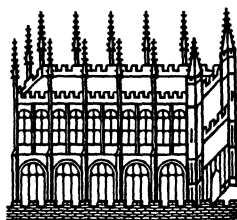


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ANIMAL METAPHOR
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EGYPTIAN DETERMINATIVE SYSTEM

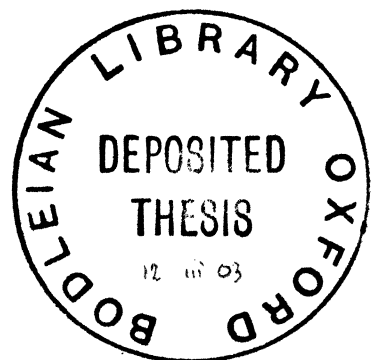
— THREE CASE STUDIES —



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Worcester College

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Oxford

Trinity 2002 [re 2003]



The oldest name for our village was Immortal Heart. Precious Auntie taught me how to write this down on my chalkboard.

Watch now, Doggie, she ordered, and drew the character for 'heart': See this curving stroke? That's the bottom of the heart, where blood gathers and flows. And the dots, those are the two veins and the artery that carry the blood in and out. As I traced over the character, she asked: Whose dead heart gave shape to this word? How did it begin, Doggie?

Amy Tan, *The Bonesetter's Daughter* (2001)

ABSTRACT

Many languages, both ancient and modern, make use of devices similar to determinatives in Egyptian by which the meaning of a word can be made more specific. But determinatives are especially rich in their capacity for expression, particularly regarding words for abstract concepts through their extensive use of visually-based metaphor. Egyptological research is only now beginning to explore the many levels at which the system functioned. My thesis centres around the metaphorical usages of three signs – the Seth animal, the panther, and the crocodile.

The introduction lays out my aims, methods, and textual sources. The first chapter sets my analysis against the backdrop of current research, beginning with a discussion of how determinatives have been treated in the past, comparing that with a survey of how modern linguistics has approached comparable systems in other languages, and finally laying out my own approach to the three signs under study. In the following three case study chapters, I first survey the evidence for how each animal was perceived in the ‘real’ world, before moving into a detailed analysis of their significance in the script, which is based on a contextually-grounded, diachronic study of the distribution patterns of each of the signs in five genres of text from the Old to the New Kingdom. In a final chapter, I compare my conclusions about the three determinatives, discussing their commonalities and singularities, and relating the results of the individual case studies to the workings of the system as a whole.

My aim is not only to achieve a better understanding of the particular shades of meaning these three animal signs impart to each of the words they determine, thereby leading to a better understanding of these words, but also to examine the wider conceptual metaphors the three determinatives represent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It seems fitting to begin this thesis with an acknowledgement of all those without whom it could not have been completed, who have been invaluable sources of support, encouragement, and comfort during the last few years.

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Trinity 2002.

CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	i
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ii–iii
<i>List of contents</i>	iv–x
<i>List of figures</i>	xi–xix
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xx
INTRODUCTION	1–14
0.1 The determinative system	1
0.2.1 Aims	3
0.2.2 Methods and sources	4
0.2.2.1 Religious texts	5
0.2.2.2 Medico-magical texts	7
0.2.2.3 Royal texts	9
0.2.2.4 Non-royal texts	10
0.2.2.5 Narrative and literary texts	10
0.3 Determinatives as a research tool	12
1. DETERMINATIVES IN RESEARCH – PAST AND PRESENT	15–46
1.1 Overview	15
1.2 Past treatment of determinatives	15
1.3 Goldwasser and determinatives	18
1.3.1 Rosch and categorisation	18
1.3.2 Determinatives and categorisation	21
1.3.3 Goldwasser’s approach – analysis	23
1.3.3.1 Establishing levels of cognition	23
1.3.3.2 The naming of categories	24
1.3.3.3 Natural and ad hoc categories	26
1.3.3.4 Metaphor and (re-)classification	27
1.4 Determinatives, prototypes, and attributes	31
1.4.1 Classifier languages	34
1.4.1.1 The usage and significance of classifiers	35
1.4.1.2 Classifiers, abstracts, and metaphor	38
1.4.2 Determinatives, abstracts, and metaphor	40
1.4.2.1 Defining metaphor in the determinative system	40

1.4.2.2 The death of metaphors	43
1.5 The study of determinatives – parameters and limitations	44
2. THE SETH ANIMAL	47–225
2.1 INTRODUCTION	47–53
2.1.1 Overview	47
2.1.2 Form and meaning	48
2.1.3 The Seth animal as a hieroglyph	52
2.2 RELIGIOUS TEXTS	54–123
2.2.1 The <i>Pyramid Texts</i>	54
2.2.1.1 Non-figurative usage	54
• <i>sth</i> • <i>nwbty</i>	
2.2.1.2 Figurative usage	57
• <i>nšn</i>	
2.2.2 The <i>Coffin Texts</i>	60
2.2.2.1 Non-figurative usage	60
• <i>sth</i> • <i>wḏꜥ</i> , <i>nwbty</i> • <i>š3</i> • <i>3krw</i>	
2.2.2.2 Figurative usage	85
• <i>nšn</i> • <i>ḳrr</i> • <i>ḥnnw</i> • <i>mr</i> , <i>mn</i>	
2.2.3 The <i>Book of the Dead</i>	105
2.2.3.1 Non-figurative usage	
• <i>sth</i>	
2.2.3.2 Figurative usage	111
• <i>nšn</i> • <i>ḥnnw</i> • <i>ḳri</i> • <i>nhs</i>	
2.2.4 Discussion	120
2.2.4.1 Seth and storm	120
2.2.4.2 Seth and suffering	121
2.2.4.3 The significance of 	122
2.2.4.4 Form, meaning, and identity	123
2.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS	124–54
2.3.1 Non-figurative usage	124
• <i>sth</i> • <i>bꜥr</i> • <i>š3</i> • <i>ꜥ3</i>	
2.3.2 Figurative usage	135
• <i>nšn</i> • <i>ḳri</i> • <i>ḥnnw</i> • <i>sh3</i> • <i>khb</i> • <i>ih</i> • <i>nḳm</i>	

2.3.3 Genre Study 2.1: Sethian determinatives in P. Leiden I 343+345	146
2.3.4 Discussion	153
2.4 ROYAL TEXTS	155–74
2.4.1 Non-figurative usage	155
• <i>sth</i> • <i>nwbty</i> • <i>ʕ</i> • <i>š</i>	
2.4.2 Figurative usage	158
• <i>nšn</i> • <i>snm</i> • <i>kri</i> and <i>h3h3ti</i> • <i>swh3</i>	
2.4.3 Genre Study 2.2: Sethian determinatives in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos	163
2.4.4 Genre Study 2.3: Sethian determinatives in the Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu	166
2.4.5 Discussion	174
2.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS	175–97
2.5.1 Non-figurative usage	175
• <i>sth</i> • <i>nwbty</i> • <i>nbwy</i> • <i>š</i>	
2.5.2 Figurative usage	178
• <i>nšn</i> • <i>hnn</i> • <i>nmʕ</i> • <i>swh3</i> • <i>hmhmt</i> • <i>sr</i>	
2.5.3 Genre Study 2.4: Sethian determinatives in Letters to the Dead	187
2.5.4 Genre Study 2.5: Sethian determinatives in the Hatnub graffiti	193
2.5.6 Discussion	196
2.6 NARRATIVE AND LITERARY TEXTS	198–219
2.6.1 Non-figurative usage	198
• <i>sth</i> • <i>ʕ</i> and <i>htrw</i>	
2.6.2 Figurative usage	206
• <i>k3hs</i> • <i>hnn(w)</i> • <i>swh3</i> • <i>ʕ</i> • <i>nmʕ</i> • <i>nšny</i> • <i>kri</i> • <i>phph</i> • <i>sr</i>	
2.6.3 Discussion	219
2.7 CONCLUSIONS: Seth's metaphorical associations as a determinative	220–25
2.7.1 Aggression – celestial and mundane	220
2.7.2 Affliction and suffering	222
2.7.3 Form and meaning	222
2.7.3.1  versus 	222
2.7.3.2  versus 	224
2.7.4 The Seth animal and the embodiment of chaos	225

3. THE PANTHER	226–338
3.1 INTRODUCTION	226–32
3.1.1 Overview	226
3.1.2 The leopard, the cheetah, and 𐩧𐩢𐩨	226
3.1.2.1 Depiction in art	226
3.1.2.2 Captioned scenes	228
3.1.3 The meaning of 𐩧𐩢𐩨	231
 3.2 RELIGIOUS TEXTS	 233–75
3.2.1 The <i>Pyramid Texts</i>	233
3.2.1.1 Non-figurative usage	233
• <i>b3</i>	
3.2.1.2 Figurative usage	236
• <i>pḥty</i> • <i>3t</i> • <i>3sb</i> • <i>k33</i> • <i>k3</i>	
3.2.2 The <i>Coffin Texts</i>	247
3.2.2.1 Non-figurative usage	247
• <i>b3</i>	
3.2.2.2 Figurative usage	248
• <i>3t</i> • <i>pḥty</i> • <i>3sb, bst</i> • <i>k33</i> • <i>3ḥwt</i> • <i>ḥm3tt</i>	
3.2.3 The <i>Book of the Dead</i>	267
3.2.3.1 Figurative usage	267
• <i>3t</i> • <i>pḥty</i>	
3.2.4 Discussion	273
3.2.4.1 The panther and brightness	273
3.2.4.2 The panther and strength	274
3.2.3.4 Evolution and identity	274
 3.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS	 276–80
3.3.1 Non-figurative usage	276
• <i>3by</i>	
3.3.2 Figurative usage	276
• <i>b3</i> • <i>3t</i> • <i>pḥty</i>	
3.3.3 Discussion	280

3.4 ROYAL TEXTS	281–303
3.4.1 Non-figurative usage	281
• <i>3by</i>	
3.4.2 Figurative usage	283
• <i>phty</i> • <i>3t</i> •	
3.4.3 Genre Study 3.1: The inscriptions of Seti I at Abydos	290
3.4.4 Genre Study 3.2: The inscriptions of Ramses III at Medinet Habu	293
3.4.5 Discussion	302
3.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS	304–25
3.5.1 Non-figurative usage	304
• <i>b3</i> and <i>3by</i>	
3.5.2 Figurative usage	309
• <i>nb3</i> • <i>phty</i> • <i>3t</i> • <i>bst</i> • <i>k3</i> • <i>shmt</i> • <i>ks</i>	
3.5.3 Discussion	324
3.6 NARRATIVE AND LITERARY TEXTS	326–32
3.6.1 Overview: the panther in narrative and literary texts	326
3.7 CONCLUSIONS	333–38
3.7.1 Metaphoricity and identity	333
3.7.2 From pelt to perspectivisation	333
3.7.3 Alternations with other signs	335
3.7.1  and 	335
3.7.2  and 	336
3.7.3 Obsolescence and evolution – the changing role of the panther	337
4. THE CROCODILE	339–495
4.1 INTRODUCTION	339
4.1.1 The crocodile as an animal	339
4.1.2 The crocodile as a sign	340
4.1.3 The crocodile as a metaphor	341
4.2 RELIGIOUS TEXTS	343–414
4.2.1 The <i>Pyramid Texts</i>	343

4.2.1.1 Non-figurative usage	343
• <i>sbk</i> • <i>msh</i> and <i>hnty</i>	
4.2.1.2 Figurative usage	345
• <i>3dm</i> (?)	
4.2.2 The <i>Coffin Texts</i>	348
4.2.2.1 Non-figurative usage	348
• <i>sbk</i> • <i>msh</i> • <i>hmw</i> • <i>hnty</i>	
4.2.2.2 Figurative usage	366
• <i>3d</i> • <i>s3k</i> • <i>sšd</i> • <i>ks</i> • <i>skn</i> • <i>hn</i>	
4.2.3 The <i>Book of the Dead</i>	389
4.2.3.1 Non-figurative usage	389
• <i>sbk</i> • <i>msh</i> • <i>swy</i> • <i>hnty</i> • <i>hmw</i>	
4.2.3.2 Figurative usage	403
• <i>ks</i> and <i>sšd</i> • <i>3d</i> • <i>s3k</i> • <i>ity</i> • <i>snk</i>	
4.2.4 Discussion	409
4.2.4.1 Associations of the crocodile in religious texts	409
4.2.4.2 The correlation between sign form and meaning	409
4.2.4.3 Combination and alternation with other signs	412
4.2.4.4 The crocodile as a dangerous sign in religious texts	412
4.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS	415–33
4.3.1 Non-figurative usage	415
• <i>msh</i> • <i>m^cg3</i> and <i>sbk</i>	
4.3.2 Figurative usage	424
• Crocodilian epithets • <i>s3k</i> • <i>3d</i> • <i>sšd</i> • <i>npw</i> (<i>k3pw</i>)	
4.3.3 Discussion	433
4.4 ROYAL TEXTS	434–48
4.4.1 Non-figurative usage	434
• <i>msh</i> • Crocodilian epithets – <i>dpy</i>	
4.4.2 Figurative usage	437
• <i>s3k</i> • <i>3d</i> • <i>ity</i> • <i>sšd</i> • <i>k3pw</i>	
4.4.3 Genre study 4.1 – The Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut	446
4.4.4 Discussion	447

4.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS	449–64
4.5.1 Non-figurative usage	449
• <i>msh</i>	
4.5.2 Figurative usage	452
• <i>3d</i> and <i>s3k</i> • <i>hn</i> • <i>hn</i>	
4.5.3 Discussion	463
4.6 NARRATIVE AND LITERARY TEXTS	465–88
4.6.1 Non-figurative usage	465
• <i>msh</i> • Epithets – <i>hnty</i> • <i>dpy</i> and <i>hnty</i> • <i>k3pw</i> • <i>mrytyw</i>	
4.6.2 Figurative usage	473
• <i>ity</i> • <i>3d</i> • <i>3f/3fy</i> • <i>hnty</i> • <i>skn/snk</i> • <i>nh3</i> • <i>sn</i> • <i>s3k</i>	
4.6.3 Discussion	487
4.7 CONCLUSIONS	489–95
4.7.1 The crocodile and its metaphoricity	489
4.7.2 Crocodilian metaphors and the real world	489
4.7.3 The crocodile in the metaphorical world	491
4.7.4 Graphic perspectivisation	493
4.7.5 The crocodile and the ambivalence of power	494
5. CONCLUDING WORDS	496–500
5.1 Overview	496
5.2 Similarities and differences	496
5.3 Iconicity and visually-based metaphor	497
5.4 The purpose of determinative assignment	499
5.5 The world in words	500
BIBLIOGRAPHY	500–31

APPENDIX 1: An Evil Influence? Seth's Role as a Determinative, particularly in Letters to the Dead

1–11

LIST OF FIGURES¹

Title page	PAGE
• Seth animal hieroglyph in the <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Unas. Photograph: Elizabeth Frood.	–
• Panther hieroglyph in the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93). Davies 1958, pl. 2.	–
• Crocodile sign in papyrus of Nu. Lapp 1997, pl. IV.	–
Introduction	
0.1 Determinative of <i>ib3</i> from the tomb of Khnumhotep, Beni Hasan. After Lepsius <i>DM II</i> , 125.	2
Chapter 1	
1.1 The category [Furniture]. Based on Taylor 1995, 44, table 3.1.	19
Chapter 2	
2.1a–b Seth animals on Scorpion Macehead. After Ashmolean squeezes and photographs.	48
2.2 The head of the god Seth. Jensen 1934, 10, fig. 3	49
2.3 Seth on the stela of Aapehty. Shaw and Nicholson 1995, 264.	49
2.4 Seth animal from temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht. After Borchardt 1909, 90.	49
2.5 Seth animal sign (?), <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Ibi, l. 86. After Jéquier 1935, pl. 5.	55
2.6 Bubalis sign (?), <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Ibi, l. 33. After Jéquier 1935, pl. 3.	56
2.7a Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Unas, §298b. Piankoff 1968, pl. 16.	57
b Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Senwosretankh, l. 399. After Hayes 1937, pl. 7.	57
2.8a Determinative of <i>sšn</i> , <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Ibi, l. 5. After Jéquier 1935, pl. 3.	57
b Determinative of <i>sšn</i> , <i>Pyramid Texts</i> of Ibi, l. 5. After Jéquier 1935, pl. 3.	57
2.9 Tail terminations of Seth animal sign in Senwosretankh. After Hayes 1937.	58
2.10 Seth animal sign in the <i>Coffin Texts</i> . After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	61
a. M1C, l. 35. b. M1C, l. 62. c. A1C, l. 138. d. A1C, l. 140. e. G2T, l. 70.	
f. G1T, l. 125. g. G1T, l. 410. h. G1T, l. 279. i. G1T, l. 83. j. G1T, l. 202.	
2.11a Seth animal sign, T2L, l. 96. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	61
b Seth animal sign, T2L, l. 97. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	61

¹ Author's drawings are indicated by 'After'.

2.12 Anubis deity sign (?), S10C. After de Buck 1935–61, VI. 406j.	61
2.13a. Lion sign, G1T, l. 182. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	75
b. Lion sign, A1C, l. 181. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	75
c. Lion sign, M21C, l. 42. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	75
2.14 <i>wḏ3</i> , S10C, l. 218. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	76
2.15a. Seth animal sign, S1C, l. 406. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	78
b. Donkey sign, S1C, l. 406. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	78
2.16a. Seth animal (?), B3C, l. 71. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	83
b. Seth animal (?), B7C, l. 13. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	83
2.17 <i>sr</i> in Sq6C, 91. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	84
2.18 Giraffe signs in the <i>Coffin Texts</i> . After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	84
a. M20C, l. 4 b. S1C, l. 464. c. G1T, l. 365. d. B16C, l. 119 e. B16C, l. 119.	
2.19 <i>nšn</i> B2L, 458. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	91
2.20 <i>hnnw</i> in B10C, l. 230. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	101
2.21 Determinative of <i>mnt</i> in B4L, l. 124. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	102
2.22 Determinative of <i>mrt</i> in B4L, l. 33. After <i>Coffin Texts</i> archival photographs, Leiden.	104
2.23 Determinatives of <i>rḥwy</i> in Pa, <i>BD</i> 80. After Naville 1886, pl. 91.	110
2.24 <i>rḥwy</i> in Pa, <i>BD</i> 123. After Naville 1886, pl. 131.	110
2.25 <i>nṯrwy</i> in Pa, <i>BD</i> 180. After Naville 1886, pl. 204.	110
2.26 <i>nšn</i> in Tjenana, <i>BD</i> 146. After Naville 1886, pl. 163.	112
2.27a. Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> in Yuya, <i>BD</i> 125. After Naville 1908, pl. 25.	116
b. Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> in Amenemhat, <i>BD</i> 125.	
After Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 44.	116
2.28 <i>nhs</i> in Siptah, <i>BD</i> 145. After Naville 1886, pl. 157.	119
2.29 <i>nhs</i> in P. Gardiner II, <i>CT</i> 1028. After de Buck, VII. 250p.	120
2.30 Seth animal determinative, P. BM 10309 (1, 17). After Leitz 1999, pl. 9.	132
2.31 Seth animal determinative, P. Harris (5, 4). After Leitz 1999, pl. 16.	132
2.32a. Determinative of ʕ, P. Kahun (1, 18). After Griffith 1898, pl. 5.	133
b. Determinative of ʕ, P. Kahun (1, 5). After Griffith 1898, pl. 5.	133
2.33a. Seth animal sign, P. Ebers (47, 14). After Ebers 1875, I, pl. 27.	133
b. Seth animal sign, P. Ebers (24, 13). After Ebers 1875, I, pl. 24.	133
2.34a. Determinative of ʕ, P. Berlin 3038 (6, 4). After Wreszinski 1909, pl. 6.	133
b. Determinative of ʕ, P. Berlin 3038 (10, 12). After Wreszinski 1909, pl. 10.	133
2.35a. Animal sign (?), P. Ramesseum III (A, 27). After Barns 1956, pl. 19.	135
b. Animal sign (?), P. Ramesseum III (fr. 66). After Barns 1956, pl. 19.	135
2.36a. Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , P. Edwin Smith (19, 1). After Breasted 1930, II, pl. 19.	136

b. Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , P. Edwin Smith (19, 2). After Breasted 1930, II, pl. 19.	136
2.37a. Rainy sky sign, P. Edwin Smith (19, 19). After Breasted 1930, II, pl. 19.	136
b. Sky sign, P. Edwin Smith (18, 3). After Breasted 1930, II, pl. 18.	136
2.38 Determinative of <i>nšnw</i> , P. BM 10105 (1, 3). After Leitz 1999, pl. 48.	138
2.39 Determinative of <i>nšty</i> , P. BM 9997 + 10309 (1, 12). After Leitz 1999, pl. 1.	139
2.40 Determinative of <i>kri</i> , P. Harris (5, 8). After Leitz 1999, pl. 16.	139
2.41 Determinative of <i>ih</i> , P. Edwin Smith (17, 13). After Breasted 1930, II, pl. 17.	143
2.42 Determinative of <i>nkmt</i> , P. Leiden I 348 (6, 7). After Borghouts 1971, pl. 23.	145
2.43 Determinative of <i>nkm</i> , P. Turin (I, 3). After Pleyte and Rossi 1869–76, II, pl. 131.	146
2.44 Determinative of <i>bʿr</i> , P. Leiden I 343+345. After Massart 1954, pl. 10.	149
2.45 Sample orthographies of <i>m33.t hr sth</i> .	155
a. Nefretkau. Simpson 1978, pl. 16a.	
b. Neferhanebty. Borchardt 1910–13, II, pl. 48.	
c. Nebet. After Fischer 1974, 95, fig. 1.	
d. Iput. After Jéquier 1933, pl. 43.	
e. Neith. After Jéquier 1933, pl. 17.	
2.46 Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , P. Kahun LV (19). After Griffith 1898, pl. 2.	158
2.47 Determinative of <i>swh3</i> , Amada stela. Author's photograph.	163
2.48 Determinative of <i>sth</i> , Abydos. After CA II, pl. 19.	164
2.49 Determinative of <i>nšn</i> , Abydos. After CA I, pl. 23.	166
2.50 Horus and Seth signs, Medinet Habu. After MH V, pl. 289.	168
2.51 <i>ks</i> , Abydos. After CA IV, pl. 19.	168
2.52 Determinative of <i>š3</i> , Medinet Habu. After MH II, pl. 101.	169
2.53 Determinative of <i>š3</i> , Karnak. After Epigraphic Survey 1936, pl. 34.	170
2.54a. Determinative of <i>swh</i> , Medinet Habu. After MH I, pl. 23.	172
b. Bull logogram, Medinet Habu. After MH I, pl. 23.	172
2.55a. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH IV, pl. 207 (14).	173
b. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH II, pl. 87, (3).	173
2.56a. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH IV, pl. 241A (9).	173
b. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH II, pl. 114 (10).	173
2.57a. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH I, pl. 43 (24).	173
b. Seth sign, Medinet Habu. After MH I, pl. 35 (14).	173
2.58 Sample Seth signs, Medinet Habu.	174
a. MH III, pl. 182. b. MH I, pl. 37 (21). c. MH II, pl. 28 (45)	
d. MH IV, pl. 207. e. MH IV, pl. 240B (2) f. MH VI, pl. 480 (5)	

Non-royal

2.59 Seth on coffin of Henen, Louvre. Author's photograph.	175
2.60 Offering formula, statue of Sennefer. Petrie 1896, pl. 78.	176
2.61a. Hunting scene in tomb of Baqet III, Beni Hasan. Newberry 1898, II, pl. 4.	177
b. Hunting scene in tomb of Khety, Beni Hasan. Newberry 1898, II, pl. 13.	177
2.62 Determinative of <i>sr</i> , Wadi Hammamat (206, 2). After Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 39.	184
2.63 Logogram-determinative of <i>sr</i> , inscription of Sarenput (9). Habachi et al. 1985, pl. 24.	185
2.64 Seth sign, inscription of Sarenput (8). Habachi et al. 1985, pl. 23.	185
2.65a. Determinative of <i>nhi</i> . After Lüddeckens 1943, 147.	186
b. Determinative of <i>nhi</i> . Boeser et al. 1905–32, IV, pl. 15.	186
2.66 Seth sign, P. Chester Beatty I (2, 1). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 2.	201
2.67a. Seth sign, P. Chester Beatty I (9, 4). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 9.	202
b. Seth deity sign, P. Chester Beatty I (9, 4). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 9.	202
2.68a. <i>hr s3 3st</i> , P. Chester Beatty I (10, 10). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 10	202
b. <i>hr</i> , P. Chester Beatty I (9, 7). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 9.	202
2.69a. <i>hdt hr tp</i> , P. Chester Beatty I (1, 8). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 1.	203
b. <i>wd3t.f</i> , P. Chester Beatty I (10, 4). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 10.	203
2.70a. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Anastasi VII (2, 7). After British Museum 1844, pl. 112.	204
b. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Sallier II (7, 5). After British Museum 1844, pl. 16.	204
c. Determinative of ʕ3, Louvre 11. After Piankoff 1933, pl. 6.	204
d. Determinative of ʕ3, BM 29550. After British Museum 1868, pl. 11.	204
2.71a. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Amherst (A (B) 8). After Newberry and Crum 1899, pl. 1	204
b. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Berlin 3023 (B1, 42). Vogelsang and Gardiner 1908, pl. 5	204
c. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Butler (I. 23). After Griffith 1892, pl. 1.	204
d. Determinative of ʕ3, P. Ramesseum A (fragment).	204
After Vogelsang and Gardiner 1908, pl. 2.	
2.72 Determinative of <i>htrw</i> , P. Petersburg 1116B (rto 19).	205
After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 23.	
2.73 <i>htrw</i> in CGC 20499. Lange and Schäfer 1902–25, IV, pl. 34.	206
2.74 Determinative of <i>k3hs</i> , P. Prisse (I, 12). After Jéquier 1911, pl. 1.	206
2.75 Dog sign, P. Petersburg 1115 (I. 165). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 7.	207
2.76a. Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> , P. Prisse (6, 5). After Jéquier 1911, pl. 3.	207
b. Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> , P. BM 10409 (2, 7). After Budge 1910, pl. 35.	207
2.77 Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> , P. Moscow 4658 (25). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 9.	211
2.78 Determinative of <i>swh3</i> , P. Chester Beatty I (vso C2, 8). After Gardiner 1931, pl. 23.	213
2.79 Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> , P. Boulaq IV (9, 3). After Mariette 1871, I, pl. 22.	214

2.80 Determinative of <i>hnnw</i> , P. Boulaq IV (9, 5). After Mariette 1871, I, pl. 22.	214
2.81 Determinative of <i>ʕ</i> , P. Boulaq IV (10, 7). After Mariette 1871, I, pl. 23.	214
2.82 Determinative of <i>nšny</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 32). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 2.	216
2.83 Determinative of <i>nšny</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 98). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 4.	216
2.84 Determinative of <i>kri</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 57). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 3.	216
2.85 Determinative of <i>ršny</i> , P. Boulaq IV (10, 2). After Mariette 1871, pl. 23.	218
2.86 Determinative of <i>sr</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 155). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 7.	218
2.87a. Determinative of <i>sr</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 32). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 2.	218
b. Determinative of <i>sr</i> , P. Petersburg 1115 (l. 97). After Golenishchev 1913, pl. 4.	218

Chapter Three

3.1 Leopard in reliefs, Sun Temple of Niuserre. Edel 1961, fig. 12.	228
3.2a. Leopard and cheetah in tomb of Baqet III, Beni Hasan. Newberry 1893, II, pl. 4.	229
b. Lion in scene above. Newberry 1893, II, pl. 4.	229
c. Leopard in scene above. Newberry 1893, II, pl. 4.	229
3.3 Leopard and cheetahs in reliefs at Deir el-Bahri. After Naville 1893–1908, III, pl. 80.	230
3.4a. Sem-priest taking off panther skin, Sun Temple of Niuserre. Smith 1933, fig. 5.	232
b. Sem-priest beside panther skin, Sun Temple of Niuserre. Smith 1933, fig. 5.	232
3.5 Attendant carrying garment, tomb of Metjen. Smith 1933, fig. 4.	232
3.6 Determinative of <i>bʕ</i> , <i>PT</i> 485. After Leclant et al. 2001, pl. 7.	235
3.7 Determinatives of <i>ʕwt</i> , <i>PT</i> 502A, Pepi I: §1074. After Leclant et al. 2001, pl. 9.	238
3.8a. <i>ʕt</i> in Senwosretankh: l. 310. After Hayes 1937, pl. 5	239
b. <i>ʕt</i> in S l. 398. After Hayes 1937, pl. 5.	239
c. <i>ʕt</i> in S l. 418. After Hayes 1937, pl. 5.	239
3.9 <i>ʕt</i> in Teti: §297c. Author's photograph.	239
3.10 Determinative of <i>ʕt</i> in <i>PT</i> 501, Pepi I: Leclant et al. 2001, pl. 9.	243
3.11a. <i>ʕsb</i> in Unas: §324b. Piankoff 1968, pl. 21.	243
b. <i>ʕsb</i> in Senwosretankh: l. 410. After Hayes 1937, pl. 5.	243
c. <i>ʕsb</i> in Siese, SW l. 14. After de Morgan et al. 1903, 82.	243
3.12 Determinative of <i>bʕ</i> , Siese SW l. 26. After de Morgan et al. 1903, p. 83.	243
3.13 <i>bʕ</i> in <i>CT</i> 49, B16C l. 111. After Leiden archival photographs.	247
3.14 Determinative of <i>pḥty</i> in <i>CT</i> 512, B9C l. 105. After de Buck VI. 97b.	248
3.15 Sample orthographies of <i>ʕt</i> in the <i>Coffin Texts</i> . After Leiden archival photographs.	254
a. A1C l. 95. b. G2T l. 61. c. T9C l. 343.	
d. Sq6C l. 97. e. T3L l. 43. f. B6C l. 64	
3.16 Comparisons of <i>ʕt</i> and <i>pḥty</i> determinatives in the <i>Coffin Texts</i> .	255

After Leiden archival photographs.	
a. G1T ll. 110, 63.	b. B4C ll. 36, 164. c. B3Bo, ll. 159, 118.
3.17 Determinative of <i>3t</i> in CT 1181, B5C l. 298.	257
3.18 Determinative of <i>bnt</i> (=bst) in CT 469, B2L l. 345.	263
3.19 Determinative of <i>k33</i> in CT 270, Sq6C l. 97.	263
3.20 Determinative of <i>3hwt</i> in CT 193, B2Be l. 20.	265
3.21 Determinative of <i>hm3tt</i> in CT 312, B6C l. 69.	265
3.22a–b. Determinatives of <i>3t</i> and <i>phty</i> in BD 28, Amenemhat.	267
After Gardiner and Davies 1917, pl. 42.	
3.23a–b. Determinatives of <i>3t</i> and <i>phty</i> in BD 28, Baksu.	267
After Munro 1995a, pl. 3.	
3.24 Determinative of <i>3t</i> in BD 54, Ani. After Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 15.	268
3.25 Determinative of <i>phty</i> in BD 108, P. Reinisch.	271
After Thausing and Kerszt-Kratschmann 1969, pl. 12.	
3.26 Determinative of <i>phty</i> in BD 108, Nu. After Lapp 1997, pl. 23.	271
3.27a–c. Determinatives of <i>phty</i> in BD 108, Kha.	271
After Schiaparelli 1927, p. 56.	
3.28 Determinative of <i>phty</i> in BD 138, Ptahmose.	272
After Naville 1886, pl. 162	
3.29 <i>3t</i> in P. Turin 54003 rto. 13. Roccati 1970, pl. 1.	277
3.30 <i>3t</i> in P. Turin 54003 vso. 23. Roccati 1970, pl. 2.	277
3.31 <i>3by</i> on the Amada stela of Amenhotep II. Author's photograph.	281
3.32 Cheetah determinative (?) of <i>3by</i> , Deir el Bahri. After Naville DB V. 125.	282
3.33 Corrections to <i>3by</i> orthography at Deir el Bahri. After Naville DB III. pl. 74.	282
3.34 <i>3by</i> determinative in Annals inscriptions of Thutmose III (Louvre). Author's photograph.	283
3.35a–c. <i>phty</i> on the stela of Tetisheri. Lacau 1909, pl. 2–3.	285
3.36 Determinatives of <i>phty</i> in inscriptions at Deir el Bahri.	288
a. DB III. 60. b. DB V. 144. c. DB VI. 167.	
3.37 <i>3t</i> on the Tetisheri stela. Lacau 1909, pl. 3.	289
3.38 <i>3t</i> in Deir el Bahri.	289
a. DB VI. 152. b. DB VI. 160. c. Naville DB VI. 165.	
3.39 <i>3t</i> at Deir el Bahri. After Naville DB III. 57.	289
3.40 <i>nbyt</i> at Abydos.	290
a. After CA I. 13. b. After CA I. 33. c. After CA II. 12. d. After CA II. 19.	
3.41 <i>phty</i> at Abydos.	292
a. After CA III. 53. b. After CA III. 48. c. After CA IV. 13.	

d. After <i>CA</i> III. 61. e. After <i>CA</i> III. frontispiece.	
3.42 Lion sign in <i>h3t</i> . After <i>CA</i> III. 9.	292
3.43 Determinative of <i>phty</i> in tomb of Seti I. Hornung 1992, pl. 119.	292
3.44 Determinative of <i>3by</i> , <i>MH</i> I. 28, 62.	293
3.45 Determinative of <i>3by</i> , <i>MH</i> II. 4, 6.	293
3.46 <i>3t</i> at Medinet Habu.	295
a. After <i>MH</i> I. 46, 3. b. After <i>MH</i> I. 46, 33	
c. After <i>MH</i> II. 68, 4. d. After <i>MH</i> II. 94, 18.	
3.47a. Determinative of <i>phty</i> , <i>MH</i> I. 16, 14.	295
b. Horse determinative in caption, <i>MH</i> I. 16.	295
3.48 The panther-headed plumes of Ramses III's horses. <i>MH</i> I. 23.	295
3.49 The panther-headed plumes of Ramses II's horses, Karnak. Author's photograph.	296
3.50 The panther-headed prows of Ramses III's warships. <i>MH</i> I. 39.	299
3.51 Manacles on prisoners at Medinet Habu.	300
a. Sea Peoples prisoner. After <i>MH</i> I. 44. b. Syrian prisoner. After <i>MH</i> II. 78.	
3.52 <i>b3</i> in stela of Nedji. Badawy 1940, pl. 46.	305
3.53 <i>b3 sm3</i> garment in mastaba of Khufukaef. Simpson 1978, pl. 30.	306
3.54a. <i>b3 smc</i> in the offering list of Khabausokar. Murray 1905, pl. 1.	307
b. <i>b3 smc</i> in the offering list of Neferhotephathor. Murray 1905, pl. 2.	307
c. <i>b3 smc</i> in offering list of Rahotep. Robins 1997, 23, fig. 14.	307
3.55 Determinative of <i>nb3</i> in mastaba of Mereruka. Wreszinski 1923–40, III, pl. 29.	309
3.56 <i>phty</i> in the inscription of Amenemhab (TT 85). Photograph: John Baines.	312
3.57 Determinative of <i>3t</i> in the inscription of Amenemhat, Wadi Hammamat.	314
Cuyat and Montet 1912, pl. 13.	
3.58 <i>bst</i> on false door of Djefau. Petrie and Murray 1952, pl. 14.	317
3.59 <i>bst</i> in the tomb of Kaninesut. Junker 1934, fig. 20.	317
3.60a. Animal headed object in tomb of Debehen, Giza. Hassan 1941, 170, fig. 119.	318
b. Animal headed object in tomb of Meresankh, Giza. Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 8.	318
3.61 <i>m3st</i> in the offering list of Meresankh. Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 9.	319
3.62 <i>k3</i> on the false door of Khabausokar. Murray 1905, pl. 1.	320
3.63 <i>k3</i> in fragment of offering list. Seipel 1993, 100.	321
3.64 <i>b3</i> in fragment of offering list. Seipel 1993, 100.	321
3.65 Determinative of <i>shmt</i> in a Hatnub inscription. Anthes 1928, pl. 26.	322
3.66 <i>ks</i> in stela of Irtyzen. Author's photograph.	323
3.67 Determinatives of <i>phty</i> in <i>Instructions of Ani</i> , P. Boulaq IV. 21, 7.	328
After Mariette 1871–76, I, pl. 20.	

3.68 Determinatives of <i>ph</i> ty in <i>Instructions of Ani</i> , P. Boulaq IV. 21, 14. After Mariette 1871–76, I, pl. 20.	328
3.69 Lion sign in <i>Instructions of Ani</i> , P. Boulaq IV. 22, 7. After Mariette 1871–76, I, pl. 21.	328
Chapter Four	
4.1a. <i>sbk</i> in Unas, <i>PT</i> 301. Piankoff 1968, pl. 35.	344
b. <i>sbk</i> in Unas, <i>PT</i> 308. Piankoff 1968, pl. 9	344
4.2 Sample of crocodile effigy logographic writings of <i>sbk</i> .	390
a. Kha, <i>BD</i> 108. After Schiaparelli 1927, 57.	
b. Ani, <i>BD</i> 88. After Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 27.	
c. Amenhotep, <i>BD</i> 171. After Naville 1898, pl. 192.	
d. Nebseni, <i>BD</i> 71. After Naville 1898, pl. 83.	
e. Neferrenpet, <i>BD</i> 88. After Speleers 1917, pl. 36.	
f. Neferubenef, <i>BD</i> 71. After Ratié 1968, pl. 10.	
g. Baksu, <i>BD</i> 171. After Munro 1995, pl. 1.	
4.3 Vignettes of <i>BD</i> 88.	395
a. Nu. Lapp 1997, pl. 31.	
b. Nebseni. Hornung 1979, 178, fig. 47.	
c. Nebqed. Naville 1886, pl. 100.	
d. Qenna. Naville 1886, pl. 100.	
e. Neferrenpet. Ratié 1968, pl. 36.	
f. P. Reinisch. Thausing and Kerszt-Kratschmann 1969, pl. 1.	
g. Ani. Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 27.	
4.4 Vignettes of <i>BD</i> 31, 32.	398
a. Kha. Hornung 1979, 98, fig. 19.	
b. Tjenana. Naville 1886, pl. 44.	
c. Neferrenpet. Hornung 1979, 99, fig. 18.	
4.5a. <i>3d</i> in Amenhotep, <i>BD</i> 29A. After Naville 1886, pl. 40.	404
b. <i>3d</i> in Amenhotep, <i>BD</i> 29A. Botti 1964, pl. 10.	404
4.6a. <i>3dw</i> in Yuya, <i>BD</i> 144. After Naville 1908, pl. 20.	405
b. <i>3dw</i> in Horemakhbit, <i>BD</i> 147. Naville 1886, pl. 166.	405
4.7 <i>3t</i> in Ani, <i>BD</i> solar hymn. After Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 1.	406
4.8 <i>s3k</i> in Ani, <i>BD</i> 147. Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 33.	407
4.9 <i>ity</i> in Amenhotep, <i>BD</i> 141–43. Naville 1886, pl. 153.	408
4.10 <i>snk</i> in Horemakhbit, <i>BD</i> 146. After Naville 1886, pl. 140.	408

4.11a. <i>m^cg3</i> in P. Harris (9,9). After Leitz 1999, pl. 20.	423
b. <i>m^cg3</i> in P. Harris (9,11). After Leitz 1999, pl. 20.	423
4.12 <i>sbk</i> in P. Harris (7, 11). After Leitz 1999, pl. 18.	423
4.13a. <i>sbk</i> in P. Berlin 3027 (rto. 1, 1). After Erman 1901, 46, n. 5.	424
b. <i>sbk</i> in P. Berlin 3027 (rto 5, 3). After Erman 1901, 46, n. 5.	424
4. 14 <i>sbk</i> in P. BM 9997+10309 (3, 10). After Leitz 1999, pl. 3.	424
4.15a. <i>pn</i> in P. Edwin Smith (5, 3). After Breasted 1930, pl. 5.	433
b. <i>k3p</i> in P. Edwin Smith (4, 3). After Breasted 1930, pl. 4.	433
c. <i>npw</i> (=k3pw) in P. Edwin Smith (5, 3). After Breasted 1930, pl. 5.	433
4.16 Determinative of <i>ʿbs</i> , Medinet Habu. <i>MH</i> IV, pl. 201 (12).	436
4. 17 <i>sbk</i> in Medinet Habu.	436
a. After <i>MH</i> VII, pl. 546 (2).	
b. After <i>MH</i> VII, pl. 582D (2).	
c. After <i>MH</i> VII, pl.585E.	
4.18 <i>s3k</i> in Berlin Leather Roll. After Stern 1874, pl. 1.	437
4.19 <i>s3k</i> in P. Kahun LV. After Griffith 1898, pl. 1.	438
4.20 Stela of Pataweret. Sadek 1987, pl. 3.	450
4.21 <i>3d</i> in Wadi Hammamat. Couyat and Montet 1912, pl. 5.	452
4.22 <i>hnty</i> in Wadi Hammamat. Golenishchev 1891, pl. 8.	454
4.23 <i>3d</i> in stela of Intef. Simpson 1974, pl. 12.	455
4.24 <i>s3k-ib</i> in Hatnub. After Anthes 1928, pl. 28.	456
4.25 Mourning song from tomb of Renni. Lüddeckens 1943, 41, figs. 14a–b.	461

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used below follow the standard set by the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I. In addition to these, I also use the following:

<i>CA</i>	Calverley <i>Abydos</i> (1933–59)
<i>CT</i> Index	The Coffin Texts Index (van der Plas and Borghouts 1998)
<i>DB</i>	Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1893–1908)
<i>DM</i>	Lepsius <i>Denkmaler</i>
<i>FCD</i>	Faulkner concise dictionary (1962)
<i>HT</i>	Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum (various)
<i>LED</i>	Late Egyptian dictionary (Lesko and Lesko 1982–90)
<i>MH</i>	Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1930–70)

For the *Pyramid Texts*, I use the following:

W	Unas
T	Teti
P	Pepi I
M	Merenre
N	Pepi II
S	Senwosretankh

0.1 The determinative system

The functions of determinatives in the Egyptian script are usually summed up in a few lines in grammar books; for example, according to Allen (2000, 28), they ‘indicate the general idea of the word’ and ‘are also a useful guide to knowing where one word ends and the next one begins’. Determinatives have many such practical applications. In a script that recorded no vowels, they are often the sole means of distinguishing between homographs, for example: *hni*  ‘to alight’ and *hni*  ‘to play music’.

Determinatives may relate to their word in different ways, as has been recognised since the time of Champollion’s *Grammaire* (1836), and these have been variously characterised by scholars (see further 1.1). I am particularly interested in the distinction between their figurative and non-figurative usages, which are illustrated by the determinatives of the following three words:

 ʕ3 ‘ass’  *rm* ‘to weep’  *m3ʕt* ‘justice, truth’

 bears the closest relation to its word, being an iconic representation of the signified.  also bears a close relation to its word, but is the representation of its word’s action through an exemplar, a human eye. By contrast,  has a less direct connection to its word, since the signified, ‘truth, justice’, cannot itself take physical form in the same way as ‘ass’ or ‘to weep’. While  and  can thus be described as being non-figurative in ʕ3 and *rm*,  functions figuratively, metaphorically lending its associations to *m3ʕt* in order to render visible the otherwise invisible signified.

The hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts expressed many words visually, both through logographic writings and through the use of determinatives, relying heavily on metaphor. The centrality of metaphor in language has been advocated especially by the linguist George Lakoff (1980, 1986), and has been recognised in Egyptology by Paul John Frandsen (1997, 81):

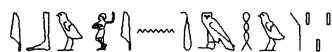
the world is metaphorically structured. Metaphors are far from being the kind of embellishment, or expression of poetic license that we usually associate with this word.

In basic terms metaphor is the mapping of associations from one semantic sphere to another.

But the metaphoricity of determinatives in Egyptian has as much to do with the nature of the words they determine as with the determinative itself, and thus is very much dependent on

context. In the case of abstract signifieds, determinatives are usually implicitly metaphorical, since they lend their physical form to that which has none of its own (e.g. β in $m\beta^c t$). However, often it is the wider context of the word that renders the determinative figurative or non-figurative; for example, the relations between determinative and word in $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow ib\beta$ ‘to dance’ are different in each of the three contexts below:

Naville *DB* IV, 90:

*ibw in tmhw*

Dancing by Libyans.

These words caption a scene of men dancing, so that the dancing man determinative is a direct exemplar of its word's signified, although not an exact duplication of their movement.

Urk. IV 19, 10 (Karnak stela of Ahmose; Lacau 1909, pl. 1):



niw hr ib3 m inwt

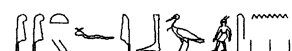
... ostriches dance in the wadis ...

In this example, although the dancing man determinative is still an exemplar of *ib3*, the action is applied not to human beings but to ostriches, so that contextually its function is more figurative.

Newberry 1893, I, 26, 186–87:

Fig. 0.1

(tomb inscription of Khnumhotep):



šwty.f ib3.sn

... his two feathers dance ...

On the one hand, the determinative of *ib3* is at its most figurative in this example, because the referents of the action of the verb are not animate beings, despite the presence of the exemplar-determinative. On the other hand, in this case the determinative is slightly adapted, so that it melds the customary human exemplar and the specific action of the feathers, producing an even closer representation of its signified than in the first example (Fig. 0.1). Thus, context is vitally important in establishing the metaphoricity of determinatives, as is the representational form they take.

0.2.1 Aims

The primary purpose of this thesis is to present a contextually-grounded, diachronic analysis of the metaphorical usages of three selected determinatives – the Seth animal, the panther, and the crocodile – within five broad categories of text (see 0.2.2), ranging in date from the Old Kingdom until the end of the New Kingdom. My aim is not only to achieve a better understanding of how these three animal signs hone the meaning of words they determine, but also to explore the workings of the determinative system to which they belong, focusing on the signs' role as vehicles for metaphor within it. I chose to focus on three animal signs for specific reasons. First, animal signs display a broad range of functions as determinatives. They may play a simple iconic role in which they echo the signified of their word in an image, or they may display more complex figurative associations, epitomising a quality or an action. The Seth animal, panther, and crocodile are three of the most common figuratively-used animal determinatives.¹ Moreover, although animals are not entirely 'immune from all the variable cultural determinants found in other areas of human experience' (so Berlin 1992, 9) as is evidenced by the *gavagai* controversy,² they provide a familiar frame of reference. Even the composite Seth animal has its origins in the real animal world (see further 2.1.2).

The first chapter contextualises my approach against the background of current research into the workings of the determinative system by Orly Goldwasser and others, and sites the three determinatives under study within a wider linguistic context. The following three chapters are contextual analyses of the uses of each animal determinative in turn.

In order to understand the metaphoric relations between a word and its determinative, the determinative's associations must first be established. Each of the chapters on specific animals is therefore introduced by a brief discussion of the form or forms the animal takes as a linguistic sign, and of their possible meanings, and examines how these relate to representations of the animal in the 'real' world. Although the subsequent contextual analysis sections focus principally on the animals' metaphorical associations, each begins with a survey of the non-

¹ My M. Phil dissertation (1998) was a survey of the uses of all the animal determinatives attested in the *Wörterbuch*. Only the bull rivals the number of words in which the Seth animal, panther, and crocodile occur, but it is mostly attested in non-figurative contexts in the names of bovids.

² An illustration of the hidden traps in translation (e.g. Foley 1997, 171). If a native speaker continually speaks the word '*gavagai*' when he sees a rabbit, the linguist assumes that *gavagai* means 'rabbit'. However, if *gavagai* is a mass noun, it should mean rather 'rabbit stuff', thus not a particular animal, but the elements of which it is composed.

figurative contexts in which the determinative is used, followed by a more detailed discussion of its figurative uses and a summary of the determinative's role in each genre. The concluding sections of each chapter compare the results of the five contextual analysis sections and draw together significant patterns in the distribution of the three determinatives over time, such as their groupings with other signs, the determinatives with which they alternate, and the graphic and semantic evolution of their forms. The concluding chapter compares and contrasts the uses of the three determinatives, as well as the similarities and differences in their functions.

0.2.2 Methods and sources

I collected my basic data set by reading through the selected texts, noting instances of words in which the Seth animal, the panther, or the crocodile occurred. The five contextual analysis sections are arranged by word, those in which the determinative plays a non-figurative role being discussed first (mainly the animals' names and epithets), followed by those in which the determinative is more figurative. Certain texts in which the determinative occurs in a number of different words have been treated as separate studies within their genres.

For reasons of space, it has not been possible to deal with genres comprehensively, and so I have opted for a more detailed study of a representative group of hieroglyphic and hieratic texts within each genre (described below). Within this more restricted group, patterns in determinative distribution are clear and therefore could be used as the basis for a more comprehensive treatment of individual genres, although this is beyond the scope of the present work.

In my analysis of the selected texts, I have used published corpora both in autograph and typescript, but, where possible, I have consulted facsimile copies to check the original forms of signs. Where the form of the sign differs significantly from its representation in publication, I have either incorporated it as a figure or have cited a reference to a publication, the latter mainly in cases where the quality of a photograph is not high enough to reproduce.

Affinities inevitably exist between some of the texts in the categories described below. However, while their separation into genres may be problematic, some organisation of the data was necessary for the sake of clarity. Moreover, the chosen arrangement is borne out by the patterns observed in the determinatives' distribution within them. The selection of texts for my database and the reasons for choosing them are discussed below.

0.2.2.1 Religious Texts

Within the potentially vast category of religious texts, I concentrate on the tradition of mortuary texts assembled as *Pyramid Texts*, *Coffin Texts*, and the *Book of the Dead*, excluding for the most part texts like hymns unless they occur within those groups. Even within these narrowed parameters, it has not been possible to treat the genre comprehensively. New texts, particularly *Pyramid Texts*, are continually coming to light and the corpus of known texts, not all of them published, is vast. It has therefore been necessary to select particular examples of the three groups.

Within the possible corpus of *Pyramid Texts*, I focus on the texts of Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, and Pepi II, published by Sethe (1908–22), supplementing the original publication of Unas with Piankoff's photographic publication (1968), of Pepi I with the edition by Leclant et al. (2001), and of Pepi II with Jéquier's collation (1936). I have also included the texts of Neith (Jéquier 1933), Oudjebten, and Ibi (both in Jéquier 1935) from the Old Kingdom, and of Senwosretankh (Hayes 1937), Neha (Chassinat 1910), and Siese (de Morgan et al. 1903) from the Middle Kingdom. While I agree with Mathieu (2001) that there is no real distinction between *Pyramid Texts* and *Coffin Texts* beyond the medium on which they are inscribed, the manner in which they have been published imposes a dividing line. Since de Buck did not include spells which he considered to be copies of *Pyramid Texts* in his publication of the *Coffin Texts*, the data I present from the two corpora differs considerably. Thus, although the texts of Senwosretankh, Neha, and Siese are closer in date to the *Coffin Texts*, they show more of an affinity with the spells of the published *Pyramid Texts*; I therefore group them with the latter.

As the basis for my study of *Coffin Texts* manuscripts, I have relied upon de Buck's edition (1935–61), supplemented by the photographic archives of the *Coffin Texts* project in the University of Leiden and of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. I have made extensive use of the index published by van der Plas and Borghouts (1998), hereafter cited as the 'CT Index', to check my results.

For the *Book of the Dead*, I used Naville's edition (1886) as a basis for gathering a list of spells in which the three determinatives under study occurred. I supplemented this basic data set by looking at the versions of these spells in various published manuscripts which are not in Naville, using Hornung's (1979) assembly of variants as a tool and considering only New

Kingdom examples. This selection resulted in a corpus of 17 manuscripts, all of them on papyrus except for the text of Amenemhat, which is on the walls of his tomb (TT 82). Fragmentary texts, or texts that include only one or two instances of a determinative, have either been excluded from my presentation of results or are mentioned only in passing.

Table 0.1: *Book of the Dead* manuscripts selected

OWNER	DATE	PUBLICATION	CITED BY
Amenemhat	Dyn. 18	Davies and Gardiner 1915	plate and line number (spell)
Amenhotep	Dyn. 18	Naville 1886	plate and line number (spell)
Baksu	Dyn. 18	Munro 1995a	plate and line number (papyrus)
Iahmes	Dyn. 18	Munro 1995b	plate and line number (papyrus)
Kha	Dyn. 18	Schiaparelli 1927	page and line number (spell)
Mesemnetjer	Dyn. 18	Naville 1886	plate and line number (spell)
Nebseni	Dyn. 18	Naville 1886 British Museum 1876	plate (Naville 1886 unless otherwise specified) and line number (spell)
Neferubenef	Dyn. 18	Naville 1886 Ratié 1968	plate (Ratié 1968 unless otherwise specified) and line number (spell)
Nu	Dyn. 18	Lapp 1997	plate and spell line number
P. Reinisch	Dyn. 18	Thausing and Kerszt-Kratschmann 1969	plate and line number (spell)
Qenna	Dyn. 18	Naville 1886	plate and line number (spell)
Yuya	Dyn. 18	Naville 1908	plate and line number (spell)
Ani	Dyn. 19	Faulkner et al. 1998	plate and line number (spell)
Hunefer	Dyn. 19	Budge 1899	plate and line number (spell)
Horemakhbit	Dyn. 19	Naville 1886	plate and line number (spell)
Nebqed	Dyn. 19	Naville 1886 Devéria and Pierret 1872	plate (Naville 1886 unless otherwise specified) and line number (spell)
Neferrenpet	Dyn. 19 (Hornung 1979) Dyn. 20 (Allen 1974)	Speleers 1917	plate and line number (spell)

0.2.2.2 Medico-magical texts

The definition of this genre begins with the question of whether one should attempt to establish boundary lines between magic and medicine. Ritner (1997, 4–5) described ancient Egyptian magic as being bounded on the one side by medicine, and on the other by religion, stating that theoretical distinctions between the three are ‘untenable’. Nevertheless, publications such as the *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter* (1954–73) or Borghouts’ *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (1978) implicitly operate on the basis of such a distinction, even though the ancient texts themselves do not always separate the types. Collections such as P. Ebers or P. Hearst, which are often referred to as ‘medical papyri’ since they focus on the cure of physical ailments with various natural remedies, usually supplement these remedies with magical spells. Even the manuscript of the manual of surgical techniques in P. Edwin Smith, which Nunn (1996, 96) called ‘the model of pragmatism’, also includes a number of magical incantations. Moreover, Case 9 of that papyrus relies on what Breasted (1930, 217) disparagingly termed ‘sympathetic magic’ which equates the fractured skull of the patient with an eggshell that is then incorporated into the cure.

One solution to this problem of definition is to treat both types together as ‘medico-magical texts’. Rather than being ‘non-committal’ (so Ritner 1997, 1, 6), this term acknowledges that there is a complementary relationship between medicine and magic. The two are bound together by their common aim to identify and to cure physical and mental affliction. Their relation to religion, in turn, may be understood in terms of how they set out to accomplish this aim. The effectiveness of a cure relies variously on combinations of medical ingredients, magical words, and mythic precedent. Sometimes, all three work together to implement the cure. Thus, religion has an instrumental role in medico-magical texts, which incorporate narrative episodes about deities, or hymns to them, in order to strengthen the efficacy of a remedy or spell (Frankfurter 1995).

Nunn (1996, 52–53) has convincingly argued that the physician let the nature of the ailment he was treating decide the nature of the treatment. In the case of a flesh wound, the causes of which were apparent, he could apply direct, surgical techniques of the sort described in P. Edwin Smith. However, when the cause of the ailment was not apparent, a supernatural solution was often sought. Therefore, although it is still possible to maintain a distinction between magical and medical texts on the basis of their *modi operandi*, I consider them

together since the objective is the same in a remedy from P. Ebers, a surgical technique from P. Edwin Smith, or an incantation from the Harris Magical Papyrus.

Whereas there is an established corpus of so-called ‘medical’ texts (compare the lists in Ghalioungui 1963, 48, Bardinet 1995, 15–19, and Nunn 1996, 25), there is no comparable grouping of magical texts. I have therefore relied upon the anthology of Borghouts (1978), eliminating texts which fell outwith my chronological boundaries or yielded no data. Since my criterion for the selection of texts within this ‘medico-magical’ genre is essentially the purpose of the compositions, I have included the dream-book in P. Chester Beatty III. Although this is perhaps not an obvious medico-magical text (but for dreams as ailments, see Jacq 1985, 104–5), it too seeks to understand the nature of a human condition that is generally the result of a supernatural cause.

Table 0.2: Corpus of medico-magical texts

SOURCE (cont.)	DATE	PUBLICATION
Ankhhmahor (Tomb)	Dyn. 6	Capart 1907
P. Turin 54003	Dyn. 11–12	Roccati 1970
P. Kahun (UC 32057)	Dyn. 12	Griffith 1898
P. Ramesseum III-V	Dyn. 12	Barns 1956
Harhotep (Papyrus)	Dyn. 12	James 1962
P. Berlin 3027	Dyn. 12	Erman 1901
P. Edwin Smith	Dyn. 18	Breasted 1930
P. Ebers	Dyn. 18	Wreszinski 1913
P. Hearst	Dyn. 18	Wreszinski 1912; Reisner 1905
P. BM 10059	Dyn. 18	Wreszinski 1912; Leitz 1999
P. Berlin 3038	Dyn. 19	Wreszinski 1909
P. Turin (no number)	Dyn. 19	Roccati 1972
P. Chester Beatty III	Dyn. 19	Gardiner 1935
P. Leiden I. 348	Dyn. 19	Borghouts 1971
P. Leiden I. 343 + 345	Dyn. 19	Massart 1954
Magical ostrakon	Dyn. 19–20	Shorter 1936
P. British Museum 10105	Dyn. 19–20 (?)	Leitz 1999
P. BM 10042 (P. Harris 500)	Dyn. 19–20	Leitz 1999

SOURCE (cont.)	DATE	PUBLICATION
P. BM 9997 + 10309	Dyn. 20	Leitz 1999
P. BM 10309	Dyn. 20	Leitz 1999
Magical statue of Ramses III	Dyn. 20	Drioton 1939

0.2.2.3 Royal texts

The available sources for royal texts are unevenly distributed, with much more evidence for later periods than for earlier. Since I selected only extended inscriptions for study, the list for the Old and Middle Kingdoms is short. For the Old Kingdom, I have only the (mostly negative) data from royal texts published in Sethe's *Urkunden* I. For the Middle Kingdom, the only texts of sufficient length for the present study that yielded data are: the Building Inscription of Senwosret I (de Buck 1938), the Boundary Stelae of Senwosret III (Semna: Sethe 1928; Uronarti: Janssen 1953), the cycle of hymns dedicated to the same king (Griffith 1898), and the Abydos Inscription of Neferhotep (Pieper 1929; Helck 1995). For the New Kingdom, the choice of sources is much broader. As a basic source for the Second Intermediate Period and the 18th Dynasty, I used the royal texts collected by Helck in his *Historische-biographische Texte* (1995) and *Urkunden* IV. I supplemented the inscriptions of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri with Naville's facsimile publication (1898–1908); since it was not always possible to check the original of the texts published in autograph in *Urkunden* IV, Naville's publication allowed a detailed study of the forms of the signs of at least one source. For reasons of space, certain sources had to be omitted, for example the royal inscriptions at Karnak, which bear complex relations to one another and span such a broad period of time that they are more suited to a separate study.

Due to the sheer volume of textual evidence from the Ramesside period, I selected two sets of temple inscriptions for detailed study: the texts of Seti I in his temple at Abydos (Calverley 1933–59), and those of Ramses III in his temple at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1930–70). The meticulous publication of both of these sources allowed for a detailed orthographic study. This data was supplemented by a sampling of texts from the first two volumes of Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*, which were selected because they include examples of the determinatives under study: the Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri (*KRI* I. 45–58); the Beth Shan Stela of Seti I (*KRI* I. 11–12); the Kadesh Poem and Bulletin (various

sources) of Ramses II (*KRI* II. 2 –147); and the First Marriage Stela of Ramses II (*KRI* II. 233–56).

0.2.2.4 Non-royal texts

The texts within this category, rather diverse but all produced by non-royal individuals, are of three principal types. The first is biographical tomb and stela inscriptions from the Old Kingdom to the 18th Dynasty, gathered mainly from the publications of Sethe and Helck (*Urkunden* I, IV, VII). I supplemented this data set with the publications of Old, Middle, and New Kingdom stelae in the Cairo Museum, published respectively by Borchardt (1937–64), Lange and Schäfer (1902–25), and Lacau (1909). For the Middle Kingdom I gathered further data from the publications of the shrine of Heqaib at Elephantine (Habachi et al. 1985) and tombs at Mo’alla (Vandier 1950), Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893), Bersha (Newberry and Griffith 1892).

The second type of inscription within this genre is graffiti, gathered from two sites – Hatnub (Anthes 1928) and Wadi Hammamat (Couyat and Montet 1912). The final type is letters, all but one (Baer 1966) addressed to the dead from various sources: Gardiner and Sethe 1928; Gardiner 1930; Simpson 1966; Wentz 1975–76; the other letters I surveyed contained no relevant data (collation in Wentz 1990).

0.2.2.5 Narrative and literary texts

Despite the contentiousness of the term ‘literature’ as a designation for the various tales, poetry, and instructional texts that are usually gathered together under that name in modern anthologies (e.g. Simpson et al. 1973; Lichtheim 1973, 1976), membership of the genre is generally not disputed even if the texts are characterised by another term (e.g. ‘poems’ in Parkinson 1997). I surveyed a selection of narrative tales, instructional texts, harper’s songs, and love poems, and also the Late Egyptian miscellany texts gathered by Gardiner (1937). Dating the texts is controversial and cannot be discussed in detail in this thesis. Thus, I list the texts from which I gathered data with a note assigning the text either to the Middle or the New Kingdom. The dates of individual manuscripts are discussed in the contextual analyses where relevant.

Table 0.3: Corpus of narrative and literary texts

TITLE AND PRINCIPAL MSS	PUBLICATION (HIEROGLYPHIC; HIERATIC)	DATE
<i>Instruction for Kagemni</i> (P. Prisse)	Gardiner 1946b; Jéquier 1911	MK
<i>Instruction of Ptahhotep</i> (P. Prisse)	Žába 1956; Jéquier 1911	MK
<i>Instruction of Amenemhat</i> (P. Millingen)	Helck 1969; Lopez 1963	MK
<i>Prophecy of Neferti</i> P. St Petersburg 1116B	Helck 1970b; Golenishchev 1916	MK
<i>Admonitions of Ipuwer</i> P. Leiden 344 rto	Gardiner 1909a; [Photographs: R. Enmarch]	MK
<i>Instruction for Merikare</i> P. St Petersburg 1116A	Helck 1977; Golenishchev 1916	MK
<i>Instruction of Khety</i> P. Sallier II; P. Anastasi VII	Helck 1970; Budge 1910	MK
<i>Tale of Sinuhe</i> P. Berlin 3022	Koch 1990; Gardiner 1909	MK
<i>Eloquent Peasant</i> P. Berlin 3023; P. Berlin 10499	Parkinson 1991; Vogelsang and Gardiner 1908	MK
<i>Tales of Wonder</i> P. Westcar (P. Berlin 3033)	Blackman and Davies 1988; Erman 1890	MK
<i>Shipwrecked Sailor</i> P. St Petersburg 1115	Blackman 1932; Golenishchev 1916	MK
<i>Dispute of a Man with his Ba</i> P. Berlin 3024	Faulkner 1956; Barta 1969	MK
<i>Instruction of Ani</i> P. Boulaq IV	Quack 1994; Mariette 1871–76	NK
<i>Instruction of Amenemope</i> P. BM 10474	Lange 1925; Budge 1923	NK
<i>Doomed Prince</i> P. Harris 500 vso	Gardiner 1932; Budge 1923	NK
<i>Tale of the Two Brothers</i> P. d'Orbiney (P. BM EA 10183)	Gardiner 1932; British Museum 1860	NK
<i>Truth and Falsehood</i> P. Chester Beatty II (P. BM EA 10682)	Gardiner 1932; Gardiner 1935	NK
<i>Contendings of Horus and Seth</i> P. Chester Beatty I rto	Gardiner 1932; Gardiner 1931	NK
<i>Tale of Wenamun</i> P. Moscow 120	Gardiner 1932; Korostovtsev 1960	NK

TITLE AND PRINCIPAL MSS (cont.)	PUBLICATION (HIEROGLYPHIC; HIERATIC)	DATE
<i>Legend of Astarte</i> P. Amherst IX	Gardiner 1932; Newberry and Crum 1899; Collombert and Coulon 2000	NK
<i>Tale of Apophis and Sequenre</i> P. Sallier I	Gardiner 1932; British Museum 1844	NK
<i>Love songs</i> P. Chester Beatty I	Mathieu 1996a; Gardiner 1931	NK
<i>Love songs</i> O DM 1266, O CGC 25218	Mathieu 1996a; Posener 1971	NK
<i>Harper's song</i> Tomb of Neferhotep	Lichtheim 1945	NK
<i>Harper's song</i> Tomb of Paser	Lichtheim 1945	NK
<i>LEM: P. Koller</i>	Gardiner 1937; Gardiner 1911	NK
<i>LEM: P. Turin C</i>	Gardiner 1937; hieratic not published	NK
<i>LEM: P. Turin D</i>	Gardiner 1937; hieratic not published	NK
<i>LEM: P. Lansing</i>	Gardiner 1937; Budge 1923	NK
<i>LEM: P. Anastasi II</i>	Gardiner 1937; British Museum 1844	NK
<i>LEM: P. Koller</i>	Gardiner 1937; Gardiner 1911	NK
<i>LEM: P. Sallier IV</i>	Gardiner 1937; British Museum 1844	NK
<i>LEM: P. Bologna</i>	Gardiner 1937; Lincke 1878	NK

0.3 Determinatives as a research tool

One of the primary advantages determinative research has to offer is a better understanding of words. Regarding the inaccuracies of translation from Egyptian, Gardiner once commented (1952, 6):

The only basis we have for preferring one rendering to another, when once the exigencies of grammar and dictionary have been satisfied – and these leave a large margin for divergencies – is an intuitive appreciation of the trend of the ancient writer's mind.

Accurate translation is a problematic issue in all languages; with an ancient language, the difficulties are multiplied. But words have a much wider significance than just being labels on

containers.³ Many linguists have claimed that they mirror the thinking processes of the human mind and therefore can be used to research human conceptualisation of the world. The Whorfian school of linguistic anthropology advocated the twin concepts of linguistic determinism and relativity, which state that the speakers of different languages have different world views because language shapes thought. Perhaps the most widely known and transmitted example of this in linguistics is the anecdote regarding the number of words for snow in Eskimo languages like Inuit, which are lacking in English. Although it has been stated a number of times that this is not true, it continues to be cited.⁴ Even if it were true that expressions for snow in Inuit vastly outnumbered those in English, what would this mean? Would it mean that English-speakers could not conceive of as many types of snow as Inuit-speakers? As the linguist Albert Katz put it (1998, 14):

We do not have, for instance, a lexical item to describe the type of snow that, as a child, you awaken to on a cold, clear Sunday morning, bright and clean, glistening and pure. But does this mean that we do not have the concept for it?

The answer is no, since Katz is able to put into words the type of snow he is imagining so that it evokes an image in his reader's mind. However, it is perhaps significant that Katz has to use a number of words to describe the type of snow he is envisaging, there being no pre-existing term for it in English.⁵ A language seeks to express itself as clearly and as economically as possible, thus for the most important concepts, those concepts that are discussed again and again, there are single terms. Thus, in a way, the words in a language's lexicon do relate cultural information in that they represent all of the most important, recurring concepts to the users of that language.

Although the Whorfian view of language has long come under heavy criticism, adaptations

³ Paraphrasing the linguist Edward Sapir (in Hoiyer 1964, 142): 'The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached'.

⁴ A light-hearted but sharp statement of the truth of the matter is in Geoffrey Pullum's aptly-titled 'The great Eskimo vocabulary hoax', which gives the history of the misunderstanding, from its source (a relatively innocent statement made by Sapir) through all of its perpetuations in recent literature, both popular and scholarly. Nevertheless, the story is still cited (recently in Hickerson 2000, 153).

⁵ Compare Allan (1977, 309): 'language directs its speakers towards certain aspects of perceived phenomena but because perception is independent of language, other aspects of the perceived phenomena can be commented on if necessary by circumlocution'.

of it are manifest in a variety of recent linguistic works.⁶ At the very least, it is difficult to deny that language reflects the perception of reality, since its most basic function is to enable meaningful communication between its users. If this can be accepted, a wealth of possibilities open up for those who seek to understand ancient cultures. If words are repositories of the mind, they can be excavated from the texts in which they occur and analysed like archaeological artefacts for the cultural information they contain, leading not only to the richer understanding of texts Gardiner wanted to encourage, but also to a deeper appreciation of the culture which produced them. Since determinatives preserve and present the most salient characteristics of the words with which they were used, they offer a goldmine of lexicographic and semantic information. My thesis explores one possible method of tapping that information.

⁶ For example, Kövecses' work on the metaphorical expression of emotion shows a certain amount of Whorfian thinking (2000, xi): 'Conscious feelings are often expressed in or, indeed, are shaped by language, and thus the study of language can reveal a great deal about them'.

DETERMINATIVES IN RESEARCH

Past and Present

1.1 Overview

In this first chapter, I briefly review the various approaches that have been taken to determinatives in the past, concentrating on that of Orly Goldwasser, who has made the most comprehensive study of the determinative system to date and whose work has been the basis of several case studies (discussed below). I then present my approach to the system as a whole and the three determinatives under study in particular, which follows Goldwasser in some aspects, and diverges in others.

1.2 Past treatment of determinatives

Champollion was the first Egyptologist to give a detailed description of the function of determinatives. In his *Grammaire*, he discussed two basic types of determinatives (1836, 71):

De ces caractères déterminatifs, les uns déterminent l'*espèce*, d'autres déterminent le *genre* de l'objet exprimé par le nom phonétique.

Generic determinatives of the latter type (e.g. ) he believed to have been used as graphic shortcuts by scribes to avoid complicated depictions (1836, 82). Within his other grouping, 'déterminatifs d'espèce', he distinguished two further types: 'déterminatifs figuratifs' and 'déterminatifs tropiques'. The former correspond to the modern term 'iconic' (e.g.  in  'bovid'). He further divided the latter into four sub-types: those functioning through synecdoche ( representing fighting), through metonymy ( representing 'month'), through metaphor ( representing 'sublimity'), and finally those functioning 'par énigmes' or symbols ( representing 'justice').

By the time of Gardiner's *Grammar* (1927), these descriptions had fallen into disuse. Gardiner made no attempt to follow this sub-division of determinatives according to function, simply describing them as ideograms which followed phonograms, conveying the meaning of the word composed by the latter (1957a, 31). He distinguished only one type within the group, 'generic determinatives', which he described as conveying a general sense because they determine a number of words (1957a, 31–33). Although the focus is now more clearly on the

functions of signs rather than their intrinsic types (Depuydt 1994; 1995), the tripartite division of the writing system into ideogram (or more recently, logogram or semagram¹), phonogram, and determinative is still widely employed, although there have been several attempts to describe the function of signs in more detail. Wolfgang Schenkel (e.g. 1971; 1976; 1991) in particular has advocated a move beyond the ideogram-phonogram-determinative description of the Egyptian script, although his reclassifications according to sign function have never been widely adopted by Egyptologists due to their extreme complexity; for example, in an article on the structure of the hieroglyphic script (1971) he suggested the following reclassifications of signs from the traditional tripartite division: Schematogramm (and Schematogramm-Komplex), Phonogramm (and Phonogramm-Komplex), Phono-Assoziogramm, Semantogramm, Onomatogramm, Semanto-Assoziogramm, Sphärogramm, Klassigramm, Morphogramm, Orthogramm, Stenogramm, and Graphogramm. Signs traditionally classified as determinatives were scattered throughout various groups, and had no separate identity as a class of sign function. In addition to his re-categorisation of sign functions, Schenkel (1983) proposed a revised system of transcription to incorporate determinatives in which each sign is either given a code, for example V (venerabilis) for , P (pluralis) for , or a phonetic transcription, for example *md3t* for , so that it can be represented in the structure of the word.² Further coding specifies the nature and positioning of the phonetic signs: uppercase letters mark a logographic writing, numbers signal phonetic complements: '2' indicates the complementation of the second consonant. Thus,       'horizon-dwellers' is transcribed in the Schenkel system as $3H_2^{md3t}.t(j)w_2^{V.P.}$ (1983, 17).

His system can account for graphic variants, such as the four forms of the Sethian determinative (1983, 25):  *sth_E* (erectus),  *sth_S* (sedens),  *sth_J* (jacens), and  *sth_A* (anthropomorphus). But the code required to represent further graphic embellishments such as  (determinative of *ih*, see 2.3.2) would probably be longer than the transcription of the phonetic signs and hardly less cumbersome than either describing the determinatives or writing

¹ Hare (1999, 68) used both 'ideogram' and 'logogram', the former for 'glyphs that retain a high degree of iconicity' and the latter for 'written signs now exclusively used for the representation of sound'.

² Champollion had experimented with a transcription system for determinatives in his *Précis* (1827–28), using Coptic terms in square brackets after a word, e.g. [NOUTE] for . However, he was no longer using it in his *Grammaire* (1836).

them in brackets after the transcription. The impracticality of Schenkel’s revised transcription system points to the extreme flexibility of signs, which can perform a number of functions at once and which do not comply comfortably with any attempt at pigeonholing them, no matter how thorough. Schenkel’s attempts at reclassification of sign function suffer from the further disadvantage that they obscure the affinities shared by those signs which are traditionally thought of as determinatives. These affinities are illustrated in Frank Kammerzell’s summary of the system (1998; Table 1.1), in which he indirectly observed the dichotomy of meaning and sound, but contrasted signs as meaningful graphemes and meaning-differentiating graphemes, the latter not being meaningful in and of themselves:

Table 1.1 Kammerzell’s analysis of signs

SIGN TYPE	MEANINGFUL	AUTONOMOUS	EGYPTIAN SIGN	ENGLISH SIGN
Logograms	✓	✓	𓄿 in <i>h3t</i>	♥ in I ♥ U
Determinatives	✓	✗	𓆎 in <i>nbt</i>	® in Coca-Cola®
Phonograms	✗	✓	𓆏 in <i>nbt</i>	x in axiom
Phonetic Complements	✗	✗	𓆑 in <i>sdm</i>	nd in 2nd

There was no detailed exploration of determinatives as a functional group until Orly Goldwasser’s *From Icon to Metaphor* (1995), which expanded on her brief discussion of determinatives in a previous article (1991). She continued her research into determinatives with a detailed examination of the distribution patterns of three signs: 𓆎, 𓆏, and 𓆑 (1999), and inspired a number of similar studies which are discussed below. Perhaps the most important aspect of her work is in its interdisciplinary approach. She is strongly influenced by Saussure, Rosch, Derrida, and others, and thus sets determinatives into the wider perspective of general linguistics.

Since Goldwasser has provided the only detailed description of the various functions of determinatives specifically, Champollion’s *Grammaire* aside, in this chapter I focus on her work and review the ways in which she has applied modern theory to ancient Egyptian. I also touch upon the two case studies inspired by her work and of which her theories form the basis: Arlette David’s analysis (2000) of the ‘bad bird,’ and Racheli Shalomi-Hen’s discussion (2000) of divine determinatives, and discuss other similar studies, such as that of Paul John Frandsen

(1997) and Wawrzyniec Smoczynski (1999).

1.3 Goldwasser and determinatives

Goldwasser's 1995 analysis of the determinative system is considerably different from her study of 1991. In the latter, she divided the inventory of hieroglyphic signs into five types, of which determinatives constitute one (1991, 39–43).³ She isolated three further sub-types of determinative:

- class determinatives, e.g.  representing 'birds',
- figurative determinatives, e.g.  representing 'movement',
- determinatives acting as similes, e.g.  in  implying 'to be aggressive, *like a crocodile*'.

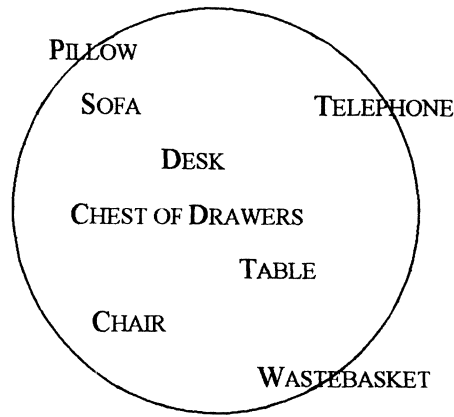
These types, rather similar to those of Champollion, are not explicit in her 1995 study. Her later approach is much more detailed and draws heavily upon Roschian categorisation theory.

1.3.1 Rosch and categorisation

Categorisation has been the subject of scholarly attention at least since the time of Aristotle but approaches in it have changed considerably over the last few decades (summary in Lakoff 1987, 14–15). Until relatively modern times, categorisation tended to be regarded as a rather black-and-white issue. Founded more on philosophical reasoning than empirical research, the traditional Aristotelean view centred around the idea that categories are defined by the common properties of their members and that all members of a category are equal in status. However, Brent Berlin and Paul Kay's (1969) study of colour perception and categorisation did not concur with these ideas. The challenge to the traditional view then shifted its focus from anthropological linguistics to psycholinguistics with the work of Eleanor Rosch (1978), who put together the results of many self-contained studies with her own findings and created a unified theoretical approach. With results gathered from her research with various test-groups, she was able to show that categories are in practice arranged around prototypical members (i.e. the best examples of a category), and that members were not all equally good examples, but that some sat on a category's 'fuzzy edges' (Fig. 1.1).

³ At this stage, she termed hieroglyphs 'pictograms', but in *From Icon to Metaphor*, under Saussurean influence, she referred to them as 'signs'.

Fig. 1.1: The category [FURNITURE]



The members of the category fully within the circle are what Rosch's test-subjects regarded as 'good examples' of furniture, whereas items like 'pillow', 'telephone', and 'wastebasket' are on the periphery or the fuzzy edges of the category, because the test-subjects were hesitant to identify them as belonging to the category.

Rosch (1978, 28) isolated two basic operating principles within the system:

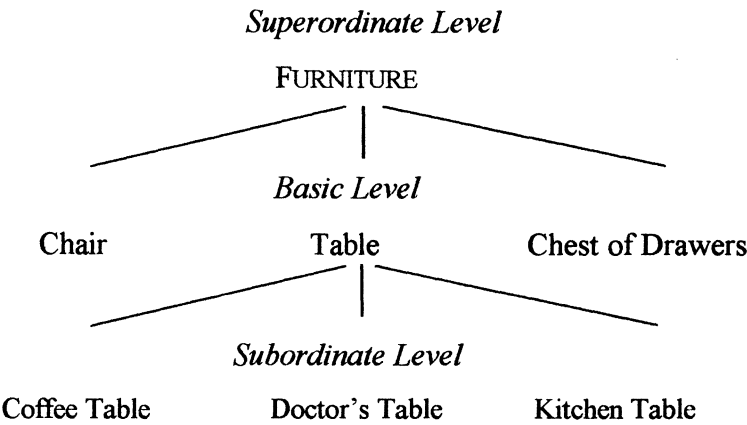
- Category systems aim to provide the maximum amount of information in as cognitively economical a way as possible.
- Categories are not arbitrarily formed, but derive from the structure of the perceived world.

George Lakoff (1987, xiv) called attention to a fundamental division between what he described as the more traditional objectivist approach, which advocates the idea that rational thought consists of the manipulation of abstract symbols which get their meaning via a correspondence with the world (they derive their meaning independently of people in the world), and a newer 'experientialist' view, which attributes the role of assigning meaning to human experience of the world. The newer view believes thought to be literally embodied because the structuring of human conceptual systems arises from bodily experience, and that even those concepts which do not seem to be grounded in experience – those which rely on metaphor and the like, and go beyond the mirroring of external reality – are also embodied, in that most mental imagery is based on bodily experience. This means that language and the rules that govern its use stem from the interaction of human beings with the world around them. This view is implicit already in Rosch: she emphasised (1978, 29) that one could not separate the world from its inhabitants, for the latter have a vitally important role:

What attributes *will* be perceived given the ability to perceive them is undoubtedly determined by

many factors having to do with the functional needs of the knower interacting with the physical and social environment.

Rosch described category systems as having both a vertical and a horizontal axis. The three different levels of terms within categorisation are distributed down the vertical axis, and the members of each level along the horizontal axes:



These three levels occur again and again in the way entities in the world are organised. Rosch’s research showed that the basic level was the most salient cognitively and that it is primarily on the basic level that humans think of entities since when asked to identify an entity, a test-subject almost always responded with a basic level term, for example ‘cat’ rather than ‘animal’ or ‘Persian cat’.⁴ The reason for this is that the basic level is the most generally useful expressively, since it is ‘the most inclusive (abstract) level at which the categories can mirror the structure of attributes perceived in the world’ (Rosch 1978, 30).

All nouns in English fit into one of the three levels of categorisation. Research tends to concentrate on the categorisation of nouns, but there are exceptions. Pulman (1983) investigated the verbal category [HOLD] and its basic level members ‘grab’, ‘grip’, ‘clutch’, ‘hug’, ‘squeeze’, and ‘pinch’, asking his test-subjects to name attributes of these verbs in order to establish whether they had prototypical features like noun categories. His result confirmed that verbal categories are also ordered around prototypes, but he noted that verbal attributes were often non-physical; for example, ‘hug’ was defined as being related to affection, ‘pinch’

⁴ Obviously, the answers given depend on the circumstances under which the experiment is being conducted: the answer given by students of animal biology would probably be more specific.

was termed ‘nasty’ or ‘petty’.

In English there is no overt marking to indicate category membership of nouns or verbs and this has to be established in experiments, but a large number of languages do categorise in a way that is more obvious to the eye. They are usually grouped together as ‘classifier languages’. Comparisons have been made between classifier languages and the determinative system in Egyptian, for example by Noel Rude. Describing the determinative systems of ancient Near Eastern scripts, Rude stated (1986, 133):

These arose in the writing systems of languages that did not have classification systems. And yet in many ways they parallel classifier systems observed in various spoken languages today. The use of the classifier *-káun* in Burmese is very similar, for example, to the use of the  determinative in Egyptian. *-káun* is added to nouns like *khwêi* ‘dog’, *shín* ‘elephant’, and *myîn* ‘horse’ (Burling 1965, 245), just as  is often the determinative of the corresponding words in Egyptian: *ṯsm*, *ṣbw*, and *ssmt*. The proposed translation for *-káun*, ‘body’ (Okell 1969, 250), is also very similar to the concept represented by . The similarities between the classifier languages like Burmese and the determinative system in Egyptian, as well as the important differences between them, are discussed again below (1.4.1).

1.3.2 Determinatives and categorisation

Goldwasser (in David 2000, viii) described determinatives as category markers in written Egyptian as follows:

We propose that the grouping of certain words under the umbrella of certain determinatives is a reflection of what may cautiously be termed conceptual categorization; more specifically, that it reflects some conceptual categories of the ancient Egyptians, or at least of the social groups that were involved in writing and education in Ancient Egypt.⁵

Her 1999 study concentrated on three particular category markers, , , and , which are examples of what she had termed ‘superordinate determinatives’ (1995, 86–88). I now turn to her detailed description of the various types of categorising relations determinative may exhibit, and especially her discussion of the role of metaphor within the system.

In *From Icon to Metaphor*, Goldwasser envisaged a dichotomy within the determinative

⁵ This was echoed by Shalomi-Hen 2000, 36: ‘The Egyptian system of determinatives forms, in fact, a system of classifiers in which each determinative forms a category’.

system, separating signs which are linked to their words through similarity (the metaphoric axis, describing a categorising movement) and those linked instead by contiguity (the metonymic axis; 1995, 84–85).⁶ Within the former, she distinguished iconic determinatives, like  in  *‘cat’*, which behave like ‘pictorial tautologies ... and represent in the pictorial the Egyptian prototype of the word which makes the category’ (1995, 85); superordinate determinatives like  and , which represent the category itself [GODS]; and those determinatives, like  in  *‘girl’*, ‘which are not superordinate but which remain on the horizontal axis’ (1995, 89). She described the last of these types as being relatively uncommon.

Determinatives along the metonymic axis do not fall into such clear types, but rather are examples of various types of contiguity relations: for example, in  *‘rry.t’* ‘gate’, the  determinative shows whole-part relations, whereas  in  *hm* ‘to destroy’ is a ‘direct object’.

Goldwasser’s final ‘ad hoc’ category is described as follows (1995, 94):

On our uninterrupted journey on the categorical-metonymic path, we are suddenly confronted with a somewhat confusing set of determinatives, which, when related to the determined word, seem to be located neither on the categorical axis of the word, not exactly on the metonymic scheme.

Many animal determinatives, including the crocodile in *sšd* ‘flash’, *skn* ‘be greedy’, *hnty* ‘be covetous’, and *ksy* ‘powerful’, feature among her examples of members of this category. The metaphoric relations between such determinatives and the words with which they are used involve, according to Goldwasser, the re-categorisation of the signified from its ‘natural’ category into another: for example, the verb *sr*  ‘to foretell’, because of its determinative, is taken out of its natural category (as represented by , its ‘anticipated superordinate classifier of “senses and emotions”’: 1995, 95) and instead is placed within the category “those who see before anyone else”, of which the giraffe certainly is the prototypical member’ (1995, 96).⁷

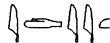
⁶ This dichotomy is based on Jakobson (1956, 76): ‘The development of a discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their similarity or through their contiguity. The metaphoric way would be the most appropriate term for the first case and the metonymic way for the second, since they find their most condensed expression in metaphor and metonymy respectively’.

⁷ Compare Smoczynski’s (1999, 160) discussion of this sign and definition of ad hoc categories: ‘sets invented only for the purpose of single, context-bound and non-recurring reference’.

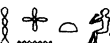
1.3.3 Goldwasser's approach – analysis

Although Goldwasser's typology of the functions of Egyptian determinatives is the first attempt at describing the system in linguistic terms, and illustrates that not all determinatives are on the same level of cognition, it raises a number of problematic issues, which I now address.

1.3.3.1 Establishing levels of cognition

While it is clearly the case that  and , which may both determine *miw* 'cat', are on different levels, many other cases are not as clear-cut. Taking two of Goldwasser's examples, are  in  'Sobek' and  in  'girl' really on two different levels of cognition, the former representing a superordinate category, and the latter remaining on the basic level? The visual representation of superordinate categories is problematic in itself, as Goldwasser herself acknowledged, paraphrasing Rosch (1999, 52):

we have no pictorial Gestalt for 'a mammal' or 'a furniture' but we have a very clear Gestalt for table, cat, cow and dog.⁸

In other words superordinate categories are not easily summarised by one image because their members are so diverse. The Egyptian script's solution to this, according to Goldwasser, is the generalisation of prototypical members on the basic level, like , which puts them through a process of abstraction so that they cease to be on the basic level, and instead represent all members within the superordinate category.⁹ Thus, while  has been abstracted and no longer is to be read iconically,  remains on the basic level. However, it is possible to explain  in exactly the same way, as an originally prototypical member of the category [YOUNG PEOPLE] that has gone through a process of abstraction to represent the category as a whole rather than its original signified 'young male'. This is corroborated by Goldwasser's other example,  'young woman', in which the determinative serves the same purpose. In both words, the  sign is not required to signify the concept 'female' as this is adequately done by the

⁸ Compare her term 'image-defying superordinate' (Goldwasser 1999, 58).

⁹ Restated in Goldwasser 1999, 55: 'It should not be surprising to find in our system a *basic level member* standing for the pictorial denotation of a superordinate term'. Echoed by David (2000, 33) in reference to the bad bird: 'Sa qualité de prototype, membre du niveau de base, lui permet de représenter le niveau "superordinate" plus abstrait'. Compare Shalomi-Hen (2000, 38): determinatives cannot be 'single image members of a category' but instead are used like 'codes'.

phoneme *t*. Therefore, it can be argued that  plays the same kind of role in *ldyt* and *hwnt* as  plays in *sbk*.

Ascertaining what level of cognition a determinative might represent is therefore contentious, as has been recognised in various linguistic studies; for example, in their investigation of the existence of superordinate and subordinate categories in American Sign Language (ASL), Elissa Newport and Ursula Bellugi confined themselves to studying the taxonomies discerned by Rosch's experiments, because as they said (1978, 52 n.6):

in the absence of further experimentation, ascertaining the basic level (by intuition) is sometimes problematic.

Rosch's conclusions were built upon many experiments with test subjects, from the results of which she discerned the various superordinate categories she went on to explore. Consequently, Newport and Bellugi were cautious even although ASL has been shown to possess considerable similarities to other modern, living languages. It cannot be assumed that such similarities exist between modern languages and ancient Egyptian, especially since only the written form of the latter is extant for analysis.

1.3.3.2 The naming of categories

The naming of categories is equally problematic, as can be illustrated by Goldwasser's treatment of the  determinative, which she has discussed in some detail as the superordinate classifier for animals (1995, 87; 1999, 59–60). In her 1999 study, she termed the category  represents [MAMMALS], excluding from her analysis non-animal terms (e.g. 'hide', 'leather').¹⁰ This is a problematic term for several reasons. First, the use of it leads, in part, to her statement that entities such as *dnr* 'scorpion' and *py* 'flea' are on the category's fuzzy edges because they are not typical members of it (1999, 59).¹¹ But an English speaker would call neither of these a mammal, and so if the term 'mammal' is to be applied to the category, these two creatures should not be in it at all. Although the  determinative is not common in writings of these two words, it is nevertheless attested and so it must have made sense in an Egyptian context. The

¹⁰ Brown (1984, 16) described the status of mammals in ethnobiological classification as 'problematic'. Similarly problematic terms are used elsewhere: compare Schenkel 1991, 3.6.3, and Shalomi-Hen 2000, 38.

¹¹ That *py* can take other determinatives (as shown in Matthias Müller's Appendix to Goldwasser 1999, 66–67) seems to be another reason for her interpretation, but she did not state this explicitly.

term is therefore anachronistic and does not fit well with the Egyptian evidence. This also applies to her use of the similarly problematic term [REPTILE] (1999, 59). In her later article, Goldwasser conceded (1999, 60):

On the language level, a term like “mammal” or “animal” is unknown in Egyptian, as far as we know.

But this is not sufficient. There is no good evidence that the concepts ‘mammal’ or ‘reptile’ existed for the ancient Egyptians, or even ‘animal’. Not all languages possess equivalents of this latter superordinate term.¹² Goldwasser mentioned that Rosch deliberately avoided the use of the word ‘animal’ in her categorisation research because it is a semantically polysemous term; it often alternates with terms like ‘mammal’ (1999, 59 n. 34). But in this case, the polysemy is desirable. It is difficult to establish beyond a doubt where the Egyptians drew their dividing lines in the animal world, if indeed they did so. We use the terms ‘mammal’ and ‘reptile’ to designate categories which for us are mutually exclusive, but this is demonstrably not the case in Egyptian: although it is not common, *msh* ‘crocodile’ may take a  determinative (4.2.2.1; 4.5.1).

The range of words determined with  does not suggest anything that would accurately correspond to the English category [MAMMAL]. Since the group includes words for inanimate entities, even [ANIMAL] does not accurately reflect its significance; instead,  can be thought of as the representation of an attribute shared by all the entities  determines, that is ‘made of, or possessing a hide’. Thus, it has the same significance in a word like    ‘pig’ and in    *dhr* ‘hide’ and so there is no reason to segregate the ways in which the determinative functions in each.

Schenkel’s attempt at including determinatives in the transcription system was not accepted because it imposed the requirement of having to describe the functions of determinatives with a single term. While for some determinatives, this is possible (Venerabilis for , or Goldwasser’s [DIVINE]), for others their complex functions cannot be summed up easily.

¹² Also noted by Cecil Brown (1984, 7): ‘systems of biological classification may lack the categories of the unique beginner (=superordinate), life-form, and varietal ranks’; and, more specifically (Brown 1984, 13): ‘the largest pan-environmental biological discontinuities are only rarely encoded: languages tend to lack words comparable to “plant” and “animal”’; compare Berlin 1992, 34: ‘Taxa of the ranks of kingdom (=superordinate) and intermediate are generally not named’. This is also mentioned by Goldwasser (1999, 60 n. 39).

1.3.3.3 Natural and ad hoc categories

From the point of view of the present study, Goldwasser's ad hoc category is the most important, because most of the words discussed in the chapters that follow belong to it according to her analysis; for example, the various words which may take a Seth animal determinative (1995, 102):

Those words were taken out of their natural categories and placed under one roof in the "Sethian category", which makes an ad hoc category of something like "abnormal disturbances", of which the Sethian animal is the religious prototype.

In other words, any determinative which requires a re-classification of its word into a category other than its 'natural' one creates an ad hoc category. David regarded the bad bird as 'le véhicule prototypique de la catégorie ad hoc des "éléments dont l'infériorité par la taille est associée à la qualité perturbatrice"' (2000, 57). Smoczynski further stated that 'metaphoric determinative assignment is actually *aimed* at creating ad-hoc categories' (1999, 160).

However, the nature of ad hoc categories as they have been described and explored in the spheres of general linguistics and psycholinguistics does not seem to fit very well with so called ad hoc categories in Egyptian. In Roschian terms, the most prototypical attribute of ad hoc categories seems to be their temporariness. This was stressed several times by Lawrence Barsalou (1983). His analysis of ad hoc categories began with the following description (1983, 211):

ad hoc categories violate the correlational structure of the environment and are not well-established in memory.

The reason why ad hoc categories are not as well established in memory as common categories is 'simply because people rarely, if ever, think of them' (Barsalou 1983, 213). They are made up for a specific purpose in a specific context: for example, the category [THINGS TO TAKE FROM ONE'S HOUSE DURING A HOUSE-FIRE] is conceived only on the occasion of a house-fire, for the specific purpose of knowing which of one's possessions should be rescued (1983, 214).

The proposed 'Sethian ad hoc category' does not comfortably fit Barsalou's description, which states that ad hoc categories that are used again and again become well-established in memory and therefore lose their ad hoc category status (1983, 224). The earliest attestation of a Seth animal determinative of *nšn* 'storm' is in the *Pyramid Texts* of the Old Kingdom. *nšn* continues to take a Seth animal determinative throughout the Dynastic period and into the Greco-Roman period (Wilson 1997, 550). Several thousand years of use can hardly be termed

‘temporary’. To return to his example of the house-fire: if one lived with a pyromaniac, it is likely that the category [THINGS TO TAKE FROM ONE’S HOUSE DURING A HOUSE-FIRE] would be a common rather than an ad hoc category. According to Barsalou, the differences between common and ad hoc categories derive only from the fact that the former receive more processing than the latter. While David (2000, 57) acknowledged that ad hoc category status in Egyptian could be lost, she did not apply this to her analysis of the bad bird, which is as long-lived a determinative as the Seth animal.

1.3.3.4 Metaphor and (re-)classification

Regarding the metaphorical movement between ‘ad hoc’ animal determinatives and the words with which they are used in Egyptian, Goldwasser commented (1995, 95):

Here metaphor par excellence is an apparent extension of the methodical system of classification, the only difference being that in these examples, the Jakobsonian metaphoric axis is activated *between* categories, and the classifier represents another category.

Her explanation of the use of  rather than  as the determinative of *sr* ‘to foretell’ as ‘an alternative conceptual grouping of the world’ is based on Shen’s theory of metaphor in categorisation (cited in Goldwasser 1995, 83):

... in the metaphor ‘rage is a volcano’, instead of the common stable categorization of ‘rage’ together with other types of emotions...the procedure...is suggesting an alternative grouping of ‘rage’ – this time with ‘volcano’ as members of an alternative ad hoc category which is typically represented by the ‘vehicle’ (i.e., ‘volcano’). This category can roughly be described as ‘things that erupt violently and unexpectedly’, although we should take into consideration that this is merely a label for a certain semantic/conceptual content which represents the ad hoc category in question.

Goldwasser’s opposition of  and  echoes Shen’s opposition of the ‘stable’ categorising of rage as an ‘emotion’ and its ‘ad hoc’ classification as a ‘thing that erupts violently and unexpectedly’ (like a volcano).

There is no question that metaphor is an integral part of categorisation, as has been recognised in Egyptological linguistic study, for example by Frandsen, who adopted a Lakovian approach to metaphor (1997, 81):

the world is metaphorically structured. Metaphors are far from being the kind of embellishment, or expression of poetic license that we usually associate with this word.

Metaphor is a particularly important tool for visually-based languages. This applies both to the Egyptian script and to sign language. Speaking of British Sign Language (BSL), Woll stated (1985, 603):

Metaphor and sign language structure are indissoluble: we can hardly find a level in the language where imagery does not play a part.¹³

However, the extent to which metaphors constitute an alternative rather than ‘natural’ structuring of the world is more contentious. It could be argued in that while ‘rage’ most definitely belongs to the category of ‘emotions’ for English speakers, it requires conceptual metaphors, like that comparing it to a volcano, when it is talked about in language, as is generally true of words connected with emotion (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 193; Foley 1997, 188; Kövecses 2000, *passim*). Moreover, since concepts like ‘rage’ have no physical boundaries, they are open to a wide array of metaphorical expressions which need not necessarily fit neatly together (Gibbs 1998, 108).

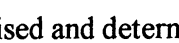
Specificity of expression is an important factor in the use of metaphor in language. Cacciari stated (1998, 121):

... by using terms metaphorically, as in such expressions as “a warm, richly textured organ chord”, we can express the (literally) inexpressible.

While it is possible to avoid the use of metaphor in such descriptions – for example, by using the adjective ‘nice’ which is not strongly associated with any one particular semantic domain – if one wants to be specific in description, metaphor, such as that in Cacciari’s example, is hard to avoid. Thus, returning to  and , it can be argued that while the latter is akin to a term like ‘nice’ in that it can be applied to a number of different words,  is more specific in its relation to *sr*, and provides more a more detailed visualisation of its prototypical associations. Moreover, like the Seth determinative of *nšn*,  is attested throughout the Dynastic and Greco-Roman periods, and so is well-established in its usage.

The choices for prototypical signs in the Egyptian script strongly suggest that the Egyptians did not even segregate the animal and the human worlds in quite the same way as English speakers might. Quite often an action which, in context, is being performed by a human exemplar, is determined instead by an animal, and vice versa: for example, the verbs

¹³ For example, metaphor expressed by the location of the hands in signing. Location in BSL, and other sign languages, functions in a way similar to determinatives in Egyptian. Thus, the sign for ‘thick’, when made against the head means ‘stupid’, but when located against the chest means ‘(spatially) thick’.

 *h3m* ‘to fish’ and  *msi* ‘to give birth’. Goldwasser discussed both of these verbs as possessing ‘iconic determinatives’, adding only that the determinatives do not always correlate with the entities performing the action they signify (1995, 85). Shalomi-Hen (2000, 37) further suggested that while the woman determinative is the ‘idealised cognitive model’ (i.e. the prototypical exemplar) of *msi*, the bird catching fish is the ICM for *h3m*, even though both verbs can be applied to humans or animals. This alternation between human and animal exemplars suggests strongly that there was no metaphorical mapping from one category to another; rather, the choice of determinative was a matter of prototypicality, and animals and humans seem often to have had equal status in this respect, as the easy substitution and pairing of animal and human imagery in language demonstrates,¹⁴ for example, the comfortable juxtapositioning of bird and human imagery in descriptions of childhood and youth. Many texts characterise childhood or youth as the time ‘in the nest’ (*Wb.* III.484, 19–20). Moreover, human and avian imagery is often juxtaposed; for example Tuthmosis III describes himself as  *hwn imy ss* ‘a youth (*hwn* usually refers to human beings) in the nest’ (Borchardt 1905, 44/45). There is a comparable example in an inscription of Ramses III at Karnak, where the phrase *imy-ss* is nominalised and determined by the human child sign:  (*Wb.* III.484, 19). The period a child spent in the womb was also expressed in avian terms, as ‘in the egg’; for example:

CT 39 (I. 167e–f):

B16C: 

n šdt.i t3w.i n snhnt.i swḥwt.i

...before I had brought up my fledgelings, before I had yet hatched my eggs.

s3 ‘son’ could be written with an egg-sign from the First Intermediate Period, which Goldwasser described as ‘a new figure of script’ (1995, 75), but the underlying imagery is attested from the time of the *Pyramid Texts*.¹⁵ Thus, it is not unfeasible that there should be an ideological basis as well as an accompanying phonetic one to the use of  for ‘son’ (contra

¹⁴ Smoczyński (1999, 160) also stated that the human and the animal are ‘very distinct conceptual categories’. Even beyond the realm of language, this is demonstrably not the case: kings were depicted as lions and other animals; deities were visualised with human bodies and animal heads. Compare also the free substitution between  and .

¹⁵ The phrase ‘in the egg’ referring to the king is attested in *PT* §§ 714, 1967, and 1969. In the *Coffin Texts*, there are very detailed examples of such avian imagery, for example CT 334 (IV. 181): ‘I have broken out of the egg, I have floated on its white, I have glided on its yolk’.

Loprieno 1995, 13; Goldwasser 1995, 40).

On a deeper level of language is the casual use of signs representing animal body parts to determine words which normally apply to humans. Goldwasser discussed a few of these; for example, the animal ear as the determinative of *msḏr* ‘ear’ (1995, 68–69) which itself can describe a human or an animal ear (*Wb* II. 154, 13–17). Where does metaphorical usage begin? From the fact that an animal ear is used to determine the word when it applies to human ears? Or from the same animal sign being used to write the word *ḏrd* ‘leaf’ (Gardiner 1957a, 463)?¹⁶

Goldwasser almost seemed to regard the choice of an animal prototype in *msḏr* unusual and constrictive (1995, 68):

... it seems that the early choice made by the inventors of the script, to make the *animal ear* the iconic representative of the verb *sḏm* did presuppose certain constraints on its iconic powers. The New Kingdom phenomenon, which is known in Egyptological literature as “votive ears” or “ear stelae,” presents large-size iconic human ears... However, as the “ear” of the god is what is looked for, the icon that metonymically represents the abstract quality is  the icon of the human ear, usually representing the noun *msḏr* “ear” (EG, D18); nevertheless, the noun *msḏr* can also be written iconically by the animal ear.

Her last statement is somewhat misleading, for all but one of the examples of the word *msḏr* cited in the *Wörterbuch* are determined with the animal and not the human ear.¹⁷ It was possible to change an obsolete sign for one which had become more meaningful, for example, the caprid (?) determinative of *ḏf* replaced by the more semantically meaningful crocodile sign in later writings of the word (4.6.2; further examples in Davies 1987, 10–11). Yet this did not happen in the case of the animal ear. Moreover, the animal ear determinative of *msḏr* is not an isolated phenomenon: compare the foreparts () and hindquarters () of the lion in writings of *ḥḏt* ‘front’ and *phwy* ‘back’; the bubalis or bovine head and neck () in *ḥḥ* ‘throat’; and various other animal parts which are used in writings of words which are usually applied to human beings:  *wḥ* ‘brow, top of forehead’;  *ht* ‘belly’, and so on. The reverse of this

¹⁶ Compare Burling’s example of the sliding scale of metaphor between the following: human *head*, fish *head*, head of a cabbage, *headmaster*, etc. (1992, 32).

¹⁷ The determinative of a pair of human ears is attested only in a fragment of a tomb wall (Turin 102, l. 17: Maspero 1880, 110).

process is also attested: the word for a human hand  could be used of an elephant's trunk (FCD 323).

1.4 Determinatives, prototypes, and attributes

Despite these difficulties in Goldwasser's overall approach, her description of determinatives – as they pertain to superordinate categories, or rather, shared attributes– as prototypes is useful, and is more widely applicable, as illustrated above with  in  'girl' (p. 24).¹⁸ Taking my suggestion further, rather than representing the category [YOUNG PEOPLE], the determinative may signify only the prototypical attribute 'young', embodied in and represented by the exemplar . The same considerations apply to    *l3wt* 'old woman', where  is again an abstracted prototype signifying the attribute 'old'. This interpretation is supported by the fact that  is found as the determinative of the non-specific *l3w* 'old age' (FCD 8), where it is a prototypical and not an iconic image. It was possible to specifically depict an old woman (e.g. : Épron et al. 1939, I, pl. 39), but apparently in the majority of cases it was not deemed necessary.  presents a comparable case, signifying only the quality 'force' and not usually the additional signifier 'male'.

 and  seem more comfortably to fit Rosch's description of attributes rather than being markers of superordinate categories. Rosch (1978, 37) stated that the prototypicality of a category member depends on the number of attributes it has in common with other members of the category. Thus, if the prototypical attributes of a member of the category [BIRD] are generally perceived to be wings, feathers, and beak, prototypical members of the category, like sparrows, possess all of these features. Similarly, in Egyptian the sign  possesses these prototypical features and therefore can be used as the determinative both of *3pd*, the generic term for 'bird' in Egyptian, and for various birds' names.  can be understood as functioning in the same way, although it represents one attribute ('hide') rather than many; consequently, it is more widely applicable as a determinative than .¹⁹ Rosch (1978, 40) had defined 'prototype' in the various languages she investigated as a 'convenient grammatical fiction'.

¹⁸ For example, Frandsen (1997, 83) described all hieroglyphs as prototypes of what they depict.

¹⁹ Compare ASL, where the body of the signer is used as a means of classifying living beings (Supalla 1986, 184).

However, in the Egyptian determinative system, prototypes are crystallised into specific images.

Thus,  can be interpreted as the visualisation of an attribute shared by all the words  determines. If determinatives are thought of as representing attributes, there is no need to 'name' superordinate categories, a problem noted by Goldwasser herself (1999, 52) and particularly evident with a term like [MAMMAL]. Since there are no empirical means of establishing the existence of superordinate categories in ancient Egyptian, or verifying their members, it is preferable to work with the evidence the data provides and use the signs themselves, rather than posit correspondences with modern categories.

Working with this new focus, the lines between Goldwasser's different types of determinatives start to disappear. Iconic determinatives are more or less complete representations of all of the prototypical attributes of the words with which they occur. Superordinate determinatives function in much the same way, representing prototypical attributes either singly, as in the case of , or in the form of what is perceived as a complete entity, such as . Determinatives that highlight different prototypical aspects of their words may alternate but this need not constitute re-categorisation; the difference between    and    is rather one of specificity. One may compare the list of all the signs with which the bad bird may alternate given by David (2000, 3): the translation of a word is not affected by the substitution of the bad bird for one of these signs; they simply highlight different attributes of the word.²⁰

ASL, as another visually based system, provides a useful comparison for determinatives in Egyptian especially since it has been treated like spoken classifier languages in analysis of its classification system (see Supalla 1986, 181). It possesses iconic signs as well as signs that have lost their iconicity and are considered to be 'dead metaphors' (see below). Although the basic level predominates in ASL, superordinate terms can be created by the compounding of basic level terms: for example, the sign APPLE ORANGE BANANA ETC is the equivalent of the English superordinate term [FRUIT]. KILL STAB RAPE ETC corresponds, on a more

²⁰ Compare David (2000, 76) citing Rosch: "The more prototypical of a category a member is rated, the more attributes it has in common with other members of the category and the fewer attributes in common with members of the contrasting categories." (Rosch 1978, 37); ... ceci implique que ces mots ne doivent pas en principe être écrits qu'à l'aide du déterminatif  à l'exclusion d'autres déterminatifs qui représentent d'autres catégories'.

abstract level, to ‘crime’ (Newport and Bellugi 1978, 58).²¹ The signs which may be combined in this way are not completely subject to open variation, although the components need not always be the ones given in the example. Newport and Bellugi stressed that these are not ‘ad hoc listings of basic level terms’; convention dictates which terms may be compounded, and an essential criterion is prototypicality. The meaning that derives from such a compound is not just the sum of its components; rather, it is a generalised meaning. Moreover, the signs in the compound are not in the same form as they would be in unbound signs; the movements of which they are composed are physically reduced, giving them a clipped appearance and a character distinct from the unbound sign. Thus there is no sense of contradiction in the following example:

HOUSE FIRE, LOSE ALL CHAIR TABLE BED ETC, BUT ONE LEFT, BED

‘I lost all my furniture in the house fire, but one thing was left: the bed.’

The compound CHAIR TABLE BED ETC is what Newport and Bellugi proved to be the ASL equivalent of the superordinate term [FURNITURE] in English. In its first occurrence, the sign BED is a bound lexeme, different in meaning from its later use as an independent sign.

The determinatives Goldwasser characterised as having metonymic relations to their words can also be analysed in terms of the visualisation of attributes. Several words she discussed are verbs (*iʃ* ‘to mount’, *hm* ‘to demolish’), the attributes of which are distinct from those of nouns, which are often physical entities that can be easily visualised – for exceptions, see below. A verb describing an action does not have an intrinsic physical form and only takes one through what may be termed an ‘exemplar’ performing the action. Thus, while the determinative  in  *hm* ‘to destroy’ may be described as having a metonymical relation to its word, it may equally be interpreted as an exemplar visually representing a part of the destruction process, just as the more specific  determinative does in words for ‘to build’. Goldwasser’s system might put these two determinatives under different type-headings, whereas they seem essentially identical. Context decides whether a determinative is used in a metaphorical way.

While my approach does not necessitate the abandonment of Goldwasser’s application of Roschian theory, it does entail a change in focus. This brings the nature and function of

²¹ ‘ETC’ describes an optional sign, the meaning of which approximates ‘and so on’ in English (Newport and Bellugi 1978, 57).

determinatives in Egyptian more into line with those of classifier languages.

1.4.1 Classifier languages

‘Classifier languages’ as a term represents a diverse group, which Keith Allan (1977) divided into four types. These types differ both in the purposes of their application of classifying morphemes and in the parts of speech to which they can be added. The most common type is numeral classifier languages, in which classifiers are attached to noun phrases, essentially for the purposes of quantification. Burmese and Garo are both numeral classifier languages, of the Tibeto-Burmese family, but they differ in their positioning of classifying morphemes. In Burmese, the classifier attaches to the numeral, in Garo it attaches to the classified noun (the classifiers are written in bold type in the examples below):

Burmese:

kwêi hnakáun

dog [two + **classifier** (animal)]

Two dogs (Burling 1970, 59)

Garo:

nok ge-gini

two [**classifier** + houses]

Two houses (Burling 1992, 258)

In concordial classifier languages like Tonga, a Bantu language, classifiers are added to nouns, modifiers, and predicates:

ba-sika ba-ntu bo-bile

[**classifier** + have arrived] [**classifier** + man] [**classifier** + two]

Two men have arrived. (Allan 1977, 286)

In predicate classifier languages, like Navajo, the predicate is classified rather than the noun itself:

béésò si-ʔq

[money] [**classifier** + lie]

A coin is lying there. (Allan 1977, 287)

Dyirbal is one of the few examples of the final type, intra-locative classifier languages. Its classifiers are placed within certain locative expressions which usually accompany nouns:

balan dʷugumbil banirʷu

[**classifier**] [woman] [came here]

A woman came here. (Burling 1992, 270)

There are many small differences between classifier languages and the Egyptian determinative system; for example, the classifiers of each individual language always occur in the same

position, whereas the position of determinatives in Egyptian varies. The most important difference between classifiers and Egyptian determinatives, however, is that while the former are obligatory, the latter are purely optional. Moreover, while classifiers in all of the languages discussed above are voiced, determinatives appear never to have been part of the spoken language and exist solely in the script, since no trace of them survives in Coptic.

Despite this considerable difference, many similarities exist between the systems, especially as concerns function. Allan's description of the general operating principle he found common to the fifty or so classifier languages he studied could be applied equally well to Egyptian determinatives (1977, 285):

a classifier denotes some salient perceived or imputed characteristic of the entity to which an associated noun refers.

Allan's perceived/imputed dichotomy is also significant for the understanding of the Egyptian determinative system. Whereas visually perceived attributes are generally referenced in most languages, conceptually imputed characteristics tend to be more culturally bound. This echoes a statement Rosch made regarding the centrality of the 'knower' (a typical language-user) in the perception of prototypical attributes (1978, 29):

What attributes *will* be perceived given the ability to perceive them is undoubtedly determined by many factors having to do with the functional needs of the knower interacting with the physical and social environment.²²

One cannot assume, therefore, that one culture will perceive attributes in the same way as another, particularly as regards abstract concepts. Since classifier systems are often culturally idiosyncratic, the ways in which entities are classified can provide much cultural information.

1.4.1.1 The usage and significance of classifiers

In Burmese, classifiers make distinctions between different types of beings according to status. Thus royalty and holy men and women are classified with the morpheme *-pá*, commoners with *-yau*?. Parents fall into the former and not the latter category, emphasising their special status within Burmese society. Personal determinatives in Egyptian may also convey distinctions in status like the classifiers *-pá*, and *-yau*? do, for example in the following two writings of *s3*

²² Compare Frandsen (1997, 93): 'a major part of the codes, conventions, images, and ideas – in short, categories – that we meet in a given culture can only be understood in terms of that culture'.

‘son’:  and . The principle behind both systems is the same, even if the details of how they apply it vary.

Distinctions in status are not confined to the human sphere. Nic Tranter (1996, 13) noted that in Thai all animals, with the exception of elephants, are classified with the same morpheme. Thus elephants are singled out as cognitively salient, and stand apart from other animals. Similarly, in Egyptian, while the names of most animals can be determined with the  sign, the bull more often than not takes a specific bovine determinative, which corresponds to its centrality in Egyptian society.

One of the most significant results of the analysis of classifier systems in linguistics for the present study is that not all classifiers are categorising agents. Okell (1969, 212–13) distinguished morphemes like *-káun*, *-pâ* and *-yauʔ* in Burmese as only one of four distinct types of numeral classifiers (‘numeratives’ in his terms) which correspond to different types of nouns. Mass nouns (for example, oil, paper) are classified by measuring numeratives which break them down into units of measurement. By contrast, nouns which refer to individual items can either be grouped together into units of varying sizes by grouping numeratives (for example, bees being enumerated in swarms), or they can be treated as individual entities in which case either a classifying numerative may be used or a repeating numerative, where the classifier is the same as the noun (for example, *qein* in *qein taqein* in Burmese means literally ‘house one-house’²³). Thus, classification proper only occurs with certain types of words and in certain linguistic contexts. Thus, it follows that not all determinatives in Egyptian need be categorising agents, as Goldwasser would have it.

In Burmese, as in Egyptian, words are not always classified with the same morpheme. Changes in classifier, however, do not always entail a change in the meaning of a word. To take an example, the word *lounjî* ‘sarong’ can be classified with any one of three morphemes: *-thé* the general classifier for any type of clothing, *-kwîn* the classifier of anything hoop-shaped that encircles something else, like bracelets, rings, rubber bands; or *-ouʔ* (Burling’s transcription is *qouʔ*. 1965, 257), which indicates pairs of things. The last of those classifiers is more culture-specific, because this type of Burmese sarong is typically sold in pairs. Thus, a speaker has a choice when it comes to classification, and the difference in general meaning

²³ Burling (1965, 250) termed these ‘echo classifiers’; they are similar to Goldwasser’s ‘zero-classification’ cases in Egyptian (p. 22).

is minimal, although specific connotations change.

Okell's (1969, 214) example of three different writings of 'two princes' illustrates that meaning can be affected more significantly by the change in classifier:

- *mĩnthà hnăpà*
- *mĩnthà hnăyau ?*
- *mĩnthà hnăle ?*

The English translation 'two princes' is appropriate to all these writings, but the three classifiers in Burmese evoke different nuances in each. In the first writing, the classifier *pà* signifies royalty; in the second, *yau ?* signifies an ordinary person; and in the third, *le ?* signifies characters in a dramatic company, that is actors playing the role of princes. Okell described such classifiers as assigning their words 'more or less arbitrarily' to classes, which means that alternation is possible and common.

Although this means that classifiers do not always reflect a deep-seated conception of world order, it is relevant that when a classifier loses its semantic saliency, it is replaced. As Allan pointed out (1977, 308):

classifiers are linguistic correlates to perception and when perception of a given object changes, the classifier may change.

Words may be given a different classifier deliberately for a specific purpose, often for humour or insult. Allan (1977, 296) noted that it is possible in Japanese to insult someone by using an animal classifier for them instead of the usual human classifier. There are examples in Burmese and Tzeltal of classifiers being used deliberately out of their usual context.²⁴ In Tzeltal, Berlin (1968, 216) noted an instance in which the word for female breasts is written whimsically with the classifier for round fruit. Humour is not the only motive for such usages of classifiers. A. J. Becker (1986, 336–37) cited a different type of substitution in a Burmese poem in which an advisor addresses his king, saying: 'When one attains prosperity, another is sure to perish. It is the law of nature'. Although the statement is being made in general terms, the advisor is relating its truth to the king's situation. Usually when one addresses a king, one would use the classifier *-pà* mentioned above, but in this context the advisor uses *yau* ', the classifier of ordinary people. U Hla Pe's interpretation of this was that the advisor is telling the king that the prosperous man (*yau* ') and the unfortunate man (*yau* ') are simply two sides of the same

²⁴ For examples in ASL, see Supalla 1986, 201.

coin, united under the same reality and on the same level. Becker went on to discuss the problems of trying to translate such a poem into another language which lacks classifiers while trying to keep all the subtle nuances intact; this extra dimension of expression in Burmese is almost inevitably lost in English translation. Classifiers may be used as vehicles for imagery in poetry, for example, Becker cited an example quoted by U Hla Pe (1986, 333–34):

because of their natural tendency to bestow a certain imagery on a conceptual object, something sacred or having a shape or characteristics usually associated with concrete objects, the poets begin to bring in the classifier to fit their imagery. In one of these poems, the five causes of a woman's insolent behaviour to her husband are given as *maṅ ṇa-ṇ gwin* "insolence-five-ring".

There is a significant difference in the number of classifiers in the repertory of a given language and the number in regular use. Regarding Burmese, Okell noted (1969, 210):

Speakers with a large vocabulary will use a wider variety of classifying numeratives than other speakers and poetry of course increases the range still further.

Although Burling (1965) identified over 200 classifiers in Burmese, only 22 of these are cited by J. A. Stewart (1955, 22–23) as being regularly used in everyday language. Colette Craig (1986, 8), speaking of classifier languages in general, has commented on this discrepancy:

The variety of classifiers and the frequency of their use usually correlates with the degree of formality of the style. It appears that the greater the formality of the style, the richer the variety of classifiers and the higher the frequency of their use.

The veracity of this statement for Egyptian is explored in the following case study chapters.

1.4.1.2 Classifiers, abstracts, and metaphor

The use of metaphor in the treatment of abstracts in classifier languages is relevant to the investigation of the same phenomenon in Egyptian, and very close parallels can be cited; for example, the classifier *sīn* which is normally applied to yokes or teams of animals in Burmese is also found as the classifier of the words for close friends, or twins. The metaphorising action of equating the close friendship or kinship between two people with the yoke that physically harnesses two animals together is paralleled exactly in the use of the word *htr* in Egyptian, meaning 'a yoke of two animals', for 'twins', written logographically in the Greco-Roman period as  (*Wb.* III. 199, 6–7).

The Burmese classifier *soun* (meaning 'complete set': Stewart 1955, 22) is comparable: it can be applied equally to pairs of *things* like a pair of shoes and to pairs of *people* like a

married couple or lovers. In the latter case, the man and woman are metaphorised as two parts that together make a whole. Thus, classifiers can reveal much about the conceptualisation of a linguistic entity. In Burmese it appears that the prototypical aspect of lovers is the unity of their duality.²⁵ Metaphors are not only applied to human relationships: *-pâin* is primarily the classifier of cross-sectional pieces of long, slender objects such as bamboo, logs, fish and so on, but it can also designate the parts of a story. The common element is the borrowing of a concrete image and its application to something which has no physical form of its own, which is the very essence of metaphor.

Slightly more complex metaphors can be cited from Toba, a Guaykuruan language spoken in the Argentine Chaco. Toba has only six classifiers whose primary meanings are connected with the location of the entity they classify; for example, *na* applies to an object that is coming into view, *so* to one going out of view. Separate classifiers are employed for objects already in view (*ra*, *ñi*, *ñi*) and out of view (*ka*). Thus, the statement 'The students are fighting the police' may be phrased in different ways: '*Iakwalero nwagatega nawataganak*' would imply that the police are approaching the students as they fight, whereas '*Iakwalero nwagatega sowataganak*' would imply that the police are moving away (Klein 1979, 86). These six classifiers can be used metaphorically to indicate time: *ra* describes something in view, and therefore is used metaphorically of the present, contrasting with *so*, which is used of something moving out of view and therefore signifies the recent past. *Ka*, describing something completely out of view, can be used either of the past or the future.

In *Art and Illusion*, Gombrich stated (1968, 45):

If what we call 'identity' were not anchored in a constant relationship with environment, it would be lost forever in the chaos of swirling impressions that never repeat themselves.

Although he was speaking of art, his statement can be applied to language. Metaphor is one mechanism by which language anchors its words' abstract referents in the environment, by means of lending them the physical form of an entity with which they are perceived to have a connection.

²⁵ There are many comparable examples in Burmese; compare *āle* 7 which as a noun means 'hand' and is used as the classifier of tools, weapons, umbrellas, musical instruments, but also, metaphorically, of performers considered to be members of a troupe (Okell 1969, 219).

1.4.2 Determinatives and metaphor

‘Metaphor’ describes a wide range of relations between classifiers and their associated nouns in the languages discussed above; for example in Burmese, whereas *soun* is applied to ‘couples’ in everyday conversation, *gwin* (p. 38) as the classifier of ‘insolence’ is restricted to the poetic sphere. Since ‘metaphor’ itself is an abstract term, it is open to a variety of interpretations. Thus, before the metaphoricity of Egyptian determinatives can be explored, it is necessary to define exactly what the term ‘metaphor’ means when applied to them.

1.4.2.1 Defining metaphor in the determinative system

While my treatment of determinatives involves focusing on the system’s common operating principles rather than distinguishing different types of determinative function, I do make a distinction in the following genre-based analyses between figurative and non-figurative usage of the three signs under study. By this, I mean the difference between, for example, the crocodile sign in *msh* ‘crocodile’ as opposed to its use in a word like *3d* ‘to be aggressive’. As the determinative of *msh*, the crocodile’s physical being is its salient characteristic, whereas in *3d*, its metaphorical connotations are in the foreground.

Defining the metaphoricity of a sign is an especially difficult task in Egyptian, because the process depends on intuition. For example, Katz’s exploration (1998, 32) of the metaphoricity of the word ‘flew’ in various expressions is based on the conceptual distance between the subject of the verb and the verb’s basic parameter of reference. He argued that ‘flew’ is steadily less metaphorical in the following three statements as the conceptual distance between its subject and its typical referent narrows²⁶:

- The idea flew across town.
- The boy jumped on his bike and flew across town.
- The bird grabbed the worm and flew across town.

Most English-speakers would probably intuitively agree that the typical referent of the verb ‘to fly’ is a bird, so that in the final statement ‘flew’ is not metaphorical. However, it is surely dangerous to attempt to ascertain the conceptual distance between terms in a language other than one’s own. Moreover, the situation is complicated in Egyptian by the potential of the determinative system to narrow the conceptual distance between a verb and its subject by

²⁶ The parameter of distance is also discussed in Traugott (1985, 22) and Gibbs (1998, 32).

adapting the form of the verb's determinative; thus, in the examples I discussed in the Introduction involving the verb *ib3* 'to dance' (0.1), the third example in which *ib3* describes the 'dancing' of a feather should be the most metaphorical according to Katz's analysis and assuming that *ib3* is a typically human activity.²⁷ However, the determinative builds a conceptual bridge between the two domains, human and feather, narrowing the conceptual distance between them. In this way, determinatives introduce another dimension that must be considered when rating metaphoricity. This extra dimension complicates attempts to make the determinative system conform to 'typologies' of metaphor in linguistics; for example, take two instances of what Goldwasser termed 'animalistic metaphors' (1995, 60–62) in the Poetical Stela of Thutmosis III:

'I made them see your majesty as a crocodile (*dpy* )...'

'I made them see your majesty as a shooting star (*sšd* )...'

The first is a straightforward example of what has been variously termed a 'nominal' (Katz 1998, 31) or an 'A=B' metaphor (Gibbs 1999, 31), in which one entity (the king) is likened to another (a crocodile). The crocodile determinative of *dpy* in this example is itself non-metaphorical in relation to its word, since it is a direct representation of the signified of *dpy*, although the word as a whole is figuratively used. However, in the second example, while the equation of the king with a shooting star (*sšd*) is another example of an A=B metaphor, the crocodile determinative of *sšd* introduces a third element, a separate metaphorical movement between the determinative and the noun, which only relates indirectly to the king (this example is discussed further in 4.4.2). It is a strong possibility that the crocodile determinative was chosen to continue the animal imagery that abounds in the text, as Goldwasser implied by her grouping of *sšd* together with the other metaphors involving animals, but the mechanics involved in the former are rather different. Since no adequate, universal typology of metaphors exists in linguistics,²⁸ I make no attempt to formulate one here for the Egyptian determinative system. In its place in the following three case study chapters, I offer an exploration of the possible relations that can exist between a determinative and its word; the flexibility of the

²⁷ There is support for this assumption in Green's study (1983) of words for 'dancing', most of which have human determinatives.

²⁸ Many different types of metaphors have been proposed, for example: 'dead', 'cliche', 'stock', 'recent' and 'original' (Newmark 1985, 299); 'nominal' versus 'grammatical' (Katz 1998, 31); 'A=B', 'xyz', 'image' and 'dead metaphors' (Gibbs 1999, 31).

system allows for a rich variety which defies neat classification.

In distinguishing figurative and non-figurative usage of determinatives, however, I do not follow Goldwasser's distinction between the Jakobsonian metaphoric movement (i.e. categorisation) and cross-category metaphor exemplified in her terms by words like , in which the determinative behaves as a simile, expressing the concept 'to rage (like a crocodile)'. This kind of distinction constitutes a perhaps unwitting return to the old-fashioned view of metaphor as a 'poetic' means of expressing what could otherwise be expressed literally (Cacciari 1998, 120). While I do not distinguish between different 'types' of metaphor in my analysis, it is necessary from the outset to clarify that I do recognise that there is a difference between innovative and conventional metaphorical usage. There is a certain amount of 'imagination' involved in the innovative, that is unique, use of a sign (e.g.  in *rswt*; see further 2.5.3²⁹), but this has to be distinguished from examples like , which far from being innovative or 'ad hoc', are conventional to the point of constituting dead metaphors. The only basis for distinguishing innovative from conventional metaphorical usages of determinatives is frequency of occurrence. Since we are at the mercy of what has chanced to survive, this criterion is not entirely reliable (compare Spencer 1984, 2), but it can be of use, especially in the case of the examples above, pitting one known occurrence of *rswt* against many hundreds of attestations of *3d*.

Thus, while the three determinatives under study are treated as 'metaphors', I do not consider them to be 'metaphorical' in the sense that is opposed to 'literal', implying that they are poetic devices. Rather, they are metaphorical in that they constitute the transfer of the attribute(s) of one entity to another in the Jakobsonian sense, in the same way that the  determinative of animal names is metaphorical. The principal difference between the metaphorical relations inherent in  and those in  is that while the latter signifies a concrete entity, 'cat', the former does not and therefore its visualisation, required by the determinative system, relies on metaphor. Moreover, the crocodile sign in *3d* or the giraffe in *sr* are almost incidental, for neither *3d* nor *sr* depends on these specific animals for the communication of its meaning. Rather, they are convenient representatives of prototypical attributes shared by the determinative and the word. This fits with Gentner et al's proposal

²⁹ Compare the Burmese example discussed above, *maŋ ʔa- ʔwiŋ* 'insolence-five-ring' (p. 38), or an image metaphor cited by Gibbs (1999, 33): 'My wife whose eyelashes are the handwriting of a child'.

(1989, 172) to analyse metaphors as analogies, which are defined as ‘a way of noticing relational commonalities independently of the objects in which those relations are embedded’, and is a neat explanation of why certain features and not others are highlighted in A=B metaphors, the subject of considerable debate in linguistics (e.g. Shen 1991). Thus, the speaker of a phrase like ‘Tom is a tortoise’ (Shen 1991, 112) does not mean to imply that Tom has a shell and four legs, but rather that he has qualities that the tortoise exemplifies. Thus, while ‘the tortoise is an animal’ is a categorisation, ‘Tom is a tortoise’ is a comparison (compare Cacciari 1998, 135). Similarly, speaking of rage in terms of a volcano (e.g. ‘I exploded at her’, see p. 27) does not entail the categorisation of rage as a type of volcano in the same way as Mount Etna is a type of volcano, but rather uses volcano as a vehicle for the metaphorical transfer of qualities. Thus, my analysis of the animal metaphors represented by the Seth animal, the panther, and the crocodile are not treated as categorisations, but as mappings of prototypical qualities.

1.4.2.2 The death of metaphors

Although it is possible to use the criterion of frequency of occurrence to gauge whether the metaphorical usage of a determinative is innovative rather than conventional, it is more difficult then to distinguish those signs which have become so conventional that they are ‘dead metaphors’. In a general discussion of the phenomenon of metaphor death in language, Burling stated (1992, 32):

the line between literal and metaphorical use is not only fuzzy, but also shifts with time as metaphors fade and their meanings become conventional.

This calls to mind Barsalou’s discussion of the conventionalisation of originally ‘novel’ ad hoc categories (see p. 27 above). The more they are used, the more they become conventional; so-called ‘frozen forms’ in sign language are analogous. In reference to this process of conventionalisation in ASL, Burling commented (1992, 139):

With the passage of time, some signs lose their earlier iconicity. The sign for HOME is now made by tapping the fingers of one hand against two spots close together on the cheek. Nothing about this sign is obviously iconic, but it began as a sequence of two other signs, one meaning EAT and the other SLEEP, both of which are clearly iconic ...When used together to mean HOME these separate signs fused into a distinct and non-iconic sign.

Burling put within the same category written symbols that gradually became more and more stylised until they lost their original iconicity.

However, there is good reason to suppose, with Goldwasser, that the persistent iconicity of the hieroglyphic and, to a lesser extent, the hieratic scripts forestalled the death of metaphors in the Egyptian determinative system. Thus, while most English speakers might use a phrase like 'Her ego is very fragile' without considering that it stems from the conceptual metaphor [THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT] (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 28), in Egyptian determinatives had the potential to preserve the link to the original conceptual metaphor (Goldwasser 1995, 59). Assmann stated (1994, 18):

the iconicity of hieroglyphs is an aspect of their materiality that can be shed with no change to their language-referential meaning.

This is no doubt true for phonetic signs like , which has no semantic relation to its pictorial signified, but the opposite is true for determinatives, as is illustrated in the chapters below.

1.5 The study of determinatives – parameters and limitations

Despite the difficulties of applying modern linguistic theory to the analysis of an ancient script, with a slight change in focus, in the following three chapters I apply Goldwasser's Roschian theory to the determinative system, not to identify categories in terms of signs which directly represent them, but rather to discover the prototypical attributes the three determinatives under study impart to the words with which they are used. By exploring the words in which these three signs occur, I hope to establish the nature of their metaphorical significance, the correlation between sign form and meaning, and, particularly, the effect of context on their distribution patterns. The principles underlying the determinative system have been explored in this chapter in the abstract, but in any detailed analysis of individual signs, attention must be paid to context. In Saussure's words (in Culler 1976, 112):

It is a great mistake to consider a sign as nothing more than the combination of a certain sound and a certain concept – this isolates it from the system within which it belongs.

The context of a determinative is not just the word in which it is written, but also the wider textual context in which it appears.

Venturing into the wider field of modern linguistics and trying to contextualise an ancient language within it is not without problems. As touched upon briefly above, most modern linguistic studies of classifier systems deal with the classifier phenomenon in spoken language.

An Egyptological study can only deal solidly with written language, which some linguists consider secondary and others do not even include within the term 'language': for example, Geoffrey Sampson (1985, 21):

... a script is only a device for making examples of a language visible; the script itself is not the language. One language may be written in different scripts and the same script may be used to write different languages.

Nevertheless, since language is, at its most basic, a tool for communication, writing should not be excluded from its definition. A script – in the case of this study, the two scripts of hieroglyphic and hieratic – communicates ideas in written form just as spoken language does in the form of sound.

Thus, despite the usefulness of comparison with modern linguistic research, study of the ancient Egyptian determinative system should not be conducted from the point of view of the modern researcher. This means that terminology must be applied with caution; categories that exist for the modern English speaker cannot be simply mapped onto the ancient Egyptian system. Similarities might exist, but that does not mean the systems can be equated without qualification. Linguistic studies either investigate the categories established by Rosch or prove the existence of others through their own experiments with test-subjects, an impossibility in Egyptology.

Yet, alongside the difficulties and disadvantages of trying to put ancient Egyptian into the context of modern research, there are notable advantages. The fact is that certain doors will always remain closed to the Egyptologist. They have been locked fast over the many centuries that intervene between the modern day world and that of the ancient Egyptians. Behind one of these locked doors is what is regarded as perhaps the most important resource of the modern researcher of a culture: collaboration with the people of that culture. As Brent Berlin put it (1992, 202):

There is no substitute for spending hours each day with one's native collaborators, walking slowly down a forest trail on the lookout for any and all plant species in flower or fruit, be they majestic palms or humble "shitty little herbs" as my collaborator Breedlove likes to speak of the pepperomias.

Again and again, it is said that the best way to acquire data and to check conclusions is to converse with a native speaker of the language which is being investigated. Although this will never be possible for the Egyptologist, the writing system the ancient Egyptians left behind

goes a long way towards compensation. Its constancy and its richness in self-explanation mean that it strives always to express as much as it can with each word. Egyptological linguistics must still tread carefully and try to avoid mistaken conclusions that will lead down the wrong paths, for there is no native guide on the journey into the ancient Egyptian ideology contained within the determinative system, but there are several other sources of guidance to which to look. The determinative system is one and the context in which it is used is another. Comparison with other, modern languages is also fruitful; leaning on the conclusions that have been made and verified about them provides something concrete with which to compare the Egyptian language. In this way, comparative study maps out the paths we might try to follow in our study of ancient Egyptian and makes our tentative steps a little more secure.

THE SETH ANIMAL

2.1.1 Overview

A question mark has hovered constantly around the identity of the Seth animal since the time of Champollion. Although from the earliest stages, it has been argued that the animal is a composite creature (so Champollion 1827–28, 360; Rosellini 1834, 218; Birch 1878, 136–37), both Egyptologists and zoologists have searched the animal world looking to make an identification (examples in Newberry 1912, 398–99 and te Velde 1977, 13–14). In the past, those who have advocated that the Seth animal is not real have tended to make no further statements about the significance of its form, for example te Velde in his seminal work on Seth (1977, 15):

The hieroglyph of the Seth animal does not represent an actual living animal. It is not possible to determine from what living creature the hieroglyph of the Seth animal is derived. It is doubtful whether the hieroglyph of the Seth animal goes back to any animal which ever belonged to the fauna of Egypt.

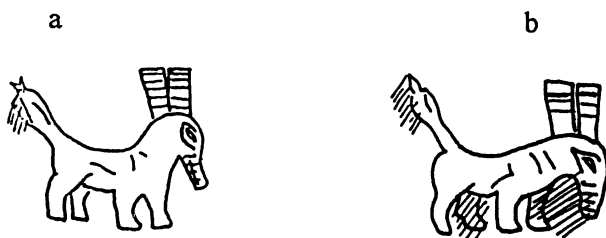
However, in 1900 the German scholar G. Thilenius pointed out that even composite creatures have a basis in reality through their components (1900, 215). Recently, te Velde revised his opinion somewhat, stating that perhaps the Seth animal's body was that of a dog or an ass, and its head, that of a pig, following Fischer (1972, 11). Despite such suggestions, there have been few attempts to explain why the Seth animal takes the form it does, or what connection that form has with the god Seth. Yet, a good understanding of the animal's form is essential in analysing its role as a determinative particularly in metaphorical usage, and so I now discuss its components in some detail.

Since the animal was deliberately jigsawed together and was depicted with a high degree of consistency throughout the Dynastic period, unlike other composite creatures like the griffin and the devourer of the dead, Ammut, whose forms were subject to much variation, it is likely that the Seth animal's significance as a whole derives from the meaning of its components. Ironically, the most important statements about the Seth animal's components have been made by those proposing zoological identifications. Now that it is more or less accepted that the Seth animal is not to be identified with any one creature, such studies have tended to be summarily dismissed. Yet many have yielded insightful clues about the meaning of the animal's form.

2.1.2 Form and meaning¹

The principal difference between the form of the animal in its earliest, secure attestation on the Scorpion Macehead and its later, more constant form in the Dynastic period is the earlier stockiness of the animal's body (Fig. 2.1).

Fig. 2.1



But aside from this difference, which is probably largely attributable to the representational style of the period, all of the animal's other characteristic features are present: the long, downward-curving snout, the erect ears squared at the tip, and the upright tail.² The tails of both animals mimic the quilled end of an arrow, but they are of distinct types.

While in later representation both in art and in language, certain features, like the tail termination, are subject to variation, the animal's body shape is consistently lean and muscular. Fischer was not the first to suggest that it was based on a canine model. In 1920, Hippolyte Boussac had proposed that the Seth animal was to be identified as a dog, making the important point that the animal is depicted with paws 'comprenant plusieurs doigts, à la manière des chiens et des félinés' (1920, 189), making identification of the animal as a pig or an ass impossible. His explanation that the un-canine square-tipped ears and arrow-like tail were deliberate distortions to distinguish the *canis typhonis* from the Anubis jackal, however, is unconvincing, as is the evidence he cited for the animal's 'real' ears and tail (1920, 195–98).³

Thus, while the animal's body seems to be canine, neither its ears nor the shape of its snout

¹ I discuss the zoological identification of the Seth animal at length in McDonald 2000.

² Earlier attestations are uncertain because not all of the animal's characteristic features are present; for example: the animal on a redware pot from Abydos (Habachi 1939) has raised ears and tail, but the latter is much shorter and more curved than is usual for the Seth animal; similarly, the tail of a hieroglyph identified by Kahl (2001) as a Seth animal also has an uncharacteristically short, curved tail. Kahl (2001, 54) is perhaps correct to think of the Predynastic examples as being typical of a formative stage in the animal's development.

³ He cited a representation of Seth on the ceiling of Seti I's tomb as evidence of the animal's 'real' ears, but the god has the head of an ass in this depiction, as is clear from the shape of the snout (Hornung 1991, pl. 175); moreover, he has his usual animal's head elsewhere on the ceiling (Hornung 1991, pl. 177). For the natural shape of the tail, he cited a statue of Ramses II standing between the paws of a seated Seth animal. However, that the animal's tail is curved around its flank is probably attributable here to the impracticalities of sculpting an erect tail (CGC 42993: photograph in Wilkinson 1992, 66 fig. 4).

are. The animal's snout is subject to some variation. It has a squarish, almost trunk-like appearance on the animals of the Scorpion Macehead, but it may also be rounder (Fig. 2.2) or sharper and rather bird-like (Fig. 2.3).

Fig. 2.2

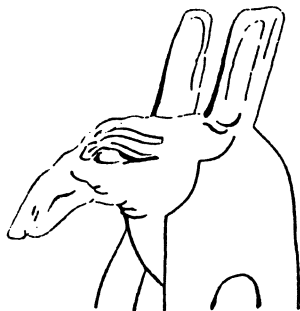


Fig. 2.3



On the basis of the shape of the snout, comparisons have been made with various animals from the aardvark (Frechkop 1946) to the elephant-shrew (Thilenius 1900), some more convincingly than others, for example Adolf Jensen's comparison of the ears of the Seth animal with the horns of the giraffe (1934). However, the diversity of these suggestions re-affirms that no one animal was the model. Indeed, it is possible that the squared-off ears were not based on an animal model but rather took the shape of a weapon, like the tail, perhaps mimicking the shape of ax-heads.

Fig. 2.4



Ludwig Borchardt (1909) was the first to point out the arrow-like appearance of the Seth animal's tail, which is particularly clear in a depiction of the animal from Lisht (Fig. 2.4). However, the tail is not always an arrow. It may also take the form of a forked stick, or have a bulbous termination rather like the tail of a lion (examples of both in 2.4.4). The latter style of the tail is particularly common in the Ramesside Period, and may derive from the occasional depiction of the Seth animal in sphinx-form with a lion's body (e.g. Empereur 1997, 5).

The prototypical feature of the tail is that it is always erect, a clear sign of aggression in animal body language. Percy Newberry had made this point to corroborate his identification of the Seth animal as a certain breed of pig (the Old Irish greyhound pig; 1928, 217):

All specimens of the family *suidiae* have the habit of erecting their tails when irritated; even domestic pigs uncurl their tails when annoyed.

Most animals, and not just pigs, manifest aggression by stiffening their tails. The erecting of the tail is particularly significant in animals as part of a dominance display, which typically involves a show of aggression. Discussing this behaviour in wild dogs, Juliet Clutton-Brock stated (1981, 41):

The superior animal can always be distinguished from the inferior by the upward carriage of his tail, his upright ears and “proud” stance.

Before Newberry, Eugène Lefébure (1898) had noted that both the Seth animal’s tail and ears were signs of aggression, and had cited textual evidence from a New Kingdom magical spell in the Harris Magical Papyrus to prove that the Egyptians recognised them as such:

P. BM 10042, Incantation X, vso 1, 2–4 (Leitz 1999, pl. 21, 2–4):



im ʕ.ṯw n.i n 3st t3y.i mwt nfr nbt-ḥwt t3y.i snt

ḥ3ᶜ.w n.i s3w r rsi.i r mḥti.i imnt.i i3bt.i

ḥtm r n m3iw ḥṯw tp n i3wt nb k3 sd (sp sn)

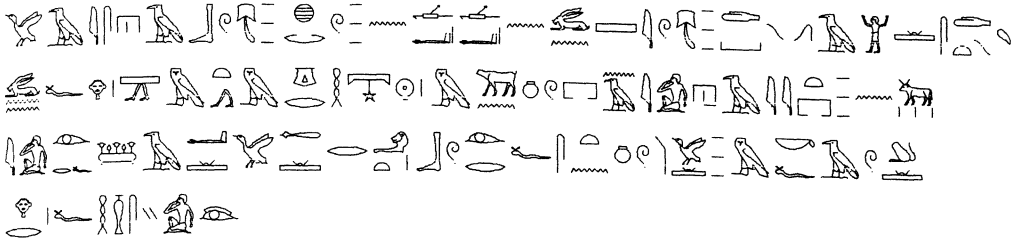
nty wnmw m iwḥ swriw m snf ...

Let one call for me to Isis, my good mother, and to Nephthys, my sister, that they may throw out protection for me to my south, my north, my west, and my east, to shut the mouths of lions, hyenas,⁴ and all sorts of animals with raised tails (twice), who eat flesh and drink blood ...

The same phrase, *k3 sd*, is applied to lions, hyenas, and wolves (*wnṣw*) in incantation Y of the same papyrus (Leitz 1999, pl. 22, 4–5). A similar description occurs in a letter in a Late Egyptian miscellany text, applied to a different predatory creature:

⁴ See Leitz 1999, 47 n. 130.

P. Anastasi IV. 13, 3–5 (Gardiner 1937, 49):



p3 ishb hrw.w wꜥwꜥ n wnš dš(r) k3 sd
wnn.f hr šmt m grh m-ḥnw n3 ihy n iḥw
i-ir.f š3ꜥ p3 ʕ3 r-ḥ3t bw ir.f stnw m kf3 hr.f ḥsy

‘The ishb’ is what they call a particular red wolf, with a raised tail. It goes at night into the stalls of bulls, begins with the largest at first, and makes no distinction afterwards. Its face is fierce.

Caminos (1954, 189) had translated *k3 sd* as ‘long of tail’, but coupled with the description of the animal’s face as fierce and its aggressive behaviour, the creature is clearly a predatory animal, and its erect tail symbolises that characteristic.

This textual evidence is mirrored in representations in art of predatory animals in hunting scenes, pursuing or devouring their prey with their tails raised.⁵ The recurrence of the raised tail motif proves that the Egyptians recognised that it was a characteristic of aggressive animals. Depicting the tail, and possibly the ears, of the Seth animal as weapons reinforces this aggression, and introduces a further element of unnaturalness into the animal’s physique.

Aggression and dominance always played a large role in the character of the god Seth, for example in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, where the two gods compete against each other, each trying to assert his dominance in order to prove himself worthy to take the throne of Osiris. There are clear parallels in the animal world (e.g. McFarland, 1987, 139–40):

(Dominance relationships) are generally established in aggressive encounters. If a particular individual clearly wins a fight or a ritualized threat contest then the encounter may not be repeated...If the opponents are more evenly matched, then a number of encounters may be necessary to establish a dominance relationship.

The contexts in which the Seth animal appears in art corroborate this interpretation of its nature. When it is depicted as an animal, independent of the god Seth, it appears in aggressive

⁵ For example, in the Middle Kingdom reliefs at Beni Hasan, a caption above a scene showing a lion with a raised tail pouncing on an ibex reads *ndr.t nriw m3i ḥs3* ‘the capturing of a ibex by a savage lion’ (Newberry 1893, II, pl. 13).

contexts, for example on magic wands of the Middle Kingdom, apotropaically warding off harm (e.g. Edinburgh magic wand: Müller 1970, pl. 89), or in hunting scenes in the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqt (no. 15) and Khety (no. 17) at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1893, II, pls. 4, 13; my Figs. 2.61a–b in 2.5.1 below).⁶

Thus it is my belief that the Seth animal was put together in such a way as to make a statement and this statement is communicated through the medium of animal body language and supplemented by the associations of the Seth animal's components. Yet, the form of the Seth animal is based on the juxtapositioning of meaningful elements not to represent a creature that existed in the real world, but to create one which made a statement about the god with whom it was synonymous. As for its general body shape, an exact identification is ultimately unimportant but one may loosely say that it is similar to the larger felines (like a lion) and canines (like a wolf), being lean and muscular so that it has the look of a predatory animal. Its permanently pricked ears and erect tail are expressions of aggression in animal body language. Its unique and strange overall appearance mirrors the uniqueness of the god it represents. As the murderer of Osiris and the opponent of Horus, Seth was considered from an early period to be a disrupter of the natural order of the world. He was a deity to be feared and the most fearsome thing to the Egyptian mentality was that which was different and strange. The twin traits of aggression and disruption of natural order feature in all the words the Seth animal determines, either in full animal form or as an animal headed deity. The violent disruption of natural order is the common theme uniting them all.

2.1.3 The Seth animal as a hieroglyph

Thus, aggression and strangeness are the prototypical features of the Seth animal, and feed into its linguistic use as a determinative in both full animal and in anthropomorphic form. There are three alternating variants of the former: , , and . While there is no discernible semantic difference between the recumbent and seated forms, there is evidence to suggest that the more limited usage of the standing variant marks its distinct significance; this is discussed further below. Although the deity form of the sign alternates freely with the Seth animal in

⁶ There may be analogous attestations in earlier periods, for example, the supposed Seth animals atop combs being attacked by dogs on a painted bowl seem to mimic the conditions of later hunting scenes (Princeton Art Museum 30-494: Kantor 1953, figs. 3C, 5).

writings of the god's name and epithets, its usage in figurative contexts is more restricted, again suggesting a distinct sphere of meaning.

In the following sections of contextual analysis I discuss the distribution patterns of these different forms of the determinative and their possible semantic distinctness. I also explore how the two broad themes of aggression and strangeness are channelled and perspectivised by the metaphorical use of the Sethian determinative, through the form it takes and the signs which are added to it, or alternate with it.

2.2 RELIGIOUS TEXTS

2.2.1 The *Pyramid Texts*

Despite the large role the god Seth plays in the *Pyramid Texts*, the Seth animal sign is used in the writings of only three words, acting figuratively in only one. Most Old Kingdom pyramids avoid using the sign altogether, and so the data set is very sparse.

2.2.1.1 Non-figurative usage

sth

There are over 170 occurrences of the name of Seth,⁶ and several more contexts where he is alluded to without a direct mention of his name (e.g. *PT* 369, where he is called *hfty* ‘the enemy’ of Osiris). Although he is often mentioned in a negative capacity in reference to his murder of Osiris (e.g. *PT* 219, 357) and his mutilation of the Eye of Horus (e.g. *PT* 47, 57), there are a number of spells in which the king takes on positive Sethian attributes, for example his fearsomeness in *PT* 81 and his strength in *PT* 222. Similarly, although he is often at odds with Horus, in a number of spells the two gods are united for the king’s benefit, for example in *PT* 385 where they destroy a dangerous snake for the king’s protection.

Despite the prominence of Seth as a deity in the *Pyramid Texts*, there are comparatively very few occurrences of the Seth animal as a hieroglyph. The texts of the 6th Dynasty rulers write the name phonetically $\text{𐍋} \text{𐍌}$, completely avoiding the Seth animal sign ‘possibly lest it should exercise a malign influence over the dead king’ (Faulkner 1925, 5). In Sethe’s publication, there seems to be an exception in *PT* 474 (§943b) where P uses the recumbent Seth animal logographically to write *sth*. The re-publication of P (Leclant et al. 2001, P/A/W 22–24), however, shows that Sethe’s copy was mistaken and that the name is written phonetically, $\text{𐍋} \text{𐍌}$, as it is elsewhere in P and in all the other 6th Dynasty kings’ pyramids.

Whatever induced the 6th Dynasty kings to avoid the use of the Seth animal hieroglyph did not have a bearing on the 5th Dynasty *Pyramid Texts* of Unas. W writes Seth’s name 31 times logographically with the recumbent Seth animal, and phonetically once (*PT* 135 §84a) with the Seth animal as a determinative. In addition, there is one instance in W of the Seth animal

⁶ To Faulkner’s index (1969, 324) should be added §2218, and the following sections in which Seth’s name is attested more than once: §§ 48 (2), 487 (2), 594 (2), 596 (2), 850 (3), 959 (2), 971 (2), 1453 (4), 2127 (2), 2128 (2).

determining Seth's common epithet *nwbty* 'the Ombite' (*PT* 268 §370b) , which is written identically in Senwosretankh l. 429.

The pyramids of Pepi II's queens follow the 6th Dynasty tradition in not writing the Seth animal hieroglyph. In Neith, Seth's name is occasionally written with a *t*, , for example in ll. 21 and 664. Horus' name is also written phonetically with an occasional superfluous *t*, for example in l. 21  . However, *hr* is usually also determined with the Horus falcon. No attestations of Seth's name remain in the fragmentary texts in the pyramid of Oudjebten; those of Iput are also badly damaged but there is enough to ascertain that no Seth animal hieroglyphs would have occurred within them, for twice (in fragments 19 and 27: Jéquier 1933, pl. 39) there is a phonetic writing of Seth's name. In the first of these two instances the text is broken just after the writing , so it is theoretically possible that a determinative could have followed – although in the 6th Dynasty kings' *Pyramid Texts*, Seth's name tends either to be written either completely phonetically or logographically – but the second fragment clearly writes  with no accompanying determinative. Horus' name seems also to be written phonetically in Iput, without any accompanying determinative: for example,   in fragments 10, 18, 19: Jéquier 1933, pl. 39).

By contrast, Seth's name is written logographically with the Seth animal in Ibi. The form of the sign is more or less consistent in its 26 attestations – the animal is usually depicted as recumbent – although there are notable exceptions. The Seth sign is extremely mutilated in l. 86, to the point of being virtually unrecognisable, although a parallel for the passage in W confirms that it is the Seth animal:

PT 36 (§28 = Ibi l. 86):

Ibi:   ( ?)

W:   

nṯr.k nṯr stḥ

Fig. 2.5



Your purification is the purification of Seth.

The ears of the animal sweep back in a curve that is reminiscent of the horns of an oryx, and the tail and front paws seem to have been twisted around so that what would have been the front paws protrude from the back while the tail is where the front paws should have been (Fig. 2.5). This mutilation is particularly striking since the Seth animal is written 25 other times without any mutilation. There is a similar mutilation in l. 33 where a recumbent animal with

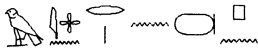
erect ears and tail reminiscent of the Seth animal is rendered with one ear twisted like the horn of a ram and its body struck through. However, although this animal's tail is erect like that of the Seth animal, a comparison of the passage with a parallel in N reveals that it is not the Seth animal:

PT 21 (§13d = Ibi l. 33):

Fig. 2.6

Ibi: 



N: 

hr iwn r n N pn

Horus, split open the mouth of this king!

Thus, it seems likely that there was simply a scribal error and that the hieroglyph results from confusion between  and  (also attested in the *Coffin Texts*, see p. 75), which accounts in this case for the mutilating strike-through – the bubalis for some reason was particularly susceptible to this in the 6th Dynasty pyramids. Perhaps the similarity of the two animals also accounts for the mutilation of the Seth animal in l. 86.

Seth is mentioned only twice in the 12th Dynasty texts of Neha (l. 7 = PT 271 §390b; South wall l. 13 = PT 247 §261a), and in both instances the name is written phonetically without the Seth animal determinative. However, in the contemporaneous texts of Senwosretankh, Seth's name is written logographically – *sth* occurs 37 times, *nwbty* once – mostly with the recumbent animal, although exceptionally in l. 488, the standing variant is used instead:

S l. 488 (= PT 356):



di.n.f sht n.k dhwtj m-ht sth

in.n.f n.k sn iwny shm.f n.k ib n sth tw wr.t(i)

He has caused Thoth to turn back those in the following of Seth for you.

and he has brought them to you altogether; he has driven back the heart of Seth for you,

for you are greater (than he).

There appears to be no contextual reason why the standing variant rather than the more customary recumbent form of the sign is used here, especially since in the passage which follows the latter form is used. This passage is one of the few in Senwosretankh that is not paralleled in W and so orthography cannot be compared. The 6th Dynasty pyramids all write his name phonetically in this spell (T, P, M, and N).

2.2.1.2 Figurative usage

nšn

In PT247 (§261a: W), Seth is called  *nb kri* ‘the Lord of storm’. In the *Coffin Texts*, the Seth animal determines a number of words connected with storm (see below), but in the *Pyramid Texts*, it is used figuratively only as the determinative of *nšn* which occurs in two spells:

PT 255 (§298b):

W: 

T:  S (l. 399): 

di.s nšn m(m) irw irwt

It (flame) will send storm among the doers of (evil) deeds.

Both W (Fig. 2.7a) and S (Fig. 2.7b) modify the form of the Seth animal determinative of *nšn* to perspectivise its watery aspect. T’s avoidance of the Seth animal determinative of *nšn* is typical of its orthography in general; it tends to avoid animal signs entirely.

The second instance of *nšn* is attested only in W and S. In this case, only W uses the perspectivised form of the sign:

PT 261 (§326d):

W: 

S (l. 412): 

N pi irw wpt nšn

It is the king who performs the errand of the storm.

The Seth animal continues to determine *nšn* at all stages of the language, although the watery associations of the word are not always made explicit.

Ibi has two further attestations of the Seth animal determinative, both exhibiting the same unusual form depicting the animal recumbent within a box with lines emanating from the underside. It has been described as a *serekh* (Kaplony 1965, 163), but it may depict Seth within the raining sky he usually sits above, for example in the *Coffin Texts*, thereby combining the connotations of  and .

Jéquier 1935, pl. 3, l. 5:

Ibi: 

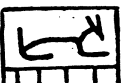
Fig. 2.7 a

b



Fig. 2.8 a

b



[h]pr.f ir tp hdd tp hpirt.f ir ˁ (n)sn ir ssn

There is no parallel text in the known Old Kingdom pyramids and the passage is rather obscure. Kaplony assumed that both Seth animals were determinatives of *ssn* (an Old Kingdom variant of *nšn*) ‘storm’, misspelled in the first instance, the writing of which is paralleled in an Old Kingdom inscription (see 2.5.2). The passage as a whole as it stands is unclear.

As Mercer pointed out (1954, 139), there is a close connection between wrath and storm, and although ‘storm’ is the usual translation of *nšn*, the suggestion of anger associated with it is appropriate. Indeed, although I would not substitute ‘wrath’ in the translation of *nšn* in *PT* 255 (§298b) and *PT* 261 (§ 326d), I agree that wrath is at the basis of the idea and that is why the Seth animal determines the word. The element of aggression is suggested by the use of Seth as a determinative, but the animal’s full implications are waylaid by the addition of the water determinative. Aggression as the underlying idea of *nšn* is specifically brought out in later writings with the addition of a  determinative.

The form of the Seth animal hieroglyph is more or less consistent in W and S, in the same recumbent pose. However, Hayes’s facsimile publication of S reveals some variation in the termination of the animal’s tail. In the 38 undamaged attestations of the animal in S⁷, the tail conforms to the following types in Fig. 2.9:

Fig. 2.9 Terminations of the Seth animal’s tail in Senwosretankh

TERMINATION TYPE	DESCRIPTION	ATTESTATIONS (illustrations in bold)
	Forked	31, 103, 200, 225, 296, 299, 322 , 337, 341, 347, 361, 377, 399, 412, 429, 440, 484, 485, 488 (skewed), 490 (twice)
	Arrow	87, 294, 326 (twice), 327 , 376, 381
	Bulbous	9, 41, 379
	Wedge	249 , 340
	Triangular	341, 488
	Undifferentiated	37, 354 , 397

⁷ The tail of the animal is damaged in ll. 184, and 224.

Borchardt (1909) believed that the Seth animal's tail was always an arrow, but the forked and the bulbous tail in S are deviations, and the examples conforming to the former type in particular are too numerous to be dismissed as anomalous. Thus while the animal's tail was sometimes articulated as an arrow, this was not always the case. However, if the forked termination depicts the animal's tail as a forked stick, it may be analogous to the arrow termination in representing the tail as a weapon.

2.2.2 The Coffin Texts

2.2.2.1 Non-figurative usage

sth

There is a great expansion in the use of Seth as a determinative in the *Coffin Texts*, with over 200 mentions of his name alone (Table 2.1). As in the *Pyramid Texts*, there are spells to endow the deceased with positive Sethian attributes, for example he is identified with Seth in order to drive away crocodiles in *CT* 424, and he takes on Seth's majesty (*šfšft*) in *CT* 694. Seth is described as the protector of Re in *CT* 160,⁸ and the protector of the deceased in *CT* 64, but his powerful strength is portrayed much more often as a negative quality. Thus, in *CT* 50, he threatens Osiris:

CT 50 (I. 227f–h):

B12C: 



mk sth iyw m hprw.f dd.n.f ssnd h' ntrw di h{3} (=hm) nkn.f ir š'f'f'

Look, Seth is come in his (true) shape. He has said:

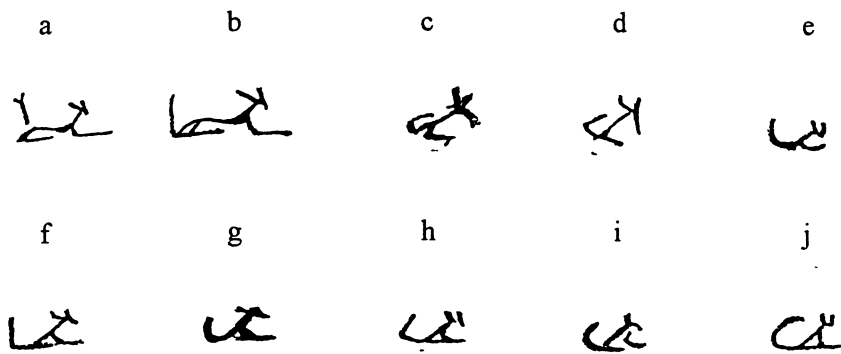
‘(I) will cause the god’s body to fear, indeed (I) will cause him injury, (I) will slaughter him.’

The majority of contexts in which he is mentioned, therefore, describe the curbing of his destructive power and his submission to Osiris, whose body he must always bear on his back (e.g. *CT* 74), and to Horus, who is judged triumphant over him by the divine tribunal (e.g. *CT* 12). By extension, the deceased is also described triumphing over Seth and subduing him (e.g. *CT* 67, 251). Thus, to a much greater extent than in the *Pyramid Texts*, Seth is an enemy in the *Coffin Texts* (cf. Altenmüller 1975, 198).

With the increase in the usage of the Seth animal to write the god’s name, there is a corresponding increase in the orthographic variety. The recumbent animal is again the most common form of the sign, both in logographic writings (marked by * in Table 2.1), and as a determinative. Although de Buck occasionally transcribed the animal in seated form rather than recumbent, it is often not possible to distinguish the two (Fig. 2.10).

⁸ The earliest attestation of Seth in this role (Borghouts 1973, 115).

Fig. 2.10



The clearest examples of the recumbent animal are those which depict both the front and the back paws (M1C: Figs. 2.10a–b), but in those coffins where the depictions are rougher, it is more difficult to distinguish between forms. A1C, for example, depicts only the animal’s back legs, but the sign may nevertheless have been intended to be recumbent (Figs. 2.10c–d). G2T also depicts the back legs only, but seems also to be recumbent (Fig. 2.10e). Even within the same coffin, there can be confusion. G1T shows a variety of forms, some clearly recumbent (Figs. 2.10f–g), others possibly seated (Figs. 2.10h–j). Due to this graphic ambiguity and since there is no semantic difference between the two forms, they have been classed together under the recumbent form in Table 2.1.

Fig. 2.11



The standing variant, by contrast, is very distinct, but occurs relatively infrequently in only a few manuscripts. In T2L it occurs in both a simple form (𐍎: e.g. twice in *CT* 397) and in a more elaborate form on top of a standard (𐍏: twice in *CT* 841; Figs. 2.11a–b).

Fig. 2.12



One sign has been interpreted as the Seth deity sign in S10C’s version of *CT* 772 (VI. 406j), by Faulkner (1977, 302), and the *CT* Index (1998, 271). Faulkner (1977, 302 n. 7) described it as ‘Woman(!)-det. with Seth head superimposed’ (Fig. 2.12).

Although the passage pairs this deity with Horus, and Seth is one possible reading of the sign, the appendage on the deity's head does not appear to be a Seth animal's head. Moreover, the woman determinative could simply be a writing of the beardless god sign (Schenkel 1976, 6, fig. 27). In the corresponding *Book of the Dead* spell (*BD* 52) the god paired with Horus is Thoth, and so it is likely here that the appendage is rather an ibis head.

There are various orthographies of Seth's name when it is phonetically written, which occur with and without the Seth animal determinative:

-  (e.g. *CT* 587, VI. 208k: P. Gard. II)
-  (e.g. *CT* 397, V. 77a: T1Be)
-  (e.g. *CT* 397, V. 76b, M2C)

These writings are attested in a number of other manuscripts, but there are a few unique orthographies. T1L once writes   (*CT* 9, I. 30b: T1L),⁹ although its other three attestations of *sth* are all written without the final *t* (*CT* 268, IV. 1d; *CT* 358, V. 10d; and *CT* 769, VI. 402j). B16C once writes  (*CT* 37, I. 155c); its other attestation of the name is written more normally,  (*CT* 50, I. 227f), although the Seth animal's tail is missing. All the manuscripts of *CT* 464 (V. 336b, 337a) write *sty* ( ,  ) , which is interpreted by the *CT* Index (1998, 271) as an instance of 'Seth', but not by Faulkner (1977, 90 n. 2) even although he noted that the corresponding *Book of the Dead* spell (*BD* 224) does write 'Seth'.

In most cases, the various phonetic writings of Seth's name are accompanied by a deity determinative:  is the most common form, but  is attested in T2L (*CT* 397, V. 77a) and in Sq1Sq (*CT* 857, VII. 59i), and  is written in a number of coffins which seem to avoid all animate signs (e.g. M57C and BH1Br, BH4C, and L2Li).

⁹ Compare the orthography of *sth* in the *Pyramid Texts* of Neith (p. 55).

Table 2.1: Seth in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE						-0-	Other
CT 9 I. 30b	S10C T9C	B2Bo* B1P*	B3Bo B6C B4C MC105 T1L: 		B4Bo		
CT 12 I. 39c	B4Bo* S10C*	B2Bo* T2C*	B3Bo B1P B15C B6C				B4C, MC105: damaged T9C: different
CT 13 I. 43a	S10C*	B2Bo*	B6C B4C B3Bo	B4Bo	B1P		MC105: damaged
CT 16 I. 49a	S10C*	B2Bo* B4Bo* B1P* T2C*	B3Bo B15C B6C MC105				
CT 37 I. 155c	B4L*	B2Bo* B12Cb*	B3Bo B16C: 				B13Cb, B20C: damaged
CT 37 I. 155e		B2Bo*	B3Bo				
CT 50 I. 227f		B12C B16C*: tailless		B10Cb* B10Cc*			B13C: damaged B17C: 
CT 60 I. 249c			B10Cb B4C		B10Cc*	B1Y	B10Ca: omitted B10Cd: damaged
CT 60 I. 250f				B10Ca*	B10Cc* B4C*		B10Cb: omitted B10Cd, B1Y: damaged
CT 63 I. 272g	T1C* T9C* Sq3C*	T2C*					B10C: damaged
CT 65 I. 277d	T1C* T9C* Sq3C*	T2C*		B10C*			
CT 67 I. 289a	T2C* T9C* Sq3C*	T1C*		B10C*			
CT 73 I. 305g	T2C* Sq3C* T1C: 	T9C*					B10C: damaged
CT 74 I. 309a	T9C*			B10C*			
CT 112 II. 127b	M23C*	S1C* G2T* S2Ca*					S2Cb: damaged
CT 113 II. 130c			B9C		B1C* B2L*: 		B6Bo: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 113 II. 131b			B9C	B2L*: 	B1C*		
CT 118 II. 142a		S1C* G2T* S2Ca*					S2Cb
CT 119 II. 143b		G2T* S2Ca*					S1C: omitted S2Cb: damaged
CT 119 II. 143c		S1C					
CT 131 II. 151e		S1C* G2T*					S2C: damaged
CT 148 II. 213b	S1Ca* S1Cb*	S2P* S1P* S1Chass*					S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 148 II. 224a		S1Ca* S1P* S1Cb* S1Chass					S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 157 II. 341a	B4Lb* S1C*	S2P* S3P* S2C* B2Bo* B4La*	B17C	B1L*	B2P* B1C*	B4Bo B9C	B1Y: damaged
CT 157 II. 342b	B4La* B2Bo*	S2P* S3P* S2C* S1C*	B17C	B1L*	B2P* B1C* B4Lb*	B4Bo B9C	B1Y: damaged
CT 158 II. 359f	B2Bo* B4La*	S2P* S2C*	B9C	B1L*	B2P* B1Y* B4Lb* B1C*	B4Bo	B17C: damaged
CT 160 II. 380c	B4La*	S2P* S2C* B2Bo*	B4Bo B1L B17C B3Ca		B2P* B4Lb* B1Y* B1C*	B9C	
CT 160 II. 387a		S2P*					S2C, B1Y: damaged B2Bo, B4Bo, B9C, B2P, B4La, B4Lb, B1L, B17C, B1C, B3Ca: omitted
CT 162 II. 394a		M22C T3C* G1T*	B1Bo		B6C B2Bo B4Bo Y1C* BH1Ox* BH2C*		S2C, M23C: damaged
CT 187 III. 89e			B3Bo			B9C	B1L: <i>wsir</i>

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 203 III. 138b		S1C*					T2Be: omitted
CT 220 III. 202i				B1L*	B3L*		
CT 227 III. 261a	Sq3C*						B2L, L1Li, P. Gard. II: omitted
CT 251 III. 349f		S1Ca* S2C* S1Cb*					
CT 264 III. 393g						B1Bo	
CT 268 IV. 1d	Sq6C*		B1Bo T1L		B2Be*		
CT 280 IV. 29c	Sq6C* Sq3C*						
CT 303 IV. 56d			B1P	B3L*			
CT 310 IV. 66i						T1C	
CT 312 IV. 84i			B6C				
CT 312 IV. 85q			B6C				
CT 312 IV. 86k			B6C				
CT 315 IV. 97k		B1P*					
CT 316 IV. 105e		S2P* S1C*					S2C: damaged
CT 318 IV. 140c		S1Chass*			B2L* B1P*		S2C, B7C: damaged
CT 325 IV. 154d		G1T*					S2Ca, A1C: damaged S1Cb, S2Cb, S1Ca: omitted

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 335 IV. 234-5b	Sq1C* Sq7C* M4C* M1C* Sq78sq*	T2Be*	B9Ca M8C T3Be M57C, BH1Br: 		B1P*	T1Cb	B5C, M54C, MINY, L3Li: damaged M7C:  T1Be:  T3L, MINY: omitted
CT 335 IV. 236-7a	M4C*		BH1Br: 				L1NY: damaged Omitted in all others
CT 335 IV. 236-7b	Sq1C* Sq7C* M1C*	M4C*	B9Ca M8C T3Be M57C:  BH1Br: 			L1NY	B1P, B5C, T2Be, M54C, L3Li: damaged B1Y, MINY: omitted M7C:  T1Be: 
CT 335 IV. 276d	Sq78sq*						Omitted in all others
CT 335 IV. 321b		T2Be*				T1Cb	T1Be:  B1Y, B3C, MINY: omitted
CT 349 IV. 384c			B1Bo				T3Be: omitted B3C, B1C: <i>tsds</i>
CT 353 IV. 396-7b		B5C* BH3Ox*	B3Bo B4C			T1Ca T1Cb B1Boa	S1C, B2L, B3C, M5C, M39C, B1Bo, S10C, B2Bo, B4Bo, B1Y, Y1C: omitted S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 354 IV. 402b			B3C		B2L: 		
CT 356 V. 8e			B2L		B1C*		L1Li: omitted
CT 358 V. 10d			T1L				
CT 362 V. 21f					S10C*		

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 366 V. 27e					B2L* B1C* B2P*		Sq3C: damaged Sq6C: omitted
CT 373 V. 35f					B2L* B2P*		
CT 373 V. 35h				B2L*	B2P*		
CT 373 V. 35q				B2L*	B2P*		
CT 389 V. 59b	S10C*						Others: different deities
CT 396 V. 73k				B9C*			
CT 396 V. 74w						B9C	
CT 397 V. 76b	Sq1C* T3L* Sq7Sq*	T2L*: 	T1C			Sq1Sq Sq2Sq T1Be	M2C:  Ab1Ph: damaged
CT 397 V. 77a	Sq1C* T3L* Sq7Sq*	T2L*: 	T1C			Sq1Sq Sq2Sq T1Be	M2C:  Ab1Ph: damaged
CT 397 V. 86c	Sq7Sq*		T1C			Sq1Sq Sq2Sq	Sq1C, T2Be: damaged T1Be, M2C, Ab1Ph: omitted
CT 397 V. 87b							T1Be:  M2C:  Ab1Ph: damaged
CT 397 V. 94a						Sq1Sq	Sq2Sq, M2C, Sq1C: damaged T1Be: omitted
CT 398 V. 120b	M4C*	G1T* G2T* M6C* A1C* T3L* M3C* M5C*				M2NY	M46C: omitted M21C: damaged
CT 398 V. 121b	M4C* M46C*	A1C* T3L* M21C* M5C* M3C*			G1T* G2T*	M2NY	M6C: damaged
CT 398 V. 128a	A1C* M3C* M5C*	G1T* M21C* M6C*				M2NY	M13C, M46C, M4C: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 398 V. 137a	M5C*	G1T* A1C*			M4C: 		M3C, M13C, M4C, M21C, M6C, M2NY: damaged
CT 400 V. 172g		S1C* M5Ca*				M2NYa	M2NYb, M5Cb: omitted
CT 405 V. 210k						M1C	
CT 407 V. 214o		M22C* B2Bo* S1C*	B3Bo B2L	B1C*	S2C*		M6C, M23C: damaged
CT 408 V. 225n		S2C*					
CT 424 V. 267f	B2Bo*		B4Bo B1Bo		S14C* S10C*		M2NY, S2C: damaged
CT 441 V. 300a		M22C	S14C B3Bo				B1Bo: omitted
CT 444 V. 311d			B1Boa S14Ca				S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 445 V. 314o	M22C*						
CT 446 V. 316e			B3Bo				
CT 453 V. 322l			B17C	B2L*			
CT 454 V. 325g			B2L B17C				B4C
CT 458 V. 331x					B3L* B1L*		
CT 464 V. 336b			B9C B5C B6C B1C B3L B1L B1Bo				
CT 464 V. 337a			B9C B5C B6C B1C B3L B1L B1Bo				
CT 464 V. 337d	B6C* B3L*	B5C*	B1Bo		B9C* B1C* B1L*		
CT 477 VI. 36l					B1P*		
CT 478 VI. 37b				B1L			

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 519 VI. 108j	B9C		B10C				
CT 526 VI. 118n		S2Ca* S2cb*					
CT 526 VI. 119d		S2Ca*: 					
CT 528 VI. 120c	S2C*						
CT 531 VI. 123h		M36C* M35C*					M16C, M1Ann: omitted
CT 531 VI. 125d		M36C*	M16C M1Ann				M35C, M2Ann: damaged
CT 532 VI. 126k						T1Be	
CT 564 VI. 163g			B4C				M2NY: damaged
CT 568 VI. 167e			B4C		S10C	B1Bo	
CT 571 VI. 172k			B1Bo				
CT 576 VI. 191d					B1Be*		B1C: damaged B1P: omitted
CT 581 VI. 196u		P. Gard. II					
CT 587 VI. 208k		P. Gard. II					
CT 587 VI. 208o		P. Gard. II					
CT 587 VI. 209a			P. Gard. II				
CT 595 VI. 213i		S2P*					
CT 607 VI. 220a			L2Li: 				
CT 630 VI. 252e	Sq6C* Sq3C* Sq4C*						
CT 630 VI. 252h	Sq6C* Sq3C*	Sq4C*					

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 631 VI. 253m	Sq6C*						B3Bo : <i>nšny</i>
CT 633 VI. 255l	Sq6C* Sq3C*						
CT 633 VI. 255m	Sq6C* Sq3C*						
CT 640 VI. 261f		T2Be*				M2NY	
CT 647 VI. 269t		G1T*					
CT 660 VI. 281c						B1Bo	
CT 665 VI. 291h						B1Bo	
CT 666 VI. 294l			B1Bo				
CT 681 VI. 306l			B1Bo				
CT 681 VI. 306q						B1Bo	
CT 681 VI. 307i			B1Bo				
CT 681 VI. 307j						B1Bo	
CT 688 VI. 318b						B1Bo	
CT 693 VI. 325m			B15C				
CT 694 VI. 327e		B1P*					
CT 725 VI. 355l			B3Bo				
CT 769 VI. 402j			T1L				
CT 775 VI. 408i					S10C*: 		
CT 775 VI. 408q					S10C*		

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 790 VII. 2s						L2Li	
CT 803 VII. 9s						L2Li	
CT 821 VII. 22f						T1Be	
CT 832 VII. 33f	T1C T9C*			B10C*			
CT 837 VII. 37e	T9C*			B10C*			
CT 837 VII. 37i	T9C*			B10C*			
CT 837 VII. 37k				B10C*			T9C: omitted
CT 837 VII. 38c						B10C	T9C: omitted
CT 838 VII. 40b	T9C*			B10C*			
CT 839 VII. 44b	T9C*						B10C: damaged
CT 841 VII. 46e		T2L: 					
CT 841 VII. 46f		T2L*: 					
CT 843 VII. 48f	T2C*						
CT 846 VII. 50b	Sq6C*						
CT 855 VII. 58e	Sq6C*						
CT 856 VII. 58l	Sq3C*						
CT 856 VII. 58m	Sq3C*						
CT 856 VII. 58o	Sq3C*						
CT 857 VII. 59i	Sq3Ca* Sq3Cb* Sq10C*		Sq1Sq: 			Sq2Sq	ThT 240: omitted

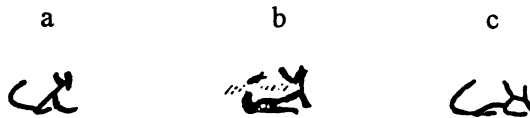
SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 857 VII. 60e	Sq3Cb*						
CT 858 VII. 61i	Sq3C*						
CT 858 VII. 61k	Sq3C*						
CT 858 VII. 61w	Sq3C*						
CT 859 VII. 62l						Sq1Sq	
CT 859 VII. 62bb						Sq1Sq	
CT 859 VII. 62cc						Sq1Sq	
CT 866 VII. 72k		S2Cb*					S2Ca: damaged
CT 876 VII. 88a		S2Ca* S2Cb*					
CT 882 VII. 93m	S14C*						
CT 889 VII. 100t				S10C*			
CT 900 VII. 107i			BH4C: 				
CT 901 VII. 108r			BH4C: 				
CT 936 VII. 138p					G1T*		
CT 936 VII. 139f		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 139n		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 139q		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 140n		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 141e		G1T*					

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 936 VII. 141h		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 141j		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 142b		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 142c		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 142e		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 142g		G1T*					
CT 936 VII. 142s		G1T*					
CT 941 VII. 154p							P. Gard. III: damaged
CT 941 VII. 155d		P. Gard. III					
CT 942 VII. 155l		P. Gard. III					
CT 942 VII. 156i		P. Gard. III					
CT 945 VII. 161j		P. Gard. III					
CT 956 VII. 171g		P. Gard. III*					
CT 956 VII. 171q		P. Gard. III*					
CT 957 VII. 173n							P. Gard. III, IV: damaged
CT 957 VII. 174m		P. Gard. III* P. Gard. IV*					
CT 960 VII. 178k		P. Gard. III*					
CT 993 VII. 205p		P. Gard. II					
CT 996 VII. 212l		P. Gard. II* P. Gard. III*					

SOURCE (cont.)						-0-	Other
CT 996 VII. 212m		P. Gard. III* P. Gard II*					
CT 1011 VII. 226l		P. Gard. II*					
CT 1013 VII. 230l		P. Gard II					
CT 1013 VII. 230o		P. Gard. II*					
CT 1017 VII. 238t		P. Gard. II*					
CT 1021 VII. 242m		P. Gard II					
CT 1028 VII. 250p		P. Gard. II*					
CT 1028 VII. 251s		P. Gard. II*					
CT 1076 VII. 347d	B2Bo*		B3C B4Bo		B1C*		
CT 1079 VII. 351c	B2Bo*		B3C B4Bo				B1C: damaged
CT 1118 VII. 451b				B1C* B3L* B1L*	B3C	B9C	
CT 1119 VII. 451e			B3C B1L		B3L*	B9C	B4C: damaged
CT 1122 VII. 454c			B3C	B1L*	B3L*	B9C	
CT 1128 VII. 458g			B3C B9C	B1L*	B3L*		
CT 1138 VII. 484a	B5C*				B1Be*		B1P: damaged
CT 1143 VII. 490q		B1P, B5C: 					B1Be: 
CT 1143 VII. 490r		B1P, B5C: 					B1Be: 
CT 1143 VII. 490s		B1P, B5C: 					B1Be: 
CT 1143 VII. 490t		B1P:  B5C: 					B1Be: 

There are occasional graphic confusions between the Seth animal and other signs. B17C mistakenly writes a bubalis sign for a Seth animal in *CT* 50 (I. 227f), and the Seth animal is mistakenly written for a lion sign in *CT* 389 (V. 59b) in S10C.¹⁰ The confusion between the lion and the Seth animal is possibly the reason why a Seth animal determinative is attested in the writing of Sekhmet's name in *CT* 398 (V. 144b and V. 145a; Fig. 2.13 gives the writings of G1T, A1C, and M21C for V. 145a). De Buck transcribed each as a lion, but the forms are very similar in cursive hieroglyphs to these coffins' writings of the Seth animal.

Fig. 2.13



The curving of the animal sign's tail is a characteristic of the lion rather than the Seth animal as a hieroglyphic sign, but in cursive hieroglyphs, this is not always the case (compare the curved tail of the Seth animal in A1C and G2T in Figs. 2.10c–e above). Perhaps it is again a lion that was intended for the determinative of *rrwt*¹¹ in S1C's version of *CT* 400 (V. 168c). The other variant of this passage, M2NY lacks a determinative in its writing of *rrwt*. The head of the sign in S1C looks like the Seth deity determinative, but the tail is not typical of that hieroglyph. It is possible that the same sign occurs in a stela dedicated to Mut (Stewart 1971, pl. 25 62/3), but its identity is also uncertain. Stewart suggested that it was either an ass or a Seth animal, describing it as 'both unusual and difficult to explain'. Since it is used as the determinative of the goddess Mut's epithet 'ꜥꜥ *hprw* 'multitudinous of forms', Stewart believed 'it may perhaps refer to the ability of Seth and his followers to assume the forms of many different kinds of animal' (1971, 91 n.1). However, the curve of the animal's tail on the Mut stela and in the *Coffin Texts* spell suggests that it is leonine rather than Sethian. Although the Seth deity sign does occasionally occur with a tail, for example on the 19th Dynasty stela of Aapehty (Pinch 1994, fig. 13), it is not a common form for the hieroglyph to take. Moreover,

¹⁰ Y1C writes a bubalis sign instead of a lion here.

¹¹ Treatments of this word vary: 'a divine name' (*CT* Index 1998, 184); a variant of *Rwty* 'the double lion god' (van der Molen 2000, 283). Faulkner (1977, 43) and Barguet (1986, 356) transliterated the name without translating.

the usage of the Seth deity sign in the *Coffin Texts* is extremely restricted. In all likelihood, the determinative of *rrwt*, therefore, is not Sethian.

wḏꜥ and *nwbty*

In the *Coffin Texts*, Seth is often referred to by epithets. The most common is  *wḏꜥ* which Faulkner translated as ‘the Outcast’ (so te Velde 1977, 30–32). Gardiner (1957a, 542) listed the -sign among the unidentified hieroglyphic signs (Aa 21) and hesitantly suggested that it might be a carpenter’s tool, based on its appearance in a relief from the tomb of Ti where it is being used by a craftsman. The caption above the scene reads  ‘hollowing out with seal- *ḏꜥ*?’ (Steindorff 1913, pl. 132). It probably represents some kind of chiselling tool, which would account for its figurative meaning ‘to judge’, the basis of which is the idea of separation. The judgement between Horus and Seth is a recurring theme in the *Coffin Texts*, and is perhaps the origin of the epithet.

Logographic writings of *wḏꜥ* have been included with writings of *sth* in Table 2.1 because although there are spells in which only *wḏꜥ* is written in the various manuscripts (e.g. CT 373), it is much more common for  to be used as an alternative to the Seth animal sign both in logographic writings (e.g. B2P in CT 157, II. 341a: ) and as a determinative (e.g. B4Bo in CT 13, I. 43a: ) where other manuscripts write *sth*. *wḏꜥ* partially takes the place of the phonetic writing the 6th Dynasty pyramids opted for, although phonetic writings continue. It also serves once in B11C’s writing of *nbwy* ‘the Two Lords’ in CT 524 (VI. 116e): . Similarly, the other manuscript of this spell, B5Bo, also seems to avoid the Seth animal, only the *s* presumably of a phonetic writing of his name remains: . *nbwy* occurs in only one other spell (CT 530: VI. 121f), which is attested in five coffins, although only BH10x and BH2C write the epithet with a Seth animal, but it lacks a tail in both instances.

S10C alternates between writings with the Seth animal (e.g. CT 389, V. 59b) and the *wḏꜥ*-sign (e.g. CT 362, V. 21f), but in one spell seems to have originally written a Seth animal, which was then struck out (de Buck described it as ‘cancelled’) and replaced (Fig. 2.14):

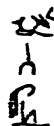
CT 775 (VI. 408i):

S10C: 

bṯ sp sn imyw-ḥt wḏꜥ

Run, run, you who are in the following of the Outcast.

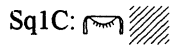
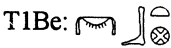
Fig. 2.14

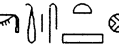
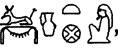
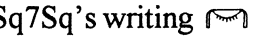


The *wd^c*-sign itself, however, could be treated in the same way, perhaps because it acquired a strong affinity with the god. It seems to be struck out twice in B2L (*CT* 113, II. 130c, 131b) and once in M4C (*CT* 398, V. 137a).

By contrast, Seth’s other common epithet in the *Coffin Texts*, *nwbty* ‘the Ombite’, is distinct from writings of his name. There are six occurrences of *nwbty* in five spells, the variant writings of which are given in Table 2.2:

Table 2.2: *nwbty* in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE	ORTHOGRAPHY
<i>CT</i> 255 III. 360b	S2Ca, S1Cb, S3C:  S1C:  S1Cc:  S2Cb: damaged
<i>CT</i> 362 V. 17g	Sq11C:  T1C:  B5C:  B3Bo: omitted
<i>CT</i> 397 V. 94a, V. 117: 94a	Sq1Sq:  Sq1C:  T1Be:  Sq7C:  Sq2Sq, M2C: damaged
<i>CT</i> 404 V. 191b	B5C:  B7C:  B9C: 
<i>CT</i> 479 VI. 40k	P. Gard. II: 

The orthographies of this epithet vary from instance to instance and among the individual variants quite considerably, although the correspondence between the related manuscripts of *CT* 255 is striking in contrast to an unrelated group like the variants of *CT* 362 which share very little in common. The inclusion of a *pt*-sign in Sq11C’s version of *CT* 362 could possibly represent the intrusion of Seth’s figurative associations into the writing of his epithet, but in all likelihood it is a mistaken writing of the *nwb*-sign, which has a form similar to that of the *pt*-sign in cursive hieroglyphs. A phonetic writing of Seth’s name intrudes into Sq1Sq’s writing of *nwbty* in *CT* 397: . This is possibly a means of avoiding the Seth animal determinative, which this coffin never uses in its writings of *sth* (see Table 2.1). This may also be the explanation for P. Gardiner II’s writing in *CT* 479:  if *th* and *ne* are phonetic complements. Sq7Sq’s writing  in *CT* 397 is probably due to confusion

with  reading *d'm*. De Buck noted that the bird following the *nwb* sign is not clear, but that Gunn's copy suggested that it was .

Sethian animals

 is attested twice as a determinative in writings of *sth* in M7C's manuscript of CT 335 (IV. 234–35b; 236–37b). There are no other writings of *sth* in M7C with which to compare these two instances. The  in T1Be's attestation of the name, , in the same spell may be a mistaken writing of the same sign. The same orthography is attested for T1Be in CT 397, where it adds an additional stroke: . M2C uses a similar orthography in the same spell and also includes the stroke: . The hide and tail sign is attested again in CT 1143, where B1Be seems to use it logographically to write *sth*, whereas B1P and B5C both write  four times (the deity determinative is not written in B1P in one instance, VII. 490t, due to lack of space). Perhaps in this case, since the spell calls upon 'the four Seths' as protection for the deceased amongst other guardian deities, the allusion is to the Seth animal rather than the god, which would account for the hide and tail determinative.

Seth's animal form is occasionally alluded to in other spells. In CT 397 (V. 86c), his tail (*sd*) is identified with the finials of a ferry-boat, and in CT 203, he is possibly referred to in his form as an ass, although the forms of the ass determinative of *pis* and the Sethian logogram are not similar (Fig. 2.15a–b):

CT 203 (III. 138a–b):

S1C: 


ššh.tw n.i m hp hnt n ššw pis.t(w) n.i m sth nb pt mht

One will reap for me as Apis, foremost one of Sais,
 one will sow for me as Seth, lord of the northern sky.

Fig. 2.15



Reaping and sowing in the mundane world was done with oxen and asses (cf. 2.6.1), but in the supernatural sphere, the deceased perhaps had the ability to call upon the divine counterparts of the animals. Although there are no writings of 'š 'ass' with a Sethian determinative in the *Coffin Texts*, there are many examples in other genres (see 2.3.1, 2.6.1).

š3 occurs 11 times as an animal's name in the *Coffin Texts*. The *CT Index* (1998, 276) translated eight of these as 'pig' and the other three as 'Seth animal' seemingly on the basis of the determinative, because the Seth animal occurs as a determinative among the variants in three instances, but not in the other eight (Table 2.3).¹²

Table 2.3: š3 in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE				OTHER QUADRUPED	OTHER
CT 75 I. 397b	S1C:  B1Bo, B7C		B2L	T3C B1P	B1C: -0- M23C: damaged M28C, G1T: omitted
CT 80 II. 42b		B1P, B7C	B2L		B1C: -0-
CT 157 II. 338–9d		S2P, S3P, B2Bo, B4La, B4Lb, B2P, B4Bo, B9C			S2C, S3C: damaged
CT 157 II. 340a		S2P, S3P, S2C, B2Bo, B2P, B4La, B4Lb, B1C, S1C, B9C	B1L		B17C:  B1Y: damaged
CT 157 II. 342b		S2P, S3P, B2Bo, B4Bo, B2P, B4La, B4Lb, S1C, B9C	B1L		B1C, B17C: 
CT 157 II. 343c		S2P, S3P, S2C, B2Bo, B4Bo, B2P, S1C, B9C			
CT 157 II. 344a		S2P, S3P, S2C, B2Bo, B4Bo, B2P, B4La, S1C, B9C	B1L		B4La, B1Y: damaged B17C, B1C: 
CT 157 II. 345a		S2P, S3P, B2Bo, B4Bo, B2P, B9C, B4La, B4Lb, S1C	B1L, B1Y		B17C, B1C: 
CT 158 II. 362c		S2P			
CT 533 VI. 131b	M6C				M23C: 
CT 854 VII. 57g	Sq6C				

bold: plural -0- no determinative

¹² It also included CT 99, II. 96d and CT 107, II. 120c, but they are writings of (s)š3 'antelope' as is clear from their determinatives: see Faulkner 1973, 98 n.6.

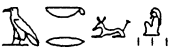
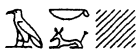
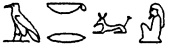
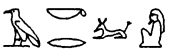
Although de Buck transcribed the animal sign in *CT* 75, 533, and 854 as the Seth animal, which consistently takes the form of the standing variant with only one exception (S1C in *CT* 75, I. 397b:                       

In contrast to *niwt*, which as Griffith (1898, 32) pointed out may mean ‘any centre of habitation, whether farmhouse, hamlet, village or city’, *ṣ* may signify any uninhabited place, originally (etymologically) the marshlands but extended to mean any area outwith the bounds of the city. This would account for its pairing with *niwt* in the papyri quoted above. The Seth animal and the pig are therefore linked by their shared epithet to the fringes of the Egyptian world, the marshlands and the desert-edges.

ṣkrw

The word *ṣkr(w)* ‘earth god(s)’ occurs 43 times in various contexts. Sometimes, they are a hindrance to the deceased (e.g. *CT* 66, I. 280f; *CT* 75, I. 399c), but mostly they are ancient and powerful beings, the personification of the earth, who are said to have existed before everything including Geb (*CT* 474, VI. 23a). The most common determinative is . It occurs as the sole determinative among the variants in thirty two instances, and within each it is usually the commonest writing; for example, in *CT* 80 (II. 28a) five out of six manuscripts write   .  is also found in combination with the following determinatives:  (*CT* 480: VI. 44r in P. Gard. II),  (*CT* 407: V. 219a in SIC), and in six instances seemingly with  (for the latter, see Table 2.4). The snake occurs twice in SIC (*CT* 105, II. 112e and *CT* 480, VI. 44r) as the sole determinative of *ṣkr*, but neither the lion nor the Seth animal occurs without being combined with . The double lion, , is found both as a determinative on its own and in combination with other signs like  and , and once in B1P in a logographic writing in *CT* 1141 (VII. 488f). It is a common determinative of the word outside the *Coffin Texts* (*Wb.* I.22).

Table 2.4: *3krw* with the Seth animal determinative in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE	MANUSCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY	OTHER DETERMINATIVES
CT 75 I. 398a	S1C: 	S2C:  B1Bo:  T3C, B1C, B2L, B1P: 
CT 105 II. 112e	G2T: 	S1C: 
CT 160 II. 385a	B3Ca: 	S2P, S2C:  B2Bo: -0-
CT 404 V. 189g	B7C: 	B9C, B10C:  B5C:  
CT 573 VI. 177c	S1C: 	B4C: different
CT 586 VI. 206c	S1C: 	S2C: 

Comparing the form and distribution of the Seth animal determinative of *3krw* to that of the lion, there are striking similarities. Just as the lion never occurs without the  determinative, neither does the Seth animal. The lion is always depicted recumbent, and in five out of its six occurrences, so is the Seth animal. De Buck commented on the form of the animal in both B3C (CT 160, II. 385a) and B7C (CT 404, V. 189g).

Fig. 2.16a



In B3C, the animal has been drawn in an extremely shorthand way, lacking a snout and front paws; notably its tail is curved (Fig. 2.16a).

Fig. 2.16b



The tail is also unusual in B7C. It curves around the animal's flank, in the same manner in which the lion's tail is usually depicted, although the termination is similar to that of a Seth animal's tail (Fig. 2.16b).

In B7C's writing, *r* is omitted from the phonetic stem. Considering that  often represents this phonetic quantity, the likelihood of a mistaken writing of the Seth sign for  is increased. Since Seth is not associated with this word outside the *Coffin Texts*, it is probable that his appearance as a determinative is due to graphic confusion rather than being attributable to a

While certain signs resemble the Seth animal (M20C: Fig. 2.18a), some have a more feline appearance (S1C, G1T: Figs. 2.18b–c). Very few actually look like the hieroglyphic form of the giraffe. The sign in B16C (Fig. 2.18d) is an exception, but this manuscript once writes a jackal by mistake and so is not consistent (Fig. 2.18e). Whatever its detailing, the animal is usually recumbent, a pose in which the hieroglyphic giraffe is never depicted. Whether this is simply a question of the extent to which certain signs retain their individual iconicity in cursive hieroglyphs or whether the different forms signify different determinatives with distinct meanings is difficult to decide. Outside the *Coffin Texts*, there are several other instances of the verb *sr* being ‘mistakenly’ determined with the Seth animal and so this issue is discussed again (2.5.2; 2.6.2).

2.2.2.2 Figurative usage

nšn

Of the three words connected with malevolent weather that the Seth animal may determine in the *Coffin Texts*, it is used most often with *nšn* ‘storm, rage’. Among the 51 occurrences of *nšn* as a noun (see Table 2.5a) and as a verb (Table 2.5b) in the *Coffin Texts*, 33 have a Sethian determinative among the variant manuscripts.¹³ In writings of *nšn*, the sign is always in animal form. The deity form of the sign, , is very restricted in its usage in the *Coffin Texts* (see below).

Table 2.5a: *nšn* (nominal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE								OTHER
CT 80 II. 30f						B1C B2L B1P	B1Bo	B7C: damaged G1T, A1C: <i>šnit</i>
CT 82 II. 45f						B1C		B1P:  B2L:  B7C: damaged
CT 115 II. 135b		S1C	G2T					S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged

¹³ The *CT Index* (1998, 164) also cited 51, omitting *CT* 932 (VII. 132b) and including *CT* 397 (V. 98c). I include the former and discount the latter since *nšn* occurs in T1Be only as a miswriting of *ššnw* ‘cordage’.

SOURCE (cont.)								Other
CT 288 IV. 40g		Sq6C	P. Gard III: 					Sq1C: different P. Gard. II: damaged
CT 335 IV. 238-9c		B5C Sq1C T2Be	T1Ca T1Cb Sq4Sq Sq7C M4C	Sq7Sq (411)		B9Cb B1P B9Ca	B3C	B1Y, M54C: damaged BH1Br:
								L1NY, M8C, M7C:
								M1C, M57C, T1Be, T3Be:
								M1NY:
								L3Li: -0-
CT 335 IV. 240-1a	Sq7C	B5C Sq1C T2Be				B1P B9Ca		M7C, M8C:
								M1C, T1Be, L3Li, M57C:
								T3Be, M54C BH1Br:
								L1Ny: damaged
CT 353 IV. 396-7b	B3Bo:	B2Bo:		M5C M39C		B2L B1Y	T1Ca T1Cb B3C B1Boa B1Bob	B4Bo:
		B5C S1C S2Ca S2Cb Y1C						S10C: -0- BH3Ox, B4C: damaged
CT 358 V. 10e							T1L	
CT 358 V. 10p							T1L	
CT 384 V. 51a		B6C B2Bo						B4Bo:
								B1Y, S2C, B4C: damaged
CT 479 VI. 39j	P. Gard. II:							
CT 507 VI. 92l								B9C: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)								Other
CT 555 VI. 155i							B2Bo	B1Bo: 
CT 555 VI. 156c					B2Bo		B1Bo	
CT 607 VI. 220a								L2Li: 
CT 631 VI. 253m	Sq6C* (‘Seth’)	B3Bo: 						
CT 631 VI. 254p		Sq6C: 						
CT 666 VI. 293q							B1Bo	
CT 672 VI. 300i							B1Bo	
CT 681 VI. 306m							B1Bo	
CT 681 VI. 307b							B1Bo	
CT 686 VI. 316j							B1Bo	
CT 720 VI. 348u					B3Bo: 			
CT 766 VI. 398a							T1L	
CT 836 VII. 36q		T9C						
CT 846 VII. 50b		Sq6C: 						
CT 866 VII. 72k		S2Cb						S2Ca: damaged
CT 875 VII. 84a		S2Ca						S2Cb: damaged
CT 885 VII. 96i		S14C						
CT 932 VII. 132b			M23C*					
CT 937 VII. 146g	P. Gard. IV: 							P. Gard. III: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)								Other
CT 941 VII. 154t	P. Gard. III: 							
CT 946 VII. 163a	P. Gard. III							
CT 1033 VII. 263b			B4C		B2Bo	B9C B1L B1C B2P	B4Bo: B12C B6C B4L B1Bo B3L	B2L: B13C: damaged
CT 1069 VII. 332h		B3L				B2L		B1L: B1C, B2P: damaged
CT 1094 VII. 376b		B2Bo				B2L	B1Bo B4Bo B6C B12C B3C	B1L: B4C, B3C, B9C: damaged
CT 1099 VII. 388b			B3L			B1C B9C B1L B2L B2P	B3C B1Bo B2Bo B4Bo B6C B12C	B4C: damaged
CT 1099 VII. 402a		B3L				B1C B9C B1L B2L B1P	B1Bo B6C B2Bo B12C	
CT 1120 VII. 453g		B3C				B1C B9C		B3L: B1L: B4C: damaged
CT 1130 VII. 461e						B1C B9C	B3C B1Bo B6C	B1L: B4C: damaged
CT 1135 VII. 479b		B5C				B1P B1Be		
CT 1135 VII. 479f					B5C: 	B1P B1Be		
CT 1140 VII. 487c		B5C: 				B1P B1Be		
CT 1143 VII. 490d		B5C				B1P B1Be		

compare.  is used alone in several coffins (e.g. L1Li, B1Bo, BH1Br), but most coffins that use the *pt*-sign without the Seth animal combine it with , for example B1L, which uses  alone once (CT 1069, VII. 332h), but the combined sign  four times (CT 1094, VII. 376b; CT 1120, VII. 453g; CT 1130, VII. 461e and VII. 468g). A more elaborate form of this sign, , is used in CT 335 twice in M7C and three times in M8C (see Table 2.5a).

While several coffins avoid the Seth animal sign, a few of these evoke its figurative associations in other ways; for example, B4Bo uses a phonetic writing of Seth's name combined with a *pt*-sign as a determinative twice, in CT 353 (IV. 396–97b) and CT 384 (V. 51a):    .

Fig. 2.19



Similarly, B2L once uses what appears to be a struck out *wḏ*^c-sign as a determinative of *nšn* (CT 1033, VII. 263b; Fig. 2.19). B1L also writes a *wḏ*^c-sign in CT 1120 (VII. 453g):  , but this should probably be read as 'the wrath of the Outcast' since  usually follows Sethian determinatives.

The deity determinative of *nšn* in B3Bo and B3L in CT 1120 (VII. 453g) may be analogous, because there seems to be no reason why *nšn* should take a divine determinative other than to evoke the connection with Seth. B4Bo adds a deity determinative to *nšn* in CT 1033 (VII. 263b), but it probably serves to determine the divine epithet 'Lord of storm' rather than *nšn* itself.

There are very few contexts in which it actually refers to a real storm, for example:

CT 1099 (VII. 388b–c):

B3L:          

bwt.i pt nšn n (= nn) wbs mw r gs.i

Storm is my abomination. There will be no accumulation of water beside me.

However, it does not always describe an undesirable event. In CT 80, storm is described as a visible aspect of the god Shu, with whom the deceased is identified:

CT 80 (II. 30e–f):

B1C:          

B1Bo:   B2L, B1P:   G1T:   A1C:   B7C: damaged

rdw.i pw krr n pt idt.i pw nšn ihhw

Of the five other variants, G1T and A1C both write *šnit* instead of the *nšn*. B1C, B2L, B1P, and B1Bo consistently avoid the Seth animal in their writings of *nšn*, and there are no other writings of *nšn* in G1T or A1C with which to compare. Faulkner (1973, 86 n.8) took *nšn* to be the correct reading, but either is possible since *šnit* ‘hail-storm’ is simply a more specific type of storm. Despite the fact that four of the five other variants determine *nšn* with either  or , thus highlighting the aggressive nuances of the word, it is clearly meteorological in meaning.¹⁴

CT 1094 (VII. 376b):

ink nhm r^c m-^c nšn ^c3pp

(see Table 2.5a for variants)

I am the one who saves Re from the storm of Apophis.

Here, the deceased seems to take on Seth's role of defender of the sun-god. Given Seth's strong connection with storm, it is possible that he is the speaker of the following passage:

CT 1179 (VII. 517c):

ink ʕš3-hrw ir hrw pt sʕr n rʕ dr phty ʕ3pp wb3 bi3 hsf nšn

I am the one with many faces who created the thunder of the sky, who ascends to Re
and repels the strength of Apophis, (I am the one) who splits open the firmament
and drives away storm.

A similar passage occurs in *CT* 1069, although the four undamaged variants write 'š3 rather than 'š3-*hrw*, mistakenly omitting *hrw*.¹⁵ Although the epithet 'š3-*hrw* may apply to a number of deities (Kakosy 1963, 67), it is especially appropriate for Seth given the composite nature of his animal, and the fact that he is linked with so many different 'Sethian' creatures. Both spells depict him as warding off Apophis, and therefore warding off storm. Thus, it is possible

¹⁴ *šnit* occurs in conjunction with *nšn* in CT 686 (VI. 316j), again indicating a meteorological meaning.

¹⁵ Faulkner's translation (1978, 143) of 'šš' as 'lizard' is unlikely. The wording of the corresponding spell in the *Book of the Dead* (BD 44) is different from both *Coffin Texts* versions.

(see Table 2.5a for variants)

ḥꜥ.n ḥr ḥr kit ḥr ḳdw n irt.f nšnt

Then Horus cried out because of the condition of his injured eye.

B4Bo, B4L^a, B4L^b write , B4Bo logographically, and S1C writes  showing water emanating from the Seth animal. The association with water is appropriate here because an injured eye will produce water just as a storm causes the sky to produce it. Thus, once again the metaphorical nexus between *nšn* ‘injured’ and *nšn* ‘storm’ is kept vibrant by the form of the word’s determinatives. Similarly, three coffins recall the metaphorical link between *nšn* ‘injured’ and *nšn* ‘anger’ with their determinatives: B17C and B2P write  and B9C  (= ).

In *CT* 82, *nšn* is used of the eyes of the deceased, which are kept sound through identification with the eyes of Horus. B1P and B2L specifically adapt their determinatives to the context:

CT 82 (II. 45f):

B1P:          

B2L:   B1C:   B7C: damaged

mn ṭwt irt.i m mr m nšnw

My eye will be firm whether in sickness or in storm.¹⁷

It is unclear whether *nšn* means ‘rage’ or ‘injury’ in *CT* 686:

CT 686 (VI. 316j):

B1Bo:            

iw mw imy.f m kiswt irt ḥr m nšn

The waters in it (= celestial pool) are the tears of Horus’ eye in anger/injury.

Although both ‘raging’ and ‘injured’ are possible renderings, the determinative suggests the former (as Faulkner 1977, 252), and thus identifies the celestial pool with Horus’s tears of rage. The pool itself is described again in *CT* 7, which attributes its origin to the fight between Horus and Seth:

CT 7 (I. 19c–d):

B4Bo:                 

ḥbs t3 ḥ3.n r-ḥwy šd.n rdwy.sny šdyt nṯr m iwnw

¹⁷ For the Sethian determinative of *mr* see pp. 102–103 below.

Thus, in a way Seth is indirectly connected to *nšn* in *CT* 686 since he is responsible for the injury to Horus's eye.

CT 335 (IV. 238b–c):

iw ts.n.i šn m wd3t m tr.s n nšn

I lifted up the hair from the sacred eye at its time of raging.

CT 243 (III. 331b):

S2P, S1C, T1L, BH4C, B1Bo: S10C: L1Li: S2C, S3P: dam.

She (= the deceased) is the Baboon, (she is) fiercer than you.

Just as *nšn* describes the disorder Apophis generates in the sky, it can be used of the conflict between the Two Lands, which is alluded to in *CT* 358 and *CT* 866, both of which connect the conflict directly to Seth:

CT 866 (VII. 72k):

di n.i mw shm.i im mi ʿw3 sth m sbi hrw pw [n] nšn t3wy

Water is given to me, and I have power over it like Seth the robber in his rebellion on that day of storm in the Two Lands.

-95-

krr

The Seth animal determines two other words connected with weather in the *Coffin Texts*: *krr* and *hnn*. While *hnn* is similar to *nšn* in that it can also be used of general disorder, *krr* is more firmly rooted in the meteorological sphere than *nšn*. Faulkner translated it variously as ‘thundering’ (1973, 18), ‘storm-cloud’ (1977, 205), and ‘storm’(1973, 235). It occurs ten times altogether in the *Coffin Texts* and the Seth animal is used as a determinative in the manuscripts of seven of these (see Table 2.6). The sail determinative with which it was written in the *Pyramid Texts* is not attested in the *Coffin Texts*.¹⁸ Some coffins use the same elaborate form in which water emanates either from the animal ( P. Gard. II, III) or from the *pt*-sign underneath it ( e.g. B5C). As was the case with *nšn*, the variant writings which include the *pt*-sign far outnumber the writings without (of which there are only three). There are various combinations of the Seth animal with  and , thus linking the word to aggression.

Table 2.6: *krr* in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE								Other
CT 30 I. 82–83c		S1C S2C S6C S10C S11C B3L	B3Bo S5C S12C	B4L	B12Cb	B1P B1L	T1La T1Lb B3Bo	M24C, M25C, B13C: damaged
CT 80 II. 30e			G1T A1C				B2L, B1C	B7C: damaged
CT 313 IV. 93j		B5C: 						
CT 349 IV. 384c		B3C						B1Bo: different B1C, B6Bo, T3Be: damaged
CT 622 VI. 237h		B3Bo						
CT 682 VI. 308k							B1Bo	
CT 704 VI. 335r						B2L		

¹⁸  in PT 254 (§261a: W);  in PT 254 (§281a: T).

The context is slightly damaged and does not help to establish the meaning of the passage. It is possible that *kryw* is not the same word as *krr*.

hnn(w)

hnn(w) ‘(to cause) tumult’ occurs 37 times in the *Coffin Texts* as a verb (see Table 2.7a) and as a noun (Table 2.7b), but the Seth animal determinative is used by only two coffins. Each coffin uses a different form of the Seth determinative: T2Be uses  twice and T2L uses a standing form once, . Although the standing form of the Seth sign is not generally common in the *Coffin Texts*, it is the only form of the sign used by T2L (compare its writings of *sth* discussed above).

Table 2.7a: *hnn* in the *Coffin Texts* (verbal)

SOURCE						Other
CT 358 V. 10g						T1L: -0-
CT 517 VI. 107c						B10Ca, B10Cb, B9C: damaged
CT 556 VI. 158f						B2Bo, B4Bo: -0-
CT 622 VI. 238n					B3Bo	
CT 631 VI. 254l						Sq6C: -0-
CT 656 VI. 278c						ThT 319: -0-
CT 656 VI. 278d						ThT 319: 
CT 666 VI. 293j						B1Bo: -0-
CT 666 VI. 293q					B1Bo	
CT 1145 VII. 493g						B1P, B1Be: <i>it</i> B5C: -0-

Table 2.7b: *hnnw* in the *Coffin Texts* (nominal)

SOURCE							Other
CT 7 I. 21a				S10C: 	T1L: 	B3Bo B1P B6C MC105 T9C	B2Bo:  B4Bo: different T1NY, B4C: damaged
CT 50 I. 229f						B10Cb B12C B16C B17C	B13C: damaged B10Cc*: 
CT 157 II. 347d					B9C B17C B1C	S2P B2P B4Lb S1C	S3P, B1Y B1L: damaged
CT 326 IV. 157d					B1C	S1Cc S2Cb S1Ca S1Cb S1Chass	S2Ca: damaged Sq6C: -0-
CT 326 IV. 160d							Sq6C: -0-
CT 334 IV. 181i						G1T	
CT 334 IV. 181l						G1T	
CT 407 V. 219c					B1C B2L	M22C B2Bo B3Bo S2C S1C	M23C, M6C: damaged
CT 464 V. 341b					B1C B1L	B5C B6C B3L B1Bo	B9C: -0-
CT 464 V. 341e					B1C B1L	B5C B6C B3L	B1Bo: omitted B9C: -0-
CT 474 VI. 21q						B1Bo	
CT 548 VI. 144d		T2Be	T2L			M18C	M2NY: damaged
CT 575 VI. 187b						B3Bo B4C	S2Chass: damaged
CT 587 VI. 208q							P. Gard. II: damaged
CT 593 VI. 212h						S3C	S11C: omitted S1C:  S2P: damaged
CT 622 VI. 237k						B3Bo	

SOURCE (cont.)							
CT 622 VI. 238j							B3Bo: 
CT 631 VI. 253j							Sq6C: -0-
CT 640 VI. 261h				T2Be			M2NY: damaged
CT 653 VI. 274i						G1T	
CT 678 VI. 305j						B1Bo	
CT 820 VII. 19r						T3C	
CT 846 VII. 30i							T3Be: 
CT 846 VII. 50b							Sq6C: -0-
CT 941 VII. 154s						P. Gard. III	
CT 1018 VII. 240f						P. Gard. II	
CT 1119 VII. 452d					B9C B3L		B3C: -0- B1L: damaged
CT 1145 VII. 493k					B1Be	B1P	B5C: -0-

In certain contexts, *hnnw* is connected with stormy weather, for example:

CT 326 (IV. 157d):

S1Cc:                      

S1Ca:                      

stage to justify its use.

Although the Sethian determinative of *hnn* is always coupled with a *pt*-sign in the *Coffin Texts*, the contexts in which it occurs are not overtly meteorological. However, some of them are directly connected to Seth, for example, *CT* 7, which describes the resolution of the power struggle between Horus and Seth:

CT 7 (I. 21a):

S10C:

B3Bo, B6C: B2Bo: B1P, MC105, T9C:

T1NY: T1L: B4Bo: omitted, B4C: damaged

tm ḥ3 ḥtm hnnw

The fighting is ended, the strife is stopped.

Similarly, in *CT* 640, *hnnw* seems to refer to the same conflict between the two gods:

CT 640 (VI. 261h):

T2Be:

M2NY:

n ḥpr[t] ... hnnw

before uproar had come into being ...

In *CT* 622, *hnnwy* is used as an epithet for Horus and Seth: (B3Bo: VI. 238j). In this case, there is no Sethian determinative. But in *CT* 548, although T2Be does use a Sethian determinative for *hnn*, it is not connected to either Horus or Seth:

CT 548 (VI. 144d):

T2Be:

M18C: T2L: M2NY: damaged

i hnn pw n rḥ nwd r f m hnnw

O this phallus of Re, which turns aside from him in uproar ...

Most coffins use either or as determinatives of *hnnw*, but B10C and S1C use an unusual alternative: a baboon sign (Fig. 2.20). In B10C, it is used logographically:

CT 50 (I. 229f):

B10Cc:

B17C: B16C:

B10Cb, B12C: B13C: damaged

Fig. 2.20



they expel the makers of tumult and the doers of evil to this god.

CT 593 (VI. 212h):

S1C:

S2P: S3C: S11C: different

km3.n.f hnnw

He has created uproar.

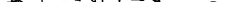
The writing in B10Cc is particularly striking since the other copy of the same spell on this coffin (B10Cb) does not use the baboon sign. The baboon has semantic connections to violence of a mundane rather than meteorological sort as the determinative of *knd* ‘to beat up, strike’ (compare the description of it as a violent animal in *CT* 243, p. 95) and perhaps reflects the fact that in the *Coffin Texts*, *hnn* is more firmly anchored in the mundane sphere than the meteorological. The *Wörterbuch* (III. 383, 18) cited the baboon as a logogram for *hnnw* only in the Greco-Roman Period, but this is evidently not the case. Furthermore, the baboon is not restricted only to these two instances (see Tables 2.11–12 below).

mn and *mr*

It has been demonstrated that *nšnt* with a Seth animal determinative may indicate ‘pain’. But usually when very specific pain is implied, the Seth determinative takes a different form: .

Leaving aside the isolated use of *nšn*, Seth in deity form determines two words specifically to do with pain and suffering in the *Coffin Texts*: *mn(t)* and *mr(t)*. There are nine attestations of *mn(t)*, but the Sethian determinative is attested in only one spell in two manuscripts:

CT 37 (I. 155h):

B4L: 

B12C^b: 

$$\underline{dd} \langle .n.f \rangle \text{ mr is } mrt \text{ mn}\{t\}.k \text{ ir.k r.f}$$

He has said: 'Sore are the pains of your suffering which are upon you.'

Table 2.8 shows that the commonest alternative determinative is the papyrus roll. It is striking that although  is the determinative associated usually with words connected with feelings, it appears only once in all the instances of *mn* in the *Coffin Texts*.

Fig. 2.21



Table 2.8: *mn* in the Coffin Texts

SOURCE							Other
CT 37 I. 155h	B4L B12Cb		B3Bo B2Bo		B16C		B13Cb, B20C: damaged
CT 164 III. 3d			M22C S2C				G1T: -0-
CT 164 III. 3e			M22C				S2C, G1T: -0-
CT 228 III. 276–77a		B1P B1Cb	B1L, B3L B3C B2Bo, B1Ca, B2Lb, B2Lc				B6C: damaged
CT 237 III. 311d		T1Be	G1T, T3L				G2T, A1C: -0-
CT 489 VI. 68b			B3La, B3Lb				
CT 1079 VII. 349d			B3C, B9C	B2L			B12C, B1L B13C, B1C B4Bo: damaged
CT 1086 VII. 363a		B1L	B3L, B1Bea B1Beb	B5C B1Pb	B1Pa		
CT 1099 VII. 395c		B3L	B3C	B1L B2L		B1Bo	B6C, B12C, B9C: -0- B2P: damaged

Both B4L and B12C occasionally determine the similar word *mr(t)* with the Seth deity. It occurs much more often than *mn(t)*, 37 times in total, but the Sethian determinative is attested in only six spells (Table 2.9).

Table 2.9: *mr* with a Sethian determinative in the Coffin Texts

SOURCE				-0-	Damaged
CT 53 I. 242e	B10C ^c			B13C B16C*, B12C*	B10C
CT 75 I. 382-3b	B1P	B1C		S1C, T3C, B3C, B1Bo, B2L, M3C	B7C M20C
CT 82 II. 45f	B1P	B1C		B2L	B7C
CT 157 II. 345b	B4L* B4Bo	B1C		S2P, S3P, B2Bo, B9C B2P, B4L ^b B1L, B17C, S1C	
CT 228 III. 276a–7a	B6C, B1P B3L	B1L, B1Ca, B1Cb, B2Lb		B2Bo, B3C B2L ^c	
CT 1099 VII. 395c	B12C B3L	B1C B1L	B2L	B3C, B1Bo, B2Bo B6C, B9C	B2P

mr can apply both to physical pain (e.g. *CT* 228, III. 276–7a), or to emotional anguish, for example in *CT* 53 (I. 242e) where women are described as being *mrt-ib* ‘sick at heart’ because of their husbands.

There is a unique logographic writing in one manuscript of *CT* 157:

CT 157 (II. 345b):

Fig. 2.22

B4Bo: 

B4L^a: 



iw n mr.t irt.f

...before his eye had suffered.

This writing in B4Bo suggests that the Seth deity sign had strong enough connections with the verb to be used without phonetic signs, in contrast to the animal form of the sign, which is not attested in any figurative logographic writings in the *Coffin Texts*. De Buck transcribed the sign in B4Bo as if it had been partially struck out, but although there are scratches visible alongside it, the sign itself is intact (Fig. 2.22).

mr ‘to be ill’ features several times in the *Pyramid Texts* along with derivatives,¹⁹ in contrast, there is only one instance of *mn* ‘to be ill’. Neither word has a determinative at this stage. In the *Coffin Texts*, *mr* has far fewer alternating determinatives than *mn*, and the papyrus roll is notably absent. Most of the variants which use the Seth deity determinative in both words come from Bersha, with the exception of one coffin from Beni Hasan (BH2Ox) and one from Memphis (M5C). The most striking feature of the use of Seth within *mr* and *mn* is that the variants, if they include a Seth determinative, it is always and without exception the deity. In fact, this holds true for all genres (cf. 2.3.2; 2.5.3–4).

¹⁹ Speleers (1924, 43) lists ten occurrences.

2.2.3 The *Book of the Dead*

2.2.3.1 Non-figurative usage

sth

Seth is alluded to by name in 29 spells in the *Book of the Dead* (Table 2.10). Contexts in which the god features as an enemy of the deceased are again much more numerous than positive mentions of him. However, in certain spells, the deceased draws upon Seth's power through identification with him, for example:

BD 8 (Lapp 1997, pl. 36, 3–4):

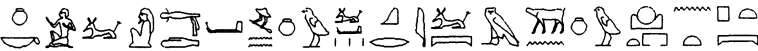
Nu: 

nn wnn.i im ink swty imy ntrw

I will not be there, (for) I am Seth who is among the gods.

Similarly, the deceased also draws upon the collective powers of Horus and Seth (BD 54), who are described as reconciling for the benefit of the deceased (BD 38A) or through the intervention of the deceased (BD 110). The deceased also identifies himself with Seth in BD 39. In most spells, whether Seth is mentioned in a positive or a negative context, he is alluded to in passing without further elaboration. BD 39 is the only spell to give an extended description of the god:

BD 39 (Naville 1886, pl. 53, 14):

Mesemnetjer: 



ink sth šd hnnw kri m hnw 3ht nt pt mi nbđ ib f pw

I am Seth, who causes/wards off disturbance and thunder within the horizon of the sky,

like the noxious one; such is his heart

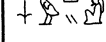
The double meaning of *šd* makes this passage ambiguous.²⁰ In order to drive off Apophis, the deceased takes on the power of Seth, using the force of one disturber to fight another (compare BD 174). Yet, although Seth's power is used in a positive way by the deceased here, it nevertheless is compared to that of the enemy it is being used to fight, emphasising its ambivalent nature.

²⁰ It has been translated mostly as 'causes', e.g. Allen 1974, 46; Barguet 1967, 82; Hornung 1979, 109.

Table 2.10: Seth in the *Book of the Dead*

SOURCE	BD 8	BD 9	BD 17	BD 18	BD 23
Ani	r ^c pl. 18, 4	 pl. 10, 4	 pls. 6, 67–68; 8, 69; 10, 133 <i>dhwty</i> pl. 9, 89  pl. 10, 117	–	 pl. 15, 2
Neferubenef	 pl. 10, 7	 pl. 10, 3	–	–	 pl. 3, 3
Nu	 pl. 36, 4	 pl. 35, 3	 pls. 4, 35; 4, 36; 8, 106; 9, 118 <i>dhwty</i> pl. 5, 46  pl. 7, 94	–	 pl. 12, 3
Reinisch	–	 pl. 1, 3	–	–	–
Amenemhat	 pl. 43, 5	–	 pls. 40, 47; 40, 59; 40, 118  pl. 40, 47  pl. 40, 133	–	–
Kha	–	–	 p. 39, 60 <i>dhwty</i> p. 39, 77  pp. 39, 61; 42, 161; 43, 177; 44, 197	 pp. 44, 7; 45, 38 <i>wsir</i> : p. 44, 22	 p. 49, 3
Neferrenpet	–	–	damaged	–	 pl. 25, 34
Nebseni	–	–	 pls. 24, 31; 24, 32; 24, 41; 26, 89, 26, 99; 26, 109	 pls. 15, 28; 15, 32; 15, 42 (<i>BM</i>)	 pl. 34, 3
Yuya	–	–	 pls. 3, 36; 3, 37 <i>dhwty</i> pl. 3, 48  pls. 5, 104; 5, 116	–	–
Iahmes	–	–	 l. 40  l. 41  ll. 49; 88  ll. 97; 106	–	omitted

SOURCE (cont.)	BD 28	BD 38A	BD 39	BD 42	BD 50	BD 54	BD 62	BD 65
Ani	–	–	–	 pl. 32, 12	 pl. 50, 3	 pl. 15, 3	–	–
Nefrubenef	 pl. 39, 3	–	 l. 307	 l. 429	–	–	 pl. 72, 4	 ll. 283; 285
Nu	damaged	–	–	 pl. 16, 8	 pl. 56, 3	 pl. 34, 5	–	 pls. 42, 4; 42, 5
Amenemhat	 pl. 42, 4	 pl. 41, 6	–	–	 pl. 43, 4	–	 pl. 42, 3	 pls. 38, 5; 38, 6
Nefrenpet	–	–	–	 pl. 26, 20	–	–	–	–
Nebeni	–	damaged	–	–	 pl. 64, 4	–	 pl. 4, 25 (BM)	–
Baksu	 l. 75	–	–	 l. 153	–	–	 l. 127	–
Iahmes	 l. 156	–	–	 l. 201	–	–	–	–
Mesemnetjer	–	 pl. 51, 6	 pl. 53, 14	 pl. 56, 7	–	–	–	 pl. 77, 5  pl. 77, 6
Ptahmose	–	–	 pl. 2, 23	–	–	–	–	 pl. 1, 59; 60
Unnamed (Pa)	–	–	–	–	–	 pl. 66, 3	–	–

SOURCE (cont.)	BD 78	BD 80	BD 83	BD 86	BD 90	BD 96	BD 99A	BD 99B
Ani	 pl. 26, 49  pl. 26, 55	 pl. 28, 7	 pl. 27, 4	 pl. 25, 6	-	-	-	-
Neferubenef	 pls. 89, 37; 89, 41	-	 l. 225	 l. 269	-	-	 pl. 110, 1; 2; 11; 15	 l. 636
Nu	 pl. 41, 42; 47	omitted	 pl. 30, 4	 pl. 28, 6	 pl. 22, 7	 pl. 57, 2	-	 pl. 63, 19
Amenemhat	-	 pl. 37, 7	-	-	-	 pl. 42, 2	-	-
Kha	-	-	 p. 46, 6	 p. 48, 8	-	-	-	-
Neferrenpet	damaged	-	 (sic) pl. 22, 15	 pl. 22, 29	-	-	-	damaged
Nebseni	-	-	-	-	-	 pl. 108, 3	-	-
Baksu	-	-	-	 l. 1	-	-	-	 l. 181
Mesemnetjer	-	-	 pl. 95, 4	 pl. 98, 5	-	-	-	-
Unnamed (Pa)	-	 pl. 91, 7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yuya	-	-	 pl. 7, 5	 pl. 8, 6	-	-	-	 pl. 23, 18

SOURCE (cont.)	BD 110	BD 112	BD 137A	BD 137B	BD 151	BD 173	BD 174	BD 175
Ani	 pl. 34, 4  pl. 34, 4	—	—	—	omitted	—	—	 pl. 29, 22 (shorter)
Neferubenef	omitted	—	—	—	omitted	—	 l. 509	—
Nu	—	 pl. 53, 6; 7	 pl. 77, 5	—	 pl. 79, 5	—	—	—
Kha	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	 p. 60, 28  pp. 60, 38; 60, 41
Amenemhat	—	—	—	—	omitted	—	—	—
Neferrenpet	—	 pl. 24, 39 (one damaged)	—	—	 pl. 28, 11	—	—	—
Nebsemi	 pl. 121, 4; 4; 5	 pl. 124, 6; 7	 pl. 150, 7	 pl. 151, 3	 pl. 175, 8	 pl. 195, 13	—	—
Muthetepi	—	—	—	—	—	—	 pl. 197, 6	—
Ptahmose	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	 pl. 3, 39 (shorter)
Yuya	 pl. 16, 1; 2  pl. 16, 2	—	—	—	omitted	—	—	—
Ra (Lb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	 pl. 198, 21  pl. 199, 27  pl. 199, 28 (one damaged)

The Seth animal sign is not common in writings of *sth* in the *Book of the Dead*. Nebseni and Neferubenef consistently avoid it, writing the name phonetically instead:  . Neferrenpet and Nu also avoid the Seth animal, although they are less consistent in their phonetic renderings of the name, alternating between   and various spellings of  . Baksu always writes the name phonetically, determining it with the anthropomorphic deity sign, accompanied by a forked stick sign:  . It is possible that this sign is a variant form of the *wḏr*-sign used as a means of avoiding Seth's name and animal in certain *Coffin Texts* manuscripts discussed above. Mesemnetjer is the only manuscript that always writes Seth's name logographically with the Seth animal, usually with the anthropomorphic deity sign. Iahmes mostly writes the name logographically with the Seth animal (usually accompanied by either  or  but occasionally without), but once uses   instead. The most striking writing of Seth's name is in Ani's version of *BD* 42, in which parts of the deceased's body are identified with deities. Ani seems to determine its phonetic writing of *sth* with a sign representing testicles:  . No other deities' names are given comparable determinatives, and this writing is unique both among the various manuscripts surveyed and within Ani itself.

Fig. 2.23



While there are no writings of the name of Seth with the deity form of the sign, the papyrus of an unknown man (Pa) uses this form of the sign three times.

Fig. 2.24



There are two instances in writings of *rhwy* 'the Two Rivals', one in *BD* 80 (Naville 1886, pl. 91, 3: Fig. 2.23) and one in *BD* 180 (Naville 1886, pl. 204, 35: Fig. 2.24). In both, the deity form of the Horus sign is also used.

Fig. 2.25



The third is in *BD* 180 (Naville 1886, pl. 204; Fig. 2.25) in a writing of *ntrwy* 'the Two Gods', again referring to Horus and Seth and again using the specific deity forms of both of their signs.

All the other manuscripts in these three spells determine both words with generic deity signs, making the writings in Pa somewhat unique. There were no other attestations of this form of the sign in any other Sethian word in the manuscripts surveyed.

2.2.3.2 Figurative usage

nšn

nšn occurs in 13 spells in the *Book of the Dead* (Table 2.11). In the majority of cases, it has its basic meaning ‘storm’. However, as was the case in the *Coffin Texts*, it is not limited to meteorological contexts. In three spells, it is applied to the eye of a deity. In *BD* 17 and 167, it describes a storm of temper in the Eye of Re, but in *BD* 112, it refers to pain rather than rage in Horus’s eye when he looks at a black pig, the incarnation of Seth:

BD 112 (Naville 1886, pl. 124, 4–6):

Nebseni: 

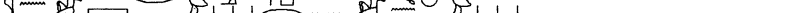
dd.in r^c n hr dg3 r pf rri km wn.in.f dg3 ʰc.n k3y irt.f nšny wrt

Then Re said to Horus: ‘Look at that black pig.’

He looked (?). Then the sensation (in) his eye was very painful.

nšn also describes the raging of other entities: the Two Lands in *BD* 60, a bull in *BD* 78, and Horus and Seth themselves in *BD* 182:

BD 182 (Naville 1886, pl. 207, 19–20):

Muthetepi: 

ink dhwtý iw shtp.n.i hr iw shr.n.i r-hwy m 3t.sn nšny

iy.n.i iʿ.i dšrw shr.n.i hnnw

I am Thoth. I pacified Horus. I calmed the two opponents in their moment of raging.

I came to wash away the blood, after I had calmed the turmoil.

In this spell, the turmoil described by *nšny* and *hnnw*, which may either be meteorological or mundane, is applied specifically to the strife between Horus and Seth. It is possible, therefore, that in *BD* 112 above, *nšn* has an additional function of evoking the violence between the two gods.

In the spells discussed so far, *nšn* has mainly negative connotations. However, the violence storm encapsulates occasionally benefits the deceased, for example in *BD* 95, where the deceased takes on the power of storm:

BD 95 (Naville 1886, pl. 107, 2–3):

Tjenana:

ink pw nrw m nšny s3w wr m hrwyt

I am terror in storm, the protection of the Great One in conflict.

Yet in the same spell, the deceased describes himself calming Thoth's rage:

BD 95 (Naville 1886, pl. 107, 4–5):

Tjenana: 

srwd.i ds imy ʿ ḏḥwty m nšny

I steady the knife which is in the hand of Thoth in storms (of temper).

Thus, like most powerful forces, *nšn* can be either destructive or beneficial, depending on the context of its use and the way it is channelled.

Nebseni, Neferubenef, Neferrenpet, and Nu once again avoid the use of the Seth animal determinative in their writings of *nšn*. Kha and Iahmes use the Seth animal in their two writings of *nšn* in *BD 17*, but there are no other attestations in these papyri with which to compare for consistency. Yuya, for example, also uses Seth animal determinatives of *nšn* in its version of *BD 17*, but omits the sign in *BD 146*.  and  are the alternative determinatives, and are often combined with each other, always in the order  , with only one exception in Ani's version of *BD 17*. Both signs may each be combined with the Seth animal, in which case the Seth animal determinative always precedes; there are no examples of the combination of all three signs in the manuscripts surveyed.

Fig. 2.26



The most striking orthography of *nšn* among the manuscripts surveyed is in Tjenana's version of *BD 146*, where a baboon determines the word (Fig. 2.26). Since Tjenana uses a Seth animal determinative in its writing of *nšn* in *BD 95*, the baboon seems to be a semantic variant rather than a means of avoiding the Seth animal sign.

Both the baboon and the Seth animal may be used metaphorically to evoke violence, but the baboon is a more mundane symbol of the quality than the Seth animal. Perhaps it was supposed to perspectivise *nšn* in *BD 146* and point to its meaning of 'rage' rather than celestial turmoil, both of which the Seth animal can represent.

Table 2.11 *nšn* in the *Book of the Dead*

SOURCE	BD 17	BD 57	BD 60	BD 78	BD 95	BD 112
Kha	 p. 39, 62  p. 39, 63	–	–	–	–	–
Neferrenpet	damaged	–	–	damaged	–	damaged
Amenemhat	 pl. 40, 48  pl. 40, 49	–	–	–	 pl. 41, 1; 3	–
Neferubenef	–	 pl. 70, 2	 pl. 72, 5	 pl. 89, 25	 ll. 165; 168	–
Nu	 pl. 4, 36  pl. 4, 37	 pl. 33, 3	–	 pl. 40, 29	 pl. 20, 2; 3	 pl. 53, 6
Ani	 pl. 8, 70  pl. 8, 71	–	–	 pl. 26, 36	–	–
Tjenana	–	–	–	–	 pl. 107, 2  pl. 107, 4–5	–
Nebseni	 pl. 24, 32  pl. 24, 33	–	–	–	–	 pl. 124, 6
Yuya	 pl. 3, 37  pl. 3, 38	–	–	–	–	–
Iahmes	 pl. 3, 41  pl. 3, 42	–	–	–	–	–

hnnw is paired with *nšn* again in *BD* 183, but neither seems to have a strong meteorological sense:

Hunefer: 

He (= Thoth) has pacified the Two Lords, the two brothers, for you,
having driven off strife and turmoil.

Nu: 

A knot is tied around me by Seth, while the Ennead is powerful (as) before,
when strife had not (yet) come into being.

Ani: sic

... he (= the deceased) puts an end to mourning for their fighters and wards off strife from the children.

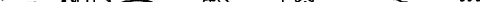
Mesemnetjer:

Allen (1974, 76) took *hnnw* here to mean 'passionate', whereas Barguet (1967, 129) and Hornung (1979, 184) adhered more closely to its usual meaning 'strife'. Barguet (1967, 129

n. 1) assumed that the passage referred to the combat Re faced in the sky each morning.

That *hnnw* is always connected to (usually violent) activity, whether on earth or in the sky, is corroborated by the common use of 𐍎 as its determinative. In those few manuscripts that use the Seth animal determinative, 𐍎 is always added after it. There are no combinations of 𐍎 and the Seth animal in writings of *hnnw* in the manuscripts surveyed. There are two instances of the baboon as an alternative determinative. In their writings of *BD* 125, both Yuya and Amenemhat use the baboon to determine *hnn* ‘to cause trouble’ (Fig. 2.27a–b):

BD 125 (Naville 1886, pl. 25, 16):

Yuya: 

Amenemhat (pl. 44, 24):

sr (hrw) pr m wnsy n hnn.i

O one who prophesies²¹ (aloud) who emerged from Wensy: I have not caused trouble.

Amenemhat's use of the baboon may constitute an avoidance of the Seth animal sign, but Yuya uses the latter in another of its writings of *hnnw*, and so the same cannot apply to it. It seems that once again the baboon is a semantic variant.

Fig. 2.27a b



²¹ *sr* always takes a giraffe if it has an animal determinative in the *Book of the Dead*; for examples, see Naville 1886, pl. 18, 15 (Nachtamun); pl. 122, 28 (Nebseni); pl. 164 (Tjenana).

Table 2.12 *hnnw* in the *Book of the Dead*

SOURCE	BD 17	BD 39	BD 42	BD 50	BD 93
Mesemnetjer	–	 pl. 53, 14	 pl. 56, 17–18	–	 pl. 105, 3
Neferubenef	–	 l. 307	 l. 437	–	 l. 50
Ptahmose	–	 pl. 2, 23	–	–	–
Kha	 p. 44, 184	–	–	–	–
Neferenpet	damaged	–	 pl. 27, 7	–	–
Amenemhat	 pl. 40, 137	–	–	 pl. 43, 6	 pl. 43, 2
Ani	 pl. 10, 138	–	omitted	 pl. 16, 4	 pl. 16, 2
Baksu	–	–	damaged	–	–
Nu	 pl. 8, 110	–	 pl. 17, 17	 pl. 56, 3	 pl. 15, 2
Nebseni	 pl. 26, 102	–	–	 pl. 64, 4	–
Yuya	 pl. 5, 120	–	–	–	–
Iahmes	 pl. 8, 99	–	–	–	–

SOURCES (cont.)	BD 110	BD 112	BD 125	BD 175	BD 182	BD 183
Neferubenef	omitted	—	 l. 702	—	—	—
Ptahmose	—	—	—	 pl. 3, 18	—	—
Kha	—	—	—	 p. 59, 2	—	—
Neferrenpet	—	damaged	damaged	—	—	—
Ani	 pl. 34, 10	—	 pl. 31, 29	 pl. 29, 3	—	—
Nu	—	 pl. 53, 12	pl. 67, 50: different (3s-ib)	—	—	—
Nebseni	 pl. 121, 9	 pl. 124, 13	 pl. 135, 25	—	—	—
Yuya	 pl. 16, 7	—	 pl. 25, 16	—	—	—
Muthetepi	—	—	—	—	 pl. 207, 9  pl. 207, 20	—
Hunefer	—	—	—	—	—	 pl. 209, 11
Amenemhat	—	—	 pl. 44, 24	—	—	—

kri

kri is not as well attested as *nšn* and *hnnw* in the *Book of the Dead*, occurring in only four spells (Table 2.13). While *nšn* and *hnnw* can both refer to either celestial or mundane turmoil, *kri* is exclusively meteorological in all of the contexts in which it appears, as is suggested by the fact that  is hardly used as a determinative, in contrast to *nšn* and *hnnw*. Various sky signs (, , and ) are much more common, mainly alone, but are combined with the Seth animal in Kha, Mesemnetjer, and Yuya. Ani also uses the Seth animal to determine its only writing of *kri*, and is the only manuscript to use it without an additional sky determinative. The sail determinative, , is also attested as an alternative to the Seth animal in Neferubenef, and in Muthetepi, both of which tend to avoid the Seth animal sign.  is never attested in writings

... violent one who dances on blood, (for whom) one causes the *nhs* of enemies with fire
on the day of hearing wrongdoings, (is) my name.

The *Wörterbuch* (II. 287, 14–15) cited  as an epithet both of the hippopotamus and of the Seth animal. The *Wörterbuch* does not suggest a sexual connotation, but as Zandee (1963, 154) pointed out, *nhs* is probably connected to *nhp* ‘to copulate’ and therefore, as an epithet, means ‘the potent one’.²²

Fig. 2.29



In the *Coffin Texts*, *nhs* occurs with a strange deity determinative, which Zandee (1963, 154) suggested to be Min, wearing his insignia of thunder and lightning on his head (Fig. 2.29).

Both Min and Seth are epitomes of sexual potency, and so the Seth animal determinative in Siptah's writing of *nhs* makes sense. However, from the version of this spell in Nu it seems as if *nhs* in Siptah is an error:

BD 145 (Lapp 1997, pl. 73, 58):

Nu: 

nbt dndn hbt hr dšrw irw n.s h3kr hrw n sdm iw^{rw} rn(.s)

The mistress of anger, who dances on blood, for whom the Haker-feast is celebrated on the day of hearing wrongdoings, (is her) name.

Thus, while *nhs* is a legitimate epithet of Seth, in Siptah's version of *BD* 145, it seems simply to be a miswriting of *h3kr*.

2.2.4 Discussion

2.2.4.1 Seth and storm

From the *Pyramid Texts* to the *Book of the Dead*, the Seth animal's most constant metaphorical association in religious texts is with storm. In the *Pyramid Texts*, this association manifests itself only in the use of the Seth animal determinative of *nšn*, but by the Middle Kingdom, it is evident in the writings of *krr* and *hnnw* also. All three words continue to take

²² Compare B1C's writing of *nk* 'to copulate' alongside *nhs* in CT 464 (V. 345b), assigning a phallus determinative to both.

Sethian determinatives in the *Book of the Dead*. As the prototype of the qualities that epitomise the signifieds of these words, the Seth animal seems to sit within the conceptual overlap between meteorological disturbance and mundane violence, as is corroborated by  and , which may alternate with or be added to  in all three words.

The content of the spells above point to a wide array of reasons for the figurative use of the Seth animal determinative; the god Seth is specifically connected with weather and with violent conflict in several spells. While it may never be possible to isolate the exact strands of meaning connecting a determinative to its word, particularly in the case of a sign as complex as the Seth animal, there are clues, particularly within the realm of religious texts where one may make orthographic comparisons between multiple manuscripts. It could be argued, for example, that Seth's role as the 'Lord of Storm' is the dominant aspect of the Seth animal's significance as the determinative of *nšn* and *ḳrr*. In the *Coffin Texts*,  is more common in combination and alternation with the Seth animal in writings of these words, and, as happens also in the *Pyramid Texts*, the Seth animal itself is often embellished with water signs. The situation is more difficult to judge in *Book of the Dead* because the data set is smaller, particularly regarding *ḳri*. However, it seems that while both  and  are attested alongside the Seth animal in writings of *nšn* in the *Book of the Dead*, *ḳri* takes more meteorological determinatives; , which determined the word occasionally in the *Pyramid Texts*, is again attested. On the other hand,  and  are more common in writings of *ḥnnw* both in the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*, suggesting that although it may be applied to storm, it originally described tumult in the human sphere. Thus perhaps Seth's role as the rival of Horus is more appropriate to the Seth animal's use as the figurative determinative of *ḥnnw*.

2.2.4.2 Seth and suffering

The Sethian determinative of *mr* and *mnt* represents a third strand of metaphorical association. In contrast to Seth's enduring metaphorical associations with storm and violence, the use of his animal to determine these words connected with suffering is restricted to a few *Coffin Texts* manuscripts. Moreover, this particular strand of Seth's significance as a determinative is distinguished from all the others by the form the sign takes in *mr* and *mnt*: . The restriction of the deity form of the Seth sign to these two words is particularly striking since the manuscripts in which it is attested use the animal form of the sign in their writings of all other

Sethian words, with the exception of B10C, which consistently avoids using the Seth animal determinative. In 17 undamaged writings of *sth*, this manuscript either uses  or a phonetic spelling of the name, and in its two undamaged writings of *hnnw*, it once uses  as the determinative, and once, . B1P is comparable in its figurative usage of Sethian determinatives. While it alternates between writings with and without the Seth animal sign in *sth*, it avoids the Seth animal sign in 11 writings of *nšn* and three writings of *krr*. The use of the deity sign in B1P and especially B10C is therefore rather remarkable. There are a number of possible reasons for its choice, some semantic and some more contextually bound; for example, it is perhaps relevant that all the coffins that write *mr* or *mnt* with a Seth deity determinative come from Bersha. This is discussed again in the light of analogous attestations in other genres below (2.7).

2.2.4.3 The significance of

Just as  distinguishes Seth's associations with suffering from those he has with storm and violence, it is possible that  is comparably distinct from the more common recumbent form of the sign, for like  although not to the same extent, it is restricted to certain words.  is the commonest form of the sign in all three bodies of religious texts studied here. Although the seated form of the sign occasionally alternates with the recumbent form in the *Book of the Dead*, the two are virtually indistinguishable in cursive hieroglyphs and it seems as if there was no distinction in their meanings. However, the standing form of the sign is graphically distinct from both. It is not attested in any of the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts I surveyed, and only once in Senwosretankh in a writing of *sth*. In the *Coffin Texts*, it is used a little more widely, occurring primarily in writings of *š3*. T2L uses this form of the sign exclusively, and so it appears once in a writing of *hnnw* in this manuscript, combined with a sky determinative, and in several writings of *sth*. The sign's other attestations in writings of *sth* are unusual, however, and are restricted to CT 1143 in B1P and B5C, where there is mention of 'four Seths', presumably a reference to the animal form of the god. Both of these manuscripts use the animal form of the sign in writings of other Sethian words, including *sth*, and therefore the use of the standing form in this spell alone suggests a distinction. Thus, with the exception of T2L, when the standing form of the sign is used, it indicates an animal rather than the god Seth.

Although the standing form of the sign is most common in writings of *š3*, there is

considerable confusion among the manuscripts when it is among the variants, as illustrated above. ḥ3 is often stated to be the name of the Seth animal, but it may be more correct to say that it is an epithet that may be applied to the Seth animal. As discussed above, ḥ3 may also apply to the pig. Moreover, in those spells which use ḥ3 to mean ‘pig’, there is considerably less confusion among the variant manuscripts in their choices of determinatives. This suggests that while ḥ3 was not as closely tied to the Seth animal as it was to the pig. Perhaps in those spells in which ḥ3 does not mean ‘pig’, it does not necessarily mean ‘Seth animal’ either, but rather a less specific desert-dwelling creature like the Seth animal. In the Middle Kingdom tombs at Bersha and Beni Hasan, many fabulous creatures were included in desert scenes (see 2.5.1). It is possible ḥ3 was not restricted to being the epithet of only the Seth animal. There is further corroborative evidence in other textual genres, and so I return to this issue below.

2.2.4.4 Form, meaning, and identity

Differences in the form of the Seth sign, therefore, seem to correlate with distinctions in its significance as a determinative, both in the figurative and non-figurative spheres.  and  are easily distinguished from , even in the cursive hieroglyphs of the *Coffin Texts*. However, with other signs it is more difficult to tell whether a variation in form is semantically meaningful or not. Thus, should the apparent use of the Seth animal sign in writings of ḥkrw in the *Coffin Texts* be considered meaningful, or is it simply a coincidence or an error that the sign resembles the Seth animal at all? Similarly, in writings of sr , should the recumbent sign that occasionally resembles a Seth animal be understood as a meaningful alternative determinative, or should these signs simply be understood as the cursive form of the giraffe sign, which they do not resemble? The problem is entirely the result of the medium on which the texts are written, and it can be partially resolved by exploring other textual genres for similar writings. While writings of ḥkrw with Seth-like determinatives are restricted to the *Coffin Texts*, sr occurs many times with Seth-like determinatives in other genres and so its possible Sethian connections are discussed again below (see 2.5.2; 2.6.2).

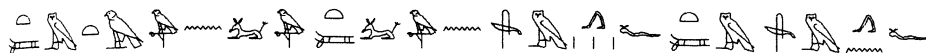
2.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS

2.3.1 Non-figurative usage

sth and *b^cr*

Seth is prominent in the medical and magical texts I surveyed (attestations are summed up in Table 2.14). He can play one of three roles. If he is mentioned only in passing, he serves as what I call a divine exemplar, and his character is not at issue, for example:

P. BM 10059, Incantation 2 (1, 3):



tm.t(w) hr n sth tm(.w) sth n sšmw.f tm(.w) sšm.n.f

Destroyed is Horus for Seth, destroyed is Seth for his deeds, destroyed is that which he has done.

In this spell, the physician relies upon the entire destruction of the two gods as a parallel for his destruction of a hard swelling (*hsd rwd*) on his patient's body. Specific characterisation of the two gods is therefore not necessary. Sometimes, however, the context can give positive or negative connotations to Seth's action as an exemplar, for example:

P. Ram. III B, 11:



'm in hr wg in sth...

Swallowing by Horus, chewing by Seth...

Seth's action, coupled with that of Horus, is intended to encourage a child to mimic him – the spell is intended to make a child suckle – and so his role in the spell is beneficent. This is often the case when Seth and Horus are described as acting in conjunction.

However, in the incantations at the beginning of P. Ebers (2–3), their relationship is adversarial. Seth is presented as the embodiment of evil forces, directed against Horus, that are fended off by superior benevolent powers. In the second incantation, Isis undoes Seth's evil actions against Horus:

P. Ebers, Incantation 2 (1, 12–13):



wh^c hr in 3st m dwwt irywt r.f in sn.f sth m sm3.f it.f wsir

Horus was released by Isis from the evils done to him by his brother Seth when he killed his father Osiris.

This incantation is supposed to be recited after the physician has undone (*wh^c*) the bandaging

of his patient, and so its power derives partly from the word play of Isis' action of releasing (*wh*) Horus from evil. Seth therefore metaphorically stands for whatever ailment the physician is treating.

In the third incantation of P. Ebers, Horus' dominance over Seth is decreed by a council of gods:

P. Ebers, Incantation 3 (2, 3–5):



in iw tr sh3.n.k it.tw hr hn^c sth r iswt 3t nt iwnw

m nd.tw hrwy sth hn^c hr wn.hr.f w3d mi wnn tp t3

Indeed, do you remember that Horus and Seth were conducted to the big palace of Heliopolis when there was negotiation about Seth's testicles with Horus? Then he was well like one who is on earth.

Like the second, this third incantation is intended to strengthen the power of the physician – here, specifically the power of his potable remedies – and relies on mythic precedents. The patient is identified with Horus, and the affliction, again, with Seth, who is duly overpowered; compare:

P. Turin 54003 (vso. 21):



iw h3.n.i hn^c sn.k sth

I have fought with your brother Seth.

In this incantation, the protection is against fish-bones which are rendered harmless through the defeat of Seth. Thus, Seth can metaphorically represent a malevolent illness which the physician can drive out with what Frankfurter termed 'active analogizing' (1995, 466).

In addition to serving as a neutral exemplar or as the embodiment of evil forces, Seth may also be wholly beneficent. In such cases, he is often paired with Horus. In incantation 24 in the London Medical Papyrus, Seth is said to protect Horus, who is said in turn to be a source of protection both to a number of deities invoked at the beginning of the spell (15, 1–4) and, by extension, to the patient:

P. BM 10059, Incantation 24 (14, 5):



iw.tn m s3w hr s3w sth ts phr

You (=the list of deities) are in the protection of Horus, whom Seth protects, and vice versa. Similarly, a spell against headaches in P. Leiden I 348 depends on Seth's protection of Horus for its efficacy:

P. Leiden I 348 (rto 3, 1):



s3 hr wrš sdr m dbt nt nd rs.n sw sn.f sth

The child Horus spent the day lying on a pillow of *nd*-material; his brother Seth watched over him. There are many other instances in which the power of the two gods is paired, for example in another incantation which is directed against bleeding in the London Medical Papyrus:

P. BM 10059, Incantation 37 (9, 1):



h3.k imy-^c hr h3.k imy-^c sth

Back, you who are in the power of Horus! Back, you who are in the power of Seth!

However, Seth can be invoked as a beneficent force without Horus. In such cases, which grow more numerous in New Kingdom texts, his great strength is a positive force that is taken on by the patient or used by the physician against the ailment he is fighting, for example:

P. Hearst, Incantation 170 (11, 13–14):



ir mi šn.n sth p3 w3d wr šn tn sth mitt ti-nt-3mw k3 tm.t nmt sp sn m h^cw n mn n mnt

As Seth conjured the sea, so may Seth conjure you, Asiatic illness,

then you will not wander, you will not wander in the flesh of a sick man or a sick woman.

The idea that an illness may 'wander' in a patient's body derives from the belief that disease-demons were responsible for causing illness. Thus, from its very causation, an ailment was conceptualised as an animate entity. Sometimes, Seth is identified with such ailments and is indeed the personification of them, and sometimes he is the force that can expel them. The positive and negative contexts in which he appears do not seem to be linked to any one factor. He can be beneficent or malevolent in different incantations even in the same collection of spells; in the Harris Magical Papyrus, for example, he is linked again and again with the evil crocodile demon Maga, whose father he is said to be (see 4.3.1), yet in incantation T, he is

called upon to ward off evil forces.

Seth's easy shift from a positive to a negative characterisation may be explained by the nature of his power, which derives from violence. This is illustrated by a spell in P. Leiden I 348 which is supposed to increase the efficacy of beer in settling the stomach. Drunkenness is linked to Seth, and the spell in turn links the patient drinking beer to the god: in drinking beer, the patient gains the overpowering strength of Seth:

P. Leiden I 348 (rto 13, 3–4):



ir f ib nn dnit sth ir f ib r h3k h3ty

When he has set his heart (on it), there is no restraining Seth when he sets his heart on bearing away a heart.

Although in this case, the patient can use the strength with which he is imbued through drinking the beer to positive ends, elsewhere beer and drunkenness are linked in a negative way to Seth, for example in the description of 'the followers of Seth' in the Chester Beatty Dream Book:

P. Chester Beatty III (rto 11, 6, supplemented by 11, 10):



ir swri.f hnkt swri.f r šd swh3

When he (=the Sethian man) drinks beer, he drinks to start disputes.

Seth's role in the Dream Book is uniformly negative. In an incantation directed against bad dreams, Seth is identified as their cause. The spell begins with the mythic precedent of Horus waking up after a nightmare and being comforted by his mother Isis who drives away the evils (*ḏwwt*) and ailments (*tmsw*) her son has suffered. The crux of the spell is in the following words which the dreamer should say:

P. Chester Beatty III (rto 10, 14–15):



ind-ḥr rswt nfrt m33 grḥ m hrw dr tmsw nb ḏw ir.n sth s3 nwt

Hail to you, Good Dream! May night be seen as day!

²³ Gardiner (1935, 19, n.8) suggested that  is a corruption of  thus he read: 'Hail to you, this Good Dream'.

May all bad ailments brought about by Seth, the son of Nut, be driven out.

I have discussed the meaning of this passage in relation to the Seth deity determinative of *rswt* in a Letter to the Dead elsewhere (McDonald, in press; see further 2.5.3). This spell specifically links Seth to nightmares and therefore puts him in the same ambivalent position of power regarding such psychological ailments as he is in relation to physical ailments: he is ultimately their cause, and so he can be warded off in this capacity, or his power can be channelled for positive ends. The incantation in the Dream Book chooses the former course of action, but his role as a figurative determinative in medico-magical texts often draws on the latter (see below).

Table 2.14: The role of Seth in medico-magical texts

SOURCE	HIERATIC	PURPOSE OF SPELL	ROLE OF SETH
P. Turin 54003 (rto 20)		To protect eyesight	Threatens Horus
P. Turin 54003 (vso 21)		To protect from fishbones	Divine exemplar: destruction of power
P. Berlin 3027 L (vso 8, 1)		To cure <i>ssmi</i> -ailment	Divine exemplar: action of seeing
P. Berlin 3027 U (rto 5, 2)		To protect body of a child	Identified with patient's arm (Horus is the other)
P. Ram III B, 11	 (Hieratic not available)	To encourage a child to eat	Divine exemplar: action of chewing (Horus: swallowing)
P. Ebers 2 (1, 3)		To make all bandaging effective	Doer of evil deeds (against Osiris and Horus)
P. Ebers 3 (2, 4)		To make the drinking of remedies potent	Divine exemplar: defeat (Horus judged triumphant over him)
P. Ebers 3 (2, 4)		As above	As above
P. Hearst 170 (11, 13: twice)	 	To cure 'Asiatic' illness	Invoked to exert his power over illness
P. BM 10059, 2 (1, 3)		To cure a hard swelling	Divine exemplar: the destroying of power (Seth destroys Horus)
P. BM 10059, 2 (1, 3)		As above	Divine exemplar: the destruction of power (Seth is destroyed by his followers)
P. BM 10059, 2 (1, 4)	 (No longer visible)	As above	Divine exemplar: source of power (with Horus)

SOURCE (cont.)	HIERATIC	PURPOSE OF SPELL	ROLE OF SETH
P. BM 10059, 13 (4, 2)		Context lost	Divine exemplar?
P. BM 10059, 37 (9, 1)		To stop bleeding	Divine exemplar: power (with Horus)
P. BM 10059, 38 (9, 4)		Title lost	Mentioned in relation to a place
P. BM 10059, 24 (14, 5)		To cure the 'hw-ailment	Protector of Horus (and of patient)
P. Ch. Beatty III (10, 15)		To ward off bad dreams	The cause of bad dreams
P. Ch. Beatty III (11, 3)		Description of 'Sethian men'	Evil divine influence
P. Ch. Beatty III (11, 8)		As above	(Evil) divine influence
P. Ch. Beatty III (11, 19)		Title of section of dreams of 'Sethian men'	(Evil) divine influence
P. Leiden I 348, 4 (3,1)		To cure a headache	Protector of Horus
P. Leiden I 348, 10 (4, 6)		To cure a headache	Opponent of Horus
P. Leiden I 348, 24 (13, 4)		To increase efficacy of beer as medical remedy	Irresistible force
P. Leiden I 348, 27 (13, 9)		To endow patient with strength	Patient is identified with Seth (and Horus)
P. Harris D (2, 3)		To ward off crocodiles	Mentioned in relation to Maga
P. Harris F (3, 9)		To ward off crocodiles	Divine exemplar: action of opening (Horus: closing)
P. Harris I (6, 5)		To ward off dangerous animals	Mentioned in relation to Maga
P. Harris I (6, 8)		As above	Mentioned in relation to Maga
P. Harris T (8, 6)		To ward off crocodiles	Source of strength
P. Harris V (9, 9)		To ward off crocodiles	Mentioned in relation to Maga

SOURCE (cont.)	HIERATIC	PURPOSE OF SPELL	ROLE OF SETH
P. Harris V (9, 11)		As above	Mentioned in relation to Maga
P. Harris (vso 1, 8)		To ward off dangerous animals	Divine exemplar: action of breaking (Horus: seizing)
P. BM 10105 (1, 5)		[damaged]	[damaged]

The orthography of the Seth's name is very consistent. The majority of the texts surveyed use the animal form of the sign accompanied by the deity determinative, . Writings with  are attested, but are not as common. There is only one undamaged instance of the name written without any deity determinative (P. Turin 54003, vso 21). The Harris Magical Papyrus stands out for its use of the anthropomorphic Seth deity sign, which is always accompanied by the falcon on a standard.²⁴

As an animal, the Seth sign is usually recumbent, although occasionally it is difficult to tell whether the animal is seated instead (e.g. P. BM 10059: 9, 1; 14, 5). In most papyri, both of the animal's ears are drawn, but P. Ebers alternates between this and a form in which only one ear is represented and the head-shape is rather arrow-like. Similarly, the deity sign in the Harris Magical Papyrus alternates between two forms, one showing both ears and one showing only one clearly while exaggerating the snout (compare 6, 5 and 2, 3). The termination of the tail of the animal form is usually of the undifferentiated type, although there are more detailed renderings, for example it is forked in one instance in P. Berlin 3027 (rto. 5, 2) and in one instance in P. Leiden I 348 (4, 6), tripartite in another instance in the same papyrus (4, 6), and hooked in three out of four instances in P. Chester Beatty III.

In his various roles in medical and magical texts, Seth is usually called by his own name rather than by an epithet. Exceptions include a case where Seth is perhaps alluded to in one of the Harhotep documents, a fragmentary magical text written palimpsest on an accounts papyrus:

²⁴ However, compare a Dyn. 19 papyrus in Turin (Roccati 1972), where the deity form of the sign writes Seth's name in a spell on the recto ( : 1, 3) while the animal form is used in a spell on the verso ( : 1, 6).

Harhotep vso 2:

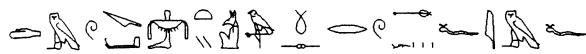


i nb sw k3p m ʿwy.f

O Lord of Su, who censures with his hands..

James (1962, 77 n. 14) noted that Seth was said to have been born in the Heracleopolitan town of Su, so that in all likelihood this is a reference to him. The preponderance of instances in which he is directly named is not surprising since spells mostly require this specificity for their efficacy. There is only one attestation of his epithet *nwbty* among the texts I surveyed in the Harris Magical Papyrus:

P. Harris, Incantation H (rto 5, 8):



dm nwbty šsrw.f im.f

The Ombite shoots his arrows into it.

Even in this case, the use of an epithet does not make the mention of the god at all vague, especially since a specific determinative is used.

The name of the semitic deity Baal is also written with a Seth deity determinative in P. Harris as a component of a larger word,  (vso. 3, 4), which Leitz transliterated *hbʿr* but did not translate. In the past the incantation in which this word occurs has been treated as incomprehensible because it appears to be Canaanite written in Egyptian characters. Schneider (1989) interpreted it as a spell for protection while hunting lions. He translated the word as ‘burned’ on the basis that it might derive from the Hebrew verb *bʿr* ‘to burn’ and he stated that the only connection between the word and , the deity Baal, is a phonetic and not a semantic one (1989, 54). His suggestion is borne out by the fact that there is no deity determinative for the word as a whole. Baal is mentioned several times as a divine counterpart of Seth in P. Leiden I 343+345, which is discussed separately below (2.3.3).

š3 and ʿ3

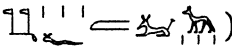
In a non-figurative capacity, the Seth animal sign is used as the determinative of the names of two animals in the texts surveyed: that of the Seth animal itself, and the ass. Attestations of the former are not common and occur only in the New Kingdom texts. The Seth animal is mentioned once in P. BM 10309, where the various parts of the patient’s body are identified with divine and semi-divine beings in order to counteract poison:

p. BM 10309, Incantation 2 (1, 17):



s3hw f m s3w s3bw

His toes are Seth animals and jackals.

Earlier in the same text, the patient's two forearms are called Horus and Seth,²⁵ this is not stated by means of their names but by the epithet *snwy* 'the two brothers' (1, 14). The text is damaged at the point where the word *s3w* is written and only the back half of the animal determinative remains (Fig. 2.30), but what remains does not look like a typical Seth animal. However, the parallel text on the Late Period Leiden Magical Statue Base writes a Seth animal (Text 8: h. 12: ) and presents a strong case for treating *s3w* in P. BM 10309 as the same word.

The only other instance of *s3* in the texts I surveyed is in the Harris Magical Papyrus:

P. Harris, Incantation H (rto 5, 4):



dw3 tw hryw s3w hr dw3.k ssp tw ht nt s3bw s3 wi3.k m dw imn

The overlords adore you when the Seth animals adore you,

The body of jackals who pull your bark on the hidden mountain receives you.

Again, the hieratic animal determinative does not look like a typical Seth animal (Fig. 2.31). Leitz (1999, pl. 16 n. 4a) noted that Lange (1927, 46), in his original publication of the papyrus, transcribed and described the animal as a type of dog. The animal does have a distinctly canine appearance since its tail is much more curved than the Seth animal's usually is. It seems possible that *s3* here is not the name of the Seth animal specifically (cf. 2.2.2.1), but possibly a type of griffin.

By contrast, there is no doubt that when a specific determinative is written for '3 'ass' it is the Seth animal. The hieratic form of the sign is usually not commented upon; for example, Griffith (1898, pl. 5) transcribed the determinatives of two writings of '3 in P. Kahun (1, 5; 1, 18) as asses. The determinative of '3 in 1, 18 clearly shows a recumbent Seth animal with its

Fig. 2.30



Fig. 2.31



²⁵ Compare, Incantation U in the protective spells for mother and child (P. Berlin 3027, rto 5, 2), where a child's two arms are identified with Horus and Seth.

characteristic raised tail (Fig. 2.32a), while that in 1, 5 looks neither Sethian nor asinine (Fig. 2.32b).

Fig. 2.32a



Fig. 2.32b



Of all the papyri containing remedies in which ass components feature as ingredients, only P. BM 10059 writes '3 exclusively with the hide and tail determinative:  (13, 11; 13, 12).

Fig. 2.33a



Fig. 2.33b



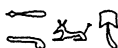
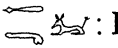
Among the other papyri, there are minor orthographic variations; for example, P. Ebers alternates between writings with the hide and tail sign (e.g. 47, 14: : Fig. 2.33a) and without it (e.g. 24, 13: : Fig. 2.33b), but consistently writes the Seth determinative in either case. Again, it alternates between the form of the animal with two ears clearly depicted and the 'arrow-like' head with only one ear shown, as in Figs. 2.33a and b.

Fig. 2.34

a

b



The Berlin Medical Papyrus is less consistent and has two writings of '3 with the Seth animal (P. Berlin 3038 6, 4; 10, 12: : Figs. 2.34a–b), and one without (6, 9: ). The form of the animal sign is quite distinctive in both writings, with a long, curving snout and a clearly forked tail.

The ass is not always mentioned exclusively as a medical ingredient. In P. Edwin Smith, it seems to be a disease-demon of sorts. The animal is mentioned in one of the magical incantations at the end of the papyrus, in a passage that occurs after instructions to speak the incantation over images of various gods:

P. Edwin Smith (19. 11–12):



... so that asses, the breath (?) of Neferi, the bes-bes goose will be prevented from entering into me,
as well as the green-breasted goose.

Westendorf (1966b, 99 n. 12) understood the asses in this passage to be disease-demons specifically related to the god Seth. As Breasted mentioned (1930, 482), the previous lines (19, 6) allude to malevolent spirits taking the form of various animals, so that the asses can be regarded here as figurative carriers of disease. The Sethian determinative need not link them as specifically with the god Seth as Westendorf assumed. Perhaps the Sethian determinative of ʕ links the ass to the partly negative, partly positive role Seth has in medico-magical texts, where beneficence or malevolence is not as relevant as the power the god possesses, which can be channelled. Similarly, the power inherent in the ass can also be put to a positive use in medical remedies, when its power is drawn upon for the patient's benefit, the same power can be viewed in a negative way, as a malevolent force which has to be repelled from the patient. Thus it is not problematic that ʕ is written with the same Sethian determinative when the ass occurs as a component of medical remedies.

𐤒 with a Sethian determinative appears in a similar context in the spells for the protection of mother and child, in an incantation for the protection of a woman who is suffering complications after childbirth, possibly to do with bleeding since she is called *dšrt* 'red'. The spell wards off various hostile forces, concentrating particularly on the action of closing their mouths, which seems to be a magical means of encouraging the woman's bleeding to stop:

... as the mouth(s) of the 77 asses, who are in the lake of the two knives, are stopped up.

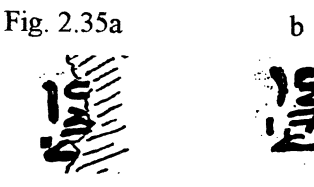
These animals are clearly malevolent disease demons. The writing of a phallus sign in '3 is common, but here the graphic variant dripping semen is perhaps evocative of the connection between semen, poison, and the kind of evil influence a disease demon could exert over its victim: all three concepts could be represented by the word '3' (von Deines and Westendorf 1961–62, I. 129–33; Westendorf 1999, I, 361–66).

The earliest attestation of an animal with a Sethian determinative is in a broken context in P. Ramesseum III. The same word occurs twice, both times damaged; the occurrences are written below as they appear in Barns' edition of the papyrus and the hieratic signs are shown

in Fig. 2.35:

P. Ram. IIIA, 27: 
P. Ram III, fr. 66: 

irtt n ?
milk of a ?



Barns offered no suggestions as to the identity of the animal. Although the ass is the only animal apart from the 𐩣𐩢𐩣-animal that takes a Sethian determinative in medico-magical texts, elsewhere the pig may also be written with one. *iph* ‘pig’ terminates in *h* but it is attested only in the New Kingdom and the Greco-Roman Period (*Wb* I. 69, 14). It is possible that the sign Barns transcribed as *h* is actually a hide and tail determinative, since the two signs are similar in hieratic. If it is read thus, the damaged word can be reconstructed as an instance of 𐩣𐩢𐩣 ‘ass’. Moreover, there are parallels for the use of its milk in remedies (e.g. see von Deines and Grapow 1959, 55, IVa). Although the writing of the hide and tail sign before the Seth animal sign is extremely unusual, there seems to be no other possible restoration.

2.3.2 Figurative usages

In the conceptualisation and description of illness as a disruption of the body’s normal calm state, two particularly important metaphorical domains are evident: one in which illness is described in terms of storm, and one in which it is described in terms of violence. As discussed above (2.1.2), the Seth animal is the literal embodiment of violence, and so is the perfect prototype for the latter domain. It also brings the same connotations to the first, since storm is basically violence in the sky. The close connections between these two metaphorical spheres mean that there is a considerable overlap in the ways in which they function.

The ambivalence of the god Seth and of his Sethian animals is not present in the words in which the Seth animal occurs as a figurative determinative where it consistently conveys negative connotations of violence.

nšn

nšn belongs to both of the domains just outlined, and exemplifies the overlap in sense between them. In P. Edwin Smith, for example, it occurs meaning both ‘storm’ and ‘rage’. The metaphorical thread tying these two together is explained in a gloss (E) to the similar word *nš* () in Case 41:

p. Edwin Smith, Case 41 (14, 15–16, Gloss E):



ir ist srf nš{m} f m r n wbnw.f r drt.k

pr ht m r n wbnw.f r drt.k mi dd nšw ht prt hr t3

As for “while heat issues from the mouth of his wound at your touch”

(it means) that burning comes forth from the mouth of his wound at your touch,

as is said of the issuing of a thing which comes forth onto the ground.

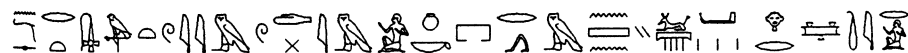
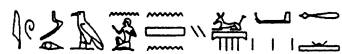
Thus, *nš* is explained as the equivalent of *pr* which in turn explains *nšn*’s meaning in relation to storm: it is the complete pouring out of water from the sky. The occasional combination of the Seth animal with water signs, emanating from the animal itself or from the *pt*-sign on which it reclines corroborates that *nšn* has this sense. Just as the Seth animal tinges the action of water coming from the sky with violence so that *nšn* means ‘storm’ rather than just ‘rain’, it also tinges the outpouring of emotion with the same violent connotations so that *nšn* can mean ‘rage’.

In the fourth incantation of P. Edwin Smith, *nšn* means ‘storm’, but one that is metaphorically loaded:

P. Edwin Smith, Incantation 4 (18, 19–19, 2):

Fig. 2.36a

b



ink wq3 m w3t sw3w hw.tw.i irf wq3.kw

iw m3.n.i nšny ʿ3 nsrt twy m.wd im.i ink pr m nšny hr.ti r.i

I am the healthy one in the way of the passer-by. Shall I be struck, while I am healthy?

I have seen the great storm. O this fever, do not strike me,

(for) I am the one who has come forth out of the storm, which is distant from me.

Fig. 2.37a

b

Comparing the sky determinative of *nšny* to that of *idt*



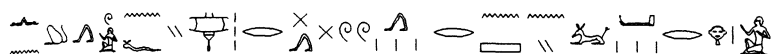
(e.g. 19, 19; Fig. 2.37a) and that of *pt* (e.g. 18, 3; Fig. 2.37b), it is somewhat closer to the former.

The strokes underneath the *pt*-sign in *nšny* appear to be indications of water, hence the transcription (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠) rather than Breasted’s (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠).

The storm in the passage above represents illness, giving it a physical form which the speaker of the spell witnesses but leaves safely behind him. The passage of the storm, described at the end as far away (*hr.ti*) is magically equated with the passage of the disease-demons, who are called *sw3w* ‘those who pass by’ in P. Edwin Smith and other texts, perhaps to encourage them to do so.

In incantations 2 and 7 in P. Edwin Smith, *nšn* refers rather to a storm of behaviour, that is ‘rage’, but is again connected with illness through its cause, the *sw3w*. In incantation 2, *nšn* appears to be verbal:

P. Edwin Smith, Incantation 2 (XVIII. 13–14):



nn ph wi nfy r sw3 sw3w r nšny r hr.i

The wind/breath shall not reach me, so that those who pass by to rage against me will pass by.

A similar formula, *sw3 r nšn*, occurs in incantation 7; again the word is verbal:

P. Edwin Smith, Incantation 7 (XIX. 19– XX. 1):



ndsds wpwtyw.t shmt ht h3tyw.t b3stt

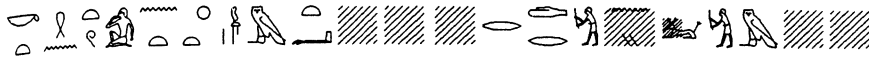
n sw3 rnpt r nšny r hr.i nn ph wi nfwyt

May your messengers be consumed, O Sekhmet; may your disease-demons retreat, O Bastet; the Year does not pass by to rage against me. Your breath will not reach me.

While the form of the Sethian determinative is consistent in all four attestations, there are other minor orthographical variations in the four attestations of *nšn* in the papyrus: the  determinative is written all four times, but the *pt*-sign is absent in one instance. Whereas  is appropriate in the two instances of *nšn* in incantation 4, it is less so in the other two, and that is perhaps why it is omitted in incantation 2. Its presence is a tool to perspectivise a meaning that is already present in the Seth determinative, and so it is dispensable. The orthographic variation of the four instances may be attributable to the fact that the incantations were drawn together from different sources; compare the different orthographies in incantations 2 and 7 of *nf* ‘breath’, which itself is part of the same metaphorical domain. Accordingly, Bardinet (1995, 518) translated it ‘vent/souffle(s)’.

nšn is again a metaphorical ‘storm’ in a spell in P. BM 10059, where it describes an affliction of the eye:

p. BM 10059, 23 (7, 8):



kt šnt nt irt imnt ... r dr nšny m ...

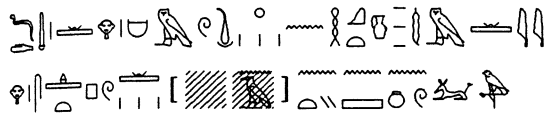
Another conjuration of the right eye ... to repel the turbulence in [...]

When applied to a condition of the eye as here, *nšn*'s connotations of outpouring are particularly appropriate since the eye could produce water like the sky. This is not, however, perspectivised by the inclusion of a *pt*-sign.

The Seth animal appears once in P. BM 10105 describing angry beings:

p. BM 10105 (1, 3):

Fig. 2.38



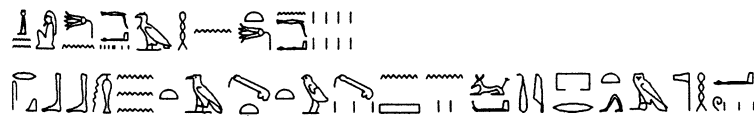
dd mdw hr hmw n hnkt ndmy hr štpw ... n3 nty nšnw

To be spoken over the *hmw*-plant with sweet beer for pacifying [...] those who rage [...]

In this instance, even the aggressive man/arm determinative is lacking in the writing, which confirms that the Seth animal carries its own connotations of force that are supplemented by *h* rather than supplied by them. The animal sign itself with its forked tail is a little more detailed than that of P. Edwin Smith.

nšn refers to anger in one of the incantations against snakes on the healing statue of Ramses III, but is applied to poison rather than a divine being:

R. III Statue, Incantation 2 (8–9):



in.n.i sšnw n mh 7 nht n mh 8 r skbb t3 mtwt nšny.ti prt m h'w ntr

I have taken a lotus of 7 cubits and a bouton of 8 cubits to cool the angry venom which has issued from god's body.

Although *nšn* here has the sense 'angry' in terms of the violent effects it can cause in its victim, its original sense of '(violent) outpouring' is relevant since its subject is venom, issued as an act of violence by a snake in this case. The spurting phallus determinative of *mtwt*, which is used here both as a logogram and as a determinative, makes the metaphorical link between this word and *nšn* stronger.

The final and most striking occurrence of *nšn* is in a broken context in a spell directed

against crocodiles in P. BM 9997 + 10309. This stands out from all the others because its Sethian determinative is in deity rather than the usual animal form:

P. BM 9997 + 10309 (1, 12):

Fig. 2.39



nšty.s



Her wrath ...

The *s* refers either to a land or to one of the crocodiles mentioned earlier in the spell, which also includes an anonymous goddess who protects the sufferer. Given the unusual deity form of the determinative, perhaps *nšty* refers to her and so has been adapted to incorporate her divinity. Since it is the only Sethian determinative in the papyrus, it is not possible to be certain that all Sethian words would have been determined with this form of the sign.

kri

The metaphorical linkage of storm and illness is also attested in the use of the word *kri*, which appears only in the Harris Magical Papyrus:

P. Harris Incantation H (rto 5, 8–9):

Fig. 2.40



dm nwbtj šsrw.f im.f nw.n.f pt t3 m kri n.f hk3.f šhm.t(i) hr dr hftyw.f

The Ombite shoots his arrows into it when he has caused heaven and earth to shake with a storm for himself. His magic is mighty in driving off his enemies.

Multiple determinatives are not uncommon in Ramesside texts, but the separation of the three determinatives of *kri* is striking here. First, the Seth animal indicates the violence of the word, then the *pt*-sign perspectivises the meteorological aspect, which is perspectivised further by the water signs. The form of the animal determinative, unattested in P. Harris in writings of *sth*, is very different from the determinative of *š3* (Fig. 2.31), with its clearly forked tail and downward curving snout, again suggesting that the determinative of *š3* is perhaps not the Seth animal.

hnnw

Just as *nšn*, rooted in the language of ‘storm’, could be used of an emotional ‘storm’, so *hnnw*,

which belongs to the sphere of violence, since it means ‘to disturb’, ‘disturbance’ can be used of meteorological disturbances, for example:

P. Ebers, Incantation 360 (58, 7–8):

iw hrw m pt rsyt dr h3w hnnw m pt mhyt

There is thunder in the southern sky since the evening,
there is a disturbance in the northern sky.

This spell is a treatment for leucoma (*shdw*) and the two disturbances in the sky can be interpreted as metaphors for the condition of the patient’s eyes, a use of *hnnw* similar to that of *nšn* in P. BM 10059 discussed above. However, *hnnw* is more firmly rooted in the sphere of violence than *nšn*. There are no attestations of it in the medico-magical texts surveyed where a *pt*-sign supplements the Seth determinative, except perhaps in the following passage in P. Leiden I. 348:

P. Leiden I. 348, Incantation 34 (vso. 11, 6):

hpr b3g m pt rsy(t) pr hnnw m pt mht

Lethargy will come about in the southern sky;
a disturbance will break out in the northern heaven.

Borghouts (1971, pl. 15) assumed that the final person determinative was a mistake. Although the sense of the passage would not be ruined by *hnnw* meaning ‘disturbers’ rather than ‘disturbance’, the latter, more abstract sense creates a parallelism with *b3g*.²⁶ If this is a mistake, it is possible that the book-roll sign after the Seth animal is also a mistake. Its position in the word is unusual: since it is of a higher level of abstraction, one would expect it to follow the aggressive man sign. In view of the meteorological context, perhaps the book-roll should have been a *pt*-sign. The photograph of this page of the papyrus is far from sharp and the determinative is not clear enough to reproduce.

In its second attestation in P. Ebers, *hnn* is a verb in a set of instructions to be followed after

²⁶ Borghouts (1971, 204) suggested that this is a description of the combat that takes place in the sky each evening as the sun sets.

the application of a remedy:

P. Ebers 336 (56, 6):



im.k hnn wrt

Don't disturb it overly.

In this case, *hnn* refers simply to an action and has no direct relation to either of the metaphorical domains of illness or storm under discussion. However, the use of the Sethian determinative, here indicating rough handling, is striking.

As a noun, *hnn* could be used of illness itself, confirming that the latter was conceptualised as a disturbance of the health:

P. Hearst 78 (6, 8):²⁷



... r sswn srhy hry s^hkyw hnn bibiw m ^{t.i}iptn

... so that the master criminal (lit: he who should be accused) will be punished, and the ones who have caused illness (lit: disturbance) and symptoms to enter into these my limbs.

The pairing of *hnn* and *bibi* is significant. *bibi* written with a different determinative means ‘to acclaim, announce’; in a medical context, it signifies those things which ‘announce’ an illness, that is, its symptoms. Thus, like *nšn*, *hnn* here indicates the physical manifestation of illness.

In the Chester Beatty Dream Book, *hnn* is used of violent behaviour in the human sphere, here linked contextually with Seth in a description of ‘Sethian’ men. The Seth animal appears extensively this section of the papyrus in words for ‘turmoil’. *hnn* occurs twice in such contexts:

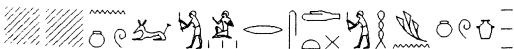
P. Chester Beatty III (rto 11, 10):



swrɪ.f hɪnkt r šd swɦʒ hnnw

He (=the Sethian man) drinks beer so as to engender turmoil and disputes.

P. Chester Beatty III (rto 11, 17):



²⁷ This spell is attested also in P. Ebers 1, where *hnn* is written without the Sethian determinative.

[He engenders ? dis]putes so as to break vessels.

sh3

Although in the first passage cited above $s(w)h3$ is without a Seth determinative, it occurs with one in two other passages:

[illegible]

If he drinks beer, he drinks it [to engender strife and tur]moil.

As for a man who is drunken, [he] disrupts ...

In the Dream Book, the orthography of $s(w)h3$ varies in the use of $\parallel$ or $—$, and the presence of w . That the Sethian determinative should be written in two instances but not in the third is unusual, but not unprecedented. When the Seth sign is present, it always precedes the aggressive man/arm determinative, – as in $n\dot{s}n$ and $\dot{h}nn$ – indicating that it is at a lower level of abstraction.

Gardiner (1935, 20 n.10) suggested that the connection of the drunken man with Seth may be through the redness of his eyes and this is supported by the text:

The redness of the white eye emerging from his body (is) this god.

Gardiner thought that this description might refer to the drunk man's bloodshot eyes, a physical manifestation of his Sethian qualities (compare discussion of Seth's connection with *msw* in 2.5.3).

Another word related closely to *hnn* and especially *swh3* is *kh(3)b*. It occurs in three times in

incantation 62 in P. BM 10059:

P. BM 10059, Incantation 62 (18, 3–4):


iw.k mi ht hr.sy m št3w [kh3b] t3w ... kh3b.f

You are like a fire when it falls upon the thicket and the wind rages [...] he rages.

The context of the third appearance of the word is damaged, and the orthography is slightly different:  (18, 9). Despite the lack of a final *b*, the word is clearly the same.²⁸

The same word, also written with a Sethian determinative occurs earlier in the protective spells for mother and child:

P. Berlin 3027 (vso. 3, 5):


rh.n.i st k3 rh.n.i rnw.sn n rh st in nty r khb šri pn

I know them and I know their names, they are not known by those who would disturb this child.

ih

There is only one, very salient occurrence of a figurative Sethian determinative in P. Edwin Smith. The numerous occurrences of the noun *ih* ‘ailment’ always have the bad bird as a determinative (as always also in other texts). In one particular case, however, *ih* is determined by a combination of the Seth deity and the *nwb*-sign, .

P. Edwin Smith Case 47 (17, 13):

Fig. 2.41


ir swt gm.k s pf šmm.f isk wbnw pf nsry im.k wt sw
di r t3 hr mniw.f r sw3 t3 ih.f



If, however, you find that man continuing to have fever while that wound is inflamed, you shall not bandage it; moor him at his mooring stakes until the period of his injury passes by.

²⁸ The same word occurs much later in the Brooklyn Snake Papyrus (30th Dynasty) where the Seth animal hieroglyph has knives inserted into its head:  (Sauneron 1989: 79b 5, 61).

In the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*, the pairing of the Seth deity hieroglyph with the *nwb*-sign was a writing of Seth's epithet 'the Ombite'. It is possible that this particular local form of Seth is being alluded to by the determinative.²⁹ Breasted's comments on the word are brief (1930, 135):

The fact that in one case the word *ih* receives the determinative of a typhonic animal (XVII.13) does not aid us in a scientific determination of the pathological meaning of the word, though it discloses the current superstitions of the age in which our scribe and our treatise of course both share.

This raises several questions about the transmission of texts. Was the choice of determinative and orthography solely at the scribe's discretion? If it was, why should he have indulged his 'superstitions' only in this one instance? It is unlikely that the unusual orthography was due to confusion of sign-forms in hieratic: the Seth determinative is very clearly written and is utterly distinct from the hieratic form of the usual bad bird sign. Furthermore, there seems to be nothing unique about the context in which it appears. The phrase *r sw3 3t ih.f* occurs five times in the text, always after the idiom 'moor him at his mooring stakes'.³⁰ There are seven other occurrences of *ih* in other contexts in the text, all written with the bad bird determinative:



Breasted suggested that in the treatise *ih* alludes to a specific injury rather than general suffering. The connotations of any word, however, could be broadened by the addition of a determinative. Elsewhere in the papyrus, the verb *sw3i* 'to pass by' has sinister connotations in conjunction with *nšn*; is it possible that some sort of supernatural force is being alluded to here as having taken hold of the patient? In incantation 4 (see p. 137), *sw3* seems to be an idiomatic and perhaps euphemistic term for 'illness': envisaging it as 'that which passes by' is in part sympathetic magic to make it do so. In the case of the *ih* with the Seth determinative, however, the illness has taken hold. The physician's instructions are to do nothing – which seems to be the meaning of 'moor him at his mooring stakes' – presumably because therapy is useless at this point in the illness until the supernatural force has relinquished its hold on the patient. This would perhaps explain the Sethian determinative, although it is still not clear why

²⁹ The *nwb*-sign was connected with Seth to the extent that in the Greco-Roman period the Golden Horus name was interpreted as an indication of Horus' dominion over Seth; see Gardiner 1957a, 73 and Ritner 1997, 132.

³⁰ Besides Case 47, it occurs in Cases 3 (1, 22–23; 2, 1); 4 (2, 7); 5 (2, 15); 11 (5, 12); 19 (7, 18); 21 (8, 9); 28 (10, 3); 29 (10, 8).

it should only occur in this instance among the five occurrences of the *r sw3y 3t ih.f* formula. There are analogous contexts in which the Seth deity determines other words denoting a malign supernatural influence (see in particular 2.5.2).

nkm

Certain words connected with the medico-magical sphere that are used in P. Leiden I 348 do not take Seth determinatives as they did, for example, *mr* and *mn* in some variants in the *Coffin Texts* (see 2.2.2.2). Both are determined with the bad bird instead. However, a new word of similar meaning is attested with a Seth deity determinative in spell 13 of the papyrus:  *nkm* ‘afflictions’. It occurs in a long list of evil things that are to be driven off by the spell, but it is the only one with a Seth determinative:

P. Leiden I. 348 (rto. 6, 6–7):


hsf.s 3t.k dr.s 3w.k mtwt.k nknw.k 33tyw.k
g3wt.k isfw.k mrw.k whdw.k nkm.k 3mm ht nbt dwwt

It wards off your power, it dispels your ejaculations, your seeds, your harms, your digestion-products, your oppressions, your wrongdoings, your torments, your inflammations, your afflictions, heat, all the bad things ...

Borghouts (1971, 100 n. 179) made no comment on the Sethian determinative, but mentioned that among the other texts which include it is an Edfu temple text where it is determined by a tortoise (Chassinat 1929, 306, 9).³¹ The majority of the words in this enumeration have the bad bird determinative, and it also follows the Seth deity determinative of *nkm*. This is not the case with other Seth determined-instances of *nkm*, which usually has either the Seth determinative or the bad bird, and not a combination of both.

On a 21st Dynasty stela dedicated to Horus,³² there is comparable occurrence of *nkm* with

Fig. 2.42

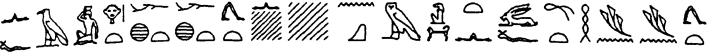


³¹ According to Faulkner (1938, 50) *nkm* originally meant ‘to be bald’, which accounts for its original hair determinative (*Wb.* II. 344, 3) but its meaning became extended to the more general ‘to suffer’.

³² The stela is dated to the reign of Osorkon I by Sternberg-el Hotabi (1999, I, 84; II, 43).

a Sekhmet deity determinative positioned over a lion-bier:

JE 47280, l. 2, right (Daressy 1922, 268):



nβi hr.t htjt n ... nkm.t n wnf.t hnhn.t

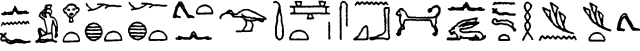
Your face will not rise. You will retreat, [you] will not [find your way].

You will be afflicted, you will not be joyful.

This orthography of *nkm* occurs again in the next two lines and perhaps represents an analogous recognition of this goddess' sway over medical matters, and a simultaneous attempt to appeal to her benevolent side, through the addition of the lion bier, a protective symbol.

The same text is attested in the Metternich stela and a papyrus in Turin:

Metternich Stela 4–5 (Golenishchev 1877, 3):



P. Turin (Pleyte and Rossi 1869–76, II, pl. 131, 2–3):

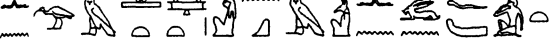


Fig. 2.43



Daressy noted that Golenishchev had transcribed P. Turin's determinative of *nkm* as  (Seth) rather than  (Anubis), and the hieratic clearly supports this (Fig. 2.43). The connection between Seth and Sekhmet and medicine/magic is well-established. It seems as if the writer of the Turin manuscript deliberately chose a determinative which he felt suited the context. Such a selection demonstrates that determinatives were not dead metaphors; there was choice in their assignment, and meaning in the forms of them that were used.

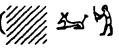
2.3.3 Genre Study 2.1: Sethian determinatives in P. Leiden I 343+345

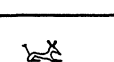
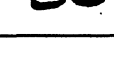
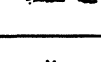
The Ramesside P. Leiden I 343+345 contains the highest concentration and the greatest variety of Seth-determined words of all the texts surveyed. In a non-figurative capacity, the text uses the Sethian signs exclusively in names of deities. It writes the name of Seth logographically and is a determinative of the name of Baal. Neither  (used in the text to mean 'pig', rto 1, 3 = vso 2, 9) nor  (rto 3, 7 = vso 6, 2) is written with a Sethian determinative. Figuratively, the Seth animal determines five different words which belong again to the two metaphorical schemata discussed above of weather and noise. They are very closely intertwined in this text and very much connected to Seth.

The god Seth is mentioned 30 times (Table 2.15).³³ The hieratic form used is very detailed. The animal's tail is usually bipartite – there are only a few cases where it is undifferentiated – and its snout long and usually down-turned. Unlike the curtailed form showing only one ear attested in P. Ebers, both of its ears are always depicted, again in fine detail: sometimes they sweep back in a curve and sometimes they stand up straight. The deity form of the sign is attested only in a writing of *bʿr* (see below).

Table 2.15: Seth in P. Leiden I 343 + 345

SOURCE	HIERATIC	PURPOSE OF SPELL	ROLE OF SETH
§2 rto 1, 9 = §4 vso 3, 5 (faint)		Against <i>smn</i> (rto) and <i>ʿhw</i> (vso)	Expels illness from its ‘abode’
§2 rto 1, 10 = §4 vso 3, 6 (faint)		As above	Causes fear in illness
§2 rto 2, 3 (faint)		As above	Attacks illness with his scimitar
§3 rto 4, 7 (faint)		Against <i>smn</i> (rto) and <i>ʿhw</i> (vso)	Identified with physician
§4 rto 4, 10 = §7 vso 7, 5 (faint)		Against <i>smn</i> and <i>ʿhw</i>	Attacks illness with his rage
§4 rto 4, 10 (traces)		As above	Attacks illness with his fury
§4 rto 5, 4 = §7 vso 7, 11		As above	Attacks illness with his poisons
§5 rto 6, 11 (smudged)		Against <i>smn</i> and <i>ʿhw</i>	Mentioned in relation to Anat
§5 rto 6, 14		As above	Patient drinks from Seth’s vessel
§5 rto 7, 1		As above	Frightens illness with his roaring
§5 rto 7, 3		As above	Lifts up illness with his hand

³³ Massart (1954, 110) also cited vso 19, 2 () as an instance of ‘Seth’, having emended the determinative  to . But the context is really too damaged to be able to be sure of this emendation. Similarly,  (rto 11, 4) is too damaged to determine certainly the reading of the word. I have also not included one instance in which his name is written as part of that of a goddess: Sepet-setekh (17, x+1).

SOURCE (cont.)	HIERATIC	PURPOSE OF SPELL	ROLE OF SETH
§5 rto 7, 5		As above	Mentioned in relation to Horus (context damaged)
§6 rto 9, 4		Against <i>smn</i> and <i>ḥw</i>	Hurries to combat illness
§6 rto 9, 14		As above	Attacks illness with his might
§7 rto 10, 12		Against <i>smn</i> ? (title damaged)	His name causes fear
§8 rto 11, 4		Against <i>ḥw</i>	(context damaged)
§8 rto 11, 12 (faint)		As above	(context damaged)
§12 rto 25, x+3		Against various ailments	Bodily components identified with him
§12 rto 25, x+3		As above	As above
§14 rto 27, 4		Threats to deities to ensure good health	Threatened with the permanent loss of his testicles
§15 rto 27, 12 (faint)		Against various ailments	In list of deities according to whose words the patient speaks
§13 vso 19, 1		Fragmentary	(context damaged)
§14 vso 22, 2		Against <i>ḥw</i>	(context damaged)
§15 vso 23, 3 (faint)		Against feet ailments	Casts down ailment ? (context damaged)

In all cases but one, he is a beneficial force, using his strength to fight the illness being treated. The one exception is where, alongside Horus, he is threatened and coerced into helping the patient (§14, rto 27, 4). Occasionally, he is mentioned alongside Horus, but more often he is paired with Baal, for example:

§2, rto 2, 3:

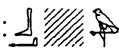




p3 hpš sth r.k p3 smn p3 k3tp n bʿr m d3d3.k p3 smn

The scimitar of Seth is against you, o *smn*; the *ktp* of Baal is (stuck) in your head, o *smn*.

This passage is repeated on the verso (3, 9–10), where Seth’s name is again written logographically with the recumbent animal, as is consistently the case.

Writings of the name of Baal are not consistent like those of Seth. In the passage on the verso which echoes that of the recto discussed above, the signs in Baal’s name are slightly damaged, but it seems to have been written in the same way as on the recto:  (vso 3, 10). However, Baal’s name too occasionally has the recumbent Seth animal as its determinative in the papyrus. The parallel texts on the verso and recto often have different orthographies, for example:

§4, rto 5, 1:



= vso 7, 8:



hwi bʿr r.k m p3 ʿš nty m drt.f

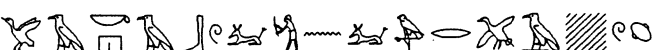
Baal strikes you with the ʿš-wood which is in his hand.

The verso and the recto are not direct copies of each other (Massart 1954, 6–8). Parallel spells, almost identical in format and phraseology, tend to be directed against two different ailments. The spells on the recto are mainly directed against *smn*, the verso spells against ʿhw, the natures of which are not known, although both illnesses are also mentioned in other papyri (Massart 1954, 8). However, differences in orthography like those in the writing of *bʿr* here are nevertheless striking because of the similarity of the contents of certain spells.

There is one other mention of Baal’s name in a spell on the verso. There is a parallel text on the recto, but Baal’s name is present only on the verso:

§4, vso 7, 5: 



= rto 4, 9: 



p3 kh(3b) n sth r p3 [ʿh]w p3 h4nd4n n bʿr/sth r.k

The fury of Seth is against the [ʿh]w; the fury of Baal/Seth is against you.

It is striking that the Sethian deity sign should be used to determine Baal’s name since it is

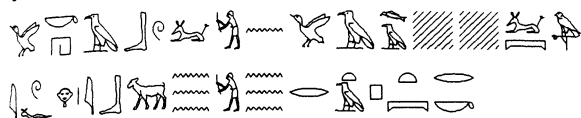
Fig. 2.44



original orthography.

The final attestations of *kh(3b)* in a spell paralleled on the verso and recto include the Seth animal as a determinative, and combine it with another Sethian word, *h3h3ti*:

§4, rto 4, 10–11:



= vso 7, 5–6:



p3 kh3b n p3 h3h3[ti] iw.f hr ib mw r t3 pt r.k

The fury of the storm which thirsts after the water of the sky is against you (?).

Once again the verso text adds a divine determinative to both Seth-determined words. Although the recto text does not have a divine determinative after *kh3b*, one is present for *h3h3ti* and the word's meteorological sense is perspectivised with an additional *pt*-sign. Personification is the most likely explanation for the divine determinative of *h3h3ti* in this instance. Massart (1954, 66 n. 3) mentioned the possibility that Seth, Baal, and the Storm were three manifestations of the same divine force, their affinity being conveyed by their similar determinatives. Both gods are certainly associated with storm. The previous lines of the passage (quoted above, p. 149) mention Seth and Baal, so that the three combine their powers against the illness. Like Seth, Baal is a weather-god. Whereas it is uncertain whether 'Storm' itself becomes a deity in its own right, it is the weapon of both gods and perhaps derives its divine determinative from its association with them.

Another meteorological word, *nšnw*, occurs once in the text with a Sethian determinative. As is common in this papyrus, it is combined with another Sethian word, *sh3*. The text occurs only on the recto:

§14, rto 27, 2:



pt h3.ti s3tw nšnw pt m sh3 t3 m itm

The sky is broken, the ground is in uproar. The sky is in confusion, the earth is destroyed. It is unusual for *nšn* to be applied to the ground and not the sky, but its uses are not exclusively meteorological. Since its sense here is not meteorological, the *pt*-sign written with *h3h3ti* in the previous passage on the recto discussed above is not appropriate. The aggressive man determinative after both *nšn* and *sh3*, links their imagery further.

sh3 ‘confusion’ occurs once more in the papyrus, again in a passage attested only on the recto:

§5, rto 7, 1–2:



sdm (*sp sn*) *p3 smn sdm hrw sth sdm n3y.f swb3*

Hear, hear o *smn*! Hear the voice of Seth ... Hear his uproar!

Once again, the word has the aggressive man determinative after its Seth sign. A sound element is always present in words like *sh3* and *kh(3b)*: ‘uproar’ in English also carries the twin connotations of noise and violence. *sh3* is sometimes written with the  determinative (*Wb*.IV. 71:  ), which is usual with a sound word, but this sign is lacking in its writings in P. Leiden I. 343+345. The sound element of the word is instead brought out by context, while the determinatives selected highlight the force () of the word and its aggression (). The similar word *nhwnhw*, which does have the  determinative, can be compared:

§4, vso 7, 7–8:



p3 m3i nhwnhw m-hnw.k s3hw

The lion which roared within you [makes his ?] approach.

nhwnhw, which occurs only in this papyrus, seems to be a writing of the verb *nhmhm* with *w* for *m* as is common in hieratic. A parallel passage on the recto, from which the final signs above are reconstructed, is equally damaged at the beginning and the *nhmhm* is not visible. *nhmhm* occurs again in the papyrus, without a Sethian determinative, in a similar context:

§2, rto 1, 11:



[*m3*]i *nhmhm m-hnw.k*

The [li]on within you roars.

nhmhm can refer either to the roaring of wild animals, like the lion, or to the thundering of the sky (*Wb*. II. 286, 3–4), again linking the meteorological sphere to that of noise.

Since medico-magical texts focus on violent and disruptive conditions of the body, Sethian words abound in them, as do mentions of Seth himself, who had a close connection with the

sphere of illness. The magical texts of P. Leiden I 343+345 are, however, striking in their intertwining of figurative and non-figurative mentions of Seth. His beneficence in the various spells of the papyrus influences the connotations of the words his animal determines. Whereas in other texts, Sethian words are almost uniformly negative, here they are especially closely linked to Seth himself (as may be shown by the addition of a deity determinative in some examples on the verso) and are therefore presented in an unusually positive light.

2.3.4 Discussion

The Seth animal determinative is particularly common in the medico-magical sphere and is put to various usages. Its prominence is due partly to the important part Seth plays in the texts, partly to the appropriateness of Sethian words to describe the causes, effects, and cures of various ailments, and partly to the conceptual threads linking Seth and all his figurative associations with illness. The physician relied on a combination of medicine and magic, the latter working through the invocation of divine forces who are either encouraged or threatened into cooperation. Massart (1954, 10) set this point in a wider context:

In particular it seems that during and through the magician's exorcism fictitiously or not, the whole operation as well as the actors belong to a supernatural sphere. ... The disease is usually regarded as a personal being which has head, eyes, teeth, nose, etc, which takes possession of the patient's body or intends to do so.

Illness itself was therefore a supernatural and animate entity. It was brought into being by malevolent spirits and is described as wandering through the patient's body and taking up residence there so that the physician must cast it out. Seth played a key role in this. Although in many instances, he seems to be the cause of illness, the very fearsomeness of his power could be channelled to positive ends. He can therefore be invoked as a positive or a negative force. The Seth animal determinative is used in similar ways. It signals the ambivalent character of the ass which, like Seth, may be a menace to be warded off or a power to be exploited to the patient's advantage. The same ambivalence is present in the figurative sphere. Although the words that the Seth animal determines in the medico-magical texts discussed describe the violent forces of storm and noise, these can be directed against the chaotic forces of illness within the patient's body, enabling the physician to fight fire with fire, so to speak.

Seth's function as a god in the medico-magical sphere is intertwined with the figurative associations of the Seth animal determinative. Through storm and noise, and the violence that

ties both conceptually together, Seth is linked to illness. There are few uses of Sethian determinatives in actual words for illness in medico-magical texts. However, his associations with illness, both as its cause and as its cure, are manifest in other textual spheres, and are discussed further below (2.5.2).

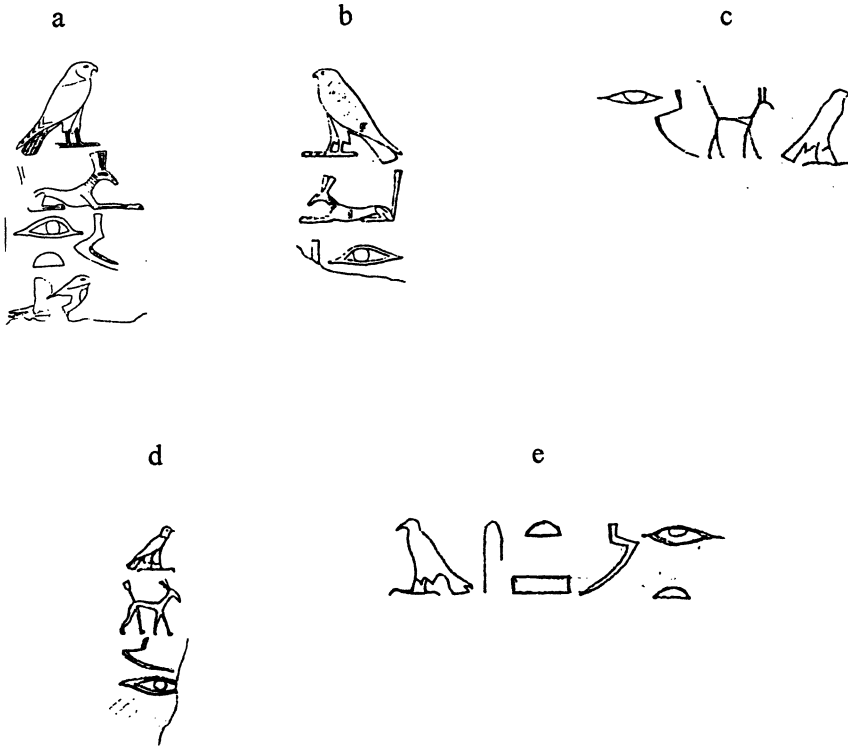
2.4 ROYAL TEXTS

2.4.1 Non-figurative usage

sth, *nbwy*, *nwbty*

In Old and Middle Kingdom texts, Seth rarely occurs outside the *Pyramid* and *Coffin Texts*. There are no direct mentions of him in the royal texts I surveyed, apart from the use of the Seth animal in the title ‘She who sees Horus and Seth’ (e.g. of Queen Khamerernebt in Dyn. 4: *Urk* I. 155, 13; 15), where ‘Horus and Seth’ refers to the king (see Jones 2000, I, 421–22). Whereas *hr* ‘Horus’ tends always to be written with the falcon sign, , the writing of Seth’s name varies considerably (see sample of orthographies in Fig. 2.45a–e).

Fig. 2.45



The title is attested in the New Kingdom, for example with Queen Ahmose, the mother of Hatshepsut:        (Urk. IV. 224, 16). In the New Kingdom, the Seth sign becomes much more common in royal texts in general, especially those of the Ramesside period. The majority of Seth animal signs occur in writings of the name of Seth, and in his epithets.

There are occasional distinctive orthographies of Seth's name, for example, on an offering table of Thutmosis III:  (Urk. IV. 1250, 16; Fakhri 1937, pl. 2). The commonest writing is simply with a Seth animal logogram, where the animal is usually shown recumbent, for example, in Deir el-Bahri temple inscriptions (Table 2.16). Although the seated variant, , can be used (e.g. Memphis stela of Amenhotep II, *Urk* IV. 1301, 17), its most frequent use is in writings of *nbwy*, where the narrower shape of the seated animal fits well over a *nb*-sign. The deity form of the sign is not attested in writings of Seth's name until the Ramesside Period. The logographic writing is not usually accompanied by a divine determinative, although there are exceptions like the example above. The divine determinative tends only to occur regularly in writings *nbwy* 'the Two Lords' , which is attested in the Tumbus inscription of Thutmosis I (*Urk* IV. 82, 14). In all the other occurrences of *nbwy* in the texts surveyed, there is no accompanying divine determinative.³⁴

Seth's epithet *nwbty* is attested only once among the texts surveyed in the Konosso stela of Thutmosis IV (*Urk* IV. 1547, 8), where it is written without a Sethian or divine determinative:  . In this instance, the name of Seth immediately precedes (see below).

Seth's other common epithet, *s3 nwt* 'the son of Nut', is attested often throughout the New Kingdom, but is never written with a Seth determinative. It does not seem to be a way of avoiding writing Seth's name, because the majority of the contexts in which it occurs are completely positive; in most, the king is favourably compared with the strength of the son of Nut (e.g. in the Restoration stela of Tutankhamun: *Urk*. IV. 2032, 2) or his power (e.g. in the Sphinx stela of Thutmosis IV: *Urk*. IV. 1541, 7).

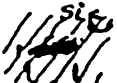
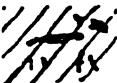
Table 2.16: The form of the Seth animal at Deir el Bahri

SOURCE (NAVILLE)	WORD	FORM OF SIGN		SOURCE (cont)	WORD	FORM OF SIGN
III, 56	<i>sth</i>			IV, 112	<i>sth</i>	
III, 58	<i>nbwy</i>			IV, 113	<i>sth</i>	

³⁴ There are six other examples: *Urk* IV. 249, 14; 250, 17; 1276, 21; 1285, 14; 1691, 3; 1763, 18. Once at Deir el Bahri (III, pl. 57) *nbwy* is written without the Horus and Seth signs: .

served as guards.

Table 2.17: The orthography of ʕ and ʕ̣ in the Nauri decree

SOURCE (KPII)	LINE OF INSCRIPTION	ANIMAL	ORTHOGRAPHY (AFTER KITCHEN)	SIGN FORM (AFTER GRIFFITH)
51, 11-12	35	Ass		
51, 12	35	Pig		
54, 12	56	Ass		
54, 12	56	Pig		
54, 15	57-58	Ass		
54, 15	58	Pig		
55, 1	59	Ass		
55, 5	64	Ass/Dog?		
55, 14	74	Ass/Dog?		

2.4.2 Figurative usage

nšn

The only example of a figurative Sethian determinative from the Middle Kingdom is in the third hymn to Senwosret III, where the animal determines the word *nšn* in a description of the king:

P. Kahun LV, 19:

Fig. 2.46



isw dw pw mdr d^c r tr n nšn pt

Indeed, he is a mountain blocking the storm at the season when the sky rages.

The form of the animal is quite distinctive: its snout points up instead of down as it normally does. Its tail is undifferentiated at the tip but its length and poise confirm the animal's identity.

Weather imagery has a wide range of usages in the royal texts surveyed. In the hymn to Senwosret III, *nšn* refers to an undesirable state of affairs from which the king protects his people – conceivably an allusion to political instability, a well-attested theme in Middle Kingdom texts – while in the New Kingdom it can describe the behaviour of the king himself.

nšn is used three times in the Memphis stela of Amenhotep II. In the first occurrence, *nšn* applies to Seth, to whom the king is compared:

Urk IV. 1301, 17:

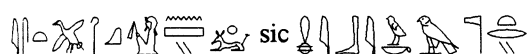


hr f šhm mi b3st mi sth m 3t.f nt nšny

His face is powerful like Bastet, like Seth in his moment of raging.

This description is given as the king sets out on his Year 7 campaign against Syria. It is echoed in the second half of the stela, which describes his second campaign in Year 9, again just as the king is setting out:

Urk IV. 1306, 3:



ist p3 hk3 nš(n)y mi bik nttry

He is a ruler who rages like a divine falcon.

Once again, the context is a simile. But in the third and final attestation in the last line of the stela, *nšn* is applied directly to the king by the leaders of the people he has conquered, who say:

Urk IV. 1309, 19–20:



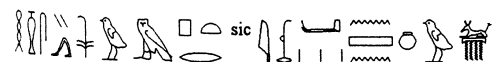
iw.n hr b3kw.n r h.k s3 r imn-htp ntr hk3 iwnw hk3 hk3w

m3i nšny.ti m h3st nb m t3 pn dt

We (come) with our tribute to your palace, son of Re, Amenhotep, the divine ruler of Heliopolis, ruler of rulers, the lion, the one who rages in every foreign land and in this land for eternity.

nšn is used similarly to describe the king in battle in the Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmosis III:

Urk IV. 1229, 6:

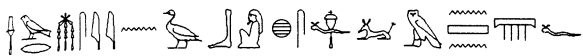


hsy sw m pri nšnw

He is one who turns himself to the battlefield, raging.

It is possible here that *nšnw* applies adjectivally to the battlefield rather than to the king, but the reading given makes the most sense. Whereas *nšn* on the Memphis stela is written with no additional determinatives, the Gebel Barkal stela puts its Sethian determinative over a rainy sky, even though the context is not explicitly meteorological. The only other similar writing is in a religious text that accompanies a table of offerings at Deir el-Bahri, where *nšn* qualifies Seth. It is written without a Sethian determinative:

Naville, *DB IV*, pl. 113:



shm wr msy n gb hsf sth m nšn.f

Great power (an unnamed god), born of Geb, who restrains Seth when he storms.

nšn is also applied to Seth on the Konosso stela of Thutmosis IV:

Urk IV. 1547, 6–8 (de Morgan et al. 1894, I, 67, 17):



prt in ntr nfr mī mntw m ḥprw.f nb

db3w m h^cw.f hr r-^c-ht nšnw mi sth nwbty

Then the perfect god emerged like Montu in all his manifestations, adorned with his panoply for combat, raging like Seth of Ombos.

This description is strategically placed in the middle of the text and describes the king as he sets out against his enemies. Unlike the Memphis stela, which distinguishes orthographically between the god Seth, written with a logographic seated Seth animal, and the Sethian determinative of *nšn*, which is recumbent, the writings of the god's name and the determinative of *nšn* are identical, perhaps in order to bring out the comparison.

The New Kingdom instances of *nšn* discussed so far all use its associations to describe the strength of the king, which is directed against his enemies. The inscription on one of Tutankhamun's shields returns to the Middle Kingdom usage of the word describing the king's enemies, which in this instance are the wild animals he is depicted hunting:

Urk IV. 2060, 4–5 (Carter 1933, pl. 47C):



^h3 m3iw mdd sm3w n k(3).n.f n(š)/n.sn

(In) fighting lions and subduing wild bulls, he does not care (?) if they are raging.

This is the only example that supplements the Seth animal with an additional determinative of force.

 snm

Besides determining *nšn*, the Seth animal occurs twice as the determinative of *snm* ‘rainstorm’. Unlike *nšn*, this word usually refers to an actual storm, although the context may involve metaphor. This is the case in the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut, where it comes in a description of the patron goddess of Speos Artemidos, Pakhet:

Urk IV. 386, 15–17:

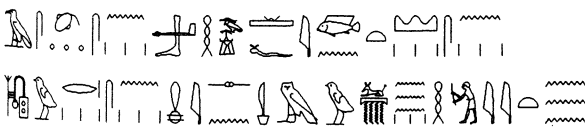


pḥt wrt ḥnšt int ḥrt-ib i3bt wpt w3wt snm nn ibḥw

Pakhet, the Great One, who traverses the wadis in the heart of the East,
who opens up paths of rain, without there being a libationer.

Gardiner (1946a, 51) suggested that *snm* here referred to the torrential rains that the Eastern desert was frequently subject to, although he was uncertain about the meaning of the reference. A few lines earlier, the inscription describes the physical delapidation of the temple before Hatshepsut's restoration, and so it would make sense if the passage cited correspondingly described the similarly ruined state of the temple's cult. Thus, the temple's patron goddess is forced to look to the rain of the sky in place of the libation offerings she should be receiving from her cultic priests. Although the description is used to describe the sorry state of the temple and its goddess, *snm* itself has no particularly negative connotations. However, this is not the case in the Tumbus inscription of Thutmosis I, in a more extended metaphor which describes the state of the people the king has conquered:

Urk IV. 84, 8–9:



3s.sn b^ch.f int.sn tmsw r.sn mi snmw hwyt

Their gore inundates their wadis, and the blood from their mouths is like a torrent of rain. Just as the king may inflict a metaphorical storm of rage (*nšn*) upon his enemies, here he gruesomely creates a specific meteorological effect with their bodies. The omnipresent violent

potential of the Sethian determinative of *snm* is reinforced by the word for rain, which derives from the root *hwi* ‘to beat’. Thus, the weather metaphor is at its most vivid, acquiring a savage resonance. The king does not simply bring a metaphorical storm of rage (*nšn*) to bear against his enemies, the stormy force of his wrath is manifest in his making their entrails into a flood, and their blood into a rainstorm.

kri and *h3h3ti*

Two more Sethian meteorological words are used in a stela of Amenhotep II. Only fragments survive, and it is not possible to reconstruct the context fully, although it is likely that the words are used in a way similar to that just discussed, to describe the force of the king’s wrath:

Urk IV. 1318, 18 (Barucq 1941, pl. 1):



... *mi kri n h3h3ti mt[rw?]*

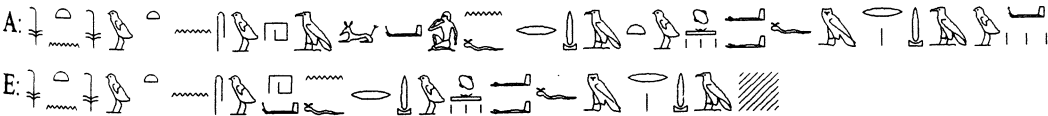
... like the thunder of a storm and a flood ...

The final word may be reconstructed as the adjective *mty* (e.g. Barucq 1949, 200: ‘véritable nuage d’orage’). But since *mty* does not usually have the sense of ‘real’, I have taken it as a separate noun (*mty* is a variant of *mtrw* ‘flood’, *FCD* 121). Since the name of every deity has been erased on the stela, it is probable that the damage dates to the Amarna period rather than to the first millennium demonisation of Seth. Despite the damage, the outline of the animal is clear in Barucq’s photograph and is recumbent in both cases.

swh3

Seth occurs with a different metaphorical sense as the determinative of the verb *swh(3)* in another text of Amenhotep II, on stelae in Amada and from Elephantine. There are significant differences in orthography between the two variants, especially in the word’s determinatives:

Urk IV. 1291, 13–16:



nsw swt n swh3 n f r-d3wt ʿwy f m r-d3w

He is a king to be praised (lit. shouted about) in return for his actions on the battlefield.

Fig. 2.47



Although the sign on the Amada stela has no interior detailing, it is quite distinctive: the animal's ears are not square at the tip, but resemble those of the ass, and the tail is an arrow (Fig. 2.47). While the Amada stela has a Seth determinative and a human determinative, the Elephantine stela omits both, retaining only the aggressive arm determinative. The texts are almost identical in most places, diverging especially when an animal sign is involved (cf. 3.4.1-2; 4.4.2).³⁶

2.4.3 Genre Study 2.2: The temple of Seti I at Abydos

The god Seth is particularly prominent as a benevolent force in the Ramesside Period, but the following two genre studies which deal with the texts of two temples of that era show considerable differences in their treatment of the Seth animal hieroglyph. The texts of Seti I at Abydos are striking for their avoidance of Sethian signs.

In his stela from Amara, Seti I is described as:

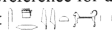
KRI I. 102, 12:



phry iwty snnw:f mi it.f sth

Strong, with no equal like his father Seth.

But there is no evidence of this close relationship to Seth in his texts at Abydos. In sharp contrast to his inscriptions at other sites, at Abydos the Seth animal hieroglyph is consistently

³⁶ The Elephantine stela shows a preference for detailed human signs instead of animal signs; compare, for example, *Urk.* IV, 1292, 13-14: A: , E: .

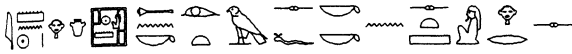
avoided, even in writings of the king's name, which always takes the form , with the Isis-knot sign. The texts characterise the king as having an especially close relationship to Osiris; for example, Seshat describes the king in great detail as the protector (*ndty*) of Osiris:

You wash out his wounds of yesterday; you make him emerge in the morning as Re beside every god; you release (or 'bandage') him; you let his nose breathe, you bring the North wind to him.

(*KRI* I. 191, 6–9)

Seth is responsible for these wounds of Osiris that the king is described as cleaning for him. Since the temple is dedicated primarily to Osiris, iconic representations of his enemy may have been considered inappropriate. There are occasional mentions of the god, but these mostly characterise him negatively and castigate him; for example, in a speech the king makes while offering oil to Amun-Re:

CA II. pl. 10:



imn-r' hr-ib hwt-mn-m3't-r' mn-n.k irt hrsfkk n sth hr.s

Amun-Re, dwelling in the temple of Menmaatre, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, on account of which Seth was punished.

This is a recurring formula accompanying the king's presentation of oil (*mdt*) to a deity; compare,

CA II. pl. 18:



r'-hr-3hty mn-n.k irt hr sfkk.t(w) n.f sth hr.s

Re-Horakhty, take for yourself the Eye of Horus, on account of which Seth is punished for him (=Osiris?).

The orthography of the god's name differs occasionally in detail:  and  alternate as the initial phonogram, as above, and sometimes the deity determinative is omitted (e.g. CA II. pl. 32, offering table, lower register, ll. 2–3: ).

Fig. 2.48

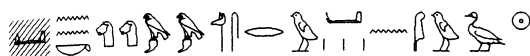


However, one writing is distinguished from all the others, because the determinative seems to be the anthropomorphic Seth deity sign, and it has been erased (CA II. pl. 19: see Fig 2.48).

Moreover, it is one of the few instances in which Seth is not mentioned in an overtly negative context, but simply as one of the gods of the Ennead. Perhaps the neutrality of his role allowed for the writing of his specific deity determinative. It is possible that the erasure dates to a later period in which Seth was demonised. It is notable that the entire name and not just the deity sign alone has been damaged.

In other contexts where the Seth animal sign might have been written, it is avoided. Thus, the epithet *nbwy* is written with two Horus falcons instead of the Horus falcon and the Seth animal. This is especially appropriate in the following case, since it occurs in a speech of Osiris:

CA III. 61:



[d].n(.i) n.k phty nbwy wsrw n šw s3 r^c

I have given to you the strength of the Two Lords, the might of Shu, son of Re.

In addition to their pairing in *nbwy*, Horus and Seth are once both identified with unguent which the king is offering:

CA II. 10:



mrht tn n hr mrht tn n sth

^cb (?) hr irt.f nhm.f sy m-^c hfty.f nn imn.t(w) sth im.s

This unguent belongs to Horus, this unguent belongs to Seth.

Horus was united with his eye when he rescued it from his enemy.

There is no offering of Seth in it.

There are many similar pairings of the gods in medico-magical texts to increase the potency of the person or the remedy with which they are identified (2.3.1), but here Seth is demonised as *hfty* refers to him.

There seems to be a similar reluctance to use Sethian signs or indeed any kind of Sethian imagery at Abydos; few figurative Sethian words occur in the published texts of the inner temple. Since these texts concentrate on the king's cultic role in relation to the gods, this is not surprising. However, *nšny* occurs several times in the epithets *nbt nšny* 'Mistress of Rage' (e.g. of Isis in *CA* I. 20) and *wrt nšny* 'Great of Rage' (e.g. of the Eye of Re in *CA* I. 13). Occasionally, the word is written with only the strong arm determinative (𓂏𓂐 : *CA* I. 13 as

above), but in most instances it takes a baboon determinative (see Fig. 2.49).³⁷

Fig. 2.49



Since it is so frequently mentioned as a quality of Isis, again the Seth animal is perhaps considered inappropriate, given that goddess' relationship with Seth.

2.4.4 Genre Study 2.3: The temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

In stark contrast to the texts at Abydos, there are numerous mentions of the god Seth in the temple texts of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. However, the majority of attestations of the Seth sign are in non-figurative contexts, such as writings of the god's name, his shared epithet with Horus, *nbwy*, the name of Baal, and once the name of the *s3*-animal. The Seth sign is used figuratively in only one word.

Sethian hieroglyphs in texts at Medinet Habu take one of four forms: , , , and . The first two of these signs alternate freely in writings of various words, but the latter two are limited in their use. The fine detailing of the signs in the historical inscriptions (*MH* I–II) is illustrated in Tables 2.18–21 below and discussed below.

Seth as a deity is represented six times in the surviving temple reliefs (*MH* V. 282; VII. 555A, 555B, 582, 585F; and VIII. 605). Each depiction of him was deliberately erased at a later period, except *MH* VII. 585F where he is depicted with a human head. The epithets *s3 nwt* (e.g. *MH* II. 114, 10) and *nwbty* (e.g. *MH* IV. 234, 1) are sometimes applied to him. Both are common epithets and could be used of the god unambiguously, while avoiding the use of a sign directly representing him. In other contexts, such epithets might be used as a tactic to avoid Seth's name, but at Medinet Habu there is no evidence of the suppression of his name or his animal. His primary role in the texts is as a god of great strength and military prowess which he imparts to the king. The Seth animal or the deity form of the sign logographically writes his name 26 times in the historical texts, both alone or with that of Horus in writings of *nbwy* (Tables 2.18, 2.19). In writings of *sth*, the form of the logographic sign varies, but the majority are with the seated animal. The deity form of Seth appears again only once in a

³⁷ CA I. pl. 20 (twice), 23, 28 (twice); II. pl. 12; 16 (twice); 27.

writing of *nbwy*, and is attested in no other word at Medinet Habu. Thus, it seems that a meaningful distinction was made between the deity form and the full animal forms, and their significances.

Table 2.18: *sth* in the historical records of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

SOURCE (MH)	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT	SOURCE (cont.)	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT
I. 16, 12		king's protection (with Montu)	II. 80, 10		king's protection (with Montu)
I. 23, 48		comparison: rage	II. 82, 32		comparison: enemy bows as if to Seth
I. 28, 45		comparison: battle prowess	II. 82, 36		comparison: pursuing enemies
I. 33, 5		context lost	II. 85, 8		comparison: veneration
I. 35, 14		comparison: renown	II. 87, 3		comparison: war-cry
I. 37, 21		comparison: might	II. 92, 5		comparison: seeing enemy
I. 43, 24		comparison: majesty	II. 94, 7	[damaged: deity]	comparison: war-cry
I. 43, 31		comparison: raging	II. 114, 8		comparison: victoriousness
I. 44, 5		comparison: fearsomeness	II. 114, 10		comparison: strength
I. 44, 20		comparison: majesty	II. 116, 1		comparison: king said to be the image of Seth
II. 79, 8		comparison: rage			

In writings of *nbwy* in the historical records, the seated animal is again the most common form of the sign, with only one attestation of the deity form (MH II. 101, 15) and one recumbent animal (MH II. 101, 20). The Seth animal and Horus falcon are usually depicted over *nwb*- rather than the more customary *nb*-signs.³⁸ The choice of sign-form in this group was probably an aesthetic one: the seated Seth animal was as tall as the Horus falcon – as is the deity form

³⁸ In MH VI. 480, 5 the Horus and Seth icons are written without a *nwb*- or a *nb*-sign.

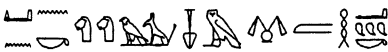
of the sign which occurs once outside the historical records (*MH* VI. 379, 1a) – and thus forms a balanced composition.

Table 2.19: *nbwy* in the historical records of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

SOURCE	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT
I. 46, 8		king receives the ornaments (<i>hkrw</i>) of the Two Lords
II. 94, 10		king embraced by the Two Lords
II. 101, 17		king receives victory of the Two Lords
II. 101, 20		comparison: strength
II. 119B, 21		comparison: victory and strength

There is one distinctive orthography, again outwith the historical inscriptions, in which the two animals are linked: the lines depicting the falcon's claws becomes the line depicting Seth's paws (*MH* V. 289, 12). This seems to be a deliberate graphic device to illustrate the context:

MH V. 289, 12:



di.n(i) n.k phty nbwy sm3 dmd m hf.w.k

I have given you the strength of the two lords,
joined and united in your limbs.

Fig. 2.50



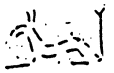
Fig. 2.51



The combined sign here approaches the character of Greco-Roman development, and is typical of the detailed correspondence between sign-form and context in the Ramesside Period. Another example is the bowing foreign man determinative of *ksw* at Abydos (*CA* IV. 19; see Fig. 2.51), which specifies the action as being performed by a foreign chieftain.

The Seth animal is used non-figuratively eleven times to determine the name of Baal in the historical records (Table 2.20).

Table 2.20: *bʿr* in the historical records of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

SOURCE	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT	SOURCE (cont.)	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT
I. 17, 13		comparison: king said to be the likeness of Baal	II. 68, 3		comparison: Baal in his moment
I. 23 (caption)		comparison: strength	II. 79, 22		comparison: war-cry
I. 28, 58		comparison: strength	II. 83, 55		comparison: Baal on mountain
I. 37, 2		comparison: strength	II. 86, 25		comparison: rage
I. 46, 5		comparison: physique	II. 99, 22	damaged (recumbent)	comparison: bravery
II. 62, 3		comparison: rage			

Thus, the majority of writings are phonetic with a Sethian determinative, with only one instance lacking a determinative (*MH* II. 68, 3). Again, the seated animal is used more often than the recumbent. The deity sign is never used as the determinative of Baal's name in the Medinet Habu texts, although it does occur in writings of *b^cr* elsewhere (see 2.3.1). Like Seth, Baal is evoked in the texts as a god of strength who supports the king.

In one slightly garbled passage, the Seth animal sign is depicted standing:

MH II. 101, 16–17:

Fig. 2.52



d.i hnd st hm.[k] [...] hr mi s3b mn3? m h3t idhy

I let [your] majesty trample them (=the Fenkhu) [?]

like a jackal or a ? in the Delta marshes.

Edgerton and Wilson (1936, 107) suggested emending the text using a close parallel from the Amun temple of Ramses III in Karnak, at the time unpublished, but shortly afterwards published by the Epigraphic Survey (1936) and now by Kitchen:

[illegible]

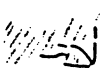
amusing himself like a jackal (or) a sha-animal in the Delta marshes.

However, the determinative of 𐩣𐩢 in the Medinet Habu text is distinct from other forms of the Seth animal in the temple, most notably in its pose. Nowhere else in the temple does this standing variant occur in alternation with the recumbent and seated forms in another word. This holds true outside Medinet Habu also: whereas the recumbent and seated variants alternate, the standing variant is more or less confined to the word 𐩣𐩢. The poise of the tail usually differs between the standing form and the seated/recumbent forms. In the latter, it points straight up, whereas in the former it is held at a backward angle. This is, however, probably attributable here to the arrangements of the hieroglyphs. The final difference is in the ears. In all other forms of Sethian signs at Medinet Habu, including the deity, the animal's ears are squared at the tip. The determinative of 𐩣𐩢 here seems from the copy to have triangular terminations at the tip of its ears, unlike the Karnak determinative of 𐩣𐩢.

It seems, therefore, that while the form of the β -hieroglyph was influenced by the Seth animal, it is almost always graphically distinguished carefully from the latter and should not always be equated with it since β is not exclusively used of the Seth animal. Perhaps the signified in this case is a desert-dwelling griffin (see 2.7.3.2).

Despite the numerous attestations of the Seth animal in non-figurative contexts, it is used figuratively at Medinet Habu only in writings of *nšn* ‘storm’, of which there are 18 attestations in the historical records (Table 2.21).

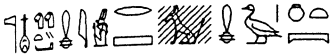
Table 2.21: *nšn* in the historical records of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

SOURCE	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT		SOURCE (cont.)	FORM OF SIGN	CONTEXT
I. 23, 3		damaged: referent lost		II. 70, 3		king described as raging
I. 23, 49	[damaged: recumbent]	king compared to Seth when he rages		II. 79, 8		king compared to Seth when he rages
I. 26, 21	[damaged: recumbent]	[context lost]		II. 82, 17		king described as divine falcon who rages
I. 28, 62		king described as raging		II. 83, 44		damaged: king raging (?)
I. 33, 5		damaged: raging of Seth (?)		II. 83, 62		king compared to Re when he rages
I. 46, 3		king compared to Sekhmet, the raging one		II. 85, 17		king's limbs rage
I. 46, 31		king compared to Seth when he rages		II. 86, 25		king's heart rages like that of Baal
II. 62, 3		king compared to Baal when he rages		II. 87, 1		king described as raging one
II. 68, 4		king rages like a falcon		II. 94, 8		king compared to young bull who rages

The animal is always the determinative; there are no logographic writings. The recumbent sign is more commonly attested than the seated variant. The preference for the recumbent form may be influenced by alternative writings of the determinative as , where the longer form of the animal suited the length of the *pt*-sign. In all of its occurrences, *nšn* refers to an emotional rather than a meteorological storm, and the strong arm determinative (𓂏) points to this distinction in meaning; the *pt*-sign seems to have been considered extraneous and is not attested in the Medinet Habu inscriptions. Its omission is an interesting phase in the word's metaphorical development, since originally the *pt*-sign was more necessary than the Seth

animal. In one example the word appears to have been mistakenly written *rs* in a description of the king:

MH VIII. 657:



ntr nfr phty mi Mntw (n)rs(n) mi s3 nwt

The good god, (possessor of) strength like Montu, wrathful like the son of Nut.

rs 'joyful' is attested elsewhere in the temple texts, usually with a calf's head determinative. The Seth animal would be an abrupt change in its associated imagery.

swh 'to roar' may take a Sethian determinative, but at Medinet Habu it occurs once with a different animal determinative:

MH I. 23, 48:



ib.i hr swh mi k3 hr b3wy mi sth

... my heart was bellowing like a bull on the battlefield like Seth.

Fig. 2.54a



b



Since the word here applies to the king as a metaphorical bull, it takes a bull determinative, even although Seth is involved in the wider comparison. The bull as a raging creature is often described in Sethian terms, especially in the Ramesside Period, when the king often likens himself to a bull, as in the Quban stela of Ramses II:

KRI II. 354, 8:

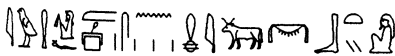


k3 nht r k3 hsy kh3 dyt r t3 nh3y

Strong bull over vile Kush, raging and bellowing against the land of Nubia.

Seth may himself be called a bull, for example in the Beth Shan stela of Ramses II:

KRI II. 151, 10:



iw hm.f m-s3.sn mi k3 nwbty

His majesty was after them like the bull of Ombos.

Thus, the bull is an appropriate replacement for the Seth animal determinative, but this is the only context in which I have encountered the phenomenon. Moreover, the bull determinative of *swh* is quite distinct from the bull logogram, and both are perspectivised in different ways: the *swh*-bull has an open mouth to incorporate the sound element of the word while the logographic bull has a lowered head to convey aggression (Figs. 2.54a–b).

As is exemplified by the meticulous detailing of these bull signs, and of the *nbwy* signs discussed above (Fig. 2.50), careful attention was paid to sign forms at Medinet Habu. This applies to the form of the Seth animal, which generally has a rather leonine body-shape. In many examples, the animal seems to have a mane, distinct from the headdress of the deity, hanging down over the tops of its two front paws in the same manner as a lion (Fig. 2.55a).

Fig. 2.55a



b



The occasional bulbous termination of the Seth animal's tail (see below) may also be compared to the iconography of the lions depicted in the reliefs. However, this termination of the tail is not common and the mane is not always depicted (e.g. *MH* II. 87, 3: Fig. 2.55b).

Fig. 2.56a



b



There is considerable variation in the shape of the Seth animal's snout. Sometimes it is rather straight like that of a jackal (e.g. *MH* I. 43, 24; II. 87, 3; IV. 241A, 9), whereas elsewhere, it is distinctively down-pointed (*MH* IV. 207, 14; VII. 585, 2; II. 114, 10, deity); compare Figs. 2.56a–b.

Fig. 2.57 a



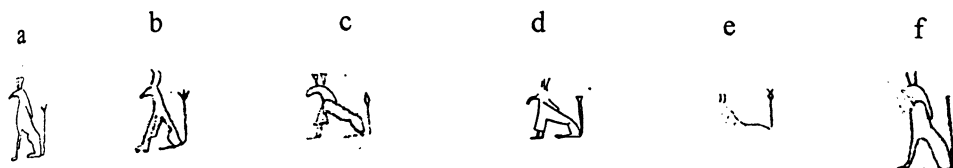
b



The animal's ears are always erect and at a slight distance from each another. Sometimes they are of a uniform width (*MH* I. 43, 24: Fig. 2.57a); sometimes they taper from base to tip (*MH* I. 35, 14; III. 182: Fig. 2.57b). In a few instances, they seem to be represented with only one line (*MH* II. 87, 3; II 37, 21), probably because the scale is very small.

The terminations of the tail show a great deal of variation. There are six distinct types among the clear writings of the Seth animal, although some of these are only minor variants; an example of each type is given in Fig. 2.58a–f.

Fig. 2.58



The most common termination is forked, as is illustrated in Tables 2.18–21, but the triangular termination is also frequently attested, as is the bulbous, leonine termination. Arrow-like terminations occur in two different forms, one type twice, another only once. There are two instances of an unelaborated straight shaft, and two of a tripartite termination. In one instance (*MH* VII. 585, 2) the tail terminates in a thicker type of fork, which seems to reappear once in the shape of the Seth animal's ears: *MH* II. 83, 62. Except for the leonine variant, the tail seems always to take the shape of a weapon, sometimes an arrow, sometimes a forked stick. This variation in form shows that the tail's representation was not rigidly fixed. There is more consistency in its poise, which is always the traditional straight upward-pointing shaft, except in one instance where it is slightly curved, presumably by mistake (*MH* V. 301, 4).

2.4.5 Discussion

Figurative Sethian determinatives are not very common in royal inscriptions when compared to the number attested, for example, in religious texts. In the 18th Dynasty, the Seth animal is more or less restricted to storm metaphors, in which it may either suggest positive strength if the storm describes the raging of the king, or negative chaos if it describes the violence of the king's enemies. While there is a great increase in mentions of Seth in the Ramesside period, there is a decline in figurative usages of the Seth animal determinative, in comparison with the 18th Dynasty. The animal's absence at Abydos is attributable to the context of the site, where Seth is inappropriate as the enemy of Osiris. Even at Medinet Habu, where Seth is commonly mentioned, and there was no taboo on the use of his animal in the texts, only *nšn* is written with a figurative Sethian determinative. While his inappropriateness restricted his use at Abydos, perhaps his popularity was responsible for his restriction in his use at Medinet Habu. Since the Medinet Habu texts evoke his positive strength and identify it with that of the king, his animal's more negative figurative connotations in relation to storm and violence may not have been desirable.

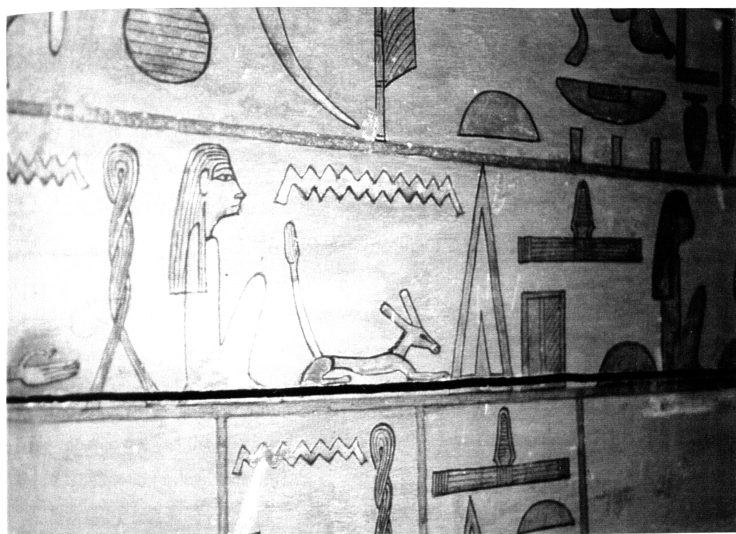
2.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS

2.5.1 Non-figurative usages

sth, *nwbty*, and *nbwy*

Except in titles⁴¹ and theophoric names, there are no mentions of the god Seth in the non-royal texts I surveyed from the Old Kingdom. From the Middle Kingdom, he is included in offering formulae, particularly on coffins, such as that of Henen from Asyut (Louvre AF 9757; Fig. 2.59).

Fig. 2.59



From the New Kingdom, there are several examples of such formulae on stelae and statues from Seth's cult centre in Tukh, ancient Nubt, where Seth, called by his epithet *nwbty*, is the principal addressee. An example is the inscription on the 18th Dynasty statue of Sennefer:⁴²

Urk IV. 1437, 8:

ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ

hꜣp di nwbty sꜣ pt phꜣty m-hꜣt wiꜣ nꜣrw nbw imyw nwbꜣ

⁴¹ For example, of women: *mꜣꜣt hr sth* 'She who sees Horus and Seth (= the king)' (Jones 2000, I. #1562); of men, various priestly titles, such as *hm-nꜣr sth* (Jones 2000, II. ##2131, 2132).

⁴² Compare also from the Ramesside Period, a stela from Ballas depicting and addressed to Seth of Ombos and Hathor (Petrie and Quibell 1896, pl. 43).

An offering given by the Ombite, the son of the sky, (whose) strength is at the front of the bark,
and all the gods of Ombos ...

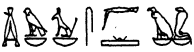
Fig. 2.60



Helck assumed that a 𓆎 must be missing from the beginning of the inscription, but there is no evidence of it on the statue itself (Fig. 2.60). Moreover, Gardiner's excursus (1915, 80) on various types of offering formulae includes many in which the name of a god substitutes for *nsw*, although his examples are from the Old Kingdom.

Seth does not tend to be mentioned in non-royal inscriptions outside titles and offering formulae until the New Kingdom. In 18th Dynasty biographical inscriptions, there are two logographic uses of the Seth animal in the epithet which pairs him with Horus, *nbwy* 'the Two Lords', in the tomb inscription of Amenemope (TT 29) and on a stela of Amenemhat (BM 123):

Urk IV. 1439, 6 (Amenemope):



db3 nbwy ssd nbtj

(I am) one who dresses the two lords, who adorns the Two Ladies.

Urk IV. 1898, 4-6 (Amenemhat):



di.k hh n rnpwt ... ḥꜥw rꜥ nst.f tp t3 pḥty nbwy m ḥnh w3s n nsw bity

May you (=Amun) grant millions of years ... the lifespan of Re, his throne upon the earth,
the strength of the Two Lords in life and power to the dual king ...

The Seth animal, not the deity form of the sign, is found in such writings, perhaps to preserve the symmetry of the two gods' animal forms since Horus is not often shown in anthropomorphic form as a hieroglyph.

In the Middle Kingdom tombs of Baqet III (No. 15) and his son Khety (No. 17) at Beni Hasan there is a unique occurrence of the Seth animal which is depicted in both tombs with two other composite creatures, the serpopard and the griffin (Fig 2.61a–b) and is captioned by its customary name, §3. This is one of the few contexts in which the Seth animal appears simply as an animal and not primarily as the symbol of the god Seth, which belongs to the domain of royal rather than non-royal inscription and representation. The only other possible analogous examples come from the Early Dynastic Period (2.1.2).

Fig. 2.61a

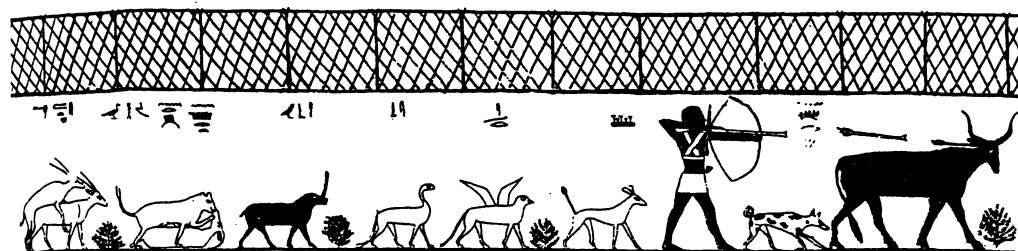
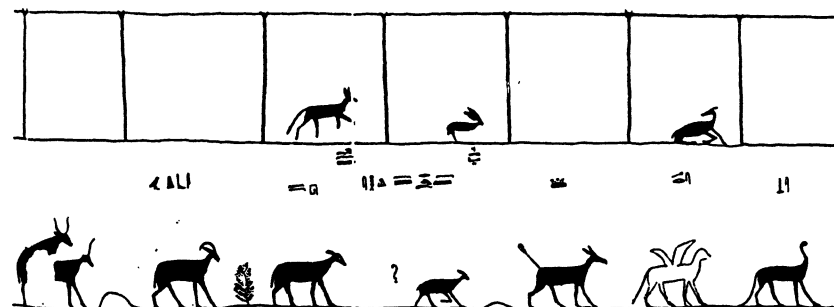


Fig. 2.61b



The reasons behind the inclusion of fanciful creatures in a hunting scene are not entirely clear. Houlihan (1996, 43) believed such animals to have ritualistic significance since the hunting scene often represented the defeat of the forces of chaos, although this interpretation is perhaps more suited to royal hunting scenes such as those depicted on the exterior walls of temples of the New Kingdom (Hornung 1992, 119). Houlihan linked the scenes at Beni Hasan with the depiction of mythical beasts alongside real animals on Early Dynastic palettes. Although the Seth animal itself is not depicted on such palettes, the serpopard and the griffin do occur.

Davies (1933, 26) had stated earlier that the Egyptians probably did not distinguish between 'mythical' and 'real' animals, since they were probably 'not only prone but eager to listen to

travelers' tales' which, he imagined, would have included all sorts of weird and wonderful creatures. As an alternative to gullibility, he suggested that humour was the reason behind the representation of a 'pet' griffin also in Khety's tomb in Beni Hasan, that it was perhaps a wry comment by the artist on the predilection of human beings for strange and unusual companions: 'they ought to have been enraptured with a cross between an animal, a bird, and a flower' (1933, 28).

The truth is perhaps somewhere between the statements of Houlihan and Davies. The Seth animal's epithet š3 'desert-dweller' assigns it a concrete position in the Egyptian cosmos, and as such it probably did not look out of place to the Egyptian eye among other denizens of the desert fringes of the country. Yet, since the purpose of such hunting scenes is undoubtedly magical at the core – hunting scenes depicting corralled animals, some of them mating, ensured a constant supply of such creatures for the tomb owner – one should not exclude the possibility that the three composite creatures played a more symbolic role. Perhaps this role was merely to set the scene more firmly in the curious environment of the desert and to give the representation an air of strangeness, or perhaps the creatures represented certain abstract forces against which the tomb-owner wished to battle. Not all of the real animals in the hunting scenes of Baqet and Khety appear simply in the role of prey; some prey upon others within the corralled nets, for example, in Baqet's tomb a lion ($m\text{š}i \text{ } h\text{š}3$) is described as capturing ($n\text{dr}$) an ibex ($n(r)\text{š}w$), a detail that is repeated in Khety's tomb and mirrored with a wolf ($w\text{n}\text{š}$) and a gazelle ($g\text{h}\text{š}$) (see Figs. 2.61a–b).

The Seth animal's composite nature has been discussed as a perfect metaphorical prototype for chaos of various sorts (2.1.2). The serpopard and the griffin can be understood in a similar vein. In this way, the three animals – perhaps this is a significant number – represent the forces of chaos, manifest in animal form so that the tomb owner can conquer them.

2.5.2 Figurative usages

$n\text{š}n$

The Sethian determinatives play a relatively small role in biographical texts of the Old Kingdom. In the 5th Dynasty inscription of Kaemtjenenet from Saqqara, the animal determines $\text{šš}n$ 'storm', the archaic form of $n\text{š}n$ also attested in the *Pyramid Texts* of Ibi (2.2.1.2):

Urk I. 183, 1 (photograph: Quibell 1909, pl. 61, 5, 4):



... m hrw pf n sšn k3 r ht nb

... on that day of storm, which was fiercer (=higher) than anything...

The form of the determinative is reminiscent of that in the roughly contemporaneous *Pyramid Texts* of Unas (2.2.1.2). Here the word refers to a real rather than metaphorical storm. The badly damaged text is unique in its description of this storm disrupting the king's travelling plans (Roccati 1982, 119). Although the word *ḏr* is used of the storm itself, which specifies it as a gale of some kind, its danger lies in the effect it has on the river upon which the king wishes to sail. The storm is described once as being on (*m*) the river (Urk I. 183, 4–5: ) while in another passage, the river seems to be described as its 'path':

Urk I. 182, 15–16:



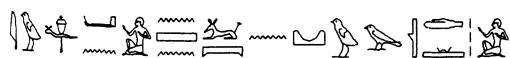
ni gm.n(.i) rmtw nbw šm.sn m w3wt n ḏr

... I could find no one who would go into the paths because of the storm-wind.⁴³

The use of the more general term *nšn* and the specific form of the Sethian determinative in the first passage quoted above are thus laden with meaning. Whereas *ḏr* refers to the storm-wind itself, *nšn* describes the sum of its effects: the Sethian determinative highlights the danger of the choppy river, which is specifically evoked by the arch of water over the Seth animal. The inanimacy of the  determinative of *ḏr* contrasts strongly with Sethian determinative of *nšn* and emphasises Kaemtjenet's courage in the face of a supernaturally charged phenomenon.

There are two occurrences of *nšn* with Sethian determinatives in New Kingdom texts.⁴⁴ The first is in the inscription of Rekhmire:

Urk IV. 1078, 2:



⁴³ Both Roccati (1982, 119: 'Je ne trouvai pas personne qui allait par route à cause de l'orage') and Schott (1977, 449: 'Ich fand keine Leute auf den Wegen gehen, wegen des Sturmes') translated similarly, but *w3t* is used with meteorological phenomenon elsewhere (*Man and Ba* 137: *w3t ḥwy* 'path of rain') and so perhaps the passage can alternatively be read *w3wt n(t) ḏr* 'the paths of the storm-wind' (compare B12C in *CT* 1099, VII. 412c: *w3t id3w* 'path of downpour').

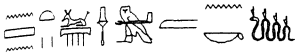
⁴⁴ An occurrence of *nšn* in the tomb of Neheri at Bersha (Newberry and Griffith 1892, II, 19, 1) is omitted from discussion here because it falls within the realm of religious texts.

iw ḥsf.n.i nšn n ḏw-ḳd

I restrained the storm of the man of evil character.

The second is in the inscription of Usermontu praising the god Montu and occurs as one in a list of the god's epithets:

Urk IV. 2080, 16:



nšnty šhm m nik

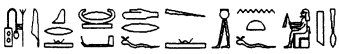
The raging one who has power over the hostile one.

In both cases, the meteorological associations of the word are evoked by additional *pt*-signs even though the stormy aspect of the word is not relevant, as it was in Kaemtjenenet's inscription. It seems as well that it was not necessary to include a  or  determinative to re-affirm the word's meaning as 'rage' rather than 'storm'.

ḥnn, nm^c, and swḥ

There are three occurrences of the Seth animal determinative on the 18th Dynasty stela of Intef. Each Seth animal determines a different word, but the underlying metaphorical imagery seems to be the same. The wording of the inscription is very carefully constructed perhaps by Intef, who describes himself as:

Urk IV. 969, 14:



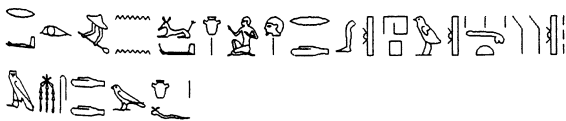
sh ikr wh^c drf intf m3^c hrw

The effective scribe who can manipulate (lit: open up) a text, Intef true of voice.

wh^c has strong connections with the untying or releasing of something, literally meaning 'to disentangle, to open up'. In using this verb of his abilities in relation to the script, Intef communicates that he has a particular ability to play with writing, perhaps to release its potential. The way in which he uses the Seth animal determinative is a good demonstration of his skill.

The first occurrence of a Sethian determinative is in *ḥnn-ib*:

Urk IV. 969, 2-3:



rd ir ḥnn-ib tp rd hpw mtr m msdd-ib.f

(I am) one who caused the turbulent-hearted man to act according to the letter of the law,
(even though) it is hateful to his heart.

hnn is another word with meteorological associations that can be used of malevolent weather, although unlike *nšn* it is seldom written with overt meteorological markers like the *pt*-sign. In the passage above, it is connected with the disruption of legal order. The second Seth-determined word, *nm^c*, picks up this theme directly:

Urk IV. 971, 12–15:



wšh-ib r sḏm sprw wp s 2 r htp.sn

iwtj nm^c f n grgy šw m rdt hr-gs

(I am) patient in listening to petitions, judging two men so as to pacify them.

(I am) one who is without bias regarding the liar, one who lacks (the propensity) to take sides.

In English metaphor bias is also conceived of in spatial terms: ‘to take sides’ seems to be directly analogous to the expression *rdt hr gs* in Egyptian. Similarly, *nm^c* can also be expressed in terms of spatial metaphor since it can be determined by  in the *Coffin Texts* (e.g. CT IV. 99c) and  in another non-royal context (a graffito at Asyut: see Griffith 1889, pl. 5, 259).

The identity of the latter sign is not entirely clear, but it seems to represent a corner as  does. Gardiner (1957a, 540) suggested that  (Aa5) might be part of the steering gear of ships made from rushes bound together. If this is correct, then it is something with which one orientates one’s course.  seems to be the same sign turned sideways when used as a determinative of *nm^c*. It could indeed illustrate the action of *rdt hr gs*, since it points not in a straight line, but to one side. Thus, it stands as the prototype of sailing off-course morally as well as being representative of the action.⁴⁵

The Seth animal determinative of *nm^c* functions in a slightly different way; it is not representative of the action, but rather of the sentiment behind it. Since *m3^ct* was conceptualised as a balance, a disruption of it would throw the balance off. Seth represents the

⁴⁵ Compare *Sinuhe* (B13–14), where the ill-advisedness of his journey away from Egypt is expressed by his drifting in a rudderless boat; this is a good attestation of Doxey’s observation (1998, 26–27) that narrative and biographical texts share metaphors.

ultimate disruption of order, and so captures the imagery of the word with an emphasis on the moral depravity it describes.

The third Seth animal on Intef's stela determines the verb *swh* and occurs in the final part of the inscription when he swears to the veracity of what he has said:

Urk IV. 973, 8–14:



kd.i pw n3 mtr.n.i n-is ʿb im bi3t.i pw n3 m wn m3ʿ n wnt iwms im

nn grt stwt mdwt pw nt swh n.i m grg iwn.i is pw wnt ir.i

The things to which I have attested are my nature; there is no boast in them.

These things are truly my character, there are no misstatements in them.

There is indeed no attempt from me to cover up boastful words with lies.

That which I have been in the habit of doing is my (true) nature.

Intef's stela is a long testament to his character, returning again and again to his sense of morality and his fairness. The Seth animal is used three times to stand for the moral antithesis of the values he holds dear. Each time a Seth-determined word is used, the context is morality. *nmʿ* is an obvious case of this, whereas *hnn* and *swh* are usually more indicative of disturbances of the peace. However, in context both have moral overtones. The troublemaker (*hnn-ib*) Intef wards off is characterised by his loathing of the law, and the accusation of boasting which Intef imagines may be levelled against him again is linked with the same lies (*grg*) to which he has claimed not to be susceptible (Urk IV. 971, 14).

hmhmt

The Seth animal determines a different word, *hmhmt*, in a passage in the stela of Tjanuny:

Urk IV.1008, 4–5.⁴⁶



di.f n.k ʿnh dd w3s nht r t3w nbw hmhmt.k m ibw h3swt

May he give you life, stability, power, strength and victory over all lands,

⁴⁶ Sethe noted that the Seth animal had been deliberately destroyed on the stela.

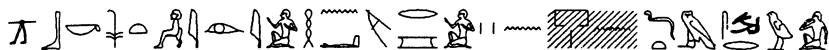
Your war-cry being in the hearts of foreign lands.

In this instance, the Seth animal seems only to be indicative of noise (see 2.6.2) and, in contrast to the three words it determines in Intef's stela, in *hmhmt* it does not have negative connotations. It has been deliberately damaged at some later period, as is often the case.

ST

I found three writings of *sr* in the non-royal texts I surveyed in which the determinative, although transcribed as a giraffe, does not appear to be one. In the Old Kingdom inscription of Sabni, the word *srw* includes in its writing an animal that resembles a Seth animal more than a giraffe, possibly another instance of the alternation between these two animals (compare 2.2.2.2; 2.6.2):

Urk I. 137, 8-9:



sb.ki šps nsw iri ḥn^c mr 2 n pr n dt m srw

...I sent the royal attendant Iry together with two servants of the funerary estate as heralds.⁴⁷

Seth changed his mind about the transcription: in his first edition of the *Urkunden*, he transcribed the sign as , as de Morgan et al. (1894) had done previously, but in the second edition, he rendered it as above, adding a note that it stood for . There is no published photograph, but given the position of the sign in the word, it could perhaps be intended to be . The treatment of the ears, however, is not characteristic of that sign. The resemblance to the Seth animal is striking.

In the slightly later inscription of Kanefer-Djaty in the Wadi Hammamat,⁴⁸ there is another attestation of *sr* written with a strange animal sign, in this case as its determinative; Couyat and Montet (1912) transcribed it as a giraffe but noted (1912, 103, n.3):

La girafe est dessinée de façon assez rudimentaire, avec une longue queue qui part au milieu de son dos.

The photograph of the inscription does not show a giraffe (see Fig. 2.62). When it is compared to the forms which the Seth animal may take in this context, the similarities are striking. The

⁴⁷ Or, *srw* could be a passive *sdmw(.f)* rather than a nominalised form: 'as was announced'.

⁴⁸ The date of king Imhotep mentioned in 1.4 and therefore that of the inscription is contentious. Beckerath (1999, 70–71) placed him in the 8th Dynasty.

drawing in Lepsius (*Denkmaeler* II, 115h) looks very Sethian also. The sign cannot be the phonetic  in this case, because the animal is standing and has its tail raised. It therefore seems to be the same Sethian representation as has been described elsewhere in writings of *sr*:

Hammat 206, 1-3:



wn hr(.i) n h3mw hrw ʿh3 sr iwt hrw n stp m ndt-r

(My) face was turned towards the people on the day of conflict,
when the coming of the day of attack was foretold in an oracle.⁴⁹

Fig. 2.62



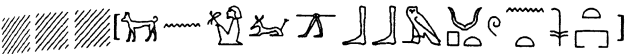
Both the language and the orthography of Kanefer’s inscription are carefully planned and appear to be rather idiosyncratic. There are several unusual words (*h3mw*, *stp*) and several distinctive uses of determinatives, such as the bow and arrow determinatives of *ʿh3* and the determinatives of *stp*. Couyat and Montet (1912, 103) transcribed the word as   and Hannig (1995, 785) as  . Sethe’s rendering is the closest to the original, however, and is reproduced above:   (*Urk* I. 149, 2). The word itself seems to indicate a sudden, upward motion. In religious texts it is used of ‘leaping up’ ( determinative) and in medical texts of a discharge from the eye ( determinative). But it is also used of animals mounting in order to mate, for example in Beni Hasan, where there is no determinative but the act is represented below the word which serves as its caption (Newberry 1893, II, pl. 4). The unique determinative in Kanefer’s text intrinsically carries the connotation of ‘leaping up’, but the determinatives apply this motion to a man mounting a wall, perhaps evoking the idea of an assault on a town. This specification through determinatives is seen again in the addition of the bow and arrow to the usual aggressive man determinative of *ʿh3*,⁵⁰ which is itself written logographically. Since such care has been paid to the assignment of determinatives, that of *sr* is also likely to be meaningful. Perhaps the Seth animal carries a connotation of menace, a hint of the disturbance that Kanefer presages.

The form of the determinative is somewhere between that of a Seth animal and a dog. There

⁴⁹ For *ndt-r* as an oracle, compare Hatshepsut’s forthcoming expedition to Punt being revealed to her through a *ndt-r nt ntr ds:f* ‘an oracle from the god himself’ (*Urk*. IV. 342, 12).
⁵⁰ The only comparable writings known to me are in titles where *ʿh3w* means ‘weapons’ rather than ‘fighting’: for example,   *imy-r ʿh3w* (Hannig and Vomberg 1999, 750).

are many instances in which the two animals have been confused by scholars, for example, in the text describing the duties of the vizier, attested in a number of 18th Dynasty tombs. The following lines are Sethe's reconstruction of the damaged text in the tomb of Rekhmire:

Urk IV. 1116. 14–15:



This portion of the text is no longer visible in the tomb of Rekhmire, but is reconstructed from the copy extant only in the tomb of Amenemope (TT 29). According to Farina (1917, 33) it is attested only there. Although Sethe represented the animal-sign following  as a Seth animal, Farina's transcription shows that the animal is rather a recumbent dog. This is also how van den Boorn (1988, 289) transliterated, making no comment on the recumbent form of the dog sign, which is slightly unusual. Nevertheless, the line reads:

... *ṯsm n iry ṯsm(w) sbb m wpt nt pr-nsw*

... the (choice) hound of the keeper of hounds (=king) who despatches missions for the palace.

However, the physical similarity of the two animals' hieroglyphic forms is indicative of a close affinity between them (for the canine basis of the Seth animal, see 2.1.2).

In the early 12th Dynasty stela inscription of Sarenput I from Elephantine which describes the rebuilding of Heqaib's ruined shrine, *sr* occurs again with an animal determinative which is not a giraffe, as is clear from the stela itself (Fig. 2.63) and from Habachi's transcription given below:

Habachi et al. 1985, No. 9, 12:



irt.n(.i) n(.i) n.f r ḥ3ty-^cw ḥpr ḥr-ḥ3t mnḥ st r ḥprt ḥn m-ḥt
sr.n(.i) ḥr ḥnt smnḥ.n(.i) n iwt(i).s(i)

Fig. 2.63



That which I made for myself and for him is more than (that made) by the governors of the past.
It is excellent for what will come to pass, and it is provided for afterwards,
I proclaimed that which is ahead and I enhanced (it) for what is to come.

Fig. 2.64



Although the form of the *sr*-sign resembles that of the Seth animal in another stela of Sarenput (Habachi et al.1985, pl. 23b No. 8: see Fig. 2.64), it is distinguished from it by its curled rather than straight tail which is also shorter than that of the Seth animal, and by its straight snout. The snout of the Seth animal is clearly downward-pointing.

Wrongdoing is painful to the gods!

A similar writing of *mr* is attested in a 6th Dynasty letter published by Baer (1966), who suggested that the Qau Bowl letter was perhaps roughly contemporaneous. This is not a letter to the dead, but the emphasising function of the Sethian determinative is comparable to that found on the bowl:

Shall misfortune [over]come (your) humble servant

Baer (1966, 5) justified his translation 'misfortune' rather than 'illness' by citing similar non-medical uses of *mr* in other texts, such as the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (l. 124) and the phrase *iri mrt* 'to do harm' (*Wb.* II. 96, 12). But a satisfactory understanding of the connotations of *mrt*

-188-

depends on the interpretation of the letter itself.

The writer of the letter (his name is lost) addresses a complaint to an official Mereri. The preserved text starts with the writer asking why Mereri has stayed away and has sent only his deputy Mehu (ll. 5–6). This seems to be the reason for the *mrt* in ll. 6–7. The writer also mentions a man named Irenakhti whom he refers to as *b3k snnw(.i)*, in addition to the woman who is a *b3kt snnwt(.i)* in the passage cited. Baer suggested (1966, 6 n. t) that the man and woman might be the writer's son and daughter, but the woman may be the writer's wife and Irenakhti, their child – this might explain why the writer describes the woman's suffering alongside his own before the son is mentioned. The fact that Irenakhti has been released from his position and therefore can no longer bring home food to his family (the writer and his wife) seems to be the central complaint of the letter. Mereri's deputy (*wpt*) Mehu, whose arrival usually makes the writer's wife so happy (ll. 7–8) – because it has already been arranged through Mehu that Mereri will look after the family (ll. 9–10) – has arrived this time without the necessary orders from Mereri that Irenakhti should remain in his post.

The writer employs several tactics to encourage action from Mereri and seems to put particular emphasis on the effect of Mereri's neglect on the women in both of their lives. Having mentioned his own wife's usual happiness at seeing Mereri's deputy, his final plea is not that Mereri should listen to him to make him happy, but rather that he should do it to make his own wife happy (ll. 13–15), perhaps because of a friendship existing between the two women.

Although the principal complaint of the letter relates to Irenakhti, the text centres around the *mrt* suffered by the writer and his wife. The choice of determinative seems to be one of the writer's tricks to heighten the pathos of his situation. The connotations of the Sethian determinative, especially in its deity form, contrast strongly with the happiness the writer desires for the two women. Although the complaint is his, the writer includes his wife in the suffering that Mereri is being asked to ward off and focuses on her reaction to Mehu's arrival. Very few determinatives are used in the letter besides personal determinatives, and so the Sethian determinative of *mrt* is all the more meaningful. Even among the personal determinatives,  alternates with , and  with , distinguishing the writer, his wife, and

his son from Mereri, his wife, and Mehu.⁵⁵ The letter is carefully constructed to yield the maximum amount of sympathy and guilt from its recipient, and the Seth determinative is an integral part of that agenda. Baer's translation 'misfortune' cannot convey the full extent of what the writer intended by using the Seth deity determinative. Baer was correct that *mrt* does not here refer to physical pain, but it does refer to anguish of the sort evoked by the Seth deity determinative on the Qau Bowl.

The Seth deity sign determines *mr* again in a letter to the dead from the First Intermediate Period. This letter was written in hieratic in ink on the back of a stela painted with the scene of a man making an offering. The location of the stela is unknown and only Wente's description (1975–76) of it is available, so it is impossible to check the sign form. The main body of the letter was written by a man named Merirtyfy to a woman named Nebettef, possibly his wife, and the final lines were written by another man Khuau, who calls Nebettef his sister (l. 5). *mrt* occurs in Merirtyfy's part of the letter:

Wente 1975–76, l. 3:



dr mrt nt h'w.i

Remove the suffering of my body.

Once again, the word is applied to the writer's personal suffering. Nothing more is said about the nature of this suffering, which could have been anything from an illness to anxiety. The Sethian determinative, however, suggests that to the writer it was serious. The request to remove his *mrt* is the core of Merirtyfy's letter. His further request for a dream in which he will see his wife fighting (ʿh3, its determinative echoing that of *dr*), is subsidiary and will serve only as proof that his wife will do as he asks. Once again, the small number of determinatives in the text are carefully and idiosyncratically chosen. A distinction is made between the determinatives of the deceased woman (of her name in l. 1, and of *mrwt* 'beloved' in l. 2) and those of the two still living writers and their dependants, while the animal determinative of *sb* (l. 2, 6) appears to be unique to this text (Wente 1975–76, 598 n. g).

The Seth deity occurs three times in another First Intermediate Period letter on a jar stand

⁵⁵ Baer noted (1966, 6 n. r) that in l. 9 the writer had been 'unsure' about whether to add the stroke to the personal determinative of *wpt*, adding it at first and then erasing it. Several commentators have assumed that this stroke generally indicates malevolence (see Simpson 1970, 60 for details and references), but this clearly cannot be the case here.

in the Haskell Oriental Museum in Chicago as the determinative of *nkm(t)*, which is used both verbally and nominally in the text. The names of the writer and addressee are lost; Gardiner's suggestion (1930, 20) that they are son and father is convincing, especially in light of the context in which *nkm* first occurs at the beginning:

Gardiner 1930, I. 2:



i(w).k rh.ti ntt dd.n idw r s3.f

ir wnnt wnt im nn d(.i) nkm.f n nkmt nbt

You are aware of what Idu said in reference to his son:

‘As for what exists and may exist in the beyond,’⁵⁷

I will not allow him to be afflicted of any affliction.’

The example of another father protecting his son is the basis for this reminder. The determinative of Idu's name shows that he is dead; either before he died, or in a communication after his death (perhaps through a dream), he vowed to protect his son from evil influences from beyond the grave. The writer asks that his father act in the same way for him. He wants a healthy male child (l. 4), but needs his father to ward off the (supernatural?) influence of two servants he suspects are responsible for interfering with his wife, Seny:

Gardiner 1930, II. 5–6:



mk grt ipty b3kty rdyt nkm sny nfrntt i3i sh3 st idr n(.i) grt nkmt nbt ntt r hmt

And behold, as for those two, the maidservants who have caused Seni to be afflicted,

Nefertjentet and Itjay, confound them and drive out for me every affliction

which is (directed) against my wife.

As Gardiner stated (1930, 21), it is not clear whether the two maidservants mentioned are dead

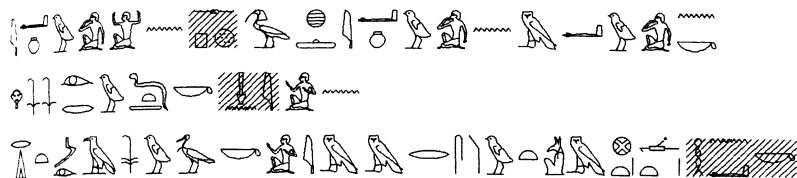
⁵⁶ Gardiner admitted (1930, 21) that his transcription of this sign as 𓂏 produced a hapax-legomenon and was unable to explain the sign's function. Sethe's alternative transcription, 𓂏, which Gardiner rejected, is attested in writings of *id* 'to be deaf'. It would not mean 'Idu the younger', as Gardiner stated, but would simply be a part of the writing of the word.

⁵⁷ If *wnnt* and *wnt* are the imperfective and perfective participles which Gardiner assumed them to be (1930, 21), the latter should not have a future sense. However, since they do seem 'intended to cover all contingencies' in the afterlife, it is simply a matter of English idiom to use the present and the future rather than the present and the past.

or alive, but if the writer felt that their influence was preventing his wife from conceiving and addressed Idu about them, it is more likely that they are malevolent spirits doing the kind of harm against which Idu had promised his son protection.⁵⁸

The final instance of the Seth deity determinative is in an early Middle Kingdom letter written on papyrus found at Nag' ed-Deir in the tomb of Meru, to whom it was written by his son, Heni:

Simpson 1966, rto ll. 2–3:



ifnw ḥḥ n sp 3ḥ i'nw n m diw.n.k ḥr nn irrw dt:k sni n(.i)

rdt m33 sw b3k im m rswt m niwt w'ṯ ḥn'.k

Attention a million times! It is beneficial to pay attention to the one you have endowed (?),⁵⁹ about the things which your servant Seni has done to me,

causing your servant here to see himself in a nightmare in one (and the same) city as you.

This is the most uncertain example of the Seth determinative. Kasia Szpakowska (1999) proposed re-identifying the determinative as Anubis rather than Seth. Although the straight snout of the deity sign would seem to support this proposal, there are no analogous usages of the deity form of Anubis as a determinative (see further McDonald, in press: Appendix 1).⁶⁰ The crux of the letter and the reason why it was written is the dream described in the passage above. Although Heni is more informative about the circumstances surrounding his request than other writers of similar letters, the details are still uncertain and his words are open to many interpretations. I believe that Parkinson's interpretation (1991, 143–44) is the most plausible and that Heni is suffering from the guilt of having been perhaps inadvertently involved in Seni's murder, and that the dream, in which he sees himself in the same place as his dead father, is a manifestation of that guilt.

⁵⁸ I know of only one other example of *nk*m with a Sethian determinative which occurs in the New Kingdom magical text in P. Leiden I 348 (2.3.2). In this text also the determinative takes the form of the deity rather than the animal.

⁵⁹ After Simpson (1966, 41). Alternatively read 'w.n.k: 'after you have become afraid' (Frank Kammerzell, personal communication)

⁶⁰ The anthropomorphic form of the Anubis hieroglyph is attested once in the 5th Dynasty reliefs of Niuserre and occasionally in the Middle Kingdom. In each instance, it is a logographic writing of the name of Anubis. It is not attested as a figurative determinative (Witkowski 1983, 45).

The Seth deity determinative in all the letters discussed above, including that published by Baer, seems to serve two purposes. First, it emphasises the word it determines, which is always at a crucial point in the letter and often constitutes its *raison d’etre*. Second, it gives the word it determines a particular dark colouring. Unlike the bad bird, which is later found with each of the words discussed here, the Sethian determinative carries associations of supernatural malevolence, that are reinforced by the determinative’s specific form. These connotations might be enough to turn the neutral *rswt* ‘dream’ into something more like a ‘nightmare’.

2.5.4 Genre study 2.5 – Hatnub

Like the letters to the dead, the graffiti at Hatnub from between the end of the Old Kingdom and the early Middle Kingdom,⁶¹ contain several writings of words connected with suffering, each determined with the deity form of the Seth sign. Contextual considerations, however, show that these examples should be understood differently from those in the letters to the dead. The first difference is that in all the texts discussed below the word with the Sethian determinative does not describe a personal condition of the writer of the text as was the case in the letters to the dead discussed above. Again, I have discussed paleographic considerations elsewhere (McDonald in press: Appendix 1), and so I concentrate here on the significance of the Sethian determinative.

The first occurrence of the Seth determinative is in the inscription of Djehutynakhtankh, in the word *h3t* ‘illness’:

Hatnub 12, 5–6:



ink gr hry-hb ikr hmww m wp h3t

I am indeed an excellent lector-priest, skilled in the diagnosing of disease.

In the same inscription, the writer goes on to state:

Hatnub 12, 13–14:



iw d.n(i) hbsw n nt(yw) h3w

⁶¹ With the exception of Gr. 12, all the graffiti-inscriptions from Hatnub discussed here date to Years 5–7 of the nomarch of Bersha, Neheri I, which seems to correspond roughly to Dyn. 11 (Willems 1983–84 summarises the debate over dating the inscriptions).

I made incantations against disease.⁶²

The same word *ind*, again with a Seth deity determinative, occurs in the inscription of Kay, the son of the nomarch Neheri. Unlike Djehutynakhtankh, Kay had no formal religious duties; accordingly, his inscription lays a different emphasis on his treatment of the ill:

wn.i m mn^ct hr 3ty n iy nb indw r ssnbt.f⁶³

I was a nurse, looking after everyone who came afflicted until he was made to recover.

iy nb snd 'everyone who came frightened' (l. 9)

⁶⁴ This makes quite a contrast to the Bersha tomb inscription of his grandfather Ahanakht, who uses a similar architectural metaphor to illustrate his loyalty to the king, calling himself 'the door behind the residence dispelling the disaffected'. (Newberry 1892, II, pl. 13, 12–13 left). Brovarki (1981, 21) understood this to be an early indication of the rebellion that was to rise up in the Hare Nome in the subsequent generation.

iy nb ind 'everyone who came afflicted' (l. 10)

iy nb h3y 'everyone who came naked' (l. 10)

iy ibw 'those who came thirsty' (l. 11)

His emphasis is on his helping various people in distress; in this context *ind*, rather than meaning ‘ill’ as in Djehutynakhtankh’s inscription, has the more general sense of ‘afflicted’, which may describe their mental state after the ‘day of strife’, in parallel to *snd*.

ind occurs a third time in the inscription of Neheri I, Kay's father and the nomarch of Bersha, again with the Sethian determinative in its deity form. The context is similar to that of the previous inscription, but its wording is somewhat stronger:

Hatnub 20, 11–13:



sn pr.f n iyw snd hrw n ḥ3yt

phrt snbt nt iyw ind hbsw n iyw h3y

(I am) one who opened his house to those coming frightened on the day of strife,

a healing remedy to those who come ill, clothing to those who come naked.

Neheri uses very similar imagery to his son in describing his house as open to those who need to pass through it. Although *ind* here probably again refers to anxiety, Neheri's description of himself as 'a remedy' leaves the word's metaphorical undertones exposed.

The final occurrence of the Seth deity at Hatnub is as the determinative of the adjective *mrt* in another inscription of Kay:

Hatnub 24, 7–8:



iw nhm.n.i niwt.i hrw 'w3 m-^c hryt mrt nt pr-nsw

I rescued my city on the day of plundering, from the grievous fear of the palace.

Although *mr* can be used in a medical sense like *ind*, this meaning is not appropriate here. However, the Sethian determinative recalls the imagery of the suffering people (*ind*) whom Kay had described himself as helping in his earlier inscription. Again the image is one of anxiety, all the more powerful for being represented graphically by the Sethian determinative.

The same phrase occurs again in the inscription of Kay's brother Djehutynakht, in which the writing is almost identical, except in the determinatives:

Hatnub 23, 4:



iw nhm.n.i niwt.i hrw w3 m-^c hryt mrt nt pr-nsw

I rescued my city on the day of plundering from the terrible fear of the palace.

The  in *hryt* and the  in *mrt* are omitted in Djehutynakht's version. Since the same scribe, Ahanakht, was responsible for both inscriptions (and Gr. 20 of Neheri), it is possible that Kay and Djehutynakht had some influence over the wording of their inscriptions. Space is not really a consideration at Hatnub, and it is unlikely that Ahanakht would have mistakenly omitted the determinative. Rather, Djehutnakht's inscription strives to be crisper in expression and dispenses with additional determinatives.

The meaning of *hryt mrt nt pr-nsw* has provoked considerable debate, mostly on whether *nt* is to be taken as 'for, on account of' (Anthes 1928, 55) or 'of' (Schenkel 1965, 92; Willems 1983–84, 95). It seems likely that the latter is the correct reading, as Faulkner (1944) established long ago, and that there is no contradiction between the occurrence of this phrase and others like it in the inscriptions from the time of Neheri and those which seem to indicate friendlier relations between the nomarch and his family and the king (see further Willems 1983–84). After a conflict in Neheri's year 5, Bersha's ruling family appears to have mended its relations with the palace, but, as Faulkner stated, that they could not resist boasting about their rebellion. The use of the Seth deity determinative is part of the boast, emphasising the menacing gravity of the situation which they were nevertheless able to counteract.

2.5.5 Discussion

A common metaphorical thread – the violent disruption of order – links the words with Sethian determinatives in non-royal texts, but contextual considerations make certain distinctions. Thus, while the Seth animal determinative of *nšn* and *hmhmt* is indicative of aggressive power in both and symbolises the crossover between the human and the meteorological spheres, context makes the power inherent in *nšn* negative, and that in *hmhmt* positive. Moreover, each of the words with a Seth animal determinative is a different kind of disruption of order: *nšn* implies violence, *hmhmt* (and *sr*) noise, while the three Sethian determinatives in Intef's inscription each have the connotation of being a disruption of *m3't*.

The greatest distinction between the Sethian determinatives discussed in this genre is that between the animal and deity forms of the sign.  also symbolises a disruption of order, specifically in personal well-being, but its form sets the words it determines apart from those determined by the animal form of the sign, which is never attested with words connected with suffering. Since the deity form of the Sethian determinative has a closer affinity with the god Seth than the animal form, being a direct representation of him rather than a symbol, it seems that it has a connotation lacking in the Seth animal: it represents supernatural influence. Moreover, unlike the animal form of the sign, it has the capacity to tinge the meaning of the words it determines. The clearest example of this is *rswt*, because its Sethian determinative results in the English translation ‘nightmare’ rather than the more neutral term ‘dream’. However, it is likely that it has the same effect on all of the words it determines. Supernatural malevolence was believed to be the root of most afflictions in Egyptian medicine, as discussed above (0.2.2.2), and therefore it follows that words like *mr*, *ind*, and *nkm* had this sense within them. The commonest determinative of suffering words like these was the bad bird, which had no supernatural connotations and probably symbolised the metaphorical diminution of health, through its role as an exemplar of smallness. However, when the Seth deity sign is used with them instead, it highlights their latent supernatural origins. While  represents power and aggression, both in the mundane and celestial spheres,  seems to be a more subjective symbol of disruption and injects an element of fear into the words with which it is used.

2.6 LITERARY AND NARRATIVE TEXTS

Seth has one of the broadest ranges of metaphorical associations in the narrative and literary texts of all the genres surveyed. However, there are some contentious contexts in which the form of the sign is open to interpretation. In such cases, I discuss the form of the sign in hieratic in some detail.

2.6.1 Non-figurative usage

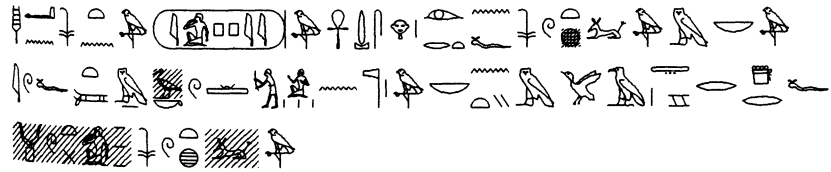
sth

Almost all the uses of Sethian determinatives in the literary texts I surveyed are figurative. The god Seth is little attested in narrative until the Late Egyptian stories of the New Kingdom. The only mention of him among the Middle Kingdom texts surveyed is once in the *Prophecy of Neferti*, in the epithet he shares with Horus:  nbwy ‘the Two Lords’ (P. Petersburg 1116B rto l. 60).

Specific deities do not tend to play a large part in the tales and instructions of the Middle Kingdom. Many more New Kingdom tales with gods as central characters are extant. In most of these, Seth is mentioned only in passing and does not have a major role in the narrative as a whole: for example, he is mentioned once in the *Legend of Astarte*:  (LES 81, 5: P. Amherst 15, y). The text is very damaged and it is difficult to reconstruct the role Seth might have played; Collombert and Coulon (2000, 206–9) have suggested that he is possibly the hero the gods choose to fight the sea, since he plays a similar role in other texts (see 2.3.1).

At the beginning of the *Tale of Apophis and Seenenre*, Seth is mentioned three times. He does not play a large part in the narrative, however, but is rather a tool in the characterisation of Apophis:

P. Sallier I, 1, 2–3:



h^c n nsu ippy c.w.s. hr irt n.f swth⁶⁵ m nb
iw f tm b3k n ntr nb nty m p3 t3 r-dr.f wp swth

⁶⁵ According to Goedicke (1986, 11), this is the earliest occurrence of the writing *swth*: ‘Despite recent investigations, it still remains uncertain if this spelling has any significance or if it is merely to be seen as an orthographic variant’. I believe the latter to be the case.

Then King Apophis l.p.h. made Seth (his) lord, and did not pay service to any other god in the whole land, except Seth.

This description is supposed to paint a negative picture of Apophis. But the negativity does not necessarily stem from association with Seth *per se*, as Goedicke (1986, 10–11) assumed. Rather, it is Apophis' refusal to acknowledge the other deities that puts him in a bad light.⁶⁶

Although Seth is mentioned only once in the *Tale of Wenamun*, in a speech of Tjekerbaal (2, 19), he is used to make a particularly meaningful point:

P. Moscow 120, 2, 19:



mk i-ir imn hrw m t3 pt iw d.f swth m rk.f

Look, Amun could (only) cause thunder in the sky after he had placed Seth beside him.⁶⁷

The significance of this statement is apparent when compared to Tjekerbaal's earlier words:

P. Moscow 120, 2, 13–14:



iw.i ʕs sgb r p3 rbrn i-ir t3 pt wn

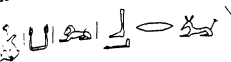
iw n3 htw d h3ʕ spt p3y mw

I have only to let out a shout to the Lebanon so that when the sky opens, the logs are there, lying on the seashore.

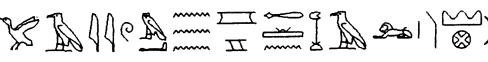
Tjekerbaal claims that he can 'make it rain logs,' as Simpson (1973, 149 n. 17) put it, merely by the effortless gesture of calling out. Wenamun, on the other hand, cannot even provide the means to transport the logs back to Egypt. Beside the seemingly all-powerful Tjekerbaal, Wenamun is rather pathetic. The comparison of the two men extends to the gods who form part of their names, as the text brings out explicitly (2, 19 cited above). The great and mighty Amun, whose powers are described in the following lines by Tjekerbaal, –sarcastically, most probably (see Eyre 1999, 239) – can only make the heavens thunder through the co-operation of Seth, a storm-god and the Egyptian incarnation of Baal; the affinity between the two gods

⁶⁶ Compare the Ramesside biography of Anhurmoose, who states 'I am one who trusted in Shu, the son of Re, without distancing myself from another god' (Ockinga and al-Masri 1988, 44).

⁶⁷ The temporal meaning of *m rk.f* 'in his time' does not fit well here; the sense seems comparable with uses of *h3w*, which refers to time and space.

is emphasised in the text through the Sethian determinative of *bʿr* in Tjekerbaal’s name:  (1, 16–17).

The determinatives within the names of Tjekerbaal and Wenamun present a further contrast between the two men: the Sethian determinative in the former’s name makes *bʿr* a significant word rather than just a phonetic element. By contrast, the *imn* in Wenamun’s name does not have the deity determinative required to distinguish *imn* as the god. It is not common to find a divine determinative in Egyptian theophoric names, although certain deities’ names lend themselves to iconic representation, for example Sobek () , Anubis () , Seth/Baal () . Thus, even though the present difference is due to the conventions of orthography, Baal is more immanent in Tjekerbaal’s name than Amun is in Wenamun’s.⁶⁸ That Baal is visible within the name of Tjekerbaal, as opposed to Amun, who is relatively more concealed within the name of Wenamun and the resulting affinity between Tjekerbaal and the storm-god Baal, his patron deity, makes his boast that he can control the sky a little more convincing than Wenamun’s boast of the close relationship he has with his god (2, 55–56).

Tjekerbaal may also be using Seth as a means of evoking the ambivalence of Amun’s character. He mentions that a watery grave may be waiting for Wenamun if he sails, just before he makes the statement quoted above about Amun’s power over storms. Earlier in the text, Tjekerbaal is described in unusual detail when Wenamun enters his presence, standing with his back to a window through which the breaking of the waves can be heard. Baines (1999, 218) interpreted this as a device to site the tale in the ‘realistic world’, at the same time as emphasising the sea’s importance to the tale as a whole. The sea is Wenamun’s route home, and Tjekerbaal is presented as an obstacle in his path. Yet the sea itself is not entirely on his side: it is called the ‘great Syrian sea’ (1, x + 14: ) and the malice of the pounding of its waves is echoed in Tjekerbaal’s taunt. The taunt is particularly spiteful since death at sea due to a storm is likely to be attributable to the antipathy of Amun himself, for whose sake Wenamun has embarked on his journey.

Among Late Egyptian narratives, Seth features most prominently in the *Tale of Horus and Seth*, where the presentation of his character is extremely mixed. He is a god of great power

⁶⁸ The omission of the divine determinative in names is even more striking in Late Egyptian, given its tendency to assign a divine determinative even to qualities (his title: *nb nswt t3wy*) or objects (e.g. *wi3*) associated with the god; compare, for example, the many divine determinatives in *LES* 61, 1–3 (1, 1–3).

and strength, but is aggressive in wielding them. His attempts to trick and take advantage of Horus, and especially his threatening the gods with destruction, give an impression of his might, but it is portrayed in a mostly negative light. Moreover, the fact that he is often tricked himself, by Horus and by Isis, makes him appear rather foolish. Yet, by the end of the tale, he is reconciled with Horus, and his strength is harnessed, again becoming a positive quality.

Orthographically, there is an alternation between the animal and deity forms of the sign in the 68 attestations of his name in *Horus and Seth*. The vast majority of attestations are written with the deity form and an additional divine determinative: . The one instance of  without a divine determinative (7, 2) is probably an error, as Gardiner assumed (1932, 45a n.b). Nine times, Seth's name is written with the recumbent animal sign rather than the deity form, each time with the additional divine determinative: .

Broze (1996) believed the alternation between the two forms of the Seth sign to be contextually meaningful. The first occurrence of the animal orthography is in a passage describing Pre's reaction to the Ennead's decision to give the office of Osiris to Horus:

P. Chester Beatty I, 1, 12–2, 1:



Fig. 2.66



ḥꜥ n p3 rꜥ ḥr-3ḥty ꜥnd r ikr sp sn ist ib n p3 rꜥ r dit t3 i3wt n stḥ ʿ3 pḥty s3 nwt

Then Pre Horakhty was very angry indeed; for (it was) Pre's intention to give the office to Seth, great of strength, son of Nut.

Broze (1996, 134–36) classified the animal orthography in this passage as an indication of Seth's strength, because the animal is much more impressive visually than the deity form of the sign (compare Figs. 2.1a–b). However, Seth's strength is not pertinent to the other eight contexts in which the animal variant is used. Broze proposed different explanations for each; for example, when Isis throws her harpoon at Seth and it bites into his flesh, her explanation for the animal orthography of Seth's name at this point is that he takes the form of a hippopotamus (1996, 146):

⁹ 2, 1; 9, 4; 10, 3, 10, 12; 11, 4, 9 (twice); 13, 2.

P. Chester Beatty I, 1, 11-12:

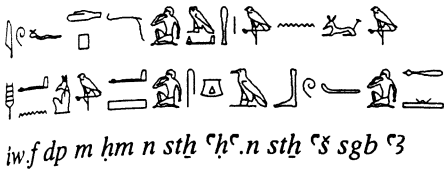


Fig. 2.67a



b



... it (= the harpoon of Isis) bit into Seth's body. Then Seth let out a mighty cry.

There is nothing in the passage to support Broze's suggestion, especially since Isis also throws her harpoon at Horus (8, 13-9, 1).

The two orthographies appear in similar contexts on more than one occasion, for example:

P. Chester Beatty I, 13, 1:



Horus is right, Seth is wrong.

P. Chester Beatty I, 13, 2:



Horus is right, Seth is wrong.

Broze's explanation for such repetitions is that they are quirks of the oral tradition of storytelling in Egypt, and that the graphic differences reflect the desire to differentiate between the characters' perspectives. Thus the first passage describes the Ennead's feelings towards Horus and Seth; since they do not take Seth's strength into account, the customary deity form of the sign is used. However, the second passage describes the sentiments of Seth himself, and so the animal orthography is used to highlight his belief in his own strength (Broze 1996, 150).

Fig. 2.68a

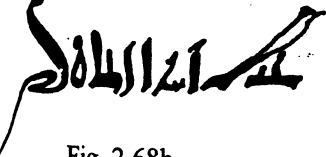


Fig. 2.68b



There is a comparable alternation in the tale between two orthographies of Horus's name:   and   (Fig. 2.68a, b).

In Broze's opinion, the latter orthography (attested six times)⁷⁰ serves a purpose analogous to that of the animal form of the Seth sign, graphically conveying the distinction between the more mature side of the god (le Lointain, l'Horus céleste: Broze 1996, 146) and his

⁷⁰ There are six instances of the latter: 9, 7; 11, 7; 12, 3; 12, 4 (twice); 14, 4.

initial characterisation as a child. However,  is much less graphically salient than  which suggests that if the more iconically salient animal form of the Seth sign gives the god added prominence,  should have the opposite effect. Indeed, in the part of the text that describes the recalling of Horus's semen, where Broze suggested the  orthography of Horus's name reflects his advantage over Seth, the god's name is not prominent visually. Other signs in the papyrus stand out besides the Horus falcon and the Seth animal, particularly the cobra determinative of Isis's name, which appears on a scale comparable to the Horus and Seth animal icons (see 2.68a).

Fig. 2.69a

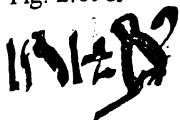
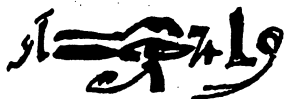


Fig. 2.69b



Similarly, the crown determinative of *hdt* in 1, 8 and the *wd3t* eye sign in 10, 4 are also both very prominent and larger than the characters around them (Figs. 2.69a–b). Perhaps enlarging signs was the scribe's way of signalling their contextual importance, as Broze also suggested (1996, 146).

Thus, while  does seem to throw more visual emphasis on Seth than , the significance of the alternation need not be as complex as Broze suggested, particularly since other signs are treated similarly. Rather than highlighting a particular characteristic of the god, the animal orthography may simply mark the importance of the passage in which he occurs.

The deity form of the sign in writings of Seth's name is more unusual than the animal form. The former is not attested in the other three tales mentioned above, and only occurs in a writing of the name of Baal in the Late Egyptian miscellany texts gathered by Gardiner:⁷¹  (P. Sallier IV vso I, 6), and once in a writing of 'Seth' in P. Anastasi II (1, 4): . Other attestations of his name are all written with the animal sign: for example, a letter in P. Bologna 1094 makes three mentions of Seth in connection with his temple, all written with the animal sign:  (5, 8; 6, 10),  (5, 9). He also occurs in theophoric names: Sety in the same letter,  (5, 13), and Setemuia in a different letter in the same

⁷¹ In the miscellanies, Baal and particularly Seth – his name is linked in the majority of cases to mentions of his temple – tend to be mentioned in passing without detailed characterisation, and so wider contexts are not discussed here.

papyrus,    (7, 8). Date does not seem to be a differentiating factor between the two different forms of the sign in writings of Seth's name, since all three papyri discussed are from the 19th Dynasty; moreover, P. Anastasi II and P. Bologna 1094 are both ascribed to the reign of Merenptah. It seems therefore that the two forms of the sign may alternate relatively freely in the miscellanies.

𐍎 and *htrw*

Although no mention of the Seth animal as a creature (𐍎) is known from literary texts, as a sign it determines two different animal words in the Middle Kingdom: 𐍎 'ass' and *htrw*, the meaning of which is more contentious and discussed in detail below.

There are five parallel texts for the passage in which 𐍎 occurs in the *Instruction of Khety*, and the Seth animal is written alongside the hide and tail sign in all but one:

P. Anastasi VII, 2, 7:



P. Sallier II, 7, 5:  Louvre, 11: 

BM 29550, 4:  DeM 1179, 2: 

iw wrt ddy.tw n 𐍎w r k3t[sn] [r-]s3 iry

More is given to (his) donkeys than the work [they] do afterwards.

A Sethian determinative of 𐍎 is not uncommon in the Middle and New Kingdoms, especially in medical texts (2.3.1). Since it is always only used with the male animal, the *t* in the writings above is the common Late Egyptian graphic device that fills space rather than the marker of a feminine word (contra Brunner 1944, 39, and Helck 1970a, 92).

There are seven mentions of asses in the *Eloquent Peasant*.⁷² P. Berlin 3023 (B1), P. Amherst, and P. Butler all use a specific donkey determinative in their writings of 𐍎(w), but each instance in P. Ramesseum A (R) is determined with a Seth animal (examples from each manuscript in Fig. 2.71a–d).

Fig. 2.71a

b

c

d



⁷²R 1, 7; B1 21 = R 7, 1; B1 40 = R 9, 4; B1 45 = R 9, 5; B1 45 = R 10, 1; B54 = R 11, 4; B2 137.

Although the meaning of the word is not changed by the Sethian determinative in R, it is a distinct sign. The animal's tail is particularly elaborate in R 10, 1 (Fig. 2.71d), and so it is unlikely to be a graphic slip.

The Seth animal determinative of *htrw* ‘herds’ in *Neferti* is more unusual and does affect the word’s meaning. *htrw* usually refers to a team of animals, and, like the analogous collective *idr* ‘herd’, it can take a hide and tail determinative or a more specific animal determinative, like the horse (*Wb.* III. 199, 11–200, 12). The most common determinative of *htrw* is , since the word usually refers to a team of ploughing oxen (*Wb.* III. 199, 8–10). Despite the Sethian determinative in *Neferti*, this is how the word has been understood in the following passage:

P. Petersburg 1116B rto, 18–19:

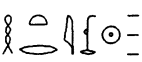

 DeM 1157: 

Fig. 2.72



iwf sh3f kni n i3btt hp 3mw m hpšw.sn
sh.sn ibw [n] ntyw hr šmw nhm.sn htrw hr sk3

He recalls the sad state of the East, the Asiatics journeying in their strength, terrorizing the hearts of the harvesters, and seizing the cattle from ploughing. (Parkinson 1997, 135)

Lichtheim (1973, 140) translated in a similar way: ‘seizing cattle from the plough’. Only Simpson et al (1973, 236) made the word less specific: ‘taking away their teams engaged in ploughing’.

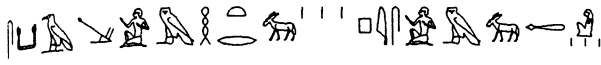
The Seth animal never alternates with  in any bovid names, and so if *htrw* in the passage above is to be translated as ‘team of oxen’, the Sethian determinative has to be analysed as an error. However  does appear extensively in medical texts as an alternate for  in writings of 3 ‘ass’ and the instance from the *Instruction of Khety* discussed above provides an analogous substitution in a literary text. Contemporaneous sources corroborate that asses were used in ploughing: in CT 622 (VI. 237j) there is mention of an ass used for celestial cultivation: ⁷³ and in the following passage from a biographical text, *htrw* seems to have

⁷³ This spell goes back to PT 254 (281a–82a), where an entity called *wr-sk3t* is attested, but without a donkey determinative.

a donkey determinative (Fig. 2.73):

Lange and Schäfer 1902–25, II, 90–91 (CGC 20499, 8–9):

Fig. 2.73



sk3.i m htrw pis.i m '3w(t?)

I ploughed with a team of asses, I sowed with jenny-asses (?).

Thus, the animals in the *Neferti* passage are probably not cattle, as has been previously assumed, but asses. Apparently, the connection between the Seth animal and the ass was strong enough for the former to represent the ass logographically (see further 2.7).

2.6.2 Figurative usage

Despite the important role Seth plays in *Wenamun* and especially in *Horus and Seth*, there are no occurrences of Sethian determinatives in figurative contexts in either of these tales. The only Late Egyptian stories that include examples are the *Doomed Prince* and *Astarte*. By contrast, in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, when the god's role is less extensive, figurative Sethian determinatives abound, which draw on the god's strength, violence, and power.

k3hs

Sethian determinatives recur in words connected with violence especially in the instructional texts and pessimistic tales of the Middle Kingdom. Seth, usually in his animal form, is used as the prototype of all that can go wrong with the world and symbolises the upturning of order in various ways. In *Kagemni*, the determinative of *k3hs*, which fits well within this schema, describing violent human behaviour, has always been interpreted as a Seth animal:

P. Prisse I, 11–12:

Fig. 2.74



$h(w)rr^{74} n hr r df3-ib im3 n.f k3hs r mwt.f$

He who is meek (?) to the point of being indulgent:

the harsh man is kinder to him than his mother.



⁷⁴ *hrr* is not attested elsewhere. Federn's suggestion (1950, 49) *hwrr* 'meek' is preferable to Gardiner's *htr* 'powerless' (1946, 73 n.11). If *r df3-ib* is understood to mean 'to the point of being indulgent' (so Parkinson 1997, 291), which does seem to be the most likely meaning, then *hrr n hr* should be understood as a corresponding term.

Gardiner (1946b, 72) believed *k3hs* to be the opposite of *im3* in this context, but made no comment about the Sethian determinative or its significance in the word, simply stating that he preferred the translation 'harsh' to Scharff's earlier suggestion of 'haughty'.

The form of the determinative, with its cropped tail, is extremely distinctive especially when compared to the form of the Sethian determinative of *hnnw* in the *Instruction of Ptahhotep* on the same papyrus (discussed below), which it does not resemble (compare Fig. 2.76a). The snout of the *k3hs* animal is straight whereas that of the *hnnw* determinative is more characteristically downward pointing.

Fig. 2.75



In this feature, the *k3hs* ‘Seth’ determinative bears a striking resemblance to the dog determinative of *tsm* in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* (P. Petersburg 1115, 165; Fig. 2.75), the manuscript of which is now generally accepted to have been written by the same scribe as that of P. Prisse (von Bomhard 1999; Parkinson 2002, 70–71).

Von Bomhard had compared the Seth animals in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* and *Ptahhotep* (1999, 61), but did not mention the dog, although it is further corroboration for the two manuscripts being of the same hand. Thus, although Sethian determinatives are attested in writings of *k3hs* in New Kingdom texts (e.g. 2.3.2; 2.3.3), in *Kagemni* the determinative seems to be a dog. Although this is a unique writing, it may be compared to the similarly unusual caprid determinative of *3f* in the same papyrus (see 4.6.2).

 $\dot{h}nn(w)$

Writings of *hnn* with a Seth animal determinative are especially common in the instructional texts of the Middle Kingdom. In *Ptahhotep*, the passage in which *hnn* occurs is paralleled in two variants which may be compared orthographically (Figs. 2.76a–b):

P. Prisse 88–89 (6, 5):



P. BM 10409 (2, 7): 

wr m3^ct w3h spdt n hnn.t(w).s dr rk wsir

Fig. 2.76a



b

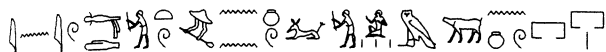


Great is justice, lasting in effectiveness (?). It has not been disrupted since the time of Osiris.

The hieratic forms of the determinative in the two variants are very different, especially as regards the animal's ears and tail; the older manuscript (P. Prisse) uses the 'arrow' form of the head which represents only one ear, and does not depict the animal's tail at all. Still, identification as a Seth animal cannot be doubted.

A nominal instance of *hnnw* is attested in the *Instruction of Amenemhat*:

P. Millingen II, 7:



P. Berlin 3019: 

in-iw šd.tw hnnw m-hnnw pr

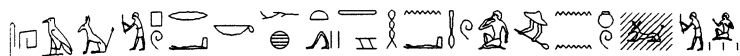
The different writings of *hnnw* in the two variant papyri, combined with the double meaning of the verb *šd*, makes it possible to translate this passage in a number of ways. P. Millingen, the older manuscript, gives the word a  determinative, so that it presumably means 'trouble-makers', whereas P. Berlin 3019 retains the more abstract sense 'trouble'. *šd* can mean both 'to bring up, nurture' and 'to remove, drive away' which are usually distinguished by their determinatives,  and  respectively. However, the use of  as *šd*'s determinative does not preclude the former sense, since  is used to indicate any kind of action, not necessarily a violent one, although that is what the determinative literally depicts. Thus, it is possible to translate either 'Must trouble(-makers) be driven out from inside the palace?' or 'Is trouble (or: Are trouble-makers) nurtured within the palace?'

When the king makes this statement, he is lamenting that even those in his inner circle have turned against him, so that passage should best be translated in the latter way. But in this instance, the more literal violent connotations of  are brought out by the interplay of the determinatives' imagery: the king's innocent action of nurturing – represented by *šd*'s determinative  in its general sense – have been rewarded with a violent reaction, inherent already in the writing of *šd* and brought out specifically in *hnnw* by the pairing of  in its more literal application with the Sethian determinative. The sinister forebodings of the  determinative of *šd* fit well with the recurring theme of the text, the old king's warning to his son to beware of evil intentions lurking behind innocent facades.

hnn and *sh3*

In the pessimistic texts, *hnn* is often paired with *sh3*, a similar word meaning ‘turmoil’, in descriptions of the chaotic state of the world, for example in *Ipuwer*:⁷⁵

P. Leiden 344 rto, 12, 12–13:



sh3 pw rd.k ht t3 hn hrw hnnw

It is chaos you have spread throughout the land, as well as the uproar of trouble-makers.

In *Ipuwer*, *sh3* tends to be rather abstract; as a verb, it occurs in 2, 11 with an inanimate subject (‘the ship of the south’), while as a noun, it appears in the singular without personifying determinatives,  (Table 2.22 sums up its occurrences in the text). It is found with similar meaning in *Neferti*, again describing the violent conditions in the land:

P. Petersburg 1116B, 39–40:



nh t3 m sh3

The land will live in turmoil.

There is a comparable occurrence in *Khakheperresoneb*:

BM 5645, rto 10:



sh3 t3 hpr m hq n.i

The land is in uproar, and has become the destruction of me.

By contrast, *hnnw*, which is only used nominally in *Ipuwer*, has a more concrete sense, and always describes the people who cause the turmoil. It is also constantly linked to a strong sound element; for example:

P. Leiden 344 rto, 5, 14–6, 1:



h3 rf grh pw m rmtw n(n) iwr n(n) mst

ih gr t3 m hrw nn hnnw

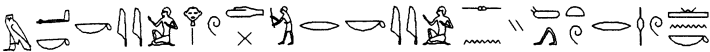
If only this was the end of people, with no more pregnancy and no more birth,
then the land would be silent from (its) uproar, having no trouble-makers.

⁷⁵ I would like to thank Roland Enmarch for letting me consult the unpublished hieratic text; it is too faint to reproduce accurately here.

Ipuwer's accusation in 12, 12–13 cited above blames the Lord of All for allowing the trouble to happen because he has let creation continue its self-perpetuating cycle: the divine powers of Utterance (*hw*) and Perception (*si3*) that Ipuwer evokes immediately before his accusation are aspects of the mechanism of creation, but he asserts that they do not engender the other divine attribute that Ipuwer assigns to the Lord of All, Justice (*m3ʕt*), but chaos, its opposite (Parkinson 1997, 197 n. 100).

Thus, the concepts of violence and noise are intertwined in the meaning of *hnnw*. Ipuwer's wider description of 'trouble-makers' also imparts a moralising aspect to the word:

P. Leiden 344 rto, 12, 13:



mk ky hr wd r ky sn.tw r wd(t).n.k

Look one man strikes out at another, and people ignore what you have commanded.

The Lord's command is *m3ʕt*, so that Ipuwer is describing *hnnw* as violent and morally depraved. The (im)moral connotations of the Seth animal as a determinative are more evident in *nmʕ*, discussed below.

Since both *sh3* and *hnnw* take  determinatives, where the papyrus is damaged it is difficult to decide which word was present:

P. Leiden 344 rto, 12, 8:

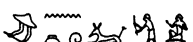
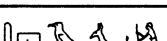
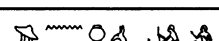


... r-hnty pr.f

the [temple enclosure has been destroyed and desecr]ated in its outer hall.

Although both words are possible, *sh3* is perhaps more likely; as Table 2.22 below demonstrates, *sh3* is attested in two verbal usages in the text; while *hnnw* can be used verbally, in *Ipuwer* it occurs only as a noun.

Table 2.22: *sh3* and *hnnw* in *Ipuwer*

WORD	SOURCE	USAGE	ORTHOGRAPHY
<i>sh3</i>	1, 5–6	Verb	
<i>sh3</i>	2, 11	Verb	
<i>hnnw</i>	6, 1	Noun	
?	12, 8	Verb	
<i>sh3</i>	12, 9	Noun	
<i>sh3</i>	12, 12	Noun	
<i>hnnw</i>	12, 13	Noun	

Although *hnn* occurs only as a noun in *Ipuwer*, it is attested as a verb in *Khakheperresoneb*:

BM 5645, rto 11:



hnn.tw shrw ntrw

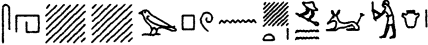
The plans of the gods are disrupted.

Once again, the aggressive man determinative supplements the Seth animal determinative, bringing out the more literal reading of the former.

Seth is also attested as the determinative of *hnnw* and *sh3* in the *Instruction for Merikare*. There are two instances of *sh3*; the first is damaged and the determinative is not clearly visible in either manuscript, although the Seth determinative of *hnnw* in the same line does survive in one manuscript:

P. Petersburg 1116A, 2, 12–3, 1 (5):



P. Moscow 4658, 24/25: 

sh3 pw n niwtw hnn-ib

The trouble-maker is an inciter of citizens.

The tail of the Seth animal is particularly prominent in this instance, and is clearly forked. Although the Seth determinative of P. Petersburg 1116A is damaged in the passage above, it

Fig. 2.77



is clear in the second instance:

p. Petersburg 1116A, 3, 4 (5):

[i]n tw³yw sh³ mš^c

It is the common man who stirs up the army.

In the New Kingdom, *sh3* is attested in a number of contexts, but its meaning in each case is more difficult to establish. For example, in the following passage from the *Doomed Prince*, it has tended to be translated very differently from what has so far been described as its range of meaning given in the Middle Kingdom passages cited above:

P. Harris 500 vso, 8, 12-13:

ir iw p3y[.i hfty? iy] r 'h3 [hn'.i] mtw.k sw h3 n.i

hdb(.i) p3 nht

Lichtheim (1976, 203) translated:

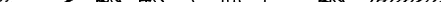
If my [enemy returns] to fight, [you shall] help me to kill the demon..

Since traces of an *m* before the *tw.k* were visible when Gardiner made his transcription of the *Doomed Prince*, *mtw.k* should be read, linking *swḥ3* to the protasis and not the apodosis of the conditional. I therefore suggest the following rendering:

If my (enemy has come) to fight (with me) and you have shouted out to me, I will kill the demon.⁷⁶

There is a comparable instance in a miscellany text in P. Anastasi V, where *sh3* is specifically linked with noise:

P. Anastasi V, 6, 3:



... r km3 hrw sh3

... to produce a sound of turmoil ...

Lichtheim's rendering of *swḥ3* in the *Doomed Prince* as 'help' cannot be corroborated by any other instance of the verb and is at odds with the other contexts in which it appears. Wentz (in Simpson 1973, 91 n.8) had translated differently:

⁸ *hdb* would therefore be a prospective. Compare the following construction from P. BM 10052 8, 21–23 (Junge 2001, 262): *ir iw.k ky iy mtw.f s'hf.k iry.i* ‘If someone else came and accused you, then I would act’.

If my opponent [returns to engage me] to fight, [come] and boast of me in order that I might kill the water spirit.

This translation does have a parallel: Gardiner (1931, 32) had translated the verb *swḥ3* as ‘boast’ in a New Kingdom love song. The song describes a girl in love with a man named Mehy; she imagines what would he would say to her if she confessed her love:

P. Chester Beatty I vso C2, 8:

Fig. 2.78



mk iw.i n.k k3(.i) n.f iw.f swḥ3 m rn.i
iw.f ḥr dni.i r t3 k(3)pw tpy nty imy-ḥt.f

Gardiner understood *swḥ3* here to mean ‘boast’ in a negative sense (1931, 32 n. 1):

She is covered with confusion and knows not whether to advance or retreat. She fears to betray her feelings, for in that case Mehy will perhaps hold her cheap and boastingly hand her over to one of his followers.

However, *swḥ3* need not always have a negative meaning (te Velde 1977, 25) and is often used in New Kingdom royal texts to describe the vaunting of the king’s name (examples: Grimal 1986, 584: 132). It is possible, therefore, that rather than describing a negative outcome, the passage above describes the girl’s best hopes (so Mathieu 1996a, 28), meaning:

‘Look ‘I belong to you!’ I will say to him, and he will acclaim my name, as he puts me into the innermost circle (?)⁷⁷ of those who are in his following.

Neither Gardiner nor Mathieu commented on the significance of the Sethian determinative, but its form is extremely significant. The Seth animal is attested as the determinative of *swḥ3* in other texts (e.g. 2.5.2), but, to my knowledge, the deity form is unique to this passage. It is perhaps indicative of the word’s more positive connotations.

Thus, while *swḥ3* in the love poem represents a joyful shout, the same verb in the passage from the *Doomed Prince* describes the action of calling out in warning. Noise is at the heart of both instances, but the difference in their connotations is perhaps conveyed by the different

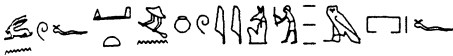
⁷⁷ For the contentious meaning of *k(3)p*, see Mathieu 1996a, 39 n. 59. Gardiner’s suggested translation ‘hareem’ seems inappropriate to the context. The sense is more that the girl hopes that Mehy will immediately accept him into his intimate circle of companions.

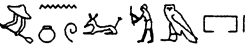
forms of the Sethian determinative.

The deity form of the Seth determinative appears in a writing of *hnnw* in a manuscript of the *Instructions of Ani*. It describes domestic discord between a man and his wife:

P. Boulaq IV 9, 2–3:

Fig. 2.79



P. Guimet 16959: 



wn.f di.t hnnw m pr.f

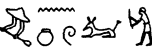
It is a cause of unrest in his house.

This is the only writing known to me of *hnnw* with the deity form of the determinative. In a subsequent writing of *hnnw* in the same manuscript, the determinative takes a different form:

P. Boulaq IV 9, 5:

Fig. 2.80



P. Guimet 16959: 

i-ir p3 s 3bb dt hnnw m pr.f iw bw gm.f p3y.f h3t

If a man stops making trouble within his household, he will then not find its beginning.

The deity determinative of *swh3* in the love poem discussed above signified a positive meaning for the verb, but this cannot be the case here. In P. Boulaq IV, the alternation between the two forms seems to have no semantic significance, since the contexts of both words are practically identical. The same papyrus also alternates in its use of these two forms of the Sethian determinative in writings of *ʿs* and *⟨n⟩snw*, discussed below, using a different form in each.

ʿs

ʿs with a Seth animal determinative occurs in the P. Boulaq IV manuscript of the *Instructions of Ani*:

P. Boulaq IV 10, 7:

Fig. 2.81



m ir ʿs n3y.k nhwt(.k)



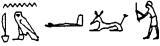
Do not proclaim (your) strengths.

ʿs does not seem to occur elsewhere with a Sethian determinative,⁷⁸ and is not included in te

⁷⁸ No attestations are cited in *Wb.* I. 227, 4–15; Hannig 1995, 159; or Lesko *LED* I. 90.

Velde's list (1977, 22–23) of Seth-determined vocabulary. But the Sethian determinative is clearly written and does not seem to be an error. Since elsewhere ʕš means 'to shout out', it is likely that the Seth determinative represents the same sound element in ʕš as it does in *swḥ3* and *ḥnnw*.

nmʕ

The verb *nmʕ* 'to be biased, partial' is relatively common in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom,⁷⁹ but it takes a Sethian determinative only in the *Instruction for Merikare*, where it occurs three times. In the first instance (1, 8), the context is damaged although the word itself is intact: . The other two instances are in clear contexts:

P. Petersburg 1116A, 4, 7–8:

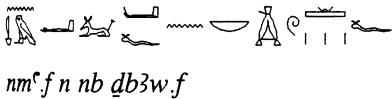


sʕ3 wrw.k ir.sn ḥpw.k n nmʕ.n ḥwd pr.f

Make those who are important to you wealthy, so that they will enact your laws.
He who has wealth at home is not biased.

The parallel texts in the third instance have substantial differences in them:

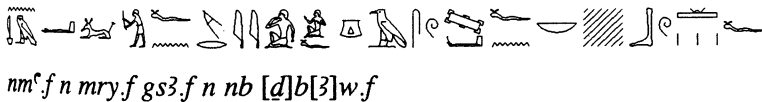
P. Petersburg 1116A, 4, 9 (14):



nmʕ.f n nb ḏb3w.f

He inclines towards the one who has bribes for him.

P. Moscow 4658, 44:



nmʕ.f n mry.f gs3.f n nb [ḏ]b[3]w.f

He inclines to him whom he favours, he leans towards the one who has bribes for him.

The second variant offers an important parallel for *nmʕ* in *gs3*. Ma'at is conceived of as a perfect balance, and therefore a leaning to one side constitutes its disruption. The Seth animal is an interesting alternative to the common  determinative and perhaps introduces an element of aggression lacking in the latter. Although both *nmʕ* and *gs3* are connected with moral corruption, it is striking that they have the same additional aggressive man determinative

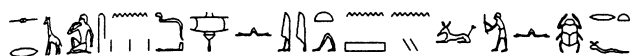
⁷⁹ For example, it occurs twice at the beginning of *Man and Ba* (ll. 2–3).

as the more physical *sh3* and *hnn*, perhaps classifying them as similar violations of order.

nšn, *kri*, and *phph*

Although Sethian determinatives are not common in the narrative texts – there are no instances of it at all in *Sinuhe*, the *Eloquent Peasant*, or *Papyrus Westcar* – the Seth animal is attested in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* in two words with meteorological connections. Twice it is the determinative of *nšny* ‘storm’:

P. Petersburg 1115, 30–32:



sr.sn ḏ n iyt nšny n-hprt.f

They would foresee a gale before it came, a storm before it happened.

There is only a small change in orthography between the first and second writings of *nšny*: the second instance lacks the additional determinative:

P. Petersburg 1115, 98:



sr.sn ḏ n-iyt nšny n-hprt.f

They would foresee a gale before it came, a storm before it happened.

The hieratic form of the sign is distinctive in both of these passages. The animal is tailless in this first instance like the determinative of *hnnw* in *Ptahhotep* (Fig. 2.76a). In the second instance, however, the sign has a short, seemingly forked tail.

The Seth animal also determines the adjective *kri* ‘thunderous’, which is inherently meteorological, but in context is used to describe the sound of the snake’s approach:

P. Petersburg 1115, 56–57:



ḥf.n sdm.n.i ḥrw kri

Then I heard a thunderous noise.

A parallelism perhaps exists between these two ‘storms’ in the tale. The first is real and brings the sailor to the ‘island of the ka’ where the snake lives. Since ‘to go to one’s ka’ is a common euphemism for death, it is possible that the first storm signals the metaphorical death of the sailor. *kri*, by contrast, does not usually describe an actual storm, but rather its warning signal, thunder. But instead of encountering a danger similar to the *nšn* that has brought him to the island, the snake offers the sailor another chance at life.

Fig. 2.82



Fig. 2.83

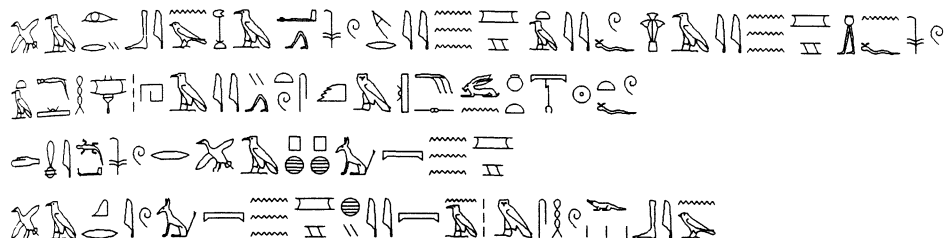


Fig. 2.84



kri occurs again with a different metaphorical sense in the *Instructions of Amenemope*, alongside another meteorological word, both of them occurring in the same passage with identical determinatives. The passage in which they occur describes the fate that befalls an evil-doer. The wise man is encouraged not to try to deal with such a man himself, because he will meet his end:

P. BM 10474 vso 4, 12–16 (2):



p3 iry bin h3 sw mryt t3yf h3yw in.n.f sw t3 mhw h3y.s km.s wnwtf
dmi sw r p3 phph p3 kri hy n3 mshw bin

The one who does evil – the shore casts him away and its floodwater carries him off.

The northwind descends to end his hour. It mingles with the thunderstorm.

The storm cloud is tall, the crocodiles are vicious.

Thus, neither *phph* nor *kri* in this passage describe a real storm, but rather the celestial forces of justice. The identical orthography of the two words emphasises their affinity, and is also striking for the multiple additional determinatives (𓆎𓆏𓆐) after the Seth animal, which seem to represent a split of the compact idea expressed previously by 𓆎𓆏.

Words connected with storm tend to be metaphorically flexible. Although *phph* is restricted to the meteorological sphere, *kri* can be used outside descriptions of the weather, as in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* passage discussed above. *nšn* is a particularly good example of the blurring of metaphorical lines, because it is used of tempests of temper as well as of nature, for example in the tale of *Astarte*:

P. Sallier I, 2x + 18–19:



iy.t tnw t3 šrit pth t3 nrt kndt nšny

Where have you come from, daughter of Ptah, angry and raging goddess?

nšn is also attested in the *Instructions of Ani* with the meaning ‘rage’ rather than ‘storm’. It is further distinguished by being written with the deity form of the Seth determinative, although

the writing is rather muddled (compare a similar error in Medinet Habu; 2.4.4):

P. Boulaq IV 10, 2:

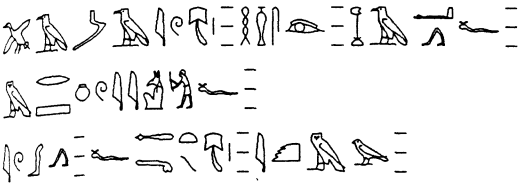


Fig. 2.85



P. Guimet 16959, 4: 

p3 m3i h33 h3c f m (n)snw.f iw tkn.f 3 ikm

The savage lion who struck down with his wrath comes to resemble the timid donkey.

The writing of the *r* instead of *n* in *n3n* in P. Boulaq IV shows the scribe's uncertainty. The unusual form of the determinative here, and in the writing of *hnnw* discussed above (pp. 214–214), may be symptomatic of this.

sr

The final use of the Seth determinative occurring in narrative and literary texts has not generally been recognised as such. In the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, the verb *sr* 'to foresee' occurs in both passages cited above and in the following passage, and has always been transcribed with a giraffe determinative:

P. Petersburg 1115, 154–55:

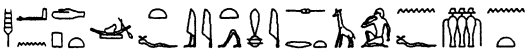


Fig. 2.86



h3c.n dpt iy.t(i) mi srt.n.f hnt

Then that boat came, as he had foretold earlier.

The hieratic sign is very similar to the Sethian determinatives of *n3ny* and *kri* (compare Figs. 2.82–84) and therefore appears to be a Seth animal rather than a giraffe in each instance (compare 2.87a–b).

Fig. 2.87a

b



Blackman (1932) evidently assumed that the writing of the Seth animal was not meaningful and made no comment on his three transcriptions of the sign as a giraffe. Even studies of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* that focus on paleography (e.g., Dévaud 1916–17; Cannuyer 1990a) do not tend to discuss the similarity of the determinative of *sr* to the Seth animal.

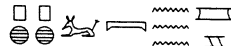
This may simply be a hieratic quirk, but this is made less likely when the similarity in forms is found also in hieroglyphic texts. I have shown above (2.2.2.1; 2.5.2) that there is some alternation between the giraffe and the Seth animal in other genres. If the Seth animal is a meaningful determinative of *sr*, it perhaps represents a different aspect of the word than the giraffe. It is possible that it has the same connotation in *sr* as it does in ʕ and sometimes in *sh3* and *hnnnw* and represents noise. Thus, while the giraffe perspectivises the vantage point *sr* represents, the Seth animal perhaps has more to do with its vocal element of proclaiming.

2.6.3 Discussion

Of the Seth animal's broad array of metaphorical significances in the literary texts surveyed, the most prominent among them is its association with physical turmoil. Particularly in pessimistic and instructional texts, the Seth animal symbolises violence, disorder, and noise, the antithesis of the ideal represented by the concept of *ma'at*. The Seth animal continues to be associated with weather words, but even these are adapted to correspond to the dominant theme of disorder. Thus, the storms in *Amenemope* are not real, but physical manifestations of the violence a violent man brings down upon himself. Similarly, the storm in the *Shipwrecked Sailor* may represent the turning point in the protagonist's life, at which he moves from the chaos of his old life into the calm of the future after his encounter with the divine snake.

Seth's conflict with Horus seems to provide the perfect basis for his animal's role in the words discussed above. The tale of their mutual struggles can be interpreted as an allegory for the disruption of *ma'at* described in texts like *Neferti* and *Ipuwer*, where Sethian words describing analogous turmoil abound. However, the almost complete segregation of figurative and non-figurative contexts in which the Seth animal sign occurs suggests perhaps that regardless of the origins of the sign's metaphorical associations, it comes to be independent of them.

2.7 CONCLUSIONS – Seth’s metaphorical associations as a determinative

The results of the contextual analyses laid out above present a strong argument against the existence of a coherent ‘Sethian’ category (contra Goldwasser 1995, 102). Despite the fact that  ‘ass’,  ‘to be biased’, and  ‘storm’ can take Sethian determinatives, it is hard to imagine naming a category in which these and all the other words discussed above would comfortably fit. The god Seth is the linking thread between these words, but he is not directly relevant to the ways in which they are used. The issue is somewhat complicated by the iconicity of the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. Even in contexts where Sethian qualities are more relevant than the actual god himself, the form of the sign evokes a visual connection, which led to the kind of suppression seen in the *Pyramid Texts* and the temple inscriptions at Abydos. The form of the sign, therefore, keeps the roots of its metaphorical associations vivid, but these roots are not always relevant. Rather, it seems that the various forms of the Seth determinative embody several attributes which are then metaphorically imparted to the words with which a Sethian determinative is used. There are many semantic crossovers between these attributes, but they are distinct from one another, as is evidenced by the forms the determinative takes when representing them and by the other determinatives that are added to or alternate with the Seth sign itself.

2.7.1 Aggression – celestial and mundane

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the physical form of the Seth animal seems to have been constructed in order to emanate aggression, and therefore it is not surprising that it should determine numerous words for this concept. As a figurative determinative, it is associated both with celestial aggression, taking the form of storms, and with mundane aggression, represented by various forms of social disorder, including violence and noisy outbursts. The Sethian determinative of the word *nm*^c probably derives from the animal’s association with aggression, but it has a more subtle relationship with it. Rather than being connected specifically to violence, the Sethian determinative of *nm*^c corresponds rather to violation, a sense inherent in both storm and turmoil in that they are disruptions in the natural order of things. A storm disrupts the calmness of the sky, just as a brawl disrupts the calmness of social life, and, as such, both are violations of *ma’at*, which is the basic sense of *nm*^c.

It is often not possible to separate the celestial from the mundane aggression symbolised by

the Seth animal, and, as has been illustrated above, in many contexts they are deliberately paralleled. *nšn* is the most flexible of Seth-determined words connected with aggression, the longest-lived, and the most broadly used, occurring in all five of the textual genres surveyed. Attested from the 5th Dynasty *Pyramid Texts* of Unas to the 20th Dynasty inscriptions of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (and beyond), *nšn* may describe a meteorological storm, a storm of temper, or a storm of pain. Its Sethian determinative is a manifestation of the common metaphorical thread of aggression running through all three, linking them. *nšn* is closely connected with *hnnw* and *kri*, which may both apply to either celestial or mundane disturbances. Other ‘weather’ words (*phph*, *h3h3ti*, *snm*) are often used in wider metaphorical contexts so that they represent not a physical storm, but rather the qualities epitomised in storm. Perhaps a certain amount of metaphorical flexibility was a requirement for the application of a Sethian determinative, so that words like *ḏ3* ‘stormwind’, firmly rooted only in the meteorological sphere, are never written with one.

While it seems straightforward to ascribe Seth’s role as a troublemaker and the opponent of Horus and Osiris to the use of his animal in words like *hnnw* and *s(w)h3* which describe strife, and to cite his role as a storm-god as the motivation for his animal’s use in words like *h3h3ti* and *snm*, it is not always easy, and perhaps not right, to make a distinction. Either one of these roles could be the reason for the use of the Seth animal determinative in *nšn* ‘storm’ with its three broad semantic domains. While there may be reason to believe that the meteorological sense is dominant – graphic embellishments like  and additional, specifically meteorological determinatives like  would seem to corroborate this – it is unlikely that any one aspect of the god Seth is behind every use of the word in context. Context is a powerful force; although it does not have an effect on determinative choice in every example, the potential for an extra dimension of expressiveness is always there. Thus, Seth’s epithet ‘the bull (of Ombos)’ is probably relevant to the unique choice of the bull determinative of *swh3* in the inscriptions at Medinet Habu. But it is not necessary to look for a specific mythological explanation for each use of a Sethian determinative. Seth, of course, defines his animal’s associations, but these become independent of the god the more they are called upon to the extent that it is more often the exception than the rule that Seth as a deity appears alongside figuratively used Sethian determinatives, as evidenced by the discussion of narrative and literary texts above (2.6).

2.7.2 Affliction and suffering

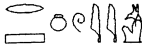
Although *nšn* can describe pain, it is most often specifically applied to the eyes, taking advantage of the metaphorical association of water flowing from wounded eyes with water pouring from a stormy sky. Other Sethian-determined words connected with affliction and suffering are more widely applicable to various kinds of suffering, but are distinguished from all other Sethian words by the deity form of their Sethian determinatives. Thus, *ind*, *ih*, *mn*, *mr*, *nkm*, *rswt*, and *h3t* stand apart from all the words that usually take  as their determinative. While some occur in different types of text (for example, *mr* occurs in the *Coffin Texts*, several letters to the dead, and the Hatnub graffiti), others are written with the Seth deity determinative only once – *ih*, *rswt*, and *h3t* – perhaps constituting a true ‘ad hoc’ use of the determinative, although it is perhaps preferable to think of such instances as innovative perspectivisations of their words’ signifieds rather than unique aberrations, particularly since they fit into an already defined metaphorical schema for which  serves as the prototype.

2.7.3 Form and meaning

 links all the words discussed and the concepts they represent, but they are distinguished from one another in various other ways. One indication that certain Seth-determined words draw on different attributes from others is in the other signs with which the Seth determinative alternates. Thus, while *nšn* and *phph* may both take sky and water determinatives either instead of the Seth animal or in addition to it, words like *nm*^c or *swh3* never do. A further distinction is in the form taken by the Sethian determinative itself.

2.7.3.1 versus

While minor alterations in the appearance of the animal form of the sign, especially in the representation of its tail (compare Figs. 2.9 and 2.58), have no effect on the sign’s meaning, there is good reason to believe that the choice between  and  did have semantic ramifications. Once again, context is an important factor, both as regards the word in which the determinative is written and that word’s wider textual environment. The alternation of the two forms of the sign in writings of *sth*, *bʿr*, and various epithets of Seth does not seem to be meaningful for the most part (with the possible exception of *Horus and Seth*; 2.6.1). Similarly, it may not be relevant that certain texts of the Ramesside Period or later like P. Boulaq IV or

the love songs in P. Chester Beatty I use  instead of the more customary  in writings like , , or . In texts of the Ramesside Period of various genres – from the Harris Magical Papyrus to the temple inscriptions of Medinet Habu – the deity form of the Seth determinative is attested in greater numbers in writings of *sth* than in earlier periods (compare further examples of figurative usages of  from the Ramesside Period in Janssen 1997). However, it is important that writings of the seven words describing illness described in 2.7.2, all but one of them from the period between the end of the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, seem never to be written with any form of the Sethian determinative other than . As the determinative of these words,  seems to have a meaning that  cannot adequately express.

In art, it is generally the case that while  can symbolise Seth in certain contexts – for example, in the Middle Kingdom Lisht reliefs from the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I (Fig. 2.4), where the animal sits upon a personified standard – in cases where the god interacts more directly with others, he is usually shown in anthropomorphic form; one may compare the use of the Seth animal to write the god Seth's name on the stela of Aapehty with the anthropomorphic representation of the god being worshipped by his devotee in the lunette (Fig. 2.3). If the anthropomorphic form was deemed to be more suitable for the purposes of interaction, perhaps this is why it was selected for use in words signifying suffering. As discussed above (2.3.4), the Egyptian physician could evoke Seth as a force to channel against the illness he was treating. This is especially the case in P. Leiden I 343 + 345 (2.3.3), which shows one of the highest incidences of interplay between non-figurative mentions of Seth and figurative uses of his animal as a determinative among all the texts surveyed, and where Sethian qualities are specifically directed against illness as weapons. It is not incongruous that elsewhere in medical texts, Sethian words are associated with the ailments themselves. Indeed, Seth's associative power over illness could be channelled to fight fire with fire. Perhaps the use of the deity determinative mobilises the same mechanism.

In the sphere of suffering and illness therefore,  embodies a number of complex associations, embodying the powerful supernatural force that seizes its victim and necessitates a supernaturally-rooted defence. In *BD* 39, the word *šd* is used ambiguously of Seth's connection to storm, meaning either that he has the power to cause it or to ward it away. Possibly the ambiguity was deliberate and both senses of *šd* convey the implications of the

god's influence over storm: if he had the power to cause it, he had the power to dispel it. Thus, just as Ramses II calls specifically upon Seth for relief from the inclement weather his forces suffer abroad (Marriage stela: *KRI* II. 249, 7), it may be that the use of the deity form of the determinative, particularly in magically-loaded texts like letters to the dead, was an analogous way of tapping into the god's power over suffering, thereby recognising the ultimate cause and making an association with a possible source of alleviation.

2.7.3.2 versus

Whereas the graphic difference alone between  and  may be sufficient grounds for their differentiation, the difference is not so great between the variants of the animal form. Indeed, since there seems to be no semantic distinction between  and , perhaps  should also be treated as synonymous. However, although it is occasionally attested in contexts where it alternates with the other animal forms of the sign – for example, in a writing of *sth* in *PT* 356 in Senwosretankh (p. 56) – in *š3*, only it is attested. It is never used in figurative contexts, the only exception being in the *Coffin Texts* of T2L, which consistently uses the standing form of the sign in all of its writings of Sethian words. Thus *š3* is set somewhat apart from the other Sethian words discussed by the standing form of its Sethian determinative. Moreover, it is often the case that the standing form of the Seth animal determinative of *š3* is distinctly un-Sethian.

š3 is often associated with jackals. The examples discussed above can be supplemented by further contexts in Leitz 1987 and Quaegebeur 1992. Quaegebeur's study in particular delves deeply into the development of the word *š3/š3y* and all the various creatures it can represent, like crocodile-headed rams on various Late Period coffins, canines that pull the sun-bark, and even the devourer of the dead. Quaegebeur (1992, 492) suggested that all of these animal names probably derived from *š3* 'Seth animal'. It is striking that all of these are composite creatures who might be at home in scenes like those depicted in the Beni Hasan tombs of Baqet III and Khety, for it is to these desert fringes on the very edge of reality that the epithet *š3* assigns the creatures it designates.

The real 'name' of  is *sth*, for it is almost completely synonymous with the god Seth, unlike for example the crocodile which has its own associations independent of its role as the symbolic animal of the god Sobek (see further, 4.1). However, the epithet *š3* 'the desert-

dwelling one' creates the potential of independence for the Seth animal from the god it represents. It also anchors the animal in the (un)real world. But the epithet is not restricted to the Seth animal, although it may well have been the case that the Seth animal was its most prototypical referent, perhaps because its composite nature exemplified the perceived strangeness of that which lay outwith the confines of Egypt. Thus, the varying forms of the ⚡ determinative may be examples where ⚡ describes not specifically the Seth animal, but an analogous chimerical creature. Perhaps its frequent pairing with the jackal was symbolic of the pairing of two opposing forces, the real and the unreal, two halves making a whole.

The standing form, therefore, may have been a graphic means of perspectivising the Seth animal's identity as an animal, throwing emphasis not on the metaphorical associations discussed above, but on the composite nature of its form. Although, again there are linking threads between the two, for the Seth animal's form derives from the anomalous forces the god represents.

2.7.4 The Seth animal and the embodiment of chaos

In *Purity and Danger* (1968, 39), Douglas discussed the Hebrew word *tebhel*, which is usually translated as 'perversion', but literally means something more like 'mixing' or 'confusion'. She came to the conclusion that it signifies the violation of the boundaries that give structure and meaning to the world, thereby tinging the word with the danger and taboo associated with such violations. Returning to te Velde's statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter, indeed it is true that the Seth animal does not go back to any *one* animal. Rather, it combines the characteristics of many, jigsawing them together in such a chaotic fashion that in over one hundred years of Egyptological research, no one has been able to neatly identify the animal with any one species. Indeed, because of its unnatural tail, it is doubtful whether the animal qualifies for membership within the animal world. As a result, it is the perfect prototype for all the forces in the Egyptian world that equally could not be easily processed or explained, and therefore were metaphorically linked through their Sethian determinatives to the embodiment of chaos.

THE PANTHER

3.1.1 Overview

Gardiner's sign list describes 𐎍 as the 'head of a leopard, *b3*', and refers to Jéquier's earlier comments (1915, 114):

les graveurs des textes des pyramides ont bien indiqué que la tête surmonte un cou allongé et pas trop épais, ce qui correspond fort bien aux formes caractéristiques de la panthère.

Gardiner cited Jéquier to corroborate his interpretation of the sign as a leopard, but while Jéquier's term 'panthère' can be used for the latter animal, it is less specific zoologically than 'léopard'. It seems therefore as if Gardiner regarded the two terms as interchangeable. It also seems that he believed that 𐎍 and 𐎎 (E24) represent the same animal, since he described the latter sign as a 'panther or leopard'. In this, he is followed by Hannig (1995, 1042–43) who also described 𐎍 and 𐎎 respectively as 'Leopardenkopf' and 'Panther, Leopard'.

However, while the identification of 𐎎 as a leopard is confirmed by the clear depiction of the characteristic slouch of the animal's head and neck, there is a curious discrepancy between it and the long-necked and upright form of 𐎍. A long, extended neck is a characteristic not of the leopard, but rather of the cheetah, which occurs as a living animal in paintings and reliefs, but is not attested to my knowledge as a hieroglyph.¹ A survey of the two animals' depiction in art shows that the Egyptians recognised them as separate entities with distinguishing features; and so, with which animal should 𐎍 be identified?

3.1.2 The leopard, the cheetah, and 𐎍

3.1.2.1 Depiction in art

Boessneck (1988, figs. 95a–b) reproduced useful modern images of a leopard and a cheetah to illustrate the differences between them. Despite their superficial similarity, there are many distinguishing features: the position of the head, as already mentioned, is perhaps the most salient. Whereas the leopard's head is in alignment with its shoulders and back, or held slightly below, the cheetah tends to hold its head up higher. In general, the leopard is stockier than the

¹ One possible exception occurs at Deir el-Bahri; see 3.4.1.

cheetah, whose legs especially are more slender than the leopard's. The markings on the animals differ in their details. Both animals have solid black spots on their faces, necks, undersides, lower legs and tails, but the spots on the leopard's body are yellowish at the centre (rosettes), whereas all of the cheetah's spots are solid. The leopard also has a distinctive black mark on its throat that the cheetah lacks. The cheetah has some markings around its eyes: a line curving up from the top of the eye and a lacrimal stripe projecting from the corner of the eye to the corner of the mouth. The leopard lacks both of these markings. The final distinction is in their tails. Both animals have solid spots at the top of the tail, which then give way to stripes (distal rings) towards the end; the leopard's tail terminates in a black tip, whereas the cheetah's terminates in a white tip. Although these distinctive features are attested in Egyptian representations, they are often applied to the wrong animal.

The earliest detailed depiction of a leopard from the Dynastic period comes from the 3rd Dynasty tomb of Nefermaat at Maidum (Osborn and Osbornova 1998, fig. 7–221).² It does not wear a collar and walks freely, uncaged, so perhaps it is a tame pet. The representation is a mixture of accuracy and confusion. Many of the leopard's features are precisely depicted: the slouch of its head and neck, the stockiness of its body and legs, and even the characteristic black mark on its throat. However, its spots are uniformly black rather than rosettes, and the tail terminates in a white rather than a black tip. Both the solid spots and the white tip of the tail are features of the cheetah. Since both features represent only minor inaccuracies, perhaps they do not represent confusion with the cheetah. Whereas leopards are commonly depicted in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, with varying degrees of accuracy, accurate representations of the cheetah are not attested until the New Kingdom.

In the New Kingdom, the differences between the animals are much more carefully depicted. In the 18th Dynasty tomb of Rekhmire at Thebes, both animals appear in different tribute scenes, and each is distinctively rendered (Davies 1943, II, pl. 19). A leopard is depicted being brought by Nubians, and is seemingly tame since it wears a collar and walks alongside them on a leash. The image is somewhat damaged, but the animal's body has elaborately executed rosettes, and the tail terminates in the black distal ring peculiar to the leopard (reproduced in colour in Houlihan 1996, pl. XVI). Elsewhere in the tomb, in a scene of tribute from Punt,

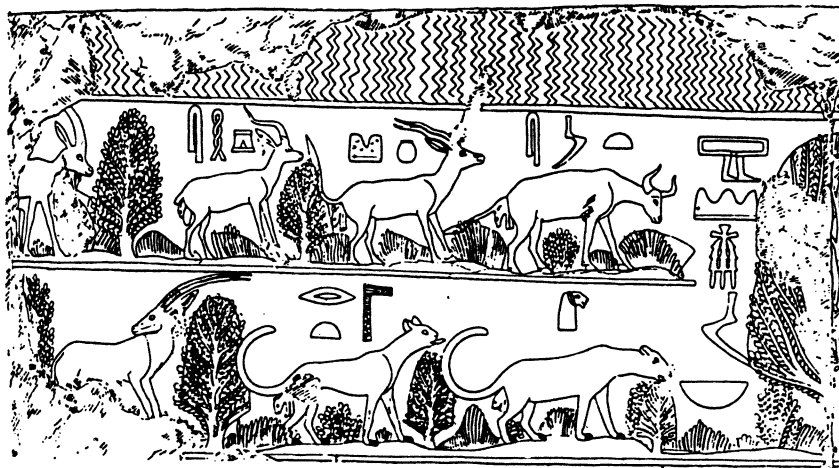
² Osborn and Osbornova's (1998, 120–21) suggested attestations of the leopard in Predynastic rock drawings are not convincing since these depictions are not detailed enough for positive identification.

there is a depiction of a cheetah wearing a collar like the leopard in Rekhmire and walking to heel on a leash. The animal's representation is similarly accurate and distinct from that of the leopard. The cheetah's body and limbs are much more slender than those of the leopard, it has a lacrimal stripe descending from its eye, and its body bears only solid spots. In Davies' reproduction (1943, II, pl. 17) the tail is apparently unmarked, but Champollion's earlier rendering of the scene (1844–89, IV, pl. 428) shows that it is spotted, but terminates in a black tip instead of the correct white one.

3.1.2.2 Captioned scenes

In the attempt to assess the Egyptians' conceptions of both animals and the differences between them, captioned scenes are of the most value but are also comparatively rare. In the 5th Dynasty reliefs of Niuserre, a female leopard is depicted giving birth. Although no body markings are preserved, the animal has the characteristic slouching head, and is captioned 𓆎 , *b3* (Fig. 3.1).³

Fig. 3.1

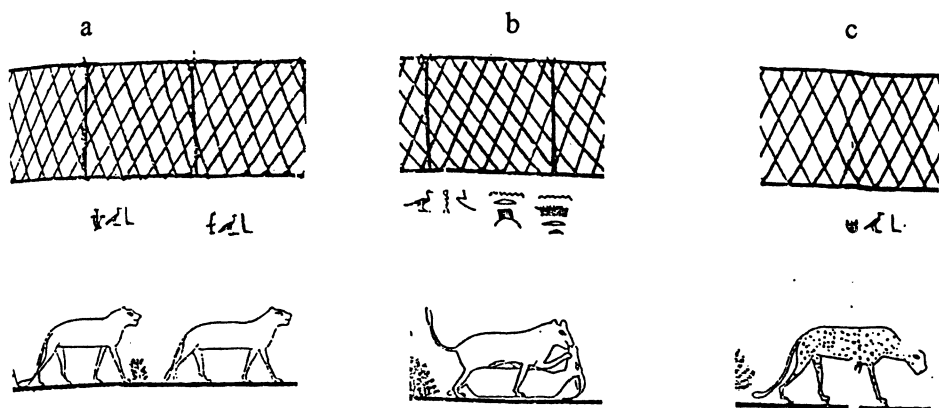


The logographic writing of the leopard's name stands out, for the names of all the other animals in the scene are written phonetically, with the depictions themselves fulfilling the role of determinatives.

³ Silverman (1994, 252 n.27) describes the animal adjacent as another panther. It is captioned *nrt*, and seems to be, as Klebs (1915, 63) and von Bissing (1955, 329) believed, to be a lioness.

Only two scenes in which both leopard and cheetah are captioned are known to me. The first is in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Baqet III (No. 15) at Beni Hasan, and suggests considerable confusion despite the attempt to make some distinction.

Fig. 3.2

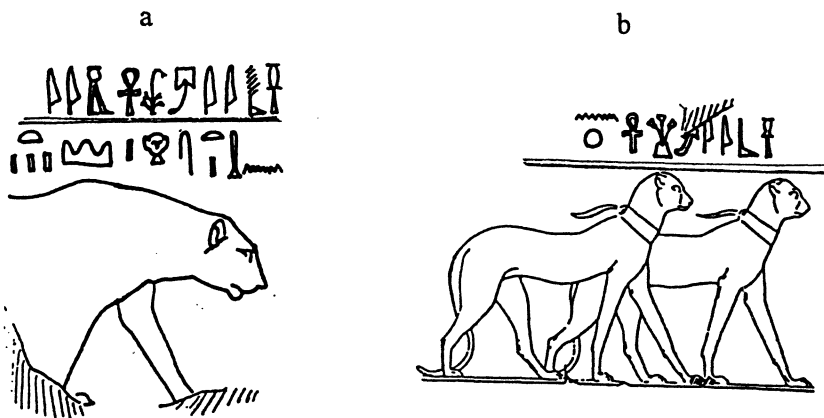


Two physically very similar animals walk in a procession of animals in a hunting scene, and are captioned   *b3 šm'y* and   *b3 mhy* (Fig. 3.2a). These are widely accepted to be the terms for leopard and cheetah respectively (discussed further below). Yet the two animals look more leonine than pantherine, especially when compared to the lion depicted further to the right in the same procession (Fig. 3.2b). Strikingly, further along in the same register, a leopard is depicted, slouching in its customary manner; it is simply captioned   *b3* (Fig. 3.2c). The determinative seems to be a variation on an Old Kingdom hide determinative: .

Thus, although this scene is the first attestation of these two distinguishing terms, the physical features of the animals do not correspond to their names. It is curious that although the two animals are classified as different types of *b3*, they bear more resemblance to the lion than to the *b3*-leopard.

The other captioned scene is in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, where both animals are part of a tribute-bearing procession from Punt (Fig. 3.3). The leopard, although unspotted, is clearly identifiable by its slouch, and is captioned     *3by šm'y 'nh* 'living southern panther'.

Fig. 3.3



In the register below, there are two cheetahs, again seemingly unmarked, with their heads held high on long necks, clearly distinct from the leopard above, and captioned  *3by mhy'nh* 'living northern panther'. In contrast to the example at Beni Hasan, the terminological distinction being made between the two animals at Deir el-Bahri is corroborated by their appearance.

In the lowest register, above a heap of feline skins the caption simply reads: . Once again, the creatures have no body markings – perhaps they were originally painted on and have faded – but the depiction of the lacrimal stripe on the face might indicate they are supposed to be cheetah skins.⁴

In the Hatshepsut reliefs, therefore, the specific names for the leopard (*3by šmꜥy*) and cheetah (*3by mhy*) are found alongside the more general term, *3by*, which seemingly refers to either or both of them. Osborn and Osbornova (1998, 120, 122) made a distinction between the terms *b3* and *3by*, suggesting that the former means ‘cheetah’ and the latter ‘leopard’, but the two words are clearly related etymologically and it seems that *3by* is simply a later form of *b3*. The latest usage of *b3* is in the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (R. 2, 7), where it refers to leopard (or possibly cheetah) skins. *3by* is first attested from the New Kingdom and can be

⁴ In the various representations of tomb-owners wearing spotted animal skins, the markings are fairly consistent with those of the cheetah rather than the leopard: in three instances from Old Kingdom tombs at Maidum, the animal skins have solid spots (Petrie 1892, pls. 13, 18, 23) and in the latter of those instances, the tail seems to terminate in a white tip. In contrast, in the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies 1943, II, pl. 18) the tails of the animal skins heaped up in tribute and labelled  are uniformly black at the tip.

determined with the full leopard sign, although the hide and tail determinative is more common, as is illustrated in the following analysis sections.

b3 and *3by* seem, therefore, to be generic terms for the class to which the Egyptians assigned both the cheetah and the leopard, and so the zoologically less specific term ‘panther’ seems to be a suitable translation. The usage of this term has occasionally been frowned upon; thus, in reference to an animal-headed gaming stick, Tait commented (1982, 33, n.6):

This kind of head has often been referred to as that of a ‘panther’. However, in English the term ‘panther’ is not a useful one for describing these Egyptian representations, as it is in modern usage simply the common name for a black leopard, and is no longer used as a general term to refer to *leo pardus*; ‘leopard’ is more usual in this sense.

I suggest that ‘panther’ is the only suitably vague designation for the  sign, which borrows characteristics from both the cheetah and the leopard, but cannot to be identified absolutely with either of them. The leopard seems to have been the more prototypical member of this small category, to judge by the use of the leopard determinative, , with *3by* in the New Kingdom, which perhaps served to make the general term *3by* more specific.

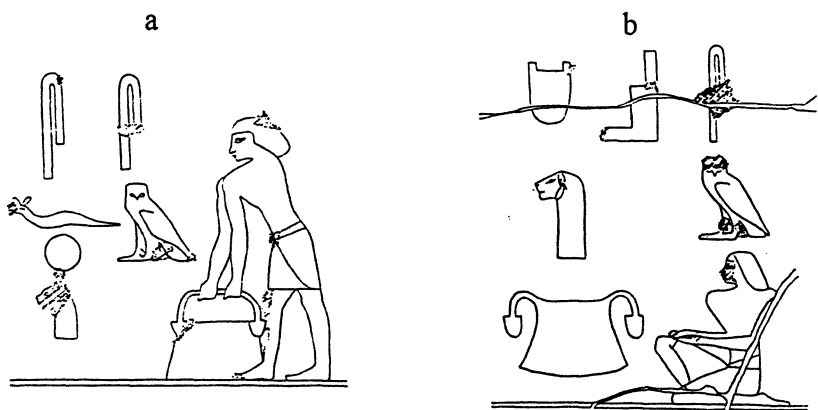
3.1.3 The meaning of

The curtailed form of the panther is not unique paleographically; the vulture hieroglyph can be represented in full  or in a curtailed form , and in the context of offering lists and related enumerations,  and  are variants of  and . However, whereas these forms may alternate with each other in writings of the same word (e.g.  ,  ) this is not the case with  and . Although the two signs are both attested as determinatives of *b3* (see 3.5.1), the two signs are not generally interchangeable (for an exception, see 3.4.3).  never occurs in writings of *3by*, which takes only  or  as its determinatives, which may indicate that alongside the phonetic change from *b3* to *3by*, there was a corresponding change in the significance of the  sign itself that rendered it an unsuitable determinative for *3by*. Furthermore,  never alternates with  in figurative usage; writings like *   and *   are never seen. It seems, therefore, as if the two signs have distinct meanings.

If  is not to be equated with either the cheetah or the leopard, what then does it represent? Returning to its attestation in the Old Kingdom, when it is most widely used in both figurative

and non-figurative contexts, it seems significant that  can be used logographically both of a panther pelt and of the living animal; for example, in the reliefs from the sun temple of Niuserre, in addition to the scene discussed above in which  captions a female leopard giving birth (Fig. 3.1), elsewhere in the temple reliefs the same sign logographically writes *b3*, the panther-skin garment of a sem-priest (Figs. 3.4a–b).

Fig. 3.4



The actual garment takes the same form as the hieroglyphic sign for *i3* ‘garment’: . Such garments are occasionally depicted rolled up and carried in an attendant’s hand, for example in the tomb of Metjen (Fig. 3.5), in which case their appearance is rather different.

Fig. 3.5



It is possible that the ‘neck’ of the hieroglyph  represents the same sort of folded cloth, surmounted by the panther’s head to make it more recognisable, and that the sign, therefore, is not a curtailed form of an animal, but rather a stylistic representation of a panther-hide garment.

Neither the leopard nor the cheetah was indigenous to Egypt in the Dynastic period, and, although living specimens of both animals are a common feature of tribute scenes, panther hides are depicted in far greater numbers both as tribute and in wider representation. If  does represent the panther’s hide rather than the living animal, the curious use of the sign of *b3* ‘leopard’ at Beni Hasan can be explained as an analogous depiction of a garment.

Although  may originally have had a closer connection to panther-skin garments than to the actual, living animal, there is evidence to suggest that its significance as a sign changes after the Old Kingdom, leading to changes both in the form of the sign and in its metaphorical connotations. These issues are explored in the following genre-analysis sections.

3.2 RELIGIOUS TEXTS

3.2.1 The *Pyramid Texts*

The panther head sign is attested in the writings of more words in the *Pyramid Texts* than either the Seth animal or the crocodile. It is used either logographically or as a determinative in six words, playing a figurative role in five.

3.2.1.1 Non-figurative usage

b3

Although the *Pyramid Texts* make no specific allusions to the animal itself,⁵ *b3* ‘panther hide’ is mentioned in five spells (Table 3.1). Orthographically, only P, N, and Neith can be compared for consistency since they are the only variants to include more than one attestation of *b3*. N and Neith both consistently write the word logographically twice, whereas the two occurrences in P vary both in their phonetic representation of the word and in their assignment of determinatives; P’s omission of a garment determinative in §1027b may be deliberate (see p. 236). Notably, the garment determinatives of W, T, P, and Siese all take a different form. As it does with the Seth animal and the crocodile, T avoids the panther head sign altogether in *b3* and all of its writings of other words that may take a panther determinative. Yet, besides T’s writing of *b3* in *PT* 224, there are no other instances of *b3* being written without the panther sign in the other pyramids: *b3*  in *PT* 246 (§253b: W) clearly means ‘power’, and not ‘panther skin’, although there may have been a connection between the two words, since the panther skin was evidently a symbol of its wearer’s power (see especially *PT* 263 below, p. 235).

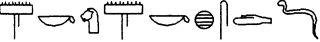
⁵ *knmt* (*PT* 570, §1462a, b) has been translated as ‘leopard’ (Faulkner 1969, 225; Hannig 1995, 885), but this is extremely uncertain. All that is known of the *knmt*-animal in the *Pyramid Texts* is that it fights with baboons. On this basis, Sethe (*Komm.* V, 404–5) suggested that it might be a leopard, but no corroborative evidence in texts or art is known to me. Since *knmt* seems to be cognate with *knm* ‘to wrap’ (Spiegelberg 1923, 157–58), it might apply as an epithet to any animal, meaning ‘the enwrapped one’, i.e. ‘the one wrapped (in a hide)’.

Table 3.1: *b3* in the Pyramid Texts

SOURCE	PT 224 §219b	PT 225 §223a	PT 263 §338b	PT 469 §907d	PT 485 §1027b
W	–	–		–	–
T		–	–	–	–
P	–	–	–		
M	damaged	–	–	–	–
N			–	–	–
Neith	 (l. 339)	 (l. 350)	–	–	–
Oudjebten	–		–	–	–
Ibi	–	–	–	–	–
S	 (l. 300)	–	–	–	–
Siese	–	–	 SW l. 26	–	–

Faulkner (1969, 52 n.2) regarded the mention of *b3* in PT 224 as an interpolation mistakenly copied by T, M, and N from PT 225, because it is not in W’s version of the former. The immediate context is identical in the two spells:⁶

PT 224 (§219b):

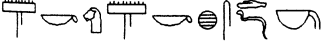
N: 

T:  Neith l. 339:  S l. 300:  M: damaged

ḥbs.k b3 ḥbs.k ḥsdd

Your garment is the panther skin, your garment is the kilt.

PT 225 (§223a):

N: 

Oudjebten l. 122:  ; Neith l. 350: 

ḥbs.k b3 ḥbs.k ḥsdd

Your garment is the panther skin, your garment is the kilt.

Interpolation is a possibility, but the passage is not out of place in PT 224 and therefore it has

⁶ The two spells differ in the details of the passages that follow.

been included in Table 3.1.

In addition to being mentioned in lists of items necessary for the king's afterlife (*PT* 224, 225), the panther skin is mentioned alongside his *3ms*-sceptre twice (*PT* 263, 469) and, like it, seems to be a symbol of the king's authority, as is clear from the following passage:

PT 263 (§338b–39a):

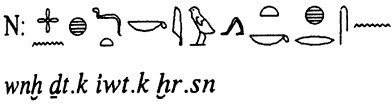


b3.f hr.f 3ms.f m ʿf ʿb3.f m drt.f nhn.f n.f is r.s

His panther skin is on him, his sceptre is on his arm, his baton is in his hand, and he rules (?) for himself the dead.⁷

The purpose of both *PT* 224 and 225 cited above, in which the king receives a panther skin, is to empower him to rule over various sacred places. Both spells culminate in a line which suggests that the king's attire is symbolically connected to his authority:

PT 224 (§221c):



Clothe your body that you may come to them (= the king's children).

The panther skin is also a status symbol of the gods on which they seem to rely, since they are threatened with its revocation in *PT* 485:

PT 485 (§1027a–b):



nṯr nb tmt(y)f(y) šd sw ir pt n w3šf n b3.f

(As for) any god who will not take him (= king) to the sky,
he will not have honour, he will not possess a panther skin.

The form of the determinative in this spell stands out from all the other writings of the sign in P, showing internal detailing which segregates the panther's face from its neck. Although this form of the panther sign strongly suggests that *b3* in the passage above should be translated 'panther skin', the parallelism of *w3š* and *b3* emphasises the panther skin's abstract associations with authority. Thus, the sense of the passage could be interpreted as 'he will not have honour,

Fig. 3.6



⁷ Literally, 'those who have gone to it (=the afterlife)'. See Faulkner 1969, 73 n. 4.

he will not have power'.⁸ As mentioned above, the fact that P does not in this instance write *b3* with a garment determinative as it does in *PT* 469 may indicate that the word was supposed to be open to interpretation of this sort. The panther's figurative role as the determinative of *3t* and *phty* may confirm its conceptual connection with the concept *b3* 'power'.

3.2.1.2 Figurative usage

phty

There are attestations of *phty* in four spells – it occurs twice in one of them – among the kings' *Pyramid Texts*, and in spells attested only in Neith and Ibi (Table 3.2). The phonetic representation of the word varies considerably, and no one variant is entirely consistent in its writing, although T and M are consistent in avoiding the panther sign. Although at least one writing with the panther sign is among the variants in each attestation, there is one spell (*PT* 510) in which none of them write it.

Table 3.2: *phty* in the *Pyramid Texts*

SOURCE	<i>PT</i> 357 §588b	<i>PT</i> 365 §622a	<i>PT</i> 365 §625b	<i>PT</i> 510 §1145b	<i>PT</i> 593 §1632b	–	–
W	–	–	–	–		–	–
T				–	–	–	–
P				 	–	–	–
M						–	–
N				–		–	–
Neith	 l. 439	–	–	–	 l. 430	 l. 367	–
Ibi	–	–	–	–	–	–	 ll. 431, 432
S	–	 l. 530	 l. 533	–	 l. 486	–	–

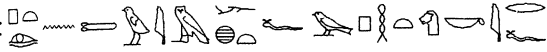
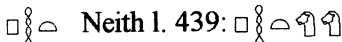
The difference between  and  corresponds to that between  and  and is

⁸ Speleers (1924, 32) separated this from *b3* 'vêtement' and translated 'honorer, honneur'.

orthographic rather than semantic since the two variants often alternate in the same context. Although the determinative with two panther heads is slightly more common than the writing with just one, there are no logographic writings of *phty* in the *Pyramid Texts*.  and , the determinatives of force, which are common in writings of the word in the *Coffin Texts* are generally avoided in the *Pyramid Texts*, and so there are no attestations of them in writings of *phty*.

phty is always a quality of the king in the *Pyramid Texts*; in *PT* 365, it occurs twice in his epithet, '3 *phty* 'great of strength' which later comes to be particularly associated with Seth (examples in Grimal 1986, 81–84; and 2.4.1 above). Although it is not specifically applied to this god in the *Pyramid Texts*, the king's strength is equated with that of Seth in *PT* 510, and is said to be greater than Seth's in *PT* 367 and 593.

Like his panther skin, the king's *phty* is another manifestation of his authority, and is described in *PT* 357 as if it is a visible quality:

PT 357 (§588b):
P: 
T, P, M:  Neith I. 439: 

ptr.n tw imyw-ht.f wr phty.k ir.f
his (Seth's) followers have seen you, that your strength is greater than his.

3t
3t is often translated in a way similar to *phty* as 'strength, power'. It is attested in ten spells in the kings' *Pyramid Texts* (Table 3.3) and in two further spells not published by Sethe. In every spell, at least one of the variants has a panther determinative. In addition, a special form of the sign is attested in some writings depicting the panther with a uraeus on its brow:  (Fig. 3.7).

Table 3.3: *3t* in the *Pyramid Texts*

SOURCE	PT 246 §253b	PT 255 §297c	PT 262 §334a	PT 325 §532a	PT 474 §940b	PT 478 §973a	PT 485B §1032c
W				—	—	—	—
T	damaged				—	—	—
P	—	—	—			damaged	
M	—	—	—	—		damaged	—
N	damaged	—	—	—			—
Neith	 1. 725	—	—	—	 1. 19	—	—
S	 1. 310	 1. 398	 1. 418	—	—	—	—

SOURCE (cont.)	PT 501 §1072c	PT 502A §1074	PT 574 §1487b	—	—
P	 1	 1	 1	—	—
Neith	—	 1. 718	—	—	—
Ibi	—	—	—	 1. 431	—
Neha	—	—	—	—	 W.R 1. 31

In contrast to *pḥty*, *ʒt* seems to be much more comfortably paired with its panther determinative. The word is written once logographically in W (§334a) and semi-logographically once in N (§973a). In all of its occurrences but one *ʒt* is singular. Although the plural form is attested several times in the *Coffin Texts*, in the *Pyramid Texts* it is attested only in one spell in Neith and P:

PT 502A (§1074 = Neith l. 718):

Neith: 

P: 

3wt niwt igr sp3t hr.t

The powers of the city are quiet, the district is contented.

Fig. 3.7

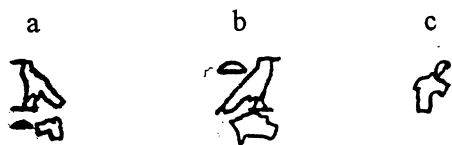


⁹Recorded as damaged by Sethe, but restored in Leclant et al. 2001, pl. 9, l. 38.

The orthography with three panther heads indicating the plural is analogous to the two panther head determinatives which make the duality of *phty* explicit. That uraei are added to the panther signs in P (Fig. 3.7) but not in Neith suggests that this feature is an embellishment, perspectivising the meaning of *3t* but not necessary for its communication.

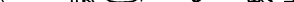
In texts of the Middle Kingdom – the *Coffin Texts* are an exception (see below) – the panther determinative of ꜥt is almost always replaced by a hippopotamus head determinative which appears in the Middle Kingdom version of the *Pyramid Texts* in Neha. The texts of Senwosretankh, also of the Middle Kingdom, are evidence of the tension between the influence of contemporary orthography and the archaic writings preserved in the texts themselves. S contains one clear logographic writing of ꜥt with the embellished form of the panther sign (ll. 418: Fig. 3.8c), and two slightly different forms of the hippopotamus head determinative (ll. 310, 398: Figs. 3.8a–b).

Fig. 3.8



The greatest difference between writings of *ḫt* and *ḫty* is the uraeus sign added in some variants to the panther determinative of *ḫt*. For the most part, T avoids using any determinative of *ḫt*, but its one use of a uraeus sign in its writing of *ḫt* in *PT* 255 – a writing otherwise unattested – suggests that the uraeus on the panther’s brow is meaningful despite the fact that it is not always required (Fig. 3.9):

PT 255 (§297c):

T: 

W:   

iw.k3 t pn hr.f m wr pw nb 3t

This king will come, his face being that of the Great One,
the possessor of power.

Fig. 3.9



This embellishment of the panther determinative can be compared to a similarly elaborate form of the bull's head determinative of *dnd* in the *Pyramid Texts*, for example:

W: 
N: 

Invoke (?) your ka as Osiris that he may protect you from all the wrath of the dead.

PT 686 (§2072c):

its (= the Eye of Horus) wrath falls upon his foes.

Unlike *phṯy*, *ʒt* is a quality attributed to the gods rather than the king in the majority of instances, specifically Horus (*PT* 246, 255, and 478), Geb (*PT* 485B), and Seth (*PT* 574). Twice, *ʒt* describes the power of inanimate but divine entities: the *š-wr* ‘Great Lake’ in *PT* 262, and the *hpʒt* (meaning uncertain, but determined with a deity sign, ) in *PT* 325. However, in one instance, the power belongs to the king himself:

P:  M:  N:  Neith 1. 19:  ¹⁰

The power of the king is upon him, his terror is at his side, his magical power is at his feet.

The alternation of the ordinary panther sign with  means that the broad meanings of  = 

¹⁰ Neith's text corresponds with this passage except for its substitution of *šfšft* for *šrt*.

and   are the same, but that the latter form of the sign further perspectivises the particular strand of the panther's figurative associations that is most relevant to *3t* (compare *PT* 502A, discussed above, p. 238).

Probably on the basis of its  determinative, *3t* has been described as a headdress (*Wb* I. 1, 11; Junker 1917, 140). This is corroborated in part by the fact that *3t* is described in the *Pyramid Texts* as something one can possess (*PT* 255: *nb 3t*) and in several passages is said to be 'upon' (*tp*) its possessor (*PT* 474).¹¹ There is no evidence, however, of a headdress in the form of a panther.

In contexts like *PT* 255 and 474, it is possible that *3t* is used as an epithet for the uraeus (meaning 'the powerful one'), which a king or a god wears on his head as a symbol of his power. This might explain T's choice of determinative in *PT* 255.¹² The uraeus itself has a well-attested connection to fire, and so perhaps enhances the innate fiery connotation of the panther determinative. Thus, when *3t* is used of Horus' power in *PT* 246, the uraeus on the panther's brow echoes the description of the god as 'red-eyed',¹³ and points to his fiery nature:

PT 246 (§253b):

W:        

T, N: damaged Neith I. 725:  

s3w.tn hr dšr irty mr 3t n hsf.f b3.f

Beware of Horus, red-eyed, terrible of power, whose power cannot be opposed.

The phrase *knit.f ir hr.f* describing Geb in *PT* 485B was interpreted by Sethe and Faulkner as a similar description of the glowing colour (yellow) of the god's eyes. However, this interpretation rested on the determinative of *knit*, , which Faulkner and the *Wb* (V. 52, 9) assumed to be eye signs. However, the republication of P shows that Sethe's transcription was wrong:

PT 485B (§1032c–33a):

P:    

¹¹ Compare also § 973a and §1032c. M and P have a version of §940b that is written almost identically, except that the panther determinatives do not have uraei.

¹² Compare *PT* 273 (§396c) where another epithet of the king's uraeus is determined with a uraeus sign in both T and W:   'the guiding one'. This spell specifically connects the uraeus to fire (*bs*).

¹³ Compare the description of the god's eyes in the same spell as *hsbd* which has a  determinative.

Geb comes, with power upon him and his *knit* upon him¹⁴ that he might smite you.

PT 682 (§2044a–b):

N:

si3t N r pḥ.f kṇi n N ḥr.f nšdw.f n šnp

The king's cloak is on his back, the king's *kni*-garment is upon him,
and his *nšdw*-garment¹⁵ of red.

This passage describes the ritual garb of the king as he ascends into the bark of Re. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the *kni*-garment, alongside the panther skin, is an element in the Opening of the Mouth ritual; compare the following caption to scene 11:

Opening of the Mouth scene 11 (Otto 1960, I, 30):

ʰ in *sm šsp.f 3ms.f kni hr.f*

The standing up of the sem-priest, as he receives his sceptre, his *kni*-garment upon him.

This description has striking similarities to *PT* 263, where the king's panther skin (*b3*) is said to be upon him, and his *3ms*-sceptre in his hand. Indeed, Sethe (1928b, 211) had suggested that the *kni*-garment and the panther hide were interchangeable in the ritual, describing a representation of the former in the tomb of Seti I as follows:

einen breiter (mit Perlen besetzer?) Brustlatz ist, der über den Schultern mit einer Schleife (*šnp*) festgebunden war.

Perhaps the beads of the *kni*-garment (which may be the reason for the ∘ ∘ ∘ determinative of *kni* in *PT* 485B) recalled the dappled hide of the panther. Thus, *3t* in *PT* 485B may describe the effulgence, not of the god's eyes, but of the garment he wears. Perhaps *kni* is actually an epithet of the god's clothing, naming it 'the yellow/golden thing' and thus making the connection between the *kni*-garment and the panther-skin explicit.

Thus it is possible that the panther's suitability to represent the fieriness of *ʒt* derives from the appearance of its pelt, specifically its brightness and its ability to make the wearer glow. Thus, the panther does not symbolise physical power in *ʒt*, as it does in *phty*, but the more fiery sense of power.

¹⁴ Despite the orthography, it is more likely that *hr* is nominal here rather than a preposition.

¹⁵ Sethe (1928b, 212) identified this as 'Juwelenschmuck'.

Fig. 3.10



That the metaphor is based on the panther hide and not the animal itself is perhaps corroborated by the particularly long 'neck' of the sign in *PT* 501 in P (Fig. 3.10), which points to the sign's origins as a schematic representation of the animal's hide.

3sb

The fiery connotations of the panther sign are probably behind its use as the determinative of the uncommon word 3sb in a passage only attested in W among the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, but later paralleled in the texts of Senwosretankh and Siese.¹⁶

PT 261 (§324a-b):

W:

S l. 410:

Siese SW l. 14:

Fig. 3.11a



b



c



N pi wiṭ-ib s3 ib šw 3wy 3wt 3sb i3hw

The king is one who hurls (?) of heart(s), the favourite (?) son of Shu,
long-extended, fierce of brilliance.

In W and S, the sign is the normal panther (Figs. 3.11a-b), but the form the sign takes in Siese is very strange: it has the panther sign's long neck, but it also has a long, pointed ear (de Morgan et al. 1903, 82; Fig. 3.11c). No photograph of the texts has been published against which the form of the sign could be checked.

Fig. 3.12



If the publication can be trusted, the sign differs considerably from the other attestation of the panther sign in SW l. 26 (Fig. 3.12).

Although this writing of 3sb with the panther determinative is unique, many related words shed light on the meaning of the word (see Sethe, *Kommentar* II, 2-3). It is attested in later periods

¹⁶ Speleers (1924, 1) classified this word as a mistaken writing of *3t* in his index; *Wb* I. 472, 17 cites it as following Sethe's original division of signs in his publication. However in his *Kommentar* (II, 2-3) Sethe emended his reading to 3sb.

as an adjective written with the firebrand determinative,  , meaning 'fierce, glowing' (*Wb* I. 20, 18) and also attested elsewhere in the *Pyramid Texts* as the epithet of a goddess (§556:  ); later it acquires a goddess determinative:    (*Wb* I. 20, 19–20). In the *Book of the Dead*       *ʒsbw* is used as a word for 'flames'. The basic meaning of the word as an adjective is at the root of all these uses: they all stem from that which glows brightly (compare discussions of these words in Cannuyer 1990b; 1992). Thus, the word's strong connection with fire makes it an appropriate epithet of *ʒhw* in *PT* 261. Cannuyer (1992, 56 n.2) explained the panther's figurative link with *ʒsb* as based on 'la rapidité de la détente de ce mammifère' and referred to Gardiner's translation of *ʒt* as 'striking power' (1948, 14):

It is reasonable to suppose that (the panther head) referred in (writings of *3t* and *phty*) to a different attribute of the leopard. In *phty* it will have referred to the leopard's strength, in *3t* to the leopard's sudden spring, its rapidity of attack.

Thus, 'striking power' became a standard translation of *3t*, but there is no real basis for it, and it does not take into account the panther's connections with fire, evident both in *3t* and in *3sb*.

The panther's connection with fire is not obvious, but is corroborated by the determinative of *3t* discussed above. A uraeus determinative is found in a writing of the word *sby*, on a stela of Amenhotep III in a passage describing a monument the king has made for Amun:

CGC 30425 rto (Petrie 1897, pl. 12, l. 18):

hnm.sn 3tf wrw sbyw.sn

... they (the monument's edges) bear atef-crowns, plentiful of uraei.

The translation 'uraeus' (e.g. Lichtheim 1976, 45) is confirmed by the snake determinative. Moreover, in representations the uraei on the atef crown often have a sun-disk on their heads (Strauss 1980, 814, fig. 5); the word may be an epithet meaning 'fiery one'. The uraeus has fiery connotations itself that seem to be the root of its coupling with the panther and bull determinatives in the *Pyramid Texts*.

This association of panthers and fire does not seem to have persisted beyond the Old Kingdom, although it is possible that the ☉ determinative commonly found later with *ḥt* recalls the association and is not solely a temporal marker. Perhaps *ḥt* derives its temporal sense in the

in P. The former is cited below in full:

PT 469 (§907a):

p: 

wn.t(w) ʕwy bʕ-kʕ ? imy kbḥ n N pn

$$ssn.t(w) \text{ 3wy bi3 imy shdw n N pn}$$

The doors of *Ba-Ka* ? which are in the sky are opened for this king,

the doors of metal which are in the starry sky are thrown open for this king.

On the basis of this passage, Faulkner (1969, 158 n.3) described *Ba-Ka* as ‘ a place in the heavens’, reading 𓆎 as *b3* because of its occurrence elsewhere in the *Pyramid Texts* in *b3* ‘panther-skin’. However, a place of this name is not attested elsewhere and so is uncertain. An alternative explanation is suggested by the fuller context of the word’s occurrence. Faulkner’s translation breaks the parallelism in assuming that while the clause headed *im* in the second line attaches to ‘ doors of iron’, in the previous line, the qualifying clause headed *im* simply attaches to *Ba-Ka* because he assumed it to be a place name. It makes better sense that 𓆎𓆎 is parallel to 𓆎 and therefore signifies the substance of which the doors are made. Consequently, the *im*-clause describes the location of the doors themselves and so the parallelism is preserved. Sethe’s suggestion (*Komm.* IV, 182) of linking the word to the panther-determined word *k3* and reading *k3* rather than *b3-k3* is attractive, especially since *k3* is attested elsewhere written with a panther sign, as a designation for a mineral-like substance. The possible identity of the substance is addressed below in the discussion of Old Kingdom non-royal texts (3.5.2).¹⁷

¹⁷ Graefe (1971, 178) proposed the reading *bʒ*, following a suggestion of Westendorf; this is discussed further below. He did not therefore consider this instance to be connected with panther-determined words with the root *kʒ*.

especially when, as in B9C, the signs are incised rather than painted.

Fig. 3.14



The inexactitude of B9C's animal determinative of *b3w* above can be compared with B9C's writing of the panther determinative of *phty* in CT 512 (VI. 97b), which is also slightly irregular (Fig. 3.14).

Faulkner's translation 'Hail to you who are at the head of your rams' does not take into account the *f* suffix of *b3w* which is problematic unless *hnty-b3w.f* is taken as a divine name, as in Barguet (1986, 136) who transliterated the epithet without translating. Following B10C, *hnty-b3w.f* means 'he who is foremost of his power' which is perhaps a preferable reading to that of B9C. The animal determinative in B9C may well have been an error. Thus, the passage above should probably be translated: 'Hail to you, Foremost-of-his-Power'.

3.2.2.2 Figurative usage

3t

By far the most common figurative use of the panther determinative in the *Coffin Texts* is in writings of 3t. There are 79 instances altogether (Table 3.4),¹⁸ and only nine of these occur in contexts where the panther sign is not attested in any of the variant manuscripts. The panther seems to be the word's usual determinative at this stage, because the commonest alternative writing is with no determinative at all. \ and ⊙ are also attested as variant determinatives, and they are occasionally combined, although neither is found in combination with the panther sign.

Table 3.4: 3t in the Coffin Texts

SOURCE		\	\ ⊙	⊙		Other
CT 26 I. 77f	B6C B4C	B1P B15C				
CT 74 I. 310c	T1C T9C					B10C: -0-
CT 112 II. 129b	S1C G2T B4C S2Cb S2Ca					M23C: damaged
CT 148 II. 220c	S1Ca S1P S1Cb S2Ca S1Chass					S2Cb: damaged

¹⁸ I omit CT 265, III. 394f, which is cited as an instance of 3t in the *CT Index*. It seems instead to be a writing of *sd3*.

SOURCE (cont.)						Other
CT 148 II. 220d	S1Ca S1P S1Cb S2Cb S1Chass					S2Ca
CT 150 II. 254i	B9C					
CT 236 III. 303d	T3C T3L A1C					G1T
CT 237 III. 308a	G1T G2T A1C T3L				T1Be	T2L: omitted
CT 305 IV. 58k		B1Bo				
CT 305 IV. 59j	B1Bo					
CT 312 IV. 82a	B6C					
CT 313 IV. 89j	B5C					
CT 313 IV. 89k	B5C					
CT 313 IV. 90f	B5C					
CT 316 IV. 98j	S2P S1C					S2C: damaged
CT 316 IV. 99c	S2P S1C S2C					
CT 316 IV. 104g	S2P S1C S2C					
CT 404 V. 198e	B9C B10C	B3L		B5C		B7C: damaged
CT 404 V. 198f	B9C B10C B3L			B5C		B7C: damaged
CT 404 V. 198g	B9C B10C B3L	B7C		B5C		
CT 407 V. 214c	M22C B2Bo B3Bo S1C S2C B2L		B1C			M23C, M6C: damaged
CT 407 V. 217c	B2Bo					M22C, S1C, M23C, S2C: <i>nt</i> B3Bo, B2L, B1C: omitted M6C: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)	↑	↘	↘ ⊙	⊙	⎵	Other
CT 408 V. 225n	S2C					
CT 463 V. 335c	B4C P Gard. II	B9C B1Y				
CT 472 VL 1c		B1P				B2L: omitted
CT 493 VL 74b		B3Bo				B3La, B3Lb: omitted
CT 507 VL 92k	B9C	B1Y				
CT 568 VL 167e	B1Bo S10C	B4C				
CT 569 VL 168b	S10C B1Boa B1Bob B1Boc					B4C
CT 586 VL 206n	S1C S2C					
CT 624 VL 240c	T1Ca	T1Cb				
CT 624 VL 240d	T1Ca					
CT 627 VL 245l	B1Bo					
CT 631 VL 254q	Sq6C					
CT 663 VL 289n	B1Bo					
CT 678 VL 305g	B1Bo					
CT 681 VL 306l	B1Bo					
CT 681 VL 306q	B1Bo					
CT 689 VL 320u	B1Bo					
CT 691 VL 323a				L1Li		
CT 694 VL 327i		B1P				
CT 695 VL 328n		B1L				

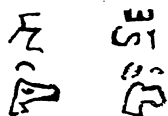
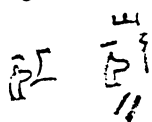
SOURCE (cont.)						Other
CT 711 VI. 342c						B2L: 
CT 719 VI. 347b		B3Bo				
CT 731 VI. 363r				L1Li		
CT 743 VI. 373b	B4C					
CT 818 VII. 17q	T3C					
CT 820 VII. 20g	T3C					
CT 872 VII. 76j	S2Cb					S2Ca: damaged
CT 875 VII. 84g	S2Ca S2Cb					
CT 885 VII. 96k						S14C: 
CT 910 VII. 114r	B4Bo					
CT 937 VII. 146b	P. Gard. IV					P. Gard. III: damaged
CT 938 VII. 147j	P. Gard. III					P. Gard IV: damaged
CT 938 VII. 148b	P. Gard. III, IV					
CT 942 VII. 156d	P. Gard. III					P. Gard IV: damaged
CT 945 VII. 161i	P. Gard. III					
CT 952 VII. 167b	P. Gard. III					
CT 1000 VII. 216i	P. Gard. II, III					
CT 1000 VII. 217i	P. Gard. II, III					
CT 1025 VII. 247d	P. Gard. II Sq4C					
CT 1028 VII. 250f	P. Gard. II					

SOURCE (cont.)						Other
CT 1062 VII. 320a	B2Bo B4Bo	B3C B12C B4L B1L	B1C	B2L		B9C: omitted B3L: damaged
CT 1071 VII. 334d	B4C B9C B1L B2Bo(*) B4Bo(*)	B2P B3C	B1C	B2L		B4L, B12C, B13C: omitted
CT 1073 VII. 343a	B1Bo B4Bo B9C B1L B2Bo	B3C B13C B3L	B2L B1C			B12C: omitted B2P, B4C: damaged
CT 1099 VII. 390b	B3C B4C B1Bo B2Bo B6C B9C(*) B2L B3L	B4Bo B12C				B1L: -0- B1C, B2P: damaged
CT 1099 VII. 400c	B3C(*) B4C B1Bo B6C B12C B9C	B2L B3L	B1C			B1L: -0- B2Bo, B2P: damaged
CT 1099 VII. 412a	B1Bo B6C B2Bo(*) B9C B2L	B12C B1L B3L				B1C: damaged
CT 1100 VII. 417a	B3C(*) B2Bo(*) B1Bo B6C	B12C				B2P, B3L, B1L, B9C, B4C: omitted B1C: damaged
CT 1101 VII. 422b	B3C B1Bo B6C B9C(*)	B4C B12C B3L B2P				B1L: -0- B2Bo: omitted B1C: damaged
CT 1106 VII. 435b	B2Bo B4C B9C	B3C B3L B1C				B2P: omitted B1L: damaged
CT 1112 VII. 441b	B1Bo B9C B1L B4C(*)	B3C B1C				B3L, B2P: damaged
CT 1120 VII. 453f	B9C	B3C B4C B1C				B1L: omitted B3L: damaged
CT 1135 VII. 479m	B5C	B1P B1Be				
CT 1145 VII. 493j	B1P B5C	B1Be				
CT 1156 VII. 503h	B4L	B1Be B1P				B5C: omitted
CT 1170 VII. 512g	B5C	B4L B1P			B1Be	
CT 1181 VII. 518f	B5C: 	B1P: 			B1Be: 	
CT 1183 VII. 520c	B5C					B1Be, B1P: omitted

bold: plural; *****: logographic writing; **(*)**: semi-logographic writing; **-0-**: no determinative

in three coffins in which both words are attested.

b



No patterns are evident in this selection. While both determinatives seem to be the same shape in G1T (Fig. 3.16a), the neck of the sign is shorter in *3t* than in *phty* in B4C (Fig. 3.16b) but shorter in *phty* in B3Bo (Fig. 3.16c). Thus, the relatively short neck of a sign cannot be taken to be indicative of a hippopotamus determinative rather than a panther, since the hippopotamus is never attested in writings of *phty*.

The temporal sense of ʒt seems to subsume its function as a description of force, and the sun disk sign is used more commonly to indicate this temporal aspect. While the hippopotamus head sign is compatible with the sun-disk determinative, no examples are known to me of the panther sign combined with the sun-disk. That the animal determinative of ʒt is never combined with the sun-disk determinative is perhaps further corroboration that the animal in the *Coffin Texts* is indeed the panther. Moreover, in the *Coffin Texts* the sun disk determinative seems to have a different meaning from the one it has in combination with the hippopotamus head, since it is not as common in writings of ʒt ‘moment’ as it is in writings of ʒt ‘force’ (Table 3.4). In addition to being the determinative of periods of time, the sun disk sign is also attested as a determinative of words for bright things.²² ʒt ‘force’ appears in several contexts in which it is paired with something fiery, for example in *CT* 316, a spell to transform the deceased into the fiery eye of Horus:

CT 316 (IV 104g):

S2P: 

S2C:   S1C:  

ts.i ʒt.i wɦd.i bɦɦw.i

I muster my power, I bear my heat.²³

The use of the verb *whd* (*Wb* I. 355, 15–16) in the passage above implies that the deceased has

²² For example, *CT 316 k3hyt* has a sun-disk determinative and means ‘the bright one’.

²³ Compare CT 743 (VI. 373b) where *3t* is directly applied to *bhhw*:  = '... who splits up the force of your heat'.

CT 1099 (VII. 412a):

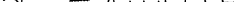
B1Bo: 

B2Bo: B6C, B9C, B2L: B12C, B1L, B3L: B1C: damaged

n it sw hh n 3t.k

the blast of your power shall not carry him off.

CT 1145 (VII. 493j):

BIP: 

B1Be:  B5C: 

in dndw-r 'hm 3t.k

It is those of the angry speech who extinguish your power.

The animal determinative of *dnd* is reminiscent of the  variant of the panther sign in the *Pyramid Texts*. Whereas *dnd* continues to take this elaborate form of its animal determinative (a bubalis rather than the bull of the *Pyramid Texts*) with the uraeus on its brow, and even to embellish it further, – in B1P above the uraeus seems to be spitting fire – the uraeus is never added to the panther sign in the *Coffin Texts*. Contextually, *3t* is still very much linked with fire, but this is not evoked graphically any longer with the form of the panther determinative. This is possibly indicative of the dwindling of the panther's metaphorical associations with fire. However, *3t* itself retains its inherent fieriness, as is illustrated by the unique determinative once in S14C:

CT 885 (VII. 96j–m):

S14C: 

hr mds id 3t.f tni sw irf ir nšn wd mk.s ḥmt

His (= Seth's) knife has fallen and his force is subdued. Where is he who created uproar and started a fire? See, it is extinguished.

There may be a number of reasons for the selection of the burning lamp determinative. The scribe of S14C may have wanted to avoid the panther sign deliberately. There are no other

writings of *3t* in S14C, which in itself is striking considering how common the word is, and the only attestation of *phty* in S14C (CT 885, VII. 96u) is again written without the panther sign. The verb, *id*, may also have influenced the choice of the determinative of *3t*. It is used elsewhere of the burning of incense and so the image it evokes is of the force of the deceased's enemy burning into smoke, an image which the lamp determinative reinforces. Furthermore, since the enemy's force is described in terms of a fire that has been extinguished, the determinative of *3t* ties the imagery together and points to the word's inherent fiery sense.

Although there are no clear attestations of the hippopotamus as the determinative of *3t* in the *Coffin Texts*, there are two instances where *3t* is found in association with the hippopotamus as an animal:

CT 1062 (VII. 320a):

B4Bo: 

B2Bo:  B3C, B12C, B4L:  B2L:  B1C: 

B1L:  B3L:  B9C: lacks word

dbi-hr kh3 3t rn.f pw

His name is Hippopotamus-face, bellowing of power.

CT 1170 (VII. 512g):

B4L: 

dbi-hr nhs 3t

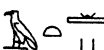
O hippopotamus-face, terrible of power.

It is significant that this divinity is described as having the face of a hippopotamus since only the head of the hippopotamus comes to determine *3t*.

There is one apparent dual writing of *3t* in CT 1181. The dual ending occurs in all three variant manuscripts:

CT 1181 (VII. 518f):

B5C: 

B1Be:  B1P: 

k3y 'prw nb 3ty

O you who are exalted and equipped, master of the two powers (?).

Faulkner did not comment on this dual writing. It is possible that there was some confusion with the dual writing of *phty*, but it is significant that all three manuscripts have it. B5C's writing of the panther sign is especially detailed, depicting the animal with spots (Fig. 3.17) and

Fig. 3.17



therefore corroborating the identification of the sign as the panther.

pḥty

Although when *ḥt* means ‘power’ translators tend to make little distinction between it and *pḥty*, the differences in the alternating determinatives of the two words suggest that there should be a corresponding difference in their meanings. *pḥty* itself occurs 35 times in de Buck’s corpus and there are only nine spells in which none of variant manuscripts use the panther head (Table 3.5). By this stage, the word is usually written with the dual made explicit rather than the less explicitly written *pḥt* occasionally attested in the *Pyramid Texts*. Although there are several writings determined by two panthers heads, there only two instances of a purely logographic writing with these two signs, which both occur in variant manuscripts of the same spell, CT 556 (VI. 156h: B2Bo, B4Bo).

Table 3.5: *pḥty* in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE						Other
CT 7 I. 20c	B4C	B2Bo		B1P	B4Bo B6C	B3Bo, MC105, S10C, T9C, T1NY: -0- T1L: damaged
CT 26 I. 77g	B4C			B1P B15C	B6C	
CT 148 II. 220b		S1Ca S1P S1Cb S2Ca				S2Cb: damaged S1Chass: omitted
CT 160 II. 383e	B3Ca			B17C B1C	B2P	S2P, B2Bo, B4Bo, B9C, B4La, B4Lb, B1L: -0- B1Y, S2C: damaged
CT 160 II. 384b	S2C B3Ca			B17C B1C	B2P	S2P, B4La, B4Lb, B2Bo, B4Bo, B9C, B1L: -0- B1Y: damaged
CT 160 II. 384c	S2C B3Ca B4Lb			B17C B1C	B2P	S2P B2Bo B4Bo B1L B4La: -0- B1Y, B9C: damaged
CT 248 III. 341d	S1C S2C					
CT 248 III. 341d						S1C: -0- S2C: omitted
CT 313 IV. 92i	B5C					

SOURCE (cont.)	☞	☞☞	☞☞☞	☞☞☞☞	☞☞☞☞☞	Other
CT 313 IV. 92j		B5C				
CT 407 V. 221b	M23C B2Bo S1C S2C B7Bo: ☞☞☞☞ ☞☞ M22C: ☞☞☞☞ ☞☞☞☞			B1C B2L	B3Bo	M6C: damaged
CT 408 V. 225j	S2C					
CT 472 VI. 1c				B2L		B1P: -0-
CT 512 VI. 97b	B9C				B4C	
CT 556 VI. 156h		B2Bo* B4Bo*				
CT 627 VI. 245z						B1Bo: -0-
CT 631 VI. 253o	B3Bo					Sq6C: -0-
CT 631 VI. 254c						Sq6C: -0- B3Bo: omitted
CT 631 VI. 254t						Sq6C: -0-
CT 646 VI. 266f	G1T					
CT 647 VI. 267j	G1T					
CT 650 VI. 272e						G1T: -0- (☞☞☞☞)
CT 694 VI. 327g				B1P		
CT 711 VI. 342d			B2L			
CT 785 VI. 414s	T6C T10C					
CT 820 VII. 20g	T3C					
CT 820 VII. 20k	T3C					

SOURCE (cont.)						Other
CT 820 VII. 20t	T3C					
CT 857 VII. 59i	Sq3Ca					Sq2Sq: -0- Sq3Cb:  Sq18sq:  Sq10C, ThT240: damaged
CT 885 VII. 96u						S14C: -0-
CT 941 VII. 154j	P. Gard. III					
CT 945 VII. 161j	P. Gard. III					
CT 1016 VII. 235f		P. Gard. II				
CT 1069 VII. 332g				B2L		B1L: -0- B1C: omitted B3L, B2P: damaged
CT 1179 VII. 517b	B4L		B5C*: 	B1P B1Be		

*: logographic writing -0-: no determinative

From de Buck's copies, the form of the sign seems to be fairly consistent, although in a few instances, the panther's neck seems relatively shorter: for example, in B3Bo's version of CT 631 (VI. 253o), and B2L's version of CT 711 (VI. 342d). The varying length of the sign's neck in *phty* (examples in Fig. 3.16a–c) is most likely attributable to the columnar arrangement prevailing in all *Coffin Texts* manuscripts and was probably dictated by the space available.

There is one writing of the word in Sq1Sq with a unique determinative seemingly in the form of a claw:

CT 857 (VII. 59i):

Sq1Sq:            N 
Sq3Ca:    Sq3Cb:   Sq10C:    Sq2Sq:   ThT 240: damaged

b3 n.k spd n.k hr pht stš n.k wsr N pn

You have the power and the sharpness of Horus, you have the strength of Seth, O N.

If this is not a mistake, it could be a perspectivisation of another part of the panther, and proof

CT 288 (IV. 39j= PT 261):

Sq1C:

Sq6C: N

ink wꜥ sꜣ sꜣbw šwt 3w 3w 3sb (m-) bꜣḥ ? iꜣḥw

I am the offspring (?),²⁵ the son of the one with multicoloured plumage, long-extended, bright of brilliance.

The version of Sq6C is ‘badly garbled’ as Faulkner (1973, 216 n. 2) described it, but Sq1C is fairly close to the original wording of PT 261. The phallus sign determining 3sb in Sq1C may be a mistake, or else an abbreviated writing of m-bꜣḥ, in which case Sq1C reads: ‘I am the offspring (?), the son of (the one with) the variegated plumage, long-extended of brilliance, in the sunshine’. Neither variant gives the word a determinative similar to the original panther sign of the *Pyramid Texts*.

Only one other of the word’s other attestations gives it a ‘fiery’ determinative in a writing of a divine epithet, 3sb-ḥr / nbs-ḥr ‘Fiery of Face’:

CT 335 (IV. 270–71b):

M57C: T1Ca, Sq1C, M7C, T1Be, L3Li, T3Be:

T2Be: M4C:

T1Cb, M1NY: BH1Br: B9Ca:

L1NY: B1P: M54C, M1C: damaged

The name is repeated again in CT 335 (IV. 272a) in four variants, but only BH1Br writes it in the same way as in the previous attestation; B1P has L1Ny loses its firebrand determinative and writes and M1NY writes . In most cases, 3sb lacks a determinative altogether or only has the deity determinative. In two instances, it has a determinative (P. Gard II, III in CT 997, VII. 215e; B12C, B4La, B4Lb in CT 1039, VII. 288c); in both instances the deity ‘Fiery One’ is being described.

S2C and B2L, however, do include panther determinatives in their writings of the related word bst in CT 469:

²⁵ The word seems to be different from wꜥ in the *Pyramid Texts* and is possibly connected here with the word ‘offspring’ (van der Molen 2000, 106).

Faulkner (1977, 105 n. 42) acknowledged that *bst* also occurs in Old Kingdom titles, but did not translate it in this passage. The *CT* Index (1998, 88) described the word as a divine name, but again did not suggest a translation. The phonetic similarity of *bst* to *3sb* suggests that the former has the same fiery sense, despite the lack of a more specific fire-related determinative to confirm that this is the panther's significance here. The mistaken writing in B2L, coupled with the ambiguity of the sign in this manuscript (Fig. 3.18),²⁷ implies that despite numerous attestations in the Old Kingdom, by the Middle Kingdom the word was no longer familiar (see 3.5.2 for further discussion).

k33

k3 occurs twice in the *Coffin Texts*. In CT 270 only one manuscript has the panther head as the determinative; again it appears in connection with the eyes:

N's eyes are powerful.

Although the panther sign in Sq6C is quite clear (Fig. 3.19), the writings of the word in the other manuscripts are extremely different: Sq3C appears to be determined by a pupil sign or perhaps a sun-disk sign or a substance determinative; T1L writes the word differently and appears to have an insect of some kind as its determinative.²⁸ This variety of writings is a good

²⁶ The context requires a noun, and 𓂏𓂛𓂏 'shrine' occurs elsewhere in the *Coffin Texts*; see van der Molen 2000, 387.

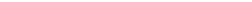
²⁷ Although de Buck finally transcribed the word with a panther determinative in his publication, in his notes (held in the Griffith Institute archives) he had transcribed with a baboon instead.

^{2a} The vignette of BD 36, directed against the ꜥꜣꜣy-insect (a cockroach? see Dawson 1934, 187), in the 19th Dynasty papyrus of Pakerer depicts a similar creature (Schneider 1995, fig. 69), which is warded off as representing a danger to the deceased.

In one context in B2Be, the panther head sign appears in a writing not attested anywhere else:

CT 193 (III. 111b):

Fig. 3.20

B2Be: 

A sequence of 15 hand-drawn sketches illustrating the stages of a bird's development. The sketches are arranged in a single row, separated by vertical lines. The sequence begins with a simple oval representing an egg, followed by a small bird with a long beak and a single leg, then a bird with two legs and a long tail, and continues through various stages of growth, including a bird with a long neck and a bird with a long beak and a long tail, finally ending with a fully formed adult bird with a long beak and a long tail.

B1Bo:  B2L, B9C:  B2Bo: 

S2C, S1C: damaged

n-ntt hspw nw N pn ipn m sht htpw

iw h3wt m sht i3rw

in that N's gardens are in the Field of Offerings. The fields are in the Field of Rushes.

Faulkner (1973, 160, and n.5) transcribed the word *ḥ3wt* and offered no translation, simply commenting ‘quite obscure’. But in all likelihood, the word is to be read as an orthographic variant on the more familiar *3ḥwt* ‘fields’, as is suggested by the parallel with *ḥspw* ‘gardens’. Again, the probably mistaken use of the panther head seems to have confused the scribes judging by the alternative determinatives in the variants: B2Bo has ‘an animal of some kind’ as de Buck described it, leading the *CT* Index (1998, 96) to classify *ḥ3wt* as ‘an animal species’. The sign may be an unclear writing of a land-determinative like .

hm3tt

The final occurrence of the panther sign is still more uncertain. Again it occurs in a *hapax legomenon* and only in one manuscript:

CT 312 (IV 83a):

Fig. 3.21

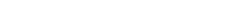
B6C:

'I, the holy one of ?'

But the sign following the two *t* signs is not definitely a panther head (Fig. 3.21). The text of B6C is incised rather than painted and the form of the signs are often jagged. The panther sign is the most likely transcription of the form, and it could be serving as a phonetic sign (possibly reinforcing the *ʒt* in the word), but this would be unusual. The other attestation of the panther determinative in *ʒt* in B6C is not similar (Fig. 3.14f).

In a subsequent passage in the same spell, the word appears again but with a different orthography lacking the panther head:

CT 312 (IV. 83k):

B6C: 

dsr w3t hm3tt b3 šfšft

De Buck's (1949, 96) suggested translation was:

Clear the road of *iri-hm3tt* towards the awesome ba.

Although he transcribed *iri-ḥmꜣtt*, de Buck (1949, 96 n. 5) mentioned in a footnote that the intended writing was perhaps .³² Parallels from the *Book of the Dead* where the word is written  support the latter interpretation. Thus, the word should be read *ḥmꜣtt* and not *iri-ḥmꜣtt*, which does not make the meaning any clearer. Here too the panther sign may well be a mistake.³³

³² Compare Barguet's reading (1986, 442): 'Préparez le chemin de l'hématet vers celui qui est la manifestation du prestige'.

³³ Compare *PT* 268 (§373) where Faulkner believed it to be the curl on the Red Crown (1973, 145 n.7) and *CT* 167 (III, 22c) where it is a deity.

3.2.3 The Book of the Dead

3t and phty

The dwindling of the panther’s metaphorical associations is at its most extreme in the New Kingdom. Most of the passages in which other panther-determined words occurred in the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Coffin Texts* are not attested in the *Book of the Dead* at all. Within the spells which do derive from *Coffin Texts*, the panther sign plays a very restricted role primarily either as an logogram or a determinative in writings of *phty* and, less commonly, of *3t*. The form of the panther sign, when it is used, varies between the traditional, long-necked sign and a more leonine version, with a stouter neck and a mane (see below).

3t is attested in seven spells in the *Book of the Dead* (Table 3.6), but only three manuscripts use an animal determinative. Ani uses the hippopotamus head sign semi-logographically in *BD* 54. The same manuscript also uses a crocodile head sign semi-logographically in a hymn to the sun-god (see 4.2.3.2; Fig. 4.7). Writings of *3t* with a panther sign in the New Kingdom are unusual, since the hippopotamus sign has more or less taken over.

Fig. 3.22



The animal determinative of *3t* in *BD* 28 in Amenemhat could be construed as a panther, but comparing it to the panther determinative of *phty* in the same spell, the former sign is markedly different and therefore should be identified as the hippopotamus head (Figs. 3.22a–b).

The only certain attestation of a panther sign in writings of *3t* in the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts surveyed is in Baksu’s *BD* 28, where the sign has a leonine appearance (Fig. 3.23a below); it is identical to the determinative of *phty* in the same spell (Fig. 3.23b).

It is possible that the identical determinatives in Baksu are an attempt to bring out the affinity between *3t* and *phty* in *BD* 28:

BD 28 (Munro 1995a, pl. 3, l. 79):
Baksu: 
(see Tables 3.6–7 for variants)³⁴
wsrt nhm k3w 3t.k m hf.k hr phty.k

Fig. 3.23a



b



³⁴ The text differs slightly among the four manuscripts; for example, Nu and Iahmes begin the passage with *wsr(t) bw(t).f* ‘powerful against (his) abominations...’, and Iahmes omits *k3w*.

Powerful one, the one who rescues souls;
 your power is in your grasp because of your strength.

3t and *phty* occur together again in *BD* 54,³⁵ which is attested in three manuscripts. Again, a parallelism exists between them, but no manuscript attempts to evoke this graphically. Only Ani uses an animal sign (the hippopotamus head, semi-logographically) in *3t*:

BD 54 (Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 15, 3):

Ani: 

Pa (pl. 66, 3): 

Nu (pl. 34, 4–5): 

bk3 n.i 3t hr phty sth

Fig. 3.24



Tomorrow is mine (through) the might of Horus and the (strength) of Seth.

Barguet, Allen, and Hornung have all differed in their renderings of this passage. Allen's interpretation of *bk3 n.i* as 'my morrow comes' (lit. tomorrow is mine) is closer to the orthography of *bk3* than Hornung's 'ich bin geschwängert ...' (1979, 125) and Barguet's '(je suis) plein ...' (1967, 91). In addition, *bk3* 'to be pregnant (with)' usually takes either *m* or *hr* before its object, neither of which is written in the passage here (*Wb*. I. 481, 5–6). However, both Barguet and Allen misread  as ,³⁶ and so Hornung's interpretation of the latter half of the passage is superior: 'der Kraft des Horus und der Stärke des Seth'.

In the majority of contexts, *3t* is used to mean 'power' or 'might', as a benevolent force belonging to a god (as in *BD* 28 above) or to the deceased himself, but it may also describe the power of hostile beings (e.g. *BD* 78). Once it is used as an intensifier to describe Osiris:

BD 146 (Neville 1886, pl. 161, 39–40):

Horemakhbit: 

wrd-ib m 3t.f

... the weary hearted one at his worst ...

Although there is no graphic attempt to bring out the fiery aspect of *3t* as in the *Pyramid Texts*, the word retains this sense in *BD* 130 (= *CT* 1099):

³⁵ *BD* 54 derives mostly from *CT* 223, but the passage cited above is not included in the earlier version of the spell.

³⁶ The form of this sign is ambiguous in all three manuscripts, but the additional deity determinative in Pa and the lack of a phonetic complement *r* in Pa and Nu supports Hornung's interpretation.

Horemakhbit:

nn it.tw.f n hh n 3t.k

He will not be seized through the blast of your power.

Table 3.6 *3t* in the *Book of the Dead*

SOURCE	BD 28	BD 54	BD 78	BD 84	BD 130	BD 146	BD 177
Baksu	 l. 79	—	—	—	—	—	—
Neferubenef	 l. 406	—	 pl. 89, 28	 l. 229	omitted	—	—
Nu	 pl. 13, 7	 pl. 34, 4–5	omitted	 pl. 30, 2	 pl. 50, 34	—	—
Iahmes	 pl. 13, 159	—	—	—	—	—	—
Amenemhat	 pl. 42, 9	—	—	—	—	—	—
Unnamed (Pa)	—	 pl. 66, 3	—	—	—	—	—
Ani	—	 pl. 15, 3	 pl. 26, 38–39	 pl. 28, 4	—	—	—
Neferrenpet	—	—	omitted	damaged	omitted	—	—
Mesemnetjer	—	—	—	 pl. 96, 3	—	—	—
Yuya	—	—	—	omitted	—	omitted	—
Kha	—	—	—	omitted	—	—	—
Horemakhbit	—	—	—	—	 pl. 144, 35	 pl. 161, 40	—
Nebsemi	—	—	—	—	—	—	 pl. 201, 7

In contrast to *ꜣt*, *pḥty* has no connection with fire. It is attested in nine spells in the *Book of the Dead* (Table 3.7). Its orthography varies, but there is a high incidence of the use of animal signs either as determinatives or as logograms.

Table 3.7 *pty* in the Book of the Dead

SOURCE	BD 17	BD 28	BD 54	BD 108
Ani	 pl. 10, 133	omitted	damaged	–
Kha	 p. 43, 189	–	–	 p. 56, 17  p. 56, 17  p. 56, 18
Yuya	 (sic) pl. 5, 30	–	–	–
Amenemhat	 pl. 40, 134	 pl. 42, 9	–	–
Neferrenpet	damaged	–	–	 pl. 24, 32 (others omitted)
Nu	 pl. 8, 107	 pl. 13, 7	 pl. 34, 5	 pl. 23, 12; 12; 13
Baksu	–	 l. 79	–	–
Neferubenef	–	 l. 406	–	–
Iahmes	–	 l. 159	–	–
Unnamed (Pa)	–	–	 pl. 66, 3	–
Reinisch	–	–	–	 pl. 12, 11  pl. 12, 11  pl. 12, 12
Nebseni	<i>h3yr</i> (?) pl. 26, 100	–	–	 pl. 119, 12  pl. 119, 12  pl. 119, 13

SOURCE (cont.)	BD 138	BD 144	BD 149	BD 182
Yuya	–	omitted	 pl. 31, 31; 32  pl. 31, 32	–
Neferrenpet	damaged	–		–
Nu	 pl. 54, 5	 pl. 75, 38	 pl. 83, 30  pl. 83, 31; 31	–
Baksu	–	omitted		
Neferubenef	 l. 468	–	 l. 809; 810  l. 810	
Ptahmose	 pl. 152, 8	–		
Muthetepi	–	–	–	 pl. 207, 8
Nebseni	–	–	 pl. 168, 27; 28; 29	–

Again, the form of the sign varies between the original long-necked panther and the stouter, maned lion. *pty* is attested only once in Iahmes and Muthetepi, which both avoid the use of

the panther/lion sign but they are the only manuscripts to do so.

Fig. 3.25



The majority of other manuscripts use the panther variant, which is particularly elaborate in *BD* 108 in P. Reinisch (Fig. 3.25).

Fig. 3.26



The more leonine form of the sign is attested once in Baksu (Fig. 3. 23b above) the only instance of *pḥty* in this manuscript), and Nu uses it consistently in its eleven writings of the word (Fig. 3.26).

Kha is the only manuscript to alternate between the panther and the lion signs in *BD* 108. *pḥty* occurs three times in this spell:

BD 108 (Schiaparelli 1927, p. 56, 17–18; = *CT* 160):



(See Table 3.7 for variants)

išs(t) pw 3ḥ pwȝ šm hr ḥt.f pḥty nṯs.f
mk wi šm.kw pḥty.k m ʿ(.i) ink wṯs pḥty

Who is that spirit who goes on his belly? (Your) strength belongs to your spine.

See, I have gone against you, and your strength is in my hand, for I am one who wields strength.

The inconsistency in the forms of the determinative in Kha is striking: the older, more panther-like form of the sign is used in the first writing of the word, and the more leonine version in the second and third. P. Reinisch also uses the older form of the sign with its longer neck, and, unusually spots, for the first instance of the word (Fig. 3.25). Similarly in *BD* 149, which is a version of the same spell, only Nebseni is consistent in its writings of *pḥty*, using the long-necked panther form of the sign in each writing.

Fig. 3. 27

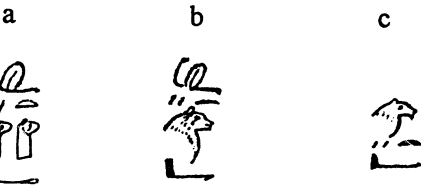


Fig. 3.28



In most manuscripts, the leonine and pantherine forms of the sign in writings of *pḥty* are easily distinguished, although there is one uncertain case in Ptahmose's version of *BD* 138, where the sign lacks the mane typical of the lion sign, but also has a neck shorter than is usual for the panther sign, falling graphically somewhere in between the two. (Fig. 3.28)

The frequent substitution of the lion sign for the panther in *pḥty* represents the further distancing of  from its origins. The panther hide has no significance in the *Book of the Dead*, and apparently the panther as an animal did not have strong enough metaphorical ties even to 'strength' to continue being used as the determinative of *pḥty*, and so it is altered into a more meaningful sign. This is proof, however, that 'dead' metaphors did not linger in the Egyptian determinative system.

3.2.4 Discussion

3.2.4.1 The panther and brightness

In the *Pyramid Texts*, the panther sign is used in a number of words seemingly as a symbol of brightness, which probably stemmed from the metaphorical associations of the panther skin. It seems as if the fiery colour of the animal's pelt was considered to be a suitable prototype of the perceived glow of powerful entities. Moreover, it seems that the panther was particularly suited to the dual meaning 'power/brightness' of *3t* in the *Pyramid Texts*. Through the physical properties of the pelt it represented,  exemplified the brightness associated with *3t* and, through the metaphorical symbolism of the pelt, the concept of power. Similarly, in *3sb* – and its later form in the *Coffin Texts*, *bst* – the concepts of brightness and power seem to intermingle. However, by the New Kingdom, neither of the latter two words is attested with a panther determinative, and the panther determinative of *3t* has ceased to be used. The only vestige of it in the texts surveyed is in the one writing of *3t* with a lion's head determinative in Baksu.

That the panther's connection with *3t* weakens as time passes is perhaps not entirely attributable to the panther's semantic obsolescence, for the meaning of *3t* also undergoes changes. While the 'power' it signifies in the Old Kingdom has strong associations with fire, these are beginning to dwindle by the time of the *Coffin Texts*. The uraeus sign added to its panther determinative in the *Pyramid Texts* is no longer attested in the *Coffin Texts* despite the fact that the determinative of *dnd* continues to be embellished with it. Determinatives like S14C's burning lamp in CT 885 are very much in the minority in the Middle Kingdom both within the *Coffin Texts* and beyond, as is illustrated below. The sun-disk determinative, which could be considered to represent the word's original fieriness, seems more to strengthen the temporal connotations of *3t*, until by the New Kingdom this is its dominant sense. When it does refer to 'power', for example when it is paired with *phty* in several *Book of the Dead* spells, it seems simply to refer to physical force, although it never takes  or  as *phty* does, just as *phty* never takes the sun-disk determinative. When it has an animal determinative outside the realm of religious texts, this is most often the hippopotamus head determinative, which is already attested in Senwosretankh's *Pyramid Texts*. Whereas there are no combinations of the panther sign with the sun-disk, the most common determinative of *3t* in the *Book of the Dead*, the hippopotamus sign can occur alongside this sign, or alone.

3.2.4.2 The panther and strength

In the *Pyramid Texts*, the second strand of significance the panther sign has as a symbol of physical strength is not as prominent as its connotations of brightness, for it stands as the prototype of brute force only in *pḥty* and even within writings of this word, it does not commonly occur. However, gradually, this becomes its only association. Furthermore, it is relevant that when it has exclusively become associated with strength in the *Book of the Dead*, its form is adapted. It loses its pantherine long neck, and acquires the stouter, maned form of the lion, presumably considered to be a better prototype. Very few manuscripts contain more than one writing of *pḥty* with the older, pantherine form of the sign, and several alternate between the panther and the lion, seemingly unsure which is more suitable.

That the panther's gradual semantic obsolescence and its graphic surrender to the hippopotamus and lion signs are intricately connected with the perceived identity of the sign is particularly evident in the religious texts surveyed.

3.2.4.3 Evolution and identity

The key to understanding the changes the panther sign undergoes from the *Pyramid Texts* to the *Book of the Dead* is in the interaction between its figurative and non-figurative usages. Although  may be used in writings of the name of the panther in other texts, in religious texts, the panther as an animal plays no role and so, when used non-figuratively,  refers exclusively to the panther hide garment. It does not seem to be coincidental that as the panther hide gradually loses its significance, the panther's metaphorical associations dwindle correspondingly. While there is no direct evidence for the re-interpretation of the  sign as distance grew between it and its original meaning as a representation of the panther hide garment, a number of factors point in this direction. Many pieces of the puzzle lie in other textual spheres, and their evidence is presented further below. However, there are important clues within religious texts. Perhaps the most telling is in the evolution of the panther sign evident in the religious sphere. This is the fact that when  is replaced both in *ḥt* and in *pḥty* in the *Book of the Dead*, the animal signs that supplant it – the lion in *pḥty*, and the hippopotamus and the crocodile in *ḥt* – are depictions only of those animals' heads. This strongly suggests that scribes felt that they were simply replacing one animal head with other, more semantically meaningful ones. The re-interpretation of the panther sign as the animal's

head rather than a schematic representation of its pelt is confirmed by the claw determinative used by Sq1Sq in *CT* 857, which seems to represent the substitution of one part of the animal associated with strength for another.

Thus, the panther sign's connection with the panther hide garment faded, and with it, all the associations the garment had lent the sign, leaving it only its identity with the panther as an animal. But at least within the realm of religious texts, this was not sufficiently strong for it to maintain the figurative vibrancy it had in the Old Kingdom.