# OUDHEIDKUNDIGE MEDEDELINGEN UIT HET RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN TE LEIDEN 

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(NIEUWE REEKS)

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# OUDHEIDKUNDIGE MEDEDELINGEN 

UIT
HET RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN

TE LEIDEN
(NUNTII EX MUSEO ANTIQUARIO LEIDENSI)

ONDER REDACTIE VAN
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NIEUWE REEKS XXXIII
A. KLASENS

A MAGICAL STATUE BASE (SOCLE BEHAGUE) IN THE MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES AT LEIDEN


UITGEGEVEN DOOR EN VERKRIJGBAAR BIJ HET RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN TE LEIDEN

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA：Archiv für ägyptische Archäologie，Wien．
AcOr：Acta Orientalia ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica，Lugduni Batavorum．
Admon．：A．H．Gardiner，The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage，Leipzig 1909.
Ag．Forsch．：Ägyptologische Forschungen herausgegeben von A．Scharff．
AKZ：A．M．Kropp，Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte， 3 vols．，Bruxelles 1930－1931．
Amduat：E．Lefebure，Le tombeau de Seti I（二MMAF II，1），Paris 1886；P．Bucher，Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d＇Amenophis II，tome 1 （＝Mémoires de l＇Institut français du Caire，tome LX）， Le Caire 1932．See H．Grapow in $Z \ddot{A} S, 72$（1936），p．21，n．19．Quoted by Divisions（I－XII）and number of page of the edition of E．A．Wallis Budge，The Egyptian Heaven and Hell，vol．I，London 1905 （reprinted 1925）．
Amenemope：Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic Papyri in the British Museltm with Descriptions，Translations， etc．by E．A．Wallis Budge，2．Series，London 1923，pls．1－14．H．O．Lange，Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10， 474 des British Museum，Kopenhagen 1925.
Anchnes．：C．E．Sander Hansen，Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarge der Anchnesneferibre，Kopenhagen 1937.
Ani：E．Suys，La sagesse d＇Ani（＝Analecta Orientalia，11），Roma 1935.
ASAE：Annales du Service des Antiquités de l＇Égypte，Le Caire．
BD：The Book of the Dead：The chapters of coming forth by day，（edited）by E．A．Wallis Budge， 3 vols．， London 1898．Quoted by number of page and line in page．
Belegst．：A．ERMAN－H．GRAPOW，Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache，Die Belegstellen，I－III，Leipzig 1935－1951．
BIE：Bulletin de l＇Institut d＇Égypte，Le Caire．
BIFAO：Bulletin de l＇Institut français d＇Archéologie orientale，Le Caire．
BKU ：Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koenigl．Museen zu Berlin，Koptische Urkunden，Bd．I－II，1，Berlin 1904. BMMA：Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art，New York．
Book of the Gates：Ch．Maystre et A．Piankoff，Le Livre des Portes，tome 1，fasc．1－3（二 Mémoires de l＇Institut français du Caire，tome LXXIV），Le Caire 1939－1946．Quoted by Divisions（I－XII）and by number of page of the edition of E．A．Wallis Budge，The Egyptian Heaven and Hell，vol．II，London 1905 （reprinted 1925）．
CdE：Chronique d＇Egypte，Bruxelles．
CGC：Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire．
CT：A．DE Buck，The Egyptian Coffin Texts， 4 vols．，Chicago 1935－1951．
Daressy，Textes et dessins magiques：G．Daressy，Textes et dessins magiques（ $=$ CGC，Nos．9401－9449）， Le Caire 1903.
Destruction：C．Maystre，Le Livre de la Vache du Ciel dans les tombeaux de la Vallée des Rois，BIFAO， 40 （1941），pp．53－115．
Edfu：M．Rochemonteix－E．Chassinat，Le temple d＇Edfou， 14 vols．（ $=$ MMAF，tomes X－XI；XX－XXXI），Le Caire 1897－1934．
El Khargeh：H．Brugsch，Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh，Leipzig 1878.
Gardiner，Eg．Gr：A．H．Gardiner，Egyptian Grammar，Oxford 1927 （2d edition 1950）．
Gardiner，Onomastica：A．H．Gardiner，Ancient Egyptian Onomastica， 3 vols．，Oxford 1947.
Gauthier，Dict．géogr．：H．GAUTHIER，Dictionnaire des noms géographiques，contenus dans les textes hiéro－ glyphiques， 7 vols．，Le Caire 1925－1931．
HF：Th．Hopfner，Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae，Bonnae 1922－1925．
Hierat．Pap．BM，vol．3：A．H．Gardiner，Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum，3d Series：Chester Beatty Gift， 2 vols．，London 1935.
Horus and Seth：A．H．Gardiner，The Library of A．Chester Beatty，The Chester Beatty Papyri，No．I，London 1931；A．H．Gardiner，Late－Egyptian Stories（二Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca，I），Bruxelles 1932，pp．37－60．
HP：Th．Hopfner，Plutarch über Isis und Osiris， 2 vols（ $=$ Monographien des Archiv Orientálni，Bd．IX）， Prag 1940－1941．
JEA：The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology，London．
JEOL：Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch－Egyptisch Gezelschap „Ex Oriente Lux＂，Leiden．

JNES: Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
,Kees, Götterglaube: H. Kees, Der Götterglaube im alten Aegypten, Leipzig 1941.
LD: R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Abth. I-VI, Berlin 1849-1859; Text hrsg. von E. Naville, L. Borchardt, K. Sethe, 5 vols. mit Ergänzungsband, Leipzig 1897-1913.
Leb.: A. Erman, Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele, from: Abhandlungen d. königl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin vom Jahre 1896, Berlin 1896.
Lefebvre, Romans: G. Lefebvre, Romans et Contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique, Paris 1949.
Legrain, Statues et Statuettes: G. Legrain, Statues et Statuettes de rois et de particuliers (= CGC, Nos. 42001-42250), 3 vols., Le Caire 1906-1914.
LEM: A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (= Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, VII), Bruxelles 1937.
LES: A. H. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories (= Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, I), Bruxelles 1931.
Livre des Cavernes: A. Piankoff, Le Livre des Quererets, in BIFAO, 41 (1942), 1-11; 42 (1944), 1-62; 43 (1945), 1-50.

Livre du Jour: A. Piankoff, Le Livre du Jour et de la Nuit (=Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Bibliothèque d'Etude, tome XIII), Le Caire 1942.
Livre de la Nuit: Ditto.
Louvre C 286: Hymn to Osiris, published by A. Moret in BIFAO, 30 (1930), pp. 725-750, pls. I-III; A. DE Buck, Egyptian Readingbook, vol. I, Leyden 1948, pp. 110-113.
Mar. Dend.: A. Mariette, Dendérah, 5 vols., Paris 1870-1880.
MDIAK: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo.
Miscellanea Gregoriana: Miscellanea Gregoriana. Raccolta di Scritti pubblicati nel I centenario della fondazioni del Museo Egizio 1839-1939, Città del Vaticano 1941.
MMAF: Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire.
Monum. Piot: Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académic des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.
M.u.K.: Hieratische Papyrus aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin, Bd. II, Heft 10: Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind. Ostraca, Leipzig 1911; A. Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, from: Abhandlungen d. königl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin vom Jahre 1901, Berlin 1901.
Mythus vom Sonnenauge: W. Spiegelberg, Der ägyptische Mythus vom Sonnenauge nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus 1 384, Strassburg 1917.
OLZ: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig.
OMRO: Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Nieuwe Reeks, Leiden.
Orientalia: Commentarii periodici pontificii Instituti biblici. Orientalia, Roma.
P. bil. Rhind: G. Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg, Leipzig 1913.
P. Boulaq: A. Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, 3 vols., Paris 1871-1876.
P.Br.Rh.: Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic Papyri in the British Museum with Descriptions, Translations, etc. by E. A. Wallis Budge, London 1910, pls. I-XIX; R. O. Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind ( $=$ Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, III), Bruxelles 1933.
P. Ch. B.: A. H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Musellm, 3d Series: Chester Beatty Gift, 2 vols., London 1935.
P. demot. Insinger: Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide. Suten-xeft, le livre .
royal: Supplément à la 34me livraison des Monuments égyptiens, Leide 1905.
P. demot. Krall: J. Krall, Demotische Lesestücke, Theil I, pl. 17; Theil II, pls. 10-22, Wien 1897-1903.
P. demot. mag.: F. L1. Griffith and H. Thompson, The demotic magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, 3 vols., London 1904-1909.
P. dramat. Rames.: K. Sethe, Dramatische Texte zu alt-aegyptischen Mysterienspielen (= Unters., 10), Leipzig 1928, p. 83 ff.
Peasant: F. Vogelsang und A. H. Gardiner, Die Klagen des Bauern: Hieratische Papyrus aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin, Bd. IV, Leipzig 1908; F. Vogelsang, Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern (=Unters., 6), Leipzig 1913.
P. Ebers: G. Ebers, Papyros Ebers, das hermetische Buch über die Arzeneimittel der alten Aegypter, 2 vols, Leipzig 1875; W. Wreszinski, Der Papyrus Ebers, I: Umschrift, Leipzig 1913.
P. Edwin Smith: J. H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith surgical Papyrus, 2 vols., Chicago 1930.

Petosiris: G. Lefebvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris, 3 vols., Le Caire 1923-1924.

PGM: Papyri graecae magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, herausgegeben und übersetzt von E. PreiSENDANZ, 2 vols., Leipzig-Berlin 1928-1931.
P. Leiden I 343, 344 vs, 345, 347, 348: Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide, tome II: Monumens civils, Livraison 15-21: F. CHABAS, Les papyrus hiératiques I 343-371, Leide 1843-1862.
P. Leiden I 349: A. DE Buck en B. H. Stricker, Teksten tegen schorpioenen naar Pap. I 349, in OMRO, 21 (1940), pp. 53-62.
P. Leiden I 350: J. Zandee, De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden 1350 (=OMRO, 28 (1947)), Leiden 1947.
P. Louvre 3079, 3148: P. Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, tome I, Paris 1873, p. 20 ff.

Plut: Plutarchus, De Iside et Osiride, see HP.
PM: B. Porter-R. L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951.
P. mag. Harris: H. O. Lange, Der magische Papyrus Harris, Kopenhagen 1927.
P. med. London: W. Wreszinski, Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst, Leipzig 1912.
P. Prisse: G. JÉQUIER, Le papyrus Prisse et ses variantes, publiés en facsimile, Paris 1911.

PSBA: Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, London.
PT: K. Sethe, Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte, 4 vols., Leipzig 1908-1922.
P. Turin: Papyrus de Turin. Facsimilés par F. Rossi et publiés par W. Pleyte, Leide 1869-1876.
P. Vat. 19a: E. Suys, Le papyrus magique du Vatican, in: Orientalia, 3 (1934), pp. 63-87.

PW: Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
P. Westcar: A. Erman, Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar, in: Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Heft 5-6, Berlin 1890.
Rev. d'égypt.: Revue d'égyptologie publiée par la Société française d'égyptologie, Le Caire.
Kev. Eg. anc.: Revue de l'Egypte ancienne, Paris.
RHR: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris.
Roscher, Lexikon: W. H. Roscher, Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, 6 vols., Leipzig 1884-1937.
RT: Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, Paris..
RU: G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena 1915.
Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr.: K. Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten, 4 vols., Glückstadt no date.
Sh. S.: W. Golenischeff, Les papyrus hiératiques Nos 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Petersbourg, St. Petersbourg 1913, pis. 1-8: A. M. Blackman, Middle-Egyptian Stories (= Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II), Bruxelles 1932, pp. 41-48; A. DE BUCK, Egyptian Readingbook, vol. I, Leyden 1948, pp. 100-106.
Sin.: A. H. Gardiner, Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte: Hieratische Papyrus aus den königl. Museen zu Berlin, Bd. V, Leipzig 1909; A. M. Blackman, Middle-Egyptian Stories (= Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II), Bruxelles 1932, pp. 1-41.
Sphinx: Sphinx. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'égyptologie, Upsala.
Tb: E. Naville, Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie, 3 vols., Berlin 1886.
TR: P. Lacau, Textes religieux égyptiens, lère Partie, Paris 1910.
Unters: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, herausgegeben von K. Sethe, Leipzig.
Urk.: Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums, herausgegeben von G. Steindorff, Leipzig.
II: Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit, bearb. von K. SETHE.
III: Urkunden der älteren Aethiopenkönige, bearb. von H. Schäfer.
IV: Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, bearb. von K. Sethe.
V : Religiöse Urkunden. Ausgewählte Texte des Totenbuches, bearb. von H. Grapow.
VI: Urkunden mythologischen InHalts, bearb. von S. Schott.
Wb.: A. Erman-H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 5 vols., Leipzig 1926-1931.
ZAS: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig.
Zandee, Hymnen: J. Zandee, De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I $350(=$ OMRO, 28 (1947) ), Leiden 1947.

Zweiwegebuch: H. Schack-Schackenburg, Das Buch von den zwei Wegen des seligen Toten (Zweiwegebuch), Tl. 1, Leipzig 1903.

## SIGLA

B The "Socle Béhague", published here.
Ba Horuscippus in Baltimore, published by G. Steindorff, Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1946, Nr. 735, pp. 166-167, pl. 108.
Be Fragments of a statue guérisseuse in the Museum of Beyrouth, published by P. Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte, 2 vols., Paris 1928-1929, N4. 948, pp. 249-252, pls. 152-153.
C 1 Horuscippus Cairo 9404, published by G. Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques, pp. 13-15, pls. 5-6.
C 2 The statue of $\underline{D} d-h r$ : Cairo 46341, text published by G. Daressy, Statue de Zedher le Sauveur, in ASAE, 18 (1919), pp. 113-158; ASAE, 19 (1920), pp. 66-68. Photographs of the statue in P. LaCAU, Les statues gúerisseuses dans l'ancienne Egypte, Monum. Piot, 25 (1921-1922), pl. 15; G. Loukianoff, Grande stèle magique du dieu Horched, BIE, 21 (1939), pl. 7; Kelth C. Seele, Horus on the Crocodiles, JNES, 6 (1947), pl. 3A.

C 3 Horuscippus Cairo 9402, published by G. Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques, pp. 3-11, pls. 2-3.
C 4 Horuscippus Cairo 9411, text published ibid., pp. 26-27.
C 5 Horuscippus Cairo 9431bis, text published ibid., pp. 40-41.
C 6 Fragment of a statue guérisseuse found at Edfu, text published by M. Alliot, Une stèle magique d'Edfou, in $M M A F, 66$ (1935-1938), pp. 201-210.
C 7 Fragment of a statue guérisseuse, Cairo 41677, text published by G. Daressy in ASAE, 11 (1911), pp. 187-191.
C 8 Base of a statue guérisseuse, Cairo 9432, text published by G. Daressy in RT, 14 (1892), pp. 176-177; id., Textes et dessins magiques, pp. 41-43.
C 9 Magical stela found at Karnak, text published by G. Daressy, Stèle de Karnak avec textes magiques, in ASAE, 17 (1918), pp. 194-196.
L 1 Papyrus Hay 9961 in the British Museum, text partly published by W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele, Leipzig 1877, notes on pp. 8-10. See S. BIRCH in $Z \ddot{A} S, 8$ (1870), p. 66, 4.
L 2 Papyrus Bremner-Rhind in the British Museum (No. 10188), 29, 22-25, published by E. A. Wallis Budge, Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, London 1910, pl. 15; in transcription by R. O. Faulkner, The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, III), Bruxelles 1933, p. 75.

L 3 Papyrus Chester Beatty No. XI in the British Museum (No. 10691), Rt. 4, 2-7, published by A. H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 3d Series: Chester Beatty Gift, London 1935, pls. 65, 65A.
Le Horuscippus Leiden A 1053, published by W. D. Van Wijngaarden and B. H. Stricker, Magische stèles, in $O M R O$, 22 (1941), pp. 24-28; pl. 3, figs. 19-20.
M The Metternichstela, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. Published by W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele, Leipzig 1877, and, with excellent photographs, by Nora E. Scott, The Metternichstela, in BMMA, 9 (1951), pp. 201-217.
P Statue guérisseuse in the Louvre (E 10777) from the collection Tyszkiewicz. Depicted in W. Frörner, La collection Tyszkiewicz, München 1892, pls. 47-48; F. W. von Bissing, Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur, München 1914, pl. 68A.
T 1 Papyrus 1993 in the Museum of Turin, 1. 5-12 on pl. $77+31$ of the publication in facsimile of W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, Papyrus de Turin, Leide 1869-1876. See A. H. Gardiner, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, 3d Series: Chester Beatty Gift, London 1935, pl. 65.
T 2 Statue guérisseuse in the Museum of Turin (No. 3031). Depicted in R. V. Lanzone, Dizionario di mitologia egizia. Torino 1881, pls. 218-221.

The text on Ba is published after rubbings kindly supplied me by Dr Dorothy K. Hill, Curator of the Department of Ancient Art in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. For this and for the permission to publish this text I express my sincere thanks.

The texts of C 1-9 are copied from the publications of G. Daressy and M. Alliot. Only Spell II on C 1 and Spell X on C 3 could be verified with the plates 5 and 3 of the edition of G. Daressy.

I am very grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for their permission to publish the text of L 1 after photographs.

The texts on P are published after photographs sent to me through the kind offices of Dr H. De Meulenaere. I thank Prof. J. Vandier, Conservateur en chef des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Louvre, for the permission to publish these texts and Mme Сh. Desroches-Noblecourt for verifying some of the readings.

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Chen

socle behague

## INTRODUCTION

In May 1950 the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden acquired, by purchase from Kalebdjianfrères at Paris, a statue base of black granite ${ }^{1}$ ), measuring $32,2 \mathrm{~cm}$ in length, 15 cm in width and nearly 12 cm in height. It served as the base of a standing statue, which itself got lost, but both the feet of which, although broken off at a height of 6 cm , are still there. At the back, bottom left, a large piece is broken off and here and there along the upper edge damages have been made.

This base, which received the inventory number F 1950/8.2, had already been announced and described by E. Drioton in Rev. Eg. anc., 1 (1927), p. 134. At the time it was in the possession of Indjanjian at Paris. From him it came into the collection of the Countess de Béhague, in whose possession it was in $1928{ }^{2}$ ), as it still was in $1942{ }^{3}$ ).

Completely covered as it is with magical texts, it was recognised by Drioton as the base of a so-called statue guérisseuse ${ }^{4}$ ) and he published two of the spells on it, t.w. Spell VIII in Rev. Eg. anc., 1 (1927), pp. 133-137, and Spell IV in Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), pp. 172-199.

DRIOTON, without any reason given, said our base (in the following called Béhague, abbreviated B) to be Ptolemaic. It belongs to the standing type of the statue guérisseuse, of which we know as pretty well kept specimens, the statue E 10777 of the Louvre from the collection Tyszkiewicz (P), two statues from Turin, $3030^{5}$ ) and 3031 (T 2), the torso 1065 (Borgia) from Naples ${ }^{6}$ ) and the statue 238bis from the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris ${ }^{7}$ ). Of these only Turin 3030 is datable, on which a similar cartouche appears ${ }^{8}$ ) as on a statue of the same kind at Cairo ( C 7 ), on the latter together with the cartouche of Nectanebos II. The statue of the Louvre is differently dated: by Von Bissing ${ }^{9}$ ) and Schäfer ${ }^{10}$ ) in the 26 th dynasty, by Boreux ${ }^{11}$ ) in the 30 th dynasty, and by Käthe Bosse ${ }^{12}$ ) in the early-Ptolemaic period.

If we divide the standing statues guérisseuses into a type with a high-raised Horuscippus,

[^0]the feet of the statue being detached from its garment, and a type the cippus of which rests on the base, the feet standing behind the cippus, the garment at the lower side reaching to the cippus, only the Louvre statue and the Béhague belong to the first type ${ }^{13}$ ). However, the position of the feet is entirely different. In B the left foot has been put forward and between the left leg and the supporting column was a thin connecting piece, which probably extended well upwards, compare e.g. the statue of Montemhet from the 25 th dynasty (Legrain, Statues et Statuettes, III, pl. 44), a statue from the Saitic period, depicted in F. W. von Bissing, Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur, pl. 69 and the statue of Ptahmes, dated in the beginning of the Ptolemaic period (JEA, 20 (1934), pls. 1-2). Accordingly the lost statue of the Béhague was probably clad with the šndj.t-apron only and carried the Horuscippus high before the breast. Although the elaboration of the feet and the connecting piece ${ }^{14}$ ) seems to point to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, an exact dating of the Béhague does not seem possible to me ${ }^{15}$ ). The oldest Horuscippi known date from the 19 th dynasty ${ }^{16}$ ). The oldest statue known, covered with magical texts, is the statue prophylactique of Ramses III, published by E. Drioton in ASAE, 39 (1939), pp. 57-89. The combination of Horuscippus and statue prophylactique to form a statue guérisseuse is alleged to have taken place during the 26 th dynasty ${ }^{17}$ ).

On our base there are to be found yet 11 spells against scorpions and snakes, two of which (I and IV) miss the beginning as a consequence of the loss of the statue. On account of the serious damage at the back, bottom left, the Spells VI, VII and IX have suffered, while the damages at the upper edge have especially affected the Spells IV and IX.

These spells are spread over the base as follows (see the sketches on page 3):
Spell I begins at the left side of the connecting piece of the left foot (a $1-5$ ) and is continued on the left side of the upper surface in two lines (b 1-2): Text pp. 9-20; Plates I-II. Parallels are: M 48-71 (a $1=M 61$ ) ; L 1 ; Le, front side and upper surface; Be, fragm. A and C ; C 1 , right side; P , right side, register 8 ; and Ba , the sides.

Spell II covers part of the third line of the left upper surface (b 3) : Text pp. 20-21; Plate II. Parallels are: C 2, the beginning of text X, I. 55-68; and C 1, right side, 1. 6-8.

Spell III extends over the left upper surface (b 3-4) into the 2nd line of the left side (h 1-2): Text p. 21; Plates II, I. No parallels known.

Spell IV, already published by Drioton (see p. 1), begins at the right side of the connecting piece of the left foot (c 1-4), then extends in two registers over the whole of the right upper surface (d 1-10, e 1-9; d 1 stands in a horizontal column over the vertical columns d 2-10), is continued over the whole of the right side (f 1-40) and ends in the first line of the back ( g 1 ): Text pp. 22-34; Plates III, II, IV-V. Parallel: M 168-248a (c $1=$ M 189).
13) The torso Borgia misses the lower part with the cippus. Other standing statues guérisseuses are preserved, as far as is known, too fragmentarily that they may serve by way of comparison. Moreover, they are not dated. The statue of $\underline{D} d-h r$ at Cairo (C 2) of the sitting type, dates from the period of Philippus Arrhidaeus. The Metternich stela (M), from the time of Nectanebos II, is not a statue guérisseuse proper, but a large Horuscippus.
14) Pointed out to me by Dr Hans Wolfgang Müller.
15) For the history of the style and the dating of the statues guérisseuses the so-called naophori could be of importance. See for instance the naophorus of the Vatican and the other naophori, represented by A. Tulli, Il naoforo Vaticano, in: Miscellanea Gregoriana, pp. 211-231; Käthe Bosse, o.c., p. 38 ff .
16) Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques, nrs. 9403 and 9413 bis; Lacau, o.c., p. 200, n.l. See also p. 6, n. 32.
17) Drioton, o.c., pp. 85-89.

Spell V follows (g 2-10): Text pp. 35-37; Plate V.
Parallels: T 1 and L 3.
Spell VI comes next (g 10-15) : Text pp. 37-39; Plate V.
Parallels: M 1-3; L 2; C 3, 1. 32-33; C 4, 1. 19-20; C 5, 1. 1-35; C 6, 1. 11-12.


Spell VII fills the rest of the back (g 15-18) : Text pp. 39-40; Plate V.
Parallel: C 7, 1. 46-52.
Spell VIII, following Spell III on the left side (h 2-21), has been already published by Drioton (see p. 1): Text pp. 40-42; Plate I.
No parallels known.

Spell IX follows (h 22-40): Text pp. 42-46; Plate I.
Parallels: C 8, 1. 1-24; C 9, left side, 1. 2.
Spell X occurs at the front (i 1-16): Text pp. 46-50; Plate VI.
Parallels: M 138-162; Be, fragm. B; and C 3, 1. 1-28.
Spell XI finally covers the last two lines of the front (i 17-18) : Text p. 51; Plate VI.
Parallels: C 2, text IV, 1. 44-46; P, left arm, 1. 8-11, and T 2, left side, 1. 9.
The beginning of a new spell is indicated by $k j r^{3}$ (Spells VI, VIII and IX), by $k j r^{3} d d m d w$ (Spells III, V and VII) or by $\underline{d} d m d w$ (Spell X). Such an indication does not occur in the Spells II and XI.

At the back, on the remainder of the supporting column, fragments of two registers of a frieze with magical representations are found (k) ${ }^{18}$ ): Text p. 51; Plate V. On the first register we see at the right a deity sitting on two crocodiles. Of the inscription "Lord of ... (?)" can be read. At the left there are remnants of a base (?) on which a snake is represented and which probably served as the seat of a god.

On the second register at the right is a plumed falcon standing on the $n b-s i g n$, a represen-
 "great spear (??) of the foreign lands", and on the left: "Horus, great god, lord of Snw t (Ombos)".

At the left are the remnants of a human form with a bird's tail who is spearing a snake and a tortoise. Before him "Hormerti, (lord of?) $\check{S} d n$ (Horbeit") ${ }^{20}$ ) is written, and over the snake: "Apophis". A vertical column again mentions the name "Apophis" and rj.t (?), determined (?) with a tortoise.

On the right side of the supporting column we see the remnants of a scorpion (?), cf. the right side of the supporting column of $P$, and on the left side the remnants of a narrow frieze with magical representations, the same as on the left side of the supporting column of $P$ : a series of deities carrying knives and sitting on a rectangular pedestal adorned with a curious object.

The writing direction is from right to left, with the exception of a and $h$, whilst in $d$ and $e$ the signs are turned to the right, but the vertical columns are to be read from left to right 21 ). The direction left-right was the cause of the fact that several signs have mistakenly kept their
 h 25: 母 ; h 30: ©. Only once a correction has been made: in h 27 Q has been rectified. On the other hand \& in b 2 and of in $g 1$ have the direction left-right.

Moreover, with the exception of the front (i), to which special care was given, the text shows numerous inaccuracies in the execution of the hieroglyphs. Signs are only half
 in, although space for it was left: a o in f 19, and a $\quad$ in f 20 ; carelessly executed: the in b 2; a .... in b3; a $\quad$ in c 2 ; a in $4 \mathrm{f} ; \mathrm{a} \int$ in c 6 and h 23 ; the inh29.
18) See B. H. Stricker in OMRO, 25 (1944), p. 87.
19) See Id. in OMRO, 21 (1941), p. 27.
20) See ID., ibid., p. 35.
21) See for this phenomenon R. Lepsius, Älteste Texte des Todtenbuchs, Berlin 1867, p. 11 ff .
22) The printed hieroglyphs all have the direction from left to right owing to the Theinhardt fount.
 a forgotten - in psh in b 2; the form of $\int_{\operatorname{SN}}$ in b ${ }^{23}$ ); $1 \Delta$ for $\Lambda$ in c 4 ; for in



The stone itself also showed deficiencies as appears from h 21 and h 37 , where the signs are placed round about an old damaged place.

The language is Middle-Egyptian with some neologisms: the article $p^{s}$ in $\mathrm{h} 32, t^{s}$ in a 2, b 4, etc., the form $i$-ir in h 32 , hb.tj in f 40, (the pronoun $t w j$ in $M 63$ ), the construction $w d^{c} s w n \cdot k$ for $w \underline{d}^{c} n \cdot k s w$ in i 8 . Late spellings are $\quad$ for l.p.f.sg. (d 8, d 10 and g 2), $x \doteq$ for prj (b 4, h 1, h 2 , etc.), 4 for $\Omega\left(\mathrm{e} 9, \mathrm{~g} 6, \mathrm{i} 1\right.$ ) and the reverse (h 8 , etc.), $\bigcirc$ for $r^{c} n b$ (i 14).

Further the spelling shows the interchange, well-known during the later times, of $k$ and $k$ in $r k h$ (h 6, 17), var. rkh (h 24), of $g$ and $k$ in $s f k$-irw (h 38) for $s f g$-irw, and in $g n$ (h 20) for $k n$; of $h$ and $\underline{h}$ in $h n n$ (f 23) for $\underline{h} n n$. The spelling $p h s$ for $p s h ̣$ in d 1 and g 4 points to the metathesis of $h$ and $s$ also known from a later period (Copt. riw $\overline{\mathrm{c}}$ ).

The interchange between $n$ and $m$ is frequent (b 2, g 5, etc.). It is remarkable that a few times double $n$ is written for $n$ (e 5 , f 22; e 3 in $n j m$; f 26 in $w n f$, cf. $n^{c} n j$ for $n^{c j}$ in f 21 ). Rmj is spelled with double $r$ in e $2{ }^{24}$ ), irjw in e 1 .

The oldest parallels known to us, those of Spell V, date from the 19th dynasty (L3 and T1). Parallels of the Bremner-Rhind papyrus, which gave us a parallel of Spell VI (L 2), are known from the 20th dynasty ( $A S A E, 39$ (1939), p. 85). That the origin of at least part of our texts is much older, appears when comparing the oldest texts of this kind known to us. Thus for instance Spell XI is related to Spell 289 of the Pyramid Texts. Spells against snakes and scorpions are known to us from all periods of Egyptian history ${ }^{25}$ ). The motives are usually the same and drawn from the old myths: the Horus child or the sun-god is waylaid and triumphs over his foes, the earth-god is invoked to conquer the beasts that spring from him, or a direct threat is addressed to them.

So these magical texts are a priceless source for the knowledge of the old myths, different moments of which are accentuated time and again, the motives usually remaining the same ${ }^{26}$ ).

The corpus of magical texts, from which our group has been composed, bears the name $I j-n r b^{3} w-R^{c}$ on C 2 and was composed by the priests of Serket (hrp-Srk.t) ${ }^{27}$ ). The origin seems to lie in Lower-Egypt ${ }^{28}$ ). The name of the statue guérisseuse is $\overline{S d j}{ }^{29}$ ).

Some magical stelae have a basin in their base, in which the water was caught that, poured over the stela and permeated by the magical power of the spells, was given as a drink to the

[^1]patient ${ }^{30}$ ). Consequently, on P the patient (called elsewhere: $\underline{h r j} \mathbf{j}$-dm.t) is called: "this man who drinks the water" ${ }^{31}$ ). In our base this basin is missing, but it is possible that in that case the whole statue was placed in a basin, in which the beneficial water was caught. The texts on the left side (h) point to it that also our statue was used in this way (see the Commentary), with the difference that the water was not drunk but applied ${ }^{32}$ ).

However, also in another way the curing power of the statue could be made effective. Van Wijngaarden and Stricker indicate that the face of Horus on the Horuscippi is nearly always strongly worn off. This may point to the magical statue being touched ${ }^{33}$ ).

According to an information of dr El-Amir, even now it is the custom in Upper-Egypt to turn in case of being bitten by a scorpion or a snake to a Coptic priest. The latter draws a number of magical figures, amongst which a scorpion, on a small piece of paper or a leaden tablet, and the patient applies this to the wounded place, or such figures are written in a dish and the patient drinks water from it ${ }^{34}$ ).

Sometimes rubrics of single spells have been preserved. As appears from the rubric in the parallel L $1{ }^{35}$ ) Spell I had to be recited over barley bread and salt; as appears from the parallel T 1, Spell V over a representation on linen of the goddess Isis; Spell IX, according to C 8 had "to be recited over cool water and to be laid on the heart of the patient".

However, these rubrics, very scarce on magical stelae, but frequent in papyri, do not prove anything about the use of the magical statues as a whole. Wherever they have been preserved, they may be an indication that the spell concerned is copied from a medical-magical papyrus.

Already on account of its presence alone a prophylactic effect radiated from the statue guérisseuse that was placed in a temple ${ }^{36}$ ).

Will this magic practice ever have borne fruit? A warning against believing in the only-soul-saving magic was already given on the base of a statue guérisseuse itself ${ }^{37}$ ).

The material for magical texts on papyri, ostraca and stelae has been collected in the following articles, published in the Oudheidkundige Mededelingen:
A. de Buck and B. H. Stricker, Teksten tegen schorpioenen naar Pap. I 349, in OMRO, 21 (1940), pp. 53-62, see p. 53.
W. D. van Wijngaarden and B. H. Stricker, Magische stèles, in OMRO, 22 (1941), pp. 6-38, see pp . 36-38.
B. H. Stricker, Nieuwe magische stèles, in OMRO, 23 (1942), pp. 13-14.

[^2]Dıtтo, Magische gemmen, in OMRO, 24 (1943), pp. 25-30, see pp. 29-30.
Ditto, Aanteekeningen op Egyptische litteratuur- en godsdienstgeschiedenis, III, in OMRO, 25
(1944), pp. 82-90, see pp. 89-90.

ADDITIONS: the magical papyri 3237 and 3239 from the Louvre have been published by E. Chassinat in $R T, 14$ (1892), pp. 10-17. For the ostraca: the numbers 1046, 1048, 1060, 1064, 1065 (?) and 1066 in: G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh, I (1001-1108), Le Caire 1938.

For the magical gems see now: Campbell Bonner, Studies in magical Amulets, chiefly Graeco-Egyptian, Ann Arbor 1950 (= University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. 49).

For the stelae: from the U.S.A. museums there are published now two Horuscippi at Chicago, by Keith C. Seele in JNES, 6 (1947), pp. 43-52 (Oriental Institute Nos. 16881, 10738) ; one Horuscippus from the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New-York, by Campbell Bonner, o.c., p. 295, pl. 12, no. 252 (M.M. 30/8/87).

The Metternich stela is now in the same museum and published anew with beautiful photographs by Nora E. Scott, in BMMA, 9 (1951), pp. 201-217.

The same published an amulet with a scorpion and a magical text, also from the Metropolitan Museum, in BMMA, 6 (1947), p. $62{ }^{38}$ ).

The cippi from Baltimore have been published by G. Steindorff, Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore 1946, Nos. 734-744, pp. 163-170, pls. 108-109 (Mus. nos. 22.140, 22.173, 22.336, 22.212, 22.332, 22.333, 22.334, 22.337, 22.338, 22.335, 22.380).

A gem with Horus on the crocodiles, also from Baltimore, is represented in Campbell Bonner, o.c., pl. 12, no. 251, p. 157.

The Horuscippus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome (OMRO, 22 (1941), p. 37) is represented in H. Stuart Jones, A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures ... Rome: The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Oxford 1926, pl. 119 (top, lower row), cf. p. 303 (16), see PM, VII, p. 415.

The best representations of Louvre E 10177 (P) are pls. 47-48 of: W. Froehner, $L a$ collection Tyszciewicz, München 1892.
E. Jelínková published a statue guérisseuse from the Bibliothèque Nationale (No. 238bis), in Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), pp. 47-51.

A representation of a Hormerti stela in the Kestner Museum of Hannover is to be found on pl. 6 of l'Antiquité classique, 18 (1949). This is the stela represented after a cast in OMRO, 24 (1943), p. 26, fig. 15.

A representation of the Horuscippus at Geneva, published by W. Deonna in: Revue archéologique, 5th series, 18 (1923), pp. 119-131 (see OMRO, 24 (1943), p. 29) is given now in Campbell Bonner, o.c., pl. 24,5. A gem with Horus on the crocodiles in the National Museum of Athens $(3147$ D) has been published by A. Delatte, in: Musée Belge 18 (1914), p. 50, pl. 2,7.

One of the two statues guérisseuses, which according to Lacau, Monum. Piot, 25 (1921'22) p. 205, n. 4 are at Moskow, has been published by B. A. Turajew, Description de la col.
38) Information received from Dr B. H. Stricker.
ég., 1, pp. 68-71, pl. 11, 3 (no. 88 of the collection Golenischeff, quotation of E. Jelinková, Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), p. 48, n. 6).

At Beyrouth there are fragments of a statue guérisseuse published by P. Montet, Byblos et l'Egypte, Paris 1928-1929, No. 948, pp. 249-252, pls. 152-153 (Be) ${ }^{39}$ ).

Another fragment of Cairo 46341 (C 2) has been published by G. Daressy in: $A S A E$, 19 (1920), pp. 66-68. Photos of the whole statue are printed in: BIE, 21 (1939), in the article of G. Loukianoff, Grande stèle magique du Dieu Horched du Musée National d'Athènes, pl. 7; and in: JNES, 6 (1947), in the article quoted above by Keith C. Seele, pl. 3 A.

A gem with Horus on the crocodiles from the collection of the King of Egypt has been published by E. Drioton, in: ASAE, 45 (1947), pp. 83-84, fig. 7.

In the Museum of Khartûm (no. 521) is the Horuscippus published by J. Garstang, Meroë, the city of the Ethiopians, Oxford 1911, pl. XI (p. 13) (OMRO, 24 (1943), p. 29), see PM VII, p. 236.

Finally I received the following references from Dr B. H. Stricker: In James Bruce, Travels to discover the Sources of the Nile, I, Edinburgh 1790, a Horuscippus is represented on the plates facing pp. 417 and 418 (pl. 7-8, p. 464 of the German edition, Leipzig 1790), now in Aksum, Abyssinia, see PM, VII, p. 273.

A Horuscippus is represented in: Flinders Petrie and E. Mackay, Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa, London 1915, pl. 2, no. 15.

A Hormerti stela in: Die Griechisch-Aegyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin, I: Malerei und Plastik, Tl. 1, Leipzig 1923, pl. 50, no. 13.

A representation of the god $\check{S} d$ spearing a scorpion, in: T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, The City of Akhenaten, I, London 1923, pl. 28, 4.

A fragment of the base of a magical stela has been published by H. JUNKER in MDIAK, 1 (1930), pp. 32-33, fig. 3d.
39) Information received from Dr J. M. A. Janssen.










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## TRANSLATION

## SPELL I

M 48-49 I 1) am Isis, I have come from the spinning-house ${ }^{2}$ ), wherein my brother' Seth had put me. Thoth, the great god, the lord of the truth in heaven and on earth, had said to me: "Do come, Isis divine, - it is well to listen, the one lives when the other leads him - conceal
M 50 yourself with (your) young son,' that he may return for us, when his body is strong and his strength has completely developed, and you make him sit down on his father's throne and the office of lord of the two lands is granted to him".
M $51 \quad I$ went out in the evening-hour and seven ${ }^{3}$ ) scorpions went out' behind me. They led me 3a): Tefen(et) and Befen(et) close behind me; Mestet and Mestetef under my stretcher;
M 52 Petet, Tetet, and Matet prepared the way for me 3 b ). I ordered them emphatically' and my words penetrated into their ears: "Do not know "the black one" and do not greet "the red one"; do not distinguish the high one from the humble one; be your face turned downwards to
M 53 the road; be careful not to lead him who looks for me, until we have reached' "the House of the Crocodile", "the Town of the two Sisters" ${ }^{4}$ ), the beginning of the Delta marshes, the marshes of Db." Finally I reached the houses of matrons. As soon as a noble lady had seen
M 54 me from afar, she closed' her door to me.
This annoyed my companions. They deliberated on it and put their poison together on the sting of Tefen(et). A fisher-girl opened her door for me and we entered the shabby
M 55 'dwelling. But Tefen(et) had penetrated under the leaves of the door and she stung the lady's son. Fire broke out in the house of the lady and there was no water there to extin-
M 56 guish it. The sky rained into the house of the lady, although it was not 'its time. Because she had not opened to me, her heart was sad and she did not know whether he was alive 4a). She wandered about her town lamenting, but nobody came to her voice. My heart, for that reason, was uneasy about the child (to such an extent) that I wished to cure the innocent M 57 one.' I called to her, saying: "Come to me, come to me, behold, my mouth bears life 5). I am a daughter known in her town, who expels the poisonous snake with her spell. My
M 58 father has taught me knowledge; I am his own' beloved daughter'. Isis laid her hands on the child ${ }^{6}$ ) to cure him who was short of breath: "Poison of Tefenet, come, go out ${ }^{6}$ a) to the

[^3]earth, do not go about and do not penetrate ${ }^{7}$ ) ; poison of Befenet, come, go out ${ }^{8}$ ) to the M 59 ' earth, I am Isis divine, mistress of magic, exercising magic, magical in speaking, effective of words ${ }^{9}$ ). Every biting snake obeys me ${ }^{10}$ ). Fall down, poison of Mestet; do not run ${ }^{11}$ ), poison of Mestetef; do not rise ${ }^{12}$ ), poison of Petet and Tetet ${ }^{13}$ ); do not approach,
M 60 ' Matet ${ }^{14}$ ). Fall down, mouth of the biting one, at the words of Isis divine, great of magic ${ }^{15}$ ) a 1 among the gods, to whom Geb has given his magic power in order to avert the poison in
a 2 its power ${ }^{16}$ ). Yield ${ }^{17}$ ), recede, flee, backwards,' o, poison, do not jump up, at the words of the beloved of $R \bar{e}^{18}$ ), the egg of the smn-bird and who has come forth from the sycomore.
a 3 Behold, my command has been given to you ${ }^{19}$ )' since the evening; I said to you: "I am alone, do not ruin your name 20) in the nomes; do not know "the black one" and do not greet' "the red one", do not look at the noble ladies in their houses ${ }^{21}$ ), do not distinguish the high one from the humble one ${ }^{22}$ ), be your face turned downwards to the road, until we a 5 have reached the hidden place at Chemmis.' May the child live and the poison die ${ }^{23}$ ), then Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis and all people and animals which are poisoned will be healthy for their mother likewise ${ }^{24}$ )".
'The fire has been extinguished, the sky calmed down on account of the name 25) of Isis divine. The lady came and brought 26 ) her possessions, and filled the house of the fisher-girl on behalf of the fisher-girl, who had opened her stable to me; ' but the lady had been worried during one night and had tasted the effects of her utterance, for her son had been bitten, and she had brought her possessions because she had not opened to me. May the child live and the poison die ${ }^{27}$ ), then Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis and the patient will be healthy for his mother ${ }^{28}$ ) likewise ${ }^{29}$ ).

[^4]SPELL II
b $3\left(O^{30}\right)$, sun-beams, which create weariness on the borders of the sky, I have assaulted and have gone through the sun-beams. O, this threshold, against which my feet hit and from which my toes pushed off. Poison of Rē when rising, come to the earth ${ }^{31}$ ).

## SPELL III

Another spell, to be recited: The earth exorcises the patient, as it has exorcised ' the great god. The earth has exorcised the patient, as it protects $R \bar{e}$. The earth shelters the patient, as it shelters its son Atum, who has sprung from it.

Fall on the earth, poison of the scorpion, down on your face, poison of the scorpion. Do not go through and do not go about, do not burn in any limb of the patient.
h 1 'The earth, the father of the gods, exstinguishes you, as it extinguishes the fire at the hour of extinguishing the fire, which has come forth' from the secret place.

## SPELL IV

M 168 I am Isis, pregnant with her child, bearing Horus divine, and I gave birth to Horus, the son of Osiris, in the nest of Chemmis.
M 169 I very much rejoiced at that, for' in him I saw the avenger of his father. I hid him and concealed him for fear of that (evil) one. I wandered to Im (?) begging all the while for fear of the evil-doer. I longed for the child the whole day whilst taking care of his
M 170 needs. I returned to embrace Horus, but I found that he, the beautiful Horus ' of gold, the innocent, fatherless child, had moistened the banks with liquid of his eye and saliva of his lips. His body was limp, his heart weak and the veins of his body did not beat.'
M $171 \quad I$ uttered a cry, saying: "It is $I$, it is I."' But the child was too weak to answer. (My) breasts were full, but (his) stomach was empty and (his) mouth longed for its food; the well overflowed, but the child was thirsty. I wanted to come and protect him; great was
M 172 the mischief: an innocent child,' who (still), resisted the bottle and had been left alone
M 173 too long. I was afraid, because nobody came on' my voice. My father is in the Nether-
M 174 world, my mother in the realm of the dead. My elder brother' is in the sarcophagus, the
M 175 other is an enemy, obstinate in his malice towards' me. My younger (sister) is in his
M 176 house. Whom' among men shall I call to? Then their heart will care for me. I shall
M 177-8 call' to the inhabitants of the marshes. They will immediately care for me.' The fishermen
M 179 came from their houses for me, they hastened to me' on my voice. They all cried saying:
M 180 "How great is your misery". 'But there was nobody amongst them who could exorcise
M 181 him with his spell. Although everyone of them wailed' loudly, there was nobody amongst them who had the knowledge to cure (him).
M 182 Then a woman came to me, known' in her town and a queen in her nome. She came to M 183 me bearing' a life-sign whilst she had every confidence in her knowledge: "Fear not,
M 184 fear not, son Horus; ' he not despondent, be not despondent, mother of the god'". The child
M 185 is protected against the malice of his brother.' The bush is hidden. Death does not penetrate

[^5]M 186 into it. It is the magic power of Atum, father of the gods,' who is in heaven, who has made M 187 my life-sign. Seth does not penetrate into this nome, he does not go about' at Chemmis. Horus is protected against the malice of his brother. His followers do not injure him. M 188 ' Look for the reason why this happened, then Horus will live for his mother. Certainly, M 189 ' a scorpion has stung him or an evil snake has bitten' him".
c 2 Isis put her nose into his mouth to know the smell of it in his skull. She examined the c 3 disease' of the divine heir. She found that he had been poisoned. She quickly embraced
c 4 her son,' jumping about with him like fishes put on a coal-fire:
d 1 "Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 20 , Rē, your son his been bitten.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 3 the heir of your heir, who has tied the kingship of Shu.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
di 4 the lad of Chemmis, the sacred ${ }^{33}$ ) child in the House of the Prince.
d 1 Horus ${ }^{34}$ ) has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 5 the beautiful child of gold, the innocent, fatherless child.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32) \text { ), Horus has been bitten, }}$
d 6 the son of Wennofer, born from Isis divine ${ }^{35}$ ),
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 7 the guiltless one, the young son among the gods.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 8 he of whom I took continually care, for in him I saw the avenger of his father.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 9 he who was (already) anxious in the hidden place, who was (already) afraid in his mother's womb.
d 1 Horus has been bitten ${ }^{32}$ ), Horus has been bitten,
d 10 he over whom I watched, keeping an eye upon him, and on account of whom I loved life".
e 1 'The innocent child wept in distress, they who were around the child were upset; Nephthys
e 2-3 came running along,' crying, her cries rang out in the marshes. ' Serket said: "What is the
e 4 matter, what is the matter, whatever is the matter with the child ${ }^{36}$ ) ? Sister' Isis, do call
e 5 to heaven, then there will be a standstill with the crew' of the boat ${ }^{37}$ ), and there will be no favourable wind in the boat of $R \bar{e}^{38}$ ), as long as the son Horus lies on his side."
e 6 Isis uttered' her cry to heaven, her lamentation to the boat of millions. Aton stopped
e $7 \quad$ ' in front of her and did not move from his place. Thoth came provided with magic power ${ }^{39}$ ) and with the high command of justification: "What is the matter, what is the matter, Isis
e 8 divine, skilful one,' who knows her spell. Horus, your son ${ }^{40}$ ), is not in mischief, I hope? His protection is the boat of R $\bar{e}$. Today I have come from the bark. Aton is in his place of

[^6]yesterday. Darkness has come, the light has been driven away until Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis,' until the patient will be healthy for his mother likewise" ${ }^{41}$ ).

Isis divine said: ${ }^{42)}$ "Thoth, how self-confident you are, hut how slow are your plans! Have you (really) come provided with magic power ${ }^{43}$ ) and with the high command of justification?' Misery upon misery, the number whereof is not known. Behold, Horus is in distress on account of the poison. The mischief is the deed of ' his brother, death is their complete destruction ${ }^{44}$ ). Would I were with the eldest (son) of his mother.' Then I would not have lived to see this after him. From the beginning (however) I submitted to it and I waited' to avenge (him). Horus, Horus, remain on the earth! Since the day I conceived him, I yearned' to rehabilitate his father ${ }^{45}$ ), (the father of) the child, who suffers from something".
"Fear not, fear not, Isis divine. Nephthys,' lament not. I have come from heaven with the breath of life to cure the child for' his mother. Horus, Horus, your heart be strong, be it not weak on account of the fire. The protection of Horus is he who is in' his disk and who illuminates the two lands with his two eyes. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the eldest in heaven, who ' rules everything that exists. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is that great dwarf who goes round about the Netherworld ${ }^{46}$ ) , at twilight. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the lion of the night ${ }^{47}$ ) who travels in the Western Mountain.' The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the great hidden Ba, who goes about in his two eyes ${ }^{48}$ ). , The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the great falcon who flies in the sky, on earth and in the Netherworld. The protection of the patient likewise.
The protection of 'Horus is the sacred beetle, the great 'pp-beetle in the sky. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the secret corpse' whose mummy is sacred in its sarcophagus ${ }^{49}$ ). The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the Netherworld, the lands where faces are reversed, , secret of contents. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the divine phoenix who sits ${ }^{50}$ ) in his eyes. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus' is his own body. The magic power of his mother Isis is his protection. The protection of the patient likewise ${ }^{51}$ ).

[^7]f 17 The protection of Horus are the names of his father, his images in his 51a) nomes. ${ }^{\text {a }}$ The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is the lamentation of his mother, the cries of his brothers. The protection of the patient likewise.

The protection of Horus is his own name.' The gods care for him, protecting him. The protection of the patient likewise.
$\ddagger 19$ Wake up, Horus, your protection is permanent. Comfort your mother's heart. ${ }^{52}$ )' The words of Horus will delight the hearts. He reassures the distressed one.

Rejoice, you who are in heaven, for Horus avenges his father.' Recede, poison. Behold, you are conjured by the mouth of Re, the tongue of the great god averts your. The' boat of $R \bar{e}$ stands still and does not sail. Aton is in his place of yesterday, until Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis, until the patient will be healthy for his mother likewise ${ }^{53}$ ).

Come to the earth, then the boat will sail and the crew' of heaven will sail. The foods are stopped up, the temples blocked, until Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis, until the patient will be healthy ${ }^{54}$ )' likewise.

The misery which is yonder will turn the disturbance to its place of yesterday, until Horus will be healthy for his mother' Isis and the patient will be healthy ${ }^{54}$ ) likewise.

The demon of the dark goes about, the seasons are not separated, the figures of the shadow are not seen, until Horus will be healthy for' his mother Isis and until the patient will be healthy likewise.

The sources are blocked, the crops are withering, the food is taken' from mankind 55), until Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis and until the patient will be healthy
f 27 likewise. Come to the earth, o, poison ${ }^{56}$ ), then the hearts will rejoice and ' the light of the sun will go round. I am Thoth, the eldest, son of Re, with the command of Atum, the
$f 28$ father of the gods, that Horus may be healthy' for his mother Isis and that the patient may be healthy for his mother just as he is ${ }^{57}$ ). Horus, Horus, your Ka is your protection, your
f 29 followers' protect you ${ }^{5 s}$ ). The poison is dead, it, heat driven away from stinging the son f 30 of the lady ${ }^{59}$ ).' Depart to your homes, for Horus lives for his mother ${ }^{60}$ ).

Then Isis divine said: "May you give instructions concerning him to the inhabitants f 31 of' Chemmis, the nurses who are in Buto. Order them emphatically to guard the child for f 32 his mother ${ }^{61}$ ).' Do not let them know my position at Chemmis, a beggar-woman, chased away from her town".

Thoth said to these' gods and he spoke to the inhabitants of Chemmis: " $O$, nurses

[^8]f 35 on account of that great one, who has gone away from among them,' watch over this child, look for his way among men and confuse the ways of those who rebel against him, till he
$f 36$ has seized' the throne of both the lands. Re in heaven vouches for him, his father watches over him, the magic power of his mother is his protection, while she makes love go about $\pm 37$ for him and brings' fear of him amongst men.

They are waiting for me to push off the evening-boat and to make the morning-boat $\ddagger 38$ sail. Horus belongs to you,' assigned to life. I shall inform his father that he is alive and f 39 give joy to those who are in the boat and cheers to the crew' so that she may sail 62 ): f 40 (For) Horus lives for his mother ${ }^{63}$ ). The poison is powerless. Then the official is ' praised for his task in delivering his report to him who sent him.
g 1 'Rejoice, Rē-Harachte, your son Horus has been assigned to life. All people and all animals which are poisoned will live likewise ${ }^{64}$ ).

## SPELL V

g 2 B Another spell, to be recited: I am Isis, mistress of Chemmis, T 1 (L 3) Another spell: I am ...., mistress of Chemmis,
g 3 B effective of words in the secret place. My father' Geb has placed T 1 (L 3) effective of words in the secret place, to whom Geb has given

B his magic power at my disposal, to protect (my) son Horus, T 1 (L 3) his magic power, to protect Horus.

B to seal the mouth of every snake, to chase away for him T 1 (L 3) I will seal the mouth of every snake, (I will) chase away
g 4 B 'every lion in the desert, every crocodile in the river, T 1 (L 3) every powerful lion, the lions in the desert, the crocodile(s) in the river,

B all the snakes, which bite with their mouth, while I avert the poison T 1 (L 3) all the snakes, which bite in their holes, I will avert the poison
g. $5 \mathrm{~B} \quad$ ' in its moment, so that its heat is averted.

T 1 ( L 3 ) in its moment. The fire will recede on account of my words.
B I will give air to him who is short of breath through the magical power
T 1 (L 3) I will give air to the nose of him, who is short of breath through the magical power
$\mathrm{g} 6 \quad \mathrm{~B} \quad$ of my spell.' I will destroy the poison which is in any limb of any
T 1 (L 3) of (my) spell.
g 7 B man or animal that is poisoned. Obey me,' poison in his body,
T 1 (L 3) Obey her, vessels of the body,
B at the command of Geb, the hereditary prince of the gods;
T 1 (L 3) at the command ${ }^{65}$ ) of Geb, the hereditary prince of the gods;

[^9]

SPELL VII
g 15-16 Another spell, to be recited: The hand of $R \bar{e}$ $\qquad$ is (?)' on the mouth of W mm. t , on the mouth of Dbḥ-skr.f, on the mouth of $\mathrm{B}_{3}$ - $\mathrm{dh}^{3} \mathrm{~h}^{3}$, on the mouth of Nmh, on the mouth
g 17 of Hsf,' on the mouth of all male and female snakes, which bite with their mouth and sting with their tail $\qquad$ ' on the lips, cheers together with cries ${ }^{87}$ ) $\qquad$

## SPELL VIII

h 2 Another spell: Fire in water, fire in water, fire, which has come forth from water! The flame of my mouth has laid the fire, 'I extinguish it when it makes a flame. Water will extinguish the fire.
h 4
Who will extinguish it, whoever' will calm it down, whoever will avert it? Run out,
h 5 poison! Ptah, who has made you, will calm you down, Rē,' who has created it, will extinguish
h 6 it, the god, who has sent it, will avert it. Run out, poison, come, go out, to ' the earth. The great Ennead averts (you), so that your heat is driven away, your flame extinguished.
h 7 Your flame is not, your glow is not in any limb' of the patient. For he is Horus, the son of Osiris, the lord of protection, who puts his magical power into action, effective in salvation, great of protection.
118 'His head is the head of Rē-Harachte, his crown is the crown of Khepri, his face is
h 9 the face of Nefertem, the back of his head is' the back of the head of Min, his neck is the
h 10 column of faience, his front side is Serket, the great one, mistress of the ropes' of (?) magic power, when he adores Rē at his rise. His upper arm(s) are the two birds of Ptah, his
h 11 fore-arms are the two lords, brothers, his back' is Geb, the hereditary prince of the gods, his breast is Neith, the great one, mother of the god, his sides are the secret gateways, his heart
h 12 is ' the "leading heart" of Ptah, his belly is the great Nut, in which Rē rises with the ever-
h 13 lasting stars. His phallus' is the lord of Heracleopolis, his behind is the mistress of Chemmis,
h 14 the wife of Horus, his thighs are the two mistresses of Buto, his shins' are the Wepwawets of Upper and Lower Egypt, his toes are the jackals of Seth (?). No member of his is without
h 15 a god; everyone of 'them is the protection of his body, from his head to his foot-soles. The
h 16 poison has no power over his body, its heat ' does not get hold of him. Behold, the great Ptah-Nun is the protection of his body.
h 17 If the poison goes about in the body, if it wanders' in any part of his body, no water shall be libated on the table(s) of offerings in the temples, no water be poured out on the altars, no 'fire be kindled in the store-room, no foods be piled up on their offering-tables, no slaughter cattle be called to the slaughtering-table' and no select pieces of meat be brought to the temple.

But if the poison falls down, all the temples will be in festive joy' and the gods will be content in their sanctuaries, for his evil-doer has been felled.
h 21 Return, poison, fall' down - behold, the Ba's, who are content, have made you - at the words of the lord of life, the lord of protection, at the words of the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus.
87) Or: "cheers on the tail, cries (on the) ..." (?).

## SPELL IX

n 22 the words of Sfg-irw who is in the flame, at the words of Snn-'gsb.w-m-ḥtpw, at the words of cb-ḥh.w, who has come forth from Nun.
h 40 ' Seven knots have been laid on its tail (?). The protection of Horus is the protection of all people and all animals [which are poisoned].
88) B.
89) C 8: "he will cool you".
90) "O, youthful one..... he will destroy you" omitted by B.
91) C 8: "your".
92) C 8: "he will avert you".
93) C 8: "from any limb of this man".
94) C 8: "the great Nun".
95) C 8: "from any limb of this man".
96) Omitted by B.
97) C 8: "at the words of Hu and Sia".

## SPELL X

To be recited ${ }^{98}$ ): I am Thoth, I have come from heaven at the command of $R \bar{e}{ }^{99}$ ) to protect you ${ }^{100}$ ), to avert ' the poison of the scorpion ${ }^{101}$ ), which is in any member of Horus, the son of Isis, which is in any member' of any man or animal that is poisoned, likewise ${ }^{102}$ ).

Your head belongs to you, Horus, it will be' stable, wearing the white crown and the wrr.t-crown ${ }^{103}$ ).

Your eyes belong to you, Horus, you are Horus, the son of Geb, the lord' of the eyes amongst the Ennead 104).

Your nose belongs to you, Horus, you are Horus, the Eldest, the son of Osiris 105), you do not' breathe hot wind ${ }^{104}$ ).

Your upper arms belong to you Horus, you are Horus, great is your strength to ' kill your enemies ${ }^{106}$ ).

Your forearms belong to you, Horus, you receive the office' of your father Osiris. Ptah has assigned it to you with his utterance 107) on the day of your birth 104).
' Your heart belongs to you, Horus, Aton makes your protection 104).
Your hands 108) belong to you, Horus; your right hand 109) is Shu, your left hand 109) ' is Tefnet; they are the children of $\left.R \bar{e}{ }^{104}\right)$.

Your belly belongs to you, Horus; the children' of Horus 110), who are in it, do not receive the poison of the scorpion ${ }^{104}$ ).

Your strength belongs to you, Horus,' the strength of Seth does not prevail against you ${ }^{104}$ ).

Your phallus belongs to you, Horus, you are "the bull of his mother", who avenges ' his father, who stands up for his children 111) every day 104).

Your thighs belong to you, Horus, you have the strength' to kill the enemies of your father ${ }^{104}$ ).
Your shins belong to you, Horus. Khnum has built them(?) and Isis has woven them(?).
98) B.
99) "at the command of $R \vec{e}$ " not in $M$.
100) M: "to protect Horus"; C 3: "to protect".
101) Be: "the evil poison of any male or female snake, any scorpion, any serpent".
102) M: "which is in any member of Horus"; C 3: "which is in any member of the son Horus, which is in any member of $N N$ ".
103) M: "It will be stable, wearing the wrr.t-crown"; C 3: "it will be stable, wearing the white crown, NN likewise"; Be: "you will be wearing (?) the wrr.t-crown".
104) C 3: "NN likewise".
105) M: "the son of Re".
106) M: "your bowels belong to you, Horus, great is your strength to kill the enemies of your father"; C 3: "your upper arms belong to you, Horus, you are one, great of strength, to kill your enemies, NN likewise".
107) M: "Ptah has opened for you your mouth".
108) M: "your eye(s)".
109) M: "eye".
110) M: "the children of the gods".
111) $M$; see Comm. i 13-14.
(i 13-14) Your foot-soles belong to you, Horus; "the Nine Bows" have fallen' under your footi 16 soles.

You lead the countries ${ }^{112}$ ) of the South, the North, the West and the East. You see like $R \bar{e}{ }^{113}$ ).

## SPELL XI

## Another spell 114):

i 17 Run out, sdḥw-snake, run out $\mathrm{k}^{3}$-snake; run out $\mathrm{k}^{3}$-snake, run out sdhw-snake. The i 18 spear is in your bones ${ }^{115}$ ). 'The temple is full, the large sanctuary 116) is full, the fire has been laid. Behold, I extinguish it.
112) C 3 omits "countries".
113) M: "(to repeat) four times; the patient likewise"; C 3: ... (name omitted) likewise". 114) C $2, \mathrm{~T} 2, \mathrm{P}$.
115) C 2, P: "his bones"; T 2: "the bones".
116) C 2: "offering-table"; T" 2: "store-room".

## COMMENTARY

## SPELL I

M. 48 ff . At the advice of Thoth, Isis flees at night from the workhouse, in which Seth had put her, and, accompanied by seven scorpions on her way to Chemmis, she reaches a settlement. A noble lady, who sees her coming from afar, closes her door. The scorpions, indignant at this, lay their poison on the sting of one of them. The latter slips under the door and stings the son of the woman. Isis, who has entered the house of a simple fisher-girl, is moved to pity and cures the child with her magic. Out of gratitude the child's mother rewards the fisher-girl who had opened her door to Isis ${ }^{1}$ ).

Our spell, just as Spell IV, has the form of a mythical tale. Essential is the charm addressed directly to the poison of the scorpions (M 58: "o, poison ... come to the earth", etc. ${ }^{2}$ ). A moment is taken from the myth of Isis and the Horus child, the elements of which myth are spread over the whole Egyptian and Graeco-Roman tradition.

Begotten after the death of his father Osiris ${ }^{3}$ ) and threatened when still in his mother's womb ${ }^{4}$ ), Horus is given birth to in pains at Chemmis, in the marshes of Buto ${ }^{5}$ ). Waylaid by Seth and by the evil beasts which the Egyptian country lodges, he finally overcomes the dangers and ascends the Egyptian throne.

The patient for whom this spell is meant will now, according to the principle of the sympathetic magic ${ }^{6}$ ), triumph over his waylayers, in this case over the poison of the scorpion, and "the patient will be healthy for his mother" (b 2).

The idea of the Horus infant, who subdues the evil beasts, is already found in the oldest religious texts.

In the snake charm PT, Spell 378, Horus is described as "the young child with his finger in his mouth", whilst his sandal tramples down a snake ${ }^{7}$ ). From this idea the wellknown representation on the magical stelae springs, where the Horus child stands on two

1) Lit.: W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele, Leipzig 1877, pp. 8-10; H. Brugsch, Eine geographische Studie, in $Z \ddot{\text { äS }}, 17$ (1879), pp. 1-29; P. le Page Renouf in PSBA, 7 (1885), p. 168; A. Moret in RHR, 72 (1915), pp. 260-264; G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena 1915, pp. 87-89; E. Drioton, Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire, 1942, pp. 82-88.
2) For the psychological background of the "epic introduction" and examples with other peoples, see G. VAN DER LEEUW, Die sog. "epische Einleitung" der Zauberformeln, in Zeitschr. f. Religionspsychologie, Jhrg. 6, Dresden 1933, pp. 161-180. An example from Christian magic is the Coptic text in London (Ms. Or. 6795), published in $A K Z$, I, 32 ff., II, 97 ff., where the Scripture-story of the fishing (St. Luke 5,4 ; St. John 21, 6-11) is used as "mythical antecedent".
3) See p. 82.
4) See Commentary on Spell IV, d 9.
5) See pp. 72-73.
6) See A. H. Gardiner, Magic, in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, Edinburgh 1915, p. 265 ff.
7) See also PT, Spells 240, 294, 299 and 388.
crocodiles and holds in his hands all kinds of dangerous animals, a.o. snakes and scorpions ${ }^{8}$ ). Horus also appears as a curer and is called as such "chief physician in the house of Re" ${ }^{9}$ ). According to Diodorus ${ }^{10}$ ) he is alleged to have learnt medicine from his mother Isis, after she had saved him from an attempt of the Titans. However, in our texts (Spells I and IV) it is not Horus who acts, but Isis. Horus fills the passive part of the child stung who, being helplessly in want of breath, is saved only by the intervention of his mother ${ }^{11}$ ).

It is psychologically remarkable in the Isis-Horus relation that no stress is laid on the natural maternal sentiments of Isis, but that her love and care of her child are strongly influenced by the Osiris-Isis and Osiris-Horus relation. She rejoices at the birth of Horus and looks after him, for in him she sees the avenger of his father ( $\mathrm{M} 168-169$; d 8), she reconciled herself in the death of Osiris only in order to be able to avenge him, for since the day she conceived Horus she only thought of the rehabilitation of his father (f 3-5) ${ }^{12}$ ). It is the love for Osiris, which made her the goddess of love ${ }^{13}$ ), and as such she assists Horus when he experiences pangs of love ${ }^{14}$ ).

Although their adversary she is at the same time goddess of the scorpions. As such she was venerated by the inhabitants of Koptos ${ }^{15}$ ). In the Ptolemaic temple inscriptions she is sometimes called "the scorpion" ${ }^{16}$ ) or "Isis, the scorpion" ${ }^{17}$ ). As goddess of the scorpions she is, on her nightly journey through the Delta, accompanied by an escort of seven scorpions (M 50-51) ${ }^{18}$ ).

Already in the first words the reciter identifies himself with Isis and he narrates the events which have preceded the sting of the scorpion and which have followed it. This monologue is interrupted by a short passage, in which the magical action that accompanies the recitation of the magical formula is described.

On this incongruity of style Drioton based his theory that a dramatic text underlied our spell, in which said passage might have been a stage-direction on behalf of the stagemanager ${ }^{19}$ ). However, he herewith lost sight of the fact that our spell only represents a fragment of a history of the gods, which abruptly begins with a monologue: "I am Isis", in the same way as Spells IV and V begin, and Spell X with: "I am Thoth". That our spell is

[^10]really a fragment taken from a mythological tale appears plainly from a comparison with the mythological tale of Rē and Isis, which has been used for the same purpose as our spell, but in this case unabridged 20 ) : after the title the tale begins with how Isis contrived the plan of finding out the secret name of Rē and how the aged sungod was bitten by a snake. After that Rē is presented dramatically $(132,8)$ : "Come to me ...gods.... I am a great one, son of a great one", and he narrates in the form of a monologue what has happened to him. Then the narration is continued, in which Isis and Rē are alternately presented dramatically, till the point is reached where Rē gives up his secret name (133, 14 ff .) : "the great god revealed his name to Isis great of magic. Run out, poison, go from Rē ... I have made you, I have sent you, come to the earth, powerful poison, behold, the great god has revealed his name. $R \bar{e}$ is alive, the poison is dead. NN, son of $N N$, is alive, the poison is dead, at the words of Isis, the great one, mistress of the gods, who knows Rē by his own name".

The resemblance of construction and style between the Turin text and our spell is striking: in both cases the abrupt beginning of the actual charm and the information of the result of the charm (Turin: "at the words of Isis"; b 1: "on account of the name (parallel: "of the spell") of Isis").

No more than the Turin text can our spell be called a dramatic text. If the Turin text had begun in 132, 10 with: "I am a great one . . ..", followed by a narration about what the speaker has met with, it could have led Drioton to a similar misunderstanding as has been the case in his theory about our spell. Both texts belong to the type of the mythological narration in which the persons are presented dramatically ${ }^{21}$ ) and in which the use as a magical spell has led to incongruities of the style.

In our text we also find a moralizing tendency. In his address to Isis Thoth says (M 49): "It is well to listen, the one lives when the other leads him". We find this utterance, doubtless an Egyptian proverb, with variations, in many Egyptian texts ${ }^{22}$ ). The ethical motive of the good poor man, who is rewarded, and the bad rich one, who is punished, is incorporated in the tale. The rich woman (Wsr.t) closes her door before the goddess, but the fisher-girl opens her hovel ( $p r-s n n$ ). The rich woman is punished her son being stung and she gives her possessions as a reward to the fisher-girl. We here think of the biblical parable of the rich man and the poor Lazarus (St. Luke 16, 19-31), for the origin of which H. Gressmann looked in Egypt ${ }^{23}$ ). In the tale of Setne and Si-Osiris, which has been preserved to us in a demotic manuscript from the 1 st century A.D. ${ }^{24}$ ), it says that Si -Osiris and his father Setne are witnesses to the burial of a rich man in all his splendour and of a poor man in all his poverty. But descended into the underworld they see, in the seventh hall, the poor man clad in the garments of the rich one (so the rich man, just as in our text, had had to give his possessions) and seated in the neighbourhood of Osiris ("in Abraham's bosom": St. Luke 16, 22), but in the eyes of the rich one the pivot of the
20) P. Turin 131, 12-133; $31+77,1-5$. See: Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, pl. 64-65; RU, pp. 138-141.
21) As for instance also the story of Horus and Seth (LES 37 ff.).
22) See Comm. on M 49.
23) Vom reichen Mann und armen Lazarus, in: Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie d. Wiss., Jhrg. 1918, Philos.-hist. Kl., Nr. 7, Berlin 1918.
24) Published by F. Ll. Griffith, Stories of the high priests of Memphis, Oxford 1900, p. 41 ff. Our passage (1, 15-2. 27): pp. 44-49, 147-161. G. RoEDER, Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen, Jena 1927, pp. 158-179.
gate of the underworld turns "for his evil deeds were found to be more numerous than his good deeds that he did upon earth" ${ }^{25}$ ).
"I am Isis". The reciter identifies himself with Isis ${ }^{26}$ ). The mythological occurrence becomes reality in the present and hence the mythical antecedent becomes imperative precedent. In this way the dead king speaks in PT 1128-1129, in order to emphasize above all the identification, the essential condition to success: "it is not NN who wishes to see you...... it is your son who wishes to see you, it is Horus who wishes to see you" and PT 1324 a-b: "it is not NN who says this to you, o, gods, it is Magic who says this to you, o, gods ${ }^{27}$ ). Thus also in P. Leiden I 348, 11, 7-8: "it is not I who say it, it is not I who repeat it, it is Isis who says it and it is she who repeats it"; and in P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 4,7: "it is not I who approach you, it is Wepet-Sepu, wife of Horus, who approaches you; poison, come out to me, I am Serket" ${ }^{28}$ ).

In Coptic magic we again find the same motive of the identification. The reciter identifies himself with Mary ${ }^{29}$ ): " I am Mary" ${ }^{30}$ ); with Jesus: "I am Jesus Christ" 31 ), and with emphasis: "I am Jesus, I am the one who orders and I am the one who speaks" ${ }^{32}$ ).
$n^{3} i . t$ is usually translated by "workshop", but in view of the Belegstellen ${ }^{33}$ ) it is possible to define the meaning further. In Pianchi $113{ }^{34}$ ) there is mention of "thousands of garments of king's linen from the best of the $n 3 i . t$ "; in Pap. Sallier II, 2,7 35) of "the weaver in the $n{ }^{3} i . t$ "; ibid. $6,2^{36}$ ) we read: "(the bricklayer) builds in an apron of straps ${ }^{37}$ ), in tissue ${ }^{38}$ ) of the $n 3 i . t$, so that his behind is bare". Apparently the $n n^{3} i . t$ is the workshop for textile work: "the spinning house". Admon. 4,12: "the female singers are now in the rooms
25) 2, 13. Cf. Petosiris, 81, 18-19: "nobody comes there (t.w. the Amentet) except he whose heart is just, practising the truth. The poor man is not distinguished from the rich one". M 52: "Do not distinguish the high one from the humble one".
26) Cf. the beginning of Spells IV and V: "I am Isis", and of Spell X: "I am Thoth". See: A. H. Gardiner, Magic in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, Edinburgh 1915, p. 265.
27) See S. Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Aegypten (=Unters., 15), Leipzig 1945, p. 48 .
28) Other examples from magical texts: P. Ch. B. VIII, Vs. 4, 5; P. Turin 136, 8-9; P. mag. Harris 9, 11.
29) In Christian magic Mary has taken the place of Isis, see: Roscher, Lexikon, Bd. II, 1, s.v. Isis, pp, 428-431. About the fusion of Christianity and oriental religions, see: B. R. Rees, Popular religion in Graeco-Roman Egypt, in JEA, 36 (1950), pp. 86-100.
30) London, ms. or. 4714, 3; 13: W. E. Crum in PSBA, 19 (1897), p. $210 \mathrm{ff}$. ; $A K Z$, II, 127 ff .; London ms. or. 6797, line $22: A K Z, \mathrm{I}, 35 \mathrm{ff}$; II, 135 ff .
31) London ms. or. 6796, 11: AKZ I, 47 ff ; II, 57 ff .
32) Leiden, I 385, 13, 27-28: W. Pleyte et P. A. A. Boeser, Manuscrits Coptes du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Blas, Leide 1897, p. 468; AKZ, II, 76.
33) Belegst., Wb., II, 200, 2-4.
34) Urk., III, 44.
35) Hellmut Brunner, Dic Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duauf (=Äg. Forsch., 13), Glückstadt u. Hamburg 1944, p. 148, see p. 37.
36) Ibid., pp. 126-127.
37) cgs: Wb., I, 236, 10: "belt, leather girdle"(?), cf. Pap. Sallier, II, 5, 8, and Brunner, o.c., p. 31.
38) Sšn determined with a lotus, cf. Wb., IV, 293. The idea apparently is that the poor bricklayer is only scantily covered by some straps and rags. BRUNNER, o.c., p. 22 translates: "in the workshop ( $n s i . t$ ) his apron ( $c g s$ ) only consists of lotus". In none of the manuscripts however an $m$ is put before nзi.t, nor does the bricklayer work in a workshop, but he builds walls $(6,1)$. The satirist depicts a
in the $n{ }^{3} i . t$; what they sing to Mr.t are mourning-songs". Mr.t here has the determinative of dress. Gardiner ${ }^{39}$ ) wrongly corrected this determinative into the eye: to make the irony all the more bitter it says that the singers, who formerly sang to the goddess Mr.t (determined by the eye when a goddess of singing) ${ }^{40}$ ), now sing mourning-songs to Mr.t, "the goddess of cloth" ${ }^{41}$ ).

A passage in P. med. London (14,8-12) takes us nearer to our text: "Spell for a burn. Young Horus is in his nest. Fire has fallen into his body. He does not know it; it does not know him. His mother is not present to conjure him, his father has gone away. Hphp (sic for Hapi) and Amsetj, the young son (?). The fire is powerful, there is nobody to save him from it. Isis went from the nsi.t at the hour at which she loosens her thread ${ }^{42}$ ) : Come, my sister Nephthys, I am making haste, I stop weaving ${ }^{43}$ ). Show me the way that I may do what I can and extinguish it (the fire) for him with my milk, with the salutary water that is between my thighs".

So the $n^{3} i . t$ is the spinning-house where Isis and Nephthys work. There they weave the mummy cloth of Osiris. In the ritual of the embalmment we read ${ }^{44}$ ): "Isis weaves your cloth and Nephthys spins your swathe 45)". In the P. demot. mag. 6, 12: "you are the garment of king's linen for Osiris ...... woven by Isis and spun by Nephthys", and M 34: "Behold, Isis has woven and Nephthys has spun against the poison" ${ }^{46}$ ).

This niit, according to Urk., VI, 135, 4-16, was situated at Sais: "(spoken to Seth) you have struck the female weavers performing the work of Tait (the goddess of weaving) to clothe the body of the god (to make the mummy cloth of Osiris) ${ }^{47}$ ). The two sisters (Isis and Nephthys) curse you at Sais, they, who sit amidst the multitude of the female weavers. You have been the leader, in tearing out the papyrus, of those who hurried to Buto. You said...... (?). Your heart wanted to search the bush". Also this text is closely related to our myth.

So we may conclude that the $n s i . t$ of $M 48$ is the spinning-house at Sais ${ }^{48}$ ), where Isis worked on the mummy cloth of Osiris and from where she began her nightly journey through the Delta.
bricklayer, who is standing on a scaffolding, it being possible to see his behind from beneath. The combination sšn nsi.t also occurs in Pap. Sallier II, 6, 4: "when (the bricklayer) has stopped working, the boards are sšn nui.t, although all the work on them has been done". Here the idea might be that the boards are as weak as pieces of cloth.
39) A. H. Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian sage, Leipzig 1909, p. 40. See now his Onomastica, II, p. 215*: nst "weaving-rooms".
40) Ibid., p. 59.
41) Cf. mrw "cloth": Wb., II, 105.
42) At the hour of stopping ( $w h^{c}$ ) work i.e. the evening.
43) Lit.: "I am deaf to grasping the thread" (?).
44) P. Louvre 5158, 8, 1-2: MASPERO, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris 1875, p. 35 n. 1 (=P. Boulaq, III, 12, 1).
45) See: M.u.K., Vs. 2, 1 and A. Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, in: Abh. Kön. Prenss. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin 1901, pp. 37-38.
46) See for other instances: Belegst., Wb., II, 12-14.
47) Cf. $M M A F$, I, p. 26, 12 (the tomb of Amenhotep) : "your mummy cloth, which the female weavers of Neith have woven tor you"; ibid. p. 130 (the tomb of Cha-em-hat): "your mummy cloth is the weave of Sais, woven by the female weavers of Neith".
48) Cf. Hw t mnht "the house of cloth" (?) at Sais: Gauthier, Dict. géogr., vol. 4, p. 74.

M 49
Also here Thoth probably acts by the direction of Re, as is expressly said in e 7, f 40 and i 1 . Of old the protector of Horus ${ }^{49}$ ), he is here the adviser of Isis, cf. Diod. I, 18 (HF 98): $\tau o ̀ v ~ " O \sigma \iota \rho i ́ v ~ \varphi \alpha \sigma \iota ~ \tau \alpha u ́ \tau \eta ~(=" I \sigma \iota \delta \iota) ~ \pi \alpha \rho \alpha \chi \alpha \tau \alpha \sigma \tau \tilde{\eta} \sigma \alpha l ~ \sigma u ́ \mu \beta o u \lambda o v ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ ' E \rho \mu \tilde{\eta} \nu ~ \delta \iota \alpha ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~$
 $\delta \varepsilon \cup \theta \varepsilon i ̃ \sigma \alpha$ ن́лò 'Epцoũ ${ }^{50}$ ).
"It is well to listen": an Egyptian proverb, cf. in the Maxims of Ptahhotep (P. Prisse $16,5)$ : "listening is better than anything else", in a passage full of puns round the word $s \underline{d m}$ "to listen"; Leb. 67: "listen to me, behold, it is well for people to listen". The same wording in Sh. S. 181.
"Conceal yourself with (your) young son". To read with L 1: sdgs ir.t hr ss nhn. Sdgs is used here reflexively without pronoun ${ }^{51}$ ). Cf. Anchnes. 445-446: nts Hr m Hb.t sdgs.n.s $r$ rmt.w ntr.w sh.w mt.w: "She (the dead one) is Horus at Chemmis, she has concealed herself from people, gods, spirits and dead". Cf. also M 169: "I hid (imn) him and concealed him ( $s d g^{\prime}$ ) for fear of that (evil) one".

The aim of Isis' journey is Chemmis (a 4). In the tradition Isis is associated with Chemmis in two respects. She gave birth to Horus there 52 ), but after that she entrusts him to the cares of the goddess of Buto, $W^{3}$ d.t ( $\left.\operatorname{Edjo}\right)^{53}$ ). Afterwards she returns to Chemmis ${ }^{54}$ ). Edfu VI, 214, 1 ff. relates to the first journey to Chemmis: "Isis said to Thoth: I am pregnant by my brother Osiris. Thoth said to Isis: go to $\underline{D} b^{3} \cdot t$ (Edfu) and inform Horus of Edfu, lord of Msn, about it". Thoth then begs Horus of Edfu to protect Isis and her child ${ }^{55}$ ). After that Isis gives birth to Horus at Chemmis.

The London medical papyrus ( $14,8-12$, see $p$. 68) probably relates to the second journey to Chemmis: Isis leaves the spinning house in order to go to Horus, who is in danger elsewhere, so does Urk., VI, 135, 4-16 (see p. 68) and P. Br. Rh. 7,10 ff.: (Isis speaks to Osiris) "I was in a town without walls .... . (14) I hid in the bush ${ }^{56}$ ) to conceal your son in order to avenge you".

Our text does not say that Isis has her child with her at that moment. This need not be implied in the words "conceal yourself with (your) young child". Accordingly nothing is said about Horus any more. Not Horus is stung, as was to be expected in that case, but "the child of a lady" (M 55).

If it here concerns the first journey to Chemmis, Isis would be pregnant of Horus at the moment. If it bears on the second journey, she was travelling to Horus, warned by Thoth that her child is in danger and with the admonition to hide there, where Horus is, near Buto. In my opinion especially the London text points to the fact that the second journey is meant

[^11]here ${ }^{57}$ ). The child over which Isis protectingly holds her hand in the illustrations of our spell ${ }^{58}$ ) is the "child of the lady", a manifestation of the Horus child ${ }^{59}$ ).

M $50 \quad h^{c} \cdot f r w \underline{d}$ "his body is strong". Cf. P. Anast. III, 4, 8-9 (LEM 25,3) : "may you stay on earth 110 years and your body be strong ( $h^{c} \cdot k r w \underline{d}$ )" ${ }^{60}$ ). Louvre C 286, 16: "(it was Isis), who reared the child in solitude, nobody knowing the place where he was, who made him enter, when his arm was strong ( ${ }^{\text {c.f }} \mathrm{fh}$ t), into the hall of Geb". In Horus and Seth 3, 7-8 (LES $40,10)$ the "Master of the Universe" angrily says to Horus: "you are weak of body, therefore this office is too heavy for you, naughty boy"; cf. Plut. 19, where Horus is called: $\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \tau o ́ \mu \eta v o v ~ \varkappa \alpha \grave{\alpha} \alpha \sigma \theta \varepsilon v \tilde{\eta}$ тоі̃s $\varkappa \dot{\alpha} \tau \omega \theta \varepsilon v$ रuioss. On the other hand the children of Reddedet came into the world with their bones strong ( $r w \underline{d} k s . w$ : P. Westcar 10,$10 ; 18 ; 25$ ).
tr n mšrw "the evening-hour", the time at which, after stopping work, the evening-meal ( $m s$ šr $\cdot t$ ) is used ${ }^{61}$ ). This point of time agrees with that in the P . med. London 14, 10 (see p. 68) : "the time ( $n w$ ) when she loosens her thread", i.e. has finished her day's work. In the P. bil. Rhind I, 8,2 mšrw is the time of sunset: "you go down in the evening bark of the sun-god in the evening (mšrw)" ${ }^{62}$ ). The demotic equivalent is here rhwy, Copt. porge, $\varepsilon_{\sigma} \pi \varepsilon \varepsilon_{\rho}{ }^{63}$ ).

M 50-51 "Seven scorpions went out behind me": Isis as the scorpions' goddess has an escort of scorpions (see p. 65). H. Brugsch ${ }^{64}$ ) sees in Isis and the seven scorpions a reproduction of the constellation of Sirius, the star of Isis. On the illustrations (see n. 58) we see the seven scorpions before her ( M ; on P with the names written beside them, t.w. Tfn, Bfn, Msttf, $M s t t$, Ptt, Mstt, $\underline{T} t t$ respectively; on C 3 before Isis are Ptt, $\underline{T} t t$ and $M n$ (sic), but below her Mstf and Mstt, in accordance with our text) ${ }^{65}$ ).

About the form of the scorpions' names cf. W. Vycichl in $A \ddot{A} A$, I (1938), pp. 224-226, who points to the use of labials, especially $b$ and $m$, in the formation of magical words and names ${ }^{66}$ ).
$t^{3} i^{c}$ c lit. "to take the arm": "to lead", an expression, which the Wb . does not know. Cf. Urk., VI, 135, 11 where $t^{3} i^{\mathrm{c}} \mathrm{c}$, in the same spelling as in our text, has, as a parallel,
57) The space between the first and the second journey is filled up by Plut. 15-17, the journey to Byblos. It is remarkable that also the small son of the king of Byblos assumes features of Horus, just as the child of the lady: Isis feeds the child $\dot{\alpha} \nu \tau i \quad \mu \alpha \sigma \tau \sigma u ̃ ~ \tau o ̀ v ~ \delta \alpha ́ x \tau u \lambda o v ~ \varepsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \sigma \tau \delta \mu \alpha ~ \tau о и ̃ ~ \pi \alpha \iota \delta i o u ~ \delta \iota \delta o u ̃ \sigma \alpha \nu, ~$ cf. the Horus figure on the magical stelae (see p. 64).
58) $M$, right side, register 37 ; $P$, right side, register 8 ; C 3, reverse, register 3 .
59) Also in Edfu VI, 21 a journey of Isis is mentioned. She is accompanied by Horus, but the destination is not Chemmis: "she travelled with her son as a young child in order to conceal him from the evil Seth. This goddess is Shet-Hr, this child is Apis".
60) For $r w d$ of parts of the body, see: Wb., II, 411.
61) Cf. Leb. 80-81.
62) Cf. CT II, 379 b ( $=$ Tb 108, 4-5).
63) Cf. also Sin. B. $19 / 20=\mathrm{R} 45$ : "I went on my way during the nightly hour" ( $\operatorname{tr} n \mathrm{~h} \boldsymbol{\mathrm { h }} \mathrm{w}$ ).
64) Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch, Bd. I, Leipzig, 1867, p. 532.
65) Tfn and Bfn do not occur here.
66) Conc. Tfn $(t)$ and $B f n(t)$ see: Kees, Götterglaube, p. 221, n. 1. Conc. Ptt, cf. Pstt, the name of a baboon, in PT 505a, Amduat Div. I (p. 13(8)), Petosiris 71, and PT 422b ptti (?); conc. Mstt: P. demot. mag. 23, 28: Mete. For Ttt ibid. 5, 11: Tatot and 7, 8: Tattat. For a string of words like Ptt, Trtt, Mstt cf. e.g. Lot, Mulot, Tulot, Tat in P. demot. mag. 2, 13.
sšm "to lead". In the demotic text of the P. bil. Rhind (II, 2, 5) $t^{s} i^{c}$ chas, as a hieratic equivalent, also sšm.

For an escort of snakes (?), see Tb $38 \mathrm{~B}, 2$ (BD 104,6): "They, who are in their holes, lead (sšm) me".

ḥ.i sp-2: "close (?) behind me". Cf. CT IV, 122a: ḥnmm.t h.̉.i sp-2: "'sunfolk' close (?) behind me", cf. ibid. 107a. P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 8, 3: $R^{\mathrm{c}} m$ hnt ntr.w psd.t.f h.f.f $s p-2$ : "Rē at the head of the gods, his Ennead close (?) behind him". An analogous use of $s p-2$ in P, breast, 6-7 67) : gm.n.f im sp-2 isw pfy-nn: "There in that place he finds that book of charms".
hr hank.t.i: "under my stretcher". Hnky.t "bed, stretcher" ${ }^{68}$ ) has the determinative of hank.t "bedroom" ${ }^{69}$ ). So Isis travels as an Egyptian lady of high standing ${ }^{70}$ ). The situation of Mstt and Msttf under the stretcher agrees with the representation on C 3 (see p. 70), where these two scorpions are represented beneath Isis.
dsr ws.t: "to prepare the way". Cf. PT 801b: ds'r n.k ws.wt: "the ways are prepared for you" ${ }^{71}$ ).
"Do not know the black one, do not greet the red one". Black is the colour of Osiris, red the colour of Seth ${ }^{72}$ ). Isis wants to say: do not greet anybody, do not look up or back, cf. II Kings 4, 29: "Then he said to Gehazi, Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way: if thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again". St. Luke 10, 3-4: "Go your ways: behold, I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way". She expresses this by a polar connection as an expression of the whole: do not know the good one and do not greet the bad one ${ }^{73}$ ).
"Do not distinguish the high one ${ }^{74}$ ) from the humble one", fitting the moralizing tendency of the spell (see p. 66). Cf. Merikare ${ }^{75}$ ) 61-62: $m$ tn $s^{3}-s r n d s$ : "do not distinguish between a person of high standing and a humble one"; and Admon. 4, 1: "the man of high standing $\left(s^{3}-s\right)$ is not distinguished from the humble one (iw.ty n.f $s w$ )".
hr-tn m hrr: "your face downwards". Cf. Leb. 119: "everybody is a "face downwards"
67) BIFAO, 30 (1931), p. 93.
68) Wb., III, 119, 14 ff .
69) $W b$., III, $119,8 \mathrm{ff}$.
70) Or as a sick, pregnant woman(?), see p. 69.
71) Also: Tb 78, 2 (BD 165, 9) ; 133, 1 (BD 288, 10); 149, 66 (BD 375, 11). For the meaning of dsr, see: A. H. Gardiner in JEA, 32 (1946), p. 51 (1).
72) Plut. 22; 33. HP I, p. 23-25; II, p. 155-156. Black is also the colour of Horus: P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 8, 4: "in order to make you black like Horus and red like Seth". See further: A. H. Gardiner in Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3 (text), pp. 9-10; G. Lefebvre, Rouge et nuances voisines, in JEA, 35 (1949), p. 72 ff. (p. 74) ; A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in JEA, 36 (1950), p. 72, n. 57; B. H. Stricker in OMRO, 31 (1950), p. 102, n. 769.
73) Cf. J. L. Meerwaldt, Eenzijdig gerichte polaire verbindingen bij Vondel, in: Negentiende verslag van de Vereeniging het Vondel Museum 1938-1939, Amsterdam 1940, pp. 34-36, with numerous examples from classical and Dutch literature. Cf. also the Egyptian expression ntt iwtt for "everything".
74) ss-s lit. "the son of a man", Wb., III, 406, 1 and $409,14$.
75) W. Golenischeff, Les papyrus hiératiques Nos. 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Petersbourg, St. Petersbourg 1913, pls. 9-14; A. Volten, Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften (= Analecta Aegyptiaca, IV), København 1945, pp. 3-103, pls. 1-4.
(hr m hrw)", that is to say "looks at the earth"; Livre des Cavernes VI ${ }^{76}$ ): "the bloodcovered ones, upturned and face down"; Tb 175, 31: "Seth came face down".
$h r{ }^{c}-$ w. $t$ : "to the road". Cf. PT $429 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}:$ "hki-snake, hkr.t-snake, run away, your face to the road ( $h r h r w^{3} \cdot t$ )". No other examples of the expression ${ }^{c}-w^{3} \cdot t$ are known to me. The literal meaning is "surroundings, tract of the road", cf. $r^{3-} w^{3} . t^{77}$ ). Just as $r^{3}-w^{3} . t$, also ${ }^{c}-w^{3} . t$ is probably a slightly vaguer expression than $w^{3} . t$ for "road".
ssw sšm ḥh nwi: "be careful not to lead him who looks for me". Cf. in the text, published by H. Kees, Ein alter Götterhymnus als Begleittext zur Opfertafel in ZäS, 57 (1922), p. 92 ff., p. 104: "let the demon ( $n b \underline{d}$ ), the son of Nut, not find the way to him (Horus)". The above quoted (p. 68) text, Urk., VI, 135, 10-16, probably also refers to the following of Isis by Seth: "you have been the leader, in tearing out the papyrus, of those who hurried to Buto.... your heart wanted to search the bush". Edfu VI, 220,3: "(Seth) spent years in searching him, but he did not find him". See Herod. II, 156 (HF 35) : $\tau \grave{\text { ò }} \pi \tilde{\alpha} \nu$
 8, 6-9, parallel to hlr.tiwny "beware" and Gardiner, Eg. Gr. § 338,3.
$n w i$ is a later form for wi, cf. Petosiris 103, 2: di.f shs nwi Wsir "he causes Osiris to remember me" ${ }^{78}$ ).

M 52-53 "Until we have reached 'the House of the Crocodile', 'the Town of the two Sisters', the beginning of the Delta marshes, the marshes of $D b^{\prime \prime}$. From a comparison with a 4 , where Isis repeats her warning with: "until we have reached the hidden place at Chemmis", it appears that the four indications of place all contain another denomination of Chemmis or the territory of Chemmis. Chemmis is usually located near Buto, the Tell-el-Farâ-cin of to-day. Gardiner in JEA, 30 (1944), pp. 52-58, extensively deals with the problems about the location of Chemmis and the connection between Chemmis and Buto. For the sources and literature of the question I refer to that article, supplemented by his Onomastica, II, p. 187* ff. Although Gardiner, referring to a "Chemmis" near other Egyptian towns (p. 57), makes it plausible that the Chemmis near Buto from the classical sources is a secondary creation, he goes too far, in my opinion, in wanting to separate completely Chemmis and Buto geographically. The material which he cites on pp. 55-56, is sufficient to prove the contrary. He forgets for instance, when dealing with M 245-246 ( $=\mathrm{f} 30-33$ ) in this connection, that with the words "the inhabitants of Chemmis and the nurses who are in Buto" (f 30-31), Thoth addresses himself to one group of Delta inhabitants ( $t$ s $h . w$ ), who have flocked together at Isis' cry for help. Here some other texts may follow, which point to a geographical connection between Chemmis and Buto. In Urk., IV, 237, 7 ff . the Hathor cow says to Hatshepsut: "I have come from $P$, I have gone to $D p$ ( $P$ and $D p$ together form the double town of Buto), I have wandered through the nests, the ends (?) of the roads of Horus, I stayed at Chemmis as a protection of my Horus". Horus is hidden in the bush ( $b_{3} \cdot t$ ) near Chemmis ${ }^{79}$ ). Now we read in the Zweiwegebuch II, 35: "To-day I have come from $D p$ (Buto) and I saw the bush (bs.t) which grew (there)". In our text
76) BIFAO, 43 (1945), p. 39; pl. 135 (7), P.
77) Sin. B $11=\mathrm{R} \mathrm{35}$; Peasant R 49; Wb., II, 396, 5-11, Cf. c $n$ bnt: Horus and Seth 12, 8 (LES $53,15)$.
78) See H. Junker, Grammatik der Dinderatexte, Leipzig 1906, p. 43; Wb., II, 210, 5.
79) M 185.

Isis starts from Sais and sets out to Chemmis. In Urk., VI, 135, 10 ff. (see p. 68) Seth, from Sais, leads those going to Buto whilst he wishes to search the bush (bst). In Edfu VI, $16,14{ }^{80}$ ) it says: "the bush ( $b 3 \cdot t$ ) round about the child which protects Horus at Buto". Further Chemmis and Buto are mentioned side by side also in the story of Petubastis ${ }^{81}$ ).

From all this it may appear that there was a close geographical relation between Buto and Chemmis. The territory that belonged to Buto, the " $p h \underline{w} \cdot w$ ps $t^{3} n W^{3} d . t$ " of the stela of the Satraps ${ }^{82}$ ), extended far, from the Canopic mouth of the Nile in the West to the Sebennytic nome in the East, from the Saitic nome in the South to the seaboard in the North ${ }^{83}$ ). So it also covered large territories in the seventh nome of Lower Egypt, "the nome of the western harpoon" ${ }^{84}$ ). In Edfu I, 332-333 a A Dob (? ) is mentioned in this nome beside a Chemmis and a $\square \square \mathrm{I}$ (Pr-Sbk or Pr-swy). Brugsch already associated these names with those in our text ${ }^{85}$ ). And indeed, it seems very probable to me that in the $\square \square \mathrm{l}$ of the Edfu text we find our Pr-swy. Thus we could have in $D b$ either a spelling of $\underline{D} b \cdot t$ ( $m h \cdot t$ ) or of $\underline{D} b^{c} w \cdot t$, the old name for Buto ${ }^{86}$ ). Ph.w $D b$ and $i d h w$ are the denominations of the marshland of the seventh nome, in which Chemmis is situated and which belonged to the territory of Buto, cf. Urk., II, 16, 10 ff.: "... after His Majesty had gone to Buto visiting the phw.w which are in his domain (t.w. of Buto), and going through the idh.w, having a look at every river which flows to the sea...."; El Khargeh, pl. 26, 28: "you settle at Chemmis, your heart sojourns on the roads of idhyy, Edjō cheers you"; Edfu VI, 83, $8{ }^{87}$ ): "rejoice, women of Buto, townsfolk beside the marshes ( $p h \cdot w$ )".

Finally the denomination niw.t n(.t) sn.ty "the Town of the two Sisters", if we may correct the $t b$ (sandal)-sign into the $s n$-sign, which is very probable, cf. M 78, where the $t b$-sign has also been written instead of the sn-sign, which resembles it very much 88 ). Now Isis as well as Serket are called "mistress of Chemmis" 89 ). In e 3-4 Serket says to Isis: "Sister Isis". By "the Town of the two Sisters" in that case "the Town of Isis and Serket", i.e. Chemmis might be meant. From the above it may be concluded that Isis, beginning her journey at Sais, travelled past Buto (a distance of 25 km ) to a marshland, which belonged to the territory of Buto and which was situated somewhere in the seventh nome, in order to hide her child Horus there in the bush near Chemmis.

[^12]M 53 "Finally I reached the houses of matrons". On her journey Isis arrives at a settlement, where the episode of the Wsr.t and her son takes place. The child, a manifestation of the Horus-child, is stung and the reaction to it is described in wordings analogous to those which occur in a number of spells directly relating to Horus (see Comm. on M 55-56) ; he is called "the innocent child" (M 56-57), a usual denomination of the Horus-child; in M 55 he is called s ${ }^{3}$ Wsr.t, as Horus in f 29; and in M 58 the parallel L 1 even reads: "Isis laid her hands on her child". It is possible that into our spell the myth of the Horus-child is woven, who is raised at Buto by the goddess Edjō (p. 69), who is sometimes even called "the mother of Horus" ${ }^{90}$ ). In that case the whole episode would take place at Buto. Then the $\check{S} p s . t$-Wsr.t would be Edjo${ }^{91}$ ) and her son Horus. Beside the Wsr.t the $t s h . t$, the "fishergirl" appears. The $t$ s h.w in M 177-178 are the imy.w idh.w "inhabitants of the marshes", who, in $\mathrm{f} 30-31$ and 33 , are called "the inhabitants of Chemmis and the nurses who are at Buto". "The houses of matrons" might be a denomination of $D p$, the town of Edjō, as against $P$, the town of Horus ${ }^{92}$ ).
$h m \cdot w t t^{\prime} y$ "married women", "matrons". GARDINER has dropped the objections, which he raised at first against this translation of the expression in Sin. B $192{ }^{93}$ ), in connection with P. Turin 47,8 (= Gardiner, Administrative docıments, 57, 14) ${ }^{94}$ ). Notwithstanding this Blackman sticks to the old translation for Sin. B 132 "women and men", or with a climax "women, even men" ${ }^{95}$ ). The usual expression for "men and women" is tosy.w hm.wt, also in Sinuhe ${ }^{96}$ ). From the other references ${ }^{97}$ ) too it appears that $h m \cdot t t^{3} y$ is an expression for "married woman", a translation, which, in my opinion, is preferable too for Sin. B 132. Hm.t tsy, said of Isis, can also have the meaning of "woman behaving as a man" in rebus sexualibus, as in the Stundenwachen of the Ptolemaic temples ${ }^{98}$ ). Cf. P. Louvre 3079, 1, 9-10: "I am Isis, there is no god who has done what I have done, nor a goddess either. I have acted like a man, although I am a woman, because I desired to make your (i.e. Osiris') name live on earth".

M 54 tsh.t. In M 177-178 the $t$ sh.w are the imy.w idh.w "inhabitants of the marshes"; here, determined by child and woman, $t^{s} h \cdot t$ may mean "youthful female inhabitant of the marshes", "fisher-girl". The word might be connected with the verb $t^{\prime} \underset{~}{\boldsymbol{~} 99}$ ) "to be wet", "to wet", "to immerse", cf. Tb 110, 37 (BD 229, 6) : "I have plunged ( $t$ s ${ }^{h}$ ) into the lakes of Dsr.t (?)"; LEM 65, 2 and 105, 14: "(the poor peasant) is thrown into the ditch and immersed $(t s h)$ on his head.
90) A. H. Gardiner, in JEA, 30 (1944), p. 56.
91) Sps.t and Wsr.t are denominations of many goddesses beside Isis, see Wb., IV, 450, 8-9 and I, 363, 11-12.
92) A. H. Gardiner, Onomastica, II, p. 189* ff.
93) Notes on the story of Sinuhe, p. $158(=R T, 36$ (1934), p. 199).
94) Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, Text, p. 20, n. 15.
95) JEA, 22 (1936), p. 37 (8). Also Lefebvre, Romans, p. 13.
96) Sin. B 67; further P. Leiden I 347, 4, 1; P. Louvre 3079, 2, 8. Cf. P. Ebers 21, 6/7: hm.t ts y $r-p w$ "woman or man".
97) P. Prisse 10, 3; Petrie, Abydos, III, pl. 29; Tb 125 Conf. 19 (BD 255, 6) ; P. Turin 47, 8; P. Ch. B. III, Rt. 11, 13.
98) H. Junker, Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien, Wien 1910, p. 59 (52).
99) Wb., V, 233, 8-11.

M 54-55 Whilst the "lady" closes the leaves ( ${ }^{c_{3}} . w y$, ${ }^{c_{3}} . w^{2} y n s b^{3}$ ) of her doubtless lordly mansion ${ }^{100}$ ), the fisher-girl opens the door ( $s b^{3}$ ) of her pr snn. Snn as a substantive also occurs in Edfu I, 321 and 324, said about the dirt, from which the temple is cleansed. So pr snn would mean "house of dirt", "shabby hut", "hovel". In b 1 her dwelling is called ss "stable". So also by the choice of the words stress is laid on the contrast between poor and rich (see p. 66).
"Tefen(et) had penetrated under the leaves of the door". Cf. PT 247 b (in a snakecharm): "a snake, which bites and which steals into the house of him whom he wants to bite".
pri "to break out", cf. P. Turin 132, 5: "the living fire had broken out in him (pr.ti)", Tb 22, 6: "I extinguish the fire when it has broken out (pr.ti)"; see Wb., I, 523, 6.
"There was no water to extinguish it". Golenischeff 101) already associated this passage with a number of spells against burns from the medical-magical literature, which have been discussed by H. Schäfer in $Z \ddot{A} S 36$ (1898), pp. 129-131. They are P. Ebers 69, 3-4: "My son Horus burns in the desert. Is there any water? There is no water. Water is in my mouth, a Nile is between my thighs ${ }^{102}$ ). I have come to extinguish the fire". Ibid. 6-7: "My son Horus burns in the desert. There is no water there. I am not there to bring water from my lips (?), a stream to extinguish the fire". P. med. London 14,13-15,1 (a spell following the spell against burns, translated on p. 68): "My son Horus burns in the desert in a place where there is no water. Water is in my mouth, a Nile is between my thighs. I have come to extinguish the fire". Ibid. 15, 2-3: "My son Horus burns in the desert. Isis has come from (?) ... alone (?). There is no water there. My mouth is water, my lips are a stream. I have come to extinguish the fire". A parallel of this last passage is found in P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 3, 1: "Beginning of charms against burns. Behord, there is trembling in your face. My son Horus, my son. You see the flame of the great one. My mouth is water. My (?) lips are a stream. I have come to extinguish the fire". Ibid. 2-3 is also related: "Another charm against burns. I am Horus, who hurries in the desert to the place where the fire is. Fire (?). His uppermost is fire, his undermost is fire. There is no place where he can escape from it. The water is far away. Fire, do not say fire (??). The doors are closed. Would that the divine Isis was here (?) at this hour. Then she would show him (?) the way with her powerful spell. The divine Isis comes to the place where this god is. Behold, behind you or before you (?). You cut up the place of your enemies to extinguish. You have extinguished it with the water from your (?) mouth". Finally P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 8, 7: "(Fire) is in your mouth and water is in my mouth. Water will come from my mouth to extinguish the fire which is in your mouth. $\qquad$
C. Wilke also connects a spell from the Pyramid texts herewith ${ }^{103}$ ), PT 236 a-c, the last line of which he translates as follows: "You have been washed, desert. Water (is there). Be there no dust" ${ }^{104}$ ).

[^13]M 55-56 "The sky rained into the house of the lady, although it was not its time". A cosmic disturbance is the consequence of the scorpion's sting, cf. e 6 , Comm. The disturbance is removed when the child has been cured, b 1: "the fire has been extinguished, the sky calmed down" ${ }^{105}$ ). For the expression $n$ tr is pw "although it is not the time", cf. Sethe, Lesestücke, p. 86 (= Gardiner-Peet, Inscriptions of Sinai, 90): "although it was not the time ( $n$ tr is $p w$ ) of going to this quarry" ${ }^{106}$ ).

M 56 tm. s wn n.i "because she had not opened to me". Tm is the negation used in a paratactical clause of circumstance, precedent to the main clause. Cf. CT, B $2 \mathrm{~L}, 75(=\mathrm{Tb} 90$ $(\mathrm{Nu}), 9:$ BD 192, 11-12): "if you come to me, I will speak to you, if you do not come to me ( $t m \cdot k i w$ ), I will not ( $n n$, but Tb tm ) speak to you". The same clause, following the main clause, is introduced by a preposition (b 2): m isw $n \operatorname{tm} \cdot(n) \cdot s$ wn n.i "because she had not opened to me".
"She did not know whether he was alive", to be read $n$ rh.s "nh.f, cf. Be. Cf. Sin. B 255-256: ( $n$ ) rh.i cnh $r$ mwt "I did not know whether I was alive or dead"; P. Edwin Smith 2, 11: rh.k mwt.f $r$ "nh.t.f "you know whether he will die or live".
$m$ imw "lamenting", cf. CT I, 215 b: iw s.t hr imw, with the parallels: m imw: "Isis lamented"; Sin. R 10-11: pc.t m imw ,the people lamented"; Urk., VI, 15, 22: Hsb (?) m imw "Cynopolis laments"; ibid. 15, 19: imw phr m Sps.t-mrw "lamentation goes about at Oxyrrhynchus".

M 57 "My mouth bears life", cf. P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 2, 8 (= P. Turin 133, 1): s.t-rs.s hr t.sw $n$ ' $n \underline{h}$ "her (i.e. Isis') spell bears the breath of life".
"Known in her town", cf. M 181-182: "a woman came to me, known in her town", P. Prisse 15, 6-7: "a woman cheerful of character and known to her fellow-townsmen (rh.t $n$ niwty.w.s)"; Ani 3, 13: "beware of a strange woman who is not known in her town", and the warnings against a strange woman in Proverbs 5.
$b \underline{\underline{w}}$ "disease", also "poisonous snake", Wb., I, 485, 11-14, is connected with bt "to leave", cf. J. H. Breasted in his Commentary on P. Edwin Smith 4,4 (p. 200), and Leb. 113: "the $b \underline{t} w$ is now a ${ }^{〔} k$ - $i b$ (confidant)". In M 7 "backwards, snake", the parallel, P. Turin 131, 6, has: "back, btsw (= btw)". See for our text: Ostr. Strassb. H 111, 4 (ZÄS, 57 (1922), p. 70): "the words of Horus extinguish the fire, his utterances (tpy.w-rs) cure the disease (btw)".
"My father has taught me knowledge", cf. M 60-61: "to whom Geb has given his magic power"; g 2-3: "Geb has placed his magic power at my disposal to protect my son Horus".
"Isis laid her hands on the child", cf. M 74: "She (Isis) reached out her hands"; M. u. K. 2,10: "my hands are lying on this child, the hands of Isis are lying on him, as she laid her hands on her son Horus."
"To cure him who was short of breath", cf. Ostr. Strassb. H 111, 1-2 (ZÄS, 57 (1922), p. 70) : "the words of Horus avert death and cure ( $s^{〔} n h$ ) him who is short of breath (nty
105) nw.t htp.ti, cf. Peasant B 1, 244: "may the sky abate (htp p.t) after the storm".
106) Gardiner, Eg. Gr., § 134.
$m$ gsw hty.t)"; P. Turin 133, 1: "Her (Isis') words cure ( $s^{〔} n h$ ) him who is in want of breath (gsw hty.t).

M 59-60 "Come, go out to the earth, do not go about, etc." Cf. for such a string of words a 1: "yield, recede, flee, backwards", b 4: "do not go round, do not go about"; P. Br. Rh. 30, 12 (to Apophis): "do not go ( $n^{c} i$ ), do not go about ( $s^{\prime}$ is), do not become (hpr), do not rise (tsi)"; ibid. 23, 2: "recede (ht), back (hm), enemy of Rē, fall (hr), slip away (sbn), back ( hm ), backwards ( $h^{3} . k$ )". Especially the expressions h..k (e.g. PT 434a, etc.) and pri hrts often occur in such texts.

M 59 "Magical in speaking, effective of words", cf. P. Turin 132, 14: "gods, magical of words ( ${ }^{s} h \cdot w$.wd•t), who know their spell". In magical texts ${ }^{3} h$ and ${ }^{h} h \cdot w$ often have the meaning "magical", "magical power", as in the expression sh.w tpy.w rs "magical power of spells" (Wb., I, 15, 8). P. Turin 133, 1-2 (= P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 2, 8) : s.t hry sh.w.s "Isis with her magical power"; Brugsch, Thesaurus, I, 14: "(Isis) averts Apophis with the magical power (sh.w) of her spell". In M 75 Horus is called "son of the enchantress" (sh.t). In Urk., VI, 103, 5: "who averts the furious one with his magical power (sh.f)" the parallel text has: hks "magical power". Isis had received her magical power (sh.w) from her father Geb, see M 60-61 and g 2-3.

L 1, 40 ff . deviates from M 59-60 in the sequence of the scorpions. The first charm should be read there: sms mst.t "Matet has been killed", see P. Ebers 20, 9; 21, 21: "another means of killing ( ) a snake", written in full ibid. 21, 8: "a means of killing a snake".
"Do not rise", cf. g 8: "do not rise (ts) to heaven, but descend", M 4: "you do not rise (tsi) to heaven but fall downwards", C 2, XII, 81-82 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 123): "when the poison rises ( $t s i$ ) against the heart of the patient, it rises against the ba's of Heliopolis".
a 1 m shm.s "in its power", cf. g 4-5: "to avert the poison in its moment" and C 2, S. III, 31 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 136): "the poison in its power"; or: "with her (i.e. Isis') power", cf. L 1: "with power".
a 2 "The egg of the smn-bird, who has come from the sycomore" are epithets of Rē, cf. le Page Renouf in PSBA, 7 (1885), pp. 152-154. From the egg of the smn-bird, the big chatterer (ngg wr) Rē has been born 107) and he rises in the morning between the two sycamores on the eastern horizon ${ }^{108}$ ).
a 3-4 Isis repeats her command of $M$ 52-53 with some additions: "I am alone, do not ruin your ( M : "our") name in the nomes". Cf. f 32: "Do not let them know my position at Chemmis, a beggar-woman, chased away from her town". Sšn, according to Wb., IV, 293, 17-20 "to destroy, to wreck, to pull down" and of the name: "to obliterate, to wipe
107) See CT I, 74 b: "the smn-bird has chattered for you"; Zandee, Hymnen, pp. 69-70.
108) See PT 916 b and Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., IV, p. 195; CT II, 367, a-b (= Tb 109, 5-6 (BD 221, 8-9)) and $Z \ddot{A} S$, 59 (1924), pp. 10-11; E. Lefébure in Sphinx, 5 (1902), p. 65 ff. A vignet of Tb 64 (Naville, I, pl. 75 P.b) shows the sun rising from one sycomore.
out" must have an analogous meaning here as shnš in Tb 30 B 7 (BD 96, 6): "do not let my name stink (shnš) with the royal court" ${ }^{109}$ ). In connection with what happened between the first warning and the repetitions "do not look at the noble ladies in their houses" is added.

For sh-bi.t "Chemmis", see above p. 72 ff. and for the spelling of this place-name: K. Sethe in ZäS, 30 (1892), pp. 113-119, H. W. Fairman in $\operatorname{ASAE}, 43$ (1943), pp. 272-275, and K. C. Seele in JNES, 6 (1947), pp. 50-52.

Parallel with $\underline{h r y}$ mtw.t "poisoned", $M$ has $\underline{h r y}$ dm.t "under the knife", a technical term for "stung by scorpion or snake", see B. Ebbell in ZÄS, 63 (1928), pp. 117-118.
$n k s n$ "for the $k a$ of". This expression is much in use since the Old Kingdom when presenting offerings and suchlike ( $W b ., V, 87,12$ ff.). Weakened in meaning it is used as a "complimentary form" ("as thou desirest") for the single dative, cf. Cairo 559, 5 110) : sn.sn dr.t (read ts?) $n k^{3} . i$ "they kiss the earth (?) for me". Edfu VI, 112: n ks.k Hr Bhd.ty "as thou desirest, Horus of Behdet"; $k^{3} \cdot k$ alone, ibid. 128, 3: $k^{3} \cdot k R^{c}$ "as thou desirest, Rē" ${ }^{111}$ ).
wn n.i s.s "who had opened her stable to me". M here has the form $r$-wn according to the spelling of the participles in Late Egyptian and Demotic, cf. i-ir tw "who has made you" in h 32.
s, "stable", Wb., IV, 13, 7. In CT I, 98 b ss is used for the stable of the Apis, in P. Leiden I 350, 1, 19 for the stable of the pair of lions, beside ihw "enclosed space for cattle", cf. Sin. B 115-116: "did I ever open his stable and did I ever overthrow its enclosures?".

The "stable", called in M 54-55 "house of dirt" has been opened to Isis, the houses of the people being closed to her, just as Mary in the Gospel found a haven in the stable of Bethlehem.
dp.n.s rs.s "she had tasted the effects of her utterance". The figurative meaning of $d p$ "to taste" is always used of something unfavourable: CT IV, 106, b "I have not tasted something painful"; Tb 39,10 (BD 106, 8) "it is worse what you have tasted than that taste which is in the goddess of scorpions"; Sin. B 23 "This is the taste of death"; Sh.S. 124 "how pleased is he who tells what he has tasted"; ibid. 181 "after I have seen what I have tasted"; Peasant B1, 59-60 "you will not taste the evil (par. R 105 "cries") of the river"; Admon. 13, 5-6 "would that you might taste something of his misery; Urk., IV, 965,15 "you will not taste the fear of another country"; P. Turin 132, 9 "I never tasted such a pain"; Urk. V1, 143, 5 "you taste the consequences (?) of your tricks"; finally an inverted use in the P. dramat. Rames. 40: "your evil tastes her" (dp sy mn.t.k).

## SPELL II

This spell deals with the subject of the sun-god, who is threatened by a snake (Apophis, see Spell VI) ${ }^{112}$ ). The struggle which can take place at every hour of the day

[^14]and night (P. Br. Rh. 23, 9 in "the Book of overthrowing Apophis") is especially fought, when the sun rises on the eastern horizon, when the sky is red 113) and Rē bathes in the blood ${ }^{114}$ ) of the nsp.w "wounds" ${ }^{115}$ ) which he has received in the fight.

The patient, not identified with Rē, accompanies the sun-god on his journey. He assaults and goes through the $i s h w$, the splendour of the sun or the sun-beams ${ }^{116}$ ), which are the ladder along which, in the Pyramid texts, the dead climbs to heaven 116a), cf. PT 1008 a: "NN has built for himself this $i^{3} h w$ of yours as steps under his feet"; ibid. 751 a : "you climb and pass the $i^{3} h w^{\prime \prime \prime} ; 1231 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ : "Heaven has made the splendour of the son strong for $N N$, in order that NN rises to heaven as the eye of Rē". In the company of Re the patient defies the splendour of the sun, cf. CT III, 337 b-e: "I am Sfg-ir.w (see h 38) in the splendour of the sun, I have entered the fire and I have come out of the fire, the splendour of the sun did not hurt me"; ibid. III, 59 a: "I have come out of the splendour of the sun (par. "Shu"), I have mounted the splendour of the sun". With Re the patient conquers the poison of the snake.
"Sun-beams, which create weariness", cf. P. Boulaq 17 (Amon hymn Cairo), 5, 7: "when you shine, the cattle gets weary"; P. Leiden I 347, 9, 5-6: "the cattle is weary" t.w. by the sunheat; ibid. 11, 9: (the sun-god says) "on account of me the arms are tired, the feet weary".
sp.ty p.t "borders (litt. "lips") of the sky", cf. CT III, 361 c : "I rise like Horus who comes as gold from the borders (sp.ty) of the horizon".
snb "to overturn, to assault" (Wb., III, 458, 8-9), in PT 1236 b of the boundary-marks, in Sin. B 116 (spelled $s b$, as against R 141: snb) of enclosures 117). Cf. Tb 10, 1-2 (Ani) $(=\mathrm{BD} 31,7-9)$ : "Spell of somebody going out as Rē against his enemies in the necropolis. I have dug a hole ( $\check{s} d$ ) into the sky, I have cleft ( $b^{3}$ ) the horizon, I have gone over the earth on his steps".

A metathesis in snb led to the form $s b n$, which was wrongly brought under $s b n$ "to stumble" by $W b$., III, 433, 16. A metathesis of the same kind occurred in sbn "band" ( $W b$., IV, 161,5 ), in Setne I 118 ), 4, 19 sbn, but in the P. demot. mag. 6, 13 snb 119). Our word is perhaps related to snb "to build" (Wb., IV, 161, 7), Pap. Ryl. IX 120), 20, 14 sbn "board", with the same metathesis.
$\check{s}^{\prime}$ is "to go through", cf. Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., II, 4-5. Said of the poison which goes through the body in M 58 and b 4 .
bnn.t "threshold". Wb., I, 460, 15 only knows our place from the par. C 2 . This word is connected with wbn "to rise", and is the threshold on the horizon, from where Rē sets

[^15]out to begin his journey over the earth. Perhaps we find the same word again in CT IV, 130 d : "I rise at the bnt", here determined by the shining sun; further in P. Leiden I 343, 2,8 : "then you wail at the bnw.t of the sky", determined with the stone and translated "millstone" by Wb., I, 458, 13.
hsf here has the meaning of "to recede", "to yield", cf. a 1: "yield" (said to a snake); g 5: "his heat recedes", and Wb., III, 357, 11-13. Here parallel with h.wi $r$ "to strike against" hasf may mean "to push off from".
"Poison of Rë when rising, come to the earth". The same formula occurs in C 2, II, 38-39 (ASAE) 18 (1919), p. 116), in a spell a parallel of which is found on P , left arm, line 1 ff.; further ibid. X, 71-72 and 75-76 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 121), in a spell, which follows ours and of which we know as parallels P , right side of the head-cloth, line 1 ff . and Turin 3030 (see p. 1, n. 5), breast, line 1 ff. Finally this formula occurs on the torso Borgia (see p. 1, n. 6), left shoulder, line $x+5$.

## SPELL III

The snakes spring from the earth. Geb, the god of the earth, is the father of the snakes and has power over them. PT 231, a-b: "O, Rē, NN has bitten the earth, NN has bitten Geb, NN has bitten the father of him who has bitten him"; ibid. 689 d : "son of the earth (a common denomination of a snake), beware of the earth"; ibid. 691 b : "beware of your father, who procreated Osiris; ibid. 674b-675a: "hfnw-snake, hfnn t-snake, obey him, obey the earth, obey your father Geb"; ibid. 225 c : "earth, devour what has sprung from you". A snake which has killed a man, is not taken in by the earth any more according to



In the Destruction (Seti I, 56 ff.$){ }^{121}$ ) Rē says to Thoth: "call to the majesty of Geb, saying: "come, rush up, immediately". Then the majesty of Geb came and the majesty of this God (Rē) said: "there is a struggle about your snakes, which are in you; behold, they were worried about me, when I was there (?). You know their magic; now go to the place where my father Nun is and say to him: "watch over the snakes in the earth and in the water". Make a writing with regard to every place of your snakes, which are there, reading: "beware of damaging something".

In a representation of the Book of the Gates, in the 10 th Division (p. 272), the snake Apophis is kept under control by Geb, and in the hymn on the tempel of Hibe (El Khargeh, pl. 25, 12) the god of the earth, Aker, keeps the sun-enemy (Apophis) likewise under control.

The moment Geb protects the sun-god against the poison of the snake (or of the scorpion, against which the charm in our spell is directed: "fall on the earth...... do not burn in any limb of the patient") is indicated in h 1 with "the hour of extinguishing the fire which has come from the secret place". Here again there may be an allusion to the moment of sunrise, as in the preceding spell. With the fire (poison) which comes from the secret place, the fire which comes from the water, i.e. from Nun (h 2), may be compared.

Beside father of the snakes Geb is also father of the gods, as the cosmogonic god from whom everything ( tm ) has sprung. Thus Geb (the earth) protects his son Atum (itm), who

[^16]has sprung from him (b 4), cf. Tb 79, 3 (BD 174, 3): "I am Atum...... who has sprung from the earth" (pry $\left.m t^{s}\right)^{122}$ ). Sethe, in his Urgeschichte, § 71 ff ., amply deals with the cosmogonic Geb. As such he is identified with the Greek god Kronos ${ }^{123}$ ). In h 1 the earth is called "father of the gods". In PT 179 c Geb is meant by "your father", as well as, according to Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr. I, p. 105, by "a god, the father of the gods", in PT 195 c. In P. Vat. 19a, 4, 3 and P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 12, 5 Geb is called "father of the gods", while in Dümichen, Baugeschichte des Denderatempels, pl. 47, he is, as primordial god, called "the begetter of him who has created him".

So herewith the gods, as children of Geb, have become the brothers of the snakes. Accordingly it is said to a snake in PT $665 \mathrm{~b}-\mathrm{c}$ : "you have no feet and no arms with which you go behind your brothers, the gods".

A common denomination of Geb is rpc.t ntr.w "prince of the gods" ${ }^{124}$ ). He is further called haty pśd.t.f "at the head of his Ennead" in PT 255 b, 1834 b, 1868 b, cf. ibid. 1617 a: "Geb has given the Ennead, united, to you". Finally it is said of him in PT 1619 b: "you are more powerful than any god". This outstanding place of Geb among the gods is Heliopolitan in origin ${ }^{125}$ ).

In the string of words šn.f ḥ, šn.n.f ḥ, šn.n.f (with object) and ir.f $s^{3} h_{s}$ the construction šn has strikes us, of which no other examples are known to me, unless in the second case also šn.f has should be read and $\check{s} n(w)$ is a substantive: "his protection is around." In view of the parallelism this, however, is not probable. The construction šn.f ḥs may be formed on the analogy of expressions like stp.f $s^{3} h^{3}$, ir.f $s^{3} h^{3}$, in which has has the meaning of "protecting around", see $W b$., III, 9, 12 ff.
hr hr.tn "on your face!" In the Pyramid texts the expression hr hr-k in snake charms means "a face is on you" (PT 238 a, $245 \mathrm{a}, 682 \mathrm{a}$ ), cf. PT 228 a : "a face has fallen on your face, the (one) face has seen the (other) face" (cf. also PT $431 \mathrm{a}, 682 \mathrm{e}, 697 \mathrm{e}$ and Doomed Prince 6,4 (LES 4, 12-13) : "the face of the daughter of the Prince of Naharina was on him"'). For PT 685 a-b Sethe suggests (Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., III, p. 255) the translation "on your face!" notwithstanding the spelling of the second hr with $r$, and he compares ibid. 687 a har gś.k "on your side!", Tb 40, 7 (BD 109, 6) "on your face!" and Tb 136 B, 21 (BD 302, 15) "on your faces, snakes!". Finally in P. Ch. B. VI, Vs. 2, 3 it is said to an illness: "back, fall (on) your face!".

## SPELL IV

Isis has hidden her child, Horus, and goes out to beg food. When she returns she finds Horus unconscious. At her wit's end she calls the inhabitants of the marshes. A woman heartens her up and advises her to investigate whether he has been stung by a scorpion or bitten by a snake. When Isis finds that her son is poisoned indeed, she embraces him and, jumping about with him "like fishes laid on a coal-fire" she sings her litany "Horus has been bitten". On the advice of Serket she then invokes the sun-boat, which comes to a

[^17]standstill. Thoth comes to her and after she has poured out her troubles to him he speaks his charms over Horus in fourteen "beatifications" and summons the poison to disappear in order that the disturbance of the cosmos, brought about by the standstill of the sun-boat, may end. At the request of Isis he entrusts Horus to the cares of the inhabitants of Chemmis, the nurses at Buto. After having dealt with the situation he returns to the sunboat and reports to Rē-Harachte ${ }^{126}$ ).

The background of this spell is, just as of Spell I, to the commentary of which may be referred continuously, the Isis-Horus myth. The actual charms (the fourteen "beatifications" in f $7-18$; the commands addressed to the poison in f 21 and 26) have again been inserted into the narration. Like Spell I the form is a mythological narration, in which the persons are presented dramatically. A literary height and psychological depth, unknown for these spells, are reached in picturing the wounded child, the description of the chaos after the standstill of the sun-boat, the representation of the state of mind of the terrified mother, her feeling of forlornness and of guilt expressing itself in a self-justification, her impatience towards Thoth, whom she tries to activate by a cynical remark, and further in the lively alternation of narration and dialogue in which the litany, the "beatifications" of Horus and the charms are organically introduced. The alternation of narration and dialogue, more frequent than in Spell I, brought Drioton to his theory discussed on pp. 65-66. The same arguments there advanced in refutation of this theory also hold good here. Moreover a passage as c 3-4: "she quickly embraced her son, jumping about with him like fishes, put on a coal-fire" hardly fits in the style of the stage-direction, but it does in the literary style of the mythological narration. In his article in the Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 173, DRIOTON further advances as an argument that in M (245-246a) the name of the speaker (Thoth) has been left out, but has been mentioned "by accident" in B (f 32). However in M a haplography has taken place on account of the fact that the sign of the sitting baboon may mean "Thoth", but may also have the value of $\underline{d}$ or $\underline{d} d$ (See Comm.).
"I am Isis, pregnant with her child". Cf. Edfu VI, 214, 1 ff.: "(Isis speaks) I am pregnant by my brother Osiris" (see p. 69). The childbirth of Isis forms the mythical antecedent of a spell for speeding up birth in P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 11, 2-8: "Behold, Isis suffers pain from her hind-parts on account of pregnancy, her months are full...... through pregnancy of her son Horus, the avenger of his father". The childbirth is delayed and a cosmic disturbance is imminent, if the confinement does not come to a quick end.

See for the childbirth of Isis at Chemmis above p. 69 and further HP, I, p. 79 ff . about the birth of Horus.

Horus is born in the nest of Chemmis, cf. Urk., IV, 239, 9-10: "(Hathor speaks) I join Your Majesty to life and power, as I did for Horus in the nest of Chemmis". Horus is called "the child in his nest", cf. P. med. London 14, 8 (= P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 3, 5) : "I am the child who is in his nest"; M. u. K., Rt. 2,2 ff.: "are you warm in the nest, are you hot in the

[^18]bush?"; P. Leiden I 347, 5, 6-7: "I have slept in the nest (like Horus)"; in Edfu VI, 220, 2 Seth looks for "young Horus in his nest".

The term "who is in his nest", however, is not exclusively used of Horus, see Wb., III, 484, 18 ff. In Urk., IV, 157 Tuthmosis III says about himself, as the child of Amon: "I am his imy-sš". Further the expression "child in his nest" is a denomination of the birth-day of Isis ${ }^{127}$ ).

Concerning the spelling of $m-\underline{h} n w$, see K. Sethe in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 59 (1927), p. 61 ff ., and of sš, see Nina Davies in JEA, 27 (1941), pp. 133-134. The same spelling of sh-bi.t in M 245 and 246 a (f 31-33), see p. 78.
M 169 wšb ḥr "to stand up for somebody's interests, to avenge somebody": Wb I, 371, 17, cf. Urk., VI, 53, 21: "(Nut speaks) I have come to avenge my son (wšb ḥr)"; P. Br. Rh. 5, 11: "Your son Horus will avenge you (wšb ḥr). Cf. the expression ir wšb (f 4; i 13) and ${ }^{c} n$ wšb (Wb., 1, 372). According to Horus in Plut. 19 (HF 229) it is xád $\lambda \lambda \iota \sigma \tau 0 v \ldots \tau \tilde{\varphi}$

"I hid him (imn), and concealed him (sdgs) for fear of that (evil) one". Cf. Anchnes. 384: "NN has hidden (imn) with Osiris behind Rē, the Ogdoad has concealed (sdgs) her"; P. Br. Rh. 7, 10: "(Isis sings) I was in a town without walls ... I hid (imn) in the bush to conceal (shs $p$ ) your son in order to avenge you (wšb)".
pfy "iste", a disdainful indication of Seth: Wb., I, 507, 7 ff., cf. CT I, 308 f: pf ir r.k "he, who has acted against you", t.w. Seth; Urk., VI, 15, 7: "he brought the head of pfy, the wastrel", with the parallel: "the grim one ( $h s^{3}$ ), the wastrel".
"I wandered to Im begging all the while", cf. f 32: "(Isis speaks) let them not know my position at Chemmis, a beggar-woman, chased away from her town"; Plut. 15 (HF
 $\beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda i \delta o s ~ \tau \alpha \dot{s} \theta \varepsilon p \alpha \pi \alpha \iota v i \delta \alpha \varsigma \dot{\alpha} \sigma \pi \alpha \dot{\alpha} \zeta \sigma \theta \alpha l$. See also the Comm. on a 3-4. PT 551 a-b in a food-spell: "hunger, do not come to NN, go to Nun, wander ("begging", note the determinative in $M$ and N when using the same verb šms) to the sgbi-waters". PT $137 \mathrm{~d}-138$ a: "you punish every-one who will speak ill of NN, you go out after Geb has driven him away from his town as a beggar ( $m$ twas ", see Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, p. 11 ff . Concerning the meaning šm "to go begging", cf. šms "begging stranger", Wb., IV, 470, 7, and in the

$i m$ has the determinative of 'town'. We may think here of $i(s) m w$, Kôm el Hisn in the third nome of Lower Egypt adjacent to the seventh nome where the bush near Chemmis was situated, see p. 73. imt, Tell el Farûn in the nineteenth Lower-Egyptian nome cannot be considered, see Gardiner, Onomastica, II, p. 170* ff. It is not improbable that the towndeterminative is a mistake for hr . In that case the translation would read: "I wandered from there begging all the while".
ir kn "evil-doer", Wb., V, 48, 3. Cf. h 20: wdi-gn.f, a spelling of wdi-kn.f, a denomination of Seth. M 47: kn ir n.k sbi "the crime that the enemy (Seth) has perpetrated against you"; Urk., VI, 55, 1: irry kn wr r.s, "(Nut) against whom a big crime has been perpetrated", t.w. by Seth.

[^19]"I longed for the child the whole day", lit: I spent the day looking for the child. For the meaning of $h \underline{h}$ "to long for", cf. P. bil. Rhind I, 4, 9: "your heart longs (hh) for it", t.w. for the netherworld, where the demotic parallel uses the verb whs "to long for", "to desire", Copt. orwly. In Edfu VI, 220, 2-3, on the other hand, $h \underset{h}{ }$ and whs are used the one beside the other, both in the meaning of "to look for".
"I returned to embrace Horus", cf. M 192: "she quickly embraced her son", with the parallel c 3: hpt; further BD 37, 14: "Isis embraces (hpt) you"; Tb $15 \mathrm{~B}, 20-21$ : "your mother Isis has embraced (ink) you, she sees her son in you".

M1 169- "Beautiful Horus of gold". Cf. d 5: "the beautiful child of gold". The bodies of the gods 170 consist of gold: Destruction 2 (Seti I) ${ }^{128}$ ): (of the sun-god) "his bones are of silver, his body is of gold, his hair is of genuine lapis lazuli"; BD 14, 6-7: (of Osiris) "the body is of gold"; in an inscription from Redesieh (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, IV, 29, 16) : "the body of the gods is of gold"; in Edfu VI, 63, 4 Isis is called "foster-mother of the falcon of gold" and in P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574, 459 (PGM I, 88) Horus is invoked as $\chi$ puбoب $\alpha \tilde{\eta}$. Cf. finally CT III, 361 c : "I rise like Horus, who goes out as gold on the borders of the horizon" ${ }^{129}$ ).
hrd swg "the innocent child". Swg(3) lit. "foolish (as of a child), cf. Wenamun 2, 22 and 23 (LES 69, 4; 6) "foolish ( $s w g^{3}$ ) journeys". In the P. demot. Insinger rmt swg beside rmt $l \boldsymbol{h}$ is very often used in the meaning of "foolish" as against rmt rh "wise". Cf. Story of Petubastis (P. Spiegelberg), 5,2 and 9,2: "a foster-mother who fights for her innocent (swg) child".

M 170- "He had moistened the banks with liquid of his eye and saliva of his lips". A moment from 172 the Isis-Horus myth, which forms the background of a passage in the Pyramid texts in a food spell: PT 133 a (also ibid. 695 a and Tb 178, 23-24 (BD 466, 9-11) "the Horus eye dripped ( $n d f d f$ ) on the $\underline{d} n w$-bush" ${ }^{130}$ ). Sethe ${ }^{131}$ ) here thinks of the wounded Horus eye from the Horus and Seth myth. The use of the term bs.t "bush" (see M 185) rather points, in my opinion, to a relation with our myth, the more so as in the continuation of this passage ( $M$ 170-172) the breast-feeding of Isis and the terms $m n s$, "jar" and mnd "breast" form likewise the mythological background of food-spells. Regarding the expression ntf idb.w "to moisten the banks", cf. Mar. Dend. I, 46 b, 19: "he brings you the inundation that moistens the banks (ntf idb.w)".
"The saliva of the lips of Horus": cf. the išš-saliva, come from the mouth of Horus, beside the isd-saliva, come from the mouth of Seth" in PT 850 (cf. PT 26 c).
"His heart was weak and the veins of his body did not beat": so the heart did not "speak" in the veins of his body, cf. P. Ebers 99,4 ff. (P. Edwin Smith 1, 5 ff.) in a passage from the "secret book of the physician" about the activity of the heart ${ }^{132}$ ): "there are canals ( $m t \cdot w$ ) from the (heart) to all members and thus the (heart) speaks in the canals ( $m t \cdot w$ ) of each member".

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128) BIFAO, }40\mathrm{ (1940), p. }59
129) See P. Westcar 10, 11 and Lefebvre, Romans, p. 84, n. 78.
130) See T. J. Colin Baly, in JEA, }17\mathrm{ (1931), p. }222
131) Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., III, p. }270\mathrm{ ff.
132) See A. De Buck, in JEOL, 9 (1944), p. }11\mathrm{ if.
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"The child was too weak to answer", cf. P. Turin 132, 6/7: Rē has been bitten by a snake "and he did not find his mouth to answer". See for the meaning of gs "too weak to" Gardiner, Eg. Gr., § 163, 7 and Leb. 5: iw nowr r.i"this is too much for me"; P. Leiden I 350, 4, 19: ${ }^{c_{3}} r n d n d \cdot f$ "too great to explore him"; Horus and Seth 3, 8 (LES 40, 11): $t^{s} y i^{\prime} w . t c^{c_{3}} . t i r . k$ "this office is too great for you".
"( My) breasts were full, but (his) stomach was empty", etc. Isis blames herself that she has left the child alone too long, although it cannot feed itself from the bottle, and was perishing with thirst, "while the well overflowed". Cf. on a tomb-stone at Leiden from the Greek period, V $55{ }^{133}$ ), lines 2-3: "I am thirsty although water is beside me" ${ }^{134}$ ); for the thirsty Horus: P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 12, 7: "I am Horus, descending from the mountain, I am thirsty". The feeling of guilt of Isis expresses itself in a self-justification in the litany, d 8: "he of whom I took continually care" and d 10: "he over whom I watched, keeping an eye upon him". The breasts and the milk of Isis play a part in various spells regarding food, so PT 707 a: "may you take the milk of Isis to NN"; PT 734 a-b: "rise, she said (?), your water belongs to you, your abundance belongs to you, your milk belongs to you, which is in the breasts (mnd $\cdot w y$ ) of mother Isis; PT $1873 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}:$ "NN, take that $b s^{s} w$-water which is in the breasts of your mother Isis"; PT 2089 a: "Isis came and she took for herself her breasts for her son, the justified one" ${ }^{135}$ ) ; P. Ebers 95,7 in a charm of the milk: "this is the breast of Isis at Chemmis when she gave birth to Shu and Tefnet"; Copt. Pap. Ryl. 103 (AKZ, II, 211): "my mother is Mary, the breast of my mother is the breast from which our Lord Jesus Christ drank", in a blessing over the milk (see also p. 67); at the Isis mysteries an "antistes" carried an "aureum vasculum in modum papillae rutundatum de quo lacte libabat" (Apuleius, Metam. 11, $10=\mathrm{HF} 322,22$ ). Finally there is perhaps an allusion to the breasts of Isis in a spell for the mother's milk in M. u. K., Rt. 9,7-Vs. 2,2: "the canal is empty (hn.t šw.ti, cf. h.t šw.ti in our text), its fishes are not".
idn $n m^{3}$, for itn $m m^{3} s^{3}(W b$., I, 145, 16). The child resists the jar and so it can only be breast-fed. In a spell against fever, in the P. demot. mag., Vs. 33, 1 ff. Horus also resists food: "Horus ascends a mountain..... (all the gods) said: Horus, come, eat; Horus, come, will you eat? He said: let me alone, there is no desire in me to eat. I am ill in my head", etc. The use of the term mns, "jar" is not accidental. In some food-texts mnss is used as a pun with mnd "breast", PT 32 b : "take the breast (mnd ) of your sister Isis $b s^{3} . t$ and raise (it) to your mouth", in offering a mns ${ }^{3}$-jar; in the Ritual of Amenophis I (P. Cairo 58030), 4, $2^{136}$ ): "water, mns ${ }^{3}$-jars - 2 dishes - o, Amun, take to yourself what flows from the breast of your mother Isis".
ss w$w^{c} w$ "left-alone (too) long" (Drioton, in Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 177). About Horus being left alone, see a.o. P. med. Lond. 14, 9 ff.: "young Horus is in his nest. Fire has fallen into his body..... his mother is not present to conjure him, his father has gone
133) Beschreibung d. Aegypt. Sammlung d. Niederl. Reichsmuseums d. Alterth. in Leiden, Bd. VII (1915), p. 5; pl. 15, no. 13. A. Erman, in Festschrift für Ed. Sachaut, Berlin 1915, p. 103 ff.
134) Legrain, Statues et statuettes, III, p. 60, c 10 (See: H. Kees in $Z \ddot{A} S, 74$ (1938), p. 78; A. DE BUCK in JEOL, 7 (1940), p. 304): "be not thirsty in the presence of beer".
135) Cf. PT 911b-913a: "my mother, I said, give me your breast that I may suck it. My son, she (Nechbet or Edjō) says, take my breast and suck it, she says, that you may live, she says, and become small (again), she says, and rise to heaven like the falcons".
136) See Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM., Vol., 3, Text, p. 82, n. 5.
away". M.u.K., Vs. 2,2: "are you warm in the nest, are you hot in the bush? Your mother is not with you, there is no sister to cool you, there is no nurse to protect you".
ib.ir "I want to", Wb., I, 60, 12, see A. Piankoff, Le coeur dans les textes égyptiens, Paris 1930, p. 29.

ḥr mk.f "to protect him", cf. M $190 \mathrm{hr} r$ "h "to know"; f $31 \mathrm{hr} s w \underset{d}{ }$ s "to guard", with the par. M. 245: $r$ swds ${ }^{3}$.

M 173- Isis has been left by all her relations. Her father (Geb) and her mother (Nut) are in the 175 netherworld. Her elder brother (Osiris) is in the sarcophagus, the other (Seth) is angry with her, and her younger sister (Nephthys) is married to him.
igr.t "netherworld", beside ds.t "netherworld", see Wb., I, 141, 11, Belegst.
Osiris in the sarcophagus ( $\underline{d} b$.t.t), cf. f 13-14: "the protection of Horus is the secret corpse, whose mummy is sacred in its sarcophagus ( $k r s w$ )". In PT 184 b Osiris is called "he of the box ( $d n b$ ), the chest ( $t$ s.t) and the sack (ink)"; Urk., VI, 89,7: "he who is in the sarcophagus ( $\underline{d}^{3} . t$ ), his bones have been collected", t.w. Osiris.
$k^{\prime}$, a spelling of $k y$ "the other", see $W b$., V, 110; Ani 2,9 and 11: $k^{\prime} y$ and P. demot. Krall I 29 and R 9: $k^{3}$. For the spelling $k^{3} \cdot w y$ for $k y \cdot w y$, already in Late Egyptian, see Erman, Neuaegyptische Grammatik², Leipzig 1933, § 239. In the parallel Le of M 49 the interchange between $k^{3}$ and $k y$ has led to the corruption sšm $n k^{3}$ for sšm sw $k y$.
${ }^{s} w{ }^{m}$ s-ib.f r.i "obstinate in his malice towards me", cf. P. Prisse 6, 1: m s $d$ ib.k r.f "be not malicious towards him"; P. Br. Rh. 7, 17-18: (lsis sings) "I wander alone, going about through the bushes while many are malicious ( $3 d$ ) towards your son".
$k t r . i$ "the one younger than I", see Wb., V, 147, 3-4 and Pap. d'Orbiney 3, 10 (LES 12, 10) : $p^{3} c_{3} r . i$ "the one elder than I", i.e. "my elder brother".
m pr.f "in his house": "married to him". The house of Seth is mentioned in Horus and Seth 11, 1-2 (LES 51, 13): (Seth speaks to Horus) "come, let us enjoy ourselves in my house". Statements of the marriage of Nephthys and Seth are rare in the Egyptian sources. HP I, 29, in connection with Plut. 12 (HF 226; cf. also ibid. $38=\mathrm{HF} 239$ ) : r $\eta \boldsymbol{\mu} \mu \sigma \theta \alpha$
 Karnak, Nephthys and Seth are represented side by side; Pap. Bologna 1094, 5, 10 (LEM 5, 15): "I say to Rē-Harachte, Seth, Nephthys and the gods and goddesses, rulers of Peunodjem"; and PT 153 a, where both are mentioned side by side, just as Isis and Osiris in 155 a ${ }^{137}$ ). In an unpublished text of the Metropolitan Museum at New-York, translated by S. Sснотт, Altägyptische Liebeslieder, Zürich 1950, p. 164, no. 144, Nephthys calls out: "Horus, open to me that I may see Osiris. Remember what I did for you. I have deserted the child of Seth in order to save you, I served you as a nurse when I had milk. I saved you at the time in Chemmis. I made Seth's plan against you fail. Give me an hour that I may see Osiris on account of that which I did for you'.

In Plut. 14 (HF 227) an illicit relation between Nephthys and Osiris is mentioned, of which Anubis was born, see HP I, pp. 46-47. In the great Paris mag. pap. 95 ff. (PGM I, 70-71) Isis complains to Thoth of Osiris' infidelity, for "Nephthys lies with Osiris". Allusion to this adultery is probably made in PT 1273 b , where Nephthys is tauntingly called "substitute without vulva" ${ }^{138}$ ).
137) See further Roscher, Lexikon, Bd. III, 1, s.v. Nephthys, pp. 190-192.
138) See E. Drioton in Mélanges Dussaud, II, Paris 1939, pp. 504-505.

Seth, on the other hand, is connected with Anat and Astarte, cf. Horus and Seth 3, 4-5 (LES 40, 4-5), where Neith proposes to give Anat and Astarte, the two daughters of Rē ${ }^{139}$ ), to Seth, and P. mag. Harris 3, 8-9, where the mouth of the vulva of Anat and Astarte is closed by Horus and opened by Seth.

M 175 To read "š. i "I shall call", as in M 176, cf. M 57 with the same spelling, where the parallel L 1, 31 writes in full: ${ }^{\text {css. }}$

M 178 About the tsh.w "the inhabitants of the marshes" of M 177, see Comm. on M 54.
nhp. sn n.i hr hrw.i "they hastened to me on my voice", see Wb., II, 283, 9 ff.: nhp "to jump up", "to hasten". Cf. M 91: "Horus raised his voice to the horizon...... the gatekeepers, who are in the isd-tree, jumped up ( $n h p$ ) at the voice of Horus"; C 2, S. III, 25 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 136) : "the great Serket jumped up (nhp) at the voice of Isis".

M 179 sgb, "to cry", "to wail" (?). The word occurs in CT Pap. Gard. IV, 14; cf. sgbgb PT 1110 a and 1615 b . Or is it a spelling of $i s k b$ "to mourn", cf. f 17 ikb "lamentations" and Wh., I, 34, 5-6, Copt. шк $\overline{\boldsymbol{N}}$ ?
irw "all", see Wb., I, 105, 3-4, and Junker, Grammatik d. Denderatexte, Leipzig 1906, p. 76, usually spelled with three $r$ 's; cf. Edfu, VI, 121, 7: nn irw "all this", ibid. 121, 13: $n w$ irw. On the other hand irw in this text may be an enclitic particle used for emphasis ${ }^{140}$ ), cf. M. 183: mh ib.st irw "she had every confidence"; e 9: wdf wy irw shr.w.k "how slow indeed are your plans"; e 3: ptr ptr nim irw r nhn "what is the matter, what is the matter, whatever is the matter with the child?", where the parallel M 204 has $t r$; irw may be the same enclitic particle as $r r$ in the Pyramid texts (PT 248; 424 a and b; 855 a and c; also Tb 172, 7 (BD $445,2)$, see Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, p. 230 ff.). Finally in M 202 irw is a spelling of iry.w "companions", in e 1 spelled irw-r, cf. Mythus vom Sonnenauge 2, 18; 8, 24: i-ir.r.w, Copt. ернг.
wr wy mn•t "how great is your misery", mn instead of mn•t, as in M 191, parallel c 2: mn.t.
$M$ spells the adverb wy with the plural strokes, cf. M 212-213: wr wy ib•k with the parallel e 9; likewise M $213 w \underline{d} f w y$ "how slow" with the parallel e 9 .

M 180 To read $n w n$ šn sw "there was nobody who could exorcise him"; see for šn with object of the person: Comm. Spell III, b 3.
"There was nobody amongst them who had the knowledge to cure", or: "there was nobody amongst them who knew a vivifying spell ( $r^{3} s^{c} n h$ )", note the stroke-determinative belonging to $r^{3}$, "spell" (?).

M 181- "A woman came to me, known in her town and a queen in her nome". Here there has 182 been thought of Edjō, the mistress of Buto, see p. 74 on M 53 and cf. M 183: "fear not, (my ?) son Horus". In my opinion we should rather think of Serket, the mistress of Chemmis. As goddess of the scorpions she suggests in M 188-189: "certainly a scorpion has stung him". In e 3 she is suddenly presented dramatically with the words: "what is the matter with the child". Apparently she was deemed to be present already at the scene, unlike Nephthys, of
139) See Gardiner in Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, pp. 61-62.
140) See W. Golenischeff in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 15 (1877), pp. 59-63 (60).
whom it is said in the previous passage: "Nephthys came running along, crying, her cries rang out in the marshes".

For the expression "known in her town", see Comm. on M 57 .
M 182- r.s. for ir.s, the enclitic particle used for emphasis: Gardiner, Eg. Gr., § 252, or r.s 183 "for that purpose"?
$\underline{h} r$ " $n \underline{h}$ "carrying life". This expression suggests the picture of a goddess who carries the sign for 'life' in her hand (Drioton, Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 179).

M 183 "She had every confidence in her knowledge". Cf. P. Prisse 5, 8: "do not be proud of your knowledge" ( $m c^{c_{3}} i b . k$ har rh.k) with the parallel $m m h i b . k$ hr ntt tw $m$ rh "do not be full of confidence because you are a knower" ${ }^{141 \text { ). For the meaning of ih.t "knowledge", }}$ cf. the expression rh ih.t "a wise man".

M 184 nhhn bs $k \underset{r}{ } \underline{d} w n$ sn.f "the child is protected against the malice of his brother", cf. M 187: $H r b^{3} k r \underline{d} w n$ sn.f. Here Seth, just now (M 174) the uncle of Horus, is his brother. This interchange between Horus, son of Isis, and Hr -wr (Haroēris), brother of Seth, is more striking still in Horus and Seth 4, 6-8 (LES 41, 16-42, 3) : "will they give the office to the uncle (lit. brother of the mother i.e. Seth), the bodily son (i.e. of Osiris) being still alive?...... will they give the office to the youth (Horus), his elder brother (Seth) being still alive?" Seth himself says, ibid. 8, 7 (LES 48, 1-3) : "will they give the office to my little brother, while I, his elder brother, am still alive?"

M 185 The bush (near Chemmis) where Horus is hidden, has already been discussed (see pp. 72-73). Here a number of instances may follow where this bush is mentioned: Zweiwegebuch 2, 35: "To-day I have come from Buto and I saw the bush growing (there)"; M.u.K., Vs. 2,2: "are you warm in the nest, are you hot in the bush?"; P. Leiden, I 348, Rt. 4, 5-6: "Horus fights with Seth for the only bush, the hmm-plant, which Geb has created"; P. Louvre 3148, 7, 24: "Horus is born as a falcon on the bush of Chemmis"; Urk., VI, 81, 15: (spoken to Seth) "there is no bush where you can hide"; ibid. 129, 1-4: "that not the bush which serves as a hiding-place may be cut off, in order to expel him who hides there"; ibid. 135, 16: "your (i.e. Seth's) heart is burning to explore the bush"; P. Br. Rh. 7, 14: "I hid in the bush to conceal your son, in order to avenge you", Isis says to Osiris; Edfu VI, 16, 14: "the bush around the child that protects Horus at Buto". Sinuhe also hid twice in a bush (bs.t) in his flight from Egypt (Sin. B $5=$ R 28, and B $17=\mathrm{R} 44$ ).
M 187- $n$ thn $s$ imy.w šmsw.f. Thnn does not mean here "to conceal", in spite of the determina188 tive ${ }^{142}$ ), but "to injure" ${ }^{143}$ ), "to enter as an enemy" ( $W b$., V, 327, 1 ff.). The object ( $s w$ ) is Horus: "his (i.e. Seth's) followers do not injure him", or ( $s y$ ) Chemmis: "his (i.e. Seth's) followers do not enter it". The latter is perhaps more probable in view of the parallelism. M 184-185: "the child is protected against the malice of his brother - the bush is hidden - death does not penetrate into it ( $\mathfrak{c}$ )" runs parallel to our passage: "Horus is protected against the malice of his brother - his followers do not enter (thn) it (t.w. Chemmis, just mentioned)." In that case thn is parallel to the ${ }^{c} k$ of $M 185$, and likewise to

[^20]the ${ }^{c} \underline{k}$ of M 186: "Seth does not penetrate ( ${ }^{c} k$ ) into this nome, he does not go about at Chemmis". Cf. Mar. Dend. III, 26 c ( $Z \ddot{A} S, 18$ (1880), 121): "the hidden place of the goddess in the "sistrum house", since the enemies descended to the place; the Asiatics do not penetrate ( $" \mathrm{k}$ ) into it, the Bedouins do not enter (thn ) it".

Unusual is the denomination imy.w šmsw.f for the followers of Seth. This expression rather reminds one of the followers of Horus (šms.w Hr). The followers of Seth are usually called imy.w.ht Sth ${ }^{144}$ ) or hty•w Sth.
M 188- In the diagnosis of Horus' disease a number of terms occurs which are typical of the medical character of this passage: sp "cause, case", cf. P. Ebers 30, 14: "case of hy.t (a disease), Peasant B 1, 258: "case of urinating" (Wb., III, 435, 20-21) ; "Isis put her nose into his mouth to know the smell of it in his skull (hn)", a diagnosis by smelling, cf. P. Edwin Smith 3, 11: "the odor of the skull (hn) of his head is like bkn of sheep", cf. ibid. 3, 21-4, 1; the gloss on $h n$ "chest" for skull reads (ibid. 4, 1): "the chest of his head, that is the middle of his crown (wp.t), next to his brain; it looks like a chest (hn)"; wp.s...... gm.n.s (sw) hr mtw.t "she examined...... and found", cf. P. Ebers 104, 7: "when you examine ( $w p$ ),..... you will find $(g m) "$, ibid. 104, 14-15; 105, 1-2; P. Ch. B. VII, Vs. 6, 7; hr mtw.t, see Comm. a 5 and Wb., III, 390, 3-4.

M $189 \quad d d m$, probably the same verb as $\underline{d} d b:$ M 55 ; f $29(=$ M 244) "to sting". Parallel is hwn "to bite", cf. P. Turin 132, 5 ( = P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 1, 10) : "a snake bit (hwn) him", and Urk., VI, 81, 9: hawn with, as a parallel, psḥ "to bite".
${ }^{\text {cw }}$ wh-ib lit. "greedy", see Wb., I, 172, 12-14, Erman, Leb., p. 58, and A. Piankoff, Le coeur dans les textes égyptiens, Paris 1930, p. 38.
M $190 \quad$ ḥr rh. "to know", see p. 86.
d 1-10 In the litany "Horus has been bitten" Isis, as it were, makes a plea for Horus. First she emphasizes his origin and his rights, appealing herewith to the sun-god not to disturb the course of history. After that she tries, purely human, to rouse pity for the innocent, helpless child, while finally clearing herself from guilt of what happened.

As for the chorus "Horus has been bitten" cf. the repetition, four times in succession, of "Horus has been bitten" in P. Leiden I 349, 1, 9-10, followed by "at night, in the dark", a passage which is also found in P. Turin 135, 6.
"Rē, your son has been bitten". Isis addresses herself with her plea directly to Rē, cf. M 9 ff.: "Spell of conjuring a cat: O, Rē, come to your daughter, a scorpion has stung her"; g 1: "rejoice, Rē-Harachte, your son, Horus, has been assigned to life"; C 69771, 27 (ASAE, 39 (1939), p. 82, see p. 83, n.f): "O, wretched one, who has bitten my son Horus, come to the earth", thus Rē (probably) speaks. In Diodorus, I, 13 (HF 95) the five gods born on the epagomenal days, among whom Apollo (Horus), are the children of Zeus (Rē-Amun) and Hera (Mut).
"Heir of your heir". The succession to the throne is the following: Rē-Atum - Shu - Geb Osiris - Horus. A text about the succession is to be found on the naos of El-cArisj, pl. 24, 1 ff. of the edition of Griffith, Tell el-Yahudiyeh, London $1890{ }^{145}$ ). Cf. PT 301 a-b: "NN

[^21]has inherited Geb (twice), after he (Geb?) has inherited Atum. He is on the throne of Horus, as the eldest'". In Joannes Antiochenus (7th century AD), p. 385, 14-21 (HF 730) the sequence is: Hephaestos (Ptah) - Helios (Rē) - Sōs or Ares (Shu) - Geb, son of Helios or Kronos. Cf. Diod. I, 13 (HF 95) : "the first was Helios (Rē) king of the Egyptians ...... some of the priests say that Hephaestos (Ptah) was the first king".
"Who has tied the kingship of Shu" i.e. has accepted, continued, see Wb., V, 397, 23-24 and P. Leiden I 350, 4, 4: "He (Amon) has tied a kingship to all eternity".
"The sacred child in the House of the Prince (hw.t sr)". About this House of the Prince which was at Heliopolis (PT 14 c, 622 b, 957 c, 1451 b, 1614 b), cf. SETHE, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., III, p. 153.
"The beautiful child of gold", see Comm. on M 169-170. "Fatherless", cf. P. Mimaut 542-543 (PGM I, 54) : $\tau \tilde{\varphi} \tau \tilde{\eta} \varsigma \chi \grave{\jmath} \rho \alpha \operatorname{coj}_{\rho \varphi \alpha \nu \tilde{\varphi}}$ (Horus); P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574, 2437
 Seth that he "made a widow unhappy by striking an innocent child (d 5 : $\underline{h r d} \operatorname{swg}$; d 7 : iwty bt f.f.
his father" (wšb hr, see Comm. M 169).
 the Coffin texts (CT II, $209 \mathrm{c}-226$ a), which in many respects reminds of our spell, Isis invokes protection for her child, who is threatened already in her womb ${ }^{147}$ ): "(210) Isis woke up, pregnant of the seed of her brother Osiris (cf. M 168) ; the woman rose quickly, her heart rejoiced at the seed of her brother Osiris (cf. M 168: "I very much rejoiced at that"); she said: "woe, gods, I am Isis, sister of Osiris, who weeps for the father of the gods, Osiris, who settles the slaughter of the two lands. His seed is in my womb, I have tied the figure of the god in the egg, as a son at the head of the Ennead, who will rule over this country and will inherit Geb (cf. d 3), who will avenge his father (M 169 and d 8) and will kill Seth, the enemy of his father Osiris. Come, o gods, protect him (ir.tn mk.t.f, cf. f 18: ntr.w hr mk.f $=$ M 232: ntr.w hr ir mk.f) in my womb...... (216 b) help him in the egg.... ( 218 c ) (Atum) has assigned to me the protection of my son in my womb ( $\boldsymbol{h} . t$ ), he has tied a suite behind him in this womb of mine; he knows he is the heir of Osiris . . . (225 b) I am Horus, born from Isis, whose protection has been made in the egg'.
146) šts.t "womb", Wb., IV, 555, 2-6; Edfu VI, 73, 7.
147) See $R U$ 204-205; E. Drioton, Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire 1942, p. 54 ff .

Also in Edfu VI, 214, 1 ff. Isis invokes the protection of her unborn child (see p. 69) ${ }^{148}$ ), Leb. 78 ff.: "I am anxious ( $m h(h)$ about her children, who are broken in the egg and who see the face of the crocodile before they live (i.e. before they are born)". As contrasted with Horus, who is afraid in his mother's womb, it is said of Seth (Urk., VI, 7,4 ) : "who (already) fought in his mother's womb (h.t)"; and of the king in Sin. B 69 ( = R 93) "he already made conquests when in the egg" ${ }^{149}$ ).
sin with object, par ssw "to watch", cf. M 73: "the ints watched (sin) him"; Edfu III, 168, 18: sin bḥs.w "watching the calves" ${ }^{150}$ ).

B has replaced, just as in f 25 , $^{c} n h\left(M 201\right.$ and 246 b) by $s^{c} n h$. In f $25^{c} n h-s^{c} n h$ means "food", and this might be the case in this place. Cf. the Coptic cadry "food" as against whe" to live" with this correction of B. In demotic $s^{c} n h$, in the expressions $s \underline{h} n s^{c} n h \underline{h}$ and st-h.hmt $n s^{〔} n h$, means "subsistence".
 word we find in PT 924 a: swi p.t, parallel to śds $t$ "the earth quakes", see SETHE, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., IV, p. 204.
iry.w "companions", see Comm. on M 179.
"Nephthys came running along". See the text in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, cited on p. 86.
e 3 Cf. P. Turin 132, 6: (Rē has been bitten by a snake and begs the gods for help) "his Ennead said: "what is the matter ( $m p w$ ), what is the matter", his gods said: "what is the matter (pty), what is the matter."
4-6 "Then there will be a standstill with the crew of the boat", cf. CT II 380 a ${ }^{151}$ ): (when a snake turns its eyes to Rē) "then there arises a standstill ( $\left.{ }^{c} h^{c} w\right)$ with the crew"; P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 5, 4-5: "if the poison rises, the boat of Re will founder on that spine of Apophis". A cosmic disturbance, described in e 8 , $\mathrm{f} 21-26$, is the consequence of that standstill. Sethe ${ }^{152}$ ) connects PT 233 b with this situation: "the sky has been conjured, the earth has been conjured, the male one who is behind mankind (Rē ?) has been conjured". Also in a Coptic magical pap. (Berlin 5565, BKU, p. 21, AKZ, II, 12 ff.), 8 "Isis turns to the sun and the moon in order to make them stand still in the sky", when Horus is in distress; and in London ms. or. 1013 A ( $Z \ddot{A} S, 33$ (1895), p. 132-135; AKZ, II, 14) : "an amulet, which Isis has written" it says: "I bind the sky, I bind the earth...... I bind the sun in the East, I bind the moon in the West". Cf. Pap. Mimaut 98-99 (PGM I, 36), in a charm:



In P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 3, 6 an allusion is made to a cosmic disturbance as a consequence of a scorpion's sting: "Rē will not appear"; ibid. 6, 8: "have a care concerning the rising
148) A Coptic spell for an unborn child: London ms. or. 5525 ( $A K Z, \mathrm{I}, 15 \mathrm{ff}$; II, 199 ff .).
149) A. M. Blackman wrongly translates "in early youth": JEA, 22 (1936), p. 36.
150) See: A. M. Blackman and H. W. Fairman in JEA, 35 (1949), p. 105, and ibid., 36 (1950), p. 65, n. 11: "urging on (?)".
$151)=\mathrm{Tb} 108,5$ (BD 219, 7), see $Z \ddot{A} S, 59$ (1924), p. 84.
152) Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, 199 ff.
of the sun and the shining of the disk"; ibid. $7,8-8,1$ : "woe, woe, the heavens have been penetrated, the earth is in darkness because of Re $\ldots$. . the sun will rise and the disk will shine ... when NN (has been cured)"; Ostracon Deir el Medineh $1066{ }^{153}$ ), 3: "the earth is in darkness, the potsherds (?) walk, the stones speak, the mountains err...... (for) Rē has been bitten at night". See also Comm. on h 16 .
"As long as the son Horus lies on his side". An expression taken from the Osiris myth, cf. PT 721 a, 819 a, 2188 a: "a great one (Osiris) has fallen on his side", "felled by his brother Seth" (972 b, 1500 a), "in Ndi.t" (819 a, 2188 a).
"Isis uttered her cry to heaven", cf. Urk., VI, 25, 4: "Isis uttered her cry to heaven", and the Greek magical pap. (PGM II, 167) quoted above. When Re is bitten "the cry of H.M. reaches heaven" (P. Turin 132, 5), and when the cat is bitten "its wailing (sbḥw) reaches heaven" ( $\mathrm{M}^{10 \text { ). }}$

At the voice of Isis "Thoth came provided with magical power and with the high command of justification'. In the Gr. mag. pap. Brit. Mus. London 122, 22 ff. (PGM II, 46) the patient appeals to Hermes (Thoth): "if Isis, the greatest of all gods invoked you in every danger, in every place ..... and obtained your favour ...... thus I, NN, invoke you".

Probably at this moment of the Isis-Horus myth Spell X must be placed: "I am Thoth, I have come from heaven at the command of Rē" (i 1) ; cf. M I: "Thoth comes provided with magical power to exorcise the poison". In the P. bil. Rhind I, 4, 10, in the hieratic version, Thoth is called: "the eldest of the command", see n. 69 of Möller's commentary ${ }^{154}$ ).
rh res. cf. M 72, where Isis is invoked: "she who knows her spell, come to your son"; P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. fr. A 4: "I am Isis who knows her spell, whom the gods have taught".
s.t.f $n s f$, id. f 21 ; f 23: ${ }^{\text {c.f }} n$ sf "his place of yesterday", "his usual place", i.e. the place where he was (also) yesterday at the moment, cf. Peasant B 1, 109: "the dunner comes to his place of yesterday"; Merikare ${ }^{155}$ ) 52 and 127: "the soul goes to the place which it knows, it does not recede from its way of yesterday". Mar. Dend. III 73a: (the sungod) "sails to his place of yesterday without wearying". Aton remains on his place of yesterday, i.e. the regular course of the sun has been interrupted, the sun does not rise anymore and "darkness has come"; disturbance takes its course instead, cf. f 23: "the misery which is yonder will turn the disturbance to its place of yesterday".

By a cynical remark Isis tries to urge Thoth to be quick: "how self-confident you are". $w r$ ib "self-confident" ${ }^{156}$ ), here in malam partem "too sure of himself" ${ }^{157}$ ).

For ir.w, see Comm. on M 179.

[^22]f 1 ih.t her ih.t "misery upon misery". About ih.t in the meaning of "something bad", see f 5: "the child suffering from something"; Petosiris 55, 1-2: "do no harm (ih.t) to the possessions of the dead one", ibid. 89, 3: ir ih.t "to do harm", beside ibid. 89, 5: ir ih.t $\underline{d} w$ "to do harm".
hlt.f "after him" i.e. "after his death", cf. Sin. B 7: "I did not think to live after him" ( $m$ s.f).
"Horus, Horus, remain on the earth!", an exclamation of Isis, as in f 7 the exclamation of Thoth: "Horus, Horus, your heart be strong, be it not weak on account of the fire". Cf. C $2, \mathrm{X}, 75$ ( $A S A E, 18$ (1919), p. 121) : "Horus, remain ( $w^{\prime}$ h $)$ to all eternity, poison..... come to earth".
$t_{s} i m$ "to take possession of", like it $n$, see B. Gunn in JEA, 27 (1941), pp. 147-148, here with the special meaning "to conceive" ${ }^{160}$ ).
f 4-5 "I yearned to rehabilitate his father" (version of M), parallel to f 3-4: "I waited to avenge (him i.e. Osiris)".
f 5 mr ih.t "who suffers from something", see Comm. on f 1 and J. H. Breasted, The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus, Chicago 1930, p. 142.

In $\mathrm{f} 7-18$ the fourteen "beatifications" of Horus follow, in which the patient participates. His protection is that of the sun-god (1-7: f7-13), of Osiris (8: f 13-14), the netherworld (9: f 14-15), the bnw-bird (10: f 15), his own body (11: f 15-16), the names and images of Osiris (12: f 16), the lamentations of his mother and his brothers (13: f17), and that of his own name (14: f 17-18). This "beatification" is related to the identification spells (see Comm. on h 8 ff .). Cf. M.u.K., Vs. 4, 6-8: "your protection ( $m k . t$ ) is the protection of the sky...... the earth..... the night...... the day...", etc., followed by an identification spell; P. Leiden I 348,
158) Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 185.
159) Rev. d'égypt., 3 (1938), p. 94.
160) For $t t^{i} \mathrm{~m}$ in the meaning of "to surpass, to prevail", see W. Spiegelberg in Rev. Eg. anc., 1 (1927), p. 219; ZÄS, 64 (1929), p. 84; Blinding of Truth 5, 2 (LES 32, 12), Horus and Seth 1,10 and 13, 4 (LES 38, 4 and 54, 15).

Rt. 5, 1-5: "the protection ( $s^{3}$ ) (of a part of the body) is the protection ( $s^{3}$ ) of (the same part of the body of a god)", also followed by an identification spell. See finally $\mathrm{Tb}(\mathrm{Nu}) 144$, 6 (BD 330, 6) : "the protection ( $m k \cdot t$ ) of NN is the protection of the boat of Rē (cf. e 8: "his protection is the boat of Rē"), the protection of NN is the protection of Horus, the eldest of Rē".
f 7-8 imy-itn.f "he who is in his disk" is a usual denomination of the sun-god (see Zandee, Hymnen, p. 28, n. 6) "Who illuminates the two lands with his two sh.t-eyes, cf. M 16-17: "Your eyes are the eyes of the lord of the sh.t-eyes, who illuminates the lands with his eyes and illuminates the face on the roads of darkness"; Pap. Berlin 3055, 25, 2: "who illuminates the two lands with both his h.t-eyes" (Zandee, Hymnen, p. 42, n. 6).
$w \underline{d}$ sšm $n$ ntt iwtt ( $M$ ) "who rules everything that exists", cf. Louvre C 286, 10-11: "to whom he has delegated ( $s w \underline{d}$ ) the leadership of the lands (sšm ts.w)"; C 42210, e 5 (Legrain, Statues et statuettes, III, 28): "he has the leadership ( $w \underline{d}$ sšm) in your town". About the corruption of mm into $\rightleftharpoons$ see $\operatorname{Sin}$. B $38 \rightleftharpoons$ for R 62: mu.
f 9-10 "That great dwarf who goes round about the Netherworld at twilight" is the moon, the left eye of the sun-god, see Zandee, Hymnen p. 31, and Petosiris 60, 26: "the moon at its birth is the ba of Rē, his own body". In the Pap. Salt 325, 9, 4 (ASAE, 41 (1942), pp. 124125) the hidden god in the house of life is invoked with "eyes of the dwarf", beside "blood of the wds.t-eye, heart of the monkey (Thoth), head of the uraeus", where there is probably thought of the sun-god who manifests himself in the sun and the moon (Thoth). When a man sees a dwarf in his dream, it is bad: half of his life is taken away (P. Ch. B. III, 8, 13). The explanation is perhaps that the sun-god shows himself to men during half of a natural day. In the P. mag. Harris 8, 9: "O, that dwarf of the sky" probably also the sun-god is meant, as in the P. demot. mag. 11, 6-7: "I am the sacred child who is in the house of Rē, the holy dwarf who is in the cave". A dwarf at the court of Amarna was called "the sun" 161).

A dwarf of fayence (thn $\cdot t$ ) occurs in a corrupt passage of which we know some parallels: P. Turin 124, 14; C 47277, back, 10 (ASAE, 22 (1922), p. 268); C 9403, front (G. Daressy, Textes et dessins magiques, p. 11), and C 5, 48-50.

The dwarf is brought into connection with the moon in C 2 , XV, 86-87 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 24). He is invoked in a spell for speeding up birth in P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 12, 2-6: "the spell of the dwarf". The connection dwarf-moon-monthly periods of women-birth is obvious.

Finally the Horus child is protected by the hippopotamus goddess Rr.t, a "fostergoddess", and by the dwarf Hit (M 79), which scene is represented in the temple of Dendera (LD, Text II, pp. 246-247; Wb., III, 36, 2 and 37, 1).
"The lion of the night who travels in the Western Mountain". The sun-god is the secret lion: P. Leiden I 350, 3, 3, see Zandee, Hymnen, p. 42 with the quotations 198 (P. Berlin $3055,25,2$ ): "the secret lion in the Western Mountain"; 200 (P. Luynes: RT I, 89); "falcon of the day, lion of the night"; M 84: "I am the ka of the Eastern Mountain, the lion of the Western Mountain".
161) N. DE G. Davies, Rock tombs of El Amarna, II, pl. 5; V, pl. 3; V1, pl. 26; W. R. Dawson, Pygmies and dwarfs in ancient Egypt, JEA, 24 (1937), pp. 185-189 (p. 188).
f 11 "The great hidden ba, who goes about in his eyes". See Zandee, Hymnen, p. 14-15 and the vignettes of the Skrine-papyrus (JEA, 5 (1918), pp. 27-28, pl. III). About hnty shety.f, see H. Junker, Der sehende und der blinde Gott, München 1942, p. 24 ff.; Anchnes. 122: "who travels in ( $\underline{h} n w$ ) his eyes, whose sh.t-eye conceals his true figure". earth and in the netherworld" (ch with object: Wb., I, 225, 11), cf. C' IV, $310 \mathrm{~b}-311$ a ${ }^{162}$ ) : "I fly (cha) like a falcon (bik), I chatter like the smn-bird"; Sin. R 21: "the falcon (bik) flew (ch $\underline{\text { n }}$ ) with his suite".
f 13 The sun-god as "the sacred Api-beetle, which flies over (shh ) the earth in all its extensiveness" (Chassinat, Mammisi d'Edfoul, p. 158; Junker, Giza, II, p. 49; Kees, Götterglaube, p. 421).
f 13-14 "The secret corpse, whose mummy is sacred in its sarcophagus" is Osiris, see Comm. on M 173-174.
f 14-15 "The lands where faces are reversed": in the netherworld people walk with their head down (shd $)_{b}$ cf. PT $323 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ : "the horror of NN is to walk in darkness, he despises hanging with his head down (shd.w)"; Tb 101, 5 (BD 212, 14) "O, Rē .... when you pass those who are there (i.e. in the netherworld) as reversed ones (shd.w), then raise NN". The (gate-) keeper of the first ${ }^{\text {c }}$ ry.t (BD 327, 11) is called "reversed (shd) of face"; cf. a representation in the Livre des Cavernes (BIFAO, 42 (1944), pl. 27) with the text: "those enemies with their head down (shd.w)".

115 The bnw-bird is also a manifestation of Rē, the ba of Rē, see A. de Buck, De zegepraaı van het licht, Amsterdam 1930, p. 83. It is said to Horus in M 77: "you are the great bnwbird, born on the willow in the big House of the Prince at Heliopolis", cf. P. Ch. B. VIII, Vs. 11, 1 and L. Keimer in BIFAO, 31 (1931), p. 190.
f 16 The names of Osiris are a protection of the dead king a.o. in PT 181-192, cf. Tb (Lepsius), 142 (BD 322 ff .) : "to know the names of Osiris". The images of Osiris in the nomes are the local forms of Osiris, cf. Livre des Cavernes (BIFAO, 41 (1942), pl. 5, 6): "the great image (sšm) of the Lord of the West, who is at the head of the gods"; PT 182 a: "in your name of $i m y-{ }^{c} n d . t$ at the head of his nomes ( $p^{p} \cdot w t$ )".

Cf. P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 12, 5-6: "Lamentation, lamentation, mourning, mourning, Isis wails, Nephthys cries; wake up on his (i.e. Horus') account, Geb, father of the gods, on account of the singing of Nephthys: woe is me on account of the fire that has gone out against this child"; P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 6, 4: (Horus speaks) "come, my mother Isis, my sister Nephthys", and Comm. on M 184.
"The protection of Horus is his own name", cf. P. Ch. B. VIII, Vs. 10, 8-13, 6: "the twelve names of Horus which are said in the morning...... a great protection of the limbs"; P. Turin 133, 6 (= P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 3, 2) : "a man lives who is invoked by his name"; ibid. 133, 11 ( $=$ P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 3, 7) : "a man lives whose name is pronounced".
"The words of Horus will delight the hearts". Ts ib.w, see Wb., V, 399, 2 and 406, 4; $R T 27$ (1905), p. 30 (7): "your beams delight the hearts ( $t s i b \cdot w$ )".
162) $=\mathrm{Tb} 17,79 ; U_{r k}, \mathrm{~V}, 63$.
f 19-20 "Rejoice, you who are in heaven, for Horus avenges his father". Cf. Edfu VI, 82, 5: "rejoice ( $n d \underline{d}$ ib.tn), you who are in "the great place", for Horus has taken his father's throne".
f 21-26 Here the consequences of the cosmic disturbance are described, which set in as a consequence of the standstill of the sun-boat and which is not removed before Horus has been cured for his mother Isis, and the patient likewise, see p. 91.
$f 22 \quad i w s ̌ b . w$ "the foods are stopped up". iw properly means "on an island", "without ship": PT 1188 a and d. Cf. Urk., VI, 23, 9 and 19: "he (i.e. Seth) has stopped up the foods (iw.n.f šb.t)". "The temples are blocked", cf. h 17-19; the consequences with which is threatened, if the poison does not leave the body.
sn-mn.t ${ }^{163}$ ), "to go through an illness", is substantively used with the meaning "misery", "grief": Wb., II, 67, 16-18; Gardiner, Admonitions, p. 103 ad 11, 11; cf. the expression sn-hlwd "lack", Wh., III, 250, 1; P. bil. Rhind I, 2, 11, paral. demot.: ir wš "to lack". sn-mn.t nty im(w) (Copt. €T.n.nar): "the misery which is yonder".

The misery which is yonder will turn the disturbance ( $\underline{h} n n)^{164}$ ) to its place of yesterday: the disturbance will take a regular course, see Comm. on e 8 .
f 24 Darkness has set in (e 8) and the enemy of the light, $n b \underline{d}$, the demon of darkness ${ }^{165}$ ) goes about. Because the sun does not go around any more, the seasons cannot be defined ( $w p$ tr.w), cf. Zandee, Hymnen, pp. 29-30; El Khargeh pl. 16, 34: "(the sun-god) who defines ( $w p$ ) the seasons (tr.w), months and years", P. Leiden I 344, Vs. 3, 10: "(the sun-god) who makes the days, creates the hours..... defines the seasons". The hours also cannot be measured by the sun-dial any more: the figures of the shadow on the sun-dial 166) cannot be seen anymore.
f 25 "The sources (of the inundation: Wb., V, 58, 2) are blocked. The crops (šn-ts for "crops" in general, Wb., IV, 501, 6 ff.; in medical texts: "fenugreek", see W. Dawson, in JEA, 12 (1926), pp. 240-241) are withering. The food ( $\mathrm{M}:{ }^{〔} n h \underline{\text {; B }}$ : $s^{\wedge} n h$, see Comm. on d 10) is taken from ( $\mathrm{B} ; \mathrm{M}$ : flees from) mankind".
$\pm 29 \quad h h . s d r$ "its heat is driven away", cf. g 5: "its heat (nsr.t) is averted" (hsf).
i 30 rdi.k hr.f $n$ "may you give instructions concerning him to". rdi hr $n$ and rdi $m$ hr $n$ are both expressions for: "to give instructions to", see K. SETHE, in Unters., V, 2 (1909), pp. 30-31. Another example of $h r$ with suffix: "an instruction concerning"... is not known to me; cf. however P. Kahun ${ }^{167}$ ), pl. 19, 14-15: "I have executed all instructions $\qquad$ about that in which an instruction was given ( $n$ rdy hr im).
"Do not let them know my position at Chemmis, a beggar-woman, chased away from

[^23]her town", see Comm. on M 169 and a 3-4. About nmḷw.t "heggar-woman", see Wb., II, 268, 4, and JEA, 3 (1916), p. 83, n. 3.
"Thoth, he said", see p. 82. As the sign of the sitting baboon may mean "Thoth" ${ }^{168}$ ) as well as $\underline{d}$ or $\underline{d} d{ }^{169}$ ), a haplography occurred in M.
f 33-35 They who have mourned for Osiris are summoned to watch over Horus. Wr i.e. Osiris, see Comm. on e 5: "a great one (wr) has fallen on his side". In the Pap. Dodgson (2nd century after C.) ${ }^{170}$ ) a man who has sinned against the mysteries of Osiris must change his name from Ptrs son of $P-s ̌ r-p-w r$ into Ptrs son of $P$-ti-íry-hms-nfr, see Posener in Rev. d'égypt., 5 (1946), p. 51 ff.

Cf. for pwy-nn (M: pfy) E. Naville, in Rev. Eg. anc., 1 (1927), pp. 33-34.
"They who have struck with their hands and have pounded with their arms". See for this passage H. Hickmann, Instruments de musique (CGC 69201-69852), Le Caire 1949, p. 3; PT $1005 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c}(=1974 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{c})$ (lamentations about Osiris) : "the souls of Pe strike with their arms for you, they strike ( $h \mathrm{wi}$ ) their flesh for you and pound ( $s h$ ) their arms for you, they pull at their locks of hair"; the nurses mourn for Osiris, cf. PT 550 a-b: "o you milch-cows there, o you foster-cows there, go round about for him, weep over him, mourn for him, pity him."
"Watch over this child", cf. P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574, 1075 ff. (PGM I, 108):


$m$ hr.w "among men", cf. f 36-37: "who brings fear of him among men ( $m \mathrm{hr} . \mathrm{w}$ )", see Comm. on d 7. About hr.w "men": Wb., III, 130, 13-18.
stnm w.w. "to confuse the ways", see R. O. Faulkner in JEA, 22 (1936), pp. 136-137 on P. Br. Rh. 7, 8: tnm w'wt; Urk., VI, 73, 13: "to make the rebels (sbi.w) err from his neighbourhood (stnm, paral. htht) ; also tnm can have causative meaning: Wb., V, 312, 3-6; g 15: "Serket makes your power err (tnm)". The reverse in Sin. B 96: "I took the erring one (tnm) to the (right) road".
f $36 \quad h r r s ; M$ instead of $h r$ : s. The confusion of these two signs already occurs in the Pyramid texts: PT $790 \mathrm{~b}, \mathrm{~N}: h r ; \mathrm{P}: \dot{s}$; cf. ibid. 753 e , also N: hr.
f 36-37 "She brings fear of him amongst men", cf. PT 57 b: "may you (the Horus eye) cause both lands to fear ( $n r$ ) Horus, just as they fear (nr) Seth".
f 37 "They are waiting for me to push off the evening-boat and to make the morning-boat sail". We find a similar passage in P. Vat. 19a, 3, 2-3 in a charm against poison: sin s.t $w d i$ skt.t $r$ di.t $n^{c} i m^{c} n d . t$ : "they are waiting for it (i.e. the poison; to be read sin.tw n.s?) in order to push off the evening-boat and to make the morning-boat sail", Sin.tw n.i "they are waiting for me", see Gardiner in ZÄS 49 (1911), pp. 100-102; Pianchi 10 (Urk., III, 8, 3) : "when he says: wait for the army $(\sin n)$ ", ibid. 10-11 (Urk., III, 8, 7) : "let they not wait for them (sin.tw n.sn)". About $w d i$ "to push off" see $W b$., I, 387, 22-24, and JEA, 29 (1943), p. 3, n.f.
168) $A S A E, 45$ (1947), pp. 69-72; Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), p. 9 ff.
169) $A S A E, 43$ (1943), pp. 257-258.
170) PSBA, 31 (1909), pp. 100-109.
f 39-40 "Then the official (ḥmww) is praised for his task (wnw.t)". M here has: hmww n wnw.t.f, cf. Wb., III, 84, 1-2: "skilled in his trade". The translation of M would read in that case: "then the skilled one in his trade is praised". See also JEA, 29 (1943), p. 18, n. g.
f $40 \quad$ hsf smi $n$ hsb sw "to report to him who has sent him"; Wb., III, 336, 10 only knows our place (M) for this expression. Cf. hsf wšb $n d d s w$ "to reply to somebody's words (Amenemope 1,5 ) ; $n$ smi $n h s b s w$ "to report to him who has sent him" (ibid. 1, 6) ; $\underline{d} d s m i$ "to report" (Wb. IV, 129, 5-6) ; hasf hnn, "to debate", paral. to wšb "to reply" (Gardiner, Admonitions, Appendix (BM 5645), Vs. 5).
hsh.ty $s w$ (M: hsb sw), a late form of the active participle, see Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 53, n. 3: ir.ty $s w$ for ir sw. Cf. on the other hand formations as wpw.ty "messenger", spr.ty "petitioner", known already in Middle Egyptian; sometimes with object: Gardiner, Eg. Gr., § 364.

SPELL V
The resemblance of this spell to that passage in Spell I, in which Isis pronounces her charm over the poison of the scorpions (M57-a 2) is striking: g 1-2: "I am Isis $\qquad$ effective of words (mnh md.w)", M 59: "I am Isis divine $\qquad$ magical in speaking, effective of words (mnh md.w) ; g 3: "my father Geb has put his magical power at my disposal", (T 1: "to whom Geb has given his magical power"), M 60-61: "to whom Geb gave his magical power", M 57: "my father has taught me knowledge"; g 4-5: "while I avert the poison in its moment", a 1: "to avert the poison in its power"; g 5 : "I will give air to him who is short of breath", M 58: "to cure him who was short of breath"; $g$ 5: "through the magical power of my spell ( $t p-r^{\prime}$ )", M 57: "who expels the poisonous snake with her spell ( $t p-r^{\prime}$ )"; g 6-7: "obey me, poison in his body", M 59: "every biting snake obeys me"; g 8-9: "poison, do not rise upwards, (but) fall down", M 59: "fall down, poison, ...... do not rise, poison......", a 1: "do not jump up"; g 9: "at the words of Isis divine", M 60: "at the words of Isis divine".

Apparently Spell V is a charm put in general terms fitting in with the whole of the Isis-Horus myth, which could be inserted into the mythological narration in order to make it effective for magical purpose. This insertion and fitting in to the situation gave rise to modifications of the wording and in doing so incongruities were not always avoided (see p. 66).
g 3 "To seal the mouth of every snake", cf. Stela Vienna no. 46, RT 12 (1892), p. 17 (XIX): "come to me, Isis, great one, make my protection, save me from the snakes, seal their mouth, stop up their nose". A litany with htm "to seal" in P. Leiden I 349, 1, 7-8: "I create magical power..... in order to seal the mouth of the sky, to seal the mouth of the earth, to seal the mouth of...... (?), to seal the mouth of him who is in her arms". Likewise Pap. Br. Mus. 10081, 35, 21 ff. ( $Z \ddot{A} S, 65$ (1930), p. 35 ff .): "the sealing of the mouth of the enemies, the sealing of the execution-block, to be recited: the sky is sealed...... the earth is sealed..... the mouths are sealed.... the lips .... the arms.... the legs... the necks..... the throats.... the bodies.... all living mouths....". Ibid. 35, $34 \mathrm{ff} .:$ "his mouth is sealed, his lips are sealed.... his standing.... his sitting.... his walking... his lying... his eating..... his drinking.... his nose... his ears...."
g 3-4 "To chase away for him every lion in the desert, every crocodile in the river, all the snakes which bite with their mouth". M 116-117 (= P. mag. Harris, 6, 4-5) : "avert (hsf) for me every lion in the desert, every crocodile in the river, all the snakes which bite in their hole"; B, like g 17, has: "all the snakes which bite with their mouth"; T 1 and L 3 on the contraty: "all the snakes which bite in their hole".
g 4-5 "The poison in its moment (s.t)", see Wb., I, 2, 1, and Gardiner in JEA, 34 (1948), p. 15: "moment of action". Cf. expressions like $m$ rk.f "in his time"; $m$ wnw.t.f "in his hour": Zandee, Hymnen, p. 61 on P. Leiden I 350, 3, 21; see Comm. on a 1.
g 5 "Its heat is averted", cf. f 26: "its glow is driven away".
sh.t tp-rs "magical power of the spell", see Comm. on M 59 .
g 6-7 "Obey me, poison in his body", cf. M 59: "every biting snake obeys me"; PT 674 b675 a: "hfnw-snake, hfnn-t-snake, obey him, obey the earth, obey your father Geb".
g 7-8 "Come out, you malignant humours, which are in any limb". mw mr.w "malignant humours", cf. P. Turin 135, 7: "the malignant humours ( $m w m r . w$ ) which spread in his body"; P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 4, 3-4: "take away these malignant humours which are in the limbs of NN"; ibid. 4, 5: "the malignant humours ( $m w m r \cdot w$ ) of the scorpions which are in the limbs.
g 8-9 "Do not rise upwards, but fall down", see Comm. on M 59.
$g 9$ "Vessels, spit out what is in you". $k$ (s)c "to spit out": Wb., V, 7, 13. In PT 246a a snake is invoked with: "excrement of the wall, vomit ( $\left.k^{\lrcorner} \mathfrak{w}\right)$ of the tile".

SPELL VI
Spell VI 171) is an Apophis spell, which, although forming a unit in itself (B, M) can, with numerous variations, be inserted into a greater complex of charms directed against Apophis, the enemy of the sun-god (L 2, C 5 and the group C $3, C 4$ and C 6). The mythological background has been dealt with in the introduction to Spell II. Perhaps in this spell the moment of sunrise is thought of, as in Spell II. The execution-block, which is mentioned in g 14 , is placed at the end of the nocturnal course of the sun in the netherworld, where the demon of the dark ( $n b \underline{d}$ : $g$ 11, see f 24 ) is destroyed ${ }^{172}$ ). In the ninth Division of the Book of the Gates (p. 243) Apophis is warned: "the path to the execution-block has been paved".
g 11-12 "Who has neither arms nor legs, id. P. Br. Rh. 23, 17-18, cf. PT 665 b-c: "as you have no legs or arms with which you go behind your brothers, the gods"; P. Ch. B. VIII, Vs. 7,8: "you, enemy, who have no arms".
g 12 "Your body in which you are born is not": does that refer to the casting off of the old hide by the snake and the re-birth in its new hide?
171) Lit.: W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele, Leipzig 1877, pp. 2-3; A. MORET, in RHR, 72 (1915), pp. 221-223; G. RoEDER, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena 1915, pp. 83-84; R. O. FAULKNER in JEA, 24 (1938), pp. 42, 49.
172) See: H. P. Blok in AcOr, 7 (1929), p. 108 ff .
"Long-tailed one", cf. P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 1,4 (of a scorpion): "long-backed one, of many vertebrae".
"Your head has been cut off ( ${ }^{\text {ccc }}$ d)". Cf. PT 442 c (a snake charm): "he cuts ( $\mathrm{s}^{c}$ ) off your head with that knife which is in the hand of Mafdet", ibid. 673 c (about a snake): "with its head cut off ( $\tilde{s}^{c}$ ), with its tail stumped"; Tb 39, 13 (BD 106, 12-13): "with its head cut off (dn), knives pass at both sides of the roads"; P. Br. Rh. 22, 11: "cut Apophis to pieces (ir $\check{s}^{c} \mathrm{~d}$ )"; ibid. 22,12: "cut your enemy to pieces (ir šcd)" ${ }^{173}$ ).
"You do not lift up your face ( $f_{s i}$ hr )", cf. PT 62 a-b: "lift up your face ( $f f_{s i}$ hrr), Osiris", ibid. 255 c : "when they enter, they do homage, when they go out, they lift up their faces ( $f_{s i} \mathrm{hr}$ )"; frequent in magical texts: M 4: "you are blind, you do not see, your head is turned, your face is not lifted"; M 40: "do not lift up your face", to which the parallel adds: "do not look with your eyes"; M 41: "back, enemy, do not lift up your face to him who is on the water"; P. Vat. 19a, 2, 4: "(you) do not lift up your face, you err, your face is not opened".
g 13-14 "The flame is in your face, its heat in your soul". The enemy of the sun-god is threatened with combustion, see Zandee, Hymnen, p. 13. Cf. in the eighth Division of the Book of the Gates (p. 233) : "their souls burn in that flame which is on your mouth"; Anchnes. 474 (in an Apophis spell): "you belong to the fire, you belong to the flame".
g $14 \check{s}^{c} d$, older $\check{s}^{c} \cdot t$ "sword", see Erman in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 32 (1894), p. 3 on PT 257 b: "the great ones tremble when they have seen the sword ( $s^{c} . t$ ) that is in your hand"; C 85647, 1-2 (ASAE, 43 (1943), pp. 79-80): "he will be submitted to the sword ( $s^{c} d$ ) of the king and his head will be cut off"; Urk., III, 107, 2: "he who takes this charter away from the temple...... will be submitted to the sword (šd) of Amun". See H. SchÄfer in ZÄS, 33 (1895), p. 109.
g 15 tnm "to make err", see Comm. on f 35.
che "stand still": Wb., I, 218, 10; PT $439 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ (cf. $671 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ ) : ttw-snake, where to? You shall not go, stand still (chc $h^{c}$ ) before NN"; P. Leiden I 349, 1, 1-2 "in order to prevent the poison from spreading: stand still, stand still ( ${ }^{c} h^{c}$ )"; P. Leiden J 395, 261 (PGM II,


About the spelling of $h k^{s}$ "magical power", see W. R. Dawson in JEA, 24 (1938), p. 38, and $J E A, 31$ (1945), p. 105.

## SPELL VII

On C 7 a number of spells precedes this spell, in which the hand of Atum and the nail of Atum are mentioned. C 7, 1 ff .: "this is the hand of Atum chasing away the disaster in the sky and the disturbance at Heliopolis..." Atum then takes the shape of an ichneumon ${ }^{174}$ ) of 46 yards in order to defeat Apophis. We find a parallel of this spell on P , right arm, 1 ff.; Turin 3030, right arm, 1 ff. (ZÄS, 14 (1876), p. 79) and C 2, II, 12 ff. (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 116). On this two spells follow commencing with "this is the nail of Atum....", of the first one of which we find a parallel on C 2 , III, 40 ff . ( $A S A E, 18$
173) About $\check{s} c^{c}$ and $\check{s} c d$, see A. H. Gardiner in JEA, 37 (1951), pp. 29-31.
174) cd "ichneumon", not in Wb., see K. Sethe, in ZäS 63 (1928), pp. 50-53.
(1919), p. 118), cf. PT spell 229 (229 a-c) and Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, p. 188 ff.

Thus we may translate the beginning of Spell VII (C 7) by: "as regards the hand of Rē". This hand of Rē is apparently put on the mouth of a number of snakes, cf. PT 440 a: "the hand of NN, which has come over you (the snake)"; ibid. 672 a: "this hand of NN which has come against you (the snake)"; ibid. 677 d : "the fingers of NN which are on you (the snake)".

So the mythological background of Spell VII is the same as that of Spells II and VI: the sun-god destroys his snake enemies on his daily journey through the netherworld and along the sky, to the great rejoicing of his companions (g 18).

About the wimm.t-snake which is a.o. at the tenth gate of the Book of the Gates (p. 269), see Wb., I, 251, 15, and H. P. Blok in Acta Orientalia, 7 (1929), p. 109, n.l.

The name of the second snake perhaps means: "he whose blow is longed for" (C 7: $d b h$ skr.f, in B the first $f$ is a corruption of the striking arm), that of the third snake: "the evil soul ( $b^{3} d h^{3} h^{3}$ )", cf. PT 392 d: "this NN is at the head of the followers of Rē, this NN is not at the head of the evil gods (ntr.w tihtih) ; ibid. 1701 c : "he has saved NN from the evil gods (ntr.w thiths, par. the has). About $b a$ as a denomination of a snake, see PT 673: "this $b a$, who has come forth from the earth".

The fourth snake is called "the poor, the wretched one" (nmh) and the fifth "he that must be averted (hsf)".
"Which bite with their mouth and sting with their tail", cf. CT IV, $34 \mathrm{f}-\mathrm{g}$ : "(the uraeus) which bites with its mouth and stings with its tail"; stela of Bispegaard 2-3 ( $R T 1$ (1870), p. 135): "in order to seal the mouth of every snake that bites with its mouth and stings (ddb, see M 189) with its tail."

## SPELLS VIII-IX

The two Spells VIII ${ }^{175}$ ) and IX are closely related. The basic idea of both is that the creator has power over his creatures: h 4-5: "Ptah, who has made you, will calm you down, Rē, who has created it, will extinguish it, the god who has sent it, will avert it"; h 21 : "behold, the ba's have made you"; h 32-33: "the god who has made everything that is, Nun, who has created Her Majesty (the poison?), the water extinguishes you; the god who has made you will destroy you". In Spell IX it is Nun, the primordial water, from which the poison has sprung, and Nun will destroy it, cf. P. Ch. B. XI, Rt., Fr. A, 6: "Nun, his name is great of flood, he extinguishes (the fire) ; C 8, 30-32: "they bring the great Nun against it (the poison)". This spell is pronounced over "cool water put on the heart of the patient" (C 8,24 and 36). Perhaps we may see herein an indication for the use of the statue guérisseuse. Water was poured out over the statue, afterwards received and applied (see p. 6). In that case the water is the primordial water, Nun, which goes out against the poison (h 22 ff.: "Nun has gone out against you, coming as the cool water"). Also in Spell VIII it is the water which will extinguish the fire (the poison) (h 3), where again we think of the water that is poured over the statue.

However, the fire (poison) is not only a creation of Nun, as in Spell IX, and in Spell VIII of the great Ptah-Nun (h 4 and 16), but also of Rē, the flame of whose mouth has

[^24]laid the fire, where we have to think of the fire-breathing uraeus snake. In Spell VIII the fire (poison) sprung from the water, Nun (h 2, cf. h 31-32), on account of which Ptah-Nun has got power over it, is at the same time identified with the fire that is on the mouth of Rē, the god likewise sprung from Nun, and consequently also Rē has power over the fire created by him (h 4-5).

For the idea, that the creator has power over his creatures, see the introduction to Spell III: Geb has power over the snakes which have sprung from him; further: PT 1594 a ( $=1604 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$ ): "they open for Horus, (for) he has made them"; CT II, 1 e-g: "give me your hands, knot the ladder for me, (for) I have created you, I have made you"; P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 7, 6-7: "come at my spell, according as I say, I am Horus who has made you"; P. Turin $31+77,1(=$ P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 3, 10-11): "I have made you, I have sent you, come to the earth, o poison".

The sun-god "comes forth as a living flame from Nun": Urk., IV, 111, 11 and 495, 6, see Zandee, Hymnen, p. 79; Tb 153 B 13 (BD 397, 12) : "I am Rē who has come forth from Nun", in the 12th Division of the Amduat (p. 257) "he comes forth from Nun and goes to rest in the belly of Nut". The poisonous snake, which also has come forth from Nun, cf. PT 237 a : "the snake that has come forth from the earth has fallen, the fire (poison) that has come forth from Nun has fallen", is destroyed by the fire of the sun-god: P. mag. Harris 2, 6-7 (a hymn to Shu) : "you avert the raging one ( 3 d), which has come forth from Nun, in your name of "who averts the raging one", you thrust your spear in the evil snake"; Tb 135 B, 19 (BD 302, 11): "the fire extinguishes the fire". During a cosmic disturbance, however, the reverse will take place: Urk., VI, 123, 5 ff.: "recede in rage ( $3 d$ ), that the sun may not eclipse..... that the sky may not swallow the moon .... that a flame may not come forth from the middle of Nun and the (one) flame burns through the (other) flame."

Spell VIII has been built up out of various elements. It begins with an invocation: "fire in water". The reciter identifies himself with the sun-god: "the flame of my mouth" ${ }^{176}$ ) and speaks about the poison in the third person: "I extinguish it" ${ }^{176}$ ). To the three questions which the reciter puts: "who will extinguish it, whoever will calm it down, whoever will avert it", he gives three replies: "Ptah, who has made you, will calm you down, Rē, who has created it, will extinguish it, the god, who has sent you, will avert it". The first reply is directed immediately to the poison on account of the exclamation to the poison preceding: "run out, poison" (h 5). Following the three replies there is a second exclamation to the poison: "run out, poison, come, go out, to the earth. The great Ennead averts (you)...... your glow is not in any limb of the patient" (h5-7). With this an identification spell is connected: Horus is the patient and his members are identified with those of a number of gods (h 7-15). The following passage (h 15-16), in which the poison is again put in the third person and, as appears from the mention of the great Ptah-Nun, in which there is a falling back on the beginning, connects this identification spell with a new element: a threat, probably addressed to the gods, if the poison remains in the body, and a reward, if the poison leaves the body ( $\mathrm{h} 16-20$ ). In the final passage ( $\mathrm{h} 20-21$ ) the poison is called to again: "return, poison, fall down, at the words of the lord of life, the lord of protection, at the words of the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus", in which by an addition, there
176) Less probable is the translation: "the flame of your mouth ( $r, t)$ " and "you extinguish it (chm.t $s w$ )".
again, is a falling back on the beginning: "behold", the ba's......have made you", cf. in the passage h 15-16: "behold, the great Ptah-Nun is the protection of his own body." The composer of this spell has apparently joined together various elements, without uniting them to a harmonious entity.

The same holds good for Spell IX: eight times the poison is invoked, always with another denomination and with the chorus: "Nun has gone out against you, coming as the cool water" (h 22-28). After that the reciter speaks in the first person: "I know your name...... I extinguish your glow" (h 28-31), into which the exclamation is inserted: "run out, poison", etc. In the following passage (h31-33) there is a falling back on the motive: the creator has power over his creatures. A second exclamation: "run out, poison", etc. (h 33-34) introduces a litany: "at the words of....", repeated fourteen times (h 34-39). Up to now the unity has been preserved, the poison being always put in the second person, but the two final sentences have no connection whatever with the foregoing: "Seven knots have been laid on his tail (?), the protection of Horus is the protection of all people, etc." (h 39-40). Here, as in the identification of Spell VIII (h 7), the patient is identified with the wounded Horus, without, however, an attempt being made of connecting this motive with the previous passage, as was the case in Spell VIII.
h 2-3 To be read: in nbi.t $n$ r.i wd sd.t chm.i sy ir.s tks: "the flame of my mouth has laid the fire, I extinguish it when it makes a flame".

Nbi.t $n r^{3}$, cf. h 27 : nbi.t $m r^{3} . s$ "flame in its mouth", as a denomination of the poison. There has been thought of the fire-breathing uraeus snake, cf. Amduat, Division XII (p. 267) : "the flame that is on the mouth of their uraeus chases Apophis away from Rē". In the Livre du Jour (Piankoff, p. 27) an uraeus is called: "its flame on its mouth"; in P. Turin 133, 14-77 $+31,1\left(=\mathrm{P}\right.$. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 3, 10) the poison is invoked with: nbi.t $n r^{\prime}$ : "flame of the mouth".
wdi sdd.t "to lay a fire": Wb., I, 387, 3, cf. PT 376 a: "the fire has been laid (wdi sd.t.t), the fire flares up (wbn)"; ibid. $405 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$; "the ${ }^{c_{s}} t y \cdot w$, who are in the North of the sky, lay the fire (wdi sd.t) for him to the kettles"; i 18: "the fire is laid; behold, I extinguish it."
ir.s tk" "when it makes a flame", cf. P. mag. Harris 7, 2: "when his name is pronounced on earth, he produces a flame (ir.f $t k^{3}$ ).
h 8-15 An identification of the parts of the body with those of various gods 177 ), such as we often find in magical and religious texts, see H. Ranke, Die Vergötterung der Glieder des menschlichen Körpers bei den Ägyptern, in OLZ, 27 (1924), pp. 558-564 (see also Comm. on f 7 ). According to Ranke the number nine plays a considerable part here; also our spell has nine identifications twice. To the texts enumerated by Ranke ${ }^{178}$ ) (see also: A. ERman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, p. 23 n. 2) may be added: CT, T 1 L, 112-120; P. Ch. B. VII, Vs. 2,5-5,6 (the parts of the body are not identified with, but put under the protection of a god; a similar spell as P. Vat. 19 a, 2, 1-4, 11) ; P. Ch. B. VIII, Rt. 7, 1-9, 9; ibid.

[^25]XI, Rt., Fr. J-I; P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 5, 1-6, 2. An identification of parts of a ship with various gods is to be found in Tb 99 (Urk., V, 183-196) 179).

In the identifications of the different texts there is a great variety: thus e.g. the crown ( $w p . t$ ), which is identified here with that of Hpri, is identified with Nun in PT 1304 a, in Litanie du Soleil pl. 14, 34 with Rē, as in M.u.K., Vs. 4, 8. In P. Vat. 19 a, 2, 2 the crown is under the protection of Thoth. On the other hand in the Litanie du Soleil, pl. 14, 35 the breast (šnb.t, in h 11 identified with that of Neith) has been assigned to Hpri, in P. Turin 125, 8 and P. Ch. B. VIII, Rt. 7, 13 the heart. The heart (haty) is identified in h 12 with "the leading heart" of Ptah, in PT 1310c with Bast, in M.u.K., Vs. 5, 3 and P. Vat. 19 a, 4, 5 with Atum, in M 22 with Thoth, whilst in M 23 the $i b$-heart is again identified with Ptah.
"His head is the head of R $\bar{e}$-Harachte". In PT 148 a the head is identified with Horus of the netherworld, in CT, T 1 L, 112 with Rē, as in P. Turin 125, 5 and M 15.

Nfr-tm. Cf. P. Leiden I 349, 3, 2: "..... I have received, I am Nefertem"; M 131-132: "do not spout your poison against him, he is Nefertem".
h 8-9 That the "back of his head" is identified with Min is strange. One would rather expect this of the phallus, as is the case in P. Vat. $19 \mathrm{a}, 4,10$ and P. Turin, 125, 10.
h 9 "The neck is the column (w'd) of faience", cf. Tb 42 (Ani) (BD 117), P. Vat. 19 a, 3, 9 and P. Ch. B. VII, Vs. 2, 7, where the neck is put under protection of $W^{j}$ d.t. The column of faience, in Tb 125 (end), 24 (BD 263, 8) a present of the $F n h . w$, is, according to C 2, S, III, 29 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 136) a denomination of Thoth.
h 9-10 Serket is the mistress of the ropes of magical power, when he (Horus) adores Rē at his rise. In $\mathrm{Tb} 39,5$ ( $\mathrm{BD} 105,10$ ) it is said to Apophis: "your ropes have been laid by the scorpion goddess Hdd.t; ibid. 175 (Ani) (BD 460, 6) : "my enemies have been made into $n k^{c}$ w.t. Serket (or Hdd.t) is on their ropes (?)". In the 10th Division of the Book of the Gates (p. 270) the ropes of Apophis are applied by Serket, as in the seventh Division of the Amduat (p. 142).
h 10 "His upper arms (the dual should be read) are the two (ba?-)birds of Ptah". On the stem of the boat of Ptah in his chapel in the temple of Seti I at Abydos two $d d$-columns are represented, on which two ba-birds ${ }^{180}$ ). In M.u.K., Vs. 5, 1 the two upper arms ( $k^{c} h . w y$ ) are identified with living falcons, as in ibid. Rt. 4, 3 (rmn.wy). In P. Leiden I, 348, Rt. 5, 6-7 both arms ( ${ }^{c} \cdot w y$ ) are identified with the two ba's; cf. CT I, 292 i: "be ba to them like the two ba's".
"The fore-arms (hpš.wy) are Horus and Seth, the two lords, brothers". In P. Vat. 19 a, 4,1 and P . Turin 125, 6-7 the right hpš is identified with Horus and the left hps with Seth, in M 30 both with Horus.
179) In P. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr. 574, 2405 ff. (PGM I, 146-148) on each of the (14) parts of the body of a small magical statue ( $\varepsilon$ é $\pi<\iota \tau \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \iota o v$ ) magical words have to be written from head to feet. An identification of parts of a ship with various gods also in the Story of Petubastis (P. Spiegelberg 1, 1-24), see $O M R O, 29$ (1948), p. 73; of parts of the net in Tb 153 (BD 391, 1-393, 10; 396,2-397,1).
180) M. Sandman Holmberg, The god Ptah, Lund 1946, p. 222, n. 2; Calverley-Gardiner, The temple of king Sethos I at Abydos, II (1935), pl. 23; see P. Barguet in ASAE, 51 (1951), pp. 213-214; pl. I.
h 10-11 "His back is Geb", cf. P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 5, 7-8: "his back ( $p s \underline{d}$ ) is the back ( ${ }^{3} . t$ ) of Geb".
h 11 "His breast (šnb.t) is Neith". In Tb 42, 7 (BD 112, 13) the šnc (breast, upper part of the body) is likewise identified with Neith.
"The secret gates" is a.o. a denomination of the necropolis of Memphis, see SETHE, Dramatische Texte, p. 74 and Tb 126, 11-12 (BD 270, 1): "I have entered Rosetau and have passed the secret gates". In P. Vat. $19 \mathrm{a}, 4,4$ the sides are placed under the protection of "the secret gate, the first (tpy) of Rē-Harachte".
"The heart is the "leading heart" of Ptah": Ptah created the world with his heart and his tongue ${ }^{181}$ ). The heart is called "the leading one", cf. Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, I, 21 :
 leader" (Edfu VI, 67, 3).

The "belly" is often identified with Nut: PT 1311 a; Tb 172, 25 (BD 447, 15-16) with p.t; M.u.K.,Rt. 4, 6: "his belly is Nut, who gives birth to the gods", ditto: P. Ch. B. VIII, Rt. 8, 11; P. Leiden, I 348, 5, 8: "his belly is Nut $w t s m n t r$. $w$ ". In the belly of Nut Rē goes to rest when he leaves Nun in the 12th Division of the Amduat; "with (m) the stars", see Comm. on d. 7.
h 12-13 About bsh "phallus, privy part", see Breasted, The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus, p. 325 ; Wh., I, 419, 16 as part of the body of a female hippopotamus, in Litanie du Soleil, pl. 14, 37-38 identified with a goddess, Dsr.t, beside the han (phallus), which is identified with Tatenen. The lord of Heracleopolis is the ram-god Harsaphes.
h 13 "His behind (pḥw.t, Wb., I, 537, 5) is the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus", cf. h 21: "at the words of the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus". In the scorpion texts we often, and in all kinds of denominations, come across a wife of Horus, with whom Serket is always meant, see Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, text, p. 56 ad P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 1, 4 ff . Beside the references given by Gardiner ${ }^{182}$ ) we further find the wife of Horus: C 9, left side, 1 (ASAE, 17 (1918), p. 196) ; C 69771, I, 3-7 and IV, 10-11 (ASAE, 39 (1939), pp. 67-68 and 73), and Posener, Ostraca littéraires de Deir el Médineh, 1064, Rt. 8.

About the identification of the behind with Serket, cf. CT III, 74 a: "NN discharges with his behind like Serket".
h 13-14 In PT 1314 a the "thighs" (mnty) are identified with Neith and Serket, in Leiden I 348, Rt. 6, 1 with Isis and Nephthys, in the Litanie du Soleil pl. 14, 48 with "the two goddesses".

About the identification of the "shins" (sdh.wy) with the two Wp-ws.wt cf. PT 1380 c : "your feet are the jackals ( $\left.s^{\prime} b\right)$; C 69771, VI, 10 (ASAE, 39 (1939), p. 75): "his feet are Wp-ws.wt".
h 14 The "toes" finally are identified with the Seth animals, here according to the determina-
181) See: M. Sandman Holmberg, The god Ptah, Lund 1946, p. 42 ff .
182) P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 1, 4-2, 4; 3, 4; 4, 2-7; 8, 5; Vs. 6, $3-5$; P. Turin $77+31,12$ (= P. Ch. B. XI, Rt. 4, 8) ; 137, 1-2; P. Leiden I 345, Vs. 1, 2-3; I 348, Vs. 12, 4-5; Ostracon Brussels E 3209.
tive jackals (?). In the P. dramat. Rames. (42), 119 the followers of Seth are represented as goats, cf. Tb 18, 27 (Urk., V, 128) : "the gang of Seth have changed themselves into goats".
h 14-15 "No member of his is without a god; everyone of them is the protection of his body, from his head to his foot-soles." Such a passage often concludes an identification spell: CT, T 1 L, 119-120: "there is no member of yours without a god"; Tb 42, 10 (BD 113, 4) : "there is no member of mine without a god. Thoth is the protection of all my flesh"; Litanie du Soleil pl. 14, 39: "his members are gods, his whole is a god, no member of his is without a god, the gods have become his body"; M.u.K., Vs. 5, 6-7; "no member of yours is without (a god), every god will protect (your) name"; P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 6, 2: "no member of his is without a god"; M 32-33: "every member of yours is a member of the gods of heaven, a member of the gods of the earth, they cause all the poison that is in you to fall, no member of yours is without a god", and its parallel C 2 , I, 14-15 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 135) "no member of yours is without a god, everyone of them is a protection of your members, from your head to your foot-soles". However, it stands at the beginning of the identification spell in P. Vat. 19 a, 2, 1: "(no member of his) is without a god, from his head to his foot-soles". At the command of the Ennead Khnum made a wife for Bata and "every god was in her" (the two Brothers $9,8=\operatorname{LES} 19,9-10$ ), "the seed of every god was in her" (ibid. $11,5=\operatorname{LES} 21,5)$.
$h$ 16-20 When the poison remains in the body no offerings shall be made in the temples any more. This threat is addressed to the gods, who will be content in their sanctuaries, when the poison leaves the body (h 20). The patient is Horus, as in the previous identification, and his enemy, the wdi-kn.f is Seth ${ }^{183}$ ).

In magical and religious texts the gods are often threatened, either with a cosmic disturbance or a stopping of sacrifices, and also with both of them, see: H. Grapow, in ZÄS, 49 (1911), pp. 48-54; Gardiner, art. Magic in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII (1915), pp. 264-265; id., Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3 (text), p. 51; A. Erman, Die Religion der Ägypter ${ }^{3}$ (1934), p. 300 and, with many examples taken from magical texts: Serge Sauneron, Aspects et sort d'un thème magique égyptien: les menaces incluant les dieux, in Bulletin de la Société française d'Egyptologie, No. 8, Nov. 1951, pp. 11-21; see also Comm. on e. 4-6.

When Horus does not acquire the office of Osiris, Neith threatens with a cosmic disturbance: "the sky shall fall upon the earth" (Horus and Seth 3, $3=$ LES 40, 2-3); when Isis does not bear successfully "then the sky shall not be, the earth shall not be, the five epagomenal days shall not be, the sacrifices to the gods, the lords of Heliopolis, shall not be" (P. Leiden I 348, Vs. 11, 5) ; in the P. demot. mag. 21, 22-24 a woman threatens "addressing the sun: do not rise, the moon: do not appear, the water: do not come for the Egyptians, the fields: do not become green, the big trees of the Egyptians: do not flourish". About the threat to the gods in Coptic magic, see $A K Z$, III, p. 141 ff . Jamblichus, De mysteriis 6, 5-7 (HF 499, 40 ff., cf. Porphyrius, Epist. ad Anebon. V, 10, 3-4 $=$ HF 472, 29 ff .) speaks about the $\beta \iota \alpha \sigma \tau \omega \dot{\alpha} \zeta \dot{\alpha} \pi \varepsilon \iota \lambda \dot{\alpha} \varsigma$ of the Egyptians. In a Greek papyrus from

[^26]Michigan (PGM II, 184) the magician says to Isis: "perform everything that I have written hereon for NN, then I will release the rising and setting of the sun".
h 20-21 Into the final sentence: "return, poison, fall down...... at the words of the lord of life, the lord of protection, at the words of the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus" is inserted: "behold the ba's who are content have made you", see p. 102. The ba's who are content may be the "contented gods" of h 20 , or the gods of the identifications.

With "the lord of life", an epithet, which can be given to many of the gods, but which is peculiar to Osiris (Wb., II, 199, 11-12) and "the lord of protection (mk.t)" Osiris may be meant here, cf. h 7: "he is Horus, the son of Osiris, the lord of protection ( $s^{s}$ )...... great of protection ( $m k . t$ )".

About "the mistress of Chemmis, the wife of Horus", i.e. Serket, see Comm. on h 13.
h 22 The poison in the body of the patient (h 26: "poison ( $m w$ ) in his body") is the fire that consumes him, cf. P. Louvre 2339, 2-3 (RT 14 (1892), p. 14) : . "the evil snake, the poison ( $m w$ ) in its mouth is fire".
"Painful of fire", cf. h 25 and 27: "painful of consuming fire (wnmy.t)", see Wb., II, 95, 8-11 and Tb 17 (Urk., V, 60, 4; CT IV, 303 b ) : "painful of fingers"; Urk., VI, 53, 5-6: "Sekhmet, painful of flame, belongs to me, Mnty.t, painful of nails, belongs to me".
h 23 "Breaking out of flame", cf. M 55: "the fire had broken out (pr.ti) in the house of the lady", see Wb., I, 523, 6-8.
h 24 "Sharp of rage", cf. PT 253 b: "painful (mr) of rage"; Tb 17, 67 (Urk., V, 61, 1): "sharp of fingers", as a parallel of "painful of fingers" cited above; P. Br. Rh. 22, 7: "its (i.e. the uraeus') glow ( $h h$ ) is sharp against you (i.e. Apophis)". See Wb., IV, 109, 20.
h 25 The w'w.t-flame (Wb., I, 250, 4) "separates and burns ( $s^{\prime} m$ ) the gods" (CT I 382 c ), "it consumes (wnm) the Apophis" (P. Br. Rh. 24, 15) and "wallows in him" (C 69771, VIII, 25: ASAE, 39 (1939), p. 79).
"The consuming fire" (wnmy.t), cf. El Khargeh 25, 13 ( = P. mag. Harris 5, 10) : "the consuming fire (wnmy.t) consumes (wnm) him with its glow". See JEA, 23 (1937), p. 177, ad P. Br. Rh. 24, 12.
h 27 "Flame in its mouth" (nby.t mrs.s), see h 2: "the flame of my mouth" (nby.t n rs.i).
h $31 \quad h m \cdot s$ as a denomination of the poison, cf. PT $248 \mathrm{~b}: i \mathrm{hm} \mathrm{tf}$ "o, slave, disappear (?)". For the basic meaning of $h \mathrm{hm}$ : "body", see J. Spiegel in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 75 (1939), pp. 112-121184).
h $32 \quad i$-ir, see M 68: r-wn.
h 32-33 The idea: the creature is submitted to the power of his creator and lord is illustrated by two proverbial expressions: "there is no wife who resists her husband", "there is no son who uses violence against his father", taken from the natural relations in the Egyptian family. Thus Nut warns her son Seth of referring to a similar proverb (Urk., VI, 57, 4 ff .) : "beware of saying a proverb with the words of the braggarts, when their proverbs are useful: "is there a mother devouring her children, is there a woman sharpening her knife against him who has sprung from her?" I have opened my mouth in order to devour, I have
184) See however A. H. Gardiner, in JEA, 29 (1943), p. 79.
sharpened my knife in order to slaughter that miserable Seth and his band". Cf. Edfu VI, 77, 2: "is there a brother hating his elder brother?" The two suffixes $f$ and $s$ after itf "father" point to an originally divided column: there is no son/daughter who uses violence against his/her father. We find a case in which both suffixes are maintained, with the idea that the text could be used for a man as well as for a woman, in Tb 15 B (Af) (BD 48, 4): "Muthotepte (a woman) is justified against his/her enemies."
h 33-39 The command: "Run out, poison, come, go out, to the earth", is uttered by a series of fourteen gods ( $m \underline{d} d n$ "at the words of", repeated fourteen times), cf. P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 1, 7-2, 5: "come, go out, at the words of" ...... repeated seven times, each time followed by another denomination of the wife of Horus; a similar series ibid. Vs. 6, 3 ff. and P. Leiden I $343,2,10 \mathrm{ff}$.

The fourteen names, which follow here, are partly unknown to me, partly denominations of the sun-god, partly names of gods about whom it is known that they are companions of the sun-god in the sun-boat. We may perhaps assume that in this charm there was thought of the struggle against the enemy of the sun (Apophis), in which the sun-god is assisted by a number of gods.

The "cbcb-bird", sprung from Nun, is further only known to me from Edfu VI, 77, 10: "the ${ }^{c} b^{c} b$-birds which run along the shore, belong to you, their heart elated at alighting thereon ${ }^{185}$ ). This bird, unknown to the $W b$., is here perhaps a denomination of the sun-god (cf. the smn-bird, M 62?). A denomination of the sun-god is also: "the flame of $R \bar{e}-$ Harachte" (h 35); "the flame that is in the eye of Atum" (h 36-37); "Sfg-irw (the one hidden of figures) ${ }^{186}$ ), who is in the flame" (cf. PT 1061 c and CT III, 337, b-c: "Sfg-irw, who is in the sun-beams") ; and h 39: "the Uniter of the Hh-gods who has come forth from Nun" (cf. CT I, 393 c: "I unite the Hh-gods for him" and Destruction 41: "then the majesty of Rē said: would I had $H$ h-gods to support (the sky), and thus the $H \not h$-gods came into being"). Hu and Sia 187) (h 36) belong to the regular company in the sun-boat (see Zandee, Hymnen, p. 98), like the goddess Ma ${ }^{\text {cat (see C. J. Bleeker, De beteekenis van }}$ de Egyptische godin Ma-a-t, 1929, p. 38 ff.). As regards the jackals (h 38) we may think of the jackals that draw the sun-boat (Wb., III, 420, 10).
h 39-40 To be read: rdi.n.i 7 ts.w $n{ }^{\text {chb.s (?): "I have laid seven knots on its tail" 188), or: }}$ $t s \cdot n \cdot i \quad t s$.w $n$ cb.s: "I have tied seven knots for its tail". In magic seven knots are often applied. P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 3, 1: "make it into seven knots that I may lay them on the big toe of NN so that he may be raised, healthy." P. Turin 135, 8: "make seven knots and lay them for the poison"; P. Ch. B. VII, Rt. 3, 8: "I have enclosed it (the poison) in seven knots"; ibid. 8,7: "you (the poison) are confined in seven knots". See also Gardiner, Magic, in Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII (1915), p. 266. Another possibility is of translating $t s$.w bertebrae" and of joining the whole passage to the previous
185) See $J E A, 29$ (1943), p. 18.
186) sfg, par. šts: PT 665 a , see Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., III, p. 224; Sfg-ỉrw: CT I 316 b (Shu) ; II, 58 a; 62 d.
187) Anchnes. 98-99: "Sia, you are the great devourer, the god who makes the fire(?), extinguish it for me".
188) For ccb "tail", see Gardiner, Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, Text, p. 61, n. 2.
words: "at the words of a god with regard to these seven vertebrae of its tail". One should read in that case: $r n n 7 t s . w n{ }^{\circ} b$.s. This seems to be corroborated by a related spell, which follows ours: C 8, 36-27: "the vertebrae of the tail ( ${ }^{c} b$ ) are full of fire"; cf. P. Turin 134, 3, where "the seven vertebrae in its (i.e. the snake's or scorpion's) back" are mentioned ${ }^{189}$ ).
"The protection of Horus is the protection of all people", etc. is a passage, which, abbreviated to "the protection of Horus is a protection" often concludes a scorpion or snake charm: P. Turin 134, 3; 135, 5-6; 137, 4, 6; P. Ch. B. VII, Vs. 6, 6.

## SPELL X

Spell $\mathrm{X}^{190}$ ) again fits into the scheme of the Isis-Horus myth. At the command of Rē Thoth comes from heaven in order to protect Horus, son of Isis, see Comm. on e 7.

The motive of this spell: the various parts of the body belong to Horus, related to the identification spell (h 8-15) and to the "beatifications" of f 7-18, has been taken from the Osiris myth. The parts of the body of Osiris, scattered by Seth, are united for him and belong to him: PT 364 a : "your heart belongs to you, Osiris, your feet belong to you, Osiris, your arms belong to you, Osiris"; P. Louvre 3079, Col. 110, 23 ff.: "your body is united, no part of your body is free (from you) (šw.t im.k, see h 14) ... your head is united ... your eyes are united ..." etc. Eighteen parts of the body are enumerated, from the head to the foot-soles, which are united for Osiris.

Horus, son of Isis, to whom Thoth utters his charm, is the son of Geb (i 4, see Comm. on M 184), Hr wr, the son of Rē (M 143, parallels: the son of Osiris, see Comm. on d 2); $H r$-imy-hnt-ir.ty (see Comm. on i 4), whilst in i 12, as appears from the epithet $k^{3}$-mw.t.f "bull of his mother", he is identified with Min.

Cf. e 7: "Thoth came, provided with magical power, with the high command of justification"; f 27: "I am Thoth, the eldest, son of Ré, with the command of Atum, the father of the gods, that Horus may be healthy for his mother Isis"; P. Turin 118, 9: "I am Thoth, I chase away all wicked, evil things"; M. VII: "to be recited by Thoth, the lord of Hermopolis: I have come from heaven at the command of Rē, in order to make your protection (ir ss.k) and to repeat your protection".

Horus wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and the wrr.t-crown of Upper and Lower Egypt ${ }^{191}$ ), cf. CT I 47 c: "you are Horus, your white crown is on you"; ibid. $257 \mathrm{f}-\mathrm{g}$ : "for you the white crown is fastened on the throne, as it was done by Rē for Horus when he ascended the throne"; Horus and Seth $1,8(\operatorname{LES} 38,1)$ : "that they may put the white crown on his head"; ibid. 16,1 (LES 59, 10-11): "they placed the white crown on his
189) TR 1 is "a spell of the seven $t s \cdot w$ of the mh.t-wr.t". Also in Tb 71, 16 (BD 159, 5-6) "Seven $t s$.w" are mentioned (see ZÄS 10 (1872), pp. 6-7; 50 (1912), pp. 127-129; Petosiris, Description, p. 203), "which support the scales". These $t s$.w ("lords", Copt. खoerc), however, should not be connected with the $t s \cdot w$ of our text.
190) Lit.: W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstele, Leipzig 1877, p. 14; A. Moret, in RHR, 72 (1915), pp. 251-253; G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena 1915, pp. 92-93.
191) wrr.t, a denomination of the white crown of Upper Egypt also, but in i 4 with the determinative of the double crown, see $W b ., I, 333,12$.
head and put him in the place of his father Osiris"; C 2, X, 73 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 121): "you have (like Horus) taken the white crown from the head of (Osiris) Khontamenti"; P. Louvre 3237, 18 ( $R T 14$ (1892), p. 13): "he has received the white crown from his father Usiris"; Urk., VI, 11, 15 ff.: "the white crown was put on him as the king of Upper Egypt, the red crown as the king of Lower Egypt, united as double crown (wrr.t) on his head as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt"; Tb 134, 12 (BD 293, 8) : "NN is Horus, his mother Isis gave birth to him, Nephthys fed him, as they have done for Horus in order to avert the band of Seth. They see the white crown (wrr.t) firm (mn.ti) on his head."

Horus is the lord of the two eyes in the Ennead and at the same time the son of Geb, a syncretism of $H r$-imy-hnt-ir.ty and $H r$-wr, who, as the son of Geb and Nut, was admitted into the Ennead of Heliopolis, see H. Junker, Der sehende und blinde Gott, München 1942, p. 29 ff.; Kees, Götterglaube, p. 259 ff. In the identification spell P. Ch. B., Vs. 2, 6 Hr -imy-hnt-ir.ty watches over the eyes of the patient, as "the lord of the two eyes".
i 5-6 Horus does not breathe hot wind. This is the hot south wind as contrasted with "the sweet breath of the north wind", for which the dead yearn (Tb 182, $5=$ BD 481, 5), cf. P. demot. mag., Vs. 33, 4 (Horus is speaking): "I am ill in my body, fever has seized me, a south wind has caught me"; P. Turin 124, 1-2: "do not come to NN with inimical and hot winds".
i $6 \quad k b h$, properly "tendon", Copt. $\mathbf{k} \omega \overline{\mathbf{k} \boldsymbol{Q}}$, here for the upper arm, beside hpš "fore-arm" (i 7), elsewhere for a part of the leg or the foot (?), see $W b ., \mathrm{V}, 26,1-2$; Gardiner, Onomastica, II, p. 255* (607).
i $8 \quad w \underline{d}^{c}$ "to assign to somebody what he is entitled to": Wb., I, 406, 5, see Gardiner, Notes on the story of Sinuhe ( $R T, 33$ (1911), pp. 91-92) ad Sin. B 191-192.
i 9 "Aton makes your protection", cf. f 7-8: "he who is in his disk (itn) is the protection of Horus".
i 9-10 Shu and Tefnet are the right eye and the left eye of the sun-god respectively (Kees, ZÄS, 57 (1922), p. 109; Götterglaube, p. 235-236). For that reason M has substituted "your eye(s)" for the correct "your two hands".
i 10-11 The four sons of Horus as protectors of the intestines and identified with them ( P . Turin, 125, 9-10; ibid. 23, 1; P. Vat. 19a, 2, 5-6; P. Ch. B. VII, Vs. 4, 5-6; P. bil. Rhind, hierat. I, 2, 10-12, see Gardiner, Onomastica, II, p. 245* ff., further P. Leiden T 32, 1, 9-10 (OMRO, 31 (1950), p. $55=$ Buch vom Durchwandeln ${ }^{192}$ ) 17-18) : "your intestines are in the place indicated to them, the divine children protect them"), do not receive the poison ( $m w$, see h 26 ).

In the food spell 338 of the Pyramid texts the four sons of Horus chase the hunger away that is in the belly (h.t) of the dead one and the thirst that is on his lips (PT $552 \mathrm{~b}-\mathrm{d}$ ).

As possessor of the phallus Horus is $k^{3}$-mw.t.f "the bull of his mother" ${ }^{193}$ ). Here he
192) E. von Bergmann, Das Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit, Wien 1877.
193) In a text on the temple of Hibe (Brugsch, Dict. géographique, p. 1292; Daressy, Rev. Eg. anc., 1 (1929), p. 50) Horus is "the spotted bull ( $s, b$ ) of his mother Isis". In an above (p. 70, n. 59) cited text (Edfu VI, 21, 4) Horus is identified with the Apis bull.
is connected with Min, who is especially entitled to the epithet, see Kees, Götterglaube, p. 201. In CT II, 346 a ( $\mathrm{Tb} 112,12=\mathrm{BD} \mathrm{232}, \mathrm{8-10)} \mathrm{Horus} \mathrm{and} \mathrm{Isis} \mathrm{are} \mathrm{the} \mathrm{parents} \mathrm{of} \mathrm{the}$ four sons of Horus (see Sethe, $Z \ddot{A} S, 58$ (1923), p. 21). In our text Horus is the child of Isis and Osiris, who avenges his father ${ }^{194}$ ) ( $n \underline{d}$ hr it.f: Harendotes), as well as the husband of Isis, who stands up for his children, on account of which he is identified with Min: father and son have become one. Thus an Osirian statue in the temple of Seti I at Abydos is called: Min-Harsiesis (Kees, Z̈̈S, 64 (1929), p. 107; Calverley-Gardiner, The temple of king Sethos I, Vol. III, p. 14).
i 13-14 M has the right text here. B and C 3 apparently reach back to the same archetype: the passage "Khnum has built them (?), Isis has woven them (?); your foot-soles belong to you, Horus", has been wrongly inserted in B ${ }^{195}$ ) and placed outside the context in C 3.

About mn-ty "thighs" and sdh.wy "shins", see h 13-14.

## SPELL XI

Spell XI is related to Spell 289 of the Pyramid texts (PT 430 a-b) : "the bull ( $k^{3}$ ) has fallen on account of the $\dot{s} \underline{d} h w$-snake, the $\dot{s} \underline{d} h\left(w\right.$-snake has fallen on account of the bull ( $k^{3}$ ); fall, glide away." We find this formula again in Tb $149 \mathrm{~g}, 45-46$ (BD 373, 2) : "the $k^{3}-$ snake ( $k^{3}$ with the snake determinative has become $k^{3} . f$ "his ka" in the mss.) has fallen on account of the $s \underline{d} \underline{h} w$-snake; to be repeated reversely". The snake is called "bull", just as in PT 443 c, in 689 b "big bull", in PT 444 b "bull of the hole", cf. PT 227 a-c: "the head of the big, black (?) bull was cut off; hpnw-snake, this has been said to you, hssr-ntr (?)-scorpion, this has been said to you, turn, creep into the earth, I have said this to you". This is why in the parallel texts of PT 430 a and 443 c in the pyramid of Neith, $k^{\prime}$ has got the determinative of "snake". It is possible that the interpretation of $k^{\prime}$ "bull" as snake is secondary, sprung from the principle of similia similibus, as in spells like PT 225 a: "a $n^{c} w$-snake has been conjured by a $n^{c} w$-snake", and that originally with "bull" a god (Horus?) was indicated. In M $84-85$ we read: "I have come at the voice of the son of Isis, the bull of the $n^{c} w$-snake has been bitten" ( $k^{\prime} n^{c} w$, or to be read: $k^{s}$ in $n^{c} w$ : "the bull has been bitten by a $n^{c} w$-snake" ?), where $k^{3}$ or $k^{3} n^{c} w$ is a denomination of Horus. In TR 36, $4 k^{s} n n^{c} w$ "bull of the $n^{c} \mathcal{W}$-snake" is a denomination of the rrk-snake, against which this spell is directed, or of Horus (?).

Beside PT 430 a the $s d h w$-snake further occurs, as enemy of the sun-god, in C $2, \mathrm{XX}$ (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 127): "the great one goes around in the sky, the sd $h w$-snake goes around in his cave, the god goes out after having licked the edge ( $r^{3}$ ? ) of his knife".
"The spear (bis) is in your bones". The snake is speared like Apophis is, see P. Leiden I $350,2,20$ : "the spear $\left(m^{c} b^{s}\right)$ is in the enemy of the sun (nik)"; P. Br. Rh. 22, 9 ff .: "the spell of taking the spear ( $m^{c} b^{s}$ ) in order to hit Apophis"; and the picture on the supporting column of our statue (k). Thus Horus conquers his enemy in the shape of a hippopotamus by planting his spear ( $b i^{\prime}$ ) ten times in succession into ten different parts of the body of this animal: "the first spear is fixed in his nose", etc.: Edfu VI, $64 \mathrm{ff} ., J E A$, 29 (1943), p. 6 ff.
194) See J. Gwyn Griffiths, in JEA, 37 (1951), pp. 32-37.
195) t $t b \cdot t y \cdot k n \cdot k H \not r$ became sn.wy.k ntk $H$ r , see p. 73, n. 88.
"The temple ( $h w . t^{c_{3}} . t$ ) is full, the large sanctuary is full". Is a threat to the snake implied here that the preparations for slaughtering and offering him have been made, just as Apophis is warned that the offering-block is waiting for him (see introduction Spell VI)? In a snake charm P, breast, 11-13 (BIFAO, 30 (1930), p. 93) we perhaps find the same idea: "the altars at Heliopolis are full, the poison of the snake is fire, fire, fire".
"The fire has been laid. Behold, I extinguish it", cf. h 2: "the flame of my mouth has laid the fire, I extinguish it".


b 1-4; d 1-10; e 1-9. SPELLS I, II, III, IV

c 1-4. SPELL IV


g 1-18; k. SPELLS IV, V, VI, VII

i 1-18. SPELLS X, XI
$\theta$
(2)

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[^0]:    1) Hornblende augite alkaline granite, as Dr A. BROUWER, geologist, kindly informed me.
    2) E. Drioton in: Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 172.
    3) ID., Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire 1942, p. 24.
    4) A standing or sitting statue covered with spells against the bites of scorpions and snakes, and carrying in front of it a Horuscippus, see: P. Lacau, Les statues guérisseuses dans l'ancienne Egypte, in: Monum. Piot, 25 (1921-'22), pp. 189-209.
    5) Depicted in R. V. Lanzone, Dizionario di mitologia egizia, Torino 1881, pls. 224-225. Photographs supplied me by the kind offices of Prof. E. Scamuzzi.
    6) Depicted in Guida illustrata, Napoli 1908, pp. 128-129, figs. 43a and b. Photographs supplied me by the kind offices of Prof. A. Maluri.
    7) Depicted in E. Jelínková, Statuette magique No. 238bis de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), pls. 13-18. JelínKová dated this statue in the Ptolemaic period.
    8) See Lanzone, o.c., p. 593.
    9) Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur, München 1914, Text to pl. 68 A.
    10) Schäfer-Andrae, Die Kunst des alten Orients ${ }^{2}$ (二 Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte, II), Berlin 1930, p. 438.
    11) Musée du Louvne, Antiquités égyptiennes, t. II, Paris 1932, p. 522.
    12) Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik (=Äg. Forsch., H. 1), Glückstadt u.s.w. 1936, p. 43.
[^1]:    23) Cf. h 3; the engraver perhaps thought of the bnw-bird (see f 15).
    24) A spelling which already occurs in a papyrus of the 19 th dynasty: P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 3, 1.
    25) See De Buck and Stricker in OMRO, 21 (1940), p. 53.
    26) See De Buck and Stricker in OMRO, 21 (1940), p. 54.
    27) STRICKER in $O M R O, 25$ (1944), p. 82; in the temple libraries of Edfu there were texts against crocodiles and snakes, see De Buck and Stricker, o.c., p. 54, n. 2. Achilles Tatius II, 7 (HF 460) mentions spells of the Egyptians against the stings of wasps and bees. Without doubt these texts belong to
    
    28) De Buck and Stricker, o.c., p. 54.
    29) Stricker in OMRO, 25 (1944), p. 83; E. Jelínková in Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), p. 48, n. 9.
[^2]:    30) Lacau in Monum. Piot, 25 (1921-'22), p. 194 ff .
    31) Lefebvre in BIFAO, 30 (1930), p. 89.
    32) S. Sainte Fare Garnot suggests in Mélanges Picard, II (1949), pp. 905-916 (914), in connection with a pair of vases in the form of Isis with the Horus child, the first (collection Golenischeff) with an unconscious Horus, the second (Berlin 14.476) with a cured Horus in her lap, that from the first vase a liquid (milk) was poured over the statue guérisseuse, which was then caught from the basin of the statue guérisseuse into the second vase, in order to be applied to the patient. He dates the two vases at the end of the 18th or in the 19th dynasty.
    33) OMRO, 22 (1941), p. 9; E. Jelínková, o.c., p. 49-51.
    34) See Lacau, o.c., p. 197, who refers to LaNe, Manners and customs ${ }^{5}$ (1871), pp. 313, 320-322.
    35) In $M$ the actual rubric has not been preserved but the final lines (70-71) point in the same direction.
    36) See M 87-88; C 2, Socle 13 (ASAE, 18 (1919), p. 152; Drioton in Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), pp. 5254; ASAE, 39 (1939), p. 87; Jelínková in Rev. d'égypt., 7 (1950), p. 50.
    37) E. Drioton, Un avertissement aux chercheurs de formules, in: Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), pp. 52-54.
[^3]:    1) Title of spell in L 1: "Spell of exorcizing a scorpion, to be recifed".
    2) Le: "secret place".
    3) Le: "eight".

    3a) "they led $m e$ " omitted by L 1, Le.
    3b) L 1: "prepared my way".
    4) Omitted by L 1 .

    4a) L 1 omits: "because ... alive".
    5) L 1: "come to me with life".
    6) L 1: "her child".

    6a) Omitted by L 1 .

[^4]:    - 7) L 1: "do not fly".

    8) L 1 and Be omit: "go out".
    9) The words "magical in speaking, effective of words" are omitted by L 1.
    10) L 1 inserts "Matet has been killed", see n. 14.
    11) L 1: "do not rise".
    12) L 1: "do not approach".
    13) L 1: "Tetet and Petet".
    14) L 1: "the magician".
    15) The words "do not approach, Matet" are omitted by L 1 , see n. 10 .
    16) L 1: "with power".
    17) Omitted bij L 1.
    18) L 1 continues with: "may the child live and the poison die, then Horus will be healthy for his mother Isis" (see b 2), followed by the rubric.
    19) "to you" omitted by M.
    20) M: "our name".
    21) the reading of $M$; B: "do not look at the noble lady when she goes out".
    22) "do not distinguish ... the humble one", omitted by M.
    23) $M$ inserts: "may K'e live and the poison die".
    24) $\mathrm{M}:$ "and the patient likewise"
    25) M: "the spell".
    26) M: "to me".
    27) Omitted by B.
    28) M: "and every patient will be healthy".
    29) M and L 1 continue: "bread of barley drives out the poison; (M 71) it flees, on account of hmn (L 1: salt) ; M: the heat of garlic (?) drives out the fire in the body"; L 1: "this spell is spoken over bread of barley mixed with salt. To take and to bind on it".
[^5]:    30) C 1: "Another spell, to be recited".
    31) C 2 continues: "The poison of any male and female snake which is in any limb of this man who is poisoned".
[^6]:    32) Not to be repeated in $M$.
    33) "sacred" not in M.
    34) $M$ omits "Horus".
    35) M : "the wailing woman".
    36) M: "with the son Horus".
    37) M: "of $R \bar{e} "$.
    38) M : "and the boat of $R \bar{e}$ will not sail".
    39) $M$ : "with his magic power".
    40) M: "son Horus".
[^7]:    41) M: "and every person who has been bitten likewise".
    42) "Isis divine said" omitted by B.
    43) M: "your magic power".
    44) M: "is complete destruction".
    45) The reading of $M$; B: "I yearned to implore the ka of his father".
    46) M : "the two lands".
    47) M : "in the night".
    48) M: "in his eyes".
    49) $M$ : "in its mummy in its sarcophagus".
    50) M: "flies up".
    51) Omitted by M
[^8]:    51a) M. "the".
    52) M : "the heart of your mother Isis".
    53) The passage: "until Horus ...... likewise" not in B.
    54) M: "for his mother".
    55) M: "flees from mankind".
    56) " $O$, poison" omitted by B.
    57) M: "whom Atum, the father of the gods, has sent to cure Horus for his mother Isis and to cure the patient likewise".
    58) M: "your image protects you".
    59) M: "for it has stung the son of the lady".
    60) "the patient likewise" added by $M$.
    61) "to guard the patient likewise" added by $M$.

[^9]:    62) M: "and give joy to those who are in the evening-boat so that the crew may sail".
    63) M : "(For) Horus lives for his mother Isis, and the patient lives for his mother likewise".
    64) "all people ...... likewise" not in M.
    65) L 3: "at the words".
[^10]:    8) See van Wijngatrden and Stricker. in OMRO, 22 (1941), pp. 6-7. About the various theories, which the Ancients have connected with this representation, see $H P, \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{pp} .87-88$.
    9) P. Turin 124, 5. See Gardiner in Hierat. Pap. BM, Vol. 3, Text p. 56, and Spiegelberg, Horus als Arzt, in ZÄS, 57 (1922), pp. 70-71.
    10) I, 25 (HF 105).
    11) In the P. demot. mag. 20, 1-13 the Anubis child has taken the place of the Horus child.
    12) P . Br. Rh. 7, 14: "I hid in the grove to conceal your son in order to avenge you", Isis says to Osiris.
    13) P. demot. mag. 15, 17-18: The love of Isis for Osiris as mythical antecedent; see Plut. 52 and $H P$, II, p. 228.
    14) Mss. Schmidt 1 and 2 , in $A K Z$, I, pp. 11-14, and II, pp. 3-8, see $A K Z$, III, pp. 5-6.
    15) Aelianus, De nat. animal. X, 23 (HF 420).
    16) Hdd.t at Edfu: see Kees, Götterglaube, p. 59; Miscellanea Gregoriana, p. 419 (75), n. 84.
    17) 3s.t wḥc.t in Edful, II, 25, and Mar. Dend., I, 28.
    18) On register 3 of C 3 , reverse, Isis is represented with a scorpion on her head, so as usually the scorpion goddess Serket.
    19) Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire 1942, p. 82 ff. Cf. B. van de Walle in CdE, 5 (1930), pp. 41-43 and 214-218.
[^11]:    49) See P. Boylan, Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt, London etc. 1922, p. 29 ff.; PW, 2. R., BD. VI (1937), s.v. Thoth, pp. 369-372.
    50) Cf. Augustinus, De civitate dei 8, 27 (HF 59) : eius (= Isidis) consiliario Mercurio. See also HP, I, p. 36. Thoth gives a similar advice to Isis in Edfu VI, 214, 1 ff.
    51) Wb., IV, 372, 7.
    52) PT 1703c: "Your mother Isis gave birth to you at Chemmis"; CT IV 91f; M 168: "I have given birth to Horus, son of Osiris, in the nest of Chemmis". For other passages in support, see A. H. Gardiner in JEA, 30 (1944), p. 54, n. 3.
    53) Herod. II, 156; Plut. 38. See Gardiner, o.c., pp. 54-55.
    
    54) CT II, 209 c ff.: Isis invokes the protection of Atum for her unborn child. See Comm. on d 9.
    55) The bush near Chemmis, see Comm. on M 185.
[^12]:    80) See $J E A, 36(1950)$, p. 67, n. 19.
    81) Pap. Spiegelberg 1, 20 and 2, 3-4: W. Spiegelberg, Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis, Leipzig 1910, pp. 14-15: see B. H. Stricker in $O M R O$, 29 (1948), p. 72.
    82) Urk., II, 16, 6.
    83) Urk., II, 20, 3-7; see Gardiner, Onomastica, II, 193*-199*.
    84) See for this nome: G. Daressy in Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), p. 22 ff.
    85) ZÄS, 17 (1877), p. 14 ff.; see Gauthier, Dict. géogr., II, pp. 124 and 126.
     Jéquier, Le Livre de ce qu'il y a dans l'Hadès, Paris 1894, p. 52; Budge, Heaven and Hell, II, pp. 6 and 8) ; and ir t tbỉ: PT 290a-b, CT II, 296a (see $Z \ddot{A} S, 57$ (1922), p. 30)?
    86) Cf. JEA, 30 (1944), p. 10.
    87) The reverse occurs in i 13.
    88) g 2: "Isis, mistress of Chemmis"; h 13 and 21 ; "mistress of Chemmis, wife of Horus" i.e. Serket, see Comm.
[^13]:    100) Cf. Admon. 14, 3: "The folding-door ( $c_{3}$ ) is shut upon him who slept in the bushes".
    101) Die Metternichstele, p. 9.
    102) Cf. P. demot. mag. 11, 5-6: "I am ... of the great lady under whom the Nile comes out".
    103) ZÄS 67 (1931), p. 127.
    104) See Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, p. 209. About Isis as the goddess of rain in this connection, see H. SchÄfer, in ZÄS, 66 (1931), p. 139.
[^14]:    109) Connected with ${ }^{3} b$ "heart" it means "scandal" or "dissension", Urk., IV, 501, 3: "there is no scandal ( $s s_{n} n-i b$ ) among them". Connected with $d p$ "taste" in Anchnes. 74: "the taste is bad".
    110) L. Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten (= CGC, 1-1294), II, Berlin 1925, pl. 94, p. 106.
    111) H. W. Fairman in JEA, 21 (1935), pp. 28 and 35: "as thou desirest".
    112) See Zandee, Hymnen, p. 34 ff .
[^15]:    113) PT 1082 a: "the sky is pregnant with wine", t.w. the red morning-sky.
    114) PT 854 a: "the ba who is in his red blood".
    115) CT II, 154 a: "Rē, tired with the wounds (nsp.w); Tb 39, 7 (BD 106, 1) "(Rē) tired with the wounds; cf. PT 230 d: "stung is the fatigued one (t.w. Rē) by a $n^{c} w$-snake".
    116) See Sethe, Übersetz. Komn. Pyr., I, p. 363.

    116a) See H. P. Blok, Zur altägyptischen Vorstellung der Himmelsleiter, in AcOr 6 (1928), pp. 257-269.
    117) See Gardiner, Notes on the story of Sinuhe, a.l. (RT, 33 (1911), p. 69).
    118) F. Ll. Griffith, Stories of the high priests of Memphis, 2 vols., Oxford 1900.
    119) Bohairic, without metathesis: ceber.
    120) F. Ll. Griffith, Catalogue of the demotic papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 3 vols., Manchester 1909.

[^16]:    121) BIFAO, 40 (1941), pp. 87-90.
[^17]:    122) See too $Z \ddot{A} S, 57$ (1912), p. 12 n. 1.
    123) See Roscher, Lexikon s.v. Keb.
    124) See Gardiner, Onomastica, I, p. 14* ff.
    125) Kees, Götterglaube, p. 227; see, however, S. Schott, Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Aegypten (=Unters. 15), Leipzig 1945, p. 25 ff.
[^18]:    126) Lit.: W. Golenischeff, Die Metternichstel?, Leipzig 1877, pp. 15-18; H. Brugsch, in ZäS, 17 (1879) p. 6 ff.; P. le Page Renouf, in PSBA, 7 (1885), pp. 168-169; A. Moret, in RHR, 72 (1915), pp. 232-247; G. Roeder, Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten, Jena 1915, pp. 93-97; E. Drioton, Une scène des mystères d'Horus, in Rev. Eg. anc., 2 (1929), pp. 172-179 (publication of the text of our spell with a commentary, together with the parallel text $M$ ) ; E. Drioton, Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire 1942, pp. 23-32.
[^19]:    127) See: Urk., VI, 143, 18, and B. H. Stricker in OMRO, 29 (1948), p. 69. Vikentiev in ASAE, 48 (1948), p. 21 ff ., who connects the Horus myth with the history of Moses, compares the episode of Horus in the nest of Chemmis with Moses in the ark of buirushes (Exodus 2, 3).
[^20]:    141) A. Piankoff, Le coeur dans les textes égyptiens, Paris 1930, p. 36.
    142) Cf. M 202: $m h$ "to be anxious", with the determinative of $m h$ "to float".
    143) Especially of the (Horus) eye, see B. Ebbell, in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 59 (1924), p. 59.
[^21]:    144) Also in the mag. text of Bispegaard, 6 ( $R T$, I (1870), p. 135).
    145) $R U 150$ ff. A new edition of G. Goyon in Kemi, 6 (1936), p. 1 ff.
[^22]:    153) G. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Medineh, I, Le Caire 1938.
    154) About Thoth in the sun-boat, see P. Boylan, Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt, London 1922. p. 58 ff .
    155) See p. 71 , n. 75.
    156) Gardiner in JEA, 36 (1950), p. 50, n. 3: "self-confident"; A. Piankoff, Le coeur dans les textes égyptiens, Paris 1930, p. 109: "glad". Cf. C 42206, d 8 (Legrain, Statues et statuettes, III, p. 15) : "I am full of confidence ( $w r$ $\quad \mathfrak{i b} \cdot \boldsymbol{i}$ ), for I am just to your Ka"; ibid. f 2: "how self-confident he is (wr wyib.f).
    157) Thus also the expression $c_{3} n h_{3} t$ in demotic has got the meaning of "too self-confident, haughty": P. demot. Insinger 4, 13. Ibid. 27, 17 hy $n h r$ has the parallel $c_{3} n$ h.s.t. See: A. Volten, Das demotische Weisheitsbuch (=Analecta aegyptiaca, II), Kopenhagen 1941, pp. 74-75.
[^23]:    163) The spelling of B arose in connection with the negation $m n$ : Wb., II, 59.
    164) About $\underline{h} n n$ "cosmic disturbance", see PT 304 a and Wb., III, 383, 20.
    165) See H. Kees in $Z \ddot{A} S$, 59 (1924), pp. 69-70.
    166) See about the sun-dials of which is thought here: L. Borchardt, Altägyptische Zeitmessung (= Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren, hrsg. v. E. v. Bassermann-Jordan, Bd. I, Lief. B), Berlin und Leipzig 1920, p. 26 ff.; R. W. Sloley, in JEA, 17 (1931), pp. 170-174.
    167) F. Ll. Griffith, Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob, 2 vols., London 1898.
[^24]:    175) Lit.: E. Drioton in Kev. Eg. anc., 1 (1927), pp. 133-137.
[^25]:    177) Not with the gods themselves, see the first four identifications (h $\delta-9$ ), and the identification of the heart (h 11-12).
    178) PT Spell 215 (148 a-149 a) ; PT Spell 539 ( $1303 \mathrm{a}-1315 \mathrm{~d}$ ); Tb 42, 5-10 (BD 112-113); Tb 172, 11-30 (BD 445-448) ; Litanie du Soleil (ed. Naville) pl. 14, 34 ff. (Seti I); 20, 39 ff. (Merneptah); 32, 31 ff. (Seti II) ; M. u. K., Rt. 3, 6-5, 2; Vs. 4, 8-5, 7; P. Vat. 19 a, 2, 1-4, 11; P. Turin 125, 5-11; M 1533. Cf. also PT $135 \mathrm{a}-\mathrm{b}$; Tb 151, 1-4 (BD 382, 6-8) ; P. Leiden I 348, Rt. 8, 7.
[^26]:    183) wdi kn as a denomination of Seth: Louvre C 286, 22; Urk. VI, 59, 4; 87, 5; cf. Comm. on M 169: ir kn.
