belegstellen*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1940–59; reprinted Berlin, 1971.
- Wb med Hildegard von Deines and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*. 2 vols. Grundriß der Medizin der Alten Ägpter, 7. Berlin, 1961–62.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Berlin.

Chronological Outline

Archaic Period (Dynasties 1-2)	ca. 3200-2800 B.C.
Old Kingdom (Dynasties 3-8)	ca. 2800-2200 B.C.
<i>Pyramid Texts</i> (Dynasties 5-8)	
First Intermediate Period (Dynasties 9-11)	ca. 2200-1990 B.C.
<i>Coffin Texts</i> (Dynasties 6-12)	
Middle Kingdom (Dynasty 12)	ca. 1990-1785 B.C.
Second Intermediate Period (Dynasties 13-17)	ca. 1785-1570 B.C.
<i>Book of the Dead</i> (Dynasty 13 on)	
New Kingdom (Dynasty 18)	ca. 1570-1290 B.C.
<i>Amduat</i> (Dynasty 18 on)	
<i>Book of Gates</i> (Dynasty 18 on)	
"Heavenly Cow" (Dynasty 18)	
Ramesside Period (Dynasties 19-20)	ca. 1290-1070 B.C.
<i>Book of Caverns</i> (Dynasty 19)	
<i>Cenotaph of Seti I</i> (Dynasty 19)	
<i>Papyrus Leiden I 350</i> (Dynasty 19)	
Late Period (Dynasties 21-30)	ca. 1070-332 B.C.
<i>Berlin "Hymn to Ptah"</i> (Dynasty 22)	
"Memphite Theology" (copied Dynasty 25)	
Ptolemaic Period	332-30 B.C.
<i>Papyrus Bremner-Rhind</i>	

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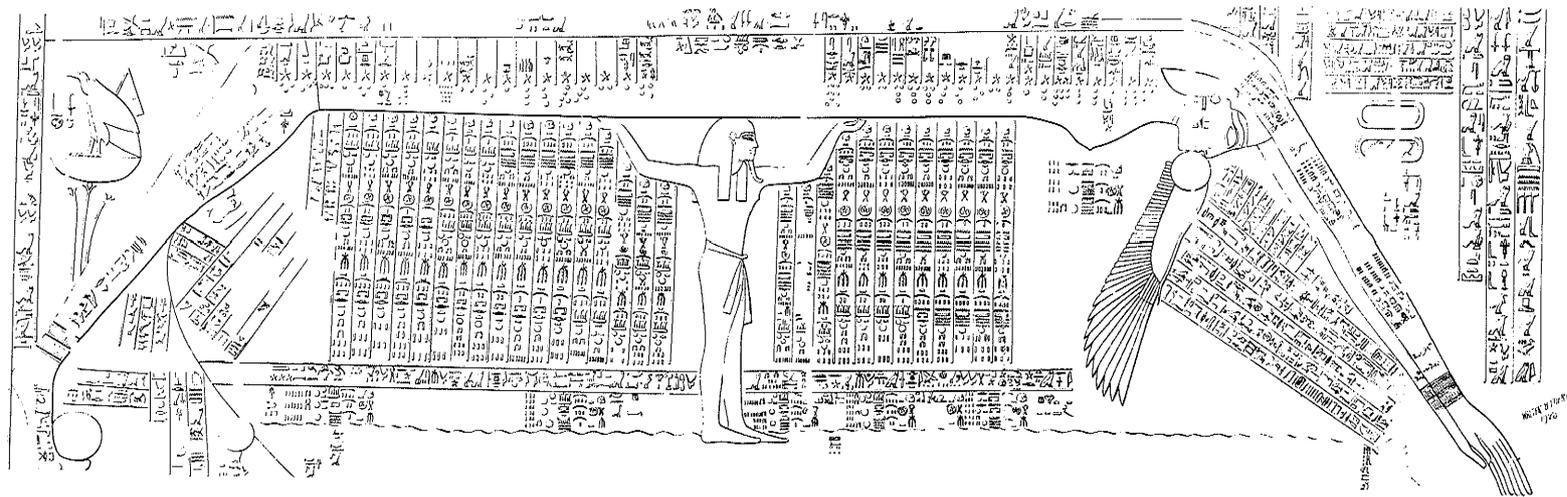


Plate 1. **The Egyptian Universe.** From a ceiling in Seti I's cenotaph at Abydos. After H. Frankfort, *Cenotaph II*, pl. 81.

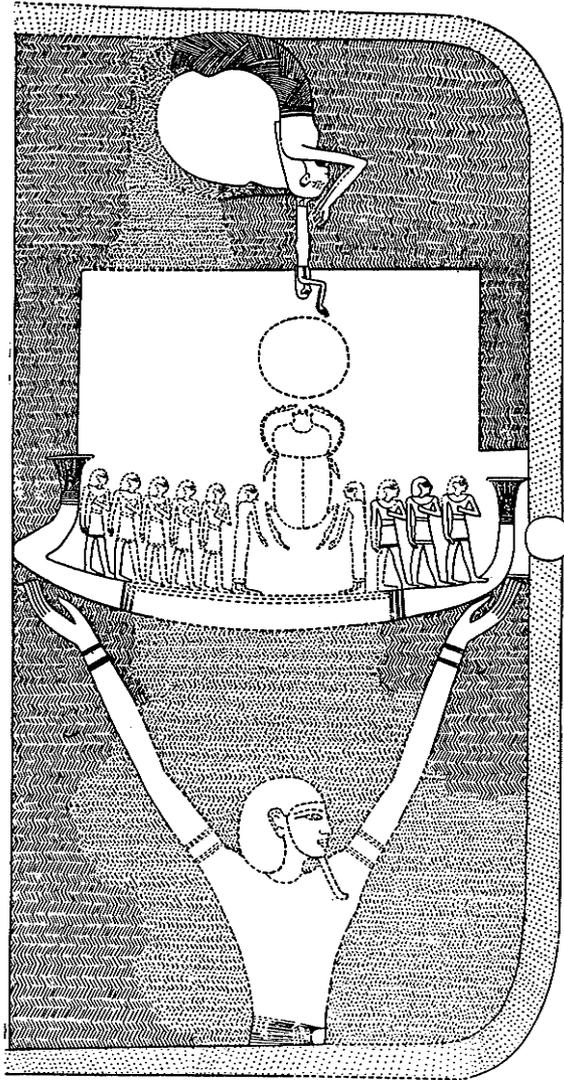


Plate 2. **The Sun Emerging from the Primeval Waters.** From the Book of Gates. After A. Piankoff, *Ramesses VI I 222*, Fig. 73.

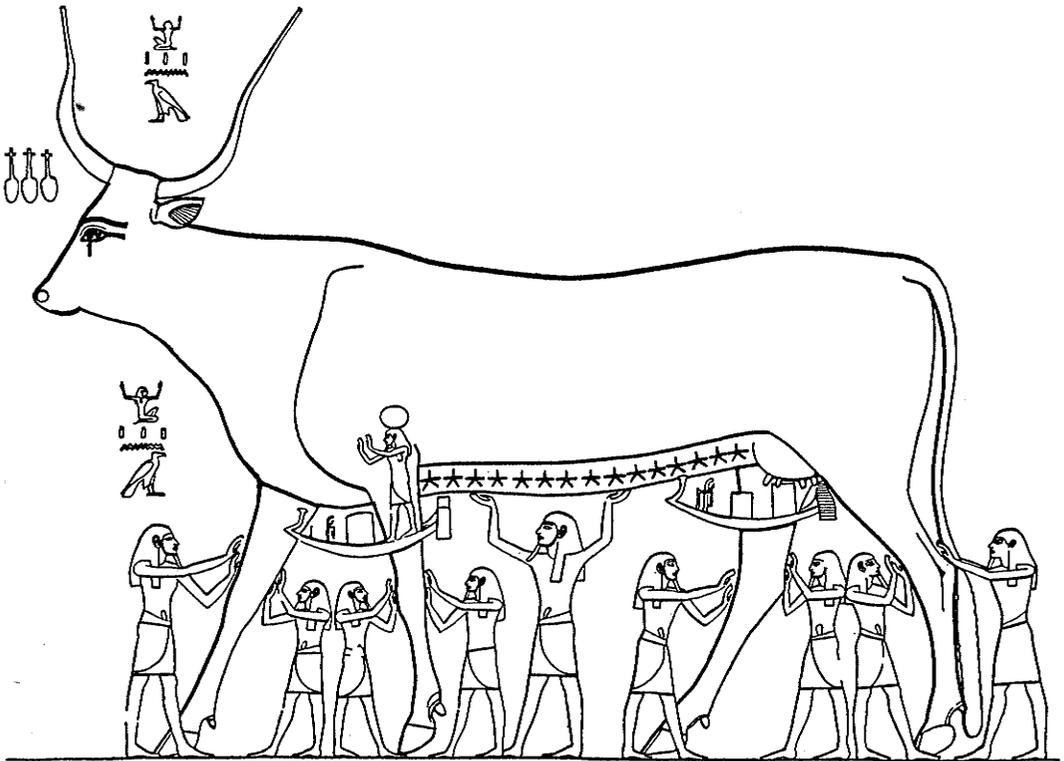


Plate 3. **The Sky Supported by Shu and the "Eight Infinite Ones."** From the tomb of Tut-ankh-amun. After A. Piankoff, *Shrines*, 142, Fig. 46.

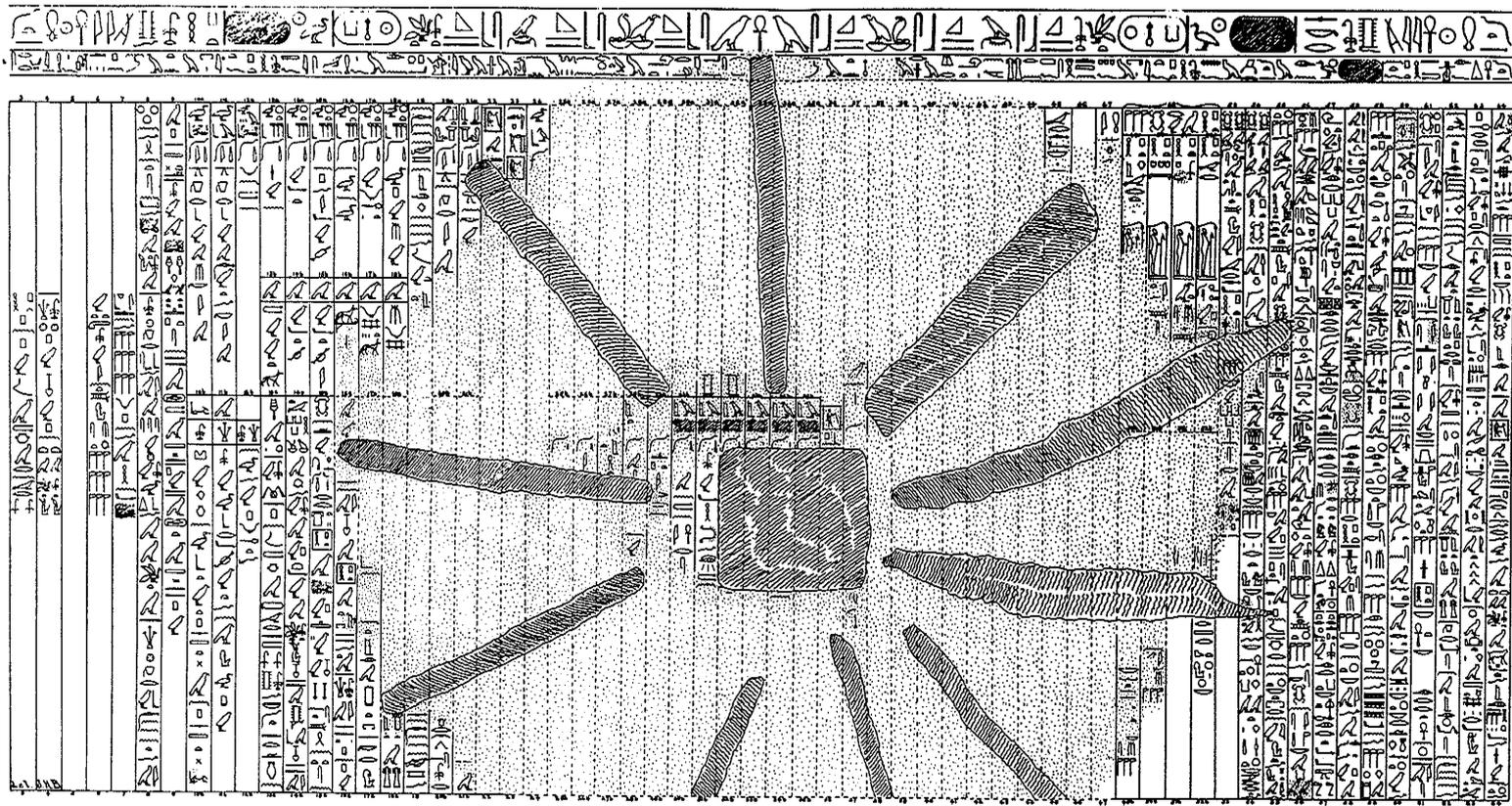


Plate 4. The Shabaka Stone (BM 498). After Breasted, ZÄS 39 (1902) pls. 1-2.