3.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS

3.3.1 Non-figurative usage

The panther and its hide have practically no presence in the medico-magical texts I surveyed, and the panther sign even less. The animal is mentioned only in one remedy in the Berlin Medical Papyrus (68: 6, 8–9), where its excrement is required for the preparation of a fumigation treatment. While dangerous animals were not entirely absent from medical prescriptions, their use was limited, no doubt in part for practical reasons.[37] In P. Berlin 3038 the panther's name is written with a hide and tail determinative, as is always the case with *3by* in hieratic:  .

Even when specific mention is made of the panther as an animal in the Chester Beatty Dream Book, the panther sign is not used as a determinative:

P. Chester Beatty III (rto. 4, 2):



ḥr m33 ḥr.f m 3by nfr irt ḥry-tp

(If a man sees himself in a dream) seeing his face as (that of) a panther – good:

(it means) acting as a chief.

Many of the dream interpretations in the papyrus rest on word-play or, when there is no pun involved, an ideological connection, which seems to be the case here. Panthers are connected with leadership perhaps because of the symbolism of their pelts (Störk 1980, 1006–7; Westendorf 1982, 665; compare 3.2.1.1). Since the panther's face is a salient feature of the panther skin, it is significant that specifically its face is mentioned here. Although many animals are mentioned in various contexts in the Dream Book, there is no other instance of just the face of an animal being mentioned. Thus, although the panther sign is not used, its symbolism is evoked, because it too perspectivises the animal's head with the form it takes.

3.3.2 Figurative usage

b3

There is one attestation in P. Ebers of a word *b3* written with a sun-disk determinative:

---

[37] The major animal ingredients are: cow, goose, ass, cat, pig, man. The minor: mouse, goat, sheep, bat, hippo, ungulates, dog, fish, insects, ostrich, pigeon, pelican, raven, frog, lizards, snakes, tortoise, crocodile, lion (Estes 1989, 104).

P. Ebers, Incantation 854d (99, 10–12):



iw mtwt 4 psš{n} n tp stt.sn m mkḥ3 nty m-ḫt ḳm3 ḥtp b3 ʿ3ʿ ḳm3t.sn pw n ḥrt

There are four vessels, dispersing to the head; they effuse in the back of the head and then produce a bald spot (?) and loss of hair (?); this is their production above.

In view of the panther's symbolism as a bright creature, this *b3* (von Deines and Westendorf 1961, I, 239) may be connected with the same imagery, as is suggested by the sun-disk determinative. However, since the word's exact meaning cannot be established, the nature of the connection is not clear. It is not attested elsewhere.

3t

By contrast with the other panther-related words, *3t* is attested many times in medical texts, but is never written either with a panther or a hippopotamus head determinative (von Deines and Westendorf 1961–62, I, 1). The usual writing is with the sun-disk determinative, perspectivizing the word's temporal aspect:  . *3t* occurs with an animal determinative in some magical texts, but it tends to be a hippopotamus determinative rather than the panther; there are two such writings in P. Turin 54003 of the Middle Kingdom:

P. Turin 54003 (rto. 13): Fig. 3.29





ḫsf 3t.k ḥ3b m 3ṯw.f

May your force be repelled, one who is sent from his hole.

In this passage, the *t* of *3t* may have been substituted for *ṯ* to reinforce the word-play between *3t* and *3ṯw*. The word is written with *t* on the verso:

P. Turin 54003 (vso. 22–23): Fig. 3.30





nḥm.k wi m 3t.f

May you save me from his force (or: I am saved from his force).

The hieratic sign on the recto has a short neck and a wide snout and so probably is the head of a hippopotamus (Fig. 3.29). However, the sign on the verso is damaged and not so clear. It seems to have a slightly longer neck and may be a panther (Fig. 3.30).

Another animal-determined instance of *ȝt* is attested in the eighth incantation of Ramses III's magical statue; once again the determinative is a hippopotamus head and not the panther:

Statue of Ramses III, Incantation 8, (l. 21):



ḥry.sn tw r nsrt m ȝt sḫm.s wnm.s ḥ^ꜥw.k

They prepare you (Apophis) for the flame in (its) moment; it is powerful and it eats your body.

Here *ȝt* marks intensity, indicating the extreme power of the flame. Although the hippopotamus determinative may occur alongside the sun-disk determinative in *ȝt*, the panther head does not seem to be as compatible with it. Indeed, besides this instance, *ȝt* is very seldom determined with any animal sign in New Kingdom texts. It is attested several times in spells in P. BM 9997–10309, but it is written each time with a sun-disk determinative:  .[38]

pḥty

Although *ȝt* is written with a hippopotamus head determinative in Incantation 8 of the statue of Ramses III, the same incantation includes a panther determinative in a writing of *pḥty*:

Statue of Ramses III, Incantation 8, (l. 19):

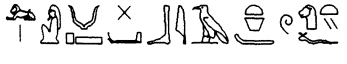


mȝss.k m st.k n sfḫ n pḥty.k

You are immobilised in your place of vigilance, you have no strength.

There is another occurrence of *pḥty* with a panther determinative in the seventh incantation:

Statue of Ramses III, Incantation 7 (l. 13):



rw wpš biȝt ⟨m⟩ pḥty.f

O lion, who lights up the sky (with) his strength.

Goyon (1971, 155) believed that the  in the passage above is a mistaken writing of *m* attributable to a confusion of the two signs' hieratic forms. *pḥty* is completely absent from the Late Period parallel text:

P. Brooklyn (*KRI* V. 264, 2):



---

[38] For example: 2, 12; 3, 15; 3, 18; 10, 17. The same orthography is attested in 3, 16 but the sense of *iȝdt* seems to be 'weak' rather than 'moment' as in the other occurrences, and so is perhaps a mistaken writing.

All the other instances of *phty* in the magical texts I have surveyed are written without the panther determinative, for example:

P. BM 10309 (2, 17–18):



nḥmw ȝt.tn nḥmw phty.tn

Removed is your power. Removed is your strength.

There are two instances of *phty* in the Harris Magical Papyrus, both without panther determinatives:

P. Harris, Incantation B (rto 1, 2):



inḏ-ḥr.k iwʿ n rʿ sȝ smsw pry m ḥʿw.f

stp.n.f ḫnty msw.f phty.f m nb ḫprw

Hail, heir of Re, eldest son who emerged from his body, whom he has chosen out of his children, whose power is as that of the lord of appearances.

P. Harris, Incantation R (rto. 8, 3):

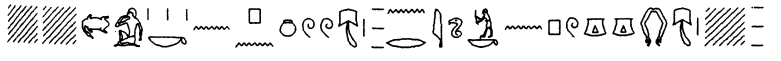


iw ḏdfy nbt dmi.w pȝ iwtn m snḏ n phty.k imn

All creeping animals cleave to the ground from fear of your power, Amun.

One occurrence of *phty* in a New Kingdom magical text gives some insight into its nature as a quality. Although the New Kingdom version of the spell in P. BM 9997–10309 does not write *phty* with panther heads, the parallel text from the Late Period statue of Djedhor does:

P. BM 9997 + 10309, Incantation 5 (6, 2):



Djedhor:

nḥm phty.k snḏ.k n pnw nr.k n pggt

Your strength is removed. You are afraid of a mouse, your dread a frog.

Thus, when strength is gone, courage vanishes with it.

3.3.3 Discussion

There are several reasons why the panther should have a diminished role in medico-magical texts. Since panthers were not indigenous to Egypt and were imported (probably mainly as pelts), it may have been difficult to secure bodily components from them. Moreover, the very power of the animal, evoked through its depiction on numerous magic wands of the Middle Kingdom (see Steindorff 1946), may have discouraged its inclusion in medical remedies. Altenmüller (1965, 2) called such depictions of panther heads on magic wands 'lions', but their lacrimal stripes confirms argues against this. A full discussion of these depictions is outwith the bounds of this thesis, but it is notable that the panther's face plays such a large role. It is also the most salient element of the panther skin garment.

The animal's power, although visually evoked on magic wands, is not transposed into the linguistic sphere. When *3t* has an animal determinative, it is the hippopotamus head for the word's temporal usages and its function as a marker of intensity, and *phty* is usually written with the hieratic abbreviation signs and a human determinative of force. Alternatively, it is possible that the panther sign is not used in the medico-magical texts because most of the texts surveyed are written in hieratic. The only attestations of panther signs in the texts in this section are in the hieroglyphic spells on the statue of Ramses III. However, the latter text is further distinguished from the others by being a royal commission, which raises the issue of decorum and whether the panther sign in writings of *phty* became increasingly limited to royal inscriptions (see further 3.4.2, 3.5.2).

3.4 Royal Texts

3.4.1 Non-figurative usage

3by

Not until the New Kingdom is the panther mentioned as an animal in royal texts. In the 18th Dynasty, it is used occasionally in similes, for example in the Tumbus stela of Thutmosis I:

Urk IV. 85, 4–5:

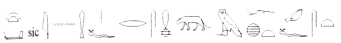


ḥs sw m pḏt 9 dmḏ mi 3by rnpy m idr ḫny

(He is) one who turns himself upon all the Nine Bows like a young panther upon a resting herd.

This passage expresses the king's superiority over his enemies, which is mapped out in animal terms. In other texts the panther's aggression is often perspectivised in similes, for example in an inscription of Thutmosis II between Aswan and Philae which describes the king's anger upon hearing that vassal polities in the south are banding together for a rebellion:

Urk IV. 139, 9–10:



ḥr(r).in ḥm.f r s(y) mi 3by m-ḫt sḏm.f st

Then his person raged at it (the news) like a panther after he heard it.

The same verb is used of Amenhotep II in his stelae at Elephantine and Amada:

Urk IV. 1290, 7–8:

Amada: 

Elephantine: 

ḥr mi 3by ḥḏ.f pri

(he is) one who rages like a panther

when he treads the battlefield.[39]

Fig. 3.31



As noted in 2.4.2, these two stelae often differ in orthographic details, especially in animal determinatives, but both here write the panther. The hieroglyphs on the Amada stela are incised and painted green, showing no internal detailing, but the panther sign nevertheless displays its characteristic slouch (Fig. 3.31). The Elephantine stela is not published in photograph.

The commonest context for panthers is in tribute scenes, where either a living animal or its pelt is brought to the king by foreigners. There are several examples at Deir el-Bahri. When

[39] For similar statements from later periods and other genres, see Grapow 1924, 73

3by captions scenes in which the animal's skins are being brought as tribute, the writings of the word may have the panther determinative or the hide and tail. The choice between the two may be attributable to the context in which their words are written. At Deir el-Bahri, the specific panther determinative alternates with various hide determinatives; for example, in a caption to a pile of leopard skins, the former is used:

Naville *DB* III. 74 (= *Urk* IV. 329, 10):



inmw ʿš3 3by šmʿ

Many leopard skins.

However, in another scene, the generic hair determinative is used instead:

Naville *DB* III. 80 (= *Urk* IV. 336, 15):

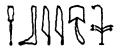


inm 3by ʿš3

Many panther skins.

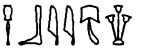
Perhaps a less specific sign was used in this case because there are cheetah skins as well as panther skins in the depiction. Where living animals are captioned, the determinative used is mostly the hide and tail sign; for example:

Naville *DB* III. 80 (= *Urk* IV. 336, 17; 337, 1; Fig. 3.3):



3by šmʿ

leopard



3by mḥy

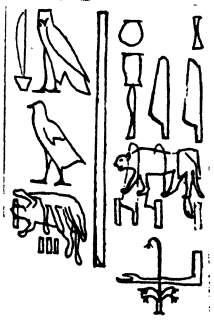
cheetah.

Fig. 3.32



There is one exceptional instance in which a cheetah seems to determine *3by* (*DB* V. 125: Fig. 3.32), for the animal's head is raised rather than slouched in the way that the leopard's head is characteristically depicted.

Fig. 3.33



There may have been a significant distinction between the two signs, to judge by the correction made in the caption to a tribute scene at Deir el-Bahri (*DB* III. 74: Fig. 3.33).

By contrast, in Hatshepsut's southern obelisk inscription at Karnak, *3by* 'panther' is written twice with a specific panther determinative (*Urk* IV. 373, 8; 10), perhaps because there was no accompanying depiction.

Fig. 3.34



Similarly, in the Annals inscriptions of Thutmosis III, where *3by* occurs in running text without an accompanying scene, the panther determinative is written twice (*Urk* IV. 696, 1; 702, 16). The second of these examples (*Urk* IV. 702, 16) is remarkable in that the animal seems to be depicted with a lead (Fig. 3.34).

Although this orthography points to a tame animal, the reference is to the hide rather than a living creature. Nevertheless, it brings home the fact that the Egyptians probably had few opportunities to observe these animals in the wild. If alive, leopards and cheetahs were mostly brought into the country tame, if the reliefs depicting the animals wearing collars and leads can be trusted. Perhaps this is why the animal is not used in as many similes as the lion, with which the Egyptians had more contact.

3.4.2 Figurative usage

phty

No panther signs are attested in the Old Kingdom sources surveyed, and the evidence is similarly sparse for the Middle Kingdom. Although the word *phty* appears in the second hymn to Senwosret III, it is written without the panther determinative:

P. Kahun LV. II, 9:



ḥr-wy t3wy m phty.k mk.n.k inbw.sn

How the Two Lands rejoice in your strength since you have protected their walls.

Most of the other words in this text that can take animal determinatives are written either with the aggressive man determinative or with that sign and another determinative. Thus, it seems to be important that the king's strength is visualised in human rather than animal terms.

The panther determinative is again absent in the writing of *phty* in the 13th Dynasty

inscription of Neferhotep from Abydos:

Neferhotep, l. 36 (Helck 1995, 28):

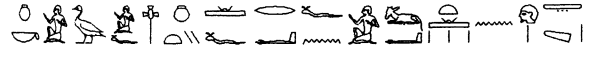


ink nsw ʿ3{t} phty mnḫ wḏt-mdw

I am a king great of strength, efficacious of spoken command.

The stela is now lost and Mariette's transcription reproduced in Pieper's publication (1929) is the only copy of the text. The bowing men determinatives are in Pieper's words 'höchst eigentümlich' (1929, 39) and unique to this text. Helck assumed the transcription was incorrect and in his edition of the text rendered the determinatives as  (1995, 28). There is no way to be certain now about the correct reading, but it seems unlikely that Mariette would have mistaken two very common signs for two extremely uncommon signs, which argues for keeping *phty* as it was originally transcribed. If the bowing men are the word's determinatives, the background of the text can provide a context for their use. The king consults ancient records in Heliopolis and puts what he discovers into practice in his restoration of the cult statue of Osiris in Abydos, paying the closest attention to what he has found in writing. It therefore follows that he pays similarly close attention to how his own words, commemorating his deeds, are inscribed. The emphasis in Neferhotep's Abydos inscription is not on his physical prowess, but on his devotion to and respect for the god he calls his father; the immediately preceding passage spells this out:

Neferhotep l. 36 (Helck 1995, 28):

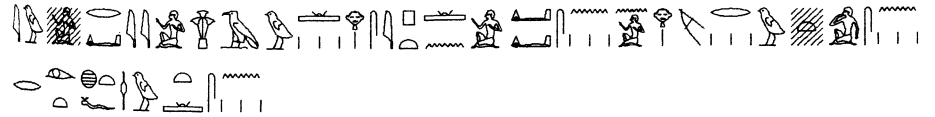


ink s3.f nḏty.f rd.f n.i iwʿt n tp t3

I am his son, his protector, since he has given to me an inheritance upon earth.

Through his devotion, Neferhotep has secured the devotion of all the gods:

Neferhotep l. 5–6 (Helck 1995, 22):



iw.i rdy.i ḥ3w ḥr sipt n.i dd.sn n.i ḥr mrwt.sn r irt ḫft wḏt.sn

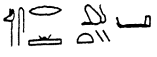
I am making an increase upon that which has been entrusted to me. They (= the gods) give (it) to me on account of their love (for me), in return for acting in accordance with their commands.

Thus, Neferhotep links his epithets 'great of strength' and 'efficacious of command' because he has expended his strength on his Abydos project, so that instead of the panther

determinative or the 𓃭 determinative, the orthography of *phty* may focus on the mutual devotion resulting from the king's actions. The bowing men determinatives, while preserving the duality of *phty* like the panther determinatives, are the complete antithesis of the latter's symbolism; one can compare this with Seti I's limited use of *phty* for the same reasons in his Abydos inscriptions (see p. 291).

In contrast to earlier periods, the panther is a very common sign in royal texts of the New Kingdom, mainly because *phty* occurs frequently in royal epithets such as 'great of strength'. However, although 𓃬 or 𓃭 are common alternative determinatives of *phty* outside royal inscriptions, they are very much in the minority in 18th Dynasty royal texts. In *Urkunden* IV, there is only one writing of *phty* without the panther sign, in a stela of Ahmose from Karnak:

Urk IV. 15, 4:



wsr phty

Powerful of strength.

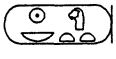
In addition to its use in royal epithets, *phty* is also very common in the names of kings, and since orthographic brevity is preferred in cartouches, the panther often writes *phty* logographically, for example in the prenomen of Ahmose, which seems always to be written consistently as  .

Fig. 3.35

a b c



There is a marked difference in the detailing of the panther sign in Ahmose's cartouche in the lunette and in the main body of the Tetisheri stela (Figs. 3.35a–c).

The hieroglyphs in the lunette are on a slightly larger scale than those in the main body of the stela, which might explain the difference in detailing. It is also possible that the extra details were intended to make the king's name in the lunette more salient.

In epithets, *phty* is governed by various adjectives: *ꜥ3* and *wr* 'great', and *wsr* and *šm* 'powerful'. From Tutankhamun's reign on, *nb phty* is also attested. Certain kings are associated with particular epithets: Thutmosis I with *wr phty* (his Two Ladies name),

Amenhotep II with *wr phty* (an epithet commonly occurring in the extended versions of his titulary, but not one of his names), and Thutmosis III with *shm phty* (his Golden Horus name). No particular king is associated with *wsr phty* which is used, for example, by Ahmose (*Urk* IV 15, 4), Thutmosis II (*Urk* IV 137, 10), Thutmosis IV (*Urk* IV 1559, 14), and Amenhotep III (*Urk.* IV 1660, 7). In these epithets, *phty* is usually written  . Until the time of Amenhotep III, variations in its orthography affect only whether the dual is written explicitly. This is done twice through the suffix pronoun – in the Amada stela of Amenhotep II (*Urk* IV 1290, 5)[40] and in a rock inscription of Thutmosis III near Ellesiya (*Urk* IV. 812, 3). One variant phonetically supplements the dual that is implied by the double panther heads:  is written twice in inscriptions of Thutmosis III, once in a parallel text of the Poetical Stela (*Urk* IV. 621, 7), and once in the Gebel Barkal stela (*Urk* IV. 1230, 8). The form of *phty* in the prenomen of Ahmose, , is attested in a stela of Amenhotep II from Karnak (*Urk* IV. 1311, 2), while  occurs on an inscribed bow of the same king (*Urk* IV. 1363, 10). There are 63 further occurrences of *phty* in texts down to the end of the reign of Thutmosis IV, all of which are written with the double panther heads.

During the reign of Amenhotep III, the variations in writings of *phty* continue to be minor:  on a stela (*Urk* IV. 1658, 11);  in an inscription at Luxor (*Urk* IV. 1697, 6);  in the inscriptions on the southern Colossus of Memnon (*Urk* IV. 1746, 15);  on an inscribed lion statue (*Urk* IV. 1748, 13). The greatest divergence from the simple logographic writing is on an inscribed statue from Thebes, where the word is written with phonetic signs, (*Urk* IV. 1762, 14). All seven other instances of *phty* from Amenhotep III's reign are written with the double panther heads.

There is only one instance from this period where the reading of the panther heads is ambiguous, in the sphinx stela of Amenhotep II:

Urk IV 1279, 10 (photograph: Hassan 1937, pl.1):



km.n.f rnpt 18 ḥr mnty.f m ḳnt

... when he had completed eighteen years upon his strong (?) thighs in bravery.

Hassan (1937, 132) in his original edition of the stela translated in this way ('after having

[40] The duplicate stela from Elephantine is different: .

completed eighteen years on his legs in strength'), and was followed by Helck (1961, 26). This translation is just one possible interpretation which relies on understanding the panther heads reading *phty* but acting adjectivally, which is strange since *phty* is usually a noun. The placing of *phty* as an adjective between its governing noun and its suffix pronoun would be stranger. Although Hassan's (1937) photograph and line drawing suggest that the signs are panther heads, it is possible that they could be a mistaken writing of 𓂻 𓂻, the dual determinatives of *mnty* 'thighs'.

phty is strikingly absent from Akhenaten's texts, perhaps partly because it was too closely associated with the conventional imagery of kingship, and especially because Akhenaten was not commemorated for his physical prowess in surviving inscriptions. *phty* appears once or twice in hymns, applied to the Aten and not to the king, for example in the tomb of Meryra II:

Davies 1903–8, II, 30, 4:



in ḫpš.k mk tɜwy phty.k sʿnḫ rḫyt

It is your mighty arm that protects the Two Lands, and your strength that makes the people live.

During Tutankhamun's reign, the orthography of *phty* changes from instance to instance (see Table 3.8):

Table 3.8: *phty* in the inscriptions of Tutankhamun

SOURCE (*Urk* IV)	ORTHOGRAPHY	CONTEXT
Restoration stela (2032, 1)		great of strength
Restoration stela (2032, 2)		great of strength like the son of Nut
Statue inscription (2045, 14)		lord of strength
Gaming board inscription (2055, 4)		great of strength like the son of Nut
Bow case inscription (2057, 18)		victorious with (his) bow, powerful of strength
Bow case inscription (2058, 15)		great of strength
Shield inscription (2059, 18)		lord of strength like the son of Nut

There are four attestations of *phty* in the inscriptions of Ay, all written  .[41] Horemhab's inscriptions, by contrast, show a similar range of variation to those of Tutankhamun (Table 3.9):

Table 3.9: *phty* in the inscriptions of Horemhab

SOURCE (*Urk* IV)	ORTHOGRAPHY	CONTEXT
Karnak inscription (2127, 19)		Great of strength over throughout every foreign land
Gebel Silsila inscription (2139, 3)		Your strength, good ruler, has made deserts out of the Bowmen
Gebel Silsila inscription (2139, 16)		Victorious king, powerful of strength

Although the details of the writings discussed above vary, the panther sign – either one or two – is usually present. Since it has been possible to check the original of only some of this material, my discussion of the sign's form is limited to its attestations in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. Fig. 3.36 gives a sampling of panther signs from writings of *phty* among these inscriptions.

Fig. 3.36a b c





Sometimes, but not always, the neck is extremely long (compare Figs. 3.36a and b). A further variation is in the depiction of a mane (Fig. 3.36c) which makes the neck look thinner at its base. There are much more detailed renderings of the mane among the hieroglyphs at Abydos (see below).

3t

There are seven occurrences of *3t* with an animal determinative in the *Urkunden* IV texts, all of which have a temporal sense that is brought out in five cases by a ⊙ determinative. The

[41] *Urk* IV. 2106, 13 (Akhmim); 2109, 9 (donation stela from Giza); 2110, 14 (twice; Louvre C55/Berlin 2074).

shorter, stouter neck of the animal determinative shows it to be the hippopotamus head sign rather than the long-necked panther, for example, in the Tetisheri stela of Ahmose, where the head-shape is also distinctive:

Urk IV. 27, 16: Fig. 3.37





wnn is.s mᶜḥᶜt.s m t3 3t ḥr s3tw w3st t3-wr

Her tomb and her chapel are at this moment upon the ground of the Theban and Thinite nomes.

The forms of the determinatives of *3t* and *phty* on the stela are very different (compare Figs. 3.35a–c and 3.37).

The panther determinative of *phty* and the hippopotamus determinative of *3t* can once again be compared on the Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II:

Urk IV. 1283, 1:



ir.f 3t im ḥr pnᶜnᶜ st

He spent time there, walking them (his horses) around.

Again the neck of the *3t* animal is much shorter, and its snout much thicker than those of the *phty* determinative (Hassan 1937, pl. 3, l. 25).

There are three examples of *3t* at Deir el-Bahri with the hippopotamus head determinative (Fig. 3.38).

Fig. 3.38a b c



However, although in New Kingdom royal texts the panther head has more or less ceased to be a determinative of *3t*, there is one clear example of a panther in Deir el-Bahri, perhaps an example of the queen's archaising tendencies (Naville *DB* IV. 8):

Naville III. 57 (= *Urk* IV. 246, 6–8): Fig. 3.39





ḫpr ḥmt.s m ḥwnt nfrt rnpti w3ḏt imt 3t.f sw3s.n.s irw.s n nṯr

Her majesty became a perfect youth, and she was vigorous.

Wadjet in her moment honoured her form as a god.

Sethe (1914, 114) translated the second half of the passage differently, taking *3t* as 'headdress' (so *Wb.* I. 1):

Die Schlange welche an ihrem Kopfputz war, machte achtungswert ihre Gottesgestalt.

Although there is no reason to believe that *3t* ever signified a headdress (see 3.2.1.2), he was probably correct to assume that *w3ḏt* here signifies the royal uraeus rather than the goddess, although Wadjet herself is mentioned a few lines later.

In Ramesside inscriptions, the determinative of *3t* always seems to be a hippopotamus rather than a panther, as was generally the case in the 18th Dynasty. Although the panther sign appears in almost every Ramesside royal inscription because *pḥty* is so commonly used of the king (see p. 296), this seems to be its only usage in this period.[42] Since the sign is so frequent in this period, I have compared the distribution patterns and forms of the sign in two specific contexts, the inscriptions of Seti I at his temple at Abydos and of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, rather than presenting statistics for the period as a whole.

3.4.3 Genre study 3.1: The inscriptions of Seti I at Abydos

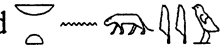
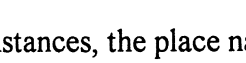
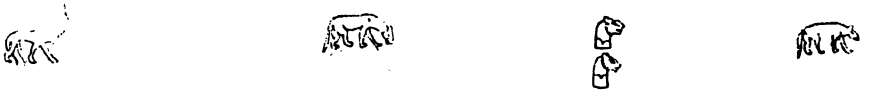
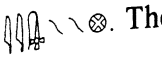
Although there are no mentions of panthers as animals in the published Abydos inscriptions, the full form of the animal sign occurs in the writing of a place name associated with Wadjet, who is four times called  *nbt nbyt* 'Mistress of Nebyt' (*CA* I. 13, 33; II. 12, 27). In one of these instances, the place name is written not with the full animal sign, but with two panther heads that are used more as determinatives than as phonograms:  (Fig. 3.40).

Fig. 3.40a b c d



The *Wörterbuch* (II. 244, 18) cites examples of *nbyt* only from Greco-Roman inscriptions at Dendera and Edfu, with only one example from a Third Intermediate Period ritual papyrus

[42] Couyat and Montet (1912) transcribed a panther head on l. 4 of a rock stela of Ramses IV in Wadi Hammamat (their no. 12), in what appears to be strange writing of *3t*. Comparison with two panther heads writing *pḥty* further below (l. 8) shows that their transcription is unlikely. Christophe (1949, 8–9) correctly transcribed as a *tp*-sign, as does Kitchen (*KRI* VI. 13, 4).

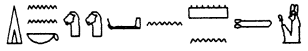
(P. Berlin 3055). Hannig (1995, 1353) cited a writing without the panther head sign:  . The brazier determinative may to point to the word's connection with flame, suggesting that the panther has an analogous symbolism in this word.[43]

There are no attestations of *3t* with an animal determinative in the temple inscriptions, so it is not possible to compare its determinative with the writing of the panther head sign. However, in other inscriptions of Seti I, the hippo is consistently used if an animal determinative is written with *3t* (e.g. *KRI* I. 9, 7; 16, 4; 77, 2; 80, 14).

The word *phty* is much less common at Abydos than at Medinet Habu, in part no doubt because the inscriptions published by Calverley focus on the king's devotion to the gods – particularly Osiris – rather than his brute force in relation to enemies; the same is true of the Abydos inscription of Neferhotep (see pp. 284–285). Although there is no orthographic tailoring in Seti I's inscriptions analogous to that of Neferhotep, the distribution of *phty* is limited. Extant examples usually refer to the king, although there are three instances in which *wr* / *ʿ3 phty* is used of Ptah (*CA* II, 21; IV, 31, 53). It is never applied to any other deity at Abydos.

The usual formula in which *phty* is used is in the speech of a god to the king, in which the god says: 'I have given strength to you.' Often, the strength is attributed to the divine sphere. Montu is mentioned once in this connection:

CA II. 22:

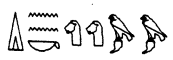


di.n(.i) n.k phty n mnṯ

I have given to you the strength of Montu.

But the Two Lords are the most common source of the king's strength, for example:

CA II. 30:



di.n(.i) n.k phty nbwy

I have given to you the strength of the Two Lords.[44]

There are variations on this formulation (e.g. *CA* III. 48 and IV, 30), but the sentiment is constant: the king's strength derives from the divine sphere and is reinforced by his devotion.

---

[43] Compare the panther's symbolism in *nb3*; see 3.5.2.

[44] Also *CA* II. 36; III. 61; IV. 13.

phty often occurs in an epithet with a qualifying adjective, most commonly *wr* (*CA* I. 13, 19, 27; IV. 32) but *ꜥ3* (II. 35), *sḫm* (IV. 31), and *wsr* (III. 53) also occur. Although the orthography of *phty* varies from context to context, the form of the sign differs only in small details (Fig. 3.41).

Fig. 3.41a b c d e



Fig. 3.42



These writings of the panther sign in *phty*, despite their leonine manes, are quite distinct from the lion sign of *ḥ3t* which has a much fuller mane (Fig. 3.42).

Some signs were published by Calverley in colour, and the colour shows a similar variation in detail. Although the panther's mane is consistently red, its skin colour varies: twice it is yellow, and twice it is green (*CA* IV. 13; 30). The mane is a feature which the panther seems to have borrowed from the lion, since neither the cheetah nor the leopard has one in nature.

Fig. 3.43



However, the alternation of the  sign with  , discussed above (p. 290), seems to confirm that the former sign represents a panther rather than a lion. In the form the sign takes in Seti I's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, there is a further melding of features: the animal has the mane of the lion, but the spots of a leopard (Fig. 3.43).

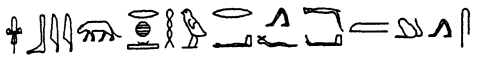
Since the emphasis in the reliefs at Abydos is on ritual rather than victory, the king's strength tends not to be emphasised, but the iconography of his dress may allude subtly to it. In a few reliefs, the panther's head appears full-faced, incorporated into the design of the king's kilt (e.g. *CA* IV. 47). It is not clear whether the animal head incorporated into the tip of the king's pointed kilt is also a panther, or a jackal. Both animals appear together on magic wands of the

Middle Kingdom (examples in Steindorff 1946) and New Kingdom (Davies 1943, II, pl. 37; Altenmüller 1965, II, figs. 1, 3, 7). The animal's ears are very pointed, but their shape may be influenced by the area into which the head is fitted. When the two points of the front of the kilt are depicted, there is an animal head in each. If the animal is the panther, then this could be a visual evocation of *phty*, something that is very commonly attested in Medinet Habu.

3.4.4 Genre study 3.2: The inscriptions of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

The sign of a whole panther is attested only twice at Medinet Habu as the determinative of *3by* 'panther'. In both examples, the panther is a metaphor for the king:

MH I. 28, 62: Fig. 3.44





3by rḫ ḥwrᶜf mḥ m pḥ s(w)

(he is like) a panther, who knows his prey, who fastens upon the one who attacks him.

MH II. 114, 6: Fig. 3.45





3by šmᶜ m3.n.f sky

(he is) an Upper Egyptian panther after he has seen destruction.

The form of the panther sign with its lowered head in the first example is a standard representation of the animal, but in the second, the animal has its head raised and looks rather leonine, although comparison with a lion hieroglyph in the same part of the inscription shows that the two animals are not identical.

The panther head, by contrast, is the commonest animal sign by far in the Medinet Habu inscriptions. It is attested over 120 times in writings of *phty*, which occurs mostly in descriptions of the king, but also occasionally describes the strength of deities, notably Amun, Horus, and Seth.[45] The writing is usually logographic, with phonetic complements *t* and *y*, although there are eight examples without phonetic complements.[46] Most writings have one or two panther heads; there are no writings without the panther, while only one has the head as a determinative proper after phonetic signs (*MH* II. 94, 10). Table 3.10 gives a summary of its occurrences in the inscriptions of years 5, 8, and 11 with full details of orthography.

---

[45] Two instances may be connected with Ramses IV rather than Ramses III: *MH* VI. 392 A; VIII. 594, 7.

[46] *MH* II. 101, 25; V. 289, 12; V. 289, 15; VI. 389E; VI. 444, 4. With additional strong arm determinative: VI. 434E, 3; VI. 434E, 5; VI. 480, 5.

Table 3.10: *phty* in the inscriptions of Years 5, 8, and 11 at Medinet Habu

SOURCE	ORTHOGRAPHY	CONTEXT	FORM OF SIGN
27, 12		King's strength is compared to that of Montu	
27, 25		King's strength is compared to that of Montu	
27, 33		Gods direct the king's strength against his enemies	—
28, 49		Enemies acknowledge king's strength	
28, 56		Enemies' strength is said not to exist	
28, 66		King is called 'great of strength'	
28, 69		Gods direct the king's strength against his enemies	
46, 1		King is called 'strong lion'	
46, 1		King is called 'powerful of strength'	
46, 5		Enemies quake at the king's strength	
46, 9		King's strength is compared to that of Seth	
46, 12		King's strong arms shelter his people	
46, 14		King speaks of the strength of his father Amun	
46, 19		King acknowledges that Amun gave him his strength	
46, 22		King acknowledges his strength	
46, 31		King speaks of his strength making his intentions into deeds	
46, 32		Amun's strength is said to be greater than all other gods	
79, 1		Titulary of king: 'Strong bull'	
79, 7		King's strength in battle is compared to that of Seth	
79, 11		King's acknowledges his strength	
79, 15		King is called 'great of strength'	
80, 6		King is called 'great of strength'	
80, 9		King's strength is compared to that of Montu	

At Medinet Habu, the panther's head serves solely in the writing of *phty*. The determinative of *3t* is always the hippopotamus, clearly distinguished from the panther sign by its stocky neck and its facial form (Figs. 3.46b–d).[47] There is one possible exception in the Year 8 inscription (*MH* I. 46, 3) where the animal's head determining *3t* looks less like a hippopotamus and a more panther-like appearance than usual (Fig. 3.46a).

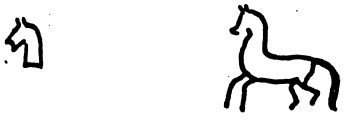
Fig. 3.46a b c d



At Medinet Habu, panther imagery is reserved solely for the expression of power. The basic form of the sign is consistent; it has the panther's long neck, but it also has the lion's mane. Although for the sake of continuity and simplicity, I refer to the sign as the panther, it should be borne in mind that the hieroglyph combines features of both animals.

Fig. 3.47

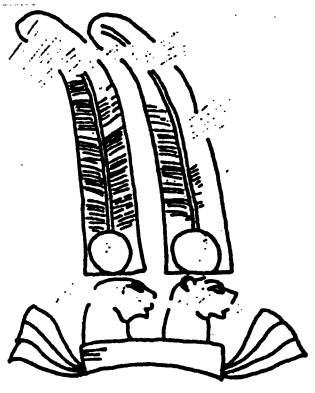
a b



In one writing (*MH* I. 16, 14), the sign appears to have two pointed ears instead of the usual rounded single ear (Fig. 3.47a) and resembles the head of a horse (Fig. 3.47b).

This is a possible echo of imagery associated with the king's *phty*, which is reinforced by several iconographic elements, notably in depictions of the royal chariot and horses. In the majority of his battle scenes, Ramses III is mounted in his chariot, which is drawn by two horses. The royal horses always wear distinctive plumed head ornaments, and often the plumes are attached to a panther's head (Table 3.11; Fig.3.48). Some scenes depict the horses wearing two panther-headed plumes on their heads, and others four. This iconography is first attested in the 19th Dynasty. In many battle reliefs of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, Karnak, Luxor, and the Ramesseum the king's

Fig. 3.48



[47] *3t* occurs 8 times: *MH* I. 31, 5; 46, 3; 46, 33; II. 68, 4; 83, 41; 94, 18; 114, 7; VI. 421B, 6.

horses wear such panther-headed plumes (e.g. Rommelaere 1991, 114, 121; Fig. 3. 49 is an example from reliefs of Ramses II at Karnak).

Fig. 3.49



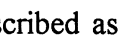
The number of panther-headed plumes worn by the horses of Ramses II fluctuates; mostly there are two, but sometimes three or four are depicted. At Medinet Habu, the number is consistently either 2 or 4 and seems therefore to be more significant in the reliefs of Ramses III.

Table 3.11: Headdresses of the royal horses at Medinet Habu

PLATE	SUMMARY OF SCENE	PANTHER-HEADED PLUMES	ORDINARY PLUMES
9	Fighting Nubians	–	2
10	Return in triumph from Nubian campaign	4	–
16	Mounting chariot for Libyan campaign	4	–
17	Marching against Libyans	4	–
18	In battle with Libyans	–	2
19	In battle with Libyans	–	2
22	Celebrating victory over Libyans	4	–
23	Celebrating victory over Libyans	2	–

PLATE (cont.)	SUMMARY OF SCENE	PANTHER-HEADED PLUMES	ORDINARY PLUMES
24	Returning home	4	–
31	Marching to Zahi against Sea Peoples	4	–
33	In battle with Sea Peoples	4	–
35	Lion hunt	–	2
42	Celebrating victory over Sea Peoples	–	2
62	King and court on parade	4	–
68	In battle with Libyans	–	2
70	Pursuing fleeing Libyans	–	2
72	Pursuing fleeing Libyans	2	–
73	Carrying off Libyan captives	2	–
77	Return in triumph from Libyan campaign	4	–
87	Attack on two Hittite towns	2	–
88	Storming Tunip	–	2
90	Storming Syrian fortress	–	2
92	Triumphant return from Syria	–	4
94	Storming Amurru fortress	–	2
98	Triumphant return from Amurru	2	–
116	Desert game hunt	2	–
117	Hunting wild bulls	–	2

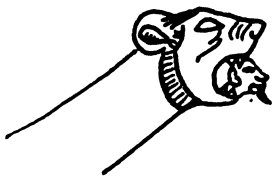
At Medinet Habu many corrections to the reliefs were made by plastering over the original lines and re-carving them. Since the plaster has very often not stayed in place, the original and revised lines can now be seen side by side. Wilson (1930, 24) found certain changes puzzling, especially one instance where five panther-headed plumes were corrected to four, altering only the number of the plumes and not their form. The reason is that the horses are each always depicted each wearing two plumes. Sometimes the plumes are shown side by side, producing a row of four; sometimes the pairs are superimposed so that only two plumes are visible. I suggest that the appearance of the panther heads in them is identical with the hieroglyphic form of the panther sign in *phty* because the plumes are implicitly to be 'read'. The horses are very

often described as if they are extensions of the king: in describing the subjection of Ramses's enemies before him, Amun says 'I trample them before your horses' (*MH* I. 17, 6–7). Therefore the horses are in effect one of the weapons the king wields against his enemies. The close relationship between the king and his horses is brought out by a crossover in imagery: the royal horses can be described as 'falcons () when they sight small birds ()' (*MH* I. 27, 24), while the king says of himself: 'I was like a falcon () in the midst of small birds ()' (*MH* I. 42, 9–10). Moreover, the horses are not simply used by the king, they take an active part in the fight: 'the horses were quivering in every part of their bodies, ready to crush foreign lands under their hooves' (*MH* I. 46, 21–22). In short, the king's horses are the agents of his *phty* in battle, and the panther heads incorporated into their headdresses make this explicit. The panther determinative of *phty*, adapted so that it resembles a horse's head, may be an orthographic reflection of this relationship.

Just as the king's horses are depicted as the embodiment of his *phty*, so is anything that comes into close contact with him, and this is signalled by the incorporation of panther/lion motifs into objects in his possession. Thus, his chariot in one scene has two full-faced panther heads at the centre of its wheel (*MH* I. 17), and in another a lion, with an enemy's head in its jaws, is carved into the chariot's weapon case (*MH* I. 23). Both images are parallel in meaning to another iconography of power in which the head of an enemy is depicted at the centre of the wheel (e.g. *MH* I. 9, 16, 22, 31). Full-sized enemy figures can be tied with ropes to the spokes of the wheel (*MH* I. 24). Similar leonine iconography had been used by Seti I in the depiction of his chariots on the north wall of the hypostyle hall of Karnak, where lion-headed appendages dangle from the king's reins, and leonine figures are carved into the spokes of the wheels and into the body of the chariot (Epigraphic Survey 1986, pls. 10, 13, 23).

The panther-headed objects carried by attendants in several scenes at Medinet Habu may be depictions of the royal chariot's weapon case (with two panther heads: *MH* I. 23, 37, 55; II. 123, 198; III. 226; with one head: *MH* I. 29; III. 224). The panther heads are on the lids of these cases, and are never depicted when the king is in his chariot where the case is open. Their appearance can be compared to similar objects depicted in a chariot workshop scene in the tomb of Hepu (Davies 1963, pl. 8).

Fig. 3.50



When the king is at sea, his warships are his weapons, and they incorporate the same sort of panther-leonine imagery.[48] In the naval battle with the Sea Peoples (*MH* I. 39), the prows of the Egyptian warships are carved in the shape of a panther head biting down on an enemy's head, in the same style as the chariot described above (Fig. 3.50).

Nelson (1943, 44) noted that although the texts mention three different types of ship, the reliefs show only one. This simplification may have to do with presenting a unified imagery through the panther heads, which distinguish the Egyptian ships from those of the Sea Peoples while creating an aura of power.

Even when the king is at rest, the reliefs at Medinet Habu convey his strength visually. In the High Gate, Ramses III is shown with princesses, sometimes sitting on an unusual throne with a panther's head at its centre (e.g. *MH* VIII. 639, 664), a subtle reminder of his affinity with the animal. This can be presented more directly: in *MH* IV. 197, a lion stands by the throne, its tail raised and curling over its back in the standard aggressive pose. The carved leonine paws of the throne behind it reinforce the image and revitalise the throne's traditional animal imagery.

In eight battle scenes, a lion is depicted running parallel with the king's chariot (*MH* I. 17, 31; II. 62, 73, 77, 92, 98; VIII. 622). Again this imagery can be traced back to earlier Ramesside kings: for example, at Abu Simbel, a lion runs alongside the chariot of Ramses II (Wreszinski 1923–40, III, pl. 181). In the majority of the Medinet Habu scenes, the lion shadows the king's movement and looks in the same direction as him. Thus, in one scene where the king has dismounted and has his back to his chariot (*MH* II. 73), the lion is also looking back, its eye-line parallel with his. In another scene (*MH* VIII. 622) the lion acts in the same manner as the king's war-horses, as an extension of his power, and it is depicted attacking an enemy at the king's side. The lion may therefore be another visual expression of

[48] The earliest example of a ship with a panther's head prow is on a non-royal, cryptographic stela of the Middle Kingdom (Louvre C15: Drioton 1933). Nelson (1943, 44) interpreted the panther prows at Medinet Habu as symbols of the goddess Sekhmet.

his *phty*.[49] Tamed lions could be royal pets, but in the battle reliefs the animal may be more akin to the vulture hovering overhead; neither animal need be literally present, but is rather representative of an idea. In the vulture's case, that idea is protection, radiating down toward the king from the divine sphere. In the lion's, the idea is untamed strength. The lion wears no collar or harness. It simply runs parallel with the king, emanating raw power against his enemies. The lion's association with royalty persists into Roman times (e.g. compare Caracalla's leonine throne at the temple of Esna: Sauneron 1975,187).

The king's *phty* is something which his people admire and his enemies fear. The detail of an enemy's head inside the lion's jaws reinforces the latter. In a sense, the king is the lion. This is made explicit when he is called a *mȝi ḳnd* 'raging lion' several times in the texts, notably when the accompanying relief depicts a lion running by his chariot (e.g. *MH* I. 17 and I. 11). In several scenes at Medinet Habu showing foreign captives being brought back from a victory, their hands are bound. Mostly, this is done with rope, often terminating in a plant-like form similar to an element commonly depicted in foreign clothing. However, in a few instances, the enemy wears manacles (see Derchain 1974, 11).

Fig. 3.51a b



There are two basic types of these. One is a simple pointed oval, with a hollow in the centre through which the hands are pulled (e.g. *MH* I. 44; II. 120; Fig. 3.51a). The other has the more elaborate shape of a panther (Table 3.12; Fig. 3.51b). In a few cases, the panther seems to have an enemy head in its mouth (e.g. *MH* V. 317 and II. 78), in accordance with widespread royal iconography at Medinet Habu.

In those scenes in which the panther manacles are attested, only one captive in a group wears them, which suggests that they may be a means of distinguishing status among the enemy, as

[49] Osborn and Osbornova (1998, 116) described this lion as a 'battle lion', used to frighten the enemy and kill anyone who tried to approach the king's chariot. I doubt the practicality of this; it seems more likely that its representation is symbolic.

O'Connor has suggested (2000, 99). Often, the person wearing the panther handcuffs is in a prominent position: thus, in *MH* I. 41 two Sea Peoples prisoners wear the panther cuffs, one in each of the two registers behind the king. They are both visually salient as the only ones in their respective registers to be depicted full-faced rather than in profile. O'Connor interpreted these two prisoners as depictions of the same man, distinguished as the 'supreme leader' of the Sea Peoples' forces by the panther manacles, and by his full-faced depiction. However, it is not always the case that the prisoner wearing panther manacles is depicted in this way; for example, in *MH* I. 42, the man with panther manacles is in profile, while the man in front of him is full-faced. Moreover, in a scene depicting the defeat of the Libyans (*MH* II. 78: not considered by O'Connor), one prisoner in the uppermost register wears oval manacles, while in the bottom register, another wears the pantherine variant. Evidently, although their manacles set them apart from the others in their row, they are not the same man.

It seems likely that both the occasional full-faced prisoners, and the improbable positioning of their bound arms is not so much a straightforward depiction of reality (contra O'Connor 2000, 99) as a conventionalised means of conveying the chaos associated with foreign rabbles. In battle scenes, the enemy is always depicted in complete disarray in contrast to their Egyptian counterparts. When being presented to the king, however, artistic decorum requires that they be in register lines. The chaotic arrangement of their limbs and faces, therefore, could be interpreted as a means of preserving an element of chaos in their ordered lines, so that once again they contrast with the Egyptian soldiers, who are always depicted in profile.

Table 3.12: Panther manacles on prisoners at Medinet Habu

PLATE	ETHNIC GROUP	POSITION	ADDITIONAL DETAILS
41	Sea Peoples	centre, upper register	full-faced
41	Sea Peoples	centre, lower register	full-faced
42	Sea Peoples	end of register, facing king	in profile; pulled along by manacle
43	Sea Peoples	end of register, behind king	[face damaged]
78	Libyan	first in register, behind king	enemy head in panther's jaws on manacle
92	Syrian	lower register, first in register	in profile
93	Syrian	First in lower register, behind king	in profile
99	Syrian	Centre, upper register	in profile
317	Libyan	Full-faced	enemy head in panther's jaws on manacle

In a few scenes, an oval shape similar to the oval manacle is worn like a bracelet on various foreigners' wrists; for example, an Asiatic wears it in *MH* II. 111 and 114, and a Nubian in *MH* II. 120. This general type of bracelet is attested elsewhere; for example, on a Nubian dancer in the tomb of Horemheb (*TT* 78, temp. Thutmosis IV: Brack and Brack 1980, pl. 51c). Whereas the oval manacle is attested elsewhere (e.g. in reliefs from the tomb of Horemhab; compare Martin 1989, frontispiece; pls. 99–103), I am not aware of any attestations of the panther-shaped manacle outside Medinet Habu, nor of that shape as a decorative item comparable with the oval bracelet. It is likely that these shapes are meaningful. The oval handcuff seems to derive its form from the bracelet often depicted on foreigners, used against them by the Egyptians in a subversion of its originally decorative and no doubt prestigious symbolism. The panther-shaped handcuff derives its symbolism from the fact that the animal linguistically and visually expresses and embodies the king's strength. The panther element in the manacles makes the king's strength manifest as a physical restraint on his enemies.

Leonine elements are also present in the king's clothing. Although priests (*MH* IV. 231) and other offering bearers (*MH* IV. 231) are shown wearing panther skins in several scenes (as is the king in one instance: *MH* IV. 229), Ramses III is never depicted wearing one. However, his kilt often incorporates a panther head, either in its belt, or at the sharp point of its extremity, for example in *MH* II. 124A (the king entering the temple), *MH* V. 337 (both at the belt and at the pointed tip). This treatment may be compared with similar iconography in the depiction of Seti I's clothing at Abydos (p. 292).

Determinatives at Medinet Habu have a particular prominence. Often, their details are adapted so that they interact both with their word and with the larger pictorial and ideological context in which they appear. This is especially the case with the panther sign. Its metaphorical significance in *phty* is transferred to the iconographic sphere in a number of different ways so that it becomes a visible manifestation of the king's strength, which is thus presented as suffusing the objects around him – his horses, his chariot, his warships, and his throne – and even as binding his enemy's hands together. Although the panther sign's use in *phty* was no doubt highly conventional by the Ramesside period, its use at Medinet Habu modifies and revitalises it.

3.4.5 Discussion

In royal texts, as in the religious texts discussed above, the growing distance between the panther as an animal and the sign is again evident. is never used to determine the name

of the panther, as was the case in the Old Kingdom. By the Ramesside period, it is more or less restricted to writings of *phty*, and has become increasingly leonine in appearance. Only its long un-leonine neck, which was characteristic of the earlier form of the sign, distinguishes it from the lion, although this feature was probably more conventional than meaningful by the 19th Dynasty. The variety of usages of leonine/pantherine imagery at Medinet Habu is particularly impressive, echoing textual mentions of the king's *phty* in the accompanying reliefs again and again in a multitude of different forms, allowing the artists to give the power of the king a visual form. Thus, the hieroglyphic sign that logographically writes *phty* is adapted to show the king's power infusing his horses, his chariot, and his warships, imbuing them with his presence and making it clear that these tools are extensions of the king himself. Similarly, the panther-shaped manacles which seem to be unique to Medinet Habu, conform to the same visuo-linguistic code and are adapted to incorporate the same imagery, expressing visually the idea that it is the king's power that binds the hands of his prisoners. Thus, at Medinet Habu, through the extension of the linguistic symbolism of the sign into the artistic sphere, the abstract concept of strength is given a prominent physical form.

3.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS

3.5.1 Non-figurative usage

bȝ and *ȝby*

In non-royal texts, the panther signs are confined to two distinct spheres of occurrence: while is found mainly in writings of *bȝ* 'panther hide', comes in later writings of *ȝby*, which refers either to panther hide or to the animal itself. In the Old Kingdom the panther is mentioned only in relation to its hide; the earliest attestation is in a list of trade goods from Nubia in the 6th Dynasty inscriptions of Harkhuf at Qubbet el-Hawa:

Urk I. 126, 17–127, 1 (de Morgan 1894, 165):



hȝ.n(.i) m ꜥȝw 300 ȝtp m snṯr hbn ḫknw sȝt bȝ

I came down with 300 asses loaded with incense, ebony, *ḫknw*-oil, *sȝt* (?), and panther hides.

In this context,  serves a more literal purpose as the determinative of *bȝ*: rather than substituting for the specific animal sign, it appears alongside  and indicates that *bȝ* refers to panther hide rather than the living animal.

De Morgan's photograph (1894, 165) shows that the panther sign is carved very unclearly and has an amorphous appearance, lacking both facial features and the customary depiction of its ear. This led to confusion in early editions of the text. Schiaparelli (1892, 23) transcribed it as  , and de Morgan (1894, 163) as  . However, the sign can only be  since neither of the alternatives makes sense in context.

While depictions of tomb owners wearing panther skins are common throughout the Old Kingdom and beyond (examples in Staehelin 1966, 36–80), panther hide is included in offering lists only of the 3rd and 4th Dynasties (Barta 1963, 41; 45; see Table 3.13). The skin occurs again in some New Kingdom royal and non-royal lists, but there it is among the items required for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony rather than being a piece of clothing. As such it is attested both in the royal sphere (e.g. the tomb of Seti I: Hornung 1991, pl. 109: ) and the non-royal (e.g. the 19th Dynasty tomb of Merimeri: Boeser 1911, pl. 14: ). Neither of the New Kingdom examples just cited are written with the panther head sign and have instead a representation of a panther pelt. But their use of the archaic form of the panther's name, *bȝ*, is striking.

Staehelin (1966, 61) believed that the garment designated *b3 šmᶜ* in Old Kingdom clothing lists was different from the garment required for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony in the New Kingdom; the former was a 'Pantherfellsumhang' and the latter a 'Pantherfellsgewand', the difference being that the former was only the animal's pelt and not its head, tail and limbs. Thus, the examples of *b3 šmᶜ* in Table 3.13 below should be only the animal's pelt, according to Staehelin. She admitted, however, that the distinction was not always observed in the writing: in the *Pyramid Texts*, when the king is described as possessing a *b3* 'panther-skin', she stated that this was the full skin with head, tail and limbs (3.2.1.1).

Table 3.13: *b3* in Old Kingdom offering lists

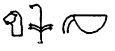
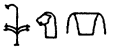
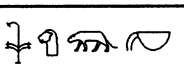
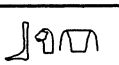
NAME, PUBLICATION	PROVENANCE	DATE	HIEROGLYPHS
Khabausokar Murray 1905, pl. 1	Giza	Dyn. 3–4	
Neferhotephathor Murray 1905, pl. 2	Giza	Dyn. 3–4	
Wep Budge 1896, pl. 7	Giza	Dyn. 3–4	
Metjen Goedicke 1966, pl. 6	Saqqara	Dyn. 3–4	
Rahotep Harpur 2001, fig. 171	Maidum	Dyn. 4	
Irensen Borchardt 1937–64, I, pl. 13	Saqqara	Dyn. 4	 [50]
Nedji Badawy 1940, pl. 46	Saqqara	Dyn. 4	
Unknown (G 4770) Seipel 1993, p. 100	Giza	Dyn. 4	

Fig. 3.52



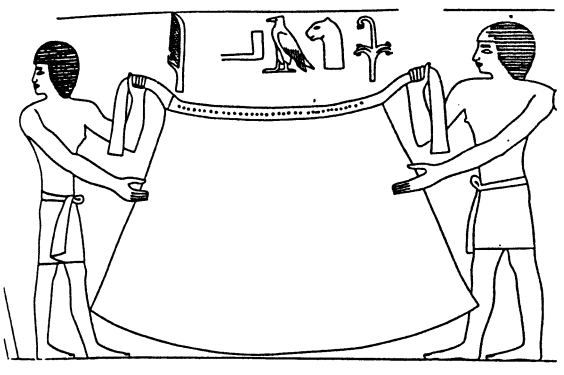
There are a number of small orthographic differences between the writings listed above; the most striking writing by far is in Nedji's writing of *b3* with both and . Photographs of the stela were published by Badawi (1940, pl. 46; Fig. 3.52) and by Brunton (1944, 248), but the form of the sign is not clear

[50] Borchardt (1937–64, I, 52) transcribed incorrectly as .

in either. Despite this, seems to be the only possible identification. I know of no other instance where these two signs are used together, nor are there many parallels for the full animal with *b3* rather than *3by*. Thus, Nedji's offering list constitutes the only evidence that and had the same meaning.

In most of the lists, the items are given individually, with their determinatives incorporated into their writings. By contrast, the lists of Khabausokar and his wife Neferhotephathor have section headings; *b3* in both inscriptions is listed under the heading  *i^c3*, which has been translated as 'clothing' (e.g. *Wb.* I. 27, 15).

Fig. 3.53



However, its meaning is perhaps a little more specific, as is suggested by an offering scene in the Giza mastaba of Khufukhaf, in which three items of clothing are offered to the deceased (Simpson 1978, pl. 18; fig. 30). All three garments are captioned , the second only as this, while the first and third are more specifically named (Fig. 3.53) and respectively.

The form of the garment is identical in all three cases, and corresponds to the hieroglyph in the lists of Wep and the unknown man. This hieroglyph (S25) is a graphic variant of (S111, a depiction of the same garment tied at the side: Staehelin 1966, 61) which usually determines *b3*.[51] Thus, *i^c3* means a specific type of garment, perhaps always of animal hide,[52] which is tied around the body. Smith (1933, 154) suggested that it was an apron-like garment of varying length.

With the exception of Irensen and Metjen, all the lists in Table 3.13 contain more than one

---

[51] On the basis of the extant determinative, a damaged item in the 4th Dynasty offering list of Isi, in Copenhagen, can probably be reconstructed as *b3* (*šm^c*): three other undamaged items with the same determinative are *wnš* 'wolf-skin', *ibt* (uncertain), and *m3st* 'knee-length kilt' (Jørgensen 1996, 51, no. 12).

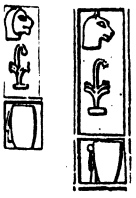
[52] In the list of clothing types in Hannig and Vomberg (1998, 471–75), nearly every item determined with or is an animal hide.

item of clothing; in each list, the determinative is always the same, either (in Wep and the unknown man) or  (Nedji). The use of *i*ˁ*3*, and what seem to be its logographic forms and , is a true instance of the classification of basic level items (*b3 šm*ˁ, *m3st, twḏ, nṯrt*) under a superordinate term.

The form of the  sign is slightly different in the inscription of Khabausokar compared to that in the inscription of his wife Neferhotephathor. Although the colour is no longer extant on either stela, Murray (1905, pl. 41) recorded it in her publication, describing both panther signs as yellow with black spots. The lion signs in writings of *ḥ3t* are also usually yellow with either a blue –more accurately, 'grue' (see Baines 1985) – or a red mane, but they have no spots. Although the scene surrounding Rahotep's offering list is coloured (Petrie 1892, pl. 13), the elements of the offering list are not, so that comparison is not possible.

The form of in Khabausokar's list includes a detail absent from that of Neferhotephathor: a demarcation of the panther's face from its neck, which may represent a mane since it is reminiscent of the detailing of the lion signs which write *ḥ3t* in the line above. This slight difference is striking in light of the high level of consistency in the form of other recurring signs in these lists. The two lists differ in various details that may be gender-related. Khabausokar has three *i*ˁ*3*-garments in his list – , , and – while his wife's includes a fourth, *twḏ*. It is possible that *twḏ* was some sort of woman's dress, which would explain why it is absent from Khabausokar's list.[53]

Fig. 3.54a b





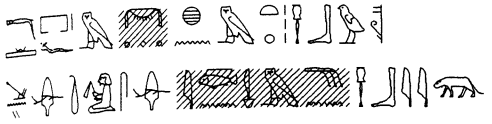
By analogy, there may be a gendered detailing of the two panther signs, giving Khabausokar a maned, male panther, and his wife a female form (Fig. 3.54a). In the lists of Rahotep (Fig. 3.54b) and of the unknown man (Fig. 3.64 below), there is a demarcation of the panther's face from its neck similar to that in Khabausokar, once again possibly indicating a male panther for the male deceased.

[53] Staehelin (1966, 35) mentioned this item as a type of *i*ˁ*3*, but made no further comment.

This distinction is not always made: the panther sign in Khufukhaf has no indications of a mane (compare Fig. 3.53 above).

As an animal, the panther does not occur again in the surveyed non-royal texts until the New Kingdom, when it is mentioned in reference to its hide. Thus, in an 18th Dynasty rock inscription at Tumbus, a vizier recounts the wealth that has been amassed for the king under his supervision:

Urk IV. 1375, 14–15 (Säve-Soderbergh 1941, 209, fig. 16):



mḥ(.i) pr.f m nbw ḫnmt 3bw šnᶜ tišps inm n 3by

(I) filled his residence with gold, red jasper, ivory, ebony, *tišps*-wood, and panther skins.

In the 18th Dynasty texts the panther is more often mentioned as a living animal brought to the king as tribute. The determinative is always the full animal rather than the form depicting only the head.  *3by* 'panther' occurs twice in the tomb of Amunedjeh (Davies 1942, pl. 5). Once it captions a living animal that walks on a leash and wears a collar; but although the head of the animal determinative has the leopard's characteristic slouch, the animal it captions is a cheetah. The second instance of *3by* is in the register below, and is plural:  . This area of the wall is damaged, but there are traces of a heap of panther skins, so that here *3by* captions hides.

The same orthography is seen in a rock inscription of the vizier Usersatet at Qasr Ibrim. Again the animal is mentioned as part of the tribute being brought for the king in the caption of the tribute bringers:

Urk IV. 1346, 11 (Caminos 1968, pl. 31, l. 32):

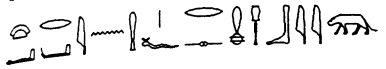


nty(w) ḫr 3by ᶜnḫ s 10

those bringing a living panther: ten men.

In the New Kingdom, for the first time, the panther is attested also in similes. Most examples occur in royal texts (see 3.4.1). In the one non-royal occurrence – in the biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana – the subject is once again the king, in this case Thutmosis I dealing with foreign rebellious factions in Nubia:

Urk IV. 8, 13:



ḫ^{c}r.in ḥm.f r s mi 3by

Then his majesty raged at it (or: them) like a panther.

The verb *ḫ^{c}r* occurs in other panther similes. Although it is never determined with a panther, it can take the baboon as an alternative figurative animal determinative, for example in the following threat formula in the Kadesh bulletin of Ramses II:

KRI II. 119, 7–10:



^{c}ḥ^{c}.n gmḥ st ḥm.f ḫ^{c}rw r.sn mi it.f mnṯw

Then his majesty caught sight of them and raged against them like his father Montu.

Several animals are used as figurative determinatives of words for raging in Egyptian – for example, the baboon (*ḳnd, nšn, ḫnn*: for the latter two, see chapter 2), the crocodile (*3d*: see chapter 4), and the bull (*ḏnd*) – but although the panther is used in similes, it is never attested as the determinative in this capacity.

3.5.2 Figurative usage

nb3

As a rule, only occurs as a figurative panther determinative, while is restricted to usage as the determinative of *3by* 'panther'. However, there is one exception where the latter sign appears seemingly as a determinative in the 6th Dynasty chapel of Mereruka's wife, in a caption to a scene of dancing girls:[54]

Drioton 1961, 140:



Fig. 3.55



mk imy(t)-r ḫnrt iw.s rd nḏm ir mr.s

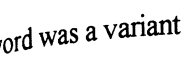
ḥ3ḥ3.s n s3b spt.s nt sš

iw m3.n.s nb3.sn n.s

Look, the overseer of the dancers! She will give sweet pleasure to whom she likes,

Her agility is that of the jackal, her domain is that of a book. She has seen that they ...(?) for her.

[54] It was described as a love poem by Drioton (1961) and Ward (1978).

No other writing of the verb *nbȝ* with the panther sign is known to me. Ward believed that the word was a variant of the verb *nbȝ* 'to tremble' (*Wb* II. 243, 13), usually written:  . This occurs once in P. Ebers and is explained in a gloss:

P. Ebers Incantation 855y (102, 14):



ir nbȝ n ꜥḳt m-ḥrt nbȝ ib.f pw m-ꜥ ꜥḳt m-ḥrt

As for 'the trembling at that which enters from above (= an illness)',

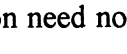
it is the trembling of his heart at that which enters from above.

Ward's translation (1978, 27) of the caption from Mereruka was therefore: 'Those who see her tremble for her'. He did not comment on the function of the panther determinative. If *nbȝ* means 'to tremble' as it does in the gloss in P. Ebers, there is no parallel for the animal's use in this semantic capacity.

Drioton (1961, 140–41) believed that the group was a writing of the verb  'to burn' and that the panther was not a semantically meaningful sign here:

> Le mot  [55] dans l'écriture duquel le signe de la panthère (*bȝ Wb* I. 415, 4) intervient comme déterminatif phonétique de la deuxième syllabe, paraît être une forme archaïque de (*Wb.* II. 244, 4) 'brûler'.

According to this, the passage should be translated: 'those who see her are inflamed for her'. The use of the panther as a phonetic complement, however, would be entirely unprecedented, especially since there is only one piece of evidence to suggest that  was even connected with phonetic *bȝ* (Nedji's offering list, discussed above p. 306). While the panther has no semantic connection with trembling, it is connected with fire (see 3.2.1.2), although in this capacity the sign form is always  . Perhaps here, however, the fuller form of the sign was used visually to echo the imagery represented by the jackal sign.

The translations of Ward and Drioton need not be viewed entirely separately. In a much later period,  occurs among writings of *nbit* 'flame' (Wilson 1997, 503; compare  'flame' in Cannuyer 1990b, 110), showing that  is not incompatible with words for flame. Hannig and Vomberg's translation (1998, 327) 'sich wie toll gebärden' is even more suggestive

---

[55] Although he described the animal as a panther, his transcription makes the sign appear leonine.

of a connection: *nbꜣ* 'flame' would therefore be an epithet based on the flame's 'wild' behaviour, perhaps based on its tendency to flicker which in turn could explain the 𓃭 determinative of the verb. Thus, *nbꜣ* in the passage above should be understood as meaning 'to be wild', with its panther determinative bringing out this connotation and maintaining the associations of *nbꜣ* with the wildness of fire. It is possible that the place name *nbyt* discussed above (3.4.3) is connected with the same root.

pḥty

Although by the New Kingdom, the 𓃒 sign is confined to semagraphic writings of *pḥty*, earlier non-royal texts have the widest range of figurative usages of the panther head determinative of all the genres surveyed. *pḥty* itself is attested just three times in the Old Kingdom. One is in the caption to the depiction of a royal ship in the 5th Dynasty mastaba of Senedjemib in Giza:

Urk. I. 66, 17 (Silverman 1994, 251, fig. 18.2a):



sꜣṯ ꜥꜣ pḥt(y) issi

The cargo-boat 'Great of might is Isesi'

The other two instances are in the late 5th Dynasty mastaba of Kaemtjenenet at Saqqara. Only fragments of the inscription are preserved and so the contexts are not very clear; they both occur in the same line:

Urk. I. 182, 5–6:



... n ṯwt is wr pḥt(y) ir.k ḫt r pḥt(y) ḫꜣ

Schott (1977, 447) took the passage to be about the same ship as was mentioned in Senedjemib, and translated:

(Das Schiff heißt) nämlich 'Groß an Kraft' damit wirst du Dinge tun, die die Kraft von tausend Männern übersteigen.

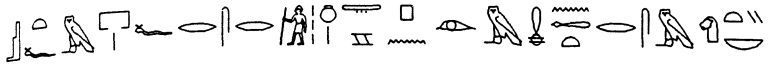
In this inscription and the previous one, *pḥt(y)* refers to the strength of the king and this is the usual context in which the word occurs.

The orthography of the word is similar in these three attestations. In each instance the panther sign is incorporated within the phonetic writing of the word rather than standing at its end as a determinative customarily does, but the reasons for this arrangement are probably

aesthetic.

There is only one attestation of *phty* in the texts I surveyed from the Middle Kingdom; it occurs in the biographical inscription of Henenu in Wadi Hammamat in a passage describing his position:

Hamm. 114, 16–17:



st.f m pr.f r srw nw t3 pn ir m mi(t) n ʿ3t r s m phty nb(.i)

(one) whose position in his (the king's) house is (greater) than that of the nobles of this land.

(one) who was brought to greatness likewise through the strength of (his) lord.

Although Henenu seems to share in the king's strength, the wording of his inscription avoids attributing *phty* directly to him.

I found twenty attestations of *phty* in 18th Dynasty biographical texts, almost all of which refer to the strength of the king. The word occurs mostly in epithets, either in writings of the royal titulary[56] or in captions to scenes, where the king is referred to by an epithet. An example of the latter type is a caption to a scene of Thutmosis III being adored in the tomb of Amenemhab (TT 85):

Urk IV. 910, 5:



sn t3 <n> wr phty

Kissing the ground (for) the Great of Strength.

Only occasionally is the strength (*phty*) of the king described at length, rather than being used in an epithet; for example, in the same inscription of Amenemhab:

Urk IV. 890, 11–13:



Fig. 3.56



mr.f (w)i m iry-rdwy.f ti sw ḥr pri nḫt.f phty.f ḥr swmt ib(.i)

He wished me to be (or: loved me as) one who was at his heels while he was on the battlefield,

his might and his strength bolstering my heart.

Virey's copy (1891, 240) of the text transcribed *phty* with two hippopotamus heads:  . However, Sethe's re-edition of the inscription in *Urkunden* IV, which was collated with the

[56] For example: ʿ3 *phty* of Thutmosis I, *Urk* IV. 80, 12; *šm phty* of Thutmosis III, *Urk* IV. 908, 10; *wr phty* of Amenhotep II, *Urk* IV. 1345, 5.

original, confirms that the signs are actually panther heads (see Fig. 3.56).

In four passages, *phty* does not refer to the strength of the king. The most unusual of these is a description of Apophis in the tomb of Khaemhat: (TT 57):

Urk IV. 1850, 6:

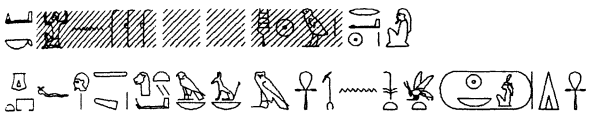


... *ḥr sḥm phty ḏw-ḳd*

... putting a stop to the strength of the evil one.

This is the only instance in the non-royal texts surveyed where *phty* is applied to a negative being. Perhaps the distinctive orthography with the  sign is significant.[57] Generally in 18th Dynasty texts orthography is extremely consistent: in fifteen examples *phty* is written . The other writings all include the panther sign, but add either phonetic complements or a supplementary determinative like  , as in the example in Amenemhab's tomb. Khaemhat's writing is one of the few which deviate from being purely logographic. However, there is a writing of *phty* on the stela of Amenemhat (called Surer) that also deviates from the double panther head orthography, where the context of *phty* is not negative:

Urk IV. 1898, 4–6:



di.k ḥḥ n rnpwt ... ʿḥʿw rʿ nst.f tp tȝ phty nbwy m ʿnḫ wȝs n nsw bity nb-mȝʿt-rʿ di ʿnḫ

May you give 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 Neb-Maat-Re, given life.

Yet this orthography of *phty* is closer to a logographic writing than that of the Khaemhat text.

The other non-royal referents of *phty* are the gods Ptah,[58] Montu,[59] and Seth, the latter in an unusual offering formula on the statue of Sennefer from Tukh:[60]

Urk IV. 1437, 8 (Fig. 2.60 above):



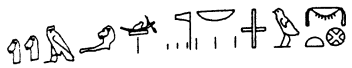
---

[57] The texts of Khaemhat are very carefully written and contain many unusual orthographies including, for example, a detailed determinative for *sḫ* 'scribe':  (*Urk* IV. 1845, 9).

[58] *Urk* IV. 1806, 13: in an epithet () on the stela of the high steward Amenhotep and his son Piay from Memphis.

[59] *Urk* IV. 2080, 18: in an epithet ( ) on the stela of Montuser from Armant.

[60] For other offering formulae including Seth, see 2.5.1.



ḥtp di nwbty s3 nwt pḥty m ḫ3t wi3 nṯrw nbw imyw nwbt

An offering Seth the Ombite gives, the son of Nut,

the strong one in the prow of the bark of all the gods in Ombos.

There is an indirect reference to Amun in connection with the king's strength in the inscriptions of Rekhmire, in a caption to a scene showing tribute brought to the king:

Urk IV. 1100, 6–8:



in iry-pʿt ḫ3ty-ʿ ḫtm-bity smr wʿty imy-r niwt ṯ3ty rḫ-mi-rʿ ssp inw n ḫ3swt nbt

innw n b3w n ḥm.f m pḥty [it.f imn rd n.f ḳnt nḫt r ḫ3swt nbt]

It is the prince, the count, the king's seal bearer, sole companion, overseer of the city and vizier Rekhmire who receives the tribute of all foreign lands, which is brought because of the power of his person, (imbued) with the strength of [his father Amun who gave him power and victory over all foreign lands].

Thus in non-royal attestations of *pḥty*, the word rarely applied to a non-royal, non-divine being. In the majority of cases, it describes the strength of the king, with whom the logographic writing seems to be particularly associated.

3t

By contrast, there are very few attestations in non-royal texts of *3t*, the other word that is commonly associated with the panther head (or by the Middle Kingdom, the hippopotamus head) determinative. I found none in the Old Kingdom texts surveyed, and only one from the Middle Kingdom, in a late 11th Dynasty self-description of the vizier Amenemhat:

Hamm. 43, 3: Fig. 3.57





nb ḫpš r 3t.f

Possessor of a strong arm during his moment.

Although in the roughly contemporaneous *Coffin Texts* the panther is still used as the determinative of *3t*, in this inscription the hippopotamus sign has replaced it: the sign in the passage above has a short, stout neck, and a rather unusual upturned snout, but is definitely a hippopotamus. Despite the sun-disk determinative, the sense of the word is not entirely temporal. Rather than referring to a specific point in time, it describes a critical moment, when

it is necessary to display strength, at which Amenemhat has met the challenge. Since there are so few comparable cases, it seems unusual to find such language being used by a non-royal of himself. Perhaps a little more self-praise was possible in a rock inscription outside the Nile valley than within it. However, comparing Amenemhat's words with the inscription of Henenu above, in which he attributes his success entirely to the king, Amenemhat's text is rather remarkable and perhaps an early indication of the ambition which later led him to capture the throne.

There are no attestations of a panther head determinative in writings of *3t* in the non-royal texts in *Urkunden* IV; the word itself is much less common in 18th Dynasty non-royal texts than in royal texts (see 3.4.2). Most of the examples that do occur are determined with the hippopotamus head. The meaning is generally 'moment', for example in the biography of Ahmose son of Ibana, where the king (Thutmosis I) is said to have acted  *m 3t ḫbyt* 'in a moment of carnage' (*Urk* IV. 9, 1). This can be compared with an instance of *3t* within an epithet of Thoth in a hymn inscribed on a statue of Horemhab:

Urk IV. 2094, 1:



sḫ3 n 3t ḥnty

One who is mindful of the instant and the long-term.

ḥnty is elsewhere used of a lifetime (*CT* 39, I. 167g) and so contrasts here with the short duration of *3t*. The walking legs determinative of *ḥnty*, which is unique to this text, sharpens the contrast between a moment that is over in an instant and a continuing span of time. Although the sun-disk determinative of *3t* does not point towards brevity, it does emphasise the word's temporal aspect. In the inscriptions of Ahmose and Horemhab, the hippopotamus sign is written as a logogram with a phonetic complement, but elsewhere, it can function more obviously as a determinative, as in the inscription of the high priest Amenemhat (TT 97):

Urk IV. 1409, 17:



iw ḫswt.i ḫr k3.f r 3t mnit.n.f im

My favour was before his ka until the moment he died.

This example is striking because it does not include the sun-disk determinative in what seems to be a clear-cut case of the temporal usage of *3t*. Furthermore, it is the only writing of *3t* in *Urkunden* IV without the sun-disk determinative. It seems as if the hippopotamus head was

sufficient to express the temporal connotations of *3t* without the sun-disk.

An attestation of *3t* on the stela of Intef is the only one where the word clearly has its original sense of 'power'; the determinative is again the hippopotamus head:

Urk IV. 969, 1 (Gayet 1886, pl. 19):



sḫtm 3t nt mds-ib

(I am) one who destroys the power of the violent-hearted man.

Examples of *3t* in its other sense, as a marker of intensity, are more common. Although the hippopotamus determinative seems to be more suited to this aspect of *3t*, serving as the prototype of a quality at its most powerful as the panther determinative did previously,[61] it is not always present. Compare the following two passages in which the statements made are almost identical but orthographically distinct:

Urk IV. 122, 15:



nn 3ᶜbt nt ḫwrw m 3t.f

without the oppression of a poor man at his worst.

Urk IV. 510, 13:



nn 3ᶜbt nt ḫwrw m 3t.f

without the oppression of a poor man at his worst.

Thus, the hippopotamus determinative was not required to bring out this function of *3t*, nor was the sun-disk determinative required to bring out the word's temporal aspect. This pattern suggests that both strands of meaning were closely interrelated and always present in the word's meaning.

bst

Although attestations of the panther head sign in *3t* and *pḥty* are relatively sparse in non-royal texts, it appears in a number of other words, some of which are restricted to this genre. Most of these are known only from the Old Kingdom. The commonest of these words is *bst*, which

---

[61] By the 18th Dynasty, the crocodile had also begun to be used in this capacity, and the line between *3t*, traditionally determined by first the panther and then the hippopotamus, and *3d*, traditionally determined with the crocodile, became blurred: compare the writing of *3t* 'aggressor' (a nominalised form of the verb *3d*) in *Urk* IV. 972, 5: (see further 4.2.2.2).

occurs in the Old Kingdom as a title of treasury officials, *wr bst*.[62] It is attested in the inscriptions of eight individuals, occurring more than once in some of them (Table 3.14):

Table 3.14: *wr bst* in Old Kingdom inscriptions

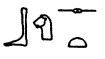
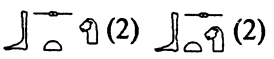
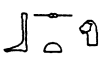
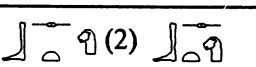
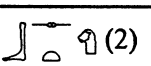
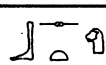
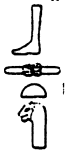
NAME, PUBLICATION	PROVENANCE	DATE	HIEROGLYPHS
Isi Hodjash and Berlev 1982, 29	Saqqara	Late Dyn. 4	
Nikauptah Fischer 1996, 35, fig. 4	Saqqara	Dyn. 5	
Djefau Petrie and Murray 1952, pl. 14	Saqqara	Dyn. 5	
Statue (unnamed) Borchardt 1911–36, I, pl. 13	Saqqara	Dyn. 5	
Kaipure Mariette 1889, 279	Saqqara	Late Dyn. 5	
Nisankhakhty Hassan 1941, 122, fig. 107	Giza	Dyn. 6	
Ankhkhaf/Qar Hassan 1941, 133, figs. 133, 134	Giza	Dyn. 6	
Isi (II) Ziegler 1990, 85	Unknown	Dyn. 6	

Fig. 3.58



Although the signs in these attestations differ in fine detailing (see Silverman 1994, 250 for line drawings of most), in each instance the panther sign is distinguished by its very long neck (for example, see the sign in Djefau: Fig. 3.58).

Fig. 3.59



The same long-necked panther sign determines the word *bst* in the 5th Dynasty inscription of Kaninesut at Giza, where  is the name of one of the tomb-owner's funerary estates, shown in personified form as a woman bearing offerings (Fig. 3.59).

[62] Strudwick 1985, 280–81, 289; Jones 2000, 384–85 (# 1423). Discussed in detail by Silverman 1994, and Fischer 1996.

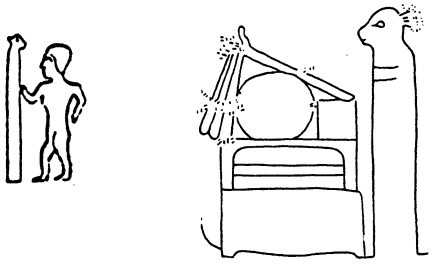
Silverman (1994) proposed an explanation for the long neck of the 𓃒 sign, at least as it appears in the title *wr bst*. Murray had previously suggested that 𓃒 represented a gaming-piece or more probably a weight, but Silverman (1994, 251) rejected this, distinguishing between the 𓃒 determinative in words like *b3*, *3t*, and *3sb* on the one hand, and its use in *bst* on the other:

> While there may well be a reason for determining the other words with the head of a leopard – the nature of the creature and its quick, fierce and predatory movement – the same justification may not be valid for its use with *bzt*.

He concluded that the slightly elongated neck of the 𓃒 determinative of *bst* is paleographically distinct from other attestations of the sign, conceding, however, that even among its occurrences in that word, its form is 'not totally consistent' (1994, 252).

Fig. 3.60

a b



He pointed to what he believed to be a contemporaneous iconographic parallel: an object known from the 4th Dynasty tomb reliefs of Debehen and Meresankh III that has been interpreted as some kind of clothes bag terminating in a calf's head (Fig. 3.60a–b).

Silverman argued that the head is actually that of a leopard. A difficulty in his interpretation is the difference in position of the ear on the 'clothes bag', where it projects backwards, and that of the animal sign, where it is pricked up or inclines forwards. Silverman (1994, 252) suggested that the two positions have their origins in the different dispositions of the animal:

> In 𓃒, the ears stand upward or project slightly forward ... as if the feline were in a state of wariness. The ears on the head in the two reliefs, however, appear to project back, perhaps imitating the feline's trait of keeping its ears down before an attack or at other critical moments.

He cited a relief from the temple of Niuserre as evidence for a recording of the two different states (my Fig. 3.1 above). His description does not make a very marked distinction between these states: presumably at critical moments, the leopard is in a state of wariness, and its body language would be the same. Be this as it may, only one of the two animals shown in the Niuserre reliefs is a leopard; it is captioned 𓃒. The other animal is another type of large cat, captioned 𓃰, possibly a lioness (see 3.1.2). *nṯrt* is not a term attested for any panther-like

creature, although it is one of the items under the heading *i*ᶜ*3* in various Old Kingdom offering lists alongside *b3* (*šm*ᶜ).

There does not seem to be enough difference between the determinative of *bst* and that of *3t*, *phty*, and so on to justify singling out the former. Thus, the use of the panther sign should be analysed in the same way for all the words it determines. However, Silverman's identification of the panther head sign with the strange objects in the tombs of Debehen and Meresankh should not be dismissed altogether. Although the head of the animal depicted in the tomb of Meresankh has a more bovine appearance as Fischer (1996, 36) pointed out, that of the object in the tomb of Debehen could conceivably belong to a panther. While Silverman's description of these objects as clothes bags is not convincing, there is a strong possibility that their shape is based on the same principles of schematic representation as the  sign, and that all three forms are conventionalised depictions of animal hide garments.

Fig. 3.61



There is support for this idea in the fact that Meresankh's offering list includes the item *sm3t* 'bovine hide' (Dunham and Simpson 1974, fig. 9: my Fig. 3.61), which may be what the bovine-headed object represents.

Fischer's explanation (1996) of the title *wr bst* was based on the sign's use instead on its analogous role in  *3sb* 'fiery'. He suggested that the title means 'abounding in brilliant objects'.[63] Whereas Silverman's suggested connection between the panther and clothes bags does not yield a satisfactory interpretation since *wr bst* is always associated with an official of the treasury, Fischer's proposal seems much more logical. Furthermore, in the Old Kingdom the panther was used in more than one context to symbolise dazzling or fiery things (see below). The estate name, *bst*, in Kaninesut can also be explained as an epithet 'the dazzling (place)'. Yet, once again Silverman's idea should not be dismissed, because the panther's symbolic connection with brightness derives from the associations of its hide.

There is further possible corroboration for Fischer's idea that *bst* signifies sparkling objects. The word *bs3w* ( , ) describes a decorative object made from rows of

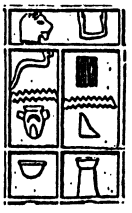
[63] He cited for comparison with the form of the title: *wr idt* 'great of incense', *wr šmᶜw* 'great of Upper Egyptian grain' and *wr ḏḥᶜ* 'great of leather'. Piacentini (1997, 1367) gave a similar translation: 'riche en objets précieux'.

multicoloured stones and worn over a kilt, attested from the 5th Dynasty in the non-royal sphere.[64] According to Jéquier (1921, 104), this word derives from the root  *bs3* 'to protect', but it is equally possible that it derives from the same root as *bs/3sb* and had the same connection with fire as these words. Thus the kilt overlay would have been named not for its protective qualities as Jéquier believed, but rather because of its fiery shininess. An item called *bs*, which Jéquier (1921, 107) described as made from gold and coloured beads, in a Saite Period list of amulets is probably of the same type as the earlier *bs3w*-ornament (similar also to the *kni*-garment discussed above, 3.2.1.2). The glow of fire signified by the root of the word possibly signifies that both objects are golden, but with a polychromatic brilliance. Perhaps the golden fur of the panther mottled with dark rosettes was seen as an example of this polychrome effect in nature. Therefore, *bst* in the title discussed above may refer to materials which have the polychrome sparkle of a panther's coat.

k3

There are a few attestations of the panther head sign in a word reading *k3* but only in the Old Kingdom. In non-royal inscriptions, this word occurs in two different contexts.

Fig. 3.62



In the offering list of Khabausokar,  *k3* is a section heading, governing two items (Fig. 3.62): *pnḳ* 'bucket' and *ḏn-ib* 'bowl' (Hannig 1995, 278; 1007). The two words have different vessel determinatives.

Since *iʿ3* describes the superordinate category '  -garment', of which *m3st*, *b3 šmʿ* and so on were members (see p. 307), it is likely that *k3* represents the class of vessels to which *pnḳ* and *ḏn-ib* belong. If  in the *Pyramid Texts*, (see 3.2.1.2), is to be read *k3* rather than the customary *b3-k3* and describes a material, *k3* may be the substance of which these vessels are made.

[64] Staehelin 1966, 30–31. Not attested in the *Wb* or *FCD*, but cited by Hannig (1995, 261) who also illustrated it.

Fig. 3.63



k3 occurs again in the fragmentary offering list of an unknown man (G4770, discussed above: p. 305), written  (Fig. 3.63); the additional ◦ determinative supports the interpretation of *k3* as a material.

Barta (1963, 33) believed *k3* to be specifically a type of stone.[65] This is confirmed by the earliest occurrence of the word, in the 2nd Dynasty offering list of Sisi from Helwan (Saad 1957, 48), where  appears alongside  *šs* 'alabaster',  *m3ṯ* 'granite', and  , the reading of which is uncertain.[66] Harris (1961) listed *k3* twice under separate headings. He classified the Old Kingdom instances as 'miscellaneous stone' (1961, 91), and New Kingdom occurrences, which depict two types of *k3*, *ḥḍ* 'white' and *km* 'black', under 'semi-precious stones' (1961, 133). He conceded that the two could be connected, but stated that this was unlikely since no translation could be found to suit both contexts. He did not comment on the significance of the panther head sign in Old Kingdom writings of *k3*.

The form of the panther head sign in *k3* in Khabausokar's list is distinct from the logogram writing *b3 šmᶜ*, as is indicated faithfully in Murray's publication, which shows that in the former there is no demarcation of the face from the neck. The neck of the sign is also slightly shorter than that of the *b3* sign.

Fig. 3.64

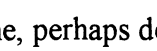


Similarly, in the G 4770 fragment the *b3*-panther and the *k3* panther also differ in their detailing: the former seems have some sort of mane, whereas the latter lacks one. The neck of the latter also seems to be longer (Fig. 3.64).

The panther head occurs again in a similar word in the 6th Dynasty inscription of Weni from his tomb at Abydos in a list of Nubian peoples, one of whom is:  *nḥsyw m k33w* (*Urk* I. 101, 15). Sethe, acknowledging the sign as unusual in this context, emphasised in a note that it is 'der Löwenhelm'. As it appears

[65] According to Graefe (1971, 178), Westendorf identified *k3* as alabaster, linking the colour of the panther's hide with the reddish brown colour of the mineral's veins (Aston et al. 2000, 22 describe these as yellowish).

[66] Harris (1961, 91) suggested *n(m)tt*, which Balcz (1932, 66) translated 'quartzite'. Hannig (1995, 394) cited *n(i)tt* as a type of clay.

now on the original,[67] the sign is indistinct. It has no facial features but does have the long neck characteristic of the panther sign, although the ear is not visibly represented as it usually is. Edel (1955, I, 70) did not identify the country. Schiaparelli (1892, 25) thought it was to be identified 'con regioni della sponda orientale del Nilo comprese fra Berber ed il Sennar'. A similar word,  *kw33j*, appears on an Old Kingdom execration figure from Giza, seemingly as a personal name, perhaps describing a person from the same region (Abu Bakr and Osing 1973, 102, a name  also occurs in this material).

It is likely that *k3* in all the contexts discussed above is an epithet describing a quality of which the panther serves as the prototype. In the Old Kingdom, the most salient association of the panther, evident in religious texts and within the genre under discussion, is with brightness, and so perhaps the *k3*-material and the foreign place name were described in these terms, their panther determinative linking them together.

sḫmt

Two unique possible usages of the panther head determinative occur in the Middle Kingdom. One is in an inscription at Hatnub, perhaps of the early Middle Kingdom; it is part of an unusual orthography of the name of Sekhmet:

Hatnub 25, 7–8: Fig. 3.65





nt(y) sd3.f m rḫyt ḥryt.f ... m ... mi sḫmt hrw n r-ḏ3w

so that trembling at it (=company of men) is among the people, fear of it is in [their hearts?] like that of Sekhmet on the day of battle.

The panther sign in this passage is the only attestation of the panther head sign in pre-Late Period hieratic cited by Möller (1909, I #147). The text does not include panther determinatives in writings of *3t* or *pḥty* that could be compared with the form of the *sḫmt* determinative in this passage. As a determinative for Sekhmet, the sign is very unusual and it could conceivably be read with the following sun-disk sign as a writing of *3t* 'time' so that the passage would read: *mi sḫmt 3t n r-ḏ3w* 'like that of Sekhmet (at) the moment of battle'. Since the sign is definitely the panther rather than the hippopotamus head, if it does read *3t*, it is the

[67] Photograph in Piacentini 1996, pl. 13; drawing in Mariette 1880, II, 44, 45 pl. 44 col. 17.

only Middle Kingdom attestation of a panther determinative in that word among the texts surveyed outside the religious sphere.

ks

The other unique example is possibly in a writing of the word *ks* 'bowing' (compare 4.2.2.2) on the stela of Irtysen:

Louvre C 14, 9–10 (Andreu et al. 1997, 80):



iw rḫ.kw šmt twt iwt rpyt ʿḥʿw nw ...? ks n skr wʿty

Fig. 3.66



The identification of the determinative of *ks* has been disputed. Barta believed it to be a panther head (see below) whereas Sottas (1944, 160) identified it as a hippopotamus, comparing it with the full hippopotamus determining *ḫ3b* in the following line. He remarked (1944, 161):

> Le déterminatif de *ks* à la ligne précédente ne surprend plus, comparé à celui de *ḫ3b*. Le nom de l'hippopotame se lit *ḫ3b*, et Brugsch (*Dict. hiérogl.*, p. 1030) en donne comme étymologie: "das Krumme, Gebogene".

Sottas was correct: on the original, the sign seems definitely to be a hippopotamus, although strikingly different in detail from the full animal sign in the following line, notably because of its long neck (Fig. 3.63). The hippopotamus' use in *ks* here is relevant to discussion of the relationship between this animal and the panther as determinatives.

The first clause may confidently be translated as 'I am skilled in the movement of the male figure, and the motion of the female form.' The second clause is more problematic; the meanings of both *ks* and the group  are much disputed. Suggested translations are:

> 'die Stellung eines gefangenen Vogels, den Sturmschritt dessen, der einen Einzelgefangenen erschlägt' (Barta 1970, 104).
>
> 'the positions of one instant, the cringing of the solitary captive' (Wilson 1947, 245).
>
> 'l'attitude des onze oiseaux, la convulsion du prisonnier isolé' (Letellier in Andreu et al. 1997, 80).

Elsewhere, *ks* as a verb means 'to bow' and occurs in captions to captive foreigners. However Barta dismissed the translation 'to bow' because of the determinative, stating (1970, 111):

> Der Pantherkopf (*sic*) erscheint als Determinativ bzw. Ideogramm bei den Worten *3t* und *phtj*, deren Bedeutung A. H. Gardiner differenziert hat ... Sowohl *phtj* wie *3t* beziehen sich also auf die

für die Tiermacht 'Panther' typischen Eigenschaften und Fähigkeiten eines kraftvollen Kämpfers. This passage is strongly dependent on parallelism. In the first clause the *šmt* and *iwt* of figures are contrasted, as are their genders. This patterning suggests a similar symmetry for *ꜥḥꜥ* and *ks*, and for  and *sḳr wꜥty*. Irtysen describes himself as a sculptor and a scribe, and so perhaps the *twt* and the *rypt* in the lines above refer to his skill at imbuing three-dimensional images with movement, while the  and *skr wꜥty* relate to his skill in two dimensions, possibly referring specifically to hieroglyphic signs. Thus,  may logographically represent itself as a hieroglyphic character, standing as an exemplar of a class of signs (upright bird signs), or possibly more specifically birds of prey –  is used as the determinative of *ḫ3yw* 'birds of prey' in the Tumbus inscription of Thutmosis I (4.4.1).  represents its hieroglyphic antithesis, the tall, uprightness of the bird contrasting with the stooped form of the captive, and the former's multiplicity contrasting with the latter's singularity.

The hippopotamus determinative of *ks* symbolises the prototypical action of bowing, which Irtysen maps onto the human figure through the skill of his craft. The form of the hippopotamus sign with its long neck is perhaps attributable to the blurred line between the panther and the hippopotamus, which were both possible determinatives of *3t* during this period. The mixed form of the determinative of *ks*, with its panther-like neck and hippopotamus face, may be indicative of a perceived affinity between them. Both are good examples of animals with a bowed posture. The hippopotamus, as Sottas stated, is called by its epithet *ḫ3b* 'the bowed one' in the following line. The panther also has a characteristic slouch, which it shares both with the hippopotamus and with the crocodile that is used in the *Coffin Texts* as the determinative of *ks* (see 4.2.2.2). Whereas the crocodile's entire body is appropriate to *ks*, only the heads of the panther and hippopotamus are bowed; this may account for the graphic perspectivisation of the hippopotamus determinative. Thus, while the determinative of *ks* should be interpreted as a hippopotamus, it may be the case that the sign's form was heavily influenced by the customary depiction of the panther sign.

3.5.3 Discussion

As in the religious texts discussed above, a sharp dividing line is evident in the non-royal textual sphere separating the panther's figurative associations in the Old Kingdom from those of later periods. From initially being a prototype of brightness, the panther sign by the New

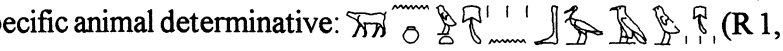
Kingdom is connected solely with the imagery of strength, particularly that of the king. Through the use of  as the determinative of words such as *bst* and *k3*, and in *nb3*, the panther's associations with brightness are clear, and, again, most probably derive from the physical appearance of the animal's pelt. That appears once in *b3* and in *nb3* confirms that it could also evoke the idea of the pelt, although it is a less specific representation of it than and is by no means common in such contexts. It is telling that while is no longer found in writings of the animal's name in the New Kingdom, those attestations of *b3* 'panther hide' in the context of the Opening of the Mouth ritual, are not determined by , but by a specific representation of the animal's hide, perhaps corroborating that =*b3* signified first and foremost the animal's pelt rather than the animal itself.

Developments in the form of the sign are not as easily observed in the non-royal sphere. However, the fluctuations in the detailing of the sign in Old Kingdom inscriptions, such as the varying length of the neck and the depiction of a mane perhaps represent the initial stirrings of the sign's graphic evolution, which culminated in the sign's graphic re-interpretation as the hippopotamus and the lion. While the physical similarity of the panther and lion is fairly self-evident, the stela of Irtysen perhaps suggests that an analogous similarity was also perceived to exist between the panther and the hippopotamus because of the bowed posture of their heads. Although the physical form of the hippopotamus does not seem to be relevant to its role as the determinative of *3t*, the hybrid form in Irtysen's stela suggests that it was relevant in the writing of this word at least.

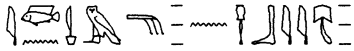
3.6 NARRATIVE AND LITERARY TEXTS

3.6.1 Overview of the panther's role in narrative and literary texts

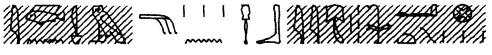
In discussing usage in narrative and literary texts, I make no distinction between figurative and non-figurative occurrences of the panther determinative, because so few examples are attested. Although three words that could possibly take panther determinatives – *b3/3by*, *phty*, and *3t* – occur within the group of texts studied, the panther head determinative never appears, and the full animal infrequently, and only in connection with the *b3/3by* when animal skins are mentioned.

The earliest mention of panther skins is in the *Eloquent Peasant*, where panther skins are among the commodities the peasant has in his possession. The earlier writing, *b3* rather than *3by*, is used but without a specific animal determinative:  (R 1, 7). Wolf-skins are also part of his load, although a different word for 'hide' is used of them:  . However, since *b3* is used here of skins rather than of the living animal, perhaps the hide and tail determinative was considered more appropriate.

In the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, panther skins are mentioned in a model letter relating to Nubian tribute, copies of which are attested in P. Koller, P. Turin C, and P. Turin D. In all three manuscripts, *3by* (*šm*^{c}) is determined with the hide and tail sign, and the writings differ only in the assignment of an extra stroke in the latter:

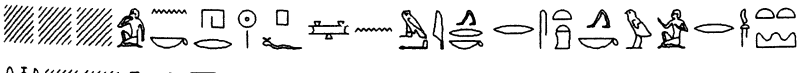
P. Koller 4, 2: 

P. Turin C 2, 4–5: 

P. Turin D 1, 4–5: 

By contrast, a panther determinative is part of the writing of *3by* in two New Kingdom Harpers' Songs:

Paser ll. 8–9:



[*sḫ3*] *n.k hrw pf n mi r.k r st3.kwi r imntt mi ḥsy ... m inm 3by*

[remember] that day of 'Come here' so that I am dragged to the west

like a praised one ... in the skin of a panther.

Neferhotep I, 14:

 [68]

nw.n.k r [sm .....inm] 3by

You have seen the[se sem-priests clad in the skins] of the panther.

Although *3by* in these Harper's Songs refers to the animal's skin as *3by* does in the Miscellanies papyri and as *b3* does in the *Eloquent Peasant*, the fact that the Harper's Songs are written in hieroglyphs and not hieratic is significant (see below).

Although similes involving the panther are common in other types of texts, there are only two instances in the literary texts surveyed, both in the *Tale of the Two Brothers*:

P. d'Orbiney 3, 8:



wn.in p3 ʿḏd ḥr ḫpr mi 3by šmʿ m ḳnd[.f]

Then the boy became like a leopard in [his] anger.

P. d'Orbiney 5, 4–5:



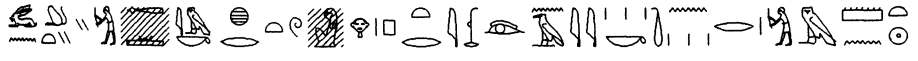
wn.in p3y.f sn ʿ3 ḥr ḫpr mi 3by šmʿ

Then his older brother became like a leopard.

The orthography with skin determinatives for both *3by* and *šmʿ* is rather unusual, but may be compared with the tendency in Late Egyptian hieratic texts to supply divine determinatives to all words connected with deities.

Despite these two comparisons of the brothers with the leopard, when *pḥty* refers to the younger brother's strength, it does not take a panther determinative:

P. d'Orbiney 3, 5–6:



wn pḥty ʿ3 im.k ḥr.twi ḥr ptri n3y.k tnr m mnt

There is great strength in you; I see your vigour every day.

It seems that the panther determinative of *pḥty* was appropriate only for the king and not for generalised use in literary texts. None of the occurrences of *pḥty* in the texts surveyed is written with it, although there are two curious graphic confusions in the *Instructions of Ani*

---

[68] The *m inm* is restored from the parallel text in Paser. Müller (1899 pl. 1) transcribed  but as can be seen from the plate, there is clearly an *s*. I have included the deity sign from his reconstruction, although it is no longer visible.

where the full lion sign creeps into the orthography according to Suys' transcription. Quack's revised transcription is considerably different. Both are cited below for comparison along with the hieratic forms of the signs in question:

P. Boulaq IV. 21, 7: Fig. 3.67

Suys (= 8, 7):



Quack:

iw bw rḫ pḥwy.k

(You) don't know your end.

P. Boulaq IV. 21, 14: Fig. 3.68

Suys (= 8, 14):



Quack:

bw sḫsḫ pḥ p3 pḥ tw

Don't rush to attack your attacker.

Quack's transcription seems to be a duplication of the form of the hieratic, but the signs need not be interpreted in this way.

Fig. 3.69



The hieratic form of the lion sign takes this form in the text (Fig. 3.69), and while neither nor is customarily written in *pḥty* in the New Kingdom, the latter seems more fitting than the latter.

These orthographies can be compared with the use of the lion in much later writings of *pḥty* from the Greco-Roman Period (e.g. Chassinat 1966, 328). Thus, the inclusion of the lion in the word's orthography seems to be a natural stage in the evolution of its metaphorical significance. Unusual sign forms in P. Boulaq IV are not uncommon (compare writings of *ḫnnw* and *nšn* discussed in 2.6.2).

There are similar examples of phonetic confusion between the writings of *pḥwy* and *pḥty* in earlier texts, for example among the variant texts of *Ptahhotep*:

P. Prisse I, 97:

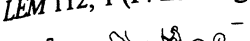
L2:

wn pḥwy m3ᶜt w3ḥ.s

In the end it is justice that lasts.

The same occurs in the *Miscellanies* texts, for example P. Lansing:

LEM 112, 1 (P. Lansing 12, 11):



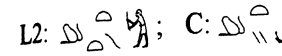
n{n} in.tw phty.w

One cannot reach the end of them.

Usually, however, *phty* tends to be written with human determinatives of strength, either  or , for example in *Ptahhotep*:

P. Prisse I, 12:



L2:  ; C:

phty h3k n wrd-ib

Strength wanes through weariness.

Compare also the following example from *Amenemope*:

P. BM 10474 vso 21, 5–8:



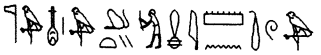
ir m3ᶜt f3 ᶜ3 n ntr di.f sw n mr.f iw t3 phty n p3 nty m mi ḳd.f sw šd 3t m n3y.f ḳnḳn

Ma'at is a great gift of god; he gives it to whom he wishes.

The might of him who resembles him, it saves the poor from his tormentor.

The final context quoted is reminiscent of the way in which *phty* is referred to in royal texts, as a gift of the gods bestowed upon the king. But perhaps, once again, the panther determinative was outwith the decorum of this genre. Here, however, one should compare the attestations of *phty* in the *Miscellanies*, where more often than not *phty* refers to the king's strength. In the following example from P. Anastasi II, Ramses II is described:

LEM 13, 6 (P. Anastasi II, 2, 5):



ntr nfr phty mi mntw

Perfect god, <great of> strength like Montu[69]

If the panther determinative an exclusively royal writing, its absence here is particularly

---

[69]There is another reference to Ramses II in *LEM* 98, 9 and one to Merenptah in *LEM* 14, 4–5. The orthography of these is identical to the instance quoted.

striking, given the divine determinatives of *nṯr* and of its governing adjective *nfr*, as well as the extensive usage of the panther orthography of *pḥty* in the Ramesside Period. It is perhaps the medium that excludes its presence. The orthography of *pḥty* differs slightly according to whether the word refers to a king; for example, P Sallier IV (vso 17, 4) writes  when referring to Ramses II, but  (vso 5, 3) when referring to an ordinary man.

ꜣt occurs more commonly than *pḥty* in literary texts, but again the panther head sign is not attested at all. Even the hippo determinative is rare; the word tends to be determined with the sun-disk sign in all periods. In the majority of cases, it is used temporally, for example in *Kagemni* and *Ipuwer*:

P. Prisse I, 4:[70]



ꜣt pw ktt dꜣir-ib

Restraint is a brief moment.

P. Leiden 344 rto 6, 5:



ḥꜣ r.f ir.n.i ḫrw.i m tꜣy ꜣt

If only I had spoken up at that moment!

It is also used as a marker of intensity, for example in *Ptahhotep* and *Man and Ba*:

P. Prisse I, 60 (again, I, 74; similar I, 65):

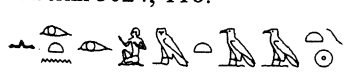


L2: 

ir gm.k ḏꜣis m ꜣt.f

If you meet a disputant in his moment ...

P. Berlin 3024, 116:

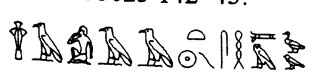


n ir.tw n ir m tꜣ ꜣt

No one acts for the one who acted (for them) in the moment (of need).

It also occurs with its original sense of 'power', again in *Ptahhotep*:

P. Berlin 3023 142–43:



---

[70] There is a similar example in *Ptahhotep*: P. Prisse I, 189.

h3-3 3t shtm

Oh for the power of destruction!

The fact that the sun disk is written even in instances where the temporal aspect of *3t* is not as salient as its intensity is a good indication that it has begun to take over the metaphorical functions of 𓇋 / 𓇳: a moment of time becomes the moment in which a quality is heightened.[71]

The orthography of the word changes considerably in its writing in the *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*; compare the following two instances, the first in P. Anastasi II:

LEM 13, 13 (P. Anastasi II. 3, 4):



ḥdb.sn n h3h3.f m km 3t

They fall prostrate at his heat in the completion of a moment.

The other is in P. Lansing:

LEM 113, 9 (P. Lansing 13b, 9):

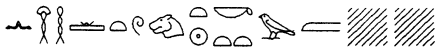


ntk ʿm3 m sḫrw mnḫ ḏdw pd ḥr m i3t nb

You are knowing in plans, efficacious in speech, keen-sighted at every moment.

Thus 𓇼 substitutes for 𓇋 / 𓇳 in *3t* in every text. The only exception where *3t* is determined with an animal's head, in this case the hippopotamus, is in the harper's song in the tomb of Neferhotep:

Neferhotep I, 19:



n w3ḥ.tw 3t ktt m ...

Not one short moment has been left out in ...

The principal difference between Harper's Songs and the other texts surveyed here is the medium upon which they are written: tomb walls instead of papyrus, and hieroglyphs rather than hieratic. Perhaps this helped to breach the rules of decorum. Hieratic, especially of the New Kingdom, also tends to simplify its repertoire of signs and sign forms, with the result that

---

[71] Compare the classifier language Toba, in which time is spoken of metaphorically: the classifier *na* means 'coming into view' and so can be used metaphorically of the present or the impending future. It can also be used of abstract entities (e.g. the Toba language), specifying them and giving them a visual presence (Klein 1979, 92).

animal signs are not commonly written. The associations of  and  seem not to have been strong enough for the signs to be retained in hieratic.

3.7 CONCLUSIONS

3.7.1 Metaphoricity and identity

Date is a particularly important consideration in relation to the panther's role as a determinative. If one were to look only at texts of the New Kingdom, the panther sign would seem extremely restricted in scope, presenting itself as a figurative determinative only in writings of *phty* as a symbol of strength. Moreover, even within the context of that word, it would not always appear to be entirely itself graphically, since its form incorporates strong leonine attributes by the New Kingdom. By contrast, if one were to look only at Old Kingdom sources, the picture emerging would be quite different. For within the realms of religious and non-royal inscription, the panther is more widely used in a figurative capacity than either the Seth animal or the crocodile.

As discussed at length above, the reasons behind the sharp division of the earlier and later stages of the panther's linguistic use are bound up with the identity of the sign. Although the panther was a real animal and had a presence in the everyday world,  is not a curtailment of  as  is of , or  of . Thus while the chimerical processes behind its form may not be as obvious as those that gave the Seth animal its shape, the sign is nevertheless a composite, more rooted in the inanimate sphere in the Old Kingdom than in the animal world. For although it has the face of the panther – probably the leopard rather than the cheetah to be specific, though this is not ultimately important – its 'neck' is a visuo-linguistic schematisation of the animal's pelt as a garment. The form taken by the sign was designed for the script, and occurs mainly within textual environments as both a logogram and as a determinative, but analogous forms representing pelts with animal heads are attested in the tombs of Debehen (Fig. 3.59a) and Meresankh (Fig. 3.59b), and, without an animal head, in the tomb of Metjen (Fig. 3.5).

3.7.2 From pelt to perspectivisation

Both the graphic and the semantic development of the panther sign can be attributed to the fact that the animal's pelt became more and more restricted in its symbolism. After numerous mentions in non-royal and religious texts of the Old Kingdom, by the end of the 4th Dynasty, panther skin is no longer attested in offering lists and goes from a small role in *Coffin Texts* to no mention at all in the *Book of the Dead*. It appears to be more or less restricted to the

Opening of the Mouth Ceremony, which is perhaps what the allusions to priests wearing panther skins in Harper's Songs refer to, although they do not use the Old Kingdom form of the word, *b3*. The restriction of the panther skin's symbolism led to the re-interpretation of the  sign as the animal's head. It is not important whether derives from the cheetah or the leopard, because at this point it is no longer associated linguistically with the collective term for both, *3by*.

As an animal's head, became analogous to  (later), representing the lowered head of a bull, which is a good example of what may be termed graphic perspectivisation. Taylor defined perspectivisation in language as follows (1995, 124–25):

> In talking about an entity, we frequently highlight different aspects of its constitution. When we *wash a car* we are thinking of the car's exterior; when we *vacuum-clean the car* we highlight its upholstered interior; while to *service a car* focuses mainly on its moving parts... Both doors and windows, like cars, may be conceptualized as unitary structures (*I bought a car, The room has two doors, The workmen delivered the window*). Alternatively, we can focus on the moving part of the structure (*Open the door, Close the window*), or on the aperture created when the moving part is opened (*He walked through the door, She put her head through the window*). Here the contextually modulated meanings are beginning to acquire an independent status. ... Different uses of *door* and *window* merely perspectivize different components of the respective frames.

The sign visually perspectivises the qualities evoked by the animal's head and horns, lowered and ready for attack, and therefore, when it is used as the determinative of *ḏnḏ*, it is specifically these qualities of the animal that are mapped onto the word's referent. The re-interpreted panther sign may have been accepted as a representative of the same process. The addition of leonine characteristics is a further perspectivisation of the sign's meaning, and is at once a dilution of the animal's identity and a sharpening of the metaphorical associations of the sign. The blurring of the lines between panther and lion is perhaps evident in the use of two full lion signs in writings of *pḥwy* (confused with *pḥty*) in the P. Boulaq IV manuscript of the *Instructions of Ani*. This manuscript is prone to substituting customary signs for more unusual alternative forms (compare its use of for , discussed above: 2.6.2).

It seems relevant to the transition of the signified of from object to animal that in the Middle Kingdom the panther's face specifically crops up in non-linguistic contexts as a symbol of power. Its power is put to apotropaic use on magic wands, and is possibly used for the same

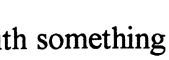
purposes in jewellery. Panther head necklaces and girdles (3.2.2.2) are particularly important to the transitional process – the heads are always joined together in pairs, possibly evoking the notion of *phty* and therefore associating it with the animal rather than its pelt. As such, the use of the panther head in jewellery is perhaps a forerunner of the many uses it is put to in Medinet Habu to evoke the *phty* of the king. In the New Kingdom, the Chester Beatty Dream Book provides further corroboration that the animal's face symbolised power, since dreaming of possessing one is interpreted as the acquisition of status. Looking back to the symbolism of the panther's pelt, the head is a particularly salient feature of the garment, and so the re-interpretation of the sign perhaps has its roots in the sign's earlier meaning after all.

3.7.3 Alternations with other signs

3.7.3.1 and

Since begins as a representation of the panther hide, its distribution patterns are distinct from those of , and there are very few contexts in which they two may alternate, even in writings of the animal's name. In the Old Kingdom, is exclusively used as the determinative of *bȝ*, while in the New Kingdom, is used exclusively as the determinative of *ȝby* whether it refers to the animal itself or its hide. Even the archaic writing *bȝ* in the tombs of Seti I and Merimeri is not determined by the sign, but by a specific panther hide determinative: . The corrected instance from Deir el-Bahri may indicate that some distinction was made in the determination of the living animal and its pelt; however, given the context in which all the other animals mentioned in the same tribute list are given specific determinatives, perhaps the superimposition of over the originally written determinative was done for stylistic reasons and for the sake of continuity. Elsewhere in the temple, the animal is given a determinative while the hide is given a determinative. Panther hide is mentioned infrequently in the New Kingdom, but when it is, the determinative tends either to be the full animal or the hide sign, never which is exclusively used for writings of *phty* either as a determinative or, more usually, as an logogram.

One of the few alternations of the two signs is in Abydos in the writings of the place name *nbyt*: both and are attested (3.4.3). Whereas the full panther sign is used in a seemingly phonetic capacity (*n-(ȝ)by-t*), the function of the panther heads

appears to be more semagraphic. An alternative writing of this place name,  , associates the word again with something fiery. This is the only attestation of the panther's symbolism of brightness/fire outside the Old Kingdom, and seems to be further proof that *nb3* in Mereruka's mastaba does have fiery connotations.

3.7.3.2 and

It seems significant that the hippopotamus head replaces only in writings of *3t*, especially given the initial similarities in the meanings of *phty* and *3t* in the Old Kingdom. It is also striking that the hippopotamus is not attested in any other recurring metaphorical linguistic context, the only exception being its use as the determinative of *ks* in the inscription of Irtysen, but as discussed above, this may be attributable to its physical similarity to the panther. The restrictions in its figurative usage suggest that the hippopotamus' symbolism is limited. Despite its paleographic similarity to the panther head, it never replaces the latter in writings of *phty*, even though presumably it was recognised as a powerful animal. Whereas it is depicted in tombs displaying its power, most often in battles with crocodiles, it is never used in similes, perhaps because of its comparatively unattractive physiognomy. The animals to which the Egyptians likened their physical prowess tend to be sleek (for example, the lion, the panther, the crocodile). The hippopotamus, the symbol of the pregnant goddess Taweret, certainly does not fit this description. Thus while it was regarded as a suitable prototype of the notions of power implicit in *3t*, it was obviously not appropriate for those in *phty*.

Although power seems to have been the primary connotation of *3t* in the Old Kingdom, subsequently the temporal significance of *3t* became much more prominent. With that development, it seems as if lost its significance as a determinative; although there are a few scattered attestations of it in royal inscription of the New Kingdom, these are very much in the minority. Religious texts alone continue to use it, probably partly because of the continuity of their transmission and partly perhaps due to an archaizing trend within them. It is curious, though, that while the *Coffin Texts* continue to use the panther in writings of *3t*, contemporaneous Middle Kingdom versions of the *Pyramid Texts* like those of Senwosretankh and Siese use the hippopotamus head instead.

It is certainly significant that the hippopotamus and the crocodile signs (see 4.2.3.2) that

replace 𓃒 as determinatives of *3t* are depicted in the same curtailed way as the panther was, which can be seen as the panther sign's graphic legacy. It is perhaps not coincidental that all three animals are components of the composite creature Ammut, each contributing an aspect of dangerousness and aggression to this monster, possibly signifying that she possesses the power associated with *3t* threefold. It is only in the form of Ammut and in occasional archaistic usages in temple and religious inscriptions that the panther's association with *3t* lives on.

3.7.4 Obsolescence and evolution – the changing role of the panther

Ironically, the gradual obsolescence of the 𓃒 sign, culminating in its becoming entirely divorced from its original signified is evidence of the vivacity of the determinative system. Moreover, the various developments in the writings of the words 𓃒 determines in the Old Kingdom demonstrate the mechanisms used by the system to maintain the semantic vitality of its elements. One such mechanism is the replacement of obsolete determinatives with more meaningful alternatives. Thus, when 𓃒 lost the connection with brightness it had had in the Old Kingdom, it was replaced in words like *3sb* by more appropriate signs, like 𓇋. Ironically, 𓄿 perhaps sheds more light on the meaning of the panther sign than contextual analysis purely of 𓃒 can, for the replacement of one sign by another means that the two have similar meanings. Thus, while the panther sign's connection with the brightness of fire in the Old Kingdom can be posited through its use in *3sb*, *bst*, and *3t*, it is confirmed by its eventual replacement, 𓇋.

Graphic adaption is another of the script's tactics and is evident in the evolution of the panther sign's form. Whereas the metaphorical basis for the use of 𓃒 as the determinative of *3t* faded resulting in the re-interpretation of the sign as a hippopotamus head, it still had some meaning as the determinative of *phty* and so was retained. However, when its metaphorical potency started to fade even in this word, it was revitalised graphically. In the Old Kingdom, strength was only a subsidiary meaning represented by 𓃒, but in the New Kingdom when this is the sign's primary connotation, the incorporation of leonine elements into the form of the sign reinforces its new identity, distancing it from its original signified and anchoring it more firmly in the animal world.

At the end of the period surveyed, *phty* is the only word with which the panther sign is associated metaphorically. Yet, taking into account all that has been discussed above, one cannot interpret the use of the sign in writings of *phty* from the Old to the New Kingdom as a continuum. There is a temporal dividing line separating the figurative connotations of as a determinative, and because the sign itself has a different graphic meaning on each side of the line, its relationship to *phty* undergoes subtle changes. In the Old Kingdom, when strength is not the sign's primary connotation, writings of *phty* with or  derive their meaning only indirectly from the animal and more specifically from the associations of the animal's pelt and the qualities with which it imbues its wearer. By the New Kingdom, however, the relations are more direct, and *phty* forges a link between the human and animal spheres without the mediation of a symbolic garment, although it can be argued that the link is no longer specifically with the panther. It is impossible to represent this subtle development in translation, and indeed it is not relevant in most of the contexts in which *phty* is used. However, understanding that the animal is at the heart of the symbolism of the panther determinative in both Old Kingdom and New Kingdom writings of *phty* – which is perhaps why of all the words the panther sign initially determined, it is the only one to survive – provides an insight into the workings of the determinative system, and the processes by which metaphors lived and died.

-4-

CROCODILE

4.1.1 The crocodile as an animal

The crocodile sign's long-lived and varied linguistic usage is probably attributable to the animal's constant presence in daily life; of the three animals in this study, the crocodile is the most widely represented in art (Houlihan 1996, 114–16), especially in Old Kingdom tombs (Harpur 1987, 355–67). Whenever tomb depictions include a body of water, the crocodile is usually present, lurking below the surface. In cult, the animal was worshipped all over Egypt in various divine guises (Kákosy 1980), although its closest association was with the crocodile deity Sobek (Brovarski 1984). Whereas the character of the god Seth gave shape to his sacred animal (see 2.1), it can be argued conversely that Sobek is defined by the crocodile. Spells in religious texts to transform the deceased into Sobek (*PT* 317, *CT* 969, 991, and *BD* 88) describe the god as a crocodile, and in the *Coffin Texts* and *Book of the Dead* spells, *sbk* 'Sobek' is interchangeable with *msḥ* 'crocodile'. Similarly in the Ramesseum Hymns to Sobek (Gardiner 1957a), the god's crocodilicity is a salient aspect of his characterisation. For example, in the first hymn he is called the 'great luminary who emerged from the flood, (l. 6; compare *PT* 317: 'I have come today from out of the waters of the flood').

Although the crocodile was an object of veneration, its character was always ambivalent. Even in first Ramesseum Hymn to Sobek, in which the god is praised as 'the lord of love' (l. 14), he is also the 'lord of fear' (l. 18), and the hymn appeals to him to 'quell your fury, let your rage pass' (ll. 8–9). The same dualism is constantly evident in the crocodile's usage as a determinative, yet discussions of the crocodile's character have tended to focus on its negativity. Eyre (1976, 113), discussing the crocodile's role in relation to fate, described it as an 'agent of complete destruction'. Shupak (1993, 124) claimed that although the crocodile could occasionally have a positive meaning, its negativity was more salient; Goldwasser (1995, 103) made a similar statement:

> Almost all words determined by the crocodile (except perhaps *sšd*) have strong negative connotations. They belong to the categories of greed, wild eating habits, wild power, and aggressiveness.

The only other word she exempted from this negative characterisation is *sȝḳ* (1995, 103–5). However, in his discussion of the crocodile as a 'Reisemotiv' in literature, Moers (2001, 206)

made the point that the aggression of the crocodile may be seen in a positive light. When it pursues and destroys an innocent (for example, the peasant's children in *Man and Ba*), it is a negative image. However, when it pursues and destroys a wrongdoer (for example, the adulterous lover in *P. Westcar*), it is instead the embodiment of just retribution. Perhaps even the crocodile component of Ammut, the eater of the condemned, may be viewed in this dualistic light, as an agent both of destruction and of justice. Just as she is controlled by the outcome of the weighing of the heart ceremony, crocodiles could also be kept in check, their power harnessed and directed towards a positive purpose, as often in medico-magical texts (4.3.1). The crocodile symbolises raw power; context determines whether this is negative or positive.

4.1.2 The crocodile as a sign

The basic form of the crocodile sign,  (I3), is the simplest of the three determinatives under study in that it is the most straightforward representation of the real animal. As such, it needs little explanation. The crocodile sign has three other forms in the texts surveyed. These are graphically perspectivised to evoke particular qualities of the animal.

• (I5*/I5A).

Gardiner described as an 'archaic stone (?) image of a crocodile' (1957a, 475; compare Hannig 1995, 1055). This form seems to represent the attribute 'divine', but it is not indiscriminately applied to the names of all crocodilian deities and never, for example, determines the name of Maga (4.3.1). Nevertheless, Gardiner was not correct in stating that its only function was as a logogram or determinative in the writing of the name *sbk*. While the usage of this sign is restricted, it appears in more words than just *sbk*; for instance in the second Ramesseum Hymn to Sobek, it determines an epithet of Sobek:  'restful of feet' (l. 66). The epithet may itself partly explain the choice of this sign, which depicts the animal bound in stone, curtailing its ability to move and thereby its potential for attack (see further 4.2.1). Thus, the form of the 'divine' crocodile may in part be a magical restraining device.

• (I5)

Shalomi-Hen (2000, 42) referred to as 'the mythological crocodile', attributing its origin to Sobek's rescue of Horus's hands. This need not, however, be the basis of the sign's

form.  is similarly limited in usage, but it is not restricted to writings of *s3ḳ* (*contra* Gardiner 1957a, 475 and Hannig 1995, 1055). Goldwasser (1995, 105, n. 83) noted that both in the *Coffin Texts* and in the *Book of the Dead*, the crocodile with the curved tail is also used to write *sbk* in some manuscripts. No doubt she is correct to assume that carried 'a full iconic meaning' and that in the contexts she cited, the sign's use is meaningful. However, this is not always the case. The crocodile with the curved tail is also attested in other words where its iconic meaning does not appear to be relevant and where its usage depends on other factors (see further 4.2.2–3).

• (I19).

The most significant difference between and / is that unlike the latter two, signifies an action rather than a quality. This is also the case with the fourth form of the crocodile sign, which depicts only the animal's head. Among the texts surveyed, it is attested in only two New Kingdom contexts, once in a writing of *3t* in the *Book of the Dead* (4.2.3.2) and once in *3f* in the *Instruction of Ani*, where the crocodile sign's mouth is open (4.6.2). This form of the sign, with and without an open mouth, becomes more common in the Late and especially in the Ptolemaic Period (Daumas et al. 1988–95, I, 251; Wilson 1997, 25).

In hieratic, all forms of the crocodile sign tend to retain their iconicity and are instantly recognisable for the animal they represent. The sign is also visually salient because it usually has a long tail. Although specific animal signs tend to be replaced by simpler, more uniform signs – such as which replaces specific determinatives of animal names, especially that of the panther (see chapter 3) – this is not the case with the crocodile sign. All the four hieroglyphic forms of the animal discussed are attested in cursive form in the texts surveyed.

4.1.3 The crocodile as a metaphor

It is often difficult to draw a line between mentions of the crocodile in texts as a real animal and as a metaphor, especially in narrative and literary texts but also in texts of other types. This difficulty derives from the animal's many figurative associations, which in turn feed into its function as a determinative. As discussed above (0.1), determinatives are subject to two possible metaphorical relations: those between the determinative and its word, and those between the word and its context. Although the relations between a word and its crocodile determinative may be non-metaphorical – for example when the animal determines one of the

words for crocodile – the context may nevertheless involve the determinative in metaphor. For the sake of clarity, I maintain a division in the sections of contextual analysis between figurative and non-figurative usages of the crocodile determinative, but it is the context of the word that decides whether the crocodile determinative is metaphorical or not.

4.2 Religious Texts

4.2.1 The *Pyramid Texts*

The crocodile sign plays a very restricted role in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, with only one possible but uncertain figurative usage, and occurs mainly in writings of the name of Sobek.

4.2.1.1 Non-figurative

sbk

Sobek is mentioned only in four spells which do not occur in all pyramids (Table 4.1). There are no mentions of the god at all in T and M, nor in Ibi. In the Middle Kingdom, S reproduces all the attestations of Sobek in W, but there are no comparable attestations in Neha or Siese.

Table 4.1: Sobek in the *Pyramid Texts*

Source	*PT* 301 § 456a	*PT* 308 § 489c	*PT* 317 § 507b	*PT* 317 § 510a	*PT* 582 § 1564b
W					–
P	–	–	–	–	
N	–		–	–	
Neith	–	 = l. 816	–	–	–
Oudjebten	–	damaged	–	–	–
S	 = l. 472	 = l. 327	 = l. 496	 = l. 499	–

There are signs of a development between the texts in W and those of the 6th Dynasty pyramids. Lacau (1913) grouped W and T together and contrasted their treatment of hieroglyphs for animate beings with that of P, M, and N. However, with regard to the Seth animal, the panther, and the crocodile, W stands alone in using hieroglyphic forms unattested in any of the other pyramids. The crocodile sign is used twice in W in writings of the name of Sobek, but avoided by P and N, and also later in S. Moreover, the locations of the various passages in Unas may be relevant to the choice of determinative. Both of the crocodile signs

attested in W occur on the east wall of the antechamber, while both of the phonetic writings are from the west wall of the corridor. Since W shows comparatively few superstitious curtailments of signs, the avoidance of the crocodile sign in the corridor texts may not be apotropaic. However, the correspondence is striking, and perhaps reflects a change in procedure in the time between the inscription of the two areas.

In most of the attestations listed above, Sobek is mentioned without much reference to his character, but *PT* 317, a spell to transform the king into Sobek, is essentially an extended description of the god. The primary focus is on the god's ability to satisfy his carnal desires whenever he chooses, putting what is elsewhere portrayed as a negative quality (for example, see discussion of *skn* in 4.6.2) in the positive light of brute force and power. It is striking, however, that the spell is only attested in W and not in any of the later pyramids, which is perhaps an indication of disapproval. Indeed, the effigy form of the crocodile sign in both instances of its use in W (see Figs. 4.1a–b) may suggest that despite Sobek's positive associations, the crocodile sign itself was considered dangerous (see 4.1.3).

Fig. 4.1a b





Although it could be a means of distinguishing a sacred crocodile from the ordinary animal, the depiction of the crocodile in effigy form rather than its usual representation  , could be interpreted in this context as an attempt to render the animal less harmful.

msḥ and *ḥnty*

There are very few allusions to the crocodile as an animal in the *Pyramid Texts*. Although Faulkner suggested (1969, 85) that *PT* 279 may be a spell against crocodiles, the only direct mention of the animal is in *PT* 730, attested only in N and the animal's name is written without a determinative:

PT 730 (Jéquier 1936, 14: 1055 + 63):

N: 

ḥr ḥr.k msḥ mniw ḫ3 ...

Upon your face, crocodile. The herdsman of the [winding waterway?] ...

The epithet *ḥnty* 'marsh-dweller' may refer to the crocodile a different context in two further spells:

PT 461 (§871b):

M: 

PT 697 (§2173c):

N: 

ḥn.t(w).k (N) m ḥnty

May you (N) be rowed as a marsh-dweller.

This epithet is used elsewhere of the crocodile (for example, in the *Coffin Texts*; see below), and so despite the lack of crocodile determinative to corroborate the interpretation, it is likely to refer to the animal here. Both passages connect the king with the stars. In *PT* 461, he is transformed into the morning star, and in *PT* 697, he is ferried across the winding waterway (*ḫ3*, possibly associated in some way with the crocodile in *PT* 730 above, and certainly with Sobek later in the *Coffin Texts*) which seems to be a metaphor for the sky since the king is rowed within it by the stars. Thus, the contexts of *ḥnty* and of *msḥ* present different crocodilian associations. While *PT* 730 wards the animal off, *PT* 461 and 697 identify the king with the crocodile. In *PT* 461, the identification results in respect for the king because of his crocodilian fearsomeness. Becoming a 'marsh-dweller' also gives the king free movement through the sky, which is equated with a body of water. The crocodile's mobility in and association with water is a recurring theme in the contexts in which it is mentioned, and is discussed again below.

4.2.1.2 Figurative usage

3dm (?)

There is one further use of the crocodile sign, again in effigy form, in the *Pyramid Texts* in a passage attested only in N:

PT 689 (§2089b–90b):

N:  [1]

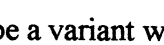
gm.n N irt ḥr gm nn irt ḥr rdy n.s tp.s ir n.s ḫ3t m wpt r^c 3d m msḥ/sbk (?)

The King has found the eye of Horus as the eye of Horus has found this one.

---

[1] Maspero's original transcription (1894, 426) as an ordinary crocodile (I3) is likely to be mistaken; he also transcribed the preceding *m* as an aleph.

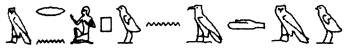
Its head has been given to it, (a place at) the front on the brow of Re has been made for it, aggressive as a crocodile/Sobek.

Faulkner (1969, 298) translated  'crocodile', as did Speleers (1935, 323) but the phonetic reading of the sign is uncertain. It could be a logographic writing of *msḥ* or *sbk*, both of which occur in the *Coffin Texts* with the meaning 'crocodile'. Elsewhere in N, the name of Sobek is written phonetically with a generic deity determinative () twice. However, since orthography in the *Pyramid Texts* is not vigorously consistent within specific pyramids, particularly given the constraints of spacing, it could be a variant writing of *sbk*. The substitution of a logogram for a longer phonetic writing is attested in W (*PT* 308, §489c):  is replaced by  after a textual emendation (Mathieu 1996b, 301). Moreover, W is not consistent in its four writings of the name of Sobek.

There is another possibility: the word could read *3dm*, with a crocodile determinative. A similar word *3dmw* occurs five times in the *Coffin Texts*, although none of the passages derive from *PT* 689. Its exact meaning is not clear,[2] but it seems to be connected with aggressive beings; for example:

CT 148 (II. 224f–25a):

S1Cb: 



S1Ca, S1P, S2Cb, S1Chass:  S1Ca: damaged

3d.i r ḫft(y) n it.i wsir dy ḫr ṯbwt.i m rn.i pw n 3dmw

I am aggressive against the enemy of my father Osiris, he having been set under my sandal in this my name of *3dmw*.

The pairing of *3d* 'to be aggressive' and *3dmw* would seem to suggest a semantic connection.[3] The immediate context of the passage in *CT* 148 above identifies the speaker several times with Horus.[4] Since *3dmw* generally takes a deity determinative, it is perhaps an epithet of this deity, emphasising his aspect as an aggressor. There is some support for this in the mention of two

---

[2] *3dm* is unattested in the *Wb*. Van der Molen (2000, 10) listed it three times (*3d3w*, *3dmw*, and *3dmm*) but did not suggest a translation.

[3] *CT* Index (1998, 7) translated *3dmw* as 'The Aggressive One' seemingly based on this connection between the roots of *3d* and *3dmw*.

[4] *CT* 1019 (VII. 241f) again suggests *3dmw* is a powerful being: 'there is no god who will cross me, for I am *3dmw*'.

ʒdmw gods in *CT* 674 (VI. 302j) who are described as 'great and mighty'; they could be Horus and Seth, who are often paired in religious texts as rival powers (e.g. *nbwy, rḥwy*).[5]

Thus, in *PT* 689, *ʒdm(w)* could be an epithet of Re: 'Re the aggressive one (?)'. Although *ʒdmw* usually has a deity determinative () in the *Coffin Texts*, it never has a crocodile determinative and the word appears not to be attested in any other Old Kingdom source, so its reading here is uncertain. But if the word in the *Pyramid Texts* is *ʒdm(w)*, the crocodile determinative would be a further indication of the semantic link between *ʒdmw* and *ʒd*. Aggression is at the heart of all of the possible interpretations above, and regardless of its precise reading, the crocodile sign is indicative of that aggression.

Although the form of the sign,  rather than  , points to a reading of 'Sobek', the latter sign may have been considered unsuitable for use inside the pyramid, and so the bound form of the sign,  , was used instead. It is furthermore possible that the damage Sethe recorded in his transcription of §2090b in N (it is not included in Jéquier 1936) may have been a deliberate attempt to curb the sign's power. Certain animal signs in P were treated in a comparable way: they were at first rendered fully, and then part of the animal was filled in with plaster (Pierre 1993, 302–3). Sethe's reliance on squeezes rather than the texts themselves meant that his copy of the signs does not reflect this (Leclant 1977, 283). His transcription of such signs shows only the part of the animal which remained unblocked, usually the head. Without looking at a photograph of the wall, verification is impossible, but the possibility of deliberate damage to the crocodile sign in N is suggested by comparison with the surrounding signs, none of which Sethe transcribed as damaged. The identity and character of a deity shown in effigy form was conveyed through his or her head, and so when a sacred animal is shown in effigy form, the head is especially important (Hornung 1982, 113–14). The head is also the only part of the animal to be 'unbound', and therefore still potentially dangerous – damaging it would be a particularly effective means of inhibiting its power.

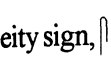
[5] Two gods are again implied in *CT* 619 (VI. 231s): 'The *ʒdmw* will be joined; they will unite the river banks'.

4.2.2 The *Coffin Texts*

In contrast to the crocodile sign's very restricted range of usage in the *Pyramid Texts*, it determines ten words in the *Coffin Texts* and exhibits a wide range of figurative associations. There are numerous non-figurative mentions of the crocodile, both in its sacred form as Sobek and in its mundane form as an animal. I first discuss the crocodile in its clearly non-figurative roles.

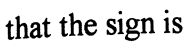
4.2.2.1 Non-figurative usage

sbk

Non-figuratively, the crocodile sign most commonly occurs in writings of the name of the god Sobek, attestations of which slightly outnumber those of *msḥ*. The effigy form of the crocodile sign is confined to writings of *sbk* and does not appear in any of the crocodile's figurative usages, with only one exception (see p. 387). But this form of the sign is not common even in writings of *sbk* – the majority of coffins write the name phonetically, and determine it with a generic deity sign,  , using the anthropomorphic deity determinative exclusively instead of  . There is some alternation between the orthography and writings involving the crocodile sign, but several coffins never use the crocodile sign: for example, B9C, B2P, and B1L.[6] Writings involving the crocodile sign are very much in the minority: the commonest orthography by far is . But when the crocodile sign is used, it appears in various forms (full details are given in Table 4.2):

-  (). The writing with the additional deity sign is much more common than without. It is slightly more common in logographic writings than as a determinative.
-  . This form of the sign, which consists of a crocodile effigy on a *nb*-sign, is attested only in S2P which uses it consistently although it varies in function. For example, it occurs three times in *CT* 158: twice the writing is logographic (II. 351b, 352b:), while once phonetic

[6] The levels of avoidance of the crocodile sign differ in these three coffins. B9C's avoidance is complete; it has writings of *ỉd*, *ḥm*, *sỉḳ*, *sšd* and *ks*, as well as *sbk*, but does not write a crocodile determinative in any of them. B2P avoids the crocodile sign also in its writings of *ỉd*, *sỉḳ*, the only other two words it has which may take a crocodile determinative. B1L avoids the crocodile sign in its writings of *sbk*, *ks*, *sỉḳ*, but does have a crocodile determinative in a writing of *ḥm*.

signs precede, so that the sign is a determinative (II. 354b: ).[7]

•  (). The two forms, with and without deity, are attested in equal numbers, but the writing with the ordinary crocodile is not as common as with the effigy form. The crocodile is attested only twice on its own. As a logogram, it is more commonly combined with the deity sign in logographic writings.

•  . The only attestations of the crocodile with the curved tail are in logographic writings of Sobek's name in B4L, and these always occur in conjunction with the deity sign. B4L always writes Sobek's name logographically, using mostly the crocodile with the curved tail in four occurrences, the others having the ordinary crocodile, (see Table 4.2). De Buck assigned a *sic* to B4L's writing of . This is justified in *CT* 160, where Sobek is mentioned in a list of deities in that the context provides no reason for the form of the sign. In *CT* 158, however, it is actually appropriate, because the context is Sobek fishing Horus' hands from the water (discussed by Goldwasser 1995, 103); the word occurs three times in the spell, which is attested twice on the coffin:

CT 158 (II. 351b):

B4La: 

B4Lb: 

ḥwy ỉ ỉn n.ỉ sbk n pḥwy

I wish Sobek from the marshes would be brought to me!

(II. 352b):

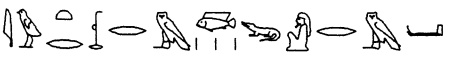
B4La: 

B4Lb: 

sbk n pḥwy ḏd.f

Sobek from the marshes said...

(II. 354b):

B4La: 

B4Lb: 

ỉw tr rmw sbk r-m

---

[7] S2P uses this orthography twice again in *CT* 160 (II. 376d: ; II. 387a:). Not many other animals may be depicted over the *nb*-sign outside the groups *nbwy* (Horus falcon and Seth animal) and *nbty* (uraeus and vulture); a possible comparison is the baboon (E45), although the sign is *ḥb* not *nb*.

Why does Sobek have fish?

It is probable, therefore that the determinative's form is deliberate in this spell, and not the error de Buck assumed it to be. Even in *CT* 160 (II. 376d, 387a), where the versions of B4La and B4Lb diverge, both are consistent in their writings of Sobek's name: B4La continues to write  while B4Lb writes  .

There are only a few attestations of a phonetic writing without any determinative at all. Only B4Bo uses  as an abbreviated determinative in its writing of Sobek, whereas the sign is quite common in writings of *msḥ* (see below).

Table 4.2 *sbk* in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE								OTHER
CT 158 II 351b	B2Bo*	S1C*	S2P*			B4La* B4Lb*	B1L B17C B1C B4Bo B9C B2P	B1Y: damaged
CT 158 II. 352b		B2Bo*	S2P*			B4La* B4Lb*	B1L B17C B1C B9C B2P	B1Y: damaged B4Bo: -0-
CT 158 II. 354b	B2Bo		S2P			B4La* B4Lb*	B1L B17C B4Bo B9C B2P	B1Y: damaged
CT 160 II. 376d	B2Bo	B3Ca* S2C* B4Lb*	S2P*			B4La*	B1L B17C B1C B9C B2P	B4Bo: B1Y: damaged
CT 160 II. 387a		B4Lb B2Bo* B3Ca*	S2P			B4La*	B1L B17C B1C B9C B2P	B4Bo: B1Y, S2C: damaged
CT 268 IV. 1a				T1L				
CT 268 IV. 2e							B1Bo	B2Be: -0-
CT 268 IV. 3b							**B1Bo** B2Be	
CT 268 IV. 4g							Sq6C	T1L: *ḥms*
CT 268 IV. 5e							B1Bo B2Be	

SOURCE (cont.)								OTHER
CT 268 IV 6a				Sq6C*			B1Bo	
CT 285 IV 36a							Sq6C B2L	
CT 285 IV 36b							Sq6C	
CT 317 IV 122g							**B2L**	
CT 398 V 125b	M2NY* M5C*	M3C		M21C			M4C	M13C, M6C, M46C: damaged G1T, A1C: *Mnw*
CT 404 V 187a	**B5C**: 						**B9C** B10C	B7C: damaged
CT 407 V 218b		**B2Bo*** S1C* **S2C*** M22C **M23C**						M6C: damaged B3Bo: *ḥms*
CT 407 V 218c		B2L*					B1C	
CT 473 VI 7c							B9C B1Y B1C	
CT 473 VI 16f							B1C	
CT 474 VI 17k							B1Bo	
CT 474 VI 21d							B1Bo	
CT 477 VI 35e							B1P	
CT 479 VI 41o		P. Gard II						
CT 571 VI 170j	**S10C**						**B1Bo**	
CT 571 VI 171l					S10C		**B1Bo**	
CT 636 VI 259b							B2L B6Bo	
CT 636 VI 259e							B2L	B6Bo: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)								OTHER
CT 649 VI. 271b (cf. *msḥ*)	G1T*							
CT 667 VI. 295t							B1Bo	
CT 667 VI. 296a							B1Bo	
CT 691 VI. 323l								L1Li: -0-
CT 910 VII. 115c							B4Bo	
CT 969 VII. 201e				P. Gard II				
CT 991 VII. 201k					P. Gard III			P. Gard II: damaged
CT 991 VII. 202h					P. Gard II, III			
CT 991 VII. 203b					P. Gard II			P. Gard III: damaged
CT 991 VII. 203d					P. Gard II			P. Gard III: damaged

Bold: plural; *: logographic writing; -0-: no determinative;

In several contexts, the god's name is in the plural and seems to refer to crocodiles in general. Faulkner alternated between translating these plurals as 'crocodile gods' and just 'crocodiles' (see Table 4.3).

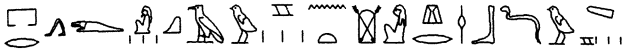
Table 4.3: Faulkner's treatment of *sbkw*

SOURCE	FAULKNER'S TRANSLATION	ORTHOGRAPHY
CT 268 IV. 3b	the crocodiles of the fens	B1Bo:  B2Be:
CT 317 IV. 122g	the crocodile-gods have been placed in my retinue	B2L: 
CT 404 V. 187a	which Neith sends down to the crocodiles	B5C:  B9C: B10C:  B7C: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)	FAULKNER'S TRANSLATION	ORTHOGRAPHY
CT 407 V. 218b–c	the crocodile goes forth	B2Bo:  B3Bo: B1C: B2L: M6C: damaged M22C: M23C: S1C: S2C:
CT 571 VI. 170j	the crocodile-gods are happy	B1Bo:  S10C: 
CT 571 VI. 171l	it is the crocodile gods who catch fish for it	B1Bo:  S10C: 

In *CT* 407, *msḥ* occurs as a variant for *sbkw*, which Faulkner (1973, 204 n. 10) took as proof that the latter could be used generically of crocodiles:

CT 407 (V. 218b–c):[8]

B2Bo: 

S1C:  S2C:  B3Bo:  M22C: 

M23C:  B2L:  B1C:  M6C: damaged

pr sbk(w) ḫ3w nt ḥr wḏbw

The crocodile has gone forth from the mounds of Neith and from under the riverbanks.

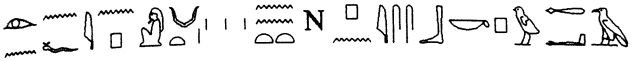
S2C is the not the only variant that has a plural *sbkw* in this passage; Faulkner (1977, 59 n. 9) noted the plural form in two variants (B2Bo and S2C), but M23C also has it. Of nine manuscripts, three write the plural clearly and four the singular, with one manuscript too damaged to reconstruct (M6C) and another damaged after its phonetic stem (M22C). Thus the singular has only a slim majority. If B3Bo's substitution of *sbk(w)* with *msḥ* is taken into consideration, it is indeed likely to be the generic crocodile that is being evoked rather than the god, as Faulkner proposed. The plural would be a way of indicating this, despite the consistent indication of divinity in the orthography of all the undamaged variants.

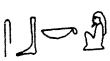
If *sbkw* can refer to crocodiles, are these always divine crocodiles? Should the presence of a deity determinative always be taken as an indication of divinity, or is written automatically after the root *sbk* even when the latter is being used generically for crocodiles? There are three more contexts which Faulkner translated 'crocodile(s)' when *sbk* (singular) is written.

---

[8] V. 218c is B1C's and B2L's version of V. 218b in the other manuscripts.

CT 268 (IV. 2d–e):

B2Be: 

B1Bo: 

ir.n n.f inpw wpwt n-ntt N pn is sbk pw ʿ3

Anubis makes horns for him because N is a mighty crocodile. (Faulkner 1973, 203)

Since the spell is for transforming the deceased into the crocodile-god, an alternative translation is: 'for N is this Sobek, the mighty one' (so also Barguet 1986, 457).

CT 667 (VI. 295s– 96a):

B1Bo: 

p3.n N pn m bik sbk pw N pn ngg.n N pn m bik sbk pw N pn

sp3.n N pn m gbg3 inpw pw N pn nb krst

N has flown up as a falcon, N is a crocodile. N has screeched as a falcon, N is a crocodile.

N has flown up as a vulture, N is Anubis, Lord of Burial. (Faulkner 1977, 239)

On the basis of the analogy with the falcon and the *gbg3*-bird (Faulkner's 'vulture' is unlikely, see Schott 1968, 45–50), it is possible that the deceased is identifying himself with an ordinary crocodile rather than the crocodile god. Although *bik* has a divine determinative, *gbg3* does not. However, since the spell then goes on to identify the deceased with Anubis, here too it is possible and perhaps preferable to translate 'Sobek' (again Barguet 1986, 220). It therefore follows that there are only a handful of secure instances in which *sbk* is used generically for the crocodile, and these are usually indicated by the addition of plural strokes. Thus, in the singular, *sbk* usually refers to the god. The plural also retains a notion of divinity, which is marked either by the form of the crocodile sign or by a deity determinative, and so it seems that *sbkw* should be understood as 'sacred crocodiles' in the *Coffin Texts*.

On the whole, Sobek appears either in neutral contexts, – where his name is mentioned in a list of other deities, or mentioned without further characterisation – or in positive contexts, where he is usually connected with his rescue of Horus' hands, for example in *CT* 158. Occasionally, however, the connotations surrounding him are more negative: in *CT* 910, there is an attempt to curb his power:

CT 910 (VII. 115c):

B4Bo: 

im ȝd sbk

May Sobek not be aggressive.

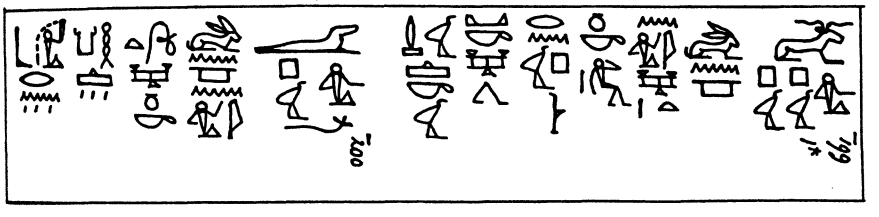
Furthermore, in *CT* 969, he is characterised as 'Sobek in the midst of his rage (*dšrt* [9])'. However, even his association with wrath can be viewed positively, and it is turned into a positive attribute that the deceased acquires through identification with the crocodile god. After his transformation into Sobek in *CT* 268, the deceased is both dangerous (IV. 4e: *ꜥȝꜥ*, which conveys dangerous power[10]) and majestic (IV. 2h: *ꜥȝ šfšft*).

msḥ

As mentioned above, in a few contexts some manuscripts write *msḥ* where others write *sbk*, but while there is an obvious connection between the two, writings of *sbk* and *msḥ* are nevertheless carefully distinguished by the form of their determinatives. The crocodile in effigy form appears only in logographic writings presumably to be read *sbk* or as a determinative after a phonetic writing of *sbk*, never after a phonetic writing of *msḥ*. Furthermore, there are no attestations of *msḥ* with an additional deity determinative in the *Coffin Texts* (see Table 4.4).

There is one ambiguous context, attested only in G1T:

CT 649 (VI. 271a–b):



sr pw {pw} wn n.i wȝt ink rnpw di.k wȝ wḏȝ.kw

msḥ.f pw wn n.i wȝt ink ḥkȝ wꜥb rnw

O this ram-man, open a path for me. I am the young child, let me pass unharmed.

O this crocodile-man of his, open a path for me. I am magic, pure of names.

The other verses of the spell all begin with an animal sign – usually a lion – followed by a human sign, which Faulkner (1977, 225) persuasively identified as a determinative. The

---

[9] Faulkner (1978, 93) translated *dšrt* as 'blood', which is possible, but the crocodile's well-established associations with anger rather than gore make 'rage' a more likely translation (e.g. compare *CT* I. 21c, VI. 240r).

[10] In medical texts in particular it can mean either 'semen' or 'venom' (von Deines and Westendorf 1961, I, 129).

crocodile is the only animal sign to be depicted in effigy form,[11] but it is perhaps significant that each animal is depicted in recumbent pose: this is common for the lion and the jackal, but not for the ram. If this recumbent position had semantic significance, perhaps G1T deliberately used the effigy form of the crocodile sign to bring this out, since the animal's ordinary form would not be sufficiently distinct. Distinguishing the initial animal signs from the rest of the text was clearly the intention, as is clear from their relatively larger size.

In the *Coffin Texts*, writings of *msḥ* are with the ordinary crocodile sign serving either as a determinative after a phonetic writing or as a logogram (relatively commoner); if the writing is phonetic, the generic hieratic abbreviation sign (𓏺) is as commonly attested as the crocodile sign. Some manuscripts are consistent in their use of this sign, for example B1C, B1P, and B1Bo, which also write Sobek's name phonetically with a deity determinative, thus avoiding the crocodile sign.[12] Phonetic writings tend to have either the crocodile or the abbreviation sign; there are only five instances in which no determinative is written at all.

Table 4.4: *msḥ* in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE	𓂝	𓃀	𓃀𓀀	𓀀	𓏺𓀀	𓏺	Other
CT 80 II. 42b						**B1P**	
CT 80 II. 42c						**B7C**	B1P: different **B1C, B2L**: -0-
CT 107 II. 118b	G2T*						S1C, S2C: damaged
CT 133 II. 157h	G2T*						
CT 268 IV. 4d	Sq6C						
CT 268 IV. 4g	T1L			Sq6C (*sbk*)			
CT 268 IV. 6a	Sq6C*			B1Bo (*sbk*)			

[11] It would be unusual for a lion or snake hieroglyph to have this form, but there are variants in effigy form of the ram and jackal signs.

[12] The three coffins have writings of *ꜣd*, *ꜥḥm* (not attested in B1P), *msḥ*, *sꜣḳ*, *ks*, all without the crocodile determinative. Compare B9C and B2P discussed above.

SOURCE (cont.)							Other
CT 285 IV. 35a							B2L: -0-
CT 342 IV. 346a						B1C	
CT 342 IV. 346e							B2L: -0-
CT 342 IV. 347g						B1C, B1P	B2L: -0-
CT 407 V. 218b			**B2Bo* S2C*** S1C*				M6C, B3Bo: damaged M22C, M23C: *sbk*
CT 424 V. 265a	**M2NY*** **S14C* S10C*** **B2Bo B2Bo***					**B1Bo**	S2C: damaged
CT 424 V. 265b	B2Bo* S2C* S10C*				B4Bo (*)	B1Bo	M2NY: damaged S14C: omitted
CT 424 V. 266a	S10C					B1Bo	
CT 424 V. 266c	S14C* S2C* B2Bo* S10C				B4Bo (*)	B1Bo	M2NY: damaged
CT 424 V. 266e	S10C					B1Bo	
CT 482 VI. 49d	**S1Ca***						S2Ca, S2Cb, S1Cb: *m3iw* B2L: *s3b*
CT 577 VI. 193a	B5C*					B1P*	B1Be:
CT 586 VI. 205h	**S1C***						S2C: damaged
CT 649 VI. 271b		G1T*					
CT 977 VII. 188c							P. Gard. III: damaged
CT 991 VII. 201i	P. Gard. II*, III*						

Bold: plural; *: logographic writing; (*): semi-logographic writing; -0-: no determinative

The crocodile (*msḥ*) shows the same ambivalence of character as Sobek. It is the crocodile's brute strength that the deceased acquires through his transformation into the god (*CT* 991) and

this is presented as a positive attribute. It also appears to be a direct consequence of taking on the appearance of the animal:

CT 991 (VII. 201i):

P. Gard II: 

ink nb ks wsr šsp msḥ

I am the mighty lord of obeisance, who takes crocodile(-form).[13]

This appropriation of the crocodile's power is not restricted to the spells which transform the deceased into the crocodile god. The following is from a spell which endows the deceased with power over his enemy:

CT 577 (VI. 192f–93a):

B1Be: 

B5C: B1Pb:

iw.f n ʿnwt.i mi mȝi ḥsȝ iw.f n šsp.i mi msḥ

He is doomed to my fingernails as to a fierce lion; he is doomed to my palm as to a crocodile.[14]

B1Be's writing here is also the only writing of *msḥ* with a hide and tail determinative in the *Coffin Texts*. This determinative is highly unusual with names for the crocodile,[15] and it is possible that its use here was influenced by the similarity of the phonetics of *mȝi ḥsȝ* and its determinative. B1P's logographic writing is even more striking given that the hieratic abbreviation sign cannot be read literally as the logographic stroke would have it (Goldwasser 1991, 40; Allen 2000, 26), since  may represent several different signs. However, B1P uses repeatedly instead of the crocodile sign, and so perhaps it acquired a particular association with that enabled a substitution in this instance.

Alongside spells to transform the deceased into a crocodile or identify him with one, *CT* 342, 424, and 586 seek to ward crocodiles off. All three spells characterise the crocodile as 'coming to steal N's magic', which seems to stem from the animal's perceived voraciousness (see *ḥnty* below, p. 366). Although stealing and eating magic is outside the domain of mundane crocodiles, none of the manuscripts which include the three spells indicates the crocodile's

---

[13] Also attested in P. Gard III. For discussion of the crocodile determinative of *ks*, see below.

[14] For the crocodile as an agent of vengeance, see 4.5.1 and 4.6.1.

[15] It is not listed among the variant orthographies of *msḥ* in the *Wb* (II. 136, 10–137, 1).

supernatural character by giving it a deity determinative or using the effigy form of the sign.[16]

ꜥšmw / ꜥḫmw

The crocodile determinative in effigy form is found again occasionally in the writing of *ꜥḫmw / ꜥšmw* (hereafter *ꜥḫm* unless context dictates otherwise) in alternation with the ordinary crocodile (Table 4.5). The meaning of the word is somewhat contentious. In the *Coffin Texts* it occurs as a verb, an adjective (in the epithets *ꜥḫm-ḥr*, *ꜥḫm-tp*) and as a noun. The *CT* Index (1998, 56–57) translated each usage differently: verbal *ꜥḫm* as 'to crouch', the epithet as 'the Crouching One', and the nominal use as 'image'. It is not clear on what evidence the translation 'crouch(ing)' is proposed, but it may derive from the pose of the crocodile or the older falcon determinative, described in the *Wörterbuch* (I. 225) as 'ursprünglich das hockende Falkenbild dann als gemeines Wort für Götterbild'. However, if the word did originally designate the crouching form specifically of the falcon, it has never been translated in this way. Since the falcon on a standard is a generic determinative of any divinity and does not necessarily indicate that the divinity is associated with a falcon, the effigy form of the falcon sign () could have a similar significance. Thus, rather than a falcon shape, possibly signifies the physical manifestation of divinity, whereas signifies divinity that one does not necessarily see (compare 4.1.2). The pose of the determinative is not always appropriate in context, for example, *ꜥḫm* also qualifies *ḥr* 'face' (*CT* 268, IV. 4d; *CT* 460, V. 333n; *CT* 627, VI. 245d): can a face 'crouch'?

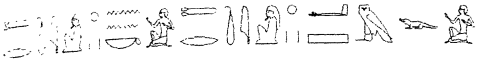
Faulkner varied his translations of *ꜥḫm* quite extensively. As a noun, he translated it variously as '(sacred) image', 'crocodile-spirit', and *ꜥḫmw*-spirits'. The translation does not always seem to be influenced by the presence or absence of a crocodile determinative; for example, he translated *ꜥḫmw* in *CT* 652 (VI. 310m) as 'crocodile-spirits' despite the sole manuscript B1Bo's writing without the crocodile determinative. Conversely, despite the presence of the crocodile determinative in *CT* 317 (IV. 127e) in various manuscripts, he translated '*ꜥḫmw*-spirits' rather than 'crocodile-spirits' specifically (see further below). Whether it is translated generally ('image' or 'spirit') or more specifically ('crocodile-spirit'), the root of *ꜥḫm* is the manifestation of a divinity, and that can be brought out by either

[16] Compare the *BD* versions of these spells, in which the vignettes depict ordinary rather than divine crocodiles (see p. 397 and Fig. 4.4). Perhaps using this form of the sign is an attempt to dis-empower the crocodiles.

translation.

This core idea is also present in some of Faulkner's renderings of verbal *ḫm*, in which he never included a crocodilian element. The distinctions he made in these translations are especially apparent in his treatment of the three verbal instances of *ḫm* cited below with his renderings:

CT 257 (III. 367d):

S1Cc: 

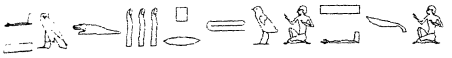
S1Cb. B3C:  S3C:  B2L:  B1C:  S1Ca: 

S2Ca. S2Cb: damaged

ỉrty n-n.k ỉrty ḫšm.i

O you two of the willow, you belong to me, for I am made divine. (Faulkner 1973, 197)

CT 476 (VI. 30e):

S1C: 

ḫsm ḏbḥw phr.i sḫ(t).i

Voracious (?) are my fingers which close around my knife. (Faulkner 1977, 117)

CT 967 (VII. 182o):

P. Gard. II: 

iw.n.i iy.n.i ḫšm.i

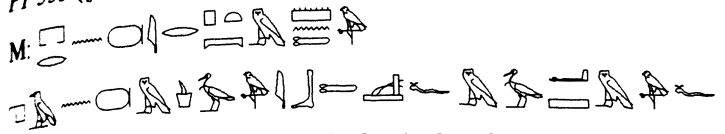
I have come and I have gone so that I may be a crocodile-spirit. (Faulkner 1978, 92)

It is not clear why Faulkner made a distinction between *ḫšm* in *CT* 257 and 967, especially given the crocodile determinative in half the manuscripts of the former. His translation of the verbal *ḫm* in the *Pyramid Texts* was simply 'to be divine'. However, in the *Pyramid Texts* there are no attestations of writings with a crocodile determinative; only serves as a determinative, if one is written. Faulkner treated two of the six instances of *ḫm* in the *Pyramid Texts* as verbal, and four as nominal.[17] However, the two instances that he treated as verbal in *PT* 506 and 555 can be analysed as nominal. If *ḫm* is interpreted in this way, the two spells in which it occurs can be seen as descriptions of a process of divine manifestation, for which *ḫm* stands. Both passages describe the forceful seizing of physical form by a divine essence: in the latter, it is specifically Montu:

---

[17] Verbal: *PT* 506 §1098c (P, M, N) and *PT* 555 §1378c (M, N); nominal: *PT* 274 §407b (W, T); *PT* 625 §1766t (N); *PT* 627 §1779a (N), §1781c (N).

PT 555 (§1378b–c):

M: 

pr.n Nir pt m mnṯ ḥ3.n N m b3 ibṯ.f m b3 ʿšm.f

He has gone up to the sky as Montu; the king has come down as a *ba*

that he (=Montu) has trapped, as the ba of his manifestation.[18]

In *PT* 506, it is the king who makes himself manifest as a divinity:

PT 506 (§1098c–d):

P: 

N pi b3 ʿnḫ sp3-ḥr ʿšm tp.f nḥm ḏt.f iṯ ḏt.f

The king is a living ba, bearded of face, divine of (his) being, who has taken his bodily form,

who has seized his bodily form.[19]

The beard is one of the distinguishing features of divine and semi-divine beings in hieroglyphs: contrast the beardless  determinative of ordinary human beings with  (fully divine) and  (semi-divine). Gardiner, who used *PT* 506 as the basis for his interpretation of *ʿḫm* in a hymn to Sobek (1957b, 51 n.8), wanted to understand the verb *ʿḫm* as the equivalent of *nḥm* and *iṯ*, therefore meaning 'seize, devour' or the like,[20] which then evolved into a term for a class of dangerous beings, *ʿḫmw*, typified by the falcon and the crocodile which are attested as determinatives. In the *Coffin Texts*, the crocodile is the word's most common determinative, but the falcon does not occur at all. Returning to *PT* 506, it is possible to understand *ʿḫm tp.f* as being parallel to *sp3 ḥr* instead, *ʿḫm* therefore being adjectival and not verbal; thus the passage above would mean: 'Pepi is a living soul, bearded of face, divine of (his) being, who has captured his form, who has seized his form'. The spell centres around the king identifying himself with various beings and taking on their many different physical forms, and so understanding *nḥm* and *iṯ* as his forceful capture of the attributes of a living ba (the beard and the divine nature) fits with the sense of the spell as a whole. Thus, *ʿḫm* would simply mean

---

[18] Compare Faulkner (1969, 215): 'I have gone up to the sky as Montu, I have gone down as a soul which he entraps, as a soul which he makes divine'.

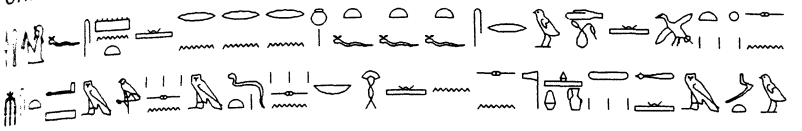
[19] Compare Faulkner (1969, 181): 'I am a living soul with a bearded face, who endowed his head with divinity, who saved himself and removed himself.' On understanding *ʿḫm-tp.f* as an epithet rather than a verbal phrase, compare *ʿḫm-tp* and *ʿḫm-ḥr* recurring in the *Coffin Texts* as epithets of guardian deities (see Table 4.5).

[20] The interpretations of Hornung (1967, 128) and Wilson (1997, 178) are both based on this.

'divine' in the sense of the king being a manifestation of divinity. The later crocodile determinative, attested so often in the *Coffin Texts*, brings out the sheer power of such a manifestation, deriving from its nature.

The idea of the process underlying the creation of an *ḫm*, the taking of physical form by a divine force, is echoed in similar words in an inscription of Thutmosis III:

Urk IV. 607, 8–11:



wḏ ḥm.f smnt rnw nw itw(.f) srwḏ pȝwt.sn

mst ꜥšmw.sn m ḏtw.sn nb wȝḥ n.sn ḥtpw-nṯr ꜥȝ m mȝꜥw

His majesty commanded that their names be established, their offerings embellished,

their images created in all their forms, that divine offerings be laid down for them as tribute.

The qualification of *ꜥḫmw* with *m ḏtw nbw* in this inscription underlines the physical presence of these images: they are manifestations of divine beings. The fact that in the *Pyramid Text* spells quoted above the taking of physical form seems to be forceful (as is implied by the nature of the verbs *nḥm* and *iṯ* in *PT* 506, and by the use of the verb *ibṯ* in *PT* 555, usually used of trapping birds, but in *PT* 555 applied almost ironically to the trapping of the winged soul) is very important and emphasises the power of the divinity who is making himself manifest.

Thus, the effigy form crocodile may be a graphic means of emphasising the attribute [Divine] in *ꜥḫm*. However, it is not the commonest form of the determinative:  occurs five times as a determinative of *ꜥšmw*/*ꜥḫmw*, but is greatly outnumbered by writings with the ordinary crocodile, of which there are 16 (Tables 4.5a–b). Indeed, in *ꜥḫm*'s nominal use, deity determinatives are not common, which is striking given the generally accepted meaning of the word,'sacred image'. It does not always refer to physical form: compare *CT* 698 (VI. 332k-n) where *ꜥšm* is parallel with *irw* 'nature'. The relatively uncommon sign after a phonetic writing is attested only once in B3Bo (*CT* 250: III. 346a), and the anthropomorphic deity sign is attested only three times (see Table 4.5b), mostly after phonetic writings, but once added to a determinative.

Table 4.5a: *ḫm* (verbal) in the *Coffin Texts*

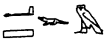
SOURCE					Other
CT 257 III. 367d	B3C S1Ca(*) S1Cb S1Cc S3C: 		B2L	B1C	S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 476 VI. 30e		S1C			S2C: damaged
CT 967 VII. 182o	P. Gard III				

Table 4.5b: *ḫm* (nominal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE							OTHER
CT 148 II. 218b			**S1Ca** **S1Cb**	**S1P**			S1Chass, S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 250 III. 346a	**S1Ca S1Cb** **S2Cb**					**B3Bo**	B2L: (*ḫm-tp*)
CT 268 IV. 4d	Sq6C (twice) T1L						T1L: -0-
CT 279 IV. 27h					T1L		Sq6C: damaged
CT 317 IV. 127e				**S1P**			S2C
CT 652 VI. 310m							**B1Bo**: -0-
CT 698 VI. 332m					B2L		
CT 698 VI. 332n		B3L: *ḫm-ḥr*			B1L: *ḫm-ḥr*		
CT 818 VII. 18d		**T3C**					
CT 849 VII. 53q					**Sq6C**		
CT 888 VII. 100k					**S10C**		
CT 979 VII. 189j	**P. Gard III**						
CT 979 VII. 189n	**P. Gard III**						

Bold: plural; *: logographic writing

The downplaying of the word's divine associations and the fact that the ordinary crocodile outnumbers the crocodile in effigy form should perhaps be taken as an indication that the connection *ḥm* has with its crocodile determinative exists between the word and the associations of the mundane rather than the sacred crocodile; that is, the crocodile determinative of *ḥm* does not necessarily make it refer (semi-)divine crocodile-spirits, but rather should be understood as a metaphorical prototype of a quality, characterising *ḥm* as something powerful, just as the crocodile determinative of *3d* functions (see pp. 366–370). There is corroboration for this idea in the pairing of *3ḳdw* and *ḥmw* in the following *Coffin Text* spell:

CT 317 (IV. 127d–e):

S1C:  [21]

S1P: 

nṯr nb sbi nb ḫsfty.f(y) wi gmy.i m w3ṯ.i iṯ sw 3ḳdw tpwty.i wnm sw ḥmw imyw-ḫt.i

As for any god or any rebel who shall oppose me, or whom I shall find on my path,

the *3ḳdw*-spirits who are before me shall seize him, the *ḥmw*-spirits

who are behind me shall devour him.

The context makes clear that both the *3ḳdw* and the *ḥmw* are aggressive beings, and the crocodile determinative, functioning figuratively in both words, emphasises this.[22]

The crocodile undergoes a huge expansion of metaphorical significance from the *Pyramid Texts* to the *Coffin Texts*. From one possible metaphorical usage in the former (*3dm*), it is attested as a figurative determinative in six words in the latter. I suggest that its use in *ḥmw* occupies a liminal area between non-figurative and figurative usage: occasionally it is to be read literally (see below), but in the majority of cases, it stands for the sheer power of a divine manifestation.[23] This justifies Faulkner's translation of *ḥm* in *CT* 476 (VI. 130e) as 'voracious' and brings this sense of the verbal *ḥm* into line with its nominal usages.

Although *ḥm* does seem to mean basically 'manifestation', there are contexts in which it occurs in the *Coffin Texts* that seem to link it specifically with the crocodile: for example,

---

[21] Only S1C preserves the first part of the passage, but itself is damaged for the second.

[22] For the reinforcement of dormant qualities of a seemingly neutral word, compare Seth deity determinative's function in *rswt* (2.5.3).

[23] For the crossover in senses where *ḥmw* is applied to a manifestation in crocodile shape, compare the occasional occurrences of *3dw* as a descriptive term for crocodiles or Sobek, which do not mean that the crocodile determinative is any less metaphorical.

CT 268 (IV. 4d):

T1L: N 

Sq6C: 

N pn ꜥšm ꜥšm-ḥr

N is (the image of) a crocodile-spirit, crocodile-faced.

There are only small differences between the two versions of this passage, but they are important, especially the placing of the second crocodile determinative in Sq6C. Shalomi-Hen (2000, 50–53) discussed the positioning of a deity determinative after compounds and how this placing enables the determinative to characterise the compound (usually an epithet) as a whole. This seems to be how the second crocodile determinative functions in Sq6C: the characterisation of the deceased as *ꜥšm-ḥr* would not necessarily entail the deceased's taking on of the physical form of a crocodile, but because the context is the deceased's transformation into the god Sobek, this time, the deceased does take on a crocodilian aspect: he becomes a crocodilian being, hence the crocodile determinative's placement, not after *ꜥšm*, but after *ḥr*. The placement distinguishes this writing in Sq6C from the other occurrences of the epithet.

T1L's writing of the word in *CT* 279 seems to end in a nisbe-termination, , yet the context makes it clear that the word is functioning nominally:

CT 279 (IV. 27h):

T1L: 

iw dnḥwy wsir N pn ... ꜥšmy

The wings of Osiris N are those of a sacred image.

In all the various discussions of the meaning of *ꜥšm(w)*, little attention has been paid to the forms of the word's determinatives. It is true that ordinary animals are attested (, , *Wb.* I. 225), but so are animals in effigy form. In the *Coffin Texts* and especially in the *Book of the Dead* (see below), is very restricted in scope and never determines ordinary words for the crocodile. I suggest that depicting the animal in this effigy state distinguishes it as a (semi-) divine being, just as  is distinguished from  and may in the *Coffin Texts* only be used of the deceased (*s3ḫw*) who seem to occupy the liminal zone between divinity and humanity.[24]

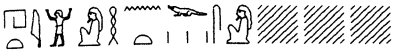
[24] Note that the flail is often added to the A50 sign ( ), and compare this with and .

ḥnty

Moving closer still towards the figurative sphere is the crocodile's use in *ḥnty* 'marsh-dweller'[25] which is used elsewhere and discussed in more detail below (see *ḥn* in 4.5.2 and *ḥnty* in 4.6.2) as an epithet for the animal itself although it need not specifically apply to crocodiles in the *Coffin Texts* passage below:

CT 948 (VII. 164a):

P. Gard. III: 

P. Gard. IV: 

ḥtỉ ḥnt.s... int išwt.s

[...] he who is worshipped and her crocodiles (=marsh-dwellers), who fetched her possessions.

The content of the spell is much damaged and it is only attested in two fragmentary copies. Explanations are possible but entirely based on supposition.[26]

4.2.2.2 Figurative usage

ȝd

As a figurative determinative, the crocodile is attested in six words in the *Coffin Texts*. A broad range of metaphorical associations connects the determinative to these words. Aggression is the basis for its meaning in *ȝd* 'to attack, be aggressive' and its derivatives, which can be used of an internal feeling of anger or of the external physical action of attacking. As a verb, *ȝd* is usually intransitive and describes the state of being angry, for example:

CT 325 (IV. 154e):

S1Cb: 

dȝir n.f irt ȝd.s ȝḫfḫf.s

He (=Hu) subdued the Eye when it was angry and fiery.

But there are exceptions where it is used transitively:

CT 775 (VI. 408m):

S10C: 

... *ȝd.f wỉ pḥ.f wỉ*

---

[25] Faulkner's 'greedy' (1978, 85) has no real basis here. The epithet most likely means the same as it did in the *Pyramid Texts*.

[26] For example, *s* could refer to Neith, who is often associated with crocodiles in the *Coffin Texts*; and the context of fetching evokes the crocodile's mythological role as the rescuer of Horus' hands.

... he (=Seth) is angry at me and attacks me.

When it is used verbally, *3d* generally has a crocodile determinative, and less often the hieratic abbreviation sign 𓏺 (e.g. as a verb once in B4Bo, and as a noun many times in B1P: Tables 4.6a–b). The crocodile sign always appears in its ordinary form, and not in effigy form perhaps indicating that the metaphorical associations are within the mundane and not the supernatural sphere. As a verb, *3d* takes a deity determinative once, but this is because it is applied to the god Sobek:[27]

CT 910 (VII. 115c):

B4Bo: 

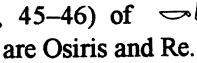
im 3d sbk

May Sobek not be aggressive.

It may at first seem surprising that the verb here does not take a crocodile determinative, since it is describing the crocodile god himself who is surely the epitome of the aggression the crocodile embodies as a determinative. The reason for the lack of the crocodile determinative, however, is most likely the character of the manuscript in which the passage occurs: B4Bo consistently avoids using the crocodile determinative in its writings of *sbk*, *msḥ*, and *s3ḳ*.

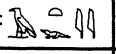
Table 4.6a: *3d-* (verbal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE	𓆙	𓏺	Other
CT 148 II. 224f	S1Ca S1Cb		S1Chass: -0- S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 148 II. 225c	S1Ca S1Cb S1P S1Chass		S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 325 IV. 154e	S1Ca S1Cb		G1T: omitted S2Ca, A1C S2Cb: damaged
CT 714 VI. 344f			B3L: damaged
CT 775 VI. 408m	S10C		
CT 775 VI. 408q			S10C: -0-

[27] Compare Shalomi-Hen's discussion (2000, 45–46) of  in *CT* 335, where divine determinatives are written because the referents are Osiris and Re.

SOURCE (cont.)			Other
CT 882 VII. 93f	S14C		
CT 910 VII. 115c		B4Bo	

Table 4.6b: *3dw/3tw/3ṯw-* (nominal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE							Other
CT 113 II. 130f			B1C, B2L, B9C: 				B6Bo
CT 317 IV. 127d	S1P (*3ḳdw*)	S1C				B2L	S2C: damaged
CT 1041 VII. 292d			B1C B2P B2L B4L B2Bo B13C				B12C, B3L: damaged
CT 1056 VII. 308d					B1L	B1C	B2L: -0- B3L: damaged
CT 1056 VII. 309a	B2Bo B3C B4L B13C B12C		B4Bo B9C		B1L	B1C B2L	B3L, B2P: damaged
CT 1069 VII. 331c				B1C	B2P		B1L, B2L: -0-
CT 1071 VII. 338b							B12C: -0- All others different
CT 1101 VII. 423a	B3C B2Bo B12C B3L: 					B1C	B1Bo, B9C, B1L: -0- B4C: damaged
CT 1102 VII. 424a	B3C B2Bo B4C	B3L	B1L		B6C B9C		B2P, B1Bo: damaged
CT 1138 VII. 483n	B5C(*) B1Be(*)				B1P(*)		
CT 1142 VII. 489j				B1Be	B1P (*3mtw*)		B5C: 
CT 1144 VII. 492a		B1Be B5C					B1P: 
CT 1145 VII. 494q	B5C				B1P	B1Be	
CT 1156 VII. 503g	B1Be			B1P B4L			

SOURCE (cont.)							OTHER
CT 1167 VII. 509a			B4L		B1P		B1Be: -0- B5C: damaged
CT 1167 VII. 509k			B4L		B1P		B5C: damaged
CT 1168 VII. 510e	B5C		B4L		B1P		B1Be: damaged
CT 1178 VII. 516e	B5C		B4L		B1P		B1Be: damaged

Bold: plural; (*): semi-logographic writing; -0-: no determinative

3d is much more frequent in the *Coffin Texts* as a noun than a verb. Whereas in verbal usage, its phonetic stem is consistently written *3d*, the orthography of the nominal form varies from *3d* to *3t*[28] to *3ṯ*. The latter two orthographies share certain features that *3d* does not exhibit: in most cases of the nominal use of *3t* and *3ṯ*, there is a *-y* termination.[29]  also occurs as an additional or alternate determinative in writings of *3ty* / *3ṯy*; whereas there are no occurrences of it in writings of verbal *3d*. In many instances the nominal form describes aggressive beings of the Underworld whom the deceased himself or a guardian deity wards off. Quite often, the deceased and the guardian deity alternate in these roles in the same spell.[30] In a lot of cases, the 'aggressors' are themselves supernatural beings, but instead of the effigy form crocodile determinative, the ordinary crocodile is used with an additional deity determinative, again showing how specialised the usages of the effigy form of the crocodile are. The deity determinative very often appears alone without the crocodile determinative (Table 4.6b). There is one instance of what appears to be a semi-logographic writing:

CT 1138 (VII. 483n):

B5C: 

---

[28] It may be because of this phonetic shift that the crocodile later becomes a determinative/logogram for *3t* in the Greco-Roman period (Wilson 1997, 25); compare already the 19th Dynasty Papyrus of Ani (see below and *3t* in 3.2.3.2.

[29] *3d* is terminated by a single *-i* in a few instances. Examples are the name of a guardian deity in *CT* 1041:  (VII. 292d: B2L, B1C, B2P; the other manuscripts have significantly different writings); S1Chass writes  in *CT* 148 (II. 224f) where the other two undamaged manuscripts write  .

[30] A few examples: *CT* 1056 (VII. 308d: the deceased; VII. 309a: a guardian deity); *CT* 1167 (VII. 509a: guardian deity; VII. 509k: the deceased).

B1Be:  B1P: 

in 3d pw dmḏ ḥsf-ḥr...

It is the Aggressor who joined the Malevolent-faced one ...

B1P consistently uses the  sign instead of the crocodile whenever it writes *3ty* (see Table 6b), but a semi-logographic writing involving the sign like the one above is surprising particularly since it seems to be attested in all manuscripts. There is, therefore, a possibility that the three manuscripts actually contain a logographic writing of *msḥ* and that the *3* is the exclamatory particle (Gardiner 1957a, §245), thus: 'It is indeed the crocodile who joined the malevolent-faced one'.

Although the context of words derived from *3d* is always connected with aggression, *3d* itself is not always negative. While in many cases, aggressive beings (*3dw/ 3tyw/ 3ṯyw*) are warded off, quite often the deities guarding against them are themselves called by the same or a similar name. In one instance, the deceased himself takes on the quality of aggression as a positive attribute:

CT 1145 (VII. 494q):

B5C: 

B1Be:  B1P: 

ink sḫm 3tw

I am one mighty and aggressive.

3d retains its ambivalence in other genres, especially in royal texts (see 4.4.2).

s3ḳ

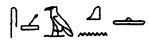
s3ḳ is the commonest word that has a crocodile determinative in the *Coffin Texts* and the most consistent in writing the crocodile, always in the specific form  , with only two exceptions. The first is in G1T (*CT* 237, III. 309e) where the crocodile sign has a straight tail. In all the other occurrences of *s3ḳ* in G1T, the crocodile sign has a curved tail. The other exception is in M46C (*CT* 398, V. 123a), where again the crocodile has a straight tail. There are no other writings of *s3ḳ* in M46C with which to compare. Since they are so much in the minority, both orthographies can probably be regarded as graphic errors. Once again, is found in alternation (only in B1P, and B1L), as is  , and there are scattered instances of writings without determinatives, but the crocodile sign is very much in the majority (see Table 4.7);

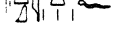
there are no logographic writings.

Table 4.7: *s3ḳ* in the *Coffin Texts*

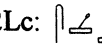
SOURCE						OTHER
CT 38 I. 163d	B12Cb B16C					B13Cb, B20C: damaged
CT 40 I. 175m		B13Cb				
CT 75 I. 380-1a	T3 B3C M3C M20C M28C	B1C				B2L, B1P: -0- B1Bo, M5C, M6C, M23C: *s3mt* G1T: *mdw* B7C: damaged
CT 76 II. 2g	G1T	B1C B2L			B1P	B17C: damaged
CT 80 II. 28a		B1C B2L			B1P	B7C: damaged
CT 80 II. 35a		B1C B2L			B1P: 	B7C: damaged
CT 80 II. 38h		B1C B2L			B1P	B7C: damaged
CT 80 II. 41i	B7C	B1C B2L			B1P	
CT 105 II. 114a	S1C G2T					S2C: damaged
CT 105 II. 114b	S1C G2T S2C					
CT 175 III. 61e		B1C B2L				
CT 177 III. 64g		L1Li				B4C: M57C: damaged
CT 226 III. 257a	S1C	T1L B15C				B1L:  S2C: damaged
CT 229 III. 295d	G1T	A1C				T3C:
CT 229 III. 297k	G1T					A1C: -0-

SOURCE (cont.)						OTHER
CT 237 III. 309e	G2T A1C	T1Be				T3L: damaged G1T:
CT 238 III. 316m						T2L: damaged
CT 238 III. 319l	T2L					
CT 241 III. 325d	G1T A1C					
CT 241 III. 326a	G1T	A1C				
CT 253 III. 353b	S2Ca M22C B2Bo					B4Bo: -0- S1Ca, S1Cb, S2Cb, S3C: *sšp* T1L, S2Ca, Sq6C: damaged
CT 392 V. 66j		B1C B2La B2Lb				
CT 395 V. 71b		L1Li B2Lc B1C B5C	B2Lb	B9C B2La		
CT 398 V. 123a	G1T G2T A1C T3L M3C M21C					M6C, M2NY, M4C: damaged M5C:  M46C:
CT 398 V. 153c	G1T G2T A1C T3L M2NY M4C					M5C: 
CT 405 V. 202f				M1NY		M1C: -0-
CT 502 VI. 86k	S10Cb					M22C: *mḫ3ḥ* B1Bo: 
CT 502 VI. 87b						Y1C: -0- S10C: different
CT 520 VI. 110a		B2C B18C				B5Bo, B19C:
CT 602 VI. 217g	S1C					
CT 627 VI. 245s				B1Bo		

SOURCE (cont.)					\	OTHER
CT 627 VI. 246j						B1Bo: -0-
CT 660 VI. 285v						B1Bo: -0-
CT 764 VI. 394c		T1L				
CT 828 VII. 291		T3Be: 				
CT 830 VII. 31e						T3Be: damaged
CT 862 VII. 65x						L1Li: -0-
CT 932 VII. 132k	A1C					
CT 1029 VII. 255b	B3C B4C B6C B12C B3L B4L B2Bo	B1C B2L B2P			B1L	B4Bo, B9C: -0- B13C: damaged
CT 1131 VII. 472j					B1P	B1Be, B5C: damaged

s3ḳ occurs mainly as a verb. There are only three contexts in which the word is used nominally, each being the name of a deity. The first is mentioned in *CT* 627 a being called 'Assembler' or 'the Assembled One' (VI. 245s: B3Bo), and the second in *CT* 627,  'He who gathers together his possessions' (VI. 246j: B1Bo). Faulkner (1977, 21) treated the third instance differently:

CT 395 (V. 71b):

B2Lb:  B2Lc: B1C, B5C:

B2La, B9C: L1Li:

Faulkner translated 'He who is wary' but the name could equally be 'the Collector', especially given the writing in L1Li which seems to include a direct object, *ṯsw*: 'the Collector/Assembler of necks'.

In its 36 other occurrences, *s3ḳ* describes the collecting together of an entity of some description, human, material, or abstract, especially parts of the body (20 instances). Only once does *s3ḳ* seem to be intransitive:

CT 405 (V. 202f):

M1C: 

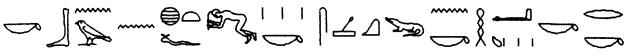
M1NY: 

mk sw iw wnḫ s3ḳ

He (=the deceased) has come, clothed and assembled.

Mueller (1972, 104) suggested that *s3ḳ* in this passage means 'wrapped', but Faulkner's interpretation 'assembled' seems superior and more in keeping with other uses of the word. Although there is not a specific object here, the underlying sense derives from the many descriptions of the deceased gathering his limbs or flesh together.[31] A consequence of the gathering of the limbs seems to be the more metaphorical gathering of the self (hence Faulkner's translation 'wary' above). Thus several times *s3ḳ* refers to a state of mind rather than a physical action, for example:

CT 602 (VI. 217g):

S1C: 

*im.k bin n ḫftyw.k s3ḳ n.k ḥ*ᶜ*w.k r.k*

Do not be feeble to your enemies, but pull yourself together.

The verb also has a slightly different sense in *CT* 502 where it is applied to an action of the arms:

CT 502 (VI. 86k, 87b):

S10Cb: 

B1Bo:  Y1C:  M22C: different word S10Cb: different text

i ᶜ*rt s3ḳ* ᶜ*wy.ṯ*

O you who ascend, fold (?) your arms.

The crocodile determinative with its tail curving towards its body seems always to signify the idea of being made whole through the process of being gathered together; thus in the passage below, being 'collected' means that the deceased has the power to eat:

CT 105 (II. 114a–c):

S1C: 

dy n.f ḳsw(.f) in n.f ᶜ*wt.f s3ḳ n.f ḥ*ᶜ*w.f*

---

[31] To give just a few examples: *CT* 105 (II. 114b); *CT* 238 (III. 319l); *CT* 830 (VII. 31e).

iw rf rd n.i ḳsw.i in n.i ḥᶜw.i sȝḳ n.i ᶜwt.i mi wnm ḥᶜw.i

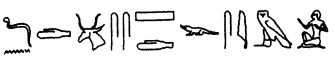
'Give him his bones that he may use his limbs and gather together his body for himself.'

My bones were given to me, my body was brought to me and my limbs gathered together for me likewise so that my body could eat.[32]

sšd

sšd with a crocodile determinative is attested as both a noun and a verb in six *Coffin Texts* spells. There are a further two spells in which the variant manuscripts write *sšd* only with the folded cloth determinative (). Since and alternate as determinatives in *CT* 84 and 148, it is likely that they have similar meanings and that the word is the same in all eight spells in Table 4.8a–b. However, the various attestations of *sšd* in the *Coffin Texts* have been treated very differently by translators, for example:

CT 84 (II. 50b):

S1C: 

ḏnd.s sšd.s im.i

Faulkner (1973, 88): 'she is angry with me and she stabs (?) at me'. Barguet (1986, 477) translated *sšd.s im.i* as 'elle lance des éclairs de moi', while the *CT* Index (1998, 268) translated 'flash' and van der Molen (2000, 558), 'be quick'.

Translators have also disagreed about whether in particular instances the word is nominal or verbal, for example:

CT 638 (VI. 260f):

T1L: N 

N pn sbḥ ḫm m sšd.f psḏty

Faulkner (1977, 217) treated *sšd* here as verbal and translated:

I am the one who calls out, who is excluded (?) when he adorns the 2 Enneads.

Barguet (1986, 227) took *sšd* as nominal and translated very differently: 'N (que je suis) est quelqu'un qui appelle, étant saisi de sa crainte de l'ennéade'.

But the consistency of the orthography of the word in the eight spells in which it is attested suggests that there should not be a great difference in its meaning from instance to instance. The crocodile determinative is rarely taken into account, and when it has been, it has been

[32] Compare *CT* 106 (II. 117e).

misunderstood; for example, discussing a nominal instance of *sšd* in *CT* 148, Griffiths (1970, 194) suggested 'crocodile star' as an alternative to Faulkner's 'lightning-flash', thus taking the crocodile determinative literally. Although the *Wörterbuch* (IV. 300, 7) cited  (MK) separately from New Kingdom writings of the word, the earlier writing is assumed to have the same meaning as the later, and thus is connected with stars. However, in the *Coffin Texts*, the star determinative is not attested either in alternation with or in addition to  or  . Therefore, *sšd* in the *Coffin Texts* is not connected yet with stars. It is furthermore difficult to reconcile a literal reading of the crocodile determinative with the verbal instances of the word in the *Coffin Texts*.

It follows, therefore, that if the crocodile is not to be taken literally, then it must be figuratively representing a quality as it does in *3d* 'to be aggressive'. It also follows that and must have similar meanings. Since *sšd* seems to describe a lightning-flash in *CT* 148 and 150, and comes later to be a word for 'star', it is likely that it is connected with brightness. In each of its attestations as a verb, it may be translated 'to flash (fire) / to shine'. Thus, its pairing with *ḏnd* in *CT* 84 cited above is appropriate, given that word's connection with fiery anger (see *ḏnd* and *3t* in 3.2.1.2). It is also appropriate as an epithet of the sun-god Re in *CT* 882. One context specifically links *sšd* with brightness, although neither of the two manuscripts containing the spell uses a crocodile determinative with the word:

CT 312 (IV. 82c):

B6C: N 

N pn bik imy i3ḫw sḫm m sšp [sḫm] m sšd.f

This N (is) the falcon in the sunshine who is powerful through his brightness and [powerful] through his shining.

Faulkner (1973, 233 n. 7) noted specifically that *sšd* here means 'flashing' and not 'fillet' and translated: 'I am the falcon who dwells in the sunshine, who has power through his light and his flashing'.[33] Yet in his translation of the *CT* 312's descendant *BD* 78, he translated 'fillet' (see p. 404) which is followed by both the *CT* Index (1998, 268) and van der Molen (2000, 558). But it does not seem that the cloth determinative here is to be taken literally. Rather, it seems to represent the same concept of 'brightness' as the crocodile determinative.

---

[33] He had come to the same conclusion earlier (1968, 41) in an article discussing *CT* 148, where he suggested the translation 'flash' for  .

Perhaps the word for 'fillet' literally means 'the bright thing' in Egyptian.

Table 4.8a: *sšd* (verbal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE			OTHER
CT 84 II. 50b	S1C G2T	Sq6C T1L	M22C
CT 638 VI. 260f	T1L BH3C		
CT 882 VII. 93c	S14C		

Table 4.8b: *sšd* (nominal) in the *Coffin Texts*

SOURCE			OTHER
CT 148 II. 209d	S1Cb S1P S2P S1Chass	S1Ca S2Cb	S2Ca, B4C: damaged
CT 150 II. 254a			B9C: -0-
CT 312 IV. 82c		B6C	
CT 334 IV. 180q	G1T		
CT 748 VI. 378s	B4C		

The crocodile's figurative connection with brightness is perhaps explained partially in *CT* 473, in which Sobek is linked with glittering, although the verb is *ḫ3s* and not *sšd*:

CT 473 (VI. 16f):

B1C: 

ḫ3s.n.i m sbk tp tp.s

I have glittered as Sobek on its (=net) top.

Nemti is described in a subsequent passage (VI. 16g) with the same verb, which is thus not exclusive to Sobek. Although this is the crocodile's only connection with brightness in the *Coffin Texts*, there is more evidence in other genres and so the crocodile's role in *sšd* is discussed again below (see especially 4.4.2).

ks

The possible conceptual connection between  and  mentioned above in relation to *sšd* finds an analogy in  /  and , which alternate as the determinatives of *ks*. Although  and  alternated commonly by the Middle Kingdom, the roots and  in the *Coffin Texts* tend to be treated by modern scholars as separate words semantically unconnected. The distinction is observed, for example, by van der Molen (2000, 675–76), Faulkner (passim), and the *Wörterbuch* (V. 139): '*ks* von den Armen: herabhängen', distinguished from '*ksj*  sich beugen, beugen'. An exception is the *CT* Index (1998, 295), which includes four instances of *ks* with a crocodile determinative in with attestations of *ks* 'to bow down'. I suggest that the phonetic root of both words is the same, and that the determinatives perspectivise different semantic aspects.

Table 4.9a: *ks*- (verbal) in the *Coffin Texts*

Source							Other
CT 51 I. 236b			B10Cb B12Ca B12Cb B13C	B16C			B10Cc: -0-
CT 63 I. 273b		T1C Sq3C			T9C		B10C: -0-
CT 68 I. 291b		T1C Sq3C T9C	T2C			B10C	
CT 72 I. 301e		T1C T9C Sq3C	T2C B10C				
CT 184 III. 82b		B3Bo	T1L B4C				B9C, B15C, B1L: -0-
CT 192 III. 107b		B1Bo B2Bo	S1Ca S1Cb S2C				B9C, B1L: -0-
CT 197 III. 117d			SiTü S2P S2C S6C S16C				
CT 198 III. 120e			SiTü S2P S2Chass S6C				S2C: damaged
CT 202 III. 128i			S1C B1Bo				
CT 261 III. 387e		B1Bo	S1Ca S1Cb S3C*				S2Cb: damaged

SOURCE (cont.)							OTHER
CT 302 IV. 54i		B1P	B3L				
CT 306 IV. 61l							L2Li: -0-
CT 317 IV. 110c			S1P S1C S3C				S2C
CT 317 IV. 111a			S1C				S2C
CT 317 IV. 111f			S1C S3C S1P				S2C
CT 317 IV. 123d	S1C S1P						B2L: S2C: damaged
CT 317 IV. 125d	S1C S1P						B2L: S2C: damaged
CT 319 IV. 143d						B2L	B7C: damaged
CT 334 IV. 180p						G1T	
CT 344 IV. 368e							B9C: -0- B1Y: damaged
CT 398 V. 153a			G1T G2T T3L M4C M5C		A1C		M2NY: -0-
CT 398 V. 153b			M4C M5C G1T G2T T3L				M2NY: damaged A1C: 
CT 398 V. 160b			G2T A1C T3L				M2NY: different G1T, M5C: damaged
CT 442 V. 302b		B1Bo S14Ca S14Cb					S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 469 V. 396i			S2C				
CT 484 VI. 56j			S1C S2Cb				B2L: S2Ca: damaged
CT 540 VI. 136m		M22C					

SOURCE (cont.)							OTHER
CT 553 VI. 152j		B1Bo B2Bo	B4C				
CT 575 VI. 188d			S2Chass B4C				B3Bo: -0- S2C: damaged
CT 609 VI. 222e		S10C S11C	S5C S12C S6P(*)				
CT 622 VI. 236w			B3Bo				
CT 694 VI. 327j		B1P					
CT 743 VI. 373l			B4C				
CT 817 VII. 16o		T3C					
CT 838 VII. 40n		T9C					B10C: -0-
CT 936 VII. 138o							G1T: 
CT 940 VII. 152g		P. Gard III, IV					
CT 1013 VII. 232k		P. Gard II					
1137 VII. 482f	B1Be B5C						B1P: 

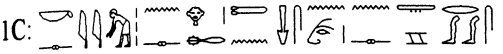
Table 4.9b: *ks* (nominal) in the *Coffin Texts*

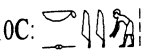
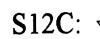
SOURCE		OTHER
CT 148 II. 220d	S1Ca S1Cb S1Chass S1P	S2Ca, S2Cb: damaged
CT 326 IV. 160d		Sq6C: -0-
CT 473 VI. 14h		B9C: -0- B1Y: B1C: 
CT 969 VII. 183k	P. Gard III	
CT 977 VII. 188c	P. Gard III	

SOURCE		OTHER
CT 991 VII. 201i	P. Gard II, III	
CT 991 VII. 203i	P. Gard II, III	

In the *Coffin Texts, ks* occurs mainly as a verb meaning 'to bow'. Its commonest occurrence is in the phrase *m ksw* 'bowing'. Such participial occurrences outnumber straightforward verbal instances considerably (21 to 14); both are classified as verbal in Table 4.9a. In the majority of cases, the word is written with  . However, there are exceptions in which and  alternate, for example:

CT 609 (VI. 222e):

S11C: 

S10C:  S12C:  S6P:  S5C:

ksy n.s ḥr ḥt.ṯn sn n.f rdwy.f

Bow down to her (=the deceased) on your bellies and kiss the earth at her feet for her.[34]

Most verbal occurrences are written with a human determinative of some sort. The bowing man  determinative is common, but the old man is more common, and is used in the logographic and semi-logographic writings, for example in S6P's writing of *CT* 609 above and in *CT* 261 (III. 387e) which is fully logographic. There are minor variations in the positioning of the arms of the bowing man, such as and . Occasionally the human sign is abbreviated to the generic sign of motion (see Table 4.9a).

Nominal occurrences tend to be determined differently; for example, in B1C's version of *CT* 473 (VI. 14h),  is written, a determinative not attested in any verbal instance (there happen to be no other writings in B1C with which to compare this). Most occurrences determined with a crocodile are nominal, but there are some verbal instances, for example, the probable stative *ks* in the following passage:

[34] There is another instance in *CT* 398 (V. 153a), where M5C writes where other variants (for example, M2NY and M4C) write .

CT 317 (IV. 123d–e):[35]

S1P: 

ḏrty.i ks wn.kw ḥr iwf.i s(t)wt.i r ḫpr

Faulkner (1973, 242) translated: 'My hands are strong (?), I am shaken on my flesh, I resemble those who (once) existed (?)'. He added a note (1973, 245 n. 48): 'These two sentences appear to describe the condition of a man on the point of death, and they look like intrusions from a funerary ritual'. Yet would the hands of a man on the point of death be 'strong'? The idea of the hands of the deceased being strong does not fit with the trembling in his flesh which is subsequently described. By contrast, bowing and trembling (*sḏ3*) are paralleled in *CT* 469 (V. 396i) discussed below (p. 385). Faulkner's translation 'strong' was influenced by an article of Gilula (1971), who suggested that *ks* should be translated 'force' or 'strength' without specific justification. If  is cognate with *ks* 'to bow' as I think it is, it should have the same kind of sense as a noun. Whereas bowing has nothing to do with strength, it is, however, connected with the position of the body, which is down-turned towards the ground. Therefore, I suggest that this passage in *CT* 317 be translated:

'My hands are down-turned, I hasten in my flesh, I am like those who once existed'.[36]

Likewise, a similar occurrence in *CT* 1137 has to be reconsidered:

CT 1137 (VII. 482f):

B1Be: 

B5C:  B1P: 

sḫm pw ʿw3y ksy

Faulkner (1978, 174) translated: 'I am the Power who robbed him who was strong'. I suggest instead: 'I am the Power who robbed the one who was bowed down'.

Thus, when *ks* is nominal, it should mean 'the state of bowing down'. It occurs often after *nb*,[37] and so I suggest the translation 'obeisance', the basic meaning of *nb ks* being 'lord of those who bow down'. Faulkner's translation of 'power', which again was based on Gilula, cannot be corroborated and led to misunderstandings, for example, in the following passage in *CT* 148:

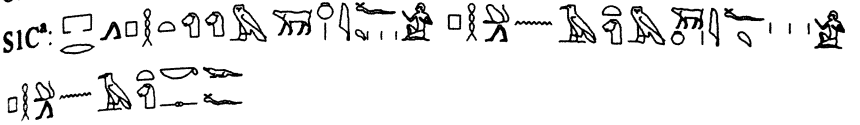
---

[35] Compare almost identical phrasing in a passage which follows in IV. 125d.

[36] Barguet (1986, 484) translated similarly: 'Mes mains sont abaissées'.

[37] *nb ks*: *CT* 969 (VII. 183k); *CT* 977 (VII. 188c); *CT* 991 (VII. 201i; 203i).

CT 148 (II. 220b–d):

S1C[a]: 

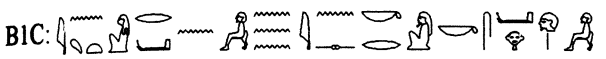
pr phty m-ḫnw iwf.i ph.n 3t m-ḫnw iwf.i ph.n 3t ks.f

Strength has gone up within my flesh, power has reached into my flesh, power has reached...

(Faulkner 1973, 126)

Faulkner's translation assumed a textual omission at the end of the passage. But it is possible to understand the second phrase beginning *ph.n* as a qualification of the first: 'Strength emanates from within my flesh, since power has penetrated into my flesh, since the power of his (= Atum's) obeisance has penetrated into my flesh'. It was known for gods to perform obeisance for the deceased. In a passage from *CT* 473, Sokar is described as bowing down before the deceased:

CT 473 (VI. 14g–h):

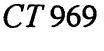
B1C: 

B1Y: B9C:

in 3st rd n.i mw in skr ks ḫr-tp.i

It is Isis who will give me water, it is Sokar who will bend down on my behalf.

Faulkner (1977, 111 n. 43) qualified his translation in a note: 'Presumably to help the deceased; hardly to do obeisance!' But why should the latter not be the case? Considering that the deceased describes himself as eating the gods in *PT* 273–74, the notion of the gods bowing down is not impossible. Moreover, there are numerous descriptions of the gods bowing to the deceased, and also of specific gods bowing.[38]

The best corroboration that *ks* with the crocodile determinative does mean 'obeisance' comes from the descriptions of Sobek in *CT* 969 and 991 as *nb ks*,  , especially the following passage in *CT* 991 which elaborates further:

CT 991 (VII. 201i):

P. Gard. II: 

P. Gard. III: 

[38] For example, compare *CT* 192 (III. 107b): 'I am this Sole One to whom Anubis has bowed'.

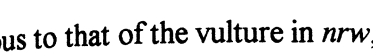
ink nb ks wsr šsp msḥ[39]

I am the lord of obeisance, the powerful one who took crocodile (form).

This passage occurs later in *BD* 88, all manuscripts of which write a bowing person determinative, further suggesting that  and  are different writings of the same word. Only Sobek is called *nb ks* in the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*. It is possible that the power to command obeisance is connected to his crocodile form; certainly the passage above forges a link between the crocodile and bowing. The crocodile's function in the word could be analogous to that of the vulture in *nrw*, where the bird is an exemplar of the inspiration of fearsomeness. Similarly, the crocodile as a symbol of power and aggression is also the prototype for the inspiration of the respect signified by obeisance.

The crocodile's physiognomy may be an additional reason for its use as the determinative of *ks*. The essence of the word is the lowering of the body towards the ground, as is demonstrated in the following passage:

CT 184 (III. 82b):

B9C: 

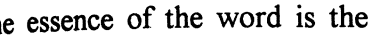
B1L, B15C:  B3Bo:  T1L:  B4C: 

n ks.n.i sn it.i gb

I do not bow down to kiss my father Geb (i.e. the earth)[40]

The crocodile's body is in contact with the earth at all times so that it is an excellent exemplar for the posture.[41] The pose does not always indicate fearfulness in a person. In the following passage it is possibly a threatening quality of the beings over whom the deceased claims power:

CT 202 (III. 128i):

S1C: 

B1Bo:  [42]

mk.i m-ᶜ ks.t

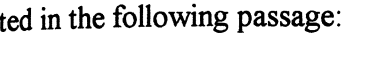
I am protected from you who are bowed down.

---

[39] For the reading of this sign see p. 358. The *CT* Index (1998, 249) translated 'Sobek'. Faulkner translated 'crocodile-shape' as above.

[40] Compare *CT* 51 (I. 236b) and especially *CT* 609 (VI. 222e), discussed on p. 381 above.

[41] Compare discussion of the hippopotamus determinative of *ks* in 3.5.2.

[42] B1Bo's text diverges so considerably that it can be considered to be a different text:  '*pty* (?) rescued him from the bowed one.'

However, it is also possible to interpret this bowing as a submissive gesture, indicating the deceased's superiority. The context provides no clues about the nature of the beings who bow down.

In the majority of cases, the act of bowing down is done out of fearful respect; as it is for example in the following:

CT 469 (V. 396i):

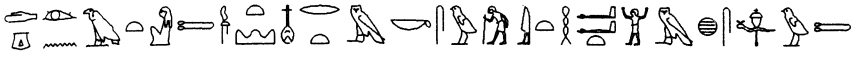
S2C: 

my n.i ksw sdȝ n.i snḏ n.i dy n.i iȝw

Come to me bowing down, tremble at me, fear me, and give me praise.

However, there are also clear instances where it denotes loving respect instead; for example,

CT 622 (VI. 236w):

B3Bo: 

dg n mwt.ṯ Ỉmntt nfrt m ksw iyt ḥ^{cc}t m ḫsfw.ṯ

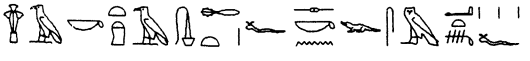
Look at your mother, the Beautiful West, bowing down, having come rejoicing at meeting you.

The different determinatives of *ks* represent the various strands of its meaning.  is the prototypical example of a bowed person, and its significance in *ks* has nothing to do with the attribute with which it is usually associated, [Old].[43]  is a fuller representation of the process, although not the commonest determinative. Finally,  represents the word's emotional content and tends to be used mainly when *ks* is nominal, describing a state rather than an action.

skn

A crocodile determinative occurs in two manuscripts' writings of the verb *skn* in *CT* 209:

CT 209 (III. 163b):

G1T: 

A1C: S1C, B2Bo, B1Bo^{a}, B1Bo^{b}: S2C, B1Bo^{c}: damaged

ḥȝ.k tȝ ḫt.f skn sm^{c}wt.f

Get back you whose body is hot and who lust after your *sm^{c}t* plant. (Faulkner 1973, 169)

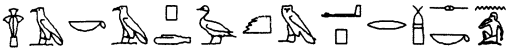
---

[43] This is a good illustration of the danger of thinking of determinatives as categories: *iȝw* and *ks* are linked through which they may both take as a determinative, but each corresponds to it in a different way.

Faulkner's comments (1973, 169 n. 1) seem to indicate that he treated  and as two distinct words rather than the same word with different determinatives. He noted that the former writing was not attested elsewhere, and the crocodile in the latter gave the word the meaning 'be greedy, lust after'. Barguet's 'avide' is similar (1986, 399). In other contexts, *skn* does indeed seem to have the sense 'lust after'; for example, Khety describes himself on his Middle Kingdom stela as 'one who did not lust after () the wife of another man' (Stewart 1979, pl. 21, l. 12). However, in *CT* 209, it seems indicative not of sexual voracity but rather greed of appetite. The walking legs determinative attested in four manuscripts suggests that *skn* describes a voracious advance towards something. Although the crocodile determinative perspectivises the greed of *skn*, it is not incompatible with the idea of movement (for the crocodile as a symbol of speed, see 4.3.1 below).

There are no other instances with a crocodile determinative in the *Coffin Texts*, but there is another example of what is possibly the same word; again the context is the warding off of something undesirable:

CT 688 (VI. 318h):

B1Bo: 

ḥ3.k 3pd km ˁpr snk

Get back, you black bird who incurs being embroiled (in quarrels). (Faulkner 1977, 253)

skn with the  determinative occurs in several contexts outside the *Coffin Texts* and has been understood as a quarrelsome quality since Gunn (1924, 17) suggested the translation 'embroil (in quarrels)' for an attestation of *skn* in *Ptahhotep* (P. Prisse 7, 4). However, Gunn's translation was only a suggestion, and one about which he was not certain. The purpose of *CT* 688 is to ward off the *gbg3*-bird, which seems to have come to steal something from the deceased and is to be sent away with only excrement. It is described as 'demanding what it needs' (VI. 318p) and so it is possible that the passage above means 'Get back you black bird who encourages voracity'. The determinative is not problematic for this interpretation. Thus, voracity is at the heart of *skn* in both spells, and the crocodile serves as its prototype in *CT* 209.

ḫn

The final crocodile determined word in the *Coffin Texts* is *ḫn*, which Faulkner (FCD 191) and

van der Molen (2000, 390–91) translated as 'to direct one's hand against'. It occurs only once in the *Coffin Texts*:

CT 154 (II. 280–1d–e):

S2P: 

SiTü:  S3C:  B2P, B4L[a], B4L[b], B17C, B1C, S1C[a]:  S1C[b]:

B2Bo, B4Bo:  B9C, B1Y:  B1L: S3P, S2C: damaged

rˁ pw ḥnp.n sw imy-ins.f n ḫnt.f ˁ.f r.f ˁḥˁ.n ir.n.f sḫt r.f

It so happened that Re met him who wears bright-red cloth

before he could direct his hand against him and he set a trap for him. (Faulkner 1973, 133)[44]

Many other *ḫn*-words occur in the *Coffin Texts*, notably  'to alight', which may take  as an alternative determinative to  ; this may account for B1L's writing of *ḫn* here. The *CT* Index's translation (1998, 227) 'to touch' probably derives from identification with this verb. If the identification is correct, the word in the context of *CT* 154 above would literally mean 'alight his hand', but instead of the light motion implied by the usual bird determinative, the crocodile brings harsher connotations.

The most striking variant in the passage from *CT* 154 above is the effigy form of the crocodile determinative in S3C, because the usage of that sign is so restricted. The crocodile is perhaps borrowed from the phonetically similar crocodilian (divine) epithet *ḫnty* rather than having figurative associations with the word *ḫn*, since in the *Coffin Texts* the effigy form of the crocodile sign is restricted to divine beings. There are few other writings of crocodile determinatives in S3C with which to compare; of all the crocodilian words discussed above, there are attestations of only *ˁšm* and *ks*. There is only one instance of *ˁšm* (*CT* 257, III. 367d) and it is written with an ordinary crocodile determinative; the three instances of *ks* (*CT* 261, and twice in *CT* 317) are all determined with human signs (see Table 4.9a for details).

In literary texts, *ḫnty* is a common designation of a crocodile deity (see 4.6.1). This epithet does not occur for the crocodile in the *Coffin Texts*, but the following passage, attested only in G1T, may be comparable:

CT 646 (VI. 266o):

G1T: 

[44] Emending  into .

iw.i ḥnᶜ.k m imy ḫnt

I am with you as the one who is in front

Faulkner (1977, 221 n. 5) identified the determinative only as 'a strange creature' and van der Molen (2000, 881) classified it as a bird. But the *CT* Index (1998, 229) described it as 'a crocodile divinity'. However, it bears some resemblance to the effigy form of the crocodile determinative (compare Figs. 4.13a–b).

Although  does not occur again in the *Coffin Texts*, it does occur in some non-royal and some literary texts and is discussed further below (see 4.5.2 and 4.6.1).

4.2.3 The *Book of the Dead*

After its wide range of usages in the *Coffin Texts*, the crocodile sign has a relatively restricted figurative role again in the *Book of the Dead*, occurring regularly only in *3d* and *s3ḳ* and in a few other isolated instances discussed below. Non-figuratively, it occurs mostly in writings of names for the animal and the god Sobek.

4.2.3.1 Non-figurative usage

sbk

The duality of the crocodile's nature continues to circumscribe its role as an animal in the *Book of the Dead*. As a dangerous creature (*msḥ*), it is warded off in two spells (*BD* 31, 32: see below), but as the symbol of the god Sobek, its strength is desired by the deceased in *BD* 88 (= *CT* 969 / 991; see p. 355), a spell to transform him into Sobek. Indeed, the commonest word connected with a crocodile determinative in the *Book of the Dead* is the name of the god Sobek. He is mentioned in eight spells (see Table 4.10), but features prominently only in *BD* 88 and 113. In *BD* 88 the focus is on the Sobek's crocodilian power rather than his benevolence: in becoming the crocodile god, the deceased acquires fearfulness (*nrw*) and the respect it commands (*ksw*; for discussion, see pp. 378–385) as well as the ability to seize whatever he wants whenever he wants (*ini m ꜥw3*). By contrast, in *BD* 113 (= *CT* 158) Sobek appears in a benevolent capacity, fetching Horus' severed hands from the depths of the water and restoring them to him. Most of the other spells in which he features do not shed any light on his character; he is simply invoked among other deities. But *BD* 171, which has no parallel in the *Coffin Texts*, is an exception. Although the god is again mentioned in passing, there is an insight into his character:

BD 171 (Naville 1886, pl. 192, 3)

Amenhotep: 

sbk m rn(w).f nbw ꜥ3w m st.f nb mrr k3.f im.sn

... Sobek, with all his many names, in every place in which his ka desires to be ...

This aspect of the crocodilian Sobek as an all-powerful being whose will always prevails is an image drawn upon by kings in self-description when they compare their might to that of the crocodile (see 4.4.1).

As it did in the *Coffin Texts*, *sbk(w)* continues to be used as a word for 'crocodile(s)' in the *Book of the Dead*, for example in *BD* 17:

BD 17 (Naville 1886, pl. 24, 43):

Nebseni:

Nu (pl. 5, 48): Yuya (pl. 4, 3):

Ani (pl. 9, 92–94): Kha (p. 40, 5):

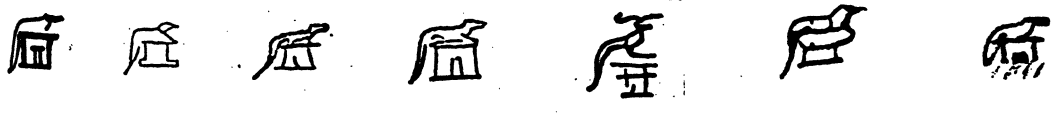
ir ddw sˁt m isftyw imyw-ḫt ḥtp-s-ḫw-s sbkw pw imyw mw

As for those who inspire terror in evildoers, who are in the following of *ḥtp-s-ḫw-s*, they are the crocodiles of the water.

Whereas the plural in Nebseni, Nu, and Yuya confirms the reading 'crocodiles' rather than 'Sobek', Kha and Ani write *sbk* in the singular indicating that the deity is meant rather than crocodiles in general; this is corroborated by use of the crocodile-headed deity determinative in Kha. Even in Nebseni and Nu, the attribute [Divine] is in evidence through the use of the anthropomorphic deity determinative, and in Nebseni, this is coupled with the divine form of the crocodile sign. Thus, as in the *Coffin Texts*, when used as a term for 'crocodile', *sbk*(*w*) retains an element of the divine.

As a logogram or a determinative in the writing of the god's name, the crocodile sign is usually in effigy form (see Tables 4.10, 4.11), which seems to indicate the attribute [Divine] as discussed above, although there are variations on the basic form, such as the addition of a crown in Ani (*BD* 17). When the crocodile sign is depicted over a shrine, the ordinary form of the sign alternates with the effigy form; Fig. 4.2 gives some examples. While the effigy form is clearly attested in Kha and Ani (Figs. 4.2a–b), the ordinary crocodile is written in Amenhotep, Nebseni, and Neferrenpet (Figs. 4.2c–e). There is only a slight difference between the two forms of the sign. The effigy form has a line separating the animal's head from its body that is absent in the ordinary form of the sign. The ordinary form of the sign also articulates the animal's limbs, whereas the effigy form does not. Despite these differences, it is not always easy to distinguish between the two sign forms. Neferubenef and Baksu are unclear cases (Fig. 4.2f–g).

Fig 4.2a b c d e f g



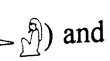
Yuya and Amenemhat are the only two texts not to use a crocodilian determinative in their writings of *sbk*, although neither avoids the sign altogether since it is attested in other words in both elsewhere (see Table 4.14). Five spells in which Sobek is mentioned occur in Nu, where the word is written consistently with the effigy form of the sign, the only minor variation is in the use of an additional deity determinative – in the majority of writings, it is present () and is always anthropomorphic rather than in animal form,  . Few of the other manuscripts which I studied can be examined as thoroughly for orthographic consistency, since they tend only to include one or two of the spells which mention Sobek. Nebseni, however, contains four of the spells attested in Nu, and one more (*BD* 71); in contrast to Nu, Nebseni's writings vary in detail from attestation to attestation. There are logographic writings with variant forms of the effigy form of the crocodile ( , ; compare S2P's orthography, p. 348), and phonetic writings with varying determinatives (,). The other manuscripts' orthographies are summed up in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Orthography of *sbk* in the *Book of the Dead*

MANUSCRIPT	*BD* 17	*BD* 71	*BD* 88	*BD* 108
Nu	 pl. 5, 48	–	see below	pl. 22, 3; pl. 23, 15
Kha	 p. 40, 5	–	–	p. 56, 4 p. 57, 10
Neferrenpet	damaged	 pl. 13, 19	see below	–
P. Reinisch		–	see below	–
Ani	 pl. 9, 94	–	see below	–
Nebseni	 pl. 24, 43	pl. 83, 15	–	pl. 119 (vignette), pl. 119, 2 pl. 119, 15
Neferubenef	–	 pl. 10, 131	–	–
Nebqed	–	–	see below	–
Yuya	 pl. 4, 3	–	–	–

Table 4.10 (cont.)

MANUSCRIPT	*BD* 111	*BD* 113	*BD* 153A	*BD* 171
Nu	–	pl. 54, 3 (twice); 5	pl. 57, 6	–
P. Reinisch	–	–	pl. 9, 5	–
Baksu	–	–	–	pl. 1, 10
Nebseni	–	pl. 125, 3; 4; 6	–	–
Amenemhat	pl. 42, 3	–	–	–
Yuya	–	–	pl. 4, 6	–
Amenhotep	–	–	–	pl. 192, 3

sbk and *msḥ*

In *BD* 88, there is an alternation between *sbk* and *msḥ* as designations for the being into which the deceased is transformed, as there was in the parallel spells in the *Coffin Texts* (*CT* 969, 991). In Nu, the god is mentioned in three passages (the writings of the other manuscripts in which the spell is attested are given in Table 4.11 below):

BD 88 (Lapp 1997, pl. 31, 1):

Nu:

r n irt ḫprw m sbk

Spell for transforming into Sobek

Nu pl. 31, 3:

ink sbk ḥr-ib nrw.f

I am Sobek in the midst of his fearsomeness.

Nu pl. 31, 3:

ink sbk it m ʿw3

I am Sobek who seizes by stealing.

Although some papyri do not include all three passages, the text is more or less the same in all manuscripts, with the exception of the versions of Nebseni and Nebqed, where *msḥ* determined by the normal crocodile is substituted for *sbk* in the first and third passages. Qenna writes *sbk* in the first passage, but *msḥ* in the third, determined with an ordinary crocodile sign like Nebqed and Nebseni. The crocodile is written logographically in Nebqed's version of the

third passage, and in Ani's version of the second. While it is possible in theory to read *sbk* or *msḥ* in both cases, the ordinary form of the crocodile in Nebqed suggests *msḥ*, and the effigy form in Ani, *sbk*. But despite their use of instead of , and *msḥ* instead of *sbk*, the crocodile is shown as a deity in the vignettes of Nebseni and Nebqed: Nebseni's crocodile sits on top of a standard (also in P. Reinisch), and Nebqed's on top of a shrine (also in Ani), indicating that the transformation is not into a mundane creature. Table 4.11 lists the correlations between the depiction of the crocodile in the vignette of *BD* 88 and its hieroglyphic form in the text, and Fig. 4.3 shows the vignettes. In most cases both the vignette and the hieroglyph depict a divine crocodile, and there is usually a close correspondence between the vignette and the hieroglyphic form. In Ani, the two depictions are identical.[45] In Neferrenpet, the vignette depicts a human-headed crocodile effigy wearing a crown with a sun-disk, horns and double feathers (*šwy* : Goebs 2001, 323), sitting on a shrine, while the hieroglyph depicts a full crocodile, but retains the animal's effigy-like appearance, the shrine, and even the horns of the crown. Thus, in all versions of the spell, when the crocodile determines the name of *sbk*, it is always depicted in effigy form as if to stress its divinity. Correspondingly, in the vignette, even where the ordinary crocodile is depicted, it is embellished with additional markers (the standard, shrine, headdress) that again underline its divinity.

 is restricted to use as a logogram or a determinative of *sbk* in the *Book of the Dead*. None of the manuscripts I surveyed ever used an ordinary crocodile in the name. Although *msḥ* is used of the crocodile god in *BD* 88, *msḥ* never takes the effigy form of the crocodile determinative. Thus, there is a dividing line between the sacred crocodile, manifest as Sobek, and the ordinary term for the animal.

---

[45] This is a common feature of Ani: compare Ammut's depiction in the vignette with the identical form she takes as a hieroglyph in the text in *BD* 125 (Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 3). Regarding this correspondence Goelet commented (in Faulkner et al. 1998, 147): '... for the Egyptians such coincidences probably seemed like affirmations of the unity of their written words and their world'.

Table 4.11: Text and vignette in *BD* 88

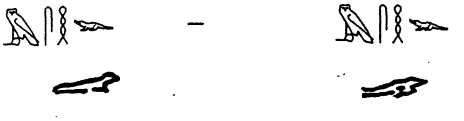
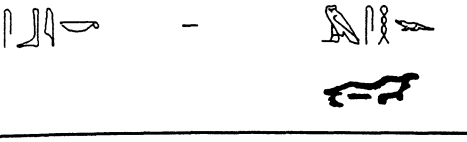
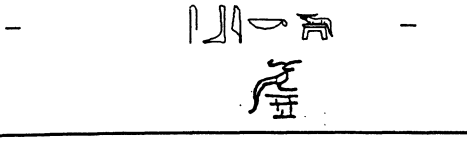
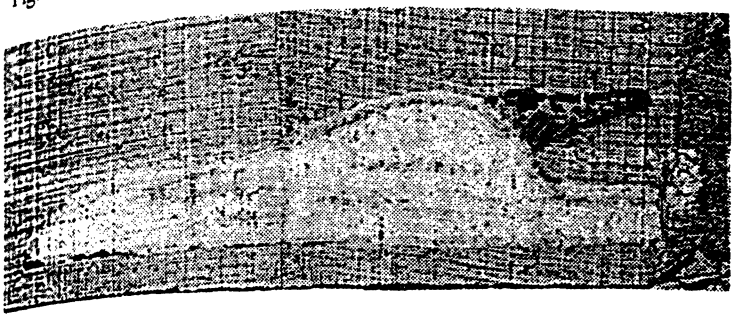
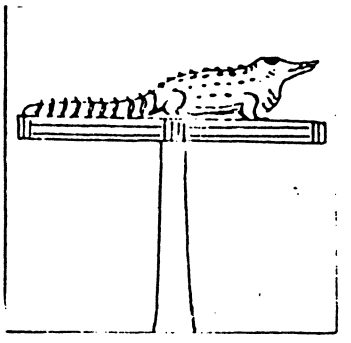
Manuscript	Hieroglyphs	Vignette (see Fig. 4.3)
Nu pl. 31: 1, 3, 3		
Nebseni pl. 100: 1, 3		
Nebqed pl. 5: 24, 25		 (I3)
Qenna pl. 22: 2, 3		
Neferrenpet pl. 36: 38		Human headed crocodile (I5) on shrine
P. Reinisch pl. 1: 1, 1, 2		(I3)
Ani pl. 27: 1, 2, 2		(I5, but with curved tail)

Fig. 4.3 Vignettes of *BD* 88



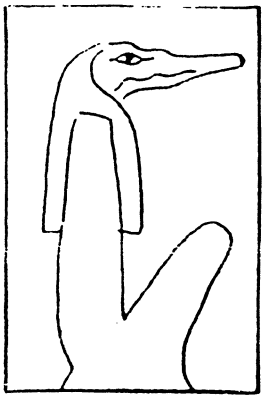
Nu



Nebseni



Nebqed



Qenna



Neferrenpet



P. Reinisch



Ani

msḥ and *swy*

The commonest word for 'crocodile', *msḥ*, occurs in only three spells in the *Book of the Dead* (see Table 4.12). This sparse attestation is attributable to the crocodile's diminished role in the collection, not to the word itself falling out of use. The rarer epithet *swy* occurs alongside *msḥ* in *BD* 31, a spell to ward off crocodiles derived from *CT* 342. The crocodile is mentioned in three passages; the following text is taken from the papyrus of Kha (described as *BD* 37 by Schiaparelli 1927, 49):

BD 31 (Schiaparelli 1927, p. 49, 1):

Kha: 

r n ḥsf msḥ iy r iṯ ḥk3 (N)

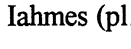
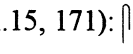
(For variants, see Table 4.12)

Spell for warding off a crocodile which has come to steal (N's) magic.

Kha (p. 49, 2–3):

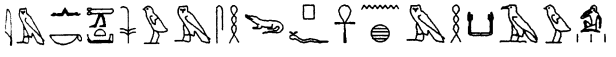


ḥ3.k ḥm ḥ3.k swy

Nu (pl.15, 2):  Iahmes (pl.15, 171):  Mesemnetjer (pl. 94, 2): 

Get back! Retreat! Get back, dangerous one!

Kha (p. 49, 9–10):



im.k iṯ sw msḥ pf ʿnḫ m ḥk3

(For variants, see Table 4.12)

May you not steal it, o crocodile which lives by magic.

The orthography of *swy* in Iahmes is different from the others and closer to that of the earlier, *Coffin Texts* version:

CT 342 (IV. 346b):

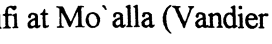
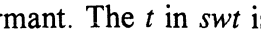
B1C: 

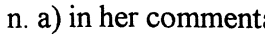
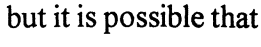
ḥ3.k ḥm ḥ3.k swti

Back! Retreat! Back, dangerous one![46]

'Dangerous one' is Faulkner's translation (1973, 276) of *swti* which he understood to be a nisbe-form of the noun *swt* 'danger'. The *CT* Index (1998, 246) connected this word instead

[46] Barguet (1986, 319) had interpreted *swty* here as 'Seth', but since the spell is directed specifically against crocodiles and on the basis of the later *Book of the Dead* parallels, his reading is unlikely.

with *swt* 'reed' and so translated *swti* as 'Inhabitant of the rushes'. There are comparable epithets for the crocodile which connect the animal with its habitat, for example *šy* 'marsh-dweller' (see 4.3.1) and *mrytyw* 'bank-dweller' (see 4.6.1), and so the *CT* Index's interpretation is convincing. This epithet may be attested again in the writing of a place name in inscription 13 of Ankhtifi at Mo`alla (Vandier 1950, 242; 26–27):  'the island of the crocodile', near Armant. The *t* in *swt* is reminiscent of the writing of the epithet in Iahmes. Munro (1995b, 17 n. a) in her commentary on Iahmes suggested that  may be a fusion of *swy* and *swti*, but it is possible that both are different orthographies of essentially the same word.

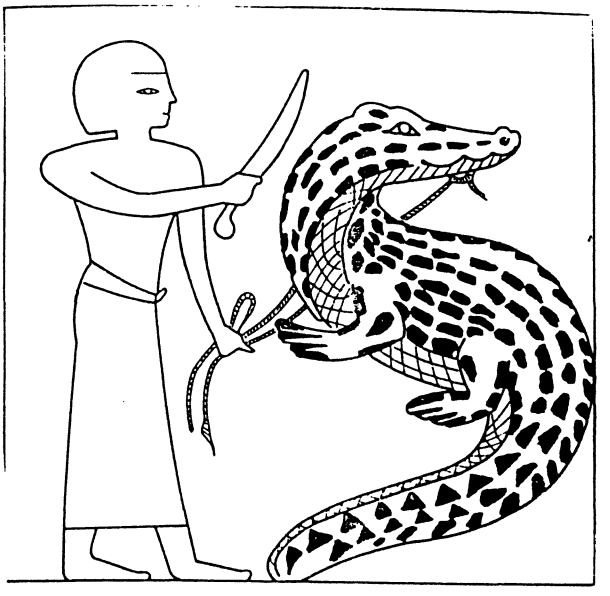
The *Wörterbuch* (IV. 65) cited an orthography of *swy* determined with a crocodile with a curved tail () that is not attested in any of the versions of *BD* 31 that I have examined. However, Kha writes *msḥ* in its version of the third passage with this form of the crocodile determinative,  , which is perhaps the source the *Wörterbuch*'s writing. This form of the sign is mostly restricted to writings in the verb *s3ḳ*, but it is found in other contexts in the *Book of the Dead* (for example, *3d*: see p. 405). Although it is possible that the curved tail of the determinative evokes the crocodile's attempted appropriation of the deceased's magic, it is most likely a graphic reflection of the spell's efficacy. The vignette associated with *BD* 31 in Kha (Fig. 4.4a) shows the crocodile curled up and held at bay by the deceased. Perhaps the curled up form of the determinative in Kha corresponds to this (for *s3ḳ* connected with inactivity, see 4.3.2). The form of the ordinary crocodiles in the vignettes associated with *BD* 31 and 32 (Fig. 4.4) contrasts strongly with that of the divine crocodiles in the vignettes for *BD* 88 (Fig. 4.3).[47] It is striking that while Iahmes uses the abbreviation sign to determine *msḥ* twice, it has a crocodile determinative for *swy*. Amenemhat is the only other text to use this sign to determine *msḥ* in *BD* 65.

BD 32 is very similar in content to *BD* 31, and is again directed against crocodiles which have come to steal the magic of the deceased. Four crocodiles are targeted and each is identified with a cardinal point. Thus, danger is warded off from all four directions. The vignette in Neferrenpet shows four figures of the deceased warding off each crocodile by holding out his hand in an apotropaic gesture attested in fording scenes (see 4.3.1 and 4.5.1; and Fig. 4.4).

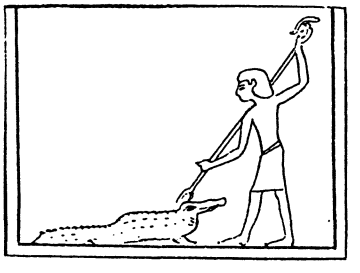
---

[47] Compare the non-sacred crocodiles in the vignettes for *BD* 149 (for examples, see Hornung 1979, 301–16); the crocodile itself is not mentioned in the body of the spell and so it is not discussed here.

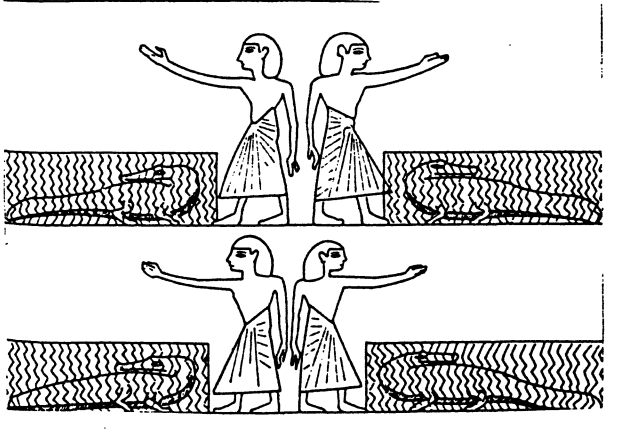
Fig. 4.4: Vignettes of *BD* 31, 32



a. Kha (*BD* 31)



b. Tjenana (*BD* 31)

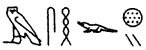


c. Neferrenpet (*BD* 32)

Whereas the context of the crocodile is clear in *BD* 31 and 32, its role in *BD* 65 is more difficult to understand:

BD 65 (Ratié 1968, pl. 12, 284–85):

Neferubenef: 

Mesemnetjer (pl. 77, 6):  Nu (pl. 42, 6):  Amenemhat (pl. 38, 7): 

d.i pr m3ᶜ ḫrw ḥr r stḫ rswty nsw nw rswtyw msḥ (sp sn) št3-ḥr

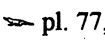
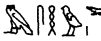
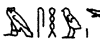
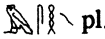
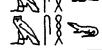
I cause Horus to emerge justified over Seth, the watchful one, the king of the watchful ones, the two crocodiles (?), and the ones whose faces are hidden.

My translation above is closest to that of Allen (1974, 60), although he translated 'the crocodile' without taking into account the *sp sn*. Faulkner's translation (1998, 107) is very different and unlikely: 'May you grant that Osiris may go forth vindicated against Seth; may the dreams of Seth be the dreams of a crocodile'. The function of the *sp sn* is unclear, if that indeed is the reading; but since it is present in more than one variant it cannot be ignored. It is possibly indicative of the dual,[48] in which case the word should be read *msḥwy*. All that can be said about the content of the passage with certainty is that the crocodile stands for some kind of enemy.

Thus, while Sobek is mentioned largely in neutral or in positive contexts, the three spells in which ordinary crocodiles (*msḥw*) are mentioned characterise them as malevolent entities.

[48] Faulkner (1973, 197 n.1) discussed the function of *sp sn* as a marker of the dual in his commentary on *CT* 257.

Table 4.12: *msḥ* in the *Book of the Dead*

MANUSCRIPT (For *BD* 88, see above)	*BD* 31	*BD* 32	*BD* 65
Nu	 pl. 14, 1; pl. 15, 5	–	 pl. 42, 6
Iahmes	 ll. 170; 174	–	–
Mesemnetjer	 pl. 44, 1; 5	–	 pl. 77, 6
Nachtamun	–	 pl. 45, 3; 4; 5; 8; 9	–
Neferrenpet	–	 pl. 28, 19; 20; 21; 22; 23	–
Neferubenef	–	–	 pl. 12, 285
Amenemhat	–	–	 pl. 38, 7
Kha	 p. 49, 1  p. 49, 9–10	–	–

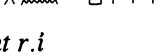
ḥnt(y)

The crocodilian epithet *ḥnt*(*y*) is attested only in *BD* 64, and only has a crocodile determinative in Nu and Kha:

BD 64 (Schiaparelli 1927, pl. 51, 4–5):

Kha: 

Nu (pl. 36, 10): Nebseni (pl. 75, 26): Neferrenpet: damaged

Neferubenef (pl. 13, 360): 

wp.t(*w*) *n.i ᶜbwy m dmd ḥnt r.i*

The horns are split for me among those who joined[49] with the crocodile(s) against me.

Both Kha and Nu use the ordinary form of the crocodile sign. Again, the crocodile is an enemy in this context.

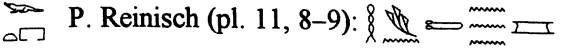
A similarly written word appears in *BD* 67, but most translators render it differently:

BD 67 (Nu pl. 42, 4–5):



[49] Following Faulkner's translation and understanding the  as a determinative of the nominalised *dmḏ* and not as the first person suffix; a plural is written in Neferubenef (pl. 13, 360) and is required by the context, although it is not marked in Kha.

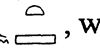
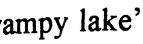
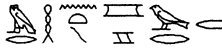
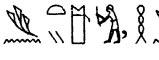


Neferubenef (pl. 79, 4):  P. Reinisch (pl. 11, 8–9): 

im ꜣḥ.i n iw nst.i imyt wiꜣ n rˁ ꜥꜣ i psd wbn m ḥnt-ś

May I not suffer through being boatless, since my seat in the bark of Re the great,

who rises and shines in the lake.

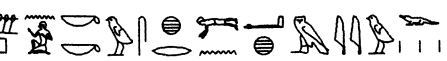
(For the writing in Neferubenef, see below, p. 403). Faulkner (1998, 107) translated 'waterway of the lake', whereas both Allen (1974, 62) and Hornung (1979, 143) omitted the last phrase from their translations.  , without a crocodile determinative, is attested elsewhere with the meaning 'swampy lake', as established by Gardiner (1943, 37–39). In his discussion, Gardiner mentioned that the crocodile sign is used in the writing of the name of the town of Lahun:  . It was not uncommon for a *ḥnt*-lake to be described in terms of its indigenous inhabitants: in the New Kingdom literary text the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling*, Sobek is described as  'the overseer of the marshes, which are rich in fish' (Caminos 1956). Thus in *BD* 67, it is likely that the crocodile determinative is used metonymically in the word as a typical inhabitant of such a tract of water. In the phonetically similar word  *ḥnty* 'to be greedy', the crocodile has a more metaphorical role. Perhaps, however, the crocodile's epithet 'marsh-dweller' again lies at the heart of this second usage, and *ḥnty* is a nisbe-form derived from *ḥnt* describing behaviour typical of the crocodile (see further 4.6.2).

ˁḥmw

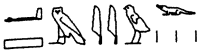
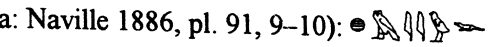
The final non-figurative word the crocodile determines is *ˁḥmw* / *ˁšmw*. The word occurs in four spells written in various ways (see Table 4.13). Although it refers to (semi-)divine beings and sometimes takes an additional determinative () in contrast to its occurrences in the *Coffin Texts*, it is written only with the ordinary form of the crocodile sign in the *Book of the Dead*, never the effigy, although in Ani's version of *BD* 50, the effigy form of the falcon sign is used. Despite this consistency in detail, the orthography of the phonetic signs differs considerably from spell to spell, and between the manuscripts (see Table 4.13).

Of the three spells in which the word is attested, only *BD* 80 characterises *ˁḥmw*:

BD 80 (Davies and Gardiner 1915, pl. 37, 9–10):

Amenemhat: 

ỉsp.n.i kkw sḫr.n(.i) ꜥḥmyw

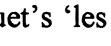
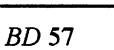
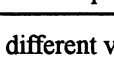
Ani (pl.28, 11):  Unnamed (Pa: Naville 1886, pl. 91, 9–10): 

I have taken the darkness, and I have overthrown the spirits.

It appears as if the *ꜥḥmyw* are hostile beings in this spell, since the deceased claims to have defeated them. However, in *BD* 50, 57, and 141–43, they are simply evoked in passing alongside other divine beings.

In contrast to its treatment in the *Coffin Texts*, in the *Book of the Dead*, the crocodile determinative of *ꜥḥm* is usually not taken literally by translators, perhaps because it is more occasional than was the case in the *Coffin Texts*. Thus, Faulkner (1998, 120) translated the instance in *BD* 141–43 as 'images', Hornung (1979, 127) the instance in *BD* 57 as 'Götterbilder'. However, Allen translated the instances in *BD* 50 and 141–43 as 'divine images' (1974, 51, 117), but that in *BD* 57, 'crocodile demons' (1974, 54), and that in *BD* 80, '*ꜥḥm*-demons' (1974, 70). Barguet's 'les idoles' of *BD* 50 (1967, 89) is similar to Allen's 'divine images', but his 'mauvais esprits' in *BD* 80 (1967, 119) is slightly different; he followed different versions of *BD* 57 and 141–43, which did not include *ꜥḥmw*.

Table 4.13: Orthography of *ꜥḥmw* in the *Book of the Dead*

MANUSCRIPT	*BD* 50	*BD* 57	*BD* 80	*BD* 141–43
Neferubenef	–	 Naville pl. 70, 5	–	damaged
Nu	 pl. 56, 4–5	different version	–	 pl. 44, 27
Amenemhat	 pl. 43, 6	–	 37, 10	 pl. 36, 11
Ani	pl. 16, 5–6	–	pl. 28, 11	–
Kha	–	–	–	 p. 52, 25
Neferrenpet	–	–	–	damaged
Amenhotep	–	–	–	Naville pl. 153, no. 25
Unnamed (Pa)	–	–	Naville pl. 91, 9–10	–
Nebseni	pl. 44, 5	–	–	–

4.2.3.2 Figurative usage

ks and *sšd*

The crocodile's role is much more limited in figurative than in non-figurative contexts: it appears mainly in two verbs, *3d* and *s3ḳ*, with a few other usages that do not occur in many manuscripts. Several words that took crocodile determinatives in the *Coffin Texts* are no longer written with them in the *Book of the Dead*. Thus, only human signs are attested as determinatives of *ks* in the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts I surveyed (but see p. 408); for example:

BD 88 (Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 27, 3–4):

Ani: 

ink nb ksw m ḫm

I am the lord of those who bow down in Letopolis.

Similarly, I found no attestations of *sšd* '(lightning-)flash / to flash' with a crocodile determinative in the manuscripts I surveyed. Although the word itself is no longer common, it is attested in *BD* 78 (= *CT* 312; discussed above, p. 376). Its folded cloth determinative points to the meaning 'fillet' rather than 'flash', but Faulkner's (1998, pl. 26) translation 'flashing' does seem to suit the context better than Allen's 'fillet' (1974, 68) or Hornung's 'Band' (1979, 161):

BD 78 (Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 26, 39):

Ani: 

Neferubenef (pl. 11, 197):  Neferrenpet (pl. 23, 29): Nu (pl. 30, 33):

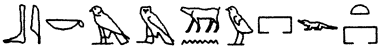
ink ḥr imy wbnw.f sḫm m sšd.f sḫm m {m} šspw.f

I am the falcon who dwells in the sunshine, who has power through his light and

his flashing. (Faulkner 1998, pl. 26)

Although none of the other manuscripts which include this spell use a crocodile determinative, in a different spell, Neferubenef seems to use the crocodile sign as a phonogram for *sšd* in a writing of *sšdt* 'shrine':

BD 71 (Ratié 1968, pl. 10, 122):

Neferubenef: 

Nebseni (Naville 1886, pl. 83, 3):  Nu (pl. 21, 4):

bik m-ḫnw sšdt

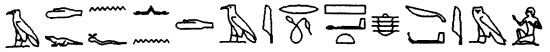
(I am) the falcon within the shrine.

This seems to be the same word Neferubenef wrote in *BD* 67:  (see p. 401). Thus, although there are no attestations of the crocodile in *sšd* 'flash', it seems that the association of the crocodile and the stem *sšd* was still strong enough to give rise to a phonetic borrowing.

ȝd

ȝd is attested in six spells in the *Book of the Dead* and occurs more often as a noun than as a verb. The only verbal example is in *BD* 29A, attested in only one manuscript, where it describes the heart being enraged:

BD 29A (Naville 1886, pl. 40, 5):

Amenhotep: 

ȝd.n.f nn dȝir sᶜt im.i

After it was enraged, there was no stopping the terribleness in me.

Fig. 4.5a 

b 

Naville copied the word with a snake determinative,  (1886 pl. 40, 5; Fig. 4.5a). However, in the original text, the determinative is clearly a crocodile (Botti 1964, pl. 10; Fig. 4.5b). The mistake probably arose from the faintness of the ink depicting the animal's underside; the relatively bolder upper line on its own looks like a snake.

In five other spells *ȝd* is used nominally, meaning 'the aggressive one(s)'. It has an additional deity determinative only in *BD* 147 in the papyrus of Horemakhbit, where it is used as the name of a divine being of the Underworld. The context is similar in *BD* 144, where *ȝd* is again the name of a being associated with a gate in the Underworld, but none of the manuscripts I surveyed writes a deity determinative (see Table 4.14). Elsewhere, it seems to describe any aggressive beings rather than a specific group of demons (e.g. see *ȝdw* in 4.5.2). Its occurrence in *BD* 130 is a little more complicated:

BD 130 (Lapp 1997, pl. 50, 34–35):

Nu: 

nn šm wsir N ḥr wȝt ȝdw bwt wsir N

Horemakhbit (pl. 143, 36–37):  Neferrenpet (pl. 15, 19): 

Osiris N will not go on the path of the aggressive ones, (they) are the abomination of Osiris N.

Both Allen (1974, 106) and Hornung (1979, 253) assumed that *ȝdw* here refers to crocodiles, because they both supplied 'crocodile' in the final clause as the object of N's abomination.

However, *3dw* need not refer specifically to crocodilian beings. It does not seem to in the other four *Book of the Dead* spells in which it is attested, where it is simply a name for aggressive beings in the Underworld.

There is one particularly striking orthography in Baksu's version of *BD* 144, where the word is determined with a hide and tail sign. This determinative is unusual both because it rarely substitutes for the crocodile even in writings of the animal's name, and because Baksu writes a crocodile determinative for *3d* elsewhere (*BD* 72) and therefore is not necessarily inclined to avoid it. It is the only example of such a writing and is perhaps influenced by the (animal?) nature of the being to which it refers, one of the 'announcers' of an Underworld gate (compare the determinative of *ḫmw* in *CT* 257 in B2L).

Fig. 4.6a b





Yuya's writing of *3dw* in *BD* 144 is also striking for the curved tail of its crocodile determinative (Fig. 4.6a). However, the form of the sign in this spell and in *BD* 147 in Horemakhbit (Fig. 4.6b) is probably attributable to the arrangement of both texts in columns and the fact that there was not enough room for the usual form of the crocodile sign with an extended tail.

Table 4.14: *3d* in the *Book of the Dead*

Spell	Mesemnetjer	Baksu	Neferubenef	Neferrenpet	Nebseni
72	pl. 84, 4	l. 46	l. 106	–	–
130	–	–	–	pl. 15, 19	–
136A	–	–	l. 9	pl. 17, 15	–
144	–	l. 205	–	–	British Museum pl. 3, 4
151	–	–	l. 492	–	–

Table 4.14 (cont.)

Spell	Nu	Horemakhbit	Kha	Ani	Yuya	Amenhotep
29A	–	–	–	–	–	pl. 40, 5
130	pl. 50, 34	pl. 130, 36–37	–	–	–	–
136A	omitted	–	p. 55, 8		–	–
144	–	–	–	–	pl. 20, 6	–
147	–	pl. 166, 28	–	pl. 11	pl. 12, 8	–
151	–	–	pl. 58, 10	–	–	–

In the *Coffin Texts,* nominal instances of *3d* are often written *3tw*. Although there are no such writings in the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts I surveyed, there is one instance of a phonetically similar yet semantically unrelated word, *3t*, which is written with a crocodile's head serving as a partial logogram (Fig. 4.7).

Fig. 4.7



The writing occurs in a hymn to the sun-god at the beginning of Ani (Faulkner et al. 1998, pl. 1, 15). Ani uses various signs of differing appearance in its writings of *3t* (3.2.3.2), but this is the only clear instance of the crocodile. In the Ptolemaic Period, the crocodile is attested widely in writings of *3t*,[50] but this is possibly its earliest occurrence.

s3ḳ

s3ḳ occurs in seven spells in the *Book of the Dead.* Its orthography is extremely consistent among and within most of the manuscripts (Table 4.15). The crocodile is only rarely omitted, for example in Nebseni in *BD* 133, although the same papyrus uses the crocodile determinative in *BD* 64. The determinative is always the specific form of the crocodile with a curved tail. Neferubenef uses the sign logographically in *BD* 170, as does Amenemhat in *BD* 133.

[50] The crocodile usually has an open mouth in writings of *3t* in Edfu (Wilson 1997, 25); compare its use in the word *pṯḥ* (*Wb.* I. 565, 12–15).

Fig. 4.8



In *BD* 147 in Ani, a strange sign is written in between the phonetic signs and the papyrus roll determinative (Fig. 4.8). In three other spells, Ani uses the crocodile determinative, and so it is possible here that it is this sign miswritten.

s3ḳ is again used mainly of the collection and reconstitution of parts of the body, an action that is linked mythically to Sobek's role as the retriever of Horus' severed hands (described in *CT* 158 = *BD* 113). In *BD* 133 and 147, *s3ḳ* is applied to the action of gathering together the limbs (*ꜥ*), and in *BD* 64 to the general reconstitution of the body. However, it appears in an unusual context in *BD* 78 seemingly applied to the gathering of 'faces' (*ḥrw*), although the context is extremely obscure.

Table 4.15: Orthography of *s3ḳ* in the *Book of the Dead*

Spell	Ani	Neferubenef	Nebseni	Nu
58	pl. 16, 3	–	–	–
64	–	pl. 13, 367; 375	pl. 76, 36–37; 46	pl. 61, 29; 37
78	passage omitted	89, 46	–	pl. 41, 53
133	pl. 21, 6	damaged	pl. 146, 3–4	pl. 45, 6
147	pl. 11, 44	–	–	–
151	pl. 33, 3	–	–	–
170	–	pl. 15, 574		

Table 4.15 (cont.)

Spell	Neferrenpet	Amenemhat	Horemakhbit
64	pl. 25, 3 (+ 1 damaged)	–	–
78	pl. 24, 7	–	–
133	damaged	pl. 37, 6	–
147	–	–	pl. 166, 46–47

ity

There are only a few scattered attestations of the crocodile in other contexts. It occurs once in *ity* 'sovereign' in Amenhotep in *BD* 141–43 (Naville 1886, pl. 153, 73; Fig. 4.9).

Fig. 4.9



No other manuscript has this orthography and most lack the passage altogether. *ity* is attested elsewhere, but not with the crocodile orthography, for example, Ani pl. 2, 2:

snk

A crocodile with a curved tail is the determinative of *snk* in *BD* 146 in Horemakhbit, where it appears as part of the name of a guardian of the sixth gate of the Underworld: *nbt snk* (Naville 1886, pl. 140, 13; Fig. 4.10). Allen (1974, 134) translated 'lady of darkness'.

Fig. 4.10



But it is equally possible to translate the word in the same way as in the *Coffin Texts* above, 'mistress of voracity'. Although the curved tail of the crocodile may again be attributable to the spacing of the text, since the word has a possible connection with voracity, the curved tail could be meaningful, representing the crocodile gathering to itself everything that it wants, thereby perspectivising an aspect of voracity.

The passage is attested in several other manuscripts, but only one other, Ptahmose, writes a crocodile in an otherwise very muddled orthography: . Although there are no

attestations of *ksw* 'obeisance' with a crocodile determinative in the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts I have surveyed, this writing in Ptahmose seems to indicate that the crocodile orthography of the word was not completely unknown.

4.2.4. Discussion

4.2.4.1 Associations of the crocodile in religious texts

As an animal, the crocodile is the epitome of power in the religious texts surveyed. Most of the contexts in which it is mentioned, either as an animal or in divine form as the god Sobek, centre on this quality and particularly its ambivalence. The very traits that make the crocodile a symbol of power also make it dangerous. Whether its power is characterised as benevolent or malevolent depends entirely on how it is channelled. Thus, in the spells to transform the deceased into a crocodile, or more specifically the manifestation of the god Sobek, the deceased takes on the crocodile's power and may then use it for his benefit in a positive way. That a version of this kind of spell is present in all three types of funerary texts suggests that it was an important aspect of the deceased's afterlife. However, at the same time, spells to keep the crocodile at bay are also attested at all stages, because the crocodile's power, if directed against the deceased, made the animal a dangerous enemy.

The same ambivalent power can be argued to be behind each of the words the crocodile sign determines, with the exception of *sꜣḳ* because the different form of its crocodile sign sets it apart. Thus, for example, while the crocodile determinative of *ꜣdw* 'the aggressive ones' stands as the prototype of aggressive power, the character of such beings described in this way is dependent on context. They may either use their power against the deceased's enemies, which makes it a positive attribute, or against the deceased himself, in which case it is negative. The raw power which the crocodile sign represents, therefore, is neither intrinsically positive or negative, and it is context that makes it one or the other.

4.2.4.2 The correlation between sign form and meaning

The crocodile determinative may take one of three basic forms in the religious texts surveyed:  ,  , and  . In the *Pyramid Texts*, only is attested, and only in two securely identified writings of 'Sobek' and one ambiguous case of *sbk* or *ꜣdm*.

The uses and graphic variations of the sign greatly increase in the *Coffin Texts*, where all

three forms of the crocodile determinative are attested in writings of ten different words, and where the form the sign takes becomes significant:  and  alternate in writings of *sbk*, *msḥ*, *ḫm*, and *ḥn*, but only the latter, more mundane form is attested in writings of *3d*, *ḥnty*, *s3d*, *skn* and *ks*. Although there are a couple of occurrences of in writings of *s3ḳ*, usually is the determinative.

These distinctions of form and function continue to exist in the *Book of the Dead*, with becoming even more restricted in usage and limited to writings of *sbk* only. In fact, there are no attestations of the ordinary crocodile sign () in writings of Sobek's name in any of the manuscripts I surveyed. In addition to (mainly attested in *s3ḳ* but not restricted to it), , and , another form of the crocodile sign, , is attested, but only in Ani. This variant is specific to *3t* and is not written as the word's determinative anywhere else in the papyrus.

Each of the forms discussed above has its own sphere of meaning. has the broadest range of significances since it is unmarked for any perspectivisation in meaning. Whenever it is used figuratively in religious texts, it seems to require no other determinative to reinforce its word's meaning, as is the case with certain other animal determinatives; for example *nr* 'to fear' often has  or to reinforce the meaning of the vulture determinative. The other forms of the crocodile sign bear a comparably strong semantic load, but by contrast are graphically marked to distinguish them from , and therefore do perspectivise specific aspects of the crocodile.

•

The significances of and are quite distinct. Unlike the ordinary crocodile sign, the crocodile in effigy form seems to express the attribute [Divine]; this is most clearly the case in the *Book of the Dead*. With the introduction of vignettes in the *Book of the Dead*, the divinity of the -crocodile is even more clearly differentiated from its mundane counterpart, with the addition of graphic embellishments serving as further markers of divinity, such as the standard and the pedestal. Yet, does not express this attribute as strongly as or , as is corroborated by the number of times in which is added to the effigy form of the crocodile sign in writings of *sbk* both in the *Coffin Texts* and in the *Book of the Dead*. By contrast, is attested only in the *Pyramid Texts*, and is never added to the effigy form of the

crocodile but serves instead as its alternative. However, the fact that the crocodile effigy can stand alone, either as a logogram or a determinative, in the *Pyramid Texts*, where all deities' names are determined with a marker of their divinity, corroborates its attribute [Divine], which in turn derives from the form of the sign.



Goldwasser (1995, 105) wanted to distinguish this form of the crocodile sign from the others, stating:

> Because of its unique iconic identity, so different from the non-mythological qualities of the crocodile, the *sȝḳ*-crocodile could have acquired a signified of a "good" crocodile, to be distinguished from the regular one.

The beneficence or malevolence of the crocodile as an animal, and how its character relates to its usage as a determinative, are complex issues and answers depend very much on the context in which a crocodile word is used. Sobek himself is not beneficent in any straightforward way; qualities that might seem negative may take on positive connotations under certain circumstances (see also below).

 unquestionably has a different meaning from the other two crocodile signs, as is clear from its almost complete restriction to writings of *sȝḳ*. Goldwasser also raised the important point that does not occur as the determinative of related terms, such as *inḳ*; it serves only as the determinative or occasionally as the logogram for *sȝḳ*. The connection between Sobek and the action of collecting is very strong – in the Late Period, *sbk* is used as a verb meaning 'to collect' (*Wb* IV. 95, 1). But whereas Goldwasser suggested that the restricted usage of is due to the distinction between the mythological and non-mythological crocodile, I propose that the distinction has to do with the function of the sign. When used figuratively as a determinative in words like *ȝd* and *ks*, the crocodile stands as the prototype of a quality (see above). But in writings of *sȝḳ*, it stands instead as the prototype of an action. Indeed, whenever a crocodile sign is used to determine an action word, its form seems to be altered: compare the form it takes as the determinative of *pṯḥ* 'to open' in the Late Period:  . Even the verb *ȝd*, which is often translated 'to attack' is not really an 'action' word but rather describes a state of aggression, epitomised by its crocodile determinative, which can be directed against someone (hence the use of the preposition *r* before the object of the verb).

But the use of is not always meaningful. It seems that in the *Book of the Dead* of Yuya,

the presence of  instead of  as the determinative of *3dw* in *BD* 144 is entirely due to the narrow columns in which the text is arranged at that point. This is made clear by the fact that in *BD* 151, where the columns are wider, determines *3d* as usual in the same manuscript. Horemakhbit uses in writings of *3dw* and *snk* for the same reason. However, the writing of *msḥ* with in Kha constitutes a grey area. There are no grounds in the former two manuscripts for the interpretation of as semantically meaningful, but there may be in Kha because the context describes the crocodile as stealing (*iṯ*). However it is again possible to attribute its occurrence to considerations of space as in the previous examples.

4.2.4.3 Combination and alternation with other signs

It is striking that writings of *3d*, *sšd*, *ks*, *ḫn*, and *skn* in the *Coffin Texts* with the crocodile determinative take no other additional signs to perspectivise the word's meaning, suggesting that the animal's associations were strong enough for the sign to be used alone. Yet, while it is possible to see a common thread of power linking all of these words together, upon further examination, the crocodile does not have identical associations in each word. This is made clear by the determinatives which alternate with the sign in the various words. Although  /  occur in alternative writings instead of the crocodile determinative in *3d* and *ḫn*, and are unique to *ks*, and to *sšd*. It is from these alternative determinatives that it becomes evident that the crocodile's role in *ks* is perhaps as much to do with its physical form as with the fearful respect that it inspires, and that its significance in *sšd* perhaps has to do with its associations with brightness, which are more apparent in other genres. Again in the *Book of the Dead*, it is not common for the crocodile to be paired with other signs, with the exception of the *sȝḳ*-crocodile, which is usually accompanied by the papyrus roll sign. The use of the crocodile sign as a word's only determinative contrasts with both the panther and the Seth animal signs, and is not unique to religious texts.

4.2.4.4 The crocodile as a dangerous sign in religious texts

The crocodile sign is treated differently in the three categories of religious texts surveyed. In the *Pyramid Texts*, it is avoided completely, except in W and once in N, where it may have been deliberately damaged. Even the texts of S, the orthography of which tends to be almost

identical to that of W, avoid using the sign. Several *Coffin Texts* manuscripts also avoid using the sign. B1P is a notable case for that the fact that it uses the abbreviation sign instead of the crocodile in each word where the crocodile sign is a possible component (*msḥ*, *3d*, *s3ḳ*, *ks*), even using the former sign logographically (*msḥ*) and semi-logographically (*3d*). By comparison, there is less consistency among the *Book of the Dead* manuscripts. Although certain texts avoid the crocodile sign in particular words, their avoidance is usually not complete; for example, Amenemhat uses  in *msḥ*, but writes a crocodile determinative for *ḥmw* twice, and uses  logographically for *s3ḳ*. Of the principal manuscripts surveyed, only Iahmes never uses a crocodile sign. In fact, it only has one attestation of a word that can take a crocodile determinative (*msḥ*), which may be further proof of avoidance of anything connected with the crocodile. Its two writings of *msḥ* (determined with the abbreviation sign) are in *BD* 31, a spell to ward off crocodiles.

 is the most common alternative to the crocodile determinative of *msḥ*. The very infrequent use of  seems to be an analogous attempt by certain scribes to avoid the potentially harmful crocodile sign. Goldwasser (1999, 59) tentatively assigned the crocodile to the fuzzy edges of the category represented by , noting that the sign is only rarely used as a determinative of words for the crocodile. Indeed, although there are more instances of this usage in the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* than outside the realm of religious texts – a writing of *msḥ* and of *ḥm* in the *Coffin Texts*, and of *3d* in the *Book of the Dead* – such writings are nevertheless rare. The association between the crocodile and the -sign is explored further below.

Thus, while the crocodile sign occurs relatively freely in the *Book of the Dead*, it seems that more caution surrounded its use in the *Pyramid Texts* and in some *Coffin Texts* manuscripts. The change in attitude could be attributable to a number of factors, for example, the different media involved in the transmission of the three phases of funerary texts. Whereas a wide range of sign curtailments are known for the *Pyramid Texts* and certain *Coffin Texts* (especially, for example, L1Li), the same phenomenon has not been observed for the *Book of the Dead*. Perhaps the increased distance between the deceased and the papyrus roll (the most common medium for *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, although not the only one) was enough to dispel fears for safety, whereas the immediacy of signs painted or carved directly on the walls of the coffin or of the tomb made them more dangerous and therefore prone to mutilation. Differences in date and corresponding changes in attitudes towards the sign are another

possible reason, although not as convincing, since the evidence from other textual spheres (especially royal inscriptions) seems to indicate that the crocodile became increasingly negative as a symbol.

The following analysis sections explore how genre-bound these observations are and how they correlate with other textual spheres.

4.3 MEDICO-MAGICAL TEXTS

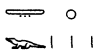
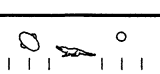
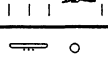
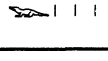
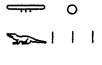
As a powerful being like Seth, the crocodile has a dual role in medical and magical texts. On the one hand, the animal's fearsomeness and power could be channelled in a spell or, through the incorporation of crocodile ingredients, in a remedy. On the other hand, the crocodile is targeted as a threat and many texts seek to ward it off. Thus, as both an enemy and an ally, the crocodile features prominently in the texts treated in this section. Both facets feed into the crocodile's figurative role.

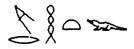
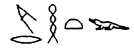
4.3.1 Non-figurative usage

msḥ

Non-figuratively, the crocodile sign is used primarily as a logogram or a determinative of *msḥ* and not in connection with the god Sobek, who has a very limited role. In medical texts, the crocodile features in a number of remedies for diverse ailments. Two particular ingredients derived from the crocodile are used – its fat (*mrḥt*), and its excrement (*ḫs* or *t3*). Table 4.16 sets out the contexts in which it occurs in medical remedies.

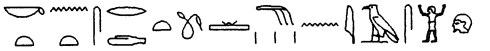
Table 4.16: Crocodile ingredients in medico-magical texts

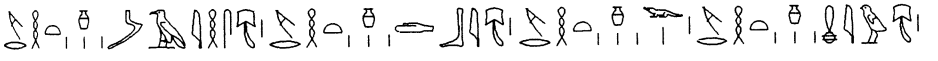
SOURCE	INGREDIENT	ORTHOGRAPHY	USE
P. Ram V (2, 7)	fat		ease stiffness in limbs
P. Ram. V (3, 19)	fat		straighten crooked limbs
P. Kahun 21 (3, 6)	excrement		contraceptive
P. Ebers 333 (55, 15)	excrement		eradicate *gḥw* (Ebbell 1924, 147: asthma)
P. Ebers 344 (57, 1)	excrement		improve sight
P. Ebers 378 (60, 5)	excrement		eradicate water suffusion in eyes (Westendorf 1999, 616: cataracts)
P. Ebers 412 (62, 15)	excrement		eradicate *3dt* (Westendorf 1999, 621: glaucoma)
P. Ebers 444 (64, 22)	excrement		eradicate *ḫnsyt* (Ebbell 1937, 77: exanthema of scalp)

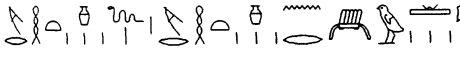
SOURCE (cont.)	INGREDIENT	ORTHOGRAPHY	USE
P. Ebers 448 (65, 4)	excrement		eradicate *ḫnsyt* (Ebbell 1937, 77: exanthema of scalp)
P. Ebers 465 (66, 10)	fat		regenerate hair of bald man
P. Ebers 542 (71, 20)	excrement		relieve secretions (Ebbell 1937, 86: effluency)
P. Ebers 656 (82, 9)	fat		relieve stiffness in all limbs
P. Hearst 146 (10, 7)	fat		regenerate hair of bald man
P. Berlin 3038 70 (6, 10)	excrement		eradicate *hhyt* (Bardinet 1995, 418: deafness)

Although the range of ailments for which crocodile ingredients can be used is diverse, there are certain commonalities. Its function as an ingredient is perhaps apotropaic in those cases where the purpose of the remedy is to ward off an undesirable condition, for example pregnancy in P. Kahun 21. More than once, the crocodile is used to make limbs more supple thereby increasing mobility, perhaps drawing upon the animal's speed, which is evoked in other contexts (for example, in threat formulae, see 4.4.1).

It is rare for the crocodile to be the only animal component of a remedy. The treatments for baldness in P. Ebers 465 and P. Hearst 146 are entirely composed of animal elements:

P. Ebers, Incantation 465 (66, 9–12): 







kt nt srwd šnw n i3s

mrḥt m3i ḥs(3) mrḥt dbi mrḥt msḥ mrḥt miw mrḥt ḥf3w mrḥt nr3w

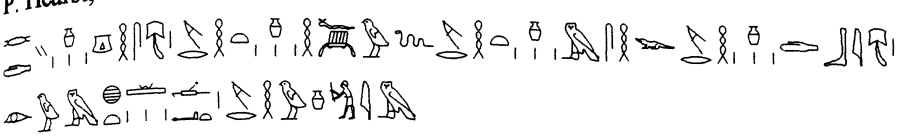
ir(w) m ḫt w^{c}t wrḥ ḏ3ḏ3 n i(3)s im

Another for strengthening the hair of a bald man

Fat of a fierce lion, fat of a hippopotamus, fat of a crocodile, fat of a cat,

fat of a snake, fat of an ibex: combine and anoint the head of the bald man with it.

P. Hearst, Incantation 146 (10, 6–7):



ʿḏ ghs mrḥt ḥfȝw mrḥt msḥ mrḥ(t) dbi

irw m ḫt wʿt mrḥw im

Grease of a gazelle, fat of a snake, fat of a crocodile, fat of a hippopotamus:

combine and anoint with it.

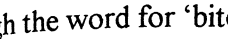
Nunn (1996, 149) suggested that the animal ingredients in these remedies were used 'in the hope of transferring some desirable characteristic of the animal' but he did not specify what characteristic that might be. The common thread linking the animals in each remedy is probably their power. It is equally possible that this power is drawn upon apotropaically, in this case warding off baldness, or that their collective strength is channelled into the process of *srwd* 'strengthening' the hair of the patient. In either case, the crocodile is a benevolent component of the treatment.

Orthographically, the crocodile stands out in medical remedies. It is never written with the hide and tail sign, as other animal names usually are. There are a few scattered writings in the medical texts I surveyed of animal names with specific determinatives or logograms, for example,  *pnw* 'mouse' in P. Hearst 149 (10, 10), and  *sȝb* 'jackal' in P. BM 10059 (5, 3). P. Ebers in particular occasionally writes specific determinatives for some animal names, for example,  *šȝ* 'pig',[51]  *nriw* 'ibex' (Eb 425: 116, 1),  *štyw* 'tortoise' (Eb 700: 86, 12). However, the majority of animals' names tend to be determined with the hide and tail sign with the exception of the bovid (always logographic), the snake (either logographic or with a specific snake determinative), the ass (see 2.3.1), and the crocodile, which like the snake, is either written logographically or with a specific crocodile determinative. In the medical or magical texts I surveyed, there are no writings of the name of the crocodile with a hide and tail determinative.

Whereas in the contexts discussed above, parts of the crocodile are used magically to draw upon the power of the animal and apply it to positive ends, there are occasional allusions to the danger associated with the animal. Thus, P. Ebers 436 (61, 11) gives a course of treatment

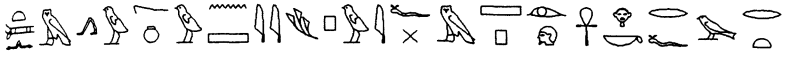
---

[51]  : P. Ebers 198 (39, 18), 356 (57, 17), 425 (63, 16), 531 (71, 6), 580 (74, 20), 652 (81, 19), 658 (82, 14), 663 (83, 4). The word is written once with a generic determinative in P. Ebers 315 (91, 15): .

for the effects of a crocodile bite (). There is a similar case in P. Hearst 239 (16, 4) although the word for 'bite' is different:  . The earliest mention of the crocodile as an animal in the medical and magical texts I surveyed is in a spell to ward it off. The spell, associated with herdsmen, is attested in a number of Old Kingdom tombs (Montet 1925, 69–70; Guglielmi 1973, 101) as a caption alongside fording scenes, accompanying an apotropaic gesture from one or more of the herders, who hold out their arm and point their finger at the crocodiles which are usually depicted lurking in the vicinity of the fording cattle. In a number of Montet's examples, the spell is very short. The longest and most complete version is in the Saqqara mastaba of Ankhmahor (Borghouts 1978, 83):

Capart 1907, pl. 29–30:





i mniw pw ˁnḫ ḥr.k r šy pw nt(y) ḥr mw

tm iw nw n šy pw i(w).f m šp ˁnḫ ḥr.k r.f wrt

0 herdsman there! Let your face be watchful for that marsh-dweller who is in the water so that those (cattle) do not come to that marsh-dweller. May he come blind!

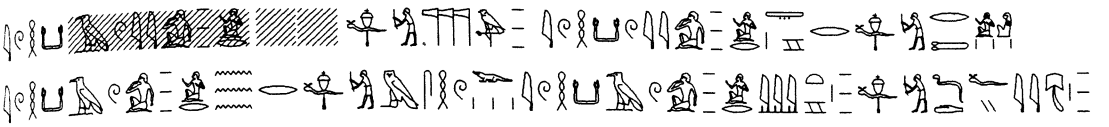
Let your face be very watchful for him.

The spell aims to undermine the crocodile in two ways: by robbing it of its sight – a powerful and dangerous crocodilian faculty that is drawn upon positively in P. Ebers 344 – and by not naming it directly. In all versions that mention the crocodile, it is called *šy* 'marsh-dweller' (*Wb.* IV. 415, 6–7) rather than *msḥ* and this epithet is never determined with a crocodile sign. There is, however, a specific crocodile determinative in the caption to the scene in Ankhmahor's tomb: 'warding off the crocodile'. The relative positions of the caption and the spell go some way to explain their orthographic differences. The spell is written in a long line above the fording cattle, as if to shelter them magically by its presence, while the caption is in between the herdsmen and the cattle, and has the reverse orientation so that the text faces the same way as the crocodile. Just as the depiction of the crocodile is set beneath the herdsmen's boat at a safe distance from the cattle, the crocodile determinative is separated from the cattle by phonetic signs, and is encompassed by the spell on one side and the apotropaic gesture of the herdsmen on the other. Thus, the crocodile determinative may be necessary in the caption, as part of the process of keeping the crocodile at bay, but is not

appropriate in the spell itself.

Similar spells to ward off crocodiles occur in the New Kingdom, for example in the third incantation of P. BM 9997+10309, which is similar in content to the text of a Late Period Magical Statue Base in Leiden – a lament of Isis for Horus who has been bitten by a snake. Crocodiles are mentioned in a set of formulaic phrases to ward off all possible sources of evil:

P. BM 9997+10309 (4, 11):



iw ḥk3.i r [pt r] ḫsf nṯrw iw ḥk3.i r t3 r ḫsf rmṯw

iw ḥk3.i r mw r ḫsf mshw iw ḥk3.i r sḫt ⟨r⟩ ḫsf ḏdfy

My powers are directed towards [the sky to] repel the gods; my powers are directed towards the earth to repel people; my powers are directed towards the water to repel crocodiles; my powers are directed towards the fields to repel creeping things.

The formula goes on to mention lions in the desert and birds of prey (*šntyw*). Crocodiles are the only animal whose name is written with a specific determinative.

In P. Edwin Smith, the crocodile is mentioned in a negative context, although it is not the animal itself that is being warded off:

P. Edwin Smith (19, 6–8):



3ḫ nb 3ḫt nbt mt nb mtt nb(t) ḫpry n ꜥwt nbt

iṯ.n msḥ psḥ.n ḥf3w [sḫtm]ty dmt ḫp ḥr ḥnkyt.f...

Every male spirit, every female spirit, every dead man, every dead woman, every manifestation of an animal, the one which the crocodile has taken, the one which the snake has bitten, the one the knife has destroyed, the one who died upon his bier...

Being taken by a crocodile or bitten by a snake was a constant worry to the Egyptians (Westendorf 1999, 237) and many spells are specifically designed to prevent these dangers from befalling their users. But in this context, the crocodile and the snake are evoked as agents of destruction alongside the torments of other dangerous beings, who are presumably made even more dangerous through having suffered them.

But the crocodile is not always mentioned in a negative context. In the Middle Kingdom,

the crocodile's power as an animal is invoked as a positive, apotropaic force in two spells in P. Berlin 3027, once in Incantation E, and twice in Incantation P. In Incantation E, it is determined with the hieratic abbreviation sign; in P, it is written once with the abbreviation sign, and once with the crocodile sign:

P. Berlin 3027, Incantation P (rto 2, 3–5):



imi in.tw n.i pdst nt nbw bnn ḥm3gt ḫtm msḥ drt

r sḫrt r dr t3 mrwt r sšmt ḥ^{c}w r sḫrt p3 ḫfty t3 ḫftt nt imnt šp.k s3w pw

Let someone[52] bring to me a container of gold, a bead of carnelian, a seal (with) a crocodile and a hand so as to quash and drive out the illness,[53] so as to warm up the limbs, so as to defeat the male and female enemies of the west. May you flow out! This is protection.

Pinch (1994, 115) discussed survivals of such seals with crocodiles and hands on them , many in the graves of infants, where they were presumably placed to fulfil the task in the afterlife at which they had failed while the child was alive (example in Parkinson 1991, 129). In such cases, the crocodile serves an apotropaic function; being a dangerous animal, it directs its hostility against those who would seek to harm the child who wears the amulet.

The incantation concludes with an instruction to speak it over the components of the amulet, and these are again listed:

P. Berlin 3027, Incantation P (rto 2, 6):



ḫtm msḥ drt

A seal with a crocodile and a hand...

It is notable that the hide and tail sign is not used to determine *msḥ* here, as is the case with other animals in the papyrus.

Whereas in P, the crocodile mentioned is not a real crocodile but rather the image of one, in E, it is evoked as an animal that stands as a metaphor for the power the spell draws upon:

---

[52] The impersonal third person pronoun *tw* seems to be preceded by a determinative-like sign.

[53] A strange orthography of the common word *mrt* 'illness'.

P. Berlin 3027, Incantation E (3, 1–2):



dr.i mrt imyt ḥ^{c}w.k swnyt imyt ^{c}tw.k sp 3

msḥ ḫ3ḫ m ḥr-ib itrw ḥf3w ḫ3ḫ mtwt dns m ^{c}wy sft ḳn

May I ward off the illness in your limbs, the affliction in your body (3 times).

(As) the crocodile is swift within the river, (as) a snake is swift of venom,

(so be) the knife in the hands of the powerful executioner.

The pairing of the crocodile and the snake is common (see 4.5.1). Both are animals warded off in magical spells, yet their dangerous speed is evoked as a good force which the practitioner of the spell appropriates for the benefit of his patient. This is reminiscent of the remedies from P. Ramesseum V (2, 7; 3, 19) and P. Ebers (656) which use crocodile fat to cure ailments of the limbs, perhaps exploiting the crocodile's agility.

A crocodile () is mentioned in a broken context in P. BM 10059. The spell (63) enables its beneficiary 'to see the image of Re', and so is connected with sight. Although the immediate context (17, 14) of the mention of the crocodile cannot be reconstructed, earlier in the same spell, Atum is compared to a *rw*-lion and a *m3i*-lion (17, 7) in a description of his powers to cure the affliction of the eye. A few lines after the mention of the crocodile (18, 3), his power is compared to that of a fire falling upon a thicket. It is therefore possible that the crocodile also participated in a simile, serving as a comparison for Atum's power which he channels towards the patient.

In the Chester Beatty Dream Book, the crocodile features four times as an animal but with a strong figurative sense. In three instances, it stands metaphorically for an official; for example,

P. Chester Beatty III (rto. 5, 17):



ḥr wnm iwf n msḥ nfr irr sr m rmṯw.f

... eating the flesh of a crocodile: good. It means acting as an official among his people.

The prediction is the same in rto 5, 11, although the details of the dream may have been different; all that remains of the text before '*nfr*' and the interpretation that follows it is the word *msḥ*. Eating the flesh of a crocodile occurs again in rto 2, 22, and again it is interpreted

as a good dream as it presages the 'eating of the possessions of an official'. As Gardiner pointed out (1935, 12 n.7), there is a certain irony in the connection the dream forges between an official and a crocodile, one which is brought out extensively, for example, by the imagery of the *Eloquent Peasant* (see 4.6).

In the fourth instance of *msḥ* in the Dream Book, the crocodile does not feature in the dream, but in the prediction:

P. Chester Beatty III (rto. 7, 8):



ḥr wnm nᶜr wgs ḏw iṯ.f in msḥ

... eating a gutted catfish: bad. He will be seized by a crocodile.

The catfish is a magically powerful being (Gamer-Wallert 1986, 1210) often depicted alongside the crocodile in tomb reliefs. Thus, the active eating of one powerful river-dweller signifies a literal reversal of fortune for the unlucky dreamer – being eaten by another powerful river-dweller.

In warding off dangerous animals, it seems to have been important to be specific about their location. This is the case in the following spell from the Harris Magical Papyrus, which ends by warding off specifically the crocodile Maga (see below), but begins with other dangerous animals:

P. Harris, Incantation I (6, 4–5):



ḫsf n.i mȝi ḥr mrw msḫw ḥr itrw r ḥfȝw nb psḥt m tpḫwt.sn

Ward off for me the lions of the desert, the crocodiles of the rivers, the mouths of all snakes which bite in their holes.

The Harris Magical Papyrus contains several spells which are directed at crocodiles, although the specific term *msḥ* is not used of them in the spells' title:

P. Harris Incantation. A (1, 1):



---

[54] Leitz (1999, pl. 17, see n.a) transcribed the sun-disk determinative. The *Wb.* (II. 109, 5–8) cites neither Leitz' sun-disk nor Lange's (1927, 50) *niwt*-sign in any of its writings of *mrw*, but Lange's suggestion is more in keeping with the word than that of Leitz.

[55] This determinative is very large and prominent, as if it is being emphasised.

rw nfrw n ḥsyw nty sḫri pȝ mḥ(w)

Excellent spells to be chanted which drive off the swimming one.

There is little doubt that *pȝ mḥw* is the crocodile. There is also no ambiguity about its character in the Harris Magical Papyrus. One spell (I) within the collection concludes with the instruction that it should be recited over a four-headed image of Amun who is trampling on a crocodile (P. Harris 6, 9). Since the spells focus on the crocodile, it is not surprising that the animal is attested as a determinative several times in the papyrus. Five times, it determines the name of Maga, a crocodile demon always referred to as 'the son of Seth'. Several spells seek to ward him off specifically, for example:

P. Harris, Incantation I (6, 5–6):



ḥȝ.k mgȝ sȝ stḫ nn ḫn.k m sd{d}.k nn šd.k m ʿwy.k nn wn.k r.k

Back, Maga son of Seth! You will not disrupt with your tail, you will not disturb with your limbs, you will not open your mouth!

The writing of *ḫn* involves a graphic pun: the sense, since it is parallel with *šd* is 'disrupt' but the writing is literally 'navigate' which perhaps lies behind the crocodile's epithet *dpy*, likening it to a boat (*dpt*).

mʿgȝ and *sbk*

There are two orthographies of Maga's name in the Harris Magical Papyrus:  (2, 2; 6, 5; 6, 8) and  (9, 9; 11). In the two latter instances, the crocodile's tail is extended so that it underlines Maga's epithet *sȝ stḫ* (Figs. 4.11a–b).

Fig. 4.11a



b



Fig. 4.12



In P. Harris, *mgȝ* never takes the effigy-form of the crocodile determinative which is attested only in a writing of Sobek's name in 7, 11 (Fig. 4.12).

Only two other papyri among the texts I surveyed mention Sobek. The first is P. Berlin 3027 where Sobek is mentioned in two incantations. In Incantation U (rto. 1, 1), he is mentioned alongside many other deities, all of whom are identified with parts of the patient's body; Sobek himself is identified with the spleen (*nšm*). In Incantation O, his role is more extended:

P. Berlin 3027, Incantation O (rto 5, 3):



ḥnt šw.ti n wnn rmw.s sbk wnm.n.f šȝb...

The pool is empty; its fish are no more. Sobek has eaten the food ...

Fig. 4.13a b



Erman (1901, 35; 46) originally transcribed both writings of *sbk* with an ordinary crocodile sign, but the hieratic clearly shows the effigy form (Fig. 4.13a–b), which therefore distinguishes writings of the god's name from mentions of the ordinary crocodile.

Fig. 4.14



The second mention of Sobek is P. BM 9997+10309 (3, 10). The context is damaged, but the occurrence is especially striking for its orthography: *sbk* is written logographically with the effigy form of the crocodile and seems to have a Sethian forked tail. (Fig. 4.14). This is a completely unique writing. If it is semantically meaningful rather than a graphic error, it may be a recognition of the aggressive traits shared by Sobek and Seth.

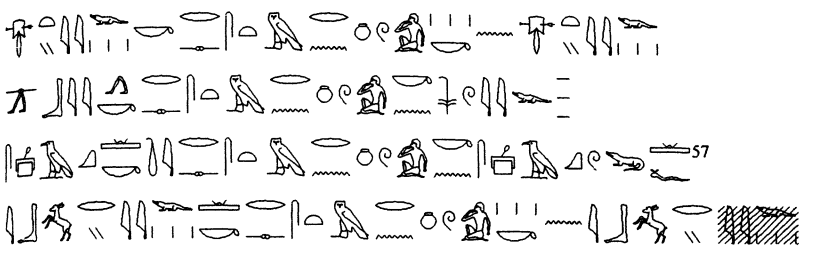
4.3.2 Figurative usage

Crocodilian epithets

The second incantation in P. BM 9997+10309, a collection of spells to protect their beneficiary from snake bites and scorpion stings, is a good illustration of the blurring of the line between figurative and non-figurative contexts in which the crocodile appears. Although the second incantation is primarily directed against snakes – a large section of the middle of the text deals with the expulsion of venom from a goddess – after a long lacuna in the middle of the text reference is made to what appear to be four specific types of crocodile, which seem to be

evoked to drive away the patient's ailment (poison from a snake bite):[56]

P. BM 9997+10309, Incantation 2 (2, 2–3):

 [57]

styw.k r.s m rn.k n styw sby.k r.s m rn.k n swy

sȝḳ.k {ti} r.s m rn.k n sȝḳw{f} ibry.k r.s m rn.k n ibry

There are a number of difficulties in this passage, the most pertinent of which are the interpretation of the initial word in each line above, and the referents of the pronouns *k* and *s*. Leitz (1999, 6) took *styw* and *ibrw* to be types of crocodile, and *sby* and *sȝḳ* to be actions, translating:

> Your *styw*-crocodiles are against her in your names of *styw*-crocodiles. Your march is against her in your name of *swy*-crocodiles. Your wariness is against her in your name of *sȝḳ*-crocodiles. Your *ibrw*-crocodiles are against her in your names of *ibrw*-crocodiles.

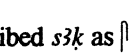
However, perhaps all four initial words are supposed to represent actions directed against the poison in the patient's system, actions which are embodied in the four crocodiles the spell evokes and which are mobilised by the crocodiles' epithets. In this case, the logical referent of *s* is the poison (*mtwt*: 3, 1), and the *k* would seem to refer to each of the crocodiles in turn despite the plural markers which need not be meaningful. Thus, the passage can be read:

> Your strike is against it (=poison) in your name of striking crocodile,
>
> your march is against it in your name of dangerous crocodile,[58]
>
> you are focused against it in your name of focused crocodile,
>
> your streams[59] are against it in your name of river-dwelling crocodile.

That the crocodiles' powers are drawn upon as a positive force is corroborated by the instruction at the end of the incantation to draw four crocodiles on a cup from which the

---

[56] Compare *BD* 32 which wards off four crocodiles from the deceased (see 4.2.3.1). Hatshepsut's Red Chapel inscription which identifies her with four types of crocodile (see 4.4.2).

[57] Leitz (1999, pl. 2) transcribed *sȝḳ* as  , reading instead of . However, the two signs are extremely similar in form and the latter is a much more plausible reading.

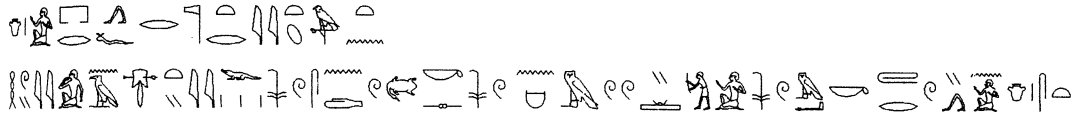
[58] *swy* is also used as an epithet for the snake in P. BM 9997+10309 (2, 14). It is the only one of the four epithets to be applied to the crocodile outside this spell (see 4.2.3.1).

[59] Leitz (1999, 6 n. 25) suggested that this epithet might derive from *ibr* 'river'.

patient is to drink sweet beer (3, 10–12). The number four was magically potent because of its association with the four cardinal points of the compass (Ritner 1997, 162 n. 750), and so the four crocodiles represent here the warding off of trouble from all directions (compare the four crocodiles in *BD* 32, see 4.2.3, and in the Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut, see 4.4.2).

It seems, however, as if it was a delicate matter to ensure the crocodiles' benevolence in this spell. Before the incantation above can be spoken, the reciter of the spell addresses the crocodiles with the following words:

P. BM 9997+10309 Incantation 2 (1, 15–2, 1):



ib.i pr.f n nṯrt tn ḥwy n3 styw {sw} snḏ.k sw snḏ.k s sw nḥm.i sw m-ˁ.k pḥr.n.i ib.s

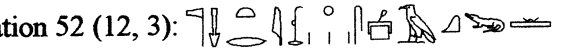
My heart goes out to this goddess. O crocodiles! May you[60] fear it (= speaker's heart), so that I may rescue him (=patient) from you when I have enchanted[61] her heart.

The reciter of the spell must therefore set up a delicate balance. He must ensure the cooperation of the unnamed goddess, who acts as a divine exemplar of the patient's suffering, and then, strengthened by his alliance with her, he can control the crocodiles through the fearful respect he instils in them. Even though their power ultimately benefits the patient, it is striking that the reciter of the spell must rescue his patient from them when they have served their purpose.

s3ḳ

The verb *s3ḳ* itself is attested a number of times in both medical and magical texts and has a broad range of meanings. In P. Ebers and P. BM 10059 (52: 12, 3), it seems to represent a type of incense. The orthography is slightly different in the two papyri:

P. Ebers 490 (68, 10): 

P. BM 10059, Incantation 52 (12, 3): 

This phrase has been treated in various ways. Ebbell (1937, 81) translated the instance in P.

---

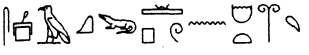
[60] Once again, a singular pronoun is used despite the plural *n3 styw*, addressing the crocodiles as a singular entity.

[61] For this connotation of *pḥr* 'to go around/encircle', see Ritner 1997, 57.

Ebers as 'frankincense *s3ḳ*' while Leitz (1999, 78) translated *s3ḳ* as a qualifying adjective 'pressed', although *s3ḳ* as a verb is not attested with this meaning. Westendorf (1999, 633) also imagined a similar process: '*s3ḳ* durch Schmelzen geformt'. It is possible that *s3ḳ* describes the processing of the incense, especially in light of the attestation of a *s3ḳw snṯr* among the list of occupations in the *Onomastica of Amenemope* (Gardiner 1947, A.147). Thus, in reference to incense *s3ḳ* probably means that the incense is tightly knit together, 'compressed'.

s3ḳ occurs five more times in P. Ebers. In four instances, it describes the contracting action of a woman's womb in response to treatment, for example:

P. Ebers, Incantation 820 (96, 6–7):

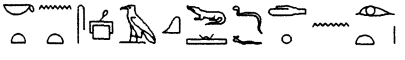


s3ḳ pw n ḥmt

It is a contracting of the womb.[62]

The final instance of *s3ḳ* applies the action of contracting to the eye:

P. Ebers, Incantation 345 (57, 2–3):

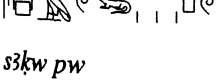


kt nt s3ḳ ḏfd n irt

Another to contract the pupil of the eye.

A comparison of orthographies of *s3ḳ* shows that the crocodile sign's logographic capabilities allowed for a less complete rendering of the phonetic stem, for example:

P. Ebers, Incantation 821 (96, 7–8):



s3ḳw pw

It is a contracting (remedy).

Thus, an incomplete writing of the stem in P. Edwin Smith need not be the mistake Breasted assumed it to be (1930, 332). It occurs in a gloss to case 31 about a dislocated vertebra:

P. Edwin Smith, Case 31, Gloss C (10, 21–22):



ir nnw mwyt.f ḥ33 mwyt pw m ḥnn.f n s3ḳ.n.s n.f

---

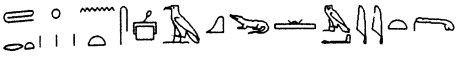
[62] *s3ḳ* as an action of the womb: P. Ebers 820 (96, 6–7), 821 (96, 7–8), 822 (96, 9), 823 (96, 9–10).

[63] is strange as the determinative of 'phallus' and possibly results from confusion with *m-b3ḥ.f*.

As for 'while his urine dribbles', it means that urine drops from his phallus and it does not accumulate for him.

s3ḳ is also applied to the accumulation of urine in the patient in P. Hearst in a remedy for preventing incontinence:

P. Hearst, Incantation 66 (5, 2):



pḥrt nt s3ḳ mwyt

Remedy for accumulating the urine

Thus, in P. Edwin Smith and P. Hearst, *s3ḳ* does not imply contracting, but rather collection. The orthography of the stem *s3ḳ* in all the medical papyri varies, but the form of the determinative is consistently the crocodile with the curved tail.[64]

In the fifth incantation in P. BM 9997 + 10309, parallelled on the statue of Djedhor, *s3ḳ* occurs with a sense distinct from those discussed above. The context is rather damaged but it can be reconstructed through the parallel text:

P. BM 9997+ 10309, Incantation 5 (6, 12):



ḳb.t mi mw s3ḳw mi inr

May you be as cool as water, as collected as stone.

These words are intended to have a magical soothing effect on a snake, rendering it harmless. Leitz commented (1999, 17 n. 104):

This is presumably an image for the snake curled up in the cold, in contrast to the active snake in the warm, which stretches itself out to strike.

The fact that the spell is addressed to a snake, which could curl itself up in the same manner as a crocodile could curl its tail up towards its body, is no doubt relevant. The reciter of the spell aims to encourage the snake to be as tightly knit together as stone.

3d

The earliest occurrence of this word in the texts surveyed is written with a different phonetic stem. It occurs in the 11th Dynasty magical papyrus of Harhotep and is written *3ḳd* rather than *3d*:

---

[64] *s3ḳ* occurs once P. Berlin 3027 (M: 8, 4), but the signs after the phonetic stem are damaged and so it is not possible to tell whether a crocodile determinative was written.

Harhotep vso 3:



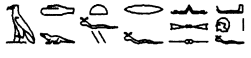
i nb sw k3p m ᶜwy.f irr tbtb (?) 3ḳd-ib wḥm mswt

O Lord of Su (=Seth), who censes with his hands, who causes (?), violent of heart, repeating of manifestations[65]...

James (1962, 77–78 n. 17) was tentative in equating *3ḳd* with *3d*, but his suggestion can be verified by the alternation of the two words in the *Coffin Texts* (see 4.2.2.2). This instance in Harhotep was the only such writing in the texts I have surveyed.

3d, written with a crocodile determinative, has a broad range of meanings in the texts surveyed. It is often used of aggressive beings, for example describing the behaviour of snakes in the magical statue of Ramses III in a spell directed against them:

Ramses III statue, Incantation 7, 16:



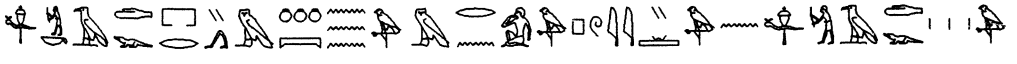
3dt(y).fy r.f n(n) ṯs tp.f

(As for) the one that will be aggressive towards him, it will not raise his head.

The crocodile determinative is particularly appropriate in light of the common pairing of snakes and crocodiles as dangerous creatures.

In the Harris Magical Papyrus, *3d* again describes aggressive beings, here of a more crocodilian nature:

P. Harris, Incantation D (2, 6):



ḫsf.k 3d pry m nwn m rn pwy n ḫsf 3dw

May you fend off the aggressor who emerges from the Nun in this (your) name of 'Fender off of the Aggressive Ones'.

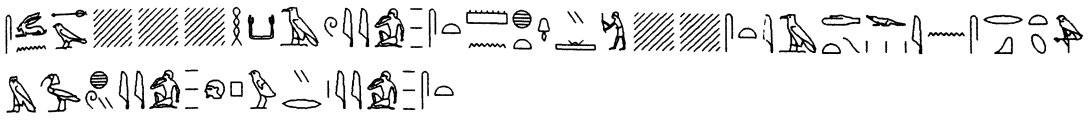
Leitz (1999, 33) is no doubt correct in his assumption that *3d* here means 'the raging (crocodile)'. This incantation is a hymn to Shu, but passages within it, like that above, point to the general aim of the papyrus to ward off crocodiles. Although *3dw* need not always refer to crocodiles, the description of them 'emerging from the Nun' suggests that in this context, it does.

---

[65] See Baines 1986.

In Spell 6 of P. BM 9997 + 10309, *3dw* again describes aggressive beings, but this time not necessarily of a crocodilian nature:

P. BM 9997+ 10309, Incantation 6 (7, 12):



swn ... ḥk3w.st mnḫ ... s 3dw in srḳt m 3ḫw tpy-r.s

You have been punished ...her potent magic ... the furious ones by Selqet by the efficacy of her incantations.

Orthographically, it is striking here that the abbreviation stroke is used alongside the crocodile determinative; usually the former substitutes for the latter. In this case, the abbreviation stroke seems to point to the orthography of a similar word *3t*, which is commonly written  in Late Egyptian (see 3.6), and so it has nothing to do with the crocodile sign here. There is evidence elsewhere of the merging of *3d* and *3t* (see *3tw* in 4.2.2.2 and Ani's orthography of *3t* in 4.2.3.2).

The words cited above are addressed to the snake venom in the patient's blood, and so it is possible that 'furious ones' describes a personification of the evil effects of the poison. The context is too damaged for a certain reconstruction, but *3d* refers to an ailment elsewhere; compare the following passage in which animal eyes are magically substituted for those of the patient:

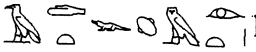
P. Ebers, Incantation 356 (57, 20):



ḏd.ḫr.k m ḥk3 iw in.n.i nn rd m st nn ḏb3 3h 3dw (2)

You should say in an incantation: 'I have brought these (pigs' eyes) and applied them in the place of those (eyes of the patient). Replaced is the pernicious suffering (of the patient).' Twice.

It is not surprising that *3dw* should describe ailments, most of which were considered to be hostile entities. Here one may compare also the Sethian determinative of *ih* 'illness' (P. Edwin Smith, see 2.3.2). *3d* is particularly appropriate in a description of an eye ailment since *3dt* is used elsewhere in P. Ebers as the name of a specific eye condition. It is written once with a crocodile determinative,  (Eb. 369: 59, 10) and once without,  (Eb. 412: 62, 15). Ebbell (1938, 6) argued that the condition *3dt* describes is pterygium, an inflammation of the vessels in the corner of the eye, but he did not comment on the

orthography with the crocodile. It is possible to interpret *ȝdt* as an epithet describing the ailment, as for example Westendorf (1999, 621, with n. 100), who suggested that the ailment is instead glaucoma, the onset of which is marked by terrible pain. The Egyptian name for the ailment therefore seems to describe this pain,  literally meaning 'the raging thing in the eye'.

In a spell for rejuvenating an old man at the end of P. Edwin Smith, the crocodile determines *ȝd*, but in this instance the word does not seem to have its usual connotations of aggression:

P. Edwin Smith (22, 5–6):



rd m hn r-sȝ ȝd.f m sin snᶜ swmt ȝdw.f

Put (the ingredients) into a hin-jar after it.... as (?) clay.

Make (it) smooth and thick its ...?

Breasted (1930, 495) had tentatively translated both *ȝd* and *ȝdw* as 'consistency', but their differing orthographies indicate that they are not the same. The  determinative suggests that *ȝd* is an action, whereas and the plural strokes point to *ȝdw* being a noun. Westendorf (1999, 748) translated the verbal *ȝd* as 'to smear' and the nominal *ȝdw* as 'smearing', thus according to him, the passage should mean:

Put (the ingredients) into a hin-jar after it is smeared with clay, and its smearing is smooth and thick.

However, neither Westendorf nor Breasted before him commented on the crocodile determinative of the words. It is possible that the word is entirely separate from *ȝd* 'to be aggressive', and that the crocodile determinative is simply a phonetic accompaniment. However, if the smearing process was envisaged as an attack of sorts (the forceful application of clay onto the vessel), the crocodile could be construed as a meaningful determinative.

sšd

There is only one writing of *sšd* with a crocodile determinative among the texts surveyed, in the second incantation of P. BM 9997+10309 (2, 6), in a damaged context, where it seems to mean 'stars'. The word is distinguished orthographically from the various crocodile names which occur in the same incantation (see p. 425) by the addition of a divine determinative that

shows that this is not another crocodilian quality: . This instance is notable even if only for the number of determinatives the word takes. Further attestations in other genres are discussed below (4.4.2).

npw (*k3pw*)

The writing of the crocodile determinative of the word *npw* in P. Edwin Smith is unique. It occurs in case 9, which deals with a head wound, in an incantation that is to be spoken after the wound has been treated:

P. Edwin Smith, Case 9 (5, 2–3):



dr ḫfty imy wbnw snwr w3t (?) imyt snf

ʿw3 ḥr gs nb n r n 3ḫt nn sbn m3ʿ pn n(n) npw (?) mt im

Driven off is the enemy in the wound, shaken off is the distant one (?) in the blood, the opponent of Horus (on) every side (falls victim) to the mouth of the Effective One.

This forehead will not collapse; there is no *npw* of the vessel within.

Breasted (1930, 223), followed by Bardinet (1995, 501), translated *npw* as 'enemy,' noting that it is used sometimes as a pejorative epithet of Apophis. If they were correct, *npw* characterises the patient's condition as a malevolent entity, like *ḫfty* and *ḥryt*. The crocodile determinative is not incompatible with the idea of a hostile force, but there are no other comparable writings of *npw* elsewhere. Westendorf (1999, 721) treated the passage in a different way:

nicht soll das Gefäß darin verletzt werden / Schaden nehmen.

However, he offered no explanation of the word itself or why it should have a crocodile determinative.

It is possible that *npw* is a mistaken writing of *k3pw*, which is attested elsewhere with a crocodile determinative (e.g. 4.4.2, 4.6.1). The *n* of *npw* is slightly unusual in that unless it is in a ligature with another sign, the scribe tends to write the character very straight (e.g. *n* in *pn*, Fig. 4.15a). Comparing the *k3p*-sign from elsewhere in the papyrus (Fig. 4.15b) to the *n* of *npw* (Fig. 4. 15c), it is possible that the first part of the sign was mistakenly omitted and only the bar at the end was written.

Fig. 4.15a b c



k3pw makes good sense in the passage. In the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, it is an epithet of the crocodile, meaning 'the hidden one' (it can also be used of the bittern, see 4.6.1). Thus, the final line of the passage would read: 'there is no hidden one of the vessel within'. The word still refers to a hostile entity, as Breasted and Bardinet assumed; *k3pw* sharpens the imagery, visualising the affliction of the patient as something lurking below the surface, ready to do damage.

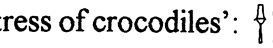
4.3.4 Discussion

Non-figurative usages of the crocodile sign in magical and medical texts far outnumber its figurative usages. Whereas the animal is mentioned many times in medical papyri as an ingredient of remedies, the crocodile determinative is not often figuratively used. The commonest word in which it occurs is *s3ḳ*, in which the crocodile exemplifies an action rather than a quality. However, the various names of the crocodile often have figurative associations of their own, for example in the second incantation of P. BM 9997 + 10309, where crocodilian qualities are abstracted from various epithets. Such applications of crocodilian qualities through epithets are also found in other genres of text and are discussed again below (4.4.2). More than any other animal, the crocodile is commonly referred to by epithets, especially in narrative texts (4.6.1). However, the crocodile sign is rarely avoided and so the use of epithets rather than the animal's name cannot be attributed to superstition. As mentioned above, the crocodile is one of the few animals to be distinguished by its own specific determinative. When the sign is avoided, the hieratic abbreviation sign, rather than the hide and tail sign, is used.

4.4 ROYAL TEXTS

4.4.1 Non-figurative usage

msḥ

In comparison with the high incidence of the crocodile as an animal in medical and magical texts, there are very few mentions of it in the royal texts I surveyed. *msḥ* occurs once in an inscription on one of Amenhotep III's Sekhmet statues from Karnak, in an epithet describing the goddess as 'the mistress of crocodiles':  (*Urk* IV. 1766, 18). Besides this, there several attestations of the crocodile's epithet *dpy/dpw*, all of which have figurative connotations. The one mention of crocodiles (*msḥw*) in the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II is also embedded in figurative crocodile imagery, and so is discussed further below (p. 446).

Crocodilian epithets

dpy

Aside from the Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut which is discussed in detail below (see p. 446), the royal texts surveyed contain only one crocodilian epithet, *dpy*. In the majority of its occurrences, the king is compared with the crocodile. However, its role is different in the Tumbus inscription of Thutmosis I, where it is mentioned in an extended description of the fate of the Nubians he has conquered:

Urk IV. 84, 8–13:



ꜣsw.sn bꜥḥ.f int.sn ṯmsw r.sn mi snm ḫwit ḥꜣyw n ꜣpdw ḥr ḫnp iṯ r ky bw

ṯꜣr sw dpy ḥr wtḫw sdgꜣ sw r ḥr ṯmꜣ-ꜥ

Their gore inundates their wadis, and the blood from their mouths is like a torrent of rain;

birds of prey seize them and snatch them off to other places; the crocodile latches itself

onto the fugitive who (tries to) hide himself from the Horus, strong of arm.

This passage has been discussed above (2.4.2) for the way in which it expresses the king's conquest of the Nubians in meteorological terms. This theme is picked up in the following passage, which describes two more natural forces attacking those who survived the king's destruction of their country. The first descends from the sky in the form of carrion birds,

described here with an unusually written epithet *ḥ3y n 3pdw* which literally means 'the hidden ones of the birds'.[66] The knife determinative is a particularly significant component of the word's orthography, conveying the birds' nature and continuing the theme of aggression. The other force of nature comes from the water in crocodilian shape. *dpy* is an epithet of the crocodile that draws upon the animal's action of floating on the water like a boat (*dpt*): through its root, the word therefore links the animal with the water (see 4.6.1). The description of the birds of prey and the crocodile's commonly represented habit of lurking make both hidden creatures to which ironically the straggler is doomed as he attempts to hide himself (*sdg3*) from the ultimate animal avenging force, the king manifest as Horus. The crocodile's role here is comparable with the one it plays in certain curse formulae (see 4.5.1), where the violator of a tomb is threatened with destruction on land by the snake and destruction in water by the crocodile, which means that there is nowhere to hide.[67]

Whereas the crocodile in the Tumbus text only acts indirectly in conjunction with the king, in the Poetical Stela of Thutmosis III, the king is identified with the animal:

Urk IV. 616, 8–10:



iy.n.i d.i titi.k imyw nbw.sn t3 nw mṯn sd3 ḫr snḍ.k

d.i m3.sn ḥm.k m dpy nb snḍ m m3st n tkn.tw.f

I have come that I may make you trample on those in their baskets, the lands of Mitanni trembling in fear of you; I make them see your majesty as a crocodile, lord of fear in the shallows, who cannot be approached.

The epithet *dpy* is particularly suited to this passage because the crocodile is directly sited within its watery habitat. The idea is that on land the king is as fearsome as the crocodile is in the water. The speed of movement inherent in the boat associations of *dpy* complement the description of the crocodile as unapproachable. Although no one can approach it, it can easily reach anyone it pleases.

Both Seti I and Ramses II have nearly identical texts at Karnak:

---

[66] For discussion of the meaning of *ḥ3y* 'in secret, undercover', see Breasted 1930, 222.

[67] *dpy* is used in the stela of Kamose possibly to refer to the enemy, but the context is damaged (Helck 1995, 86).

KRI I. 27, 7–8:



KRI II. 164, 8–9:

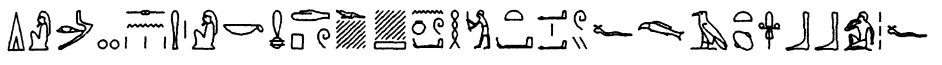


di.i m3.sn ḥm.k m dpy nb snḏ m m3st n tk(n).tw.f

I make them see your majesty as a crocodile, lord of fear in the shallows, who cannot be approached.

Both the Ramesside versions and the Poetical stela use an *m* of predication rather than a comparative *mi*. But in a similar, although not identical text at Medinet Habu, Amun says to Ramses III:

MH II. 102, 22:



di.i m3.sn ḥm.k mi dpw [n]šnw ḫwi ʿwy.f ḫ3t 3bbw.f

I make them see your majesty as a raging crocodile, whose limbs beat corpses as he wishes.

All four texts are discussed by Grimal (1986, 449–66) who cited the Thutmosis III version as 'le modèle principal', although the Ramesside texts diverge in certain details.

The crocodile determinative in *dpw* above is one of its very few uses at Medinet Habu. Aside from writings of Sobek's name (e.g. *MH* VII. 546, 2; VII. 582D, 2), the crocodile sign determines only one other word – *ʿbš*, which occurs in a rather obscure passage:

MH IV. 201, 12:



Fig. 4.16



s3w ḏḥwty ʿbš wr s3b (?) šwt m pt

Thoth has magnified the great *ʿbš*-crocodile, variegated (?) of feathers in the sky.

Both the name of Sobek and the name of the *ʿbš*-crocodile are determined with an ordinary crocodile rather than the effigy form of the sign (Figs. 4.16–17), although the divinity of the crocodile determinative of *sbk* is evoked by the addition of a plinth, upon which the crocodile sits.

Fig. 4.17a



b



c



The passage cited above is from a religious rather than a royal inscription, as is evidenced by

ʿbš, as the name of a crocodile demon in the Amduat (7th hour: Hornung 1994, 132–33), and in the Book of Gates (11th hour: Hornung 1979a, 362).[68]

4.4.2 Figurative usage

The evidence for crocodile determinatives in royal contexts begins in the Middle Kingdom, in writings of *3d* 'to be aggressive' and *s3ḳ* 'to gather together', both being used mostly in a positive sense. The determinative continues to be attested in royal texts of the New Kingdom. *3d* and *s3ḳ*, however, are not common and there is a considerable difference between the imagery with which the crocodile is associated in the two periods.

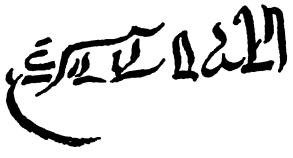
s3ḳ

Senwosret I uses *s3ḳ* in his building inscription:

Berlin Leather Roll l. 6–7:



Fig. 4.18



rd.n.f wi r mniw t3 pn rḫ.n.f s3ḳ n.f sw

(Harakhti) has set me to be the herdsman of this land. He knew who would gather it together for him. (Parkinson 1991, 41)

De Buck (1938, 49) transcribed the crocodile determinative as  , as Stern (1874, 87) had done earlier, but the crocodile does not have its customary curved tail in the hieratic. Instead the tail of the suffix pronoun *f* curves round the group (see Fig. 4.18). This may be because the *f* is at the end of the line, on the manuscript's edge, or else it could be fulfilling the usual visual function of the crocodile's tail.

Parkinson's translation given above keeps closest to the basic sense of *s3ḳ*; de Buck's (1938, 52) 'keep it in order' is similar. But Goedicke's (1974, 87) 'administer' gives a rather different sense. Most of the corroborative parallels he cited for this meaning are discussed below (4.5.2)

---

[68] There is some debate over the reading of the word which is written  in some versions of the Amduat discussed by Seele (1949). Seele proposed the reading *ʿb*, whereas Hornung (1994, 138) read *ʿbš*. The crocodile may have represented *š* as well as serving as the word's determinative, and so I follow Hornung's reading. The word itself may derive from *ʿbš* () attested in the *Pyramid Texts* as a type of wine (*PT* 154 §92b) and the verb 'to drown (?)' (*PT* 700 §2186b).

[69] The hieratic sign,  , is rather different from the usual *mniw*-hieroglyph, but probably the latter was intended. The king as a shepherd is a common image (Müller 1961).

and are not entirely convincing. In one (BM 581, discussed in 4.5.2 below) *s3ḳ* occurs without any reference to the land, and so it is unlikely to have to do with administration. Even in the other examples cited in *Wb* IV. 25, 12–13, in which *t3* or a similar noun is the object of *s3ḳ*, the verb can be construed simply as 'to bring together, to unite'.

s3ḳ is attested again in the Middle Kingdom in the first hymn to Senwosret III in a description of the king:

P. Kahun LV. I, 11:

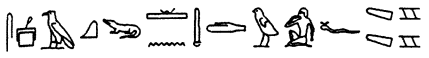


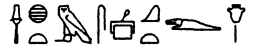
Fig. 4.19



s3ḳ.n mdw.f idbwy

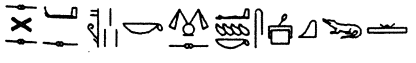
(He is) one whose words united the two shores.

Griffith's transcription (1898, pl. 1) represented the crocodile without its curved tail which is, however, clear in the hieratic text (Fig. 4.19).

In the 18th Dynasty, *s3ḳ* occurs only once, in an epithet of Sekhmet:  'Sekhmet, the focused one' (*Urk* IV. 1764, 6). This instance is remarkable for the form of the crocodile determinative, which Helck represented in effigy form (the original is unpublished). Perhaps this form was chosen in order to bring out the divinity of the epithet's referent.

In the 19th Dynasty, there is one attestation of *s3ḳ* in the material surveyed at Abydos. This appears to be the only crocodile determinative in the temple texts, and it is in a speech of the king to Amun:

CA II.10:



sṯs.s ḳsw.k dmḏ.s ʿwt.k s3ḳ(w)

She (= the Eye of Horus) raises up your bones, she collects your limbs, (all being) gathered together.

s3ḳ is used here in the same way it is in religious texts, and its referents are different from those of the Middle Kingdom examples.

3d

3d occurs four times in the boundary stelae of Senwosret III, in which aggression is central to the characterisation of the ideal king. It is not only a quality that a king should possess, but also one that he must deal with in his enemy. The first instance of the word is in a self-description:

Semna l. 3–4:



Uronarti: 

ink nsw ḏdw irw k33t ib.i pw ḫprt m-ᶜ.i 3dw r iṯt

I am a king, who speaks and acts; what happens by my hand is what my heart plans.

(I am) one who is aggressive to conquer.

The parallelism within this passage is important for the interpretation of *3d*. The king's character is described in four contrasting sets of words;

• *ink nsw*. Here, the two different determinatives bring out the duality of the king's nature: the ordinary man determinative  of *ink* points to his humanity, while the king determinative  of *nsw* presents his royal status.

• *ḏdw irw*. The contrast of speaking and acting indicates that the king does not only use words, he makes what he says a reality.

• *k33t* and *ḫprt*; *ib* and ᶜ. The two pairings here elaborate on the imagery of the previous juxtaposition of 'speaking' and 'acting'.

The final statement about the king is different from the others in that *iṯ* is not contrasted with *3d*, but is its purpose. There is nevertheless an element of contrast in the two terms: *3d*, basically meaning 'to be angry', does not necessarily imply action, but *iṯ* does. Like speaking and planning, *3d* is in effect an internal attitude, which the king makes active.

3d occurs again a few lines later in more a general description of how a king should behave:

Semna l. 8:



Uronarti: 

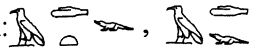
ḳnt pw 3d ḫst pw ḥm-ḫt

To attack is to be valiant, to retreat is to be despicable.

In these two passages, Senwosret III makes aggression (*3d*) a particularly royal attribute, and on the frontier, a positive one. But unlike *phty*, which may be tied exclusively to royalty (see 3.4.2), aggression is not the sole privilege of kings. An enemy too may display it if given the opportunity:

Semna l. 10:



Uronarti: 

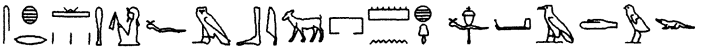
ȝd.t(w) r.f dd.f sȝ.f ḥm-ḫt(.tw) wȝ.f r ȝd

When one is aggressive towards (the Nubian), he turns his back; when one retreats, he becomes aggressive.

This passage echoes the theme in l. 8. Aggression and retreat are another contrasting pair, inextricably linked. Since the one results in the other, it is the responsibility of the king to make sure he is always the one to wield aggression, so that he will not fall victim to it. The ambivalence of the quality is perfectly represented by its crocodile determinative. In magic and medicine, the practitioner may channel the power of the crocodile for positive ends so that its power defends the patient. In dealing with his enemy, the king must channel his aggression in a similar way to use it to defend his people and to prevent it from becoming a weapon used against them.

Besides Hatshepsut's application of the epithet *ȝdw* 'raging one' to herself in her Red Chapel inscription (see p. 446), the only other instance of *ȝd* in the 18th Dynasty is in a decree of Horemhab and describes the forces of chaos the king fends off:

Urk IV. 2142, 19–2143, 1:



sḫrw ḥm.f m ibw mnḫ ḫsf ȝdw

The plans of his majesty are an effective shelter warding off the aggressor...

In this passage, the reality of *ibw* – a shelter against crocodiles, used extensively as a metaphor in narrative texts (4.6.1)– is transferred to the king's protective actions. The crocodile is an appropriate image in both dimensions, and a distinctly negative one.

The mounting negativity of crocodilian imagery culminates in the Ramesside period. In the First Hittite Marriage Stela of Ramses II, *ȝd* has a bad bird determinative in addition to its customary crocodile, even when it is used in a description of the king's victory over his enemies:

KRI II. 241, 1–2:

I: 

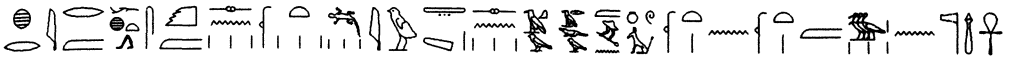
K: 

tȝ pn m ḥb n nḫt.f ȝd.n.f tȝwy m pḥty.f

This land is in celebration because of his victory. He has overcome the two lands (Karnak: all lands) with his strength.

'Overcome' is Kitchen's rendering of *3d* (1993, 91). The word's sense has changed as well as its orthography, because in earlier periods it does not usually take a direct object as it does here. This new orthography might represent the fusion of two originally different words, but the writing of both the crocodile and the bad bird is not an isolated occurrence; compare the following passage in the same text:

KRI II. 244, 9–12:

K: 

I:  AW: 

ḫr ir m-ḫt skm.sn rnpwt ˁš3 iw t3.sn 3ḳ 3d m ḫnnw rnpt n rnpt m b3w n nṯr ˁ3 ˁnḫ

Now after they spent many years with their land ruined and violent with chaos

year after year through the might of the great, living god...

Only the Karnak version adds the bad bird to *3d*, but the Abu Simbel version is damaged and may have originally included a bad bird determinative also, as it does in the previous passage. Kitchen (1993, 93) translated *3d m ḫnnw* 'lapsing into tumult', whereas Davies (1997, 135) suggested a rendering more in keeping with the original sense of *3d*, 'savaged and in tumult'. The parallelism of the orthographies of *3ḳ* and *3d* in the Karnak version of the text suggests that the two words are to be taken together, with *m ḫnnw* qualifying both.

ity

Gardiner (1957a, 475, n.7) suggested that the writing of *ity* 'sovereign' with two crocodiles might derive from the crocodile's use as the determinative of *3d*, and, if this is the case, this writing of *ity* carries a nuance of crocodilian aggression. The writing with two crocodiles occurs mainly in literary texts (see 4.6.2), but there is one attestation in the 17th Dynasty stela of king Rahotep from Qift. The king announces his plans to rebuild the temple of Min and his courtiers reply:

Helck 1995, 59 (ll. 3–4):



wḏ k3.k ḫprt.sn ity nb.n

May your ka command that they (=the building works) happen, o sovereign, our lord!

Yet the king does not use any more crocodilian imagery in his stela. The opposite could be said to be true since further in the text he is called:

Helck 1995, 60 (l. 7):



mniw nfr n rḫyt ibw n bw nb m grḥ

the good herdsman of the common folk, a shelter for everyone during the night...

In metaphor, the protective herdsman (see Müller 1961) and the shelter he constructs to keep his animals safe (*ibw*) is contrasted with predatory crocodile. This imagery is particularly exploited in literary texts (see 4.6), but also in royal and non-royal biographical inscriptions. Thus, although the crocodile is not specifically mentioned in this description of the king, the menace associated with it lurks below the surface of the imagery.

sšd

sšd occurs with a crocodile determinative in the Poetical Stela of Thutmosis III:

Urk IV. 615, 10–15:



iy.n.i di.i titi.k t3 i3bty ḫnd.k ntyw m wdbw nw t3-nṯr

di.i m3.sn ḥm.k mi sšd st bs.f m ḫt di.f idt.f

I have come to make you trample on the eastern lands, so that you crush those on the shores of the god's land, to make them see your majesty as a star, shooting out its glow in flame as it emanates its efflux.

Again, there are almost identical parallels for this passage from the Poetical stela in Karnak inscriptions of both Seti I and Ramses II, which differ in precise details of orthography, although the wording of the imagery is identical:

KRI I. 27, 6–7:



KRI II. 164, 7:

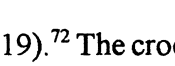
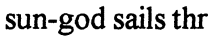


di.i m3.sn ḥm.k mi sšd st bs.f m ḫt di.f idt.f

I make them see your majesty as a shining star, casting its glow in fire as it radiates its efflux.

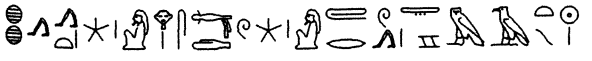
The rendering of *sšd* is contentious. While the determinative ✶ makes it clear that the word refers to a star, the crocodile determinative has provoked debate. Griffiths (1970, 194) proposed the translation 'crocodile star', to which Faulkner objected (1973, 219), defending

his earlier suggestion (1968) that the word basically means 'shooting star' or 'meteor', by extension '(lightning)-flash'.[70] Indeed, 'lightning-flash' is how Faulkner (in Simpson et al. 1972, 286) translated *sšd* in the passage above, despite the star determinative which had led others to translate 'shooting star' (e.g. Lichtheim 1976, 37).[71]

What Faulkner regarded as an extension of *sšd*'s meaning is probably rather its basis. Thus, rather than meaning 'meteor' or even 'star', *sšd* can be understood to be an epithet signifying anything that is bright or shines. This is why it can apply equally to a star (as indicated by the determinative) or to a lightning-flash (the star determinative is not normally present when this is the meaning; compare 4.2.2.2). It is also applied as an adjective in the name of 'Crocodilopolis', which literally means 'the shining lake' (e.g. in an epithet of Sekhmet on one of Amenhotep III's Karnak statues:  'Sekhmet, mistress of Crocodilopolis', *Urk* IV. 1765, 19).[72] The crocodile determinative is another indication that the word represents a quality rather than a specific entity, the same quality of brightness that the alternative determinative  represents. But the crocodile's use in the word may also be attributed to a larger conceptual metaphor according to which the sky is a watery expanse. This is manifest in a number of ways, for example in the idea that the sun-god sails through the sky in a barque. According to this central metaphor, stars float in the sky as crocodiles float in the water. The conception of crocodiles as beings that sail like ships is evident in a number of crocodilian words, notably *dpy* 'the boat-like one' (see above, pp. 434–436). It is particularly evident in the Leiden hymn to Amun (Zandee 1947, ch. 20); in chapter twenty, the sun is described as 'striding' () through the underworld, but 'sailing' through the sky ( : 2, 19).

One reason why *sšd* has been interpreted as 'shooting star' rather than '(shining) star' has been that it is thought to describe movement; for example, in the same hymn to Amun, the sun is described as:

Zandee 1947 pl. 2, 18–19:



[70] For further references and the primary sources used in the debate, see Edgerton and Wilson 1936, 49–50.

[71] Faulkner (1973, 219) stated as his reason for not taking the star sign into consideration in his translation 'the looseness with which Egyptian employed its determinatives'.

[72] In contrast to the epithet *sȝḳ-ib* discussed above (p. 438), the crocodile determinative here is not in effigy form.

ḫ(3)ḫ nmtt ḥr sšd pḥr t3 m 3t

swift of stride in shining, who traverses the earth in a moment.

Edgerton and Wilson (1936, 49) seemed to think that *sšd* here indicated motion, but this need not be the case. The stars were believed to move through the sky, just as the sun did, but the shining of both, although it is perhaps intensified by movement, is not necessarily caused by it.

The sailing metaphor is again evident in the use of *sšd* in a description of the prowess of Thutmosis III on his Gebel Barkal stela:

Urk IV. 1229, 19:



sḫm ḥr-ᶜwy r ḫ3st nbt m tpy n mšᶜ.f

sšd.f r-imytw pḏt 2 mi sb3 ḏ3.f ḥrt

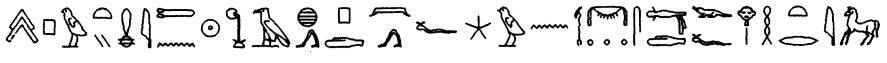
Immediately victorious over every foreign land at the head of his army,

he shines between the two wings (of the army) like a star as it sails through the sky.

The crocodile here may have been used by itself as the determinative of *sšd* in this passage in order to avoid repeating the star sign; be that as it may, the orthography exemplifies the crocodile's role as the signifier of a quality.

sšd occurs again as a verb in a building inscription of Amenhotep III at Karnak, once more with the crocodile as its only determinative:

Urk IV. 1723, 13–14:

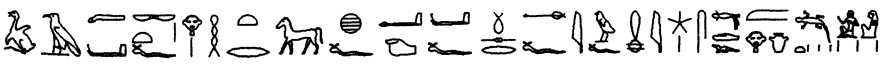


ḥpwty mi itn ḫ3ḫ pd.f sb3 ḏᶜm sšd.f ḥr ḥtri

Runner like the Aten, swift of his stride,[73] star of electrum, shining upon his chariot.

This passage is remarkable in its mixing of metaphorical imagery with real descriptions of the king's activities: *sšd* belongs to the domain of the star, but it describes the king's appearance on his chariot. This treatment can be compared to similar imagery describing Seti I in his Beth Shan stela:

KRI I. 151, 8–9:



[73] Or possibly, 'swift of his bow'.



ỉ3 pḏt.f ḥr ḥtr ḫfꜥ.f sšr.f ỉw.f mi sb3 sšd m ḥr-ib ꜥš3t m nḫt ꜥwn sḳryw nw pḥw t3

(he is) one who takes up his bow upon the team; when he grasps his arrow, he is like a star that shines in the midst of the multitude in victory when he seizes captives of the ends of the earth.

The king's movement here is in the background. The focus is on the fact that he stands out from the crowd as clearly as a star. The crocodilian imagery is perhaps echoed in the description of the king seizing (*ꜥwn*) his victims. This verb can also be applied to crocodiles (for an example, see p. 446).

k3pw

Generally, crocodilian imagery is conspicuously absent from royal inscriptions of the Ramesside period. However, the word *k3pw* 'to be concealed', written with a crocodile determinative, is attested in both the Kadesh compositions of Ramses II. It occurs twice in the Poem, and once in a corresponding passage in the Bulletin, in a description of the king's enemies:

KRI II. 20–21, §55:

L2: 

L1:  K1, K2, R: damaged; Rf: omits word

ỉst p3 ḫr ḫsy n ḫt3 ḥnꜥ ḫ3swt ꜥš3wt nty ḥnꜥ.f ꜥḥꜥw k3pw ḫr(yw) ḫr mḥty i3bty ḳdš

Indeed, the vile enemy from Khatti together with the many countries who were with him stood (waiting), concealed and prepared on the north east of Kadesh.

A similar passage occurs in §70 (*KRI* II. 26), where it is reported to the king that the enemy forces lie in wait for him, concealed (*k3pw*) behind Kadesh, and this passage is echoed in the shorter Bulletin (*KRI* II. 115 §64). In each of these three passages, the crocodile determinative of *k3pw* has a curved tail. This form of the sign is otherwise almost confined to writings of *s3ḳ*; exceptions where it is used in other words can usually be explained as being due to a lack of space (e.g. *3dw* in the *Book of the Dead*, see 4.2.3.2). In all the occurrences of *k3pw* in the Poem and the Bulletin, the crocodile is written in this way, so that the choice of sign is deliberate and meaningful; the curled up crocodile may evoke the word's imagery visually.[74]

[74] Kuentz (1925), Gardiner (1960), and Kitchen (1993) did not comment on the form of the sign.

k3pw 'the hidden one' as an epithet of the crocodile (see 4.3.1) conveys the disconcerting image of a danger lurking out of sight; this is how it is to be understood in this passage. Ramses II and his men are walking into a trap, treacherously set for them by their deceitful, crocodilian enemies. It is therefore appropriate that the text returns to crocodilian imagery in describing their eventual defeat at Ramses' hands:

KRI II. 47, §138:



di.i h3.sn ḥr mw mi h3 msḥw iw.w ḫr ḥr ḥr.sn m wꜥ ḥr wꜥ

I made them plunge into the water, as crocodiles plunge, while they fell on their faces, one on top of another.

With this description, the king is back in his traditional role of *ḫsf 3dw*, although that is not explicitly expressed. Instead, the enemy's actions are envisioned with imagery which at once evokes their vileness, their grovelling (compare the crocodile as the determinative of *ks* 'to bow' in the *Coffin Texts* because it is continually lowered to the ground: 4.2.2.2), and the aptness of their watery death: they have behaved like crocodiles and so they are forced into the water. Gardiner (1960, 21) described this act as 'only half-accidental' in that the enemy willingly go into the water to save themselves from the king. However, the river will not offer them the safety it affords to real crocodiles; instead it will cause their death.

4.4.3 Genre study 4.1 – The Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut

Hatshepsut makes the most extensive use of crocodile imagery in a self-description in her Red Chapel inscription at Karnak. In the following passage, she is described with four different crocodile metaphors:

Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 150, 8:



ink 3dw iṯ m nḫt iṯ grt iwty nḥm.tw m-ꜥ.f

ink šny ꜥwn spw ḏ3 mr iwty ḏ3.tw ḫr.f

ink is k3pw dpy ꜥḥ šwt sdg3 m ibw

I am an aggressor who seizes through strength, who indeed seizes, and from whose grasp no one is rescued. I am an encircler, one who steals opportunities, who navigates the lake

upon which no one can navigate, for I am a concealed one, a crocodile, a raiser of shadows, one who is concealed in the shelter.

Lacau (in Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 151) translated each crocodile-determined word as a type of crocodile: 'crocodile-furieux', 'crocodile-redoutable', and 'crocodile-dissimilé, crocodile sournois'. Despite these translations, he acknowledged (1977, 152 n. m) that each word is essentially adjectival, so that the epithets need not mean that the queen is likening herself to various crocodiles, just that she is assigning crocodilian attributes to herself. This seems to be the case with *3dw*, *šny*, and *k3pw*, but the imagery associated with them culminates in the more concrete metaphor of *dpy* that does equate the queen with an actual crocodile.

The meaning of *3dw* is well-established, and its nominal use is easily rendered 'aggressor'. *šn*, however, is not attested elsewhere as a noun, only as a verb traditionally translated 'to be infested with crocodiles' (for example, in *Man and Ba* and *Eloquent Peasant*, see 4.6.2), but that cannot be its meaning here. Although a literal rendering like 'encircler' above is possible, Vogelsang's suggested translation (1910, 167) for *šn* in *Man and Ba* 'unsicher' fits well with the context; thus the second clause would read: 'I am a dangerous one...'.

The final crocodilian image of the animal lurking in the very shelter that is built to keep animals safe from it (see 4.6) is particularly effective and underscores the animal's irrepressible will to be wherever it likes (compare the spells in religious texts that equate the deceased with Sobek for a similar purpose). It is also startling since the king is usually said to defend an *ibw* while in the decree of Horemhab discussed above (p. 440), he is its embodiment (compare Rahotep, p. 442).

4.4.4 Discussion

The Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut seems to mark a turning point in the evolution of crocodilian metaphors in royal texts. The crocodile, like the Seth animal, has an ambivalent character. Its great strength is at once to be admired and to be feared. In the Middle Kingdom, the king freely identifies himself with the animal's power, but even then, crocodilian imagery can equally be applied to the aggressive force of the enemy. In the New Kingdom and especially in the Ramesside period, the crocodile comes to be associated more and more with an inimical force, and consequently the king distances himself from it. In place of *3d*, the recurring crocodilian term associated with the king is *sšd*, in which the animal plays a non-aggressive figurative role.

Crocodiles stand apart from the other images used to describe the enemy, especially in the Ramesside period. In the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II, his enemies are likened to grasshoppers, sand, straw, and water, all of which lend their vastness in number or bulk to the forces Ramses faces but are also easily defeated by the king, who is described in more substantial terms as a shield, rampart, bull, lion, griffin, falcon, gold, copper, iron, and fire (see Tefnin's summary, 1981, 63). In comparing his enemies to crocodiles, Ramses brings out the danger they represent in a way analogous to Senwosret III's description of his enemies in his boundary stelae. But since the king is always the strongest, crocodilian imagery is only rarely applied to his enemies, especially in later periods. Outside texts like the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II, which echo the imagery of Thutmosis III's Poetical stela and therefore derive their imagery from an earlier source, crocodilian imagery usually occurs only in descriptions of the enemy (e.g. *kꜣpw* in the Kadesh inscriptions) or in religious contexts (*ꜥbš* in Medinet Habu and *sꜣḳ* in Abydos). Thus, instead of embodying crocodilian power himself, the king modelled himself as one who warded it off.

4.5 NON-ROYAL TEXTS

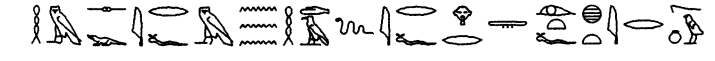
As an animal, the crocodile is often depicted in Old Kingdom tomb scenes. It appears in various marshland contexts, copulating, eating, fighting with hippopotami, and especially in fording scenes.[75] In the latter, the crocodile lurks underwater, in dangerous proximity to a vulnerable calf. One of the herdsmen in the scene is usually shown pointing his finger, an apotropaic gesture meant to ward the crocodile off (see 4.3.1). In most of the scenes in which it is depicted, with the exception of the rare depictions of copulation (Harpur 1987, 198), the crocodile can be interpreted as symbolising the threat of death, but this symbolism is elaborated in different ways.

4.5.1 Non-figurative usages

msḥ

There are scattered mentions of the crocodile as an animal in non-royal texts. In most of the cases discussed here, the crocodile has strong metaphorical connotations. In a curse formula attested in two tomb biographies of the Old Kingdom, it represents the same threat, but is wielded by the tomb-owner as a weapon against desecration. In each instance, it is paired with the snake. The first attestation is in the tomb of Meni:

Urk I. 23, 12–13:



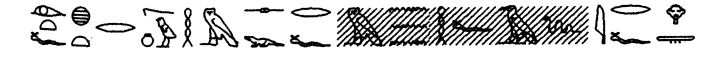
msḥ ir.f m mw ḥf3w ir.f ḥr t3 irt(y).f(y) ḫt ir nw

A crocodile[76] against him in water, a snake against him on land,

the one who will do anything to this (tomb).

The other occurrence is on a stela of an unknown man in the British Museum:

Urk I. 226, 13–14:



irt(y).f(y) ḫt r nw msḥ r.f [m mw ḥf3w] ir.f ḥr t3

(As for) the one who will do anything to this (stela),

a crocodile against him in water, a snake against him on land.

Morschauser (1991, 157; 262) described the animals as agents of vengeance, representing the

---

[75] See Harpur 1987 for examples of each type of scene.

[76] Metathesis occurs often in Old Egyptian orthography when a word is written with an animal sign such as the owl, and so it is not connected with the crocodile itself (Edel 1955, I, 40 §93).

means by which the body of the offender could be completely destroyed, preventing a proper burial and condemning him to complete destruction.

The crocodile and the snake feature again as agents of vengeance in the Middle Kingdom inscription of Sarenput from the Heqaib sanctuary at Elephantine:

Habachi et al. 1985, no. 9, l. 25:



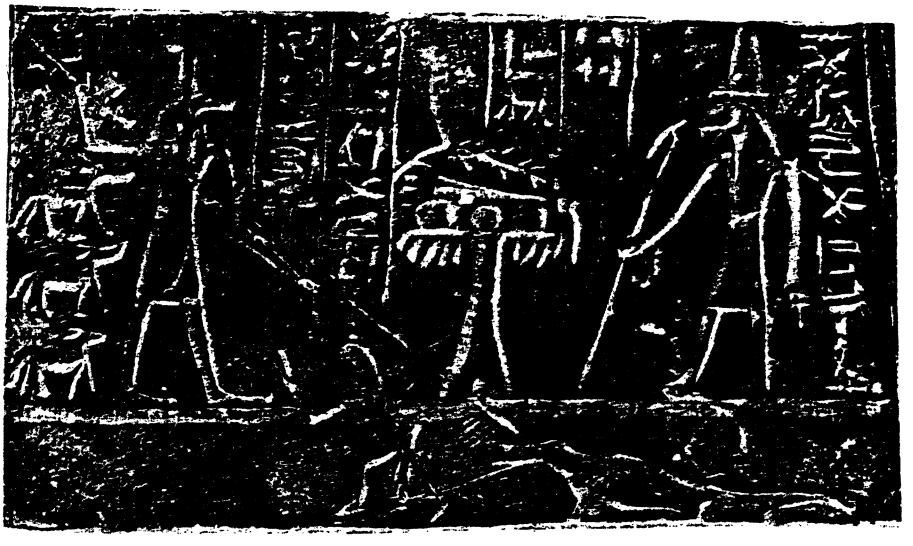
i(w).i r.f m msḥ ḥr mw m ḥf3w ḥr t3 m ḥfty m ḫrt-nṯr

I will be against him as a crocodile in the water, as a snake on land,

as a hostile (spirit) in the necropolis.

The crocodile continues to be a symbol of vengeance in New Kingdom literary texts (4.6.1), notably in the *Doomed Prince*, where it features – alongside the snake and the dog – as one of the pernicious fates lying in wait for the hero. There are few analogous examples from the non-royal sphere besides one striking depiction of a crocodile on the 19th Dynasty stela of Pataweret. In the bottom register, Pataweret is depicted running way from a crocodile which Wepwawet, standing in the register above, is spearing for him (Sadek 1987, pl. 3: my Fig. 4.20).

Fig. 4.20



This could be interpreted as a visual echo of the crocodile's role as an agent of fate. But despite the possibility that the crocodile is metaphorical rather than real, and that Pataweret was saved not from a reptilian attack but from a violent end of a more general nature, the accompanying text alongside Wepwawet suggests that it was real:

BM 1632 (Sadek 1987, pl. 3):



wp-w3(w)t-rᶜ nb i3w p3 šd s3wty r 3d irm rmw nb

Wepwawet-Re, the lord of veneration, the saviour of the citizen of Asyut

from the aggressive one among all the fishes.

The text contains many uncommon writings, and it is possible that  was a mistake rather than a semi-logographic writing of *3d*, which would be unusual but not unattested (4.2.2.2). If the writing is correct, 'the violent one' is an appropriate epithet, and also evokes the qualities which the crocodile epitomises as a determinative. Thus, although it is likely that the crocodile's role in Pataweret's life was factual, the animal's metaphorical significance remains relevant.

In the other non-royal texts I surveyed from the New Kingdom, I found no attestation of the crocodile as an animal, with a possible exception in the inscription of Amunedjeh (TT 84) where *msḥ* seems to be qualified by the epithet *3d*:

Urk IV. 945, 15–16:



... ... *ḫt pr-nsw ᶜ.w.s. msḥ 3dw n šn ᶜ ḥr.s*

The passage could be interpreted: '...property of the palace l.p.h; an aggressive crocodile towards the conspirator[77] on its (=the palace's property) behalf'. However, Blumenthal et al. (1984, 347) translated 'der Wut und Toben davon abwendet', understanding  to be a muddled writing of the verb *msnḥ* 'to turn away'. Writings of this verb without an *n* are attested from the New Kingdom (e.g. ), although all the examples cited in the *Wörterbuch* (II. 146, 3–8) are written with the -sign. If this is a writing of *msḥ* 'crocodile', the description is important in a number of ways. First, the hide and tail sign is an extremely unusual determinative of words for the crocodile. Secondly, in the New Kingdom the crocodile no longer commonly used as a metaphor in this way as a positive image, but when it is, kings use the imagery of themselves (e.g. Hatshepsut; see 4.4.3). If Amunedjeh was conscious of a possible breach in decorum because of his borrowing of royal imagery, perhaps the hide and

[77] *šn ᶜ* means 'covered of arm' perhaps referring to a person who is disguising hostile intent.

tail determinative of *msḥ* and the lack of the usual crocodile determinative of *3dw* were an attempt to dilute it.[78]

With the possible exception of the stela of Pataweret, all the attestations of the crocodile as an animal in the non-royal sphere discussed above are heavily laced with metaphorical connotations, blurring the line between the animal's figurative and non-figurative associations.

4.5.2 Figurative usage

3d and *s3ḳ*

Not until the Middle Kingdom is the crocodile determinative used figuratively in the non-royal sphere. The commonest words it determines are *3d* 'to be aggressive' and *s3ḳ* 'to gather together'. Examples of both occur among the inscriptions in the Wadi Hammamat. *3d* occurs only once in the inscription of Hetepi (Year 19 of Amenemhat III):

Hammamat 17, 11–12:



sḫr bṯnw m 3d.f

The rebellious is made to fall when he attacks.[79]

Fig. 4.21



The crocodile with the curved tail is unusual as the determinative of *3d* – as Couyat and Montet (1912, 41) acknowledged – but not unattested (see 4.2.3.2). In this particular example, the arrangement of the inscription is probably the reason for the curved tail, since the usual determinative with a straight, extended tail could not have been fitted neatly into the vertical column (Fig. 4.21).

Earlier, *s3ḳ* occurs in two earlier inscriptions. One is in a compound with *ib*, among a string of epithets of the eventual king Amenemhat (I), who was at this stage still the vizier in the service of his predecessor Nebtawyre Mentuhotep. The emphasis is on his devotion to his king and his duty:

---

[78] Compare the occasional incorporations of typically royal panther imagery in non-royal biographies and the corresponding adjustments in orthography (see 3.5.2).

[79] Or 'The rebellious is made to fall through his aggression'.

Hammamat 113, 7–8:



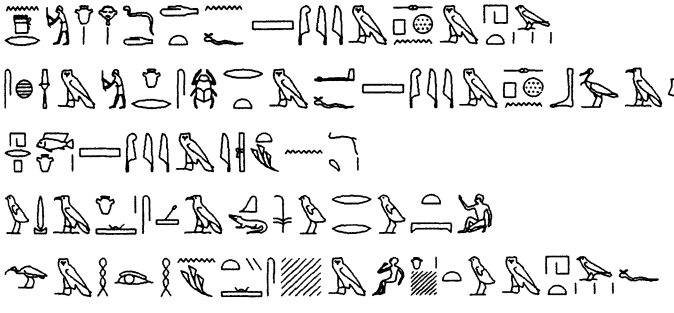
smi n.f ntt iwtt ḫrp sšm n nb t3wy s3(ḳ){t} ib ḥr wpt nsw

One to whom everything was reported, the controller of the deeds of the Lord of the Two Lands, focused of mind (lit. gathered of heart) on a royal mission.

s3ḳ-ib signifies here that Amenemhat focuses all his attention on the duties he performs for the king. Although *s3ḳ* is by no means restricted to royal use, it often occurs in kings' descriptions of how they have gathered (*s3ḳ*) the country to themselves and so there is some irony in Amenemhat's use of *s3ḳ* considering his eventual usurpation of the country.

s3ḳ occurs in a slightly different context in the inscription of Intef, from the reign of Amenemhat I. Intef takes a leaf from his sovereign's book in terms of self-praise; his inscription includes a long list of positive attributes alongside denials of vice:

Hammamat 199, 3–5:



nḏr-ib ḏddt n.f šwy m sp n mht

sḫm-ib r sḫpr(w)t m ᶜ.f šwy m sp n b3gy

ḫrp-ib šwy m ist n ns

wḏ3-ib s3ḳ sw r rwty

gmḥ ḥnty s[?]-ib [iw]ty mht.f

Steadfast of heart in what is said to him, lacking in instances of forgetfulness;

Powerful of heart regarding that which is done by his hand, lacking in instances of idleness;

Modest (lit. submerged) of heart, lacking in evils of the tongue;

Wholehearted, one who gathers himself together regarding strangers;

One who discerns the greedy one, ? of heart, without instances of forgetfulness.

Griffith (1896, 39) translated an occurrence of *s3ḳ* in the *Instruction of Amenemhat* as 'Let one be armoured (*s3ḳ*) against his subordinates', and perhaps this is a good way to understand *s3ḳ* here, that 'gathering oneself together' indicates a defensive posture of the mind.

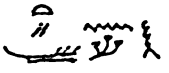
---

[80] The *t* is an error for *ḳ*.

The last of these lines was damaged by the time of Couyat and Montet's publication (1912), but can be partially reconstructed from earlier transcriptions, despite their inaccuracies. Maspero (1891, 5) transcribed:



Fig. 4.22



Golenishchev (1891, pl. 8) differed from this in only a few details, most notably the determinative of *ḥnty* (Fig. 4.22), which could be interpreted as a crudely-drawn crocodile.[82]

Maspero (1891, 5 n.3) himself noted that his transcription of  was speculative. *ḥnty* is attested elsewhere as an adjective 'greedy' that can be applied to crocodiles (as an epithet) or to people. Although the context is somewhat damaged, *ḥnty* possibly occurs in the tomb inscription of Djehutyhotep at Bersha:

Bersha I, pl. 17:



ḫtm r r ḥ[*nty*]

..shutting the mouth against the greedy one...

The context is a herdsman's song (see further 4.3.1) and so the reconstruction *ḥms=msḥ* is also possible, although such writings of *msḥ* are known mainly from the Old Kingdom. If *ḥnty* is the correct reconstruction, it would mean the same as *msḥ*, the only difference being that it is an epithet rather than a straightforward designation (for a parallel, see pp. 459–462).

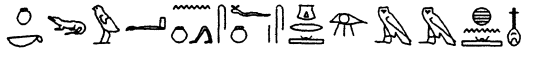
ȝd and *sȝḳ* are attested in many other contexts in the Middle Kingdom. Both occur in the inscription of Intef, son of Senet. The crocodile writes *sȝḳ* logographically in a slightly unusual intransitive usage:

---

[81] *stȝ-ib* is not attested elsewhere as an epithet, nor is *stȝ* with a child determinative. Maspero (1891, 5 n. 3) suggested it might be derived from *sḏty*, thus it would mean something like 'Innocent of heart'?

[82] With this very rudimentary representation of the animal, compare a later, definite instance in the *BD* of Ani (4.2.3.2; Fig. 4.7). The form of the sign in the transcription of Lepsius (*LD* II. 118d) is even more similar to that in Ani.

HT II pl. 23, 12:



ink s3ḳw ʿn sfn sgr rmw m ḫn nfr

I am focused (?), charming and mild, one who quietens the weeper with choice words.

s3ḳw as a passive participle here describes Intef's purposefulness as *s3ḳ-ib* did above in Amenemhat's Hammamat inscription.

The crocodile with the curved tail occurs a few lines earlier in the text as the determinative of *3dw*:

HT II pl. 23, 8:



ink gr n ḏnd[83] *šbn n ḫm n-mrwt ḫsf 3dw*

I am one who is silent in the face of anger, who consorts with the ignorant for the sake of allaying aggression.

Fig. 4.23



Like the Hammamat inscription of Hetepi discussed above, the text on Intef's stela is arranged in vertical columns and the crocodile's curved tail is probably used for reasons of spacing (Fig. 4.23).

I found no more examples of *3d* from the Middle Kingdom, but *s3ḳ* is attested in a number of texts. In the inscriptions around the entrance to the tomb of Ahanakht at el-Bersha, there is a mistaken writing of *s3ḳ* with an initial *ḥ* instead of *s*:

Bersha II, pl. 13, 14:



ḫnt-st m pr-nsw nḥb [..]*.f s3ḳ Wnt*

Foremost of place in the palace, gathering his (=the king's)..., uniting the Hare Nome.

Newberry and Griffith (1893–94) translated the final phrase as 'armoring the Hare nome.'[84] Goedicke (1974, 87; see 4.4.2) cited this as one of the instances in which *s3ḳ* means 'to administer'. Administration may be part of the action implied by *s3ḳ* in this context, but I think it basically means 'to draw (or 'keep') together'.

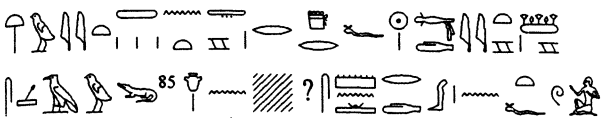
s3ḳ occurs in the 11th Dynasty inscription of Djehutynakht at Hatnub, again paired with *ib*:

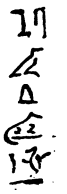
---

[83] Apparently a rare logographic writing of this word, and an unusual use of the full animal rather than the perspectivised form depicting only the lowered head.

[84] Probably Griffith's suggestion following on from his comments regarding *s3ḳ* in the *Instruction of Amenemhat* (p. 453).

Hatnub 26, 6–7: Fig. 4.24





šwyt nt t3 r-ḏr.f hrw šdyt-š3 s3ḳ-ib n.... smn rd n tfw

A protection for his whole land on the day of the marshland;[86]

Focused of heart for ... one who stills the foot of the fugitive.

Anthes (1928, 62 n. 6) noted that although a transitive use of *s3ḳ ib* is unusual, it parallels the phrase that follows, and translated 'der das Herz des ... zusammenhielt'. However, there is no trace of any missing signs at the end of column 6 of the inscription (Fig. 4.24). It is possible that the sign he transcribed as *n* after *ib* means 'for the sake of / in regard to' rather than being an indirect genitive as Anthes assumed. Thus, the passage would read: 'a focused one (lit. collected of heart) in regard to stilling the leg of the fugitive'. The only adjustment to the passage as it stands would be a *t* marking the infinitive of *smn⟨t⟩*.

While *s3ḳ* is the most common crocodile-determined word in Middle Kingdom non-royal texts, *3dw* is more common in the New Kingdom, occurring in four inscriptions, three times in one of them. In the inscriptions of Amenemhab in his tomb (TT 85) and the stela of Intef (Louvre C26), the word is the nominal object of *ḫsf*. In the former, the description applies to Amenhotep III, who is described as:

Urk IV. 910, 11:

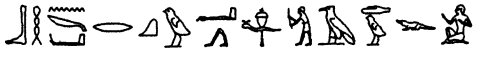


nḏ ḥr it.f ḫsf 3dw

one who protects his father, who allays aggression.

Intef, by contrast, applies the description to himself:

Urk IV. 969, 7:



bḥn rḳw ḫsf 3dw

One who drives off the rebel and wards off the aggressor.

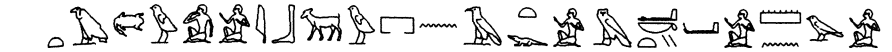
The same word occurs further through Intef's inscription with a different orthography:

---

[85] Anthes (1928, 60 n.10) transcribed a crocodile with a straight tail but acknowledged this as a deficiency of the font he was using.

[86] A problematic term. Doxey (1998, 385) took *šdyt* as a verb: 'apportioning the marshlands'. Brovarski (1981, 22) followed Anthes (1928, 95) and took it to be a venue for fighting.

Urk IV. 972, 5:



mwt snḏw ibw n ȝtw[87] *mkty mn*

A mother (to) the frightened man, a shelter from the aggressor,

the protector of the suffering man.[88]

The central epithet interrupts the parallelism of the first and third epithets, both of which are direct genitives. Whereas the *snḏw* and the *mn* are under Intef's protection, the *ȝtw* are those from whom he is protecting them. The gentleness of all three epithets Intef applies to himself contrasts strongly with the aggression of the central *ȝtw* (on *ibw* especially in relation to crocodiles, see 4.6 where this passage is discussed again).

ȝd occurs three times in the inscription of Rekhmire in contexts that provide good evidence of its ambivalent connotations, since it is presented both as a negative and a positive quality:

Urk IV. 1091, 2–3:



m ir ȝdw r s m nf ȝd.k ḥr ȝdt ḥr.s

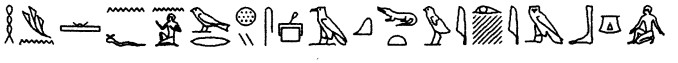
Don't be aggressive towards a man wrongfully.

You should be aggressive (only) about that over which one should be aggressive.

Thus aggression is not considered wrong in itself; it is wrong only if the circumstances do not call for it (compare Goldwasser 1995, 103).

The crocodile appears in the same inscription in the verb *sȝḳ*:

Urk IV. 1074, 16–17:



ḥn.n.f n.i wr (sp sn) sȝḳ.tw iri m bȝgy

He admonished me very much: 'Get yourself together, act, don't be lazy!'

sȝḳ here describes a focused state of mind once again in the sense that pulling oneself together figuratively means one is ready to act.

---

[87] The writing of *ȝd* with a *t* instead of a *d* becomes increasingly common from the New Kingdom.

[88] This is further proof of *n* meaning 'against' rather than being an indirect genitive. The genitive is conveyed directly in the passage.

ḫn

The word *ḫn* occurs in two non-royal texts with a crocodile determinative with rather different connotations in each. In the Middle Kingdom stela of Nesmontu (Louvre C1), it is nominalised and describes mutinous behaviour which Nesmontu denies of himself:

Simpson 1974, pl. 14: (= Les. 81, 22–82, 2)



ink mn wʿrt iḳr sḫrw ḥss.w nb.f šmt.f ḏ3mw wʿst ḥr mrt.i n-sp iry.i tp-ḫnt

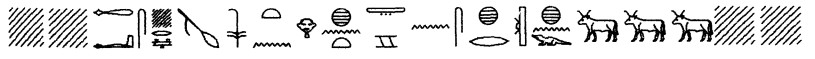
I am one firm of leg, excellent of counsel, the praised one of his lord, his follower;

the company of Thebes loves me; never have I perpetrated an act of treachery.

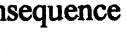
In *CT* 154, *ḫn* describes an action of the hand: 'to direct against' (see 4.2.2.2), and this seems to be the sense of *ḫnt* above, which literally means '(the act of) directing against'. In this case, although there is no explicit object, the implied object consists of the young military men of Thebes (*ḏ3mw*) whose loyalty Nesmontu commands but who have never been used by him as a weapon against the king.

The only other occurrence of this word among the non-royal texts I surveyed is in the roughly contemporaneous inscription of Ahanakht at el-Bersha. The text is extremely difficult in places and the only published hieroglyphic copy (Newberry and Griffith 1893, pl.13) contains several errors (Brovarski 1981, 14). *ḫn* occurs in the following context:

Bersha II, pl. 13, 23–24:



nsw ḥr ḫnt t3 n sḫr(.i) ḫn(.i) iḫw[89]

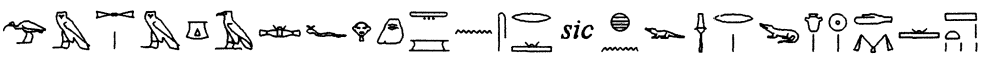
Vandier (1950, 173) cited analogous passages from an inscription of Ankhtifi at Mo'alla and from a contemporaneous stela (then on the art market) which suggest that *ḫn* should be taken as an adjective qualifying *sḫr*. Thus, Brovarski (1981, 16), following Vandier, translated the passage: 'great [...] whom the king raised up in front of the land because of profound advice...' However, it is not easy to reconcile the meaning of *ḫn* in Nesmontu's stela and in *CT* 154 with the meaning 'profound', proposed for the current passage, which seems to stem from Vandier's suggestion 'avisé'. Moreover, as a consequence of their translations of *ḫn*, neither Vandier nor Brovarski was able to translate  , which is strange to have as the start

[89] Newberry and Griffith (1893, 33) took *ḫn iḫw* together and translated it as an epithet 'greedy of oxen' but that does not seem to fit well in context and 'greedy' is more the sense of *ḥn* than of *ḫn*.

of a separate clause.[90]

Vandier (1950, 173) gave no justification for his translation and no reason for the use of the crocodile determinative, commenting only that the word does not have a pejorative sense in spite of it. It is possible to defend the original grouping of Newberry and Griffith, that *ḥn* governs *iḫw*. Although it is not possible to check the wider context of the unpublished stela Vandier cited, the inscription of Ankhtifi can support a different reading:

Vandier 1950, No. 3 (Iß2–3):



gm ṯs m g3w.f ḥr-ḫnt t3 n s<ḥ>r ḫn ḫrp-r s3ḳ-ib hrw dmḏ sp3wt

One who found a solution when it was lacking, one who was at the forefront of the land because of (his) counsel, one who directs, commanding of speech, concentrated of mind, on the day of uniting the three districts.[91]

As the inscription of Montunesu proves, *ḫn* does not necessarily require an adjunct.

For the reasons discussed above (4.2.2.2), *ḫn* seems to be linked with *ḫnty*, often used as an epithet of the crocodile, and both are connected with being 'in front'. It is perhaps appropriate that the preposition *ḫnt*, which is more commonly written  , is adapted here to evoke a parallelism between Ahanakht's position (*ḥr-ḫnt*) and his action (*ḫn*). Its connotations of 'being in front' can easily be related to the use of *ḫn* as a verb in the *Coffin Texts* and nominalised in the inscription of Nesmontu. In both, *ḫn* relates to the action of putting something in front. In *CT* 154, it refers to the threatening motion of a hand – a nuance that is enhanced by the crocodile determinative of some variants. In the case of Nesmontu, it implies the action, again threatening, of directing an army against the king. On this basis, it is possible to translate the passage in Ahanakht:

Great one, whom the king raised up,[92] one who was at the forefront of the land because of (his) counsel, one who directed the cattle ...

Since the following line is largely destroyed, it is difficult to understand the nuances of these

---

[90] It was not Vandier's purpose to translate this. Brovarski, however, was taking the wider text into consideration but neither translated it nor commented on what follows *ḫn*.

[91] Compare Lichtheim 1988, 25: 'one who finds counsel where needed. A leader of the land through active conduct, strong in speech, collected in thought on the day the three nomes were joined'.

[92] The oar sign is difficult to interpret and cannot be discussed here. Brovarski (1981, 21 kkk) understood it to be the determinative of *sʿr* although this is not attested elsewhere. It may be a substantive, as Newberry and Griffith assumed (1893, 33), although this creates problems for interpreting what follows.

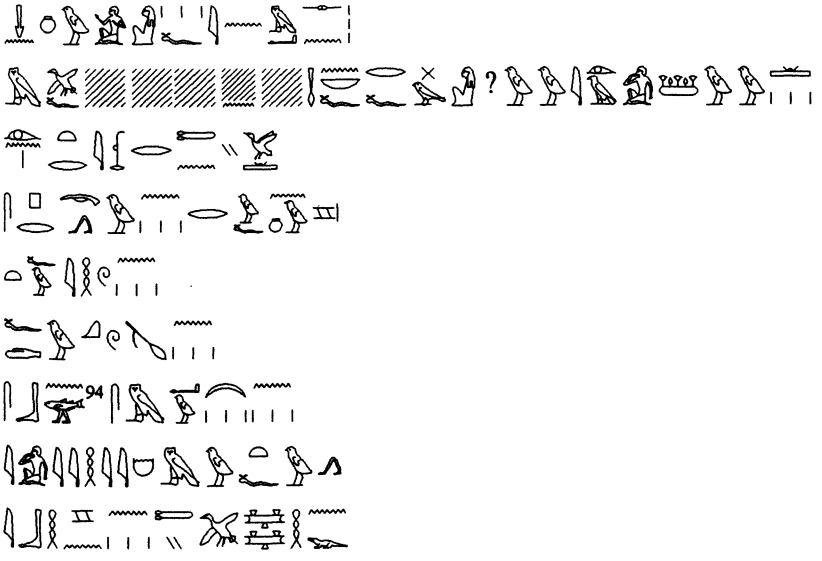
epithets. *iḫw* may metaphorically refer to the people of the land, whom Ahanakht, as nomarch of his district and vizier of the land, commands. Considering the events which were to unfold in Bersha under Ahanakht's son Neheri, the mutinous connotations *ḫn* later took on and the threatening undertones of its crocodile determinative are ironically very appropriate. However, in all likelihood, the crocodile determinative probably does no more than signal the commanding presence underlying the notion of 'being in front' and 'directing'.

It is perhaps relevant that there was a fording scene in Ahanakht's tomb,[93] because the superiority associated with the crocodile and the fear it inspires in the cattle in such scenes seem to be appropriate to the epithet *ḫn iḫw* in establishing patterns of dominance. *ḫn* may therefore refer to Ahanakht keeping the king's subjects, the cattle of his land, in line with the fearful respect he instils in them and the power he wields over them. Thus, although *ḫn* does not mean exactly the same as *ḫn* in Nesmontu's inscription, perhaps the menacing undertones are appropriate after all.

ḥn

The final crocodile determined word, *ḥn*, occurs in a difficult passage in a mourning song in the early 18th Dynasty tomb of Renni at el-Kab:

Lüddeckens 1943, No. 18 9 (my Fig. 4.25):



[93] Not recorded by Newberry and Griffith (1893), but noted by the Harvard–Boston expedition in 1915. Brovarski (1981, 16 fig. 4) included a line drawing of it.

[94] Lüddeckens transcribed a damaged bird here, but only the legs are clearly visible and the fish is the usual determinative of *sbn*.



snw.f in-m sn m pf3 ... ... ḫrw n nb.f r.f ??[95]

ir.n.i tri ṯny spr.wyn r wfnw tfw iḥw.n fdḳw.n

*sbn sm*ᶜ*w.n i-iḥy ḥmwt.f iw ibḥ n.n ṯny š (?) ḥn*

m-ṯn rf sw n snw.f m snw.f ibw mniw n ḫryw nḫwyw

Lüddeckens (1943, 40) translated:

Seine Geschwister, wer sind sie?[96]

...?...

Wohin bin ich (?) gegangen?

Wir gelangen zum... Gewässer (?).

Fortgerissen wird unser Seil,

Abgetrieben werden wir,

es gleiten ab unsere Stakstangen.

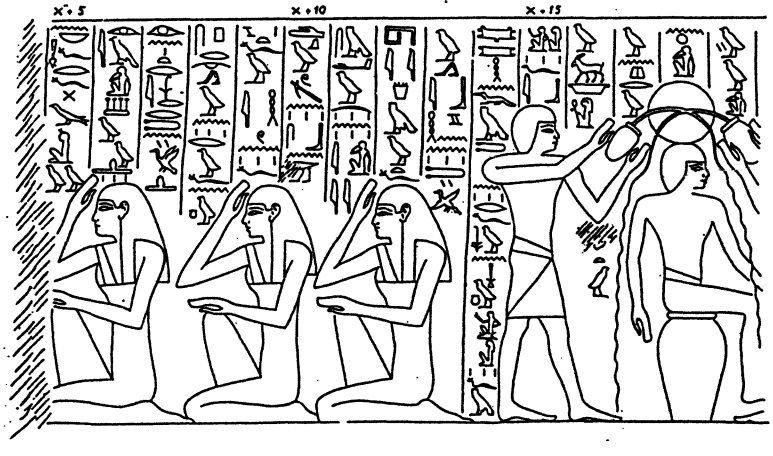
Wehe! das Steuer hat sich entfernt.

...?... Sehet! Er gehört nun zu seinen Geschwistern, ist einer seiner Geschwister,

der eine Zuflucht, eine Hirte war für die, die voller Klagen waren.

Fig. 4.25





[95] Apart from the initial few words ('... voice of his master to him'), this line is almost entirely unintelligible.

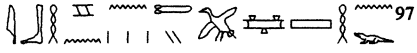
[96] *m pf3*, which Lüddeckens did not translate, probably follows on: 'His brethren, who are they to be in tha[t place]?'

The clause with the crocodile word is extremely problematic. But the occurrence of what seems to be a writing of *ibw* is significant in the final section; it could be an answer to the question posed at the beginning of the song: 'who are his fellows?' which has the sense of 'who will keep him company?' I suggest the following translation for the clause with *ḥn*:

Look, he is with (lit. belongs to) his fellows, who are his fellows, a refuge,

protection for those who have fallen and who are mourned.

The determinative following the kid sign in *ibw* was probably intended to be □. The sense of the last lines is therefore that the deceased is safe and in protective company. This contrasts with the state in which he has left the women who mourn for him: their song is suffused with marine imagery, in which the crocodile is a suitable component. With their ropes torn, their mooring post lost, and their rudder compromised, they are adrift. The sense, therefore, of what follows this description, which Lüddeckens did not translate, should follow the same theme. I suggest:

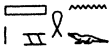
 [97]

ibḥ.n.n ṯn š ḥn

Where have we drifted to (lit. flowed)?[98] The pool of the greedy one.

The crocodile, called by one of its common epithets, stands as a symbol of danger and of death. This is ultimately what the marine imagery suggests: that the women feel as if they have died along with the deceased man they are mourning.[99] First they describe what their feelings tell them is a dismal fate, but the song concludes with the experience of the deceased man himself: he is safe, in contrast to those who must deal with their feelings of loss. The crocodile is therefore a symbol of the despair the women feel, and the shelter by contrast evokes the safe refuge of the deceased.

---

[97] The similarity of  to  (*Man and Ba* 74; see 4.6.2) is striking and it is conceivable that *ḥ* was written for *šn*: 'a dangerous pool'. This would not drastically change the sense of the passage.

[98] FCD 16: *ibḥ* 'to stream with liquid': the verb seems here to be applied to the motion of the women – they do the streaming.

[99] Compare a caption beside Renni's wife in the same tomb: 'his beloved, favourite wife Nahi says: "Where should I go without my husband for eternity?"' (Lüddeckens 1943, 37).

4.5.3 Discussion

 and  occur alongside one another in several non-royal inscriptions in *3d* and *s3ḳ*, but there is a strong distinction between the associations of these two forms of the crocodile sign. The two instances of the use of the latter sign in *3dw* within this genre are both attributable to the columnar arrangement of the texts rather than to semantic considerations. Otherwise, is confined to writings of *s3ḳ*.

In non-royal inscriptions, *s3ḳ* does not usually apply to the collection of physical objects, but rather to the gathering of the self or to a political gathering of one's territory. However, although it is not specifically applied to the gathering of one's limbs, as in the *Coffin Texts* and the *Book of the Dead* (see 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.3.2), it is often used to the same effect and with the same broad range of meanings; for example, in the inscription of Rekhmire, *s3ḳ tw* 'gather yourself together' is a prerequisite for action (compare *CT* 105), while in the inscription of Intef (Hammamat 119) it is used of cautious behaviour in the face of potential danger (compare *CT* 602). There are further parallels in literary texts. In all of the contexts in which *s3ḳ* is used, the crocodile sign can almost be read literally. It is not so much gathering together objects (although this is how the crocodile does often use its tail) as drawing itself together, and making itself more tightly knit, which is used as a metaphor for the invisible process of concentration or caution, or indeed political stability. As in the *Coffin Texts*, no additional determinatives are written alongside , the associations of which do not seem to require further perspectivisation.

The associations of the other form of the crocodile, , are much more diverse. It is most frequent as the determinative of *3d*, where the ambivalence of its symbolism is best illustrated by the inscription of Rekhmire. As is clear from the way the vizier describes the channelling of *3d*, there is both a justified and unjustified use of aggression. Under the correct circumstances, it is a desirable quality (compare the boundary stelae of Senwosret III). The same ambivalence is present in the symbolism of the crocodile determinative of *ḫn*. When *ḫn* describes violent action that is unjust (in the stela of Nesmontu, directed against the king and therefore treasonous), the crocodile has negative connotations. However, when applied to the direction of control over people (as in the inscriptions of Ahanakht and Ankhtifi), the crocodile is simply indicative of the use rather than the abuse of power.

Both as an animal (*msḥ* in the Old Kingdom threat formulae discussed) and as a figurative

determinative (of *ḥn* in the mourning song in the tomb of Renni), the crocodile may be connected with death. Once again, the context makes it negative or positive. As the agent of the deceased guarding his tomb, the crocodile is the embodiment of justice, dealing out a deserved death to anyone who would violate the tomb under its protection. By contrast, in Renni's mourning song, the crocodile symbolises the undeserved fate of the mourning women; not a physical death, but the death of their happiness, and stands in contrast to the *ibw*-metaphor ironically applied to the deceased.

4.6 NARRATIVE AND LITERARY TEXTS

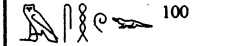
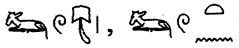
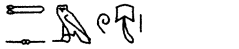
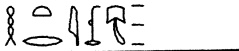
Narrative and literary texts contain the broadest range of crocodile-determined words, figurative and non-figurative, of all the genres surveyed, although it is often difficult to make a distinction between non-figurative and figurative attestations. This issue has been dealt with both by Nili Shupak (1993) and by Gerald Moers (2001), whose work I refer to below. Thus, even when the crocodile sign simply determines the name of the animal, the mention of the animal almost always has underlying metaphorical associations. I discuss such 'simple' mentions of the animal first.

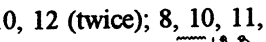
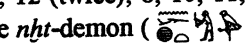
4.6.1 Non-figurative usage

msḥ

Unlike the Seth animal and the panther, a number of words for 'crocodile' are known. Five are attested among the literary texts surveyed. *msḥ* is the most common; it is attested 38 times among the texts surveyed, always written with a specific crocodile determinative rather than the hide and tail sign. This usage is particularly notable in Late Egyptian texts, which show a general preference for the hide and tail sign in the determination of animal names. In the *Doomed Prince*, for example, all the other animals mentioned have that determinative, even the dog which is prominent as one of the prince's fates (Table 4.17).

Table 4. 17: Determination of animal names in the *Doomed Prince*

ANIMAL	ORTHOGRAPHY	OCCURRENCES
Crocodile	 [100]	8
(Small) dog	 [101]	7
Dog		4
Herd		2
Team		1

[100] 4, 4; 7, 6, 9–10, 12 (twice); 8, 10, 11, 14. In 7, 12 *msḥ* is written with a deity sign () in a passage in which the *nḥt*-demon () is also mentioned and perhaps is influenced by the orthography of this word.

[101] This writing seems to have been confused with *iwtn* 'ground'.

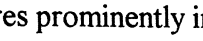
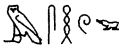
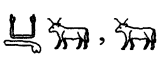
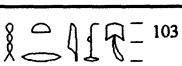
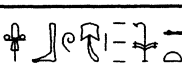
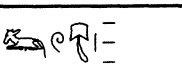
The snake also features prominently in the text and has a snake determinative:  . However, snakes form their own category and never take the hide and tail determinative. Crocodiles could be interpreted in the same way, but they are attested a few times with the hide and tail determinative (e.g. once in the *Coffin Texts*, and once possibly in a non-royal inscription; see 4.2.2.1 and 4.5.1). They can be viewed in a similar way to bovids, which also nearly always take specific bovine determinatives rather than the hide and tail when they are not described by a collective term like *i3wt* or *ḥtrw*.[102] In the *Two Brothers*, for example, all the animals mentioned except bovids and crocodiles take the hide and tail determinative (Table 4.18):

Table 4.18: Determination of animal names in the *Two Brothers*

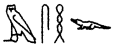
ANIMAL	ORTHOGRAPHY	OCCURRENCES
Crocodile		2
Bull		7
Cow		9
Herd		5
Team	 [103]	2
Leopard		2
Dogs		1

The crocodiles in the *Two Brothers*, like those in the *Doomed Prince*, are present as real animals but their roles in the two tales differ. Whereas in the *Doomed Prince*, the crocodile pursues the prince in order to kill him, in the *Two Brothers*, crocodiles serve as a physical impediment (P. d'Orbiney 6, 6–7; 8, 1), preventing Anubis from killing his brother Bata; thus they rather untypically preserve life. Although the crocodiles in these two tales have a physical presence and therefore are not simply metaphors, their role has metaphorical import and is open to a number of different interpretations. The prince's fates – the crocodile, the snake, and

[102] For the use of specific classifiers to bring out the importance of certain animals, compare the singling out of elephants with their own unique classifier, rather than the generic animal classifier in Thai (Tranter 1996).

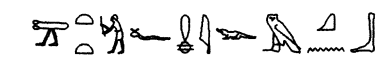
[103] One instance (2, 2) refers to a team of oxen; the other (17, 5) refers to a yoke of horses.

the dog – are not just real animals, they are also metaphors for untimely death. Similarly, the crocodiles in the *Two Brothers* also appear in a context of possible untimely death, that of Bata at the hands of his brother, which they prevent from happening. Although the power of the crocodile could be channelled to a positive end (e.g. in magical spells, see 4.3.1), they are never entirely benevolent. Moers (2001, 209) has suggested that the crocodiles in the *Two Brothers* embody the punishment that would result from Anubis' intended fratricide, and that the water itself is a metaphor for the ethical boundary line he would violate in murdering Bata. Thus, according to Moers it is incidental that they save the life of Bata; their real function is to remind Anubis of the fate that threatens him if he goes through with his intended action.

The crocodile is mentioned twelve times[104] in *Papyrus Westcar*, eleven times in the story of Webainer and once in the final episode centring around the birth of the three kings. As in the two Late Egyptian tales just mentioned, *P. Westcar* is consistent in its writing of *msḥ*:  . The crocodile in the tale of Ruddjedet is mentioned towards the end of the tale where the papyrus breaks off (12, 26) and so it is impossible to say whether more would have been made of its involvement. As the papyrus stands, its role echoes that of the crocodile in Webainer's tale: in both cases, the animal carries off a person of dubious moral character and thus is 'an agent of pursuit and justice' (Eyre 1976, 106). Here, Webainer's crocodile is a more obvious product of magic since it alternates between being a figure of wax and a real animal. Although the wax crocodile (*msḥ n mnḥ*) is the central figure in a number of word-plays (*mnḥ* and *mḥ* 7; *msḥ*, *mnḥ* and *mḥ* 'to seize'; see Eyre 1992), the crocodile determinative is not brought into this; *msḥ* is the only crocodile word in the text.

In contrast to these crocodiles, the crocodile in the following passage from *Ptahhotep* is more metaphorical, signifying the greed of officials (compare the significance of crocodiles in the Dream Book, 4.3.1):

P. Prisse 168:



ỉṯ.f mi msḥ m ḳnbt

If he robs, (he is) like a crocodile in court.

Although this logographic writing could be read in various ways, *msḥ*, the most common term for the animal, is the most likely.

---

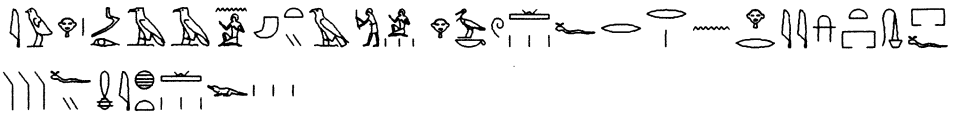
[104] 2, 22–23; 3, 3, 5, 12, 13, 22, 23; 4, 1, 3, 6, 6–7; 12, 26.

Epithets

ḫnty

The other names of the crocodile, all of which are epithets pertaining to its behavioural habits rather than its perceived qualities, are found in varying patterns in literary texts. The crocodile is used in undesirable comparisons in several different contexts in the *Instruction of Khety.* In three out of four instances it is called *msḥ*. The first example emphasises its unattractive physique:

P. Sallier II 4, 7–8:



DeM 1014, 10: DeM 1047 vso 2; GC 12, 3: Tor 3:

iw ḫr mȝȝ.n.i bḏty ḫr bȝk.f r r n ḫryt.f ḏbȝw.f mi ḫt msḥ

But I have seen the smith at his work, at the opening of his furnace,

with fingers like the claws[105] of a crocodile.

The second and third examples appear in the description of the lot of the fisherman, in which allusions are made to the animal's dangerous nature:

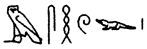
P. Sallier II 8, 8–9, 1:

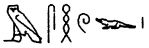
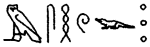


(A)



(B)

A: An. VII; GC 104, 5; DeM 1016, 4: 

B: An. VII; GC 1045, 8:  Louvre: 

ḏd.i n.k mi wḥˁ r rmw sfnd.f r iȝwt nbt (mk) wn(.f) m bȝk m itrw šbn (.f) ḫnˁ msḫw

ir ḫbȝ.tw dmḏyt nty pȝ ipw ḫr wnn m nḫwt nn ḏd n.tw msḥ ˁḥˁ špn sw snḏ

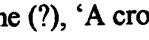
Let me tell you likewise of the fisherman; he stinks more than any other profession(al).

Is he not one whose work is on the river, mixing with crocodiles.

When the total of his account is calculated, then he is in mourning.

He will not say to someone (?), 'A crocodile sits (there).' Fear has blinded him.

---

[105] There is no need to emend *ḫt* to  *wḫȝw* 'claws' (Helck 1970a, 38) because the sense of *ḫt* is the same: 'the things (belonging to) the crocodile' i.e. its claws (so Hoch 1991–92, 90 n. i).

The passage is riddled with difficulties of grammar and vocabulary, but the sense seems to be that the fisherman, having to contend with crocodiles constantly, becomes blind to the danger they pose and returns home safely by the grace of god, or in other words, by pure luck.

In the fourth instance, the crocodile is referred to by a different word, but again it is the danger associated with the animal that is evoked:

P. Sallier II 8, 3:



An. VII, 5–6:  Louvre, BM 29550: 

sšty ḥr sšt ḥr mryt sȝḥ tȝ m ḫntyw

The washerman washes on the shore positioned alongside crocodiles.

ḫnty is attested elsewhere as a word for the crocodile, but here a connection is made with the word *ḫnt* 'to sail' through the boat determinative. In this passage, the emphasis is on the dangerous proximity between the animal in the water and the washerman on the shore. By naming the crocodile 'the sailing one', the point is made that it is mobile and that the shore is by no means a safe place for the washerman.

ḫnty also occurs in *Man and Ba* as a crocodile deity:

P. Berlin 3024, 78–80:



mḥy.i ḥr msw.s sd m swḥt mȝw ḥr n ḫnty n ꜥnḫt.sn

I mourn for her children, broken in the egg, who saw the face of Khenty before they had lived.

The crocodile occurs repeatedly as a negative image in *Man and Ba*, especially here in the ba's first parable, where crocodiles are responsible for the death of the peasant's family. Khenty can be understood here as a metaphor for death, as he evidently is in the following passage from the *Eloquent Peasant*:

P. Berlin 3023 (B1) 147–50:



mk tw nḫt.(ti) wsr.t(i) ꜥ.k pr ib.k ꜥwn sf swȝ ḥr.k

nḫ.wy mȝir sky.k twt.k n wpwty n ḫnty

Look, you are strong and powerful, your arm reaches, your heart is greedy;

mercy has passed you by.

How miserable is the poor man you destroy, for you are like the messenger of Khenty.[106]

But in the passage from *Man and Ba*, Khenty's crocodilian nature is particularly appropriate given the circumstances of the children's death. The form of the crocodile sign in all three writings of *ḫnty* is the ordinary crocodile rather than the effigy form which carries the additional signifier 'divine'. In this way, Khenty is distinguished from Sobek just as Maga is (see 4.3.1). Sobek himself is not mentioned in any of the texts I surveyed.[107]

dpy and *ḫnty*

The epithet *dpy* occurs in a Ramesside love poem. Once again, although the crocodile itself is being referred to, it carries strong metaphorical connotations:

O DM 1266 + O CGC 25218, 12–13:



dpy ʿḥʿ ḥr mȝst hȝ.kw r mw rhn{t}.i nwy

ḥȝty ʿȝy ḥr mrw gm.n.i ḫnty mi pnw {n} nt mi tȝ n rdwy.i

A crocodile rests on the sandbank. I go down into the water and I wade into the flood,

my heart brave in the channels. I have found the Crocodile to be like a mouse,

and the water to be like dry land under my feet.

Several translators[108] have understood *dpy* to mean 'the voracious one'. But the verb *dp* does not have the 'aspect menaçant' Mathieu and others have assumed the epithet *dpy* imparts to the crocodile. *dp* means 'to taste' rather than 'to devour'. Thus the epithet may mean 'the one who tastes', but equally it may instead derive from the same root as *dpw*/*dpt* 'boat' and mean instead 'the boat-like one', 'the sailing one'. The latter sense would be appropriate to the love poem in question. The imagery in the passage above centres on the lover being in danger: he is about to step into the water and he sees a crocodile stationary in the shallows, but its epithet

---

[106] Compare Parkinson's 'agent of death' for *wpwt ḫnty* (1988, 134).

[107] He is not, however, entirely absent from the literary sphere; for example, he is mentioned in the *Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling* (Caminos 1956).

[108] For example, Derchain 1975, 67–68; Fox 1985, 35; Mathieu 1996a, 105 n. 346.

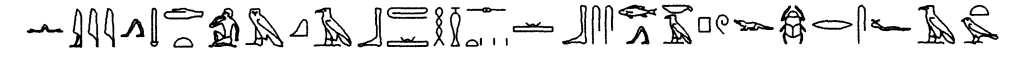
is a reminder that the animal is as speedy in the water as a boat.[109]

In the second line of the poem cited above, the focus shifts from the crocodile's movements to its fearsomeness, and so its designation changes from *dpy* to *ḫnty*, intensifying the contrast between how fearsome the crocodile should be and how little fear the protagonist feels for it. In his discussion of this poem, Derchain was no doubt correct to believe that the man's courage is inspired by love rather than by a magical spell to render the crocodile harmless, as had been previously suggested (Derchain 1975, 68 with n.1). However, I do not follow Derchain in seeing *ḫnty* as a more 'neutral' term for the crocodile, especially in light of the fact that in earlier texts it referred to a malevolent crocodile deity. In the passages discussed above from the *Man and Ba* and the *Eloquent Peasant*, the god is decidedly malevolent, and that is how the epithet in the love poem should also be understood.[110]

k3pw

Most other epithets associated with the crocodile are attested in only one text and are related to very specific imagery. *k3pw* occurs once in *Ptahhotep*:

P. Prisse 9, 3 (262):

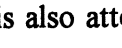


L2:

n iyt mdt m-ḳ3b ḥswt bss k3pw ḫpr sf3t

No dispute comes in the midst of acclaim, (but just as) the lurking crocodile emerges,

(so) resentment arises.[111]

Although *k3pw* refers to a literal crocodile, it has strong metaphorical undertones. Parkinson (1997, 268 n. 23) recalled here that the crocodile is often an agent of retribution, and in this maxim symbolises sudden adversity when fortune takes a turn for the worse. Its epithet here also perspectivises the animal's tendency to hide itself away so that its appearance is unexpected.  *k3pw* is also attested as the name of the bittern (Wolterman

---

[109] In a parallel text, the crocodile is described as 'sleeping' (*sḏr:* P. Anastasi IV, Ib, 5), further bringing out the contrast between the animal's current motionlessness and the speed of which it is capable. For the animal's speed, and for other nautical imagery connected with it, see 4.3.1.

[110] *ḫnty* is also attested in *Ipuwer* (5, 8), but a break in the text obscures the determinative, if there was one:  . The god is mentioned in a similarly negative context and is again connected with death.

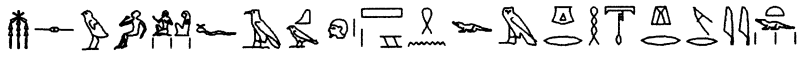
[111] Following Žabá's translation (1956, 136): 'comme un crocodile émerge, ainsi la défaveur se produit'. Parkinson's translation (1997, 255) is similar: 'but the lurking crocodile emerges and resentment exists'.

1991–92, 124) deriving from the verb *k3p*  'to cover, hide' because of the bird's habit of hiding itself in riverside foliage. Thus, despite the lack of the  sign which would corroborate the affinity of this *k3pw* with the verb, the determinative of the bird's name,  , provides some support. The crocodile's epithet in the passage cited from *Ptahhotep* above almost certainly derives from the same root and describes the crocodile as 'the hidden one'. The imagery evoked by this epithet recalls that of fording scenes, in which a crocodile lurks below the waterline, lying in wait for the vulnerable calf in the water above it. Although the scene looks peaceful, like the blush of success described in the passage above, it is all too transient. Just as the crocodile represents lurking death to its victims in the fording scene, in *Ptahhotep* it represents metaphorically the death of success (*ḥswt*) at the hands of resentment (*sf3t*).

mrytyw

In *The Dispute of a Man with his Ba* crocodiles are described twice with an epithet unattested elsewhere, *mrytyw*, which links them to their habitat *mryt* 'river bank' and must mean literally 'bank-dwellers'. Like *k3pw* in *Ptahhotep*, *mrytyw* is unique to *Man and Ba* and connected with a particular strand of imagery centring around the river bank, *mryt*, which is part of a complex interplay of metaphor between the two main protagonists. The ba first mentions the river bank as a negative image – it is the setting for the death of those unfortunates who have no relatives to bury them so that they lie exposed (ll. 60–64). He picks up this imagery again in the first of his parables, in which the negativity of the imagery escalates. This time the bank plays an active part in the death of unfortunates – the peasant's children – and the river bank is brought to life with the crocodile determinative:

P. Berlin 3024, 74–75:



msw.f 3ḳ tp š šn m grḥ ḥr mrytyw

His children perished upon a lake infested at night with crocodiles.

(For the meaning of the crocodile-determined word *šn*, see pp. 484–485). The man then takes over the same river bank imagery, again conveyed through the crocodilian epithet *mrytyw*, to describe the pitiful state of his reputation:

P. Berlin 3024, 96–97:



mk bʿḥ rn.i mk r st msḫw r ḥmst ḫr ʿḏw ḫr mrytyw

Look, my name is overwhelming; look, more than the stench of crocodiles,

more than sitting beneath the river edge with crocodiles.

The distinction here between *msḫw* and *mrytyw* is meaningful. In taking over the same word that the ba used in his parable, *mrytyw*, the man draws a parallel between the death of the innocent children and the metaphorical death of his reputation. At this point in his first poem there is a significant transition between animal and human imagery, and between images that merely evoke the unpleasantness of his situation and ones that imply its more serious emotional consequences.

The man makes the fourth and final mention of the river bank in his third poem:

P. Berlin 3024, 134–36:



iw mwt m ḥr.i min mi st sšnw mi ḥmst ḥr mryt nt tḫt

Death is in my eyes today like the scent of lotuses, like sitting upon the bank of drunkenness.

The river bank which the ba had used to symbolise a lonely death becomes part of the man's description of blissful death, bringing out the contrast in the man's and the ba's views of death, and in the man's own views of life and death. *ḥms* and *st* are echoes of the man's wording in ll. 96–97, but this time both are used in a positive way. The pleasant scent of the lotuses contrasts strongly with the stench of crocodiles. Thus, although the crocodiles have negative connotations, ironically they are part of the imagery not of death but of the man's unwanted life.

4.6.2 Figurative usage

ity

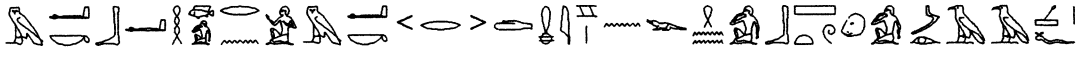
The crocodile appears in a wide variety of figurative contexts in narrative texts. In nearly every case, the animal is symbolic of some kind of greed, whether of appetite or of sexual inclination. An exception is the animal's use in the writing of *ity* 'sovereign'. Two crocodiles with a deity sign of some kind appear seemingly as a logographic writing in several literary texts (Table 4.19; compare *ity* in the inscription of Rahotep, see 4.5.2).

Table 4.19: Occurrences of *ity* written with crocodile signs

SOURCE	OCCURRENCES	WRITING
Sinuhe	P. Berlin 10499, 1	
Ptahhotep	P. Prisse 4, 7	
Shipwrecked Sailor	P. Petersburg 1115 23–24; 90–91; 139; 173; 174	
Man and Ba	P. Berlin 3024, 103	

It is not certain that the occurrence in *Man and Ba* in the eighth stanza of the man's first poem is indeed a writing of *ity*. The Egyptian is ambiguous in its current state, and *ity* is Faulkner's emendation:

P. Berlin 3024, 101–3:

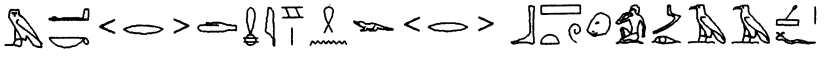


mk bʿḥ rn.i mk <r> dmi n ity (?) šnn bšt m33 s3.f

Faulkner translated (1956, 28):

Behold my name is detested, behold, <more than> a town belonging to the monarch (?)
which mutters sedition when his back is turned.

The text in any case omits the comparative *r* before *dmi*,[112] and so it is possible that the signs  were also mistakenly omitted after the first crocodile. The suffix pronoun *f* after *s3* is also difficult to explain if the crocodile is not a writing of *ity*.[113] Vogelsang (1910, 167) offered an different emendation and translation:



siehe, mehr als eine Stadt, die unsicher ist, mehr als ein Empörer, dessen Rücken gesehen wird (d.h. der fliehen muß)

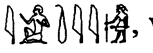
The reading *dmi šn* can be closely parallelled by passages in the *Eloquent Peasant* (see p. 484). The second comparative *r* is not unparalleled in the text (compare ll. 91–93, and 95–97), but it would be striking that *r* should be omitted twice in the same stanza. It seems more likely that the crocodile, however it is read phonetically, has a figurative meaning. Although the first five

---

[112] The same omission occurs in l. 89.

[113] Although Goedicke (1970, 154) suggested the following: 'Behold, flooded is my name through you more than a shore of the crocodile which is cursed and abused while its back is seen'.

stanzas of the poem (ll. 86–97) are concerned with the undesirable odours associated with fishing and fowling and compare the man's reputation with the stench of animals, in the final three stanzas (ll. 97–103) the stench is metaphorical rather than real. Alongside images of the ruined reputation of a woman and the humiliation of a child, it would be fitting to have another human object of the metaphor in the final stanza. Thus, Faulkner's reading is preferable and the word should be read *ity*.

In the *Prophecy of Neferti*, the word occurs without the crocodile orthography, written  , which is the usual orthography outside literary texts (*Wb*. I. 143, 3–14). When it is written in this latter way, the determinative is never a deity sign, but neither does it tend to be the ordinary seated man,  . Instead, the determinative is nearly always a king, whose status is evoked by the crown he wears and the staff he carries, while the mace he holds in his other hand conveys his aggression.[114] The emphasis, therefore, seems to be on *ity*'s aggression, which can be brought out instead by the two crocodiles. Gardiner (1957a, 475) convincingly suggested that the logographic writing with the crocodiles might derive from the crocodile's phonetic affinity with *3d>it>ity* (dual). But the crocodile's primary role in *ity* is not phonetic, but semagraphic.

3d

There are two instances each of verbal and nominal usage of *3d* with a crocodile determinative. The earliest instance is in *Kagemni* and is written with a *t* instead of a *d*, a common orthography for nominal attestations of *3d* in the *Coffin Texts* (4.2.2.2):

P. Prisse I, 9:



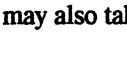
m 3tw r iwf r-gs skn

Don't attack meat beside a glutton.

The interplay of the two figurative crocodile determinatives here gives the passage the sense of 'don't act like a crocodile when confronted by crocodilian behaviour in another' (for *skn* and its crocodile determinative, see pp. 480–482 below). The other verbal instance in Ptahhotep is qualified by *ib*:

P. Prisse 6, 1 (76):

---

[114] Compare the determinative of *titi* which may also take a specific king determinative:  .



L2: 

ir gm.k ḏ3is m 3t.f m ḥwrw n-is mity.k m 3d ib.k r.f ḫft ḫss.f

If you meet a disputant at his worst, being a humble man, and not your equal,

don't be aggressive towards him because he is base.

In both cases, the verb is intransitive and requires an *r* before its object, as was the case with *3f*. Once again, the crocodile is symbolic of a quality rather than an action, as is clear from the addition of *ib* in the passage from *Ptahhotep*.

The two nominal instances of *3d* are in the *Eloquent Peasant*. In both, the word means 'predator', but there is a difference in orthography:

P. Berlin 3023 (B1) 211–12:



iw min 3 ḫsf.n.i 3dw iw msḥ ḫt.f

Today,[115] I have indeed fended off the predator; the crocodile retreats.

There is a similar interplay between the two crocodile images here as in the passage from *Kagemni* discussed above. Here the metaphoric movement between *3dw* and its crocodile determinative is made more explicit in this passage by the specific mention of a crocodile (*msḥ*). This echoing of imagery only works in the written sphere because *msḥ* evokes the crocodile determinative of *3dw*. The second passage plays with different imagery connected with the crocodile:

P. Berlin 3023 (B1) 327–28:



srw ir.n.tw {r} r ḫsf r iyt ibw pw n 3dw

Officials who were appointed to ward off evil, they are shelters against the predator.

The *n* in the second passage, which Parkinson (1997, 72) and Lichtheim (1973, 180) translated as 'against', was understood by Gardiner (1923, 19) as a simple genitive, which produces a different meaning for the passage. Instead of the officials' true duty being described, their dysfunction is highlighted: they provide protection for the very people they ought to be fending off. Gardiner cited a passage from the stela of Intef (4.5.2) to support his translation, but the

---

[115] James (1962, 111–12) took *min3* as 'here' rather than 'today'.

parallel clauses do not support him:

Urk. IV. 972, 5–7:



ibw n 3tw mkty mn nḏty n irwd-ḥr-ḫt.f {i}n wsr r.f

The sense of the two phrases which follow *ibw n 3tw* make its own meaning clear: Intef is describing himself as:

a shelter against the aggressor, the protector of the suffering man,

the defender of the man who acts for his property

from the one who is (more) powerful than him.

Gardiner's translation of *3tw* as 'indignant' is not a close enough parallel for the two other kinds of downtrodden men whom Intef champions. However, although the context strongly suggests that *n* be read as 'against' rather than 'for', the text of the *Eloquent Peasant* may be deliberately ambiguous, suggesting in keeping with the peasant's ongoing complaint that the officials may not be doing their duty after all.

In the first passage above (ll. 211–12), the crocodile (*msḥ*) is not the real animal, but a symbol of human predatory behaviour that the peasant describes himself as having fended off: the *3dw* is Nemtynakht, even though the word does not have the additional  determinative of the second passage. Thus, although the context of the metaphor is entirely human, the orthography of the words involved in the metaphor does not indicate this. The opposite is true of the second passage: *ibw* 'shelter' belongs to the realm where there were real crocodiles. Such shelters were set up on the shore to protect herds from crocodiles emerging from the river, as is attested elsewhere in the *Eloquent Peasant*.[116] The metaphor involving *ibw* here operates on two levels: the crocodile determinative evokes the function of these *ibw* in the real world, whereas the human determinative brings out their metaphorical aspect, which is used here symbolically of human beings (officials). Both these passages present a direct connection between the crocodile as an animal and its symbolism as a determinative.

[116] Elsewhere in the text, shepherds are linked with *ibw* in B1 208–10 (discussed below, p. 482); in B1 255, shelters linked with the warding off of crocodiles, although the context is again metaphorical.

3f / 3ʿfy

Although *3f* 'greed, greedy' is attested in earlier narrative texts, it does not take a crocodile determinative until the New Kingdom. The identification of the original animal determinative in two writings of *3f* in *Kagemni* is uncertain.Gardiner (1946b, 72)transcribed the hieratic as a caprid with long, backward-sweeping horns. This has been followed by Faulkner (FCD 3) and Hannig (1995, 8). None of these scholars identified the animal specifically, but Scharff (1941, 16 n.10) had stated that the word meant 'gierig fressen wie ein Esel'. Möller also listed the determinative as an ass in his *Paläographie* (I, 12), and this was followed by the *Wörterbuch* (I. 9, 17: but the ass sign is queried). Although Gardiner made no positive identification of his own (1946b, 72 n. 4c), hewas scornful of the suggested ass. The hieratic sign lends itself to either interpretation (Fig. 4.26a–b), and there are no signs with which to compare in *Kagemni*, or in *Ptahhotep* on the same papyrus. Furthermore, aside from one dubious instance in P. Kahun (2.3.1), if *ʿ3* is given a specific animal determinative in hieratic, it tends to be the Seth animal rather than the ass itself. The uppermost stroke emanating from the animal's head, however, seems to me to be more like a horn than an ear, which suggests that the animal is a caprid of some sort. Both instances of the word in *Kagemni* are connected with greed in appetite, and in both the word is nominal:

P. Prisse I, 4: Fig. 4.26a





3t pw ktt d3ir ib ḫwʿ pw 3f

Restraining the desire is a short moment;

gluttony is despicable.

P. Prisse I, 7–8: Fig. 4.26b





ir ḥms.k ḥnʿ 3f wnm.k 3ḫf.f sw3

When you sit with a glutton, eat when his appetite has passed.

Caprids do not tend to be symbolic of wild eating habits in Egyptian metaphor; Grapow (1924) did not list them among the animals he discussed in this capacity. Asses are in his list (1924, 81–82), not as symbols of greed, but they appear in contexts of heavy burdens or obstinacy.

Regardless of the precise identity of the original animal determinative, it apparently was not considered sufficiently meaningful to perpetuate its use in the word, and by the New Kingdom, the crocodile determinative has taken over.[117] The word appears with a crocodile determinative in the *Instructions of Ani* and twice in *Amenemope*, written *ꜥ3fy* in the former and *3ꜥfy* in the latter. The verb describes a state of being rather than an action and is usually intranstive, requiring *r* before an object. In *Ani*, it is connected with straightforward greed in appetite:

P. Boulaq IV, 21, 6–7:

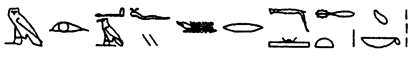


Fig. 4.27



m ir 3ꜥfy r mḥ ḥt.k

Don't be greedy to fill your belly.

The transcription above is after Quack (1994, 318), who represented the back half of the crocodile sign as damaged and made no further comment. The original, however, is not damaged at this point. The hieratic clearly shows only the front part of the animal with its mouth open (Fig. 4.27) and the sign therefore seems to be a unique case of graphic perspectivisation. This writing of the determinative is not recorded in any dictionary.

In *Amenemope*, the determinative is the full animal in both of the word's occurrences. In both instances, the word describes a more figurative, material greed:

P. BM 10474 vso 6, 15 (5):

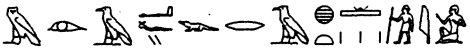


Pushkin Writing Board l. 4: 

m ir 3ꜥfy gm.k p3 ḥ3w

Do not be greedy and you will find profit.

P. BM 10474 vso, 15, 9:



m ir 3ꜥfy r 3ḫt sr

Do not be greedy about the property of an official.

The writing board in the Pushkin Museum contains a parallel for the first passage, and although it is of the Late Period (Posener 1966), its orthography of the word is more akin to that of *Kagemni* than those in earlier manuscripts.

---

[117] For crocodiles and caprids appearing in the same context, see 4.3.1.

ḥnty

A crocodile determinative is attested three times with the word *ḥnty*, used as a different part of speech in each of the texts in which it occurs. In *Merikare*, it is a verb 'to covet':

P. Petersburg 1116A, 4, 5 (13):



ḥsy mr.f t3 ... n ... f ... ḫm-ḫt pw ḥnty iw n ky

The one who desires land all to himself is despicable;

the one who covets that which others possess is a fool.

The sense of the word is the same in *Kagemni*, where it is used adjectivally rather than verbally:

P. Prisse I, 6–7:



ḥs pw ḥnt n ḫt.f

He whose belly is voracious is a wretch.

In these passages the crocodile is an image of greed, but a more metaphorical greed for possessions is evoked, rather than the greedy appetite of the animal for food (compare the crocodile's use in *3ʿfy*). The sense of the word is slightly different in *Amenemope*, where it is used as a stative:

P. BM 10474 vso, 8, 2–4 (6):



iw.f ḥnty n ḳbw iw.f ḫfty n whn {m} ḥʿt.k iw nḥmw ʿnḫ m irt.f

He is a devourer of the weak; he is an enemy (bent on) destroying your being;

the taking of a life is in his eye.

The emphasis seems to be on aggression rather than greed, as is suggested by the parallel clauses, and most translators render the former rather than the latter notion. However, it is possible to evoke both by translating the first clause as: 'he is a devourer of the weak'.

skn / snk

There are seven occurrences of orthographies of *skn/snk* which have the crocodile as their determinative in Middle and New Kingdom literary texts. The earliest attestation is in *Kagemni*

in which the word is used nominally of a greedy person:

P. Prisse I, 9:

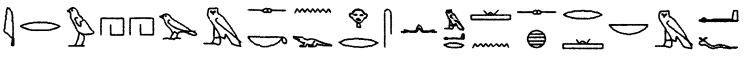


m ȝtw r iwf r-gs skn

Don't attack meat at the side of a glutton.

It is twice used in an abstract sense for different kinds of greed: sexual in *Ptahhotep*, the only example with such a connotation:

P. Prisse 296:

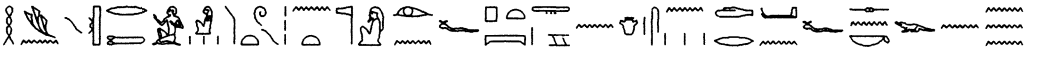


iw whh m skn ḥr.s n mꜥr.n sḫr nb m-ꜥf

As for the one who fails through lust of them, no matter can be successful when done by his hand.

In *Merikare*, *skn* applies neither to sexual greed nor to greed of appetite but voracity of a different sort:

P. Petersburg 1116A, 20, 1 (46):



ḥn rmṯw ꜥwt nt nṯr ir.n.f pt tȝ n ib.sn dr.n.f snk n mw

Mankind is cared for, the herd of the God. He made the sky and the earth for their sakes, and he drove away the rapacity of the waters.

Lichtheim (1975, 106) translated 'water monster' with reference to a primordial being which the creator god defeated (Redford 1990, 834; Shupak 1993, 115 with n. 89). However, there is no definite evidence for such a being; the primordial waters were chaotic but not envisaged as a monstrous being. Parkinson, who translated 'rapacity' explained the phrase as a possible personification of the primordial waters (1997, 233 n. 50), but even this is not necessary. The crocodile determinative need not denote a physical being: in all of its usages discussed thus far it is symbolic of a quality (except in *sȝḳ* where its form is different). That *skn* is especially prototypical of greed is proven by an instance in the *Eloquent Peasant* where it qualifies *msḥ* 'crocodile':

P. Berlin 3023, 208–10:



mk tw m mniw n ḏw s is r.i n ip.n.k iḫ ir.k nhw m msḥ skn ibw tš r dmi n tȝ r-ḏr.f

Look, you are a herdsman; is it not a wrong for me that you cannot reckon?

Then, you should behave less as a greedy crocodile,

(as) a shelter which abandons a harbour of this entire land.

This picks up the imagery, discussed above, in which Rensi is envisaged as a shelter against crocodiles for his people: not only is he a failed shelter, he has become the source of danger himself. Compare the peasant's fifth petition (B 268–70) where he states:

You were appointed as a dyke for the pauper; beware lest he drown!

Look, you are his lake, you who drag under! (Parkinson 1997, 69)

My rendering of ll. 208–10 follows Gardiner (1923, 14) rather than that of Parkinson (1997, 67), who translated:

If not, you can create loss – a predatory crocodile, a shelter which has abandoned the harbour of the whole land.

Again, the animal is not real in this context, but rather stands metaphorically for Rensi's bad behaviour; it also contrasts strongly with the 'herdsman' he is supposed to be.

skn is used three times in *Amenemope* as a verb meaning 'to be greedy', once in reference to land (7, 14 (6)), once in reference to property (14, 5 (11)), and finally in reference to copper (18, 8 (16)); all are written  . There is a sense of injustice in each context, especially the second, where the greediness is for the goods of a poor man. Perhaps the crocodile gives the word this extra significance of unjust rapacity.

nḥ3

In *P. Westcar* (4, 1), *nḥ3* is specifically applied to a crocodile, but without a crocodile determinative. There are only two instances of *nḥ3* with a crocodile determinative in the texts surveyed, both in Instructions, in a typically New Kingdom orthography that incorporates an extra *3* in the stem. In *Ani*, the word is used nominally:

P. Boulaq IV, 22, 9:

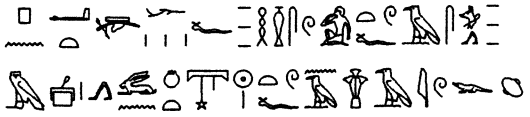


Fig. 4.28



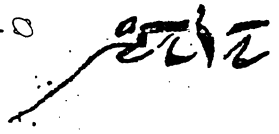
pn{t}.f ḥst.f 3s m-s3 sw3 wnwt.f nḥ3

He will return (to) his praises quickly after his hour of violence has passed.

In *Amenemope*, it is used as an adjective:

P. BM 10474 vso, 4, 8 (2): Fig. 4.29





m ḏrty ḥ3b.tw.k m wpt nḥ3

Don't let yourself be sent on a mischievous errand.

(Lichtheim 1976, 150)

Lichtheim's 'mischievous' seems a little too frivolous a concept to be represented by a crocodile determinative. Lloyd (1975, 59–66) convincingly argued that the basic meaning of the root *nḥ3* is 'rough' and that there is a semantic movement from 'rough (of texture)' through 'rough (of emotion)' meaning sadness or anguish, to 'severe, fierce' and 'dangerous' which cover all the literal and figurative usages of *nḥ3* in his discussion.[118] Although he did not discuss any instances of *nḥ3* with a crocodile determinative, it is clear that they derive from the same root. The context provides further clues: the addressee is being warned not to do anything immoral like taking advantage of the weak and elderly. Thus, *nḥ3* here alludes to dangerous behaviour in the sense of being a danger to others; a rendering 'violent' is therefore appropriate and in keeping with the sense of the previous few lines.[119]

The pustule determinative is clearly visible in both orthographies (Figs. 4.28–29), although it has been sometimes omitted by editors;[120] it is joined to the back of the crocodile's head in *Ani* (Fig. 4.28). As in other words, the crocodile determinative comes first. The crocodile lends a specific nuance, while the pustule determinative seems to characterise the word more generally as a disruption of normal processes. The pustule determinative is common in medical words describing ailments, but is also found in other contexts, for example in a related word, *snḥ3* in *Ipuwer* (Gardiner 1909a, 48).

An appeal to Amun-Re in the Harris Magical Papyrus provides some evidence of the nature of the connection between the crocodile and *nḥ3*:

P. Harris, Incantation G (IV. 6–7):



---

[118] Quack (1994, 184) retained this sense of the word in his translation of Ani: 'nach seiner groben Stunde'.

[119] The common pairing of *nḥ3* and *sḫm* in Ramses III's texts at Medinet Habu demonstrates that they share a nuance of violent strength.

[120] Suys (1935) omitted it in his transcription of Ani, but Quack (1994) transcribed the sign. It is omitted in Lange's edition (1925) of Amenemope.

mi ir.k n.i ḥ3y(.i) nb ꜥ.w.s. nṯrw

sḫr.k n.i ḏwwt nbt nḥ3 nb nty ḥr itrw

Come to me, I beseech you, o Lord (lph) of the gods

and cast down for me every evil and every danger which is on the river.

This passage connects *nḥ3* with the river, the habitat of crocodiles (Moers 2001, 206–9). The crocodile may be used as the determinative of *nḥ3* because it is a prototypical example of danger.

šn

There are only two certain occurrences of *šn* with a crocodile determinative in literary texts, both of the Middle Kingdom (excluding the uncertain instance in *Man and Ba* discussed above, p. 474). In *Man and Ba*, it is applied adjectivally to *š* 'lake':

P. Berlin 3024, 74:

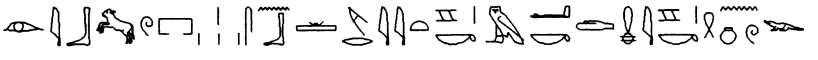


3ḳ tp š šn m grḥ ḥr mrytyw

(They) perished upon a lake dangerous at night with crocodiles.

Although the crocodiles are real animals which eat the children and the wife of the ba's story, they are also laden with symbolism and represent unforeseen, inevitable, and undeserved death. In the *Eloquent Peasant*, *šn* is applied instead to harbour:

P. Berlin 3023, 161–62:



ir ibw snb mryt.k mk dmi.k šnw

Give shelter (so that) your shore will be sound; for look, your harbour is swarming with crocodiles. (Parkinson 1997, 65)

The symbolism of *ibw* in the *Eloquent Peasant* has already been discussed in relation to crocodiles and riverbanks (pp. 477, 482). Here the contrast is between Rensi's immediate vicinity (his 'riverbanks', that is, his own self-interest) and the world beyond him under his control that is affected by his actions (his town, that is, his people). Again, determinative assignment is crucial in the operation of the metaphor: the river banks, the traditional haunts of crocodiles, are said to be safe and therefore free of the animals which make them dangerous, whereas the *dmi*, 'harbour', or perhaps here 'town' so that it contrasts more with *mryt*, is *šn*. If *dmi* means 'town', it should represent a safe place, at a distance from the river edges and

their crocodiles. The basic sense of *šn* is simply 'dangerous' ('unsicher' as Vogelsang (1910, 165) proposed to translate *šn* in the *Man and Ba* passage above, see p. 474), and the crocodile determinative emphasises this, but it also evokes the physical presence of the animal, symbolic of the threat to safety which the peasant is evoking, in the domain of the *dmi*. Thus, the passage above can be translated: 'A shelter is made and your banks are safe, but look – your town is unsafe!'[121]

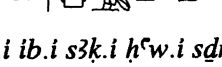
In his dictionary, Faulkner (FCD 268) translated *šn* 'infested with crocodiles', which makes sense for the passage from the *Eloquent Peasant* but not quite for *Man and Ba*. As is clear from the passage quoted above from the latter, an object – *mrytyw* 'crocodiles' – seems to be required for the full sense of 'infested with crocodiles'. The basic root of *šn* means 'to encompass, surround', but the crocodile adds a dangerous flavour to this, giving a sense of being oppressed and surrounded in a worrying way, as is brought out by the writing of *šn* with a bad bird determinative in other texts.[122] Thus it is not necessary to understand *šn* as having the crocodile as an animal incorporated into its meaning: instead the crocodile is figurative. Yet the crocodile determinatives in the two passages cited are specifically appropriate.

s3ḳ

All the occurrences of *s3ḳ* with a crocodile determinative in the literary texts I surveyed are verbal, and in each the crocodile sign has a curved tail. As indicated by the different form of the crocodile sign it has metaphorical associations distinct from those of discussed so far. It is found in *Sinuhe* in the context of gathering together limbs in the sense of pulling oneself together:

P. Berlin 3022, 23–25:



AOS:  C, B4: P1:

ṯst.i ib.i s3ḳ.i ḥ^{c}w.i sḏm.n.i ḫrw n nmi n mnmnt

I raised my spirits and I gathered myself together after I heard the sound of cattle lowing.

In comparison with the many times the same phrase about collecting limbs occurs in the *Coffin*

---

[121] Gardiner's (1923, 13) suggested parallel ( in the Annals inscriptions of Thutmosis III: *Urk* IV. 656) for the phrase *snb mryt* is not really a parallel: the noun is not the same.

[122] For example, P. Westcar 9, 22 where it means 'to suffer'.

Texts and the *Book of the Dead* (4.2.2.2, 4.2.3.2), it is clear that its use in *Sinuhe* has deliberately strong religious undertones. At this point in the tale, Sinuhe is metaphorically dying as an Egyptian and being reborn as a foreigner, and so terminology evoking religious rebirth is appropriate.

s3ḳ is also found logographically written in *Ptahhotep,* where its object is more abstract:

P. Prisse 183:



ir ṯtf iw s3ḳ.n.f ḏs(.f)

As for success, he has accrued (it) himself.

A second occurrence of the word in *Ptahhotep* is not written logographically and is coupled with *ib*:

P. Prisse 364:



ir wnn.k m s ikr ḫms m sḫ n nb.f s3ḳ ib.k r bw iḳr

If you are an excellent man, one who sits as his master's council, focus your mind on excellence!

The sense is once again 'to gather', but this time the object is the mind, which is gathered to concentrate on a subject. Thus, the physical symbol of the crocodile gathering with its tail serves as the prototype for an invisible action of the mind.

The sense is different in the word's occurrence in the *Instruction of Amenemhat*:

P. Millingen I, 3:

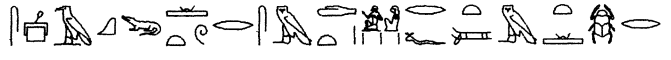
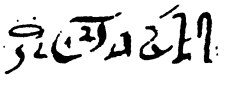
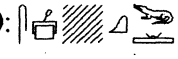
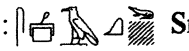


Fig. 4.30



S II:  S1:

DM 1020:  G 322:

BM 5623:  Sn 143, G 324:

s3ḳ tw r smdt r.f tmt ḫpr

Focus yourself on subjects who seem meaningless.[123]

Griffith (1896, 39) originally translated: 'Let one be armoured against his subordinates as a whole,' noting that the crocodile determinative evoked the animal's 'close-fitting armour' which in turn symbolised the concepts 'well-knit' and 'cautious' (1896, 39 n. 5). However, he

[123] This is closest to Parkinson's translation (1997, 206): 'Concentrate against subjects who prove non-existent'. But Lichtheim's freer translation (1973, 136) gives a better sense: 'Beware of subjects who are nobodies'.

was not taking into account the animal's curved tail in P. Millingen (and also present in all the other manuscripts), which he did not represent in his transcription (1896, 39). It is present in Lopez's copy of the text (Fig. 4.30). Once again, as in the first passage from *Ptahhotep*, the physical action of the crocodile gathering with its tail represents the mental action of collecting thoughts in order to concentrate.

4.6.3 Discussion

The literary texts surveyed stand out not only for the number of crocodile-determined words that occur in them, but for their accumulation of crocodilian imagery, expressed both through metaphorical mentions of the animal and through its use as a figurative determinative. Thus, for example, in the *Eloquent Peasant*, five different crocodilian words are used, in *Ptahhotep*, six, in *Man and Ba*, four, and so on. In several of the texts discussed above, there is an interplay between the animal's metaphorical associations and the figurative ways in which it is used as a determinative. This interplay is particularly apparent in the *Eloquent Peasant*, which combines imagery connected with real crocodiles through the *ibw*-metaphor with imagery expressed through crocodile determinatives. Both contribute to the text's central theme, the contrast between the ideal official who nurtures and protects those under his authority, like a herdsman looking after his herd, and the harsh reality experienced by the protagonist, unjust victimisation through the abuse of power through aggression (*3d*), the causing of suffering (as the 'messenger of Khenty'), greed (*skn*), and the dangerous situation being condoned (*šn*).

As an animal, the crocodile is used repeatedly as a symbol of death, although not always in the same way. Thus, it is an agent of death in several texts, both deserved (e.g. the adulterous lover in P. Westcar) and undeserved (e.g. the hero of the *Doomed Prince*), but also a means of preventing death in the *Two Brothers*. Its connection with death feeds into the significance of the crocodile determinative in *Man and Ba*, where it is used both as a symbol of undeserved death in order to emphasise the preciousness of life, and as the symbol of social death to exemplify the man's disillusionment with life, both expressed through the epithet *mrytyw*. This word associates the crocodile with a liminality that can be seen as a further metaphor for the man's position in the poem somewhere between life and death. The crocodile's associations with death perhaps also feed into its use in words connected with more general danger, like *šn*

and *nḥ3*.

In the literary sphere, as elsewhere, there is once again a distinction between the associations of  and  . While the former sign has three, sometimes overlapping, metaphorical spheres of association in the literary texts surveyed – aggression, greed (of various kinds: sexual, monetary, of appetite), and dangerousness, has only one, the action of drawing oneself together (mentally more than physically) and the resultant state of focus, which can either signify concentration or caution. The two forms of the sign are further distinguished by the fact that while often takes an additional determinative (the papyrus roll, perhaps indicating that *s3ḳ* refers more to a state than to an action), is only very rarely qualified by another sign (e.g. the pustule sign with *nḥ3*). The fact that so few additional determinatives are added to the determinative, despite the fact that it is clearly polyvalent, perhaps suggests that there were no strongly defined boundaries between its various significances for the Egyptians.

4.7 CONCLUSIONS

4.7.1 The crocodile and its metaphoricity

Of the three determinatives under study,  is the most straightforward graphically. It depicts the crocodile as it appears in art in much the same way as it might have appeared in the real world, and does not represent the melding of diverse components evident in the form of the Seth animal. Moreover, the crocodile sign's form does not change during its long period of usage, unlike that of the panther sign. However, lurking beneath the surface of its seemingly simple facade is a complex network of metaphorical associations which remain vibrant throughout the period surveyed and are constantly open to innovation. Two aspects of the crocodile's role as a metaphor in texts can be identified from the textual evidence presented, although they are not entirely separate – the significance of the crocodile itself as a metaphor and the metaphorical use of the crocodile sign.

4.7.2 Crocodilian metaphors and the real world

So strong is the metaphoricity of the crocodile that the line between figurative and non-figurative usages of is extremely hard to see. Even when the crocodile is mentioned in a text as an animal, in the majority of cases it is imbued with a wider metaphorical significance. Indeed, the basis of many figurative usages of the crocodile determinative is the animal's presence in the real world.

The metaphoric symbolism of the crocodile is particularly heightened when it is called by one of its many epithets. In many contexts, epithets build bridges between the crocodile's metaphoricity as an animal and as a determinative; for the very qualities that are chosen to name it are often those that are mapped onto other referents through the medium of the crocodile determinative – greed (*ḥnty*, *skn*), dangerousness (*šn*), aggression (*3d(w)*, *ḫn(ty)*), to mention but a few. The blurred line between the figurative and non-figurative functions of the crocodile determinative where epithets are concerned is particularly evident in two very different texts – the Red Chapel inscription of Hatshepsut, and the second incantation of P. BM 9997 + 10309. Both use crocodilian epithets – some of them unique to these texts – to map qualities for different purposes; in the case of the magical text, these qualities are directed against an ailment, while in Hatshepsut's inscription, they are used to characterise the queen in a powerful and somewhat startling way.

The crocodile is often sited in its watery habitat both in wider descriptions (for example, in magical spells and threat formulae) and through the use of certain epithets, such as *mrytyw* or *dpy*. Such epithets allow the crocodile to take part in water-related imagery and are generally chosen to supplement pre-existing imagery in a text; for example, *mrytyw* in *Man and Ba* which draws the crocodile into the theme of liminality, siting the animal on the border between life and death which is the setting for the tale. Similarly, in a Ramesside love poem, *dpy* sites the crocodile in the water that separates two lovers, and is therefore an appropriate embodiment of the obstacles keeping them apart.

Associations of the crocodile as an animal are often inextricably linked with the sign's figurative usage. Crocodiles are often represented in art in fording scenes, where they lurk unseen below the waterline. This seems to be the basis of the crocodile determinative's use in *k3pw*, which has a broad range of figurative applications. In *Ptahhotep*, *k3pw* is used as an epithet of the animal itself, which in turn symbolises resentment lurking beneath the smooth surface of success, while in P. Edwin Smith, it is used as an epithet of an illness, hidden within the patient's body. Finally, in the Kadesh inscriptions of Ramses II, it is used of a concealed enemy lying in wait for the unsuspecting king. The connotations the animal has in fording scenes – the advantage it has through concealment in its natural habitat, its agility and power within its habitat to strike against its prey in a lightning fast attack – all of these are relevant for the figurative ways in which *k3pw* is used and are so much more expressive than the alternative human determinative,  , could be.

In all likelihood, the metaphorical schema according to which the sky is conceptualised as a body of water is probably behind the crocodile's use as the determinative of *sšd*. The animal's glistening in the water is at first used to symbolise general brightness (for example, of lightning in the *Pyramid Texts*), and then comes to be specifically associated with stars. Although it may stand alone as the determinative of *sšd* 'brightness/ to be bright', when the word is associated with stars, the crocodile sign often precedes a star determinative. Thus, when the king is likened to a star,  , three domains intersect to create the image; the principal metaphorical mapping is between the domain of the king and that of the star, with the crocodile as a mediating image smoothing the transition between them. However, the basis of the animal's figurative role in this word is the animal's physical appearance in the real world.

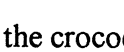
The crocodile's role in the *ibw*-schema, attested in royal and non-royal inscription as well

as the literary sphere, is similarly based on the animal's behaviour in the real world, where it emerges from the water to threaten animals in riverside shelters (*ibw*). This schema highlights the aggression of the crocodile as opposed to its hiddenness, and pits its violent strength against the innocent helplessness of its intended victims, contrasting predator and prey. It is a common image used by kings and officials to portray their offensive, and therefore defensive, powers, according to which the people under their protection are the animals in the shelter, while they are the ones who fend off the threat from the forces of aggression and chaos, embodied in the crocodile. This imagery is occasionally subverted; for example, the Eloquent Peasant throws the *ibw*-metaphor in Rensi's face, contrasting its idealism with the ugly reality of his neglect, and further blurs the line between the figurative and non-figurative spheres by calling Rensi a crocodile. It is perhaps not surprising to find the crocodile being interpreted as the symbol of an official in the Chester Beatty Dream Book. However, Hatshepsut's equation of herself as a crocodile within the shelter is the greatest subversion of the imagery. In the context of her Red Chapel inscription, however, the tables are turned, for her enemies are the helpless animals within the shelter, and she embodies the irresistible force of royal aggression. Thus she is the predator and her enemies the prey. Moreover, significantly, the crocodile in her use of the imagery does not threaten the shelter from without, but is already within it.

4.7.3 The crocodile in the metaphorical world

Power is the cornerstone of the crocodile's symbolism both as an animal and as a determinative. Like the Seth animal, this power is completely ambivalent and requires careful channelling. This is evident in the medico-magical sphere, where remedies and spells exist to prevent a crocodilian attack as well as to cope with its aftermath alongside spells that attempt to harness the animal's power through the incorporation of crocodilian ingredients or a magical evocation of the animal itself so that it can be directed against ailment as a weapon. The key factor is therefore the ability to control the crocodile's power, for if one is not its master, one falls victim to it. That this is true not only of the crocodile as an animal, but also of the crocodilian qualities marked by the determinative is illustrated in the Semna stela of Senwosret III, where the king warns his successors that they must use aggression (*3dw*) or face the consequences of its being used against them. In this way, the raw power of crocodile itself and all the qualities it epitomises cannot be tied down to a fully positive or negative

characterisation. Its nature is entirely dependent on context. The particular facets of the crocodile's power that are central to the sign's use as a figurative determinative are drawn out in various ways. In the writings of certain words, the crocodile sign may take a particular form that narrows down its possible range of associations (discussed below), but for the most part, it is the meaning of the word in which it is used that perspectivises the appropriate meaning of the sign.

The most dominant crocodilian characteristic stemming from its power is aggression, and so it follows that *ȝd* is one of the most common and persistently used crocodile-determined words. It is attested in all of the genres surveyed. It may apply specifically to the crocodile itself or to the crocodile god Sobek, but it is particularly associated with the king. This is probably the basis of the crocodilian orthography of *ity* 'sovereign',  . The doubling of the crocodile sign seems to serve two purposes: on a practical level, it represents the word's phonetic stem (*ȝty=ity*), but on a more semagraphic level, through its doubled form it seems to align the word with the duality of kingship, as *pḥty* does. Thus, just as doubled panther heads signify the dual king's strength, doubled crocodiles convey his power of aggression.

Aggression seems also to be the basis of the crocodile determinative's use in words describing greed like *ȝfˁ*, *ḥnty*, and particularly *skn*. That the latter once takes a  determinative in the *Coffin Texts* suggests that greed was perhaps envisaged as an aggressive lunging at food, an idea which is corroborated by the use of *ȝd* in *Kagemni* to describe such a lunging. Likewise, aggressive motion seems to be behind the crocodile's significance in words like *ḫn* and *šn* both of which have connotations of danger inherent in the actions they represent. Even *sšd* is not exempt from the crocodile's associations with aggression, for in the *Coffin Texts*, it is paired with *ḏnd*, seemingly representing an analogous aggressive movement.

On a slightly different level is the crocodile's use as the determinative of *ks* in the *Coffin Texts*. The word itself is not directly linked to aggression specifically, but rather describes the respect power inspires. It does not seem to be coincidental that only within the *Coffin Texts*, the word *ˁḫm* can take a crocodile determinative. Both within the *Coffin Texts* and in other texts, this word describes the manifestation of a deity in physical form. That it can take the effigy form of the crocodile determinative,  , suggests that *ˁḫm* had a close connection with the god Sobek. Sobek's manifestation in crocodile form seems to be at the root of his power. As discussed above, spells to transform the deceased into the crocodile-god stipulate that the

deceased takes on the crocodile's physical attributes. Thus, perhaps the power of *ḫm*, invested in the  determinative, also lies at the heart of the crocodile's use in *ks* because in the *Coffin Texts*, the crocodile is linked to the physical manifestation of fearsome power. It seems significant that in the *Coffin Texts*, Sobek is called *nb ks*, ' the lord of obeisance'.

4.7.4 Graphic perspectivisation

As a determinative,  represents both the crocodile as an animal in *msḥ* and its many epithetical counterparts and all the qualities for which the animal is the prototypical exemplar, and for the most part it serves both purposes without the aid of embellishment. While the Seth animal is often supplemented in figurative usage by additional signs such as  in *nšn* or  in *nmˁ*, for the most part stands alone. However, some of the forms that it may take do single out specific strands of its vast network of meaning.

, as discussed above, is specifically linked to the god Sobek, incorporating the added signified [Divine], although this is applicable to no other deity. The only other context in which the divinity it represents is applicable is in writings of *ˁḫmw*, which seems to be linked in the *Coffin Texts* to Sobek, as discussed above. While there is some evidence to suggest that the sign may also have been linked with *ḫnty*, as an epithet of Sobek (S3C's use of as the determinative of *ḫn* in *CT* 154), none of the literary texts surveyed in which *ḫnty* is mentioned make use of this form of the sign. It is never used in figurative contexts in the way that the deity form of the Seth sign, , is, which reflects the different roles of the two gods – is never used to invoke interaction with the crocodile god in the way that is used.

The sign depicting only the crocodile's head, , is the least common of the alternating forms of . Within the body of material surveyed, it occurs in only two contexts, but it has a different significance in each. In the *Book of the Dead* of Ani, it is used in a writing of *ȝt*. It is very likely that the form it takes is influenced by the form of the word's usual determinative, . However, in the *Instructions of Ani*, its use as the determinative of *ȝᶜf* represents a meaningful graphic perspectivisation. The full animal is used both in writings of this word – supplanting the earlier caprid determinative attested in *Kagemni* – and others (*skn*, *ḫnty*) to represent greed, but the form of the sign distinguishes crocodilian greed from all the other qualities the animal may represent by graphically focusing attention on the animal's gaping

maw. This is another example of the predilection for innovation evident in the orthography of P. Boulaq 4.

Even more so than  ,  represents a strand of the crocodile's symbolism almost entirely distinct from those associated with . Although it is connected principally with the verb *s3ḳ*, it is not confined to writings of this word alone. As a determinative or a logogram in *s3ḳ*, the distinguishes the word as an action. The animal's curved tail serves as an exemplar of the act of collecting things together. However, as is suggested both by its common pairing with which tends to signify states rather than actions and by the wide array of meanings *s3ḳ* can have, does not just represent simple collection. In the religious sphere, *s3ḳ* describes the gathering of the limbs, which itself represents physical and spiritual wholeness. In medico-magical texts, it may apply to the contracting of the womb, or the pupil of the eye, or even to the gathering of incense into a ball. In self-description, officials use it to intimate their focused characters. Thus, that represents a physical gathering together is not as important as the result of the process: wholeness, completeness, concentration.

However, *s3ḳ* does not always have positive connotations, as is often assumed (Goldwasser 1995, 105). In P. BM 9997 + 10309, it is used to evoke the immobility of a snake: thus, in the context of this spell, the form of the crocodile is compared to stone, as something tightly knit together. Thus, the sign's curved tail represents not collection, but a boundedness of form. The sign perhaps has the same significance in its use as the determinative of *k3pw* in the Kadesh inscription of Ramses II. *k3pw* itself creates the image of the enemy concealed; perhaps its determinative adds the sense of the enemy being closely gathered together, drawn in on themselves so that they may spring out on the unsuspecting Ramses.

4.7.5 The crocodile and the ambivalence of power

That every crocodile-determined word discussed in this chapter resists an entirely positive or negative characterisation is a good analogy for the nature of the power the crocodile determinative represents. Crocodilian characteristics lend themselves to a wide range of interpretations and are as complex as the animal that epitomised them. The significance of the crocodile determinative in whichever form it takes derives from an intertwining of behavioural traits of the animal that could be observed with the eye and perceived characteristics that presented themselves to the mind's eye. At once an inhabitant of the physical world and a

symbol of many of the powerful forces that operate unseen within it, the crocodile was a living metaphor, and, as evidenced by its extensive and varied use in texts of all periods and genres, it thrived within the environment of the Egyptian determinative system.

–5–

CONCLUDING WORDS

5.1 Overview

The aim of these final pages is to draw together the results the analysis of the three determinatives studied in order to highlight the features they share in common and those that represent individual traits. Although the three determinatives studied in this thesis are immediately linked through being representatives of the metaphorical usage of animal signs in the script, when their similarities are closely examined, the individuality of their imagery and how it is expressed emerges. I also discuss some issues that are pertinent to the determinative system as a whole.

5.2 Similarities and differences

The Seth animal and the crocodile both retain links to the religious sphere through the gods with whom they have an affinity. This means that, unlike the panther, both signs have a 'sacred' form:  and  . Thus while the importance of the visual signified of the  sign dwindled, perhaps Seth and Sobek helped to keep the signs of their symbolic animals vibrant within the script. However, looking at the distribution patterns of both the sacred and non-sacred forms of the Seth animal and the crocodile, differences are evident.

 is used almost exclusively to represent the god Sobek and therefore is not involved in any of the crocodilian metaphors explored in chapter four. Thus, it seems as if the god Sobek did not wield much influence over the metaphorical life of the crocodile determinative. By contrast, although may simply represent the god Seth in language as an alternative to  , it also appears in figurative contexts. Furthermore, the metaphorical schema of illness within which it plays a central role is associated exclusively with the deity form of the sign. Moreover, with only a few exceptions, it does not alternate with the full animal form of the sign in the other metaphorical domains with which Sethian determinatives are associated. Thus, while the god Seth does have a figurative role within the determinative system unlike Sobek, both and seem to be independent of them.

The crocodile and the panther signs are linked through their signified's presence in the real world. There seems to be no doubt that the crocodile's pervasive presence in everyday life

influenced its vibrancy within the determinative system. Conversely, that the panther was not as common perhaps provides an explanation for why its metaphoricity required a link to that of the lion to keep it alive. However, it is the very fact that the Seth animal did not inhabit the real world that invested it with the meaning it retained for so many hundreds of years. Ironically, while the form of the panther underwent an extensive graphic evolution, the imaginary Seth animal remained constant in its depiction, undergoing only the smallest of variations.

Despite their differences, the three signs share common metaphorical ground, for each expresses a facet of the concept of power. The panther represents the might of its physical force, lending its face to the concept of brute strength, particularly within the royal sphere in the New Kingdom. The crocodile symbolises the aggressive thrust behind power, and the rawness of violence that can either be wielded or suffered. And the Seth animal embodies the chaos in power's wake, its destructiveness, its untamability. Thus, in ancient Egypt, although power was very much a human trait, when it was described, it had three different animal faces. For while the human body could be used in the determinative system to communicate actions ( , ) and states ( , ), only the animal sphere could express the invisible forces that well up inside human beings, that they radiate through their actions, and the qualities with which they imbue the elements of their world.

5.3 Iconicity and visually-based metaphor

The most obvious trait that the three signs under study share with each other and with all the signs within the determinative system as a whole is that their metaphoricity derives from their iconicity. Are images more expressive than words? There are contrasting views. Wildung (1997, 13) stated that while textless images can be understood, imageless texts present more of a challenge. On the other hand, de Francis held the opposite opinion (1989, 44):

> Far from being worth a thousand words, a picture often requires a thousand words to explain it.

Ironically, this explains why images are more expressive than words, and why the metaphoric potential of the Egyptian determinative system seems to be richer than even the classifier systems of modern languages. In Toba, one can say 'he's building a house' in two different ways by employing different classifiers to the noun 'house'. While *ra* would indicate that the house is more vertical than horizontal and therefore is in its final stages, *ñi* would imply the

opposite and would indicate that the house-building was just beginning (Klein 1979, 89). However, determinatives are independent of specific words, as is illustrated by the impracticality of Schenkel's attempt to transcribe them and of Goldwasser's attempts to 'name' categories. This gives determinatives an unbounded expressive potential, and lends extraordinary depth to the words with which they are used.

This potential is at its most powerful, perhaps, in innovative usages of particular signs – in the assignment of a  determinative to the word describing the hidden forces lying in wait for Ramses at Kadesh; in the use of  to indicate that the images seen in a dream have caused suffering akin to that of an illness; in the use of  to describe the fiery glow of desire in the hearts of a dancer's audience. Each of these three determinatives captures the essence of the words they describe, characterising not the physical action involved in them, but the emotional import below their surface.

Such usages of determinatives have required many words of explanation in the chapters above, but that the complexity of the qualities with which such signs imbue their words is nevertheless contained neatly within their form answers the question posed above resoundingly in the affirmative. Yet, Wildung's statement has to be modified. As he himself admitted, the metalanguage of images is not without its own grammar and vocabulary, both of which have to be learned before the meaning images communicate can be understood.

Context is the key to understanding the communication of meaning within the determinative system. There are many avenues of it to explore. The primary aim of this thesis has been to examine the nature of the relationship that exists between determinatives and their words, but often this has in turn involved an understanding of the relationship these words have with the texts in which they are written. Metaphorical images created by the linking of a word to a determinative often merge into wider textual themes, particularly within the literary sphere. Moreover, contextual environment exerts an enormous influence over the distribution patterns of determinatives. While it is generally acknowledged that curtailed forms of signs on the walls of pyramids are due to the influence of superstition, there are comparable cases that go largely unrecognised – for example, the suppression of all Sethian signs at Abydos, resulting in the substitution of the baboon for the Seth animal in writings of *nšn*.

While the research I have presented in this thesis is the result of just one possible approach to the determinative system, as I hope I have demonstrated, context must be central to

whatever approach is taken. Determinatives were living elements within the script system, very much a reflection of the world they described. Thus, they were not static. There is evidence in the evolution of the panther determinative that when semantic obsolescence set in, changes were made. Even when one sign seems to persist in use over time, there may be undercurrents of change in its meaning. Detailed, contextually-grounded analysis of the distribution patterns of determinatives is needed to firmly establish their spheres of meaning, for these cannot be gauged by looking at just one type of text or just one period of time. Hopefully research into determinatives is just beginning.

5.4 The purpose of determinative assignment

It is difficult to reconcile the diverse range of metaphorical usages determinatives may be put to with the fact that they are an element solely of the script. The extra dimension of expression they represent could only be exploited in a written text and could play no part if a text was read aloud. Genre is important to take into account here. One may explain elaborations and innovations in a temple context – for example, the various visual exploitations of the panther sign and others at Medinet Habu – as contributing to the impressiveness of the monument. On a different note, one may explain the Sethian determinatives of various words for suffering in letters to the dead as having a functional application by creating a magical link between cause and effect, thereby precipitating alleviation. However, innovations in narrative and literary texts, such as the many examples in P. Boulaq IV, are neither attributable to monumental vanity nor magical efficacy. Since determinatives were not voiced and could play no part in the recitation of a text, why did the scribe of P. Boulaq IV go out of his way to deviate from the customary forms of signs? Why use  instead of  to express the concept of 'greed'?

It is, of course, impossible to answer such questions with certainty. Yet, in searching for an explanation one should possibly look to the expressive power of the determinative system described above. Since the system offered the opportunity of communicating even the most subtle elements of the meaning of a word, scribes perhaps took advantage simply for the pleasure of leaving an imprint of their understanding on the page in front of them. That they did means that thousands of years later, we can see greed through ancient Egyptian eyes.

5.5 The world in words

Benjamin Lee Whorf once wrote:

> And every language is a vast pattern system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness. (in Caroll 1956, 252)

One of the most precious privileges of the study of ancient cultures is to draw back the curtain of time and glimpse a culture that lived and died long before ours came into existence. Egypt offers many such glimpses through its monuments and buildings, through its artefacts, and especially through the diverse textual evidence that has survived. But the texts of ancient Egypt still have much to tell us. Within the words of which they were composed lies a keener insight, an even closer glimpse. For determinatives offer us a window into a house of consciousness that survives only within texts; if we just know how to look, we can see before us the components of an ancient world preserved in its own words.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abu Bakr, A. M., and Jürgen Osing 1973. Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich. *MDAIK* 29, (2), 97–133.

Allan, Keith 1977. Classifiers. *Language* 53, 285–311.

Allen, James P. 2000. *Middle Egyptian: an introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Allen, Thomas George 1974. *The book of the dead, or, Going forth by day: ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning the hereafter as expressed in their own terms*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Altenmüller, Brigitte 1975. *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*. GOF 4, 7. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Altenmüller, Hartwig 1965. Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens. Eine Typologie und religionsgeschichte Untersuchung der sogenannten "Zaubermesser" des Mittleren Reichs: University of Munich.

Andreu, Guillemette, M. Rutschowscaya, and C. Ziegler 1997. *L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre*. Paris: Hachette.

Anthes, Rudolf 1928. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 9. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Assmann, Jan 1994. Ancient Egypt and the materiality of the sign. In *Materialities of communication,* (eds) Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht and K. Ludwig Pfeiffer, 15–31. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Aston, Barbara G., James A. Harrell, and Ian Shaw 2000. Stone. In *Ancient Egyptian materials and technology,* (eds) Ian Shaw and Paul T. Nicholson, 5–77. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Badawy, Ahmad M. 1940. Denkmäler aus Sakkarah. *ASAE* 40, 495–501.

Baer, Klaus 1966. A deed of endowment in a letter of the time of Ppjj I? *ZÄS* 93, 1–9.

Baines, John 1985. Color terminology and color classification: Ancient Egyptian color terminology and polychromy. *American Archaeologist* 87, 282-97.

— 1986. *mswt* "manifestation"? In *Hommages à François Daumas,* 43–50. Montpeller: Université de Montpellier.

— 1999. On *Wenamun* as a literary text. In *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung zum Gedenken an Georges Posener 5.–10. September 1996 in Leipzig,* (eds) Jan Assmann and Elke Blumenthal, 209–33. BdE 127. Cairo: IFAO.

Bardinet, Thierry 1995. *Les papyrus médicaux de l'Égypte pharaonique*. Penser la médecine. Paris: Fayard.

Barguet, Paul 1967. *Le livre des morts des anciens Égyptiens*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 1. Paris: Cerf.

— 1986. *Les textes sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire. Introduction et traduction*. Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 12. Paris: Cerf.

Barns, John W. B. 1956. *Five Ramesseum papyri*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute.

Barsalou, Lawrence W. 1983. Ad hoc categories. *Memory and Cognition* 11, 211–27.

Barta, Winfried 1963. *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*. MÄS 3. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

— 1969. *Das Gespräch eines Mannes mit seinem BA (Papyrus Berlin 3024)*. MÄS 18. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

— 1970. *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14)*. MÄS 22. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

Barucq, A. 1949. Deux fragments d'une stèle historique d'Aménophis II au Musée Guimet de Lyon. *ASAE* 49, 183–202.

Becker, A. J. 1986. The figure a classifier makes. In *Noun classes and categorization: Proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification, Eugene, Oregon, October 1983,* (ed.) Colette Craig, 327–43. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Beckerath, Jürgen von 1999. *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*. MÄS 49. Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Berlin, Brent 1968. *Tzeltal numeral classifiers. A study in ethnographic semantics*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.

— 1992. *Ethnobiological classification: principles of categorization of plants and animals in traditional societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berlin, Brent, and Paul Kay 1969. *Basic color terms: their universality and evolution.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Birch, Samuel (ed.) 1878. *Manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians by J. Gardner Wilkinson.* 3rd ed. London: J. Murray.

Blackman, Aylward M. 1932. *Middle-Egyptian stories.* Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Blackman, Aylward M., and W. V. Davies 1988. *The story of King Kheops and the magicians, transcribed from Papyrus Westcar (Berlin Papyrus 3033).* Reading: J. V. Books.

Blumenthal, Elke, Ingeborg Müller, and Walter F. Reineke 1984. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 5–16.* Urkunden der Ägyptischen Altertums 4. Berlin: Akademie.

Boeser, Pieter A. A., A. E. J. Holwerda, J. H. Holwerda, and Willem Dirk van Wingaarden 1905–32. *Beschreibung des Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum des Altertümer in Leiden.* Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.

— 1911. *Beschreibung des Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum des Altertümer in Leiden, vol. IV.* Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.

Boessneck, Joachim 1988. *Die Tierwelt des alten Ägypten untersucht anhand kulturgeschichtlicher und zoologischer Quellen.* Munich: C. H. Beck.

Borchardt, Ludwig 1905. *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak.* Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1909. Das Sethtier mit dem Pfeil. *ZÄS* 46, 90–91.

— 1911–36. *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleute im Museum von Kairo.* Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 8–11. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

— 1937–64. *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo.* Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 12–13. 2 vols. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Borghouts, Joris F. 1971. *The magical texts of Papyrus Leiden I. 348.* Oudheidkundige Mededelingen 51. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

— 1973. The evil eye of Apophis. *JEA* 59, 114–50.

— 1978. *Ancient Egyptian magical texts*. NISABA, Religious Texts in Translation Series 9. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Botti, Giuseppe 1964. *I cimeli egizi del museo di antichità di Parma*. Accademia toscana di scienze e lettere 'la colombaria', 9. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Boussac, Hippolyte 1920. L'animal sacré de Set-Typhon et ses divers modes d'interpretation. *Revue de l'histoire des Réligions* 82, 189–209.

Brack, Annelies, and Artur Brack 1980. *Das Grab des Haremhab*. AV 35. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Breasted, James Henry 1930. *The Edwin Smith surgical papyrus*. OIP 3–4. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

British Museum 1844. *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum*. 2 vols. London: W. Nicol.

— 1860. *Select papyri in the hieratic character from the collections of the British Museum*. 2 vols. London: W. Nicol.

— 1876. *Photographs of the Papyrus of Nebseni in the British Museum*. London: British Museum.

Brovarski, Edward 1981. Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period. In *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980,* (eds) William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, 14–30. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

— 1984. Sobek. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V,* (eds) Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, 995–1031. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brown, Cecil H. 1984. *Language and living things: uniformities in folk classification and naming*. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Broze, Michèle 1996. *Mythe et roman en Egypte ancienne: les Aventures d'Horus et Seth dans le Papyrus Chester Beatty I*. OLA 76. Louvain: Peeters.

Brunner, Hellmut 1944. *Die Lehre des Cheti, Sohnes des Duaf*. ÄF 13. Glückstadt, Hamburg: J. J. Augustin.

Brunton, Guy 1920. *Lahun I – The treasure*. BSA 27. London: Bernard Quaritch.

— 1944. Some new discoveries. In *London Illustrated News*. London.

Budge, Ernest A. W. 1899. *The book of the dead: facsimiles of the papyri of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netchemet with supplementary text from the papyrus of Nu*. London: British Museum.

— 1910. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum with descriptions, translations, etc.* Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, series 1. London: British Museum.

— 1923. *Facsimiles of Egyptian hieratic papyri in the British Museum with descriptions, summaries of contents, etc.* Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, series 2. London: British Museum.

Budge, Ernest A.W. 1896. *Some account of the collection of antiquities in the posession of Lady Mieux*. London: Harrison and Sons.

Burling, Robbins 1965. How to choose a Burmese numeral classifier. In *Context and meaning in cultural anthropology*, (ed.) Melford E. Spiro, 243–64. New York: Free Press.

— 1970. *Man's many voices. Language in its cultural context*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

— 1992. *Patterns of language. Structure, variation, change*. San Diego, London: Academic Press.

Cacciari, Cristina 1998. "Why do we speak metaphorically?" Reflections on the functions of metaphor in discourse and reasoning. In *Figurative language and thought*, (ed.) Albert N. Katz, 119–57. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Calverley, Amice M. , with Alan H. Gardiner and Myrtle F. Broome 1933–59. *The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*. 4 vols. London, Chicago: EES/University of Chicago Press.

Caminos, Ricardo A. 1954. *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*. Brown Egyptological Studies 1. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press.

— 1956. *Literary fragments in the hieratic script*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

— 1968. *The shrines and rock-inscriptions of Ibrim*. ASE 32. London: EES.

Cannuyer, Christian 1990a. Encore le naufrage du *Naufragé*. *BSEG* 14, 15–21.

— 1990b. Recherches sur l'onomasiologie du feu en Ancien Egyptien. *ZÄS* 117, 103–11.

— 1992. Une flamme égypienne auz vertus contrastées. In *Amosiadès. Mélanges offerets au Professeur Claude Vandersleyen par ses ancient étudiants,* (eds) Claude Obsomer and Ann-Laure Oosthoek, 55–60. Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain: Institut Orientaliste.

Capart, Jean, with Charles Mathien 1907. *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah.* 2 vols. Brussels: Vromant.

Caroll, John B. (ed.) 1956. *Language, thought and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf.* Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Carter, Howard 1933. *The tomb of Tut.Ankh.Amen, III.* London: Cassell.

Champollion, Jean-François 1827–28. *Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens égyptiens, ou recherches sur les éléments premiers de cette écriture sacrée, sur leurs diverses combinaisons, et sur les rapports de ce système avec les autres méthodes graphiques égyptiennes. 2nd edition.* 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Royale.

— 1836. *Grammaire égyptienne, ou principes généraux de l'écriture sacrée égyptienne appliquée à la représentation de la langue parlée.* Paris: Didot Frères.

— 1844–89. *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie.* Paris: Didot Frères.

Chassinat, Emile 1929. *Le temple d'Edfou IV.* MIFAO 21. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1934. *Le temple d'Edfou XIV.* MIFAO 31. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1966. *Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, vol. 1.* Publications de l'IFAO. Cairo: IFAO.

Chassinat, Emile, and Henri Gauthier 1910. *Fouilles de Qattah.* MIFAO 14. Cairo: IFAO.

Christophe, Louis 1949. La stèle de l'an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hammâmât, no. 12. *BIFAO* 48, 1–38.

Clutton-Brock, Juliet 1981. *Domesticated animals form early times.* London: Heinemann.

Collombert, Philippe, and Laurent Coulon 2000. Les dieux contre la mer. Le début du "papyrus d'Astarté" (pBN 202). *BIFAO* 100, 193–242.

Couyat, J., and P. Montet 1912. *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât.* MIFAO 34. Cairo: IFAO.

Craig, Colette 1986. *Noun classes and categorization: proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification, Eugene, Oregon, October 1983.* Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Culler, Jonathan 1976. *Saussure.* Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks.

Daressy, Georges 1919. Statue de Zedher le sauveur. *ASAE* 18, 113–58.

— 1922. Description des monuments épigraphiques trouvés à Karnak en 1921–1922. *ASAE* 22, 261–68.

Daumas, François, et al. 1988–95. *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Publications de la recherche, Université de Montpellier. 4 vols. Montpellier: University of Montpellier.

David, Arlette 2000. *De l'inferiorité à la perturbation. L'oiseau du "mal" et le catégorisation en Egypte ancienne*. GOF 4, 38: Classification and Categorisation in Ancient Egypt 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Davies, Benedict G. 1997. *Egyptian historical inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty*. Documenta Mundi: Aegyptiaca, 2. Jonsered: Paul Aströms.

Davies, Nina M. 1942. Nubians in the tomb of Amunedjeh. *JEA* 28, 50–52.

— 1958. *Picture writing in Ancient Egypt*. London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute.

— 1963. *Scenes from some Theban tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute.

Davies, Nina M., and Alan H. Gardiner 1915. *The tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)*. Theban Tombs Series 1. London: EEF.

Davies, Norman de Garis 1903–08. *The rock tombs of el Amarna*. ASE 13–18. 6 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

— 1933. The work of the graphic branch of the expedition. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* April (ii), 23–29.

— 1943. *The tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 11. 2 vols. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Davies, W. V. 1987. *Egyptian hieroglyphs*. Reading the Past. London: British Museum Press.

Dawson, Warren R. 1934. Studies in the Egyptian medical texts IV, 18: the beetle in medicine. *JEA* 20, 187.

de Buck, Adriaan 1935–61. *The Egyptian coffin texts*. The University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications. 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

— 1938. The building inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll. In *Studia Aegyptiaca 1*, 48–57. Analecta Orientalia 17. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

— 1949. The earliest version of Book of the Dead 78. *JEA* 35, 87–97.

de Francis, John 1989. *Visible speech: the diverse oneness of writing systems*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

de Morgan, Jacques , U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, and A. Barsanti 1894. *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique I, 1: De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos*. Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen.

de Morgan, Jacques , G. Legrain, and G. Jéquier 1903. *Fouilles à Dahschour en 1894–1895*. Vienna: Adolphe Holzhausen.

Depuydt, Leo 1994. On the nature of the hieroglyphic script. *ZÄS* 121, 17–34.

— 1995. Champollion's ideogram and Saussure's signe linguistique. *Orientalia* 64, 1–11.

Derchain, Philippe 1974. Miettes §2 – L'objet *ḫḥ* (*Wb*. V, 66, 11). *RdE* 26, 9–12.

— 1975. Le lotus, la mandragore et le perséa *CdE* 50, 65-86.

Dévaud, Eugène 1916–17. Le conte de Naufragé: remarques grammatiques, lexicographiques, paléographiques, etc. *RecTrav* 38, 188–210.

Devéria, Théodule, and Paul Pierret 1872. *Le papyrus de Neb-qed (exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts)*. Paris: A. Franck, F. Vieweg.

Douglas, Mary 1966. *Purity and danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Doxey, Denise M. 1998. *Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom. A social and historical analysis*. Probleme der Ägytpologie 12. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Drioton, Etienne 1939. Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III. *ASAE* 39, 57–89.

— 1961. Review of Hermann *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung*. *RdE* 13, 138–41.

Drioton, Étienne 1933. Une figuration cryptographique sur un stèle du Moyen Empire. *RdE* 1, 203–29.

Dunham, Dows , and William Kelly Simpson 1974. *The mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III G 7530-7540*. Giza Mastabas 1. Boston MA: Deptartment of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.

Ebbell, B. 1924. Die ägyptischen Krankheitsnamen. *ZÄS* 64, 117–22.

— 1937. *The Papyrus Ebers. The greatest Egyptian medical document*. London: Humphrey Milford, OUP.

— 1938. *Alt-ägyptische Bezeichnung für Krankheiten und Symptome*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.

Ebers, Georg 1875. *Papyros Ebers das hermetische Buch über die Arzeneimittel der Alten Ägypter in hieratischer Schrift*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Engelmann.

Edel, Elmar 1955–64. *Altägyptische Grammatik*. Analecta Orientalia 34, 39. 2 vols. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Edgerton, William F. 1947. The Nauri decree of Seti I. A translation and analysis of the legal portion. *JNES* 6, 219–30.

Edgerton, William F., and John A. Wilson 1936. *Historical records of Ramses III. The texts in Medinet Habu volumes I and II translated with explanatory notes*. SAOC 12. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Empereur, Jean-Yves 1997. Les fouilles sous-marines du phare d'Alexandrie. *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 6 (Sept), 2–8.

Epigraphic Survey 1930–70. *Medinet Habu*. Oriental Institute Publications. 8 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

— 1936. *Ramses III's temple within the Great Inclosure of Amon, Part 1*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 25: Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Epigraphic Survey 1986. *The battle reliefs of King Sety I*. Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak 4. Oriental Institute Publications 107. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Épron, Lucienne, François Daumas (senior), and Henri Wild 1939–66. *Le tombeau de Ti*. MIFAO 65. 3 vols. Cairo: IFAO.

Erman, Adolf 1890. *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*. Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Königliche Museen zu Berlin 5–6. Berlin: W. Spermann.

— 1901. *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*. Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1901, 1. Berlin: Reimer.

Estes, J. Worth 1989. *The medical skills of Ancient Egypt*. Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications.

Eyre, Christopher J. 1976. Fate, crocodiles and the judgement of the dead: some mythological allusions in Egyptian literature. *SAK* 4, 103–14.

— 1992. Yet again the wax crocodile: P. Westcar 3, 12ff. *JEA* 78, 280–81.

— 1999. Irony in the Story of Wenamun: the politics of religion in the 21st Dynasty. In *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten: Vorträge der Tagung zum Gedenken an Georges Posener 5.–10. September 1996 in Leipzig,* (eds) Jan Assmann and Erika Blumenthal, 235–52. BdE 127. Cairo: IFAO.

Fakhri, Ahmed 1937. Miscellanea 2: The funerary temple of Tuthmosis III. *ASAE* 37, 27–30.

Farina, Guilio 1917. Le funzioni del visir faraonico sotto la XVIII dinastia, II: L'iscrizione nella tomba di Rechmirie a Tebe. *Reale Accademia dei Lincei* 26, 923–74.

Faulkner, Raymond O. 1925. The god Setekh in the Pyramid texts. *Ancient Egypt*, 5–10.

— 1938. The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus – IV. D. The book of overthrowing Apep (concluded). *JEA* 24, 41–53.

— 1944. The rebellion in the Hare nome. *JEA* 30, 61–63.

— 1956. The man who was tired of life. *JEA* 42, 21–40.

— 1962. *A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* Oxford: Griffith Institute.

— 1968. The pregnancy of Isis. *JEA* 54, 40–44.

— 1969. *The ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts translated into English.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

— 1973. *The ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

— 1977. *The ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts II.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

— 1978. *The ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III.* Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

Faulkner, Raymond O., and Ogden Goelet 1998. *The Egyptian book of the dead: the book of going forth by day* ... Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Federn, Walter 1950. Notes on the Instruction to Kagemni and his brethern. *JEA* 36, 48–50.

Fischer, Henry George 1972. Some emblematic uses of hieroglyphs, with particular reference to an Archaic ritual vessel. *Ancient Egypt in the Met. Mus. Journal (1977) pp. 73–92* 5, 5–23.

— 1996. Excursus III: Manchester 10780. In *Varia nova,* (ed.) Henry George Fischer, 34–36. New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Foley, William A. 1997. *Anthropological linguistics.* Language in Society. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell.

Fox, Michael V. 1985. *The Song of Songs and the ancient Egyptian love songs.* Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press.

Frandsen, Paul J. 1997. On categorization and metaphorical structuring: some remarks on Egyptian art and language. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7, 71–104.

Frankfurter, David 1995. Narrating power: the theory and practice of the magical *historiola* in ritual spells. In *Ancient magic and ritual power*, (eds) Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, 457–76. Leiden, New York, Cologne: E.J. Brill.

Frechkop, S. 1946. L'oryctérope ne serait-il pas le prototype de l'incarnation de Seth-Typhon? *CdE* 41, 91–92.

Gamer-Wallert, Ingrid 1986. Wels. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, (eds) Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, 1210. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1909a. *The admonitions of an Egyptian sage, from a hieratic papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1909b. *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte*. Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches 2: Hieratische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin 5. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1911. *Egyptian hieratic texts I*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1915. See Gardiner and Davies 1915.

— 1923. The Eloquent Peasant. *JEA* 9, 5–25.

— 1930. A new letter to the dead. *JEA* 16, 19–22.

— 1931. *The library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a hieratic papyrus with a mythological story, love-songs, and other miscellaneous texts: The Chester Beatty Papyri, no. 1*. London: [privately published].

— 1932. *Late-Egyptian stories*. BAe 1. Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

— 1935. *Chester Beatty gift*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3rd series 2 vols. London: British Museum.

— 1937. *Late-Egyptian miscellanies*. BAe 7. Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

— 1943. The name of Lake Moeris. *JEA* 29, 37–46.

— 1946a. Davies' copy of the great Speos Artemidos inscription. *JEA* 32, 43–56.

— 1946b. The Instruction addressed to Kagemni and his brethern. *JEA* 32, 71–74.

— 1947. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

— 1948. The first two pages of the Wörterbuch. *JEA* 34, 12–18.

— 1952. Some reflections on the Nauri decree. *JEA* 38, 24–33.

— 1956. A pharaonic encomium (II). *JEA* 42, 8–20.

— 1957a. *Egyptian grammar, being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press for Griffith Institute, Oxford.

— 1957b. Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum papyrus. *RdE* 11, 43–56.

— 1960. *The Kadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II*. Oxford: The Griffith Institute.

Gardiner, Alan H., and Kurt Sethe 1928. *Egyptian letters to the dead, mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms*. London: EES.

Gayet, A. J. 1886. *Musée de Louvre: Stèles de la XIIe Dynastie*. Bibliotheque de l'ecole des hautes etudes; Sciences philologiques et historiques, 68. Paris: Vieweg.

Gentner, Dedre, Brian Falkenhainer, and Janice Skorstad 1989. Viewing metaphor as analogy: the good, the bad, and the ugly. In *Theoretical issues in natural language processing,* (ed.) Yorick Wilks, 171–77. London, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ghalioungui, Paul 1963. *Magic and medical science in ancient Egypt*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Gibbs, Raymond 1998. The fight over metaphor in thought and language. In *Figurative language and thought,* (ed.) Albert N. Katz, 88–118. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

— 1999. Researching metaphor. In *Researching and applying metaphor,* (eds) Lynne Cameron and Graham Low, 29–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilula, Mordechai 1971. Coffin Texts Spell 148. *JEA* 57, 14–19.

Goedicke, Hans 1966. Die Laufbahn des Mtn. *MDAIK* 21, 1–71.

— 1970. *The report about the dispute of a man with his ba: Papyrus Berlin 3024*. Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins Press.

— 1974. The Berlin leather roll (P. Berlin 3029). In *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, 87–104. Mitteilungen der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8. Berlin: Akademie.

— 1986. *The quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*. San Antonio, Texas: Van Siclen Books.

Goldwasser, Orly 1991. The allure of the holy glyphs: a psycholinguistic perspective on the Egyptian script. *GM* 123, 37–51.

— 1995. *From icon to metaphor: Studies in the semiotics of the hieroglyphs*. OBO 142. Fribourg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

— 1999. The determinative system as a mirror of world organisation. *GM* 170, 49–68 (with an Appendix by Matthias Müller).

Golenishchev, V. 1877. *Die Metternichstele in der Originalgrösse*. Leipzig: W. Engelmann.

Gombrich, E. H. 1968. *Art and illusion: a study in the psychology of pictorial representation*. 3rd edition ed. London: Phaidon.

Goyon, J. C. 1971. Un parallèle tardif d'une formule des inscriptions de la statue prophylactique de Ramsès III au Musée du Caire (Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.238. *JEA* 57, 151–59.

Graefe, E. 1971. *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bi3*. Cologne: [no publisher].

Grapow, Hermann 1924. *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen: vom Denken und Dichten eines altorientalischen Sprache*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Green, Lynda 1983. Egyptian words for dancers and dancing. In *Egyptological miscellanies: A tribute to Professor Ronald J. Williams,* (eds) J. K. Hoffmeier and Edmund S. Meltzer, 29–38. Ancient World 6. Chicago: Ares.

Griffith, Francis Ll. 1889. *The inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*. London: Trübner.

— 1896. The Millingen Papyrus. *ZÄS* 34, 35–51.

— 1898. *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob principally of the Middle Kingdom*. 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch.

— 1927. The Abydos decree of Seti I at Nauri. *JEA* 13, 196–206.

Griffiths, J. Gwyn 1970. The pregnancy of Isis. *JEA* 56, 194–95.

Grimal, Nicolas-Christophe 1986. *Les termes de la propagande royale de la XIXe dynastie à la conquête d'Alexandre*. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres n.s. 6. Paris: Boccard.

Grundriss der Medizin... See von Deines and Westendorf 1961–62.

Guglielmi, Waltraud 1973. *Reden, Rufe und Lieder auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, der Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge, 1. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Gunn, Battiscombe 1924. *Studies in Egyptian syntax*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.

Habachi, Labib 1939. A First Dynasty cemetery at Abydos. *ASAE* 39, 767–74.

Habachi, Labib, Gerhard Haeny, and Friedrich Junge 1985. *Elephantine IV: the sanctuary of Heqaib*. AV 33. 2 vols. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hannig, Rainer 1995. *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*. Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hannig, Rainer, and Petra Vomberg 1999. *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*. Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt, 72. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hare, Tom 1999. *ReMembering Osiris: number, gender, and the word in ancient Egyptian representational systems*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Harpur, Yvonne 1987. *Decoration in Egyptian tombs of the Old Kingdom: studies in orientation and scene content*. Studies in Egyptology. London and New York: Kegan Paul International.

— 2001. *The tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum: discovery, destructin and reconstruction*. Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom 1. Oxford: Oxford Expedition to Egypt.

Harris, James R. 1961. *Lexicographical studies in ancient Egyptian minerals*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 54. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

Hassan, Selim 1937. The great limestone stela of Amenhotep II. *ASAE* 37, 129–34.

— 1941. *Excavations at Gîza 1931–1932*. Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University Publications III. Cairo: Government Press.

Hayes, William C. 1937. *The texts in the mastabeh of Senwosret-ankh (Lisht)*. Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Helck, Wolfgang 1961. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums: Deutsch. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

— 1969. *Der Texte der Lehre Amenemhets I. für seinen Sohn*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

— 1970a. *Die Lehre des Dw3-htjj*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

— 1970b. *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

— 1977. *Die Lehre für König Merikare*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

— 1995. *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. Kleine Ägyptische Texte 6, 2. 2 ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Hickerson, Nancy Parrott 2000. *Linguistic anthropology*. 2 ed. Fort Worth, Philadelphia, San Diego, etc.: Harcourt College Publishers.

Hoch, James E. 1991–92. The teaching of Dua-Kheti: a new look at the Satire of the Trades. *JSSEA* 21–22, 88–100.

Hodjash, Svetlana, and Oleg Berlev 1982. *The Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.

Hoijer, Harry 1964. Cultural implications of some Navaho linguistic categories. In *Language in culture and society,* (ed.) Dell Hymes, 142–53. London: Harper & Row.

Hornung, Erik 1967. Der Mensch als 'Bild Gottes' in Ägypten. In *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen,* (ed.) Oswald Loretz, 123–56. Schriften des deutschen Instituts für wissenschaftliche Pädogogik. Munich: Kösel.

— 1979a. *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits nach den Versionen des Neuen Reiches: I, Text*. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7. Geneva: Editions de Belles-Lettres.

— 1979b. *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*. Die Bibliothek der Alten Welt, Der Alte Orient. Zurich and Munich: Artemis.

— 1982. *Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: the one and the many.* (trans.) John Baines. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.

— 1991. *The tomb of Pharaoh Seti I/Das Grab Sethos' I.* Zurich and Munich: Artemis.

— 1992. *Idea into image: essays on ancient Egyptian thought* (trans.) Elisabeth Bredeck. New York: Timken.

— 1994. *Texte zum Amduat*. I–III. Aegyptiaca Helvetica 13–15. Geneva: Editions de Belles-Lettres

Houlihan, Patrick F. 1996. *The animal world of the pharaohs*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Jacq, Christian 1985. *Egyptian magic* (trans.) Janet M. Davis. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Jakobson, Roman, and Morris Halle (eds) 1956. *Fundamentals of Language*. Janua Linguarum Studia memoriae Nicolai van Wijk dedicata 1. S-Gravenhage: Mouton & co.

James, T. G. H. 1962. *The Hekanakhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom documents.* Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 19. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Janssen, J. M. A. 1953. The stela (Khartoum Museum No. 3) from Uronarti. *JNES* 12, 51–55.

Janssen, Jac. J. 1997. The Seth sign as a dating criterion. In *Village varia. Ten studies on the history of administration of Deir el-Medina,* (eds) Joris F. Borghouts, M. S. G. Heerma van Voss and et al., 139–45. Egyptologische Uitgaven, 11. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut vor het Nabije Oosten.

Jensen, Adolf S. 1934. *The sacred animal of the god Set.* Biologiske Meddelelser 11, 5. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard.

Jéquier, Gustave 1911. *Le papyrus Prisse et ses variantes: papyrus de la Bibliothèque nationale (nos. 183 à 194), papyrus 10371 du British Museum, Tablette Carnarvon au Musée du Caire.* Paris: Paul Geuthner.

— 1915. Notes et remarques XXIII - la tête de panthère. *RecTrav* 37, 113–14.

— 1921. *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire.* MIFAO 47. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1933. *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit.* Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Fouilles à Saqqarah. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1935. *La pyramide d'Aba.* Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Fouilles à Saqqarah. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1936. *Le monument funéraire de Pépy II, vol I: le tombeau royal.* Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Fouilles à Saqqarah. 3 vols. Cairo: IFAO.

Jones, Dilwyn 2000. *An index of ancient Egyptian titles, epithets and phrases of the Old Kingdom.* BAR International Series 866. 2 vols. Oxford: Archaepress.

Jørgensen, Mogens 1996. *Catalogue Egypt 1 (3000–1550 BC) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.* Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Junge, Friedrich 2001. *Late Egyptian grammar: An introduction* (trans.) David Warburton. Griffith Institute Publications. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Junker, Hermann 1917. *Die Onurislegende.* Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien 59. 1–2. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.

— 1934. *Gîza II, Die Mas.t.abas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof.* Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder, Pichler, & Tempsky.

Kahl, Jochem 2001. Die ältesten schriftlichen Belge für den Gott Seth. *GM* 181, 51–57.

Kákosy, László 1963. Krokodil mit Menschenkopf. *ZÄS* 90, 66–74.

— 1980. Krokodilskulte. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III,* (eds) Wolfgang Helck, Eberhard Otto and Wolfhart Westendorf, 801–11. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Kammerzell, Frank 1998. The sounds of a dead language. *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 1, 21–41.

Kantor, Helene J. 1953. Prehistoric Egyptian pottery in the Art Museum. *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton* 12, 67–84.

Kaplony, Peter 1965. Eine Schminkpalette von König Skorpion aus Abu 'Umuri (Untersuchung zur ältesten Horustitulatur). *Orientalia* 34, 132–67.

Katz, Albert N. 1998. Figurative language and figurative thought: a review. In *Figurative language and thought,* (ed.) Albert N. Katz, 3–43. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. 1975. *Ramesside Inscriptions, historical and biographical, vol. I.* Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.

— 1979. *Ramesside inscriptions, historical and biographical, vol. II.* Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.

— 1980. *Ramesside inscriptions, historical and biographical, vol. III.* Oxford: B. H. Blackwell.

— 1993. *Ramesside inscriptions, translated and annotated: Notes and comments I Ramesses I, Sethos I and contemporaries.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Klebs, Luise 1915. *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980 – 2475 v. Chr.). Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgechichte.* Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, 3. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsnuchhandlung.

Klein, Harriet E. Manelis 1979. Noun classifiers in Toba. In *Ethnolinguistics: Boas, Sapir and Whorf revisited,* (ed.) Madeleine Mathiot, 85–95. The Hague, Paris, New York.

Koch, Roland 1990. *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe.* BAe 17. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Korostovtsev, M. A. 1960. Egipetskii ieratcheskii Papirus No 120 Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv im A. S. Pushkina v Moskve. In *Drevnii Egipet: Sbornik statei [Golenishchev memorial volume]*, 119–33. Akademiya Nauk SSSR: Institut Vostokovedeniya. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoi Literatury.

Kövecses, Zoltán 2000. *Metaphor and emotion. Language, culture, and body in human feeling*. Studies in Emotion and Social Interaction, Second Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kuentz, Charles 1925. "La stèle du mariage" de Ramsès II. *ASAE* 25, 224–38.

Lacau, Pierre 1909. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire I*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1913. Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires. *ZÄS* 51, 1–64.

Lakoff, George 1986. Classifiers as a reflection of mind. In *Noun classes and categorization: proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification, Eugene, Oregon, October 1983,* (ed.) Colette Craig, 13–51. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

— 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: what categories reveal about the mind.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lange, Hans O. 1925. *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope*. Det Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser 11, 2. Copenhagen: A. F. Host.

— 1927. *Der magische Papyrus Harris*. Det Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser 14, 2. Copenhagen: A. F. Host.

Lange, Hans O., and Heinrich Schäfer 1902–25. *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 51–54. 4 vols. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Lapp, Gunter 1997. *The Papyrus of Nu*. Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum 1. London: British Museum.

Leclant, Jean 1977. Les textes de la pyramide de Pépi Ier (Saqqarah): reconstitution de la paroi est de l'antichambre. In *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 269–88.

Leclant, Jean, Catherine Berger-el Naggar, Bernard Mathieu, and Isabelle Pierre-Croisiau 2001. *Les textes de la pyramide de Pépy Ier*. MIFAO 118: Mission archéologique française de Saqqara. 2 vols. Cairo: IFAO.

Leemans, C. [n.d.]. *Aegyptische monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden 3: Monumenten behoorende tot de graven. Lijkpapyrus, vol. II: Kenna*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Lefébure, E. 1898. L'animal typhonien. *Sphinx* 2, 63–74.

Leitz, Christian 1987. Spruch 11 des magischen Papyrus Leiden I 348 (rto IV, 9–10). *GM* 98, 55–60.

— 1999. *Magical and medical papyri of the New Kingdom*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. London: British Museum Press.

Lesko, Leonard H., and Barbara S. Lesko 1982–90. *A dictionary of Late Egyptian*. Berkeley: B. C. Scribe Publications.

Lichtheim, Miriam 1945. The songs of the harpers. *JNES* 4, 178–212.

— 1973. *Ancient Egyptian literature: a book of readings, vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.

— 1976. *Ancient Egyptian literature: a book of readings, vol. II: The New Kingdom*. Berkeley etc.: University of California Press.

— 1988. *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology*. OBO 84. Fribourg, Göttingen: Universitätsverlag, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lincke, Arthur A. 1878. *Correspondenzen aus der Zeit der Ramessiden: zwei hieratische Papyri des Museo Civico zu Bologna*. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient.

Lloyd, Alan B. 1975. Once more Hammamat inscription 191. *JEA* 61, 54–66.

Lopez, Jesus 1963. Le Papyrus Millingen. *RdE* 15, 29–33.

Loprieno, Antonio 1995. *Ancient Egyptian: a linguistic introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lüddeckens, Erich 1943. Untersuchungen über religiösen Gehalt, Sprache und Form der ägyptischen Totenklagen. *MDAIK* 11, 1–188.

Mariette, Auguste 1871–76. *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, vol. I: Papyrus nos. 1–9*. Paris: A. Franck.

— 1889. *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*. Paris: Vieweg.

Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike 1989. *The Memphite tomb of H.oremh.eb, commander-in-chief of Tut'ankhamun I: the reliefs, inscriptions, and commentary*. Excavation Memoir 55. London: EES.

Marucchi, Orazio 1891. *Monumenta papyracea aegyptia Bibliothecae Vaticanae, praeside Alphonso Capecelatro*. Rome: Bibliotheca Vaticana.

Maspero, Gaston 1880. Notes sur quelques points de grammaire et de l'histoire. *RecTrav* 2, 105–20.

— 1891. *Sur quelques inscriptions du temps d'Amenemhâit Ier du Ouady Hammamât*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

— 1894. *Les inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*. RecTrav. Paris: É. Bouillon.

Massart, Adhémar 1954. *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + 345*. OMRO Supplement 34. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Mathieu, Bernard 1996a. *La poésie amoureuse de l'Egypte ancienne: recherches sur un genre littéraire au Nouvel Empire*. BdE 115. Cairo: IFAO.

— 1996b. Modifications de texte dans la pyramide d'Ounas. *BIFAO* 96, 289–311.

— 2001. La distinction entre Textes des Pyramides et Textes des Sarcophages est-elle légitime? Paper presented at the Table ronde Textes des Pyramides versus Textes des Sarcophages, Cairo, 2001.

McDonald, Angela 2000. Tall tails: the Seth animal reconsidered. In *Current Research in Egyptology 2000,* (eds) Angela McDonald and Christina Riggs, 75–81. BAR International Series, 909. Oxford: Archaeopress.

— [in press]. An evil influence? Seth's role as a determinative, particularly in letters to the dead. *LingAeg*.

McFarland, David (ed.) 1987. *The Oxford companion to animal behaviour*. London: Oxford University Press.

Mercer, Samuel 1954. *The Pyramid Texts in translation and commentary*. New York: Longmans, Green.

Moers, Gerald 2001. *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Grenzüberschreitung, Reisemotiv und Fiktionalität*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 19. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Möller, Georg 1909-12. *Hieratische Paläographie*. 3 vols. Leipzig.

Montet, Pierre 1925. *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire*. Publications de la faculté des lettres de l'université de Strasbourg, 24. London and Strasbourg: Oxford University Press.

Morenz, Siegfried 1973. *Egyptian religion.* (trans.) Ann E. Keep. London: Methuen.

Morschauser, Scott 1991. *Threat-formulae in ancient Egypt: a study of the history, structure and use of threats and curses in ancient Egypt*. Baltimore: Halgo.

Mueller, Dieter 1972. An early Egyptian guide to the hereafter. *JEA* 58, 99–125.

Müller, Dieter 1961. Der gute Hirte: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede *ZÄS* 86, 126-44.

Müller, Hans-Wolfgang 1970. *Ägyptische Kunst*. Monumente alter Kulturen. Frankfurt: Umschau-Verlag.

Müller, Wilhelm Max 1899. *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Munro, Irmtraud 1995a. *Das Totenbuch des Bak-su (pKM 1970. 37 / pBrocklehurst) aus der Zeit Amenophis' II*. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

— 1995b. *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes (pLouvre E. 11085) aus der frühen 18. Dynastie*. Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Murray, Margaret 1905. *Saqqara mastabas I*. BSA. London: B. Quaritch.

Naville, Edouard 1886. *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII.–XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt*. 3 vols. Berlin: Asher.

— 1893–1908. *The temple of Deir el Bahari*. 6 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

— 1908. *The funeral papyrus of Iouiya*. Theodore M. Davis' Excavations, Bibân el Moluk. London: A. Constable.

Nelson, Harold H. 1943. The naval battle pictured at Medinet Habu. *JNES* 2, 40–55.

Newberry, Percy E. 1893. *Beni Hasan*. ASE 1–2. 2 vols. London: EEF.

— 1912. The cult-animal of Set. *Klio* 12, 397–401.

— 1928. The pig and the cult animal of Seth. *JEA* 14, 211–25.

Newberry, Percy E., and W. E. Crum 1899. *The Amherst papyri: being an account of the Egyptian papyri in the collection of the Right Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney...* London: Bernard Quaritch.

Newberry, Percy E., and Francis Ll. Griffith 1892. *El Bersheh*. ASE 3. 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Newmark, Peter 1985. The translation of metaphor. In *The ubiquity of metaphor: Metaphor in language and thought*, (eds) Wolf Paprotté and Réné Dirven, 295–326. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Newport, Elissa L., and U. Bellugi 1978. Linguistic expression of category levels in a visual-gestural language: a flower is a flower is a flower. In *Cognition and categorization*, (eds) Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, 49–71. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Nunn, John F. 1996. *Ancient Egyptian medicine*. London: British Museum Press.

Ockinga, Boyo G., and Yahya al-Masri 1988. *Two Ramesside tombs at el Mashayikh I – The tomb of Anhurmose the Outer Room*. Sydney: Macquarie University, Ancient History Documentary Research Centre.

O'Connor, David 2000. The Sea Peoples and the Egyptian sources. In *The Sea Peoples and their world: A Reassessment*, (ed.) Eliezer D. Oren, 85–102. University Museum Monograph 108. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Ogdon, Jorge R. 1988. Studies in Ancient Egyptian magical writing 2. *GM* 164, 79–83.

Okell, John 1969. *A reference grammar of colloquial Burmese*. 2 vols. London, Bombay, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Osborn, Dale, and Jana Osbornová 1998. *The mammals of ancient Egypt*. Natural History of Egypt 4. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Otto, Eberhard 1960. *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 3 2: Kommentar. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Parkinson, Richard B. 1988. The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: a text edition and commentary. Doctoral dissertation: University of Oxford.

— 1991. *Voices from Ancient Egypt: an anthology of Middle Kingdom writings*. London: British Museum Press.

— 1997. *The Tale of Sinuhe and other ancient Egyptian poems, 1940–1640 BC.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

— 2002. *Poetry and culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: the dark side of perfection.* Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. London: Athlone Press.

Petrie, William M. F. 1892. *Medum.* London: David Nutt.

— 1897. *Six temples at Thebes.* London: B. Quaritch.

Petrie, William M. F. , and J. E. Quibell 1896. *Naqada and Ballas, 1895.* BSA. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Petrie, William M. F., and Margaret Murray 1952. *Seven Memphite tomb chapels.* BSA 65. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Piacentini, Patrizia 1990. *L'autobiografia di Uni, principe governatore dell'Alto Egitto.* Monografie di SEAP, Series Minor 1. Pisa: Giardini.

— 1997. Enquête sur les scribes dans la société Égyptienne de l'ancien empire (les nécropoles memphites): École Pratique des Hautes Études.

Piankoff, Alexandre 1968. *The pyramid of Unas. Check Series.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Pieper, Max 1929. *Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos.* Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 32, 2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Pierre, Isabelle 1993. La gravure des textes dans la pyramide de Pépi Ier. Les différentes étapes. In *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, 299–314.

Pinch, Geraldine 1994. *Magic in Ancient Egypt.* London: British Museum Press.

Pleyte, Wilhelm, and F. Rossi 1869–76. *Papyrus de Turin.* Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Posener, Georges 1966. Quatre tablettes scolaires de Basse Époque (Aménémopé et Hardjédef). *RdE* 18, 45–65.

— 1971. *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh, vol. II: nos. 1109–1266.* Documents de Fouilles de l'IFAO *vol number*. Cairo: IFAO.

Pullum, Geoffrey 1991. The great Eskimo vocabulary hoax. In *The great Eskimo vocabulary hoax and other irreverent essays on the study of language,* (ed.) Geoffrey Pullum, 159–71. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Pulman, S. G. 1983. *Word meaning and belief.* London: Croom Helm.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich 1994. *Die Lehren des Ani: ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld.* OBO 141. Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Quaegebeur, Jan 1992. L'animal Shaï associé au trône d'Osiris. In *The intellectual heritage of Egypt. Studies presented to Lázló Kákosy by friends and colleagues on the occasion of his 60th birthday,* (ed.) Ulrich Luft, 481–93. Studia Aegyptiaca 14. Budapest: La Chaire d'Égyptologie.

Quibell, James Edward 1908. *Excavations at Saqqara, 1906–1907.* Cairo: IFAO.

— 1909. *Excavations at Saqqara 1907–1908.* Cairo: IFAO.

Ratié, S. 1968. *Le papyrus de Neferoubenef (Louvre III 93).* BdE 43. Cairo: IFAO.

Redford, Donald B. 1990. The sea and the goddess. In *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim,* (ed.) Sarah Israelit-Groll, 824–35. Jerusalem: Hebrew University.

Reisner, George A. 1905. *The Hearst medical papyrus (in hieratic).* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.

Ritner, Robert Kriech 1997. *The mechanics of Ancient Egyptian magical practice.* SAOC 54. 3rd ed. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Roccati, A. 1970. *Papiro ieratico N. 54003: estratti magici et rituali del primo Medio Regno.* Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino 1: Monumenti e Testi 2. Turin: Fratelli Pozzo.

— 1972. Une légende égyptienne d'Anat. *RdE* 24, 152–59.

Roccati, Alessandro 1982. *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien.* Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient. Paris: Editions du Cerf.

Rommelaere, Catherine 1991. *Les chevaux du nouvel empire: origines, races, harnachement.* Étude, 3. Brussels: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne.

Rosch, Eleanor 1978. Principles of categorization. In *Cognition and categorization,* (eds) Eleanor Rosch and Barbara B. Lloyd, 27–48. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rosch, Eleanor, and Barbara B. Lloyd (eds) 1978. *Cognition and categorization.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Rosellini, Ippolito 1834. *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia 2: Monumenti civili I.* Pisa: Niccolò Capurro.

Rude, Noel 1986. Graphemic classifiers in Egyptian hieroglyphs and Mesopotamian cuneiform. In *Noun classes and categorization: proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification, Eugene, Oregon, October 1983*, (ed.) Colette Craig, 133–38. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Saad, Zaki Youssef 1957. *Ceiling stelae in second dynasty tombs from the excavations at Helwan*. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Cahier 21. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

Sadek, Ashraf Iskander 1987. *Popular religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 27. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.

Sampson, Geoffrey 1985. *Writing systems: A linguistic introduction*. London: Hutchinson.

Sauneron, Serge 1975. *Le temple d'Esna Nos 473-546*. Esna VI, 1. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.

— 1989. *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie*. Bibliothèque Générale 11. Cairo: IFAO.

Säve-Söderbergh, Torgny 1941. *Ägypten und Nubien: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*. Lund: Häkan Ohlsson.

Scharff, Alexander 1941. Die Lehre für Kagemni. *ZÄS* 77, 13–21.

Schenkel, Wolfgang 1965. *Memphis. Herakleopolis. Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.-11. Dynastie Ägyptens*. ÄA 12. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

— 1971. Zur Struktur der Hieroglyphenschrift. *MDAIK* 27, 85–98.

— 1976. The structure of hieroglyphic script. *RAIN* 15, 4–7.

— 1983. *Aus der Arbeit an einer Konkordanz zu den altägyptischen Sargtexten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

— 1991. *Tübinger Einführung in die klassisch-ägyptische Sprache und Schrift*. Tübingen: Privately published.

Schiaparelli, Ernesto 1892. *Une tomba egiziana inedita della VIa dinastia con iscrizioni storiche e geografiche*. Memorie Academia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filolofiche 4, 10. Rome: R. Accademia dei Lincei.

— [1927]. *Relazione sui lavori della missione archeologica italiana in Egitto (anni 1903–1920), vol. II: La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha nella necropoli di Tebe*. 2 vols. Turin: Giovanni Chiantore.

Schneider, Hans D. 1995. *Egyptisch kunsthandwerk*. Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw.

Schneider, T. 1989. Mag pHarris XII, 1–5: Eine kanaanäische Beschwörung für Löwenjagd? *GM* 112, 53–63.

Schott, Erika 1977. Die Biographie des Ka-em-Tenenet. In *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedächtnis an Eberhard Otto,* (eds) Jan Assmann, R. Feucht and R. Grieshammer. Wiesbaden: Dr Ludwig Reichert.

Schott, Siegfried 1968. Schreiber und Schreibgerät im Jenseits. *JEA* 54, 45–50.

Seele, K. C. 1949. A rare grammatical construction in a neglected Egyptian text. *JNES* 8, 359–64.

Seipel, Wilfried 1993. *Götter, Menschen, Pharaonen. 3500 Jahre ägyptische Kultur. Meisterwerke aus der Ägyptisch-Orientalischen Sammlung des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*. Speyer: Historisches Museum der Pfalz.

Sethe, Kurt 1906. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I*. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums 4, 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1908–22. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 4 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1928a. *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1928b. *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 10. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1933. *Urkunden des alten Reichs*. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums 1. 2nd ed. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1936–62. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. Glückstadt, Hamburg: J. J. Augustin.

Sethe, Kurt, and Wolja Erichsen 1935. *Historisch-biographische Urkunden des Mittleren Reiches*. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums 7, 1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Shalomi-Hen, Racheli 2000. *Classifying the divine: determinatives and categorisation in CT 335 and BD 17*. GOF 4, 38: Classification and Categorisation in Ancient Egypt 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Shaw, Ian, and Paul T. Nicholson 1995. *British Museum dictionary of ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.

Shen, Yeshayahu 1991. Schemata, categories and metaphoric comprehension. *Poetics Today* 12, 111–24.

Shorter, Alan W. 1936. A magical ostracon. *JEA* 22, 165–68.

Shupak, Nili 1993. *Where can wisdom be found? The sage's language in the Bible and in ancient Egyptian literature*. OBO 130. Fribourg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Silverman, David P. 1994. The title *wr bzt* in the tomb chapel of *K3. (j)-pw-R'*. In *For his Ka. Essays offered in memory of Klaus Baer,* (ed.) David P. Silverman, 245–54. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 55. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Simpson, William Kelly 1966. The letter to the dead from the tomb of Meru (N3737) at Nag' ed-Deir. *JEA* 52, 39–50.

— 1970. A late Old Kingdom letter to the dead from Nag` ed-Deir N 3500. *JEA* 56, 58–63.

— 1974. *The terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the offering chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5. New Haven, Philadelphia: Peabody Museum, University Museum.

— 1978. *The mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II: G7110, 7130–40, and 7150 and subsidiary mastabas of Street G7100*. Giza Mastabas 3. Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.

— (ed.) 1973. *The literature of ancient Egypt. An anthology of stories, intructions, and poetry*. 2nd ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Smith, William Stevenson 1933. The coffin of Prince Min-Khaf. *JEA* 19, 150–59.

Smoczynski, Wawrzyniec 1999. Seeking structure in the lexicon. On some cognitive-functional aspects of determinative assignment. *LingAeg* 6, 153–62.

Sottas, Henri 1944. Étude sur la stèle C 14 du Louvre. *RecTrav* 36, 153–66.

Speleers, Louis 1917. *Le papyrus de Nefer Renpet: Un livre des morts de la XVIIIme dynastie aux Musée royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*. Brussels: Vromant.

— 1924. *Les Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes II: Vocabulaire*. Brussels: Vanderpoorten & co.

— 1935. *Traduction, index et vocabulaire des Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes*. Brussels: [no publisher].

Spencer, Patricia 1984. *The Egyptian temple. A lexicographical study*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm 1923. *Knm* - "einwickeln". *ZÄS* 58, 157–58.

Staehelin, Elisabeth 1966. *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich*. MÄS 8. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

Steindorff, G. 1913. *Das Grab des Ti*. Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten, 2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Steindorff, George 1946. The magical knives of Ancient Egypt. *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 9, 41–51; 106–7.

Stern, Ludwig 1874. Urkunde über der Bau des Sonnentempel zu On. *ZÄS* 12, 85–96.

Sternberg el-Hotabi, Heike 1999. *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 62. 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Stewart, H. M. 1971. A crossword hymn to Mut. *JEA* 57, 87–104.

— 1979. *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie Collection; Part 2: Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Stewart, J. A. 1955. *Manual of colloquial Burmese*. London: Luzac.

Störk, Lothar 1980. Leopard. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, (eds) Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, 1006–7. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Strauss, Christine 1980. Kronen. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, (eds) Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, 811–16. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Strudwick, Nigel 1985. *The administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The highest titles and their holders*. Studies in Egyptology. London: KPI.

Supalla, Ted 1986. The classifier system in American Sign Language. In *Noun classes and categorization: proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification, Eugene, Oregon, October 1983*, (ed.) Colette Craig, 181–214. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Suys, Émile 1935. *La sagesse d'Ani. Texte, traduction et commentaire*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.

Szpakowska, Kasia 1999. A sign of the times. *LingAeg* 6, 163–66.

Tait, W. John 1982. *Game-boxes and accessories from the tomb of Tutankhamun.* Tutankhamun's Tomb Series. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Taylor, John R. 1995. *Linguistic categorization: Prototypes in linguistic theory.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

te Velde, Herman 1977. *Seth, god of confusion. 2nd edition.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 6. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Tefnin, Roland 1981. Image, écriture, récit. À propos des représentations de la bataille de Qadech. *GM* 47, 55–78.

Thausing, Gertrud, and Traudl Kerszt-Kratschmann 1969. *Das grosse ägyptische Totenbuch (Papyrus Reinisch) der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek.* Schriften des österreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo. Archäologisch-historische Abteilung 1. Cairo: Österreichischs Kulturinstitut.

Thilenius, G. 1900. Das heilige Tier des Gottes Set. *RecTrav* 22, 214–18.

Tranter, Nic 1996. *Classifiers: cutting up the world in East Asian languages.* EARC Research Papers, 96; 10.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs 1985. "Conventional" and "dead" metaphors revisited. In *The ubiquity of metaphor: Metaphor in language and thought,* (eds) Wolf Paprotté and Réné Dirven, 17–56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

van den Boorn, G. P. F. 1988. *The duties of the vizier. Civil administration in the early New Kingdom.* Studies in Egyptology. London, New York: Kegan Paul International.

van der Molen, Rami 2000. *A hieroglyphic dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 15. Wiesbaden: E.J. Brill.

van der Plas, Dirk, and Joris F. Borghouts 1998. *Coffin Texts word index.* Publications interuniversitaires de recherches égyptologiques informatisées 6. Utrecht: U–CCER.

van der Walle, B. 1955. Les déterminatifs dissimilés des noms d'animaux. *Ägyptologische Studien* 29, 366–78.

Vandier, Jacques 1950. *Mo'alla: la tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep.* BdE18. Cairo: IFAO.

Virey, Philippe 1891. *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe dynastie.* MIFAO 5. Paris: Leroux.

Vogelsang, Friedrich 1910. Ein seltenes Wort nebst einer Textemendation. *ZÄS* 48, 164–67.

Vogelsang, Friedrich, and Alan H. Gardiner 1908. *Die Klagen des Bauern*. Literarische Texte des Mittleren Reiches 1, Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin 4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

von Bissing, Friedrich W. F. 1955. La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire solaire du roi. *ASAE* 53, 319–38.

von Bomhard, A. S. 1999. Le conte du naufragé et le Papyrus Prisse. *RdE* 50, 51–65.

von Deines, Hildegard, and Hermann Grapow 1959. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*. Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter 6. 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie.

von Deines, Hildegard, and Wolfhart Westendorf 1961–62. *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*. Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter, 4–5. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie.

Ward, William A. 1978. *The four homographic roots bA*. Etymological and Egypto-Semitic Studies. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

Wente, Edward F. 1975–76. A misplaced letter to the dead. *OLP* 6/7, 595–600.

— 1990. *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 1. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Westendorf, Wolfhart 1966a. *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*. Münchner Ägyptolgische Studien, 10. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.

— 1966b. *Papyrus Edwin Smith: Ein medizinisches Lehrbuch aus dem alten Ägypten. Wund- und Unfallchirugie Zaubersprüche gegen Seuchen, verschiedene Rezepte*. Hubers Klassiker der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften 9. Bern and Stuttgart: Huber.

— 1982. Panther. In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV*, (eds) Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, 664–66. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

— 1999. *Handbuch der altägyptischen Medizin*. Handbuch der Orientalistik I: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, 36. 2 vols. Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: E.J. Brill.

Wildung, Dietrich 1997. Écrire sans écriture. Réflexions sur l'image dans l'art égyptien. In *La peinture égytpienne ancienne. Un monde de signes à préserver. Actes du Colloque internationale de Bruxelles, avril 1994*, (ed.) Roland Tefnin, 11–16. Monumenta Aegyptiaca, 7. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Wilkinson, John Gardner, and Samuel Birch 1878. *Manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians...* 3rd ed. London: J. Murray.

Wilkinson, Richard 1992. *Reading Egyptian art*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Willems, Harco O. 1983–84. The nomarchs of the Hare Nome and early Middle Kingdom history. *Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux* 28, 80–102.

Wilson, John A. 1930. The language of the historical texts commemorating Ramses III. In *Medinet Habu studies 1928/29,* (eds) Uvo Hölscher and John A. Wilson, 24–33. Oriental Institute Publications 7. Chicago: University of Chicago.

— 1947. The artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. *JNES* 6, 231–49.

Wilson, Penelope 1997. *A Ptolemaic lexicon. A lexicographical study of the texts in the Temple of Edfu*. OLA 78. Leuven: Peeters.

Winlock, Herbert E. 1934. *The treasure of el Lahun*. Metropolitan Museum of Art Department of Egyptian Art 4. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Witkowski, Maciej 1983. Quelques remarques sur le nom d'Anubis. Graphie et étymologie. *Études et Travaux* 12, 38–52.

Woll, Bencie 1985. Visual imagery and metaphor in British Sign Language. In *The ubiquity of metaphor: Metaphor in language and thought,* (eds) Wolf Paprotté and Réné Dirven, 601–29. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Wolterman, C. 1991–92. On the names of birds and hieroglyphic sign list G22, G35 and H3. *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 32, 119–30.

Wreszinski, Walter 1909. *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums (Pap. Berl. 3038)*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1912. *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus (Brit. Museum Nr. 10059) und der Papyrus Hearst in Transkription, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1913. *Der Papyrus Ebers: Umscrhift, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

— 1923–40. *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Zába, Zbynek 1956. *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*. Prague: Académie tchécoslovaque des sciences, Section de la linguistique et de la littérature.

Zandee, Jan 1947. *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350*. = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden n.s. 28. Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

— 1963. Seth als Sturmgott. *ZÄS* 90, 144–56.

Ziegler, Christiane 1990. *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période intermédiare vers 2686–2040 avant J.–C.* Paris. Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

AN EVIL INFLUENCE?

Seth's Role as a Determinative, particularly in Letters to the Dead[1]

In response to Kasia Szpakowska's article in *LingAeg* 6[2] proposing the re-interpretation of the determinative of *rsw.t* as Anubis in the First Intermediate Period Nag' ed-Deir letter to the dead from tomb N 3737, I present here some evidence in support of the original identification as Seth. I also study other occurrences of what I believe to be the same determinative in similar contexts in order to explore Seth's wider significance as a conceptual determinative.

Szpakowska states that there are no examples of the seated deity form of either Seth or Anubis in Möller's first volume of *Hieratische Paläographie*. While this is true for Anubis, it is not for Seth. Möller's vol. I #58, which is cited under the heading "Lesung unsicher", is actually a Seth deity sign and can be corroborated by comparison with later, secure examples of the same sign in vol. II #73. Furthermore, the context[3] confirms the sign's identity: it is the determinative of *ind.w* "afflicted"(discussed below).

In her discussion, Szpakowska does not distinguish between the deity and animal forms of Seth, either ideologically or paleographically. Yet both distinctions are important and meaningful. Only the Seth deity, and not the animal, can occur as a determinative of the words which are discussed below .[4] As for paleography, the two forms tend to differ in their precise details: for example, in P. Leiden I 343 + 345, a Ramesside magical text, both forms occur[5] (figs. 1a & b). Whereas on the deity both ears are articulated as separate and pointed stiffly upwards, the ears of the animal form are depicted together and sweep backwards on a continuous curve from the snout.


Fig 1a


Fig. 1b

---

[1] I would like to thank John Baines and Roland Enmarch for their comments on my paper, and Ian Cartwright for his technical advice and patience.

[2] Kasia Szpakowska. (1999) A Sign of the Times. *Lingua Aegyptia* 6, 163-166.

[3] Hatnub Gr. 16, 10: Anthes (1928).

[4] Goldwasser (1995: 102-3) gives a good survey of the various usages of the Seth determinative but does not distinguish between the animal and deity forms of Seth.

[5] Vso VII, l. 5: Massart (1954)

Szpakowska does not give references for either the Seth or Anubis deity forms,[6] but she makes the general distinction between their hieratic forms that Anubis has a straight or upturned snout and Seth a down-turned snout. However her authority for this (te Velde, 1977: 16) was not discussing Seth's form in hieratic but rather his typical features in hieroglyphs. It is therefore necessary to look at contemporaneous hieratic sources for paleographic comparison. My analysis is confined to the Seth deity sign, because I know of no occurrences of the Anubis deity sign from this period in hieratic.[7] By contrast, there are several occurrences of the Seth deity sign from the same period, most of them other letters to the dead.[8]

The determinative of *rsw.t* in the Nag' ed-Deir letter is written clearly: it has two erect ears and a straight snout, and is in a simple seated position. Szpakowska does not directly specify what she believes stands in the way of the sign's identification as Seth but indicates indirectly that the straight snout is one problem. It should be noted in addition that the *rsw.t* determinative lacks the tick at the back of the head seen in Möller's citations of the Seth deity sign. Its paleography can be compared with that of the Seth deity signs occurring in other letters to the dead as determinatives of the words, *mr(t)* and *nḳm(t)*. I cite these in context because they shed light on the determinative's significance.

• *mr* occurs with a Seth deity determinative on the exterior of the Qaw bowl:[9]



Fig. 2

§1 

Am I being injured in your presence?

My children are unhappy,

and this your son is suffering. (l. 3)

---

[6] Since she does not observe the distinction between the animal and deity forms, the list of signs Szpakowska cites (1999: 163) from Möller is of limited value to her argument. Moreover, her term "striding Anubis" (referring to Möller, 1909: #149: ) may be misleading. This terminology implies that the sign represents the deity whereas in the case cited (Erman, 1911: pl. I) the sign represents the phonemic value *wsr* in a name and is therefore not to be identified with the deity Anubis.

[7] Except perhaps for writings of his name, although in this period these tend to be written with a jackal and not the anthropomorphic deity sign. Szpakowska's reference to an Anubis determinative of *sšt3* (n. 18) is misleading because it is the jackal which occasionally determines this word, not the jackal-headed deity.

[8] Simpson (1966: 44-5) cited some occurrences, to which Szpakowska adds the "misplaced letter" on a stela published by Wente (1975/1976: 595-600).

[9] Gardiner and Sethe (1928) originally published this letter. My translation follows Gunn's interpretation (1930: 151), taking *mr* as a stative qualifying *s3.t* instead of an adverb qualifying *šp.t*.
Wente (1990: 212) gives an alternative translation.

The form of the hieratic sign is very simple: the head is represented by a single curved stroke, linking the one erect ear and the snout, which comes out of the curve straight and is not down-turned (fig.2, left).

• The noun *mr.t* also occurs in another letter to the dead:[10]

§2  Remove the suffering of my body. (l. 3)

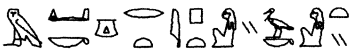
Wente (1975/6: 598), who made the only existing transcription of this letter, noted that the form of the Seth sign closely resembled those of the Chicago letter to the dead (discussed below). His translation of *mr.t* "infirmity" is rather vague; *mr.t* usually implies some kind of physical pain or illness.

The writing of *mr(t)* with the Seth deity determinative is attested in the Middle Kingdom. In addition to the instances cited by Gardiner and Sethe,[11] it occurs in several Coffin Text spells (II, 345b; III, 276a-7a; VII, 395c). However, although *mr* and its derivatives occur many times in medical texts, they most often have the bad bird as their determinative and never the Seth deity (Wb II, 95-6; von Deines & Westendorf, 1961: 378-82). Since the Seth determinative occurs only in particular contexts, it follows that in those cases *mr* has a special colouring. Whereas the bad bird sign simply indicated the general negativity of the illness words it determined, it seems as if the Seth deity sign very specifically pointed to the malevolent supernatural influence the Egyptians believed to be responsible for disruptions in health. Thus, Seth's use as a determinative is especially appropriate in the context of letters to the dead, which appeal for benevolent supernatural intervention to combat this evil influence.

• *nḳm(t)* occurs four times in the Chicago letter to the dead,[12] each time with the Seth deity determinative:

§3  I will not allow him to be afflicted

 of any affliction. (l. 2)

§4  And behold, as for those two, the serving-maids

 who have caused Seni to be afflicted,

---

[10] Wente (1975/6).

[11] Gardiner and Sethe (1928, 19): their references to Sepi's outer coffin correspond to CT I, 382-3b and II, 45f.

[12] Gardiner (1930).



Nefertjentet and Itjay,

(6) confound them

and destroy for me every affliction

which is directed against my wife. (ll. 5-6)

Although there are minor paleographical differences between the four signs, they retain certain features in common (fig. 3a-d, below): the angular snout, which is not down-turned but straight, formed by two strokes,[13] the representation of both ears, and the tick at the back of the head. This paleography, although distinct from that of the Qaw bowl,[14] is quite recognizable as Seth.



Fig.3a



Fig.3b



Fig. 3c



Fig.3d

Again it is the case that later writings of *nḳm(t)* are determined with the bad bird; the Seth deity alternative only appears in this one context. Its use, therefore, is once again rather idiosyncratic and seems to evoke the evil influence inherent in *nḳm(t)* (generalized in §3 and specifically attributed to two maidservants in §4) which the writer is seeking to ward off.

From a similar period are several occurrences of the Seth deity determinative among the graffiti at Hatnub, most of which were cited by Simpson (1966: 44-5). There are three occurrences of *ind*:



§5 I charmed the ill[15] (Gr. 12, 13)

§6 I was nurse and guardian

(10) to everyone coming ill

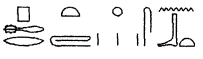
until he was made well. (Gr. 16, 9-10)

---

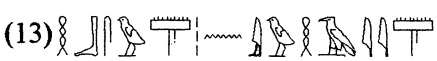
[13] The sign in fig. 3d is comparatively faint and only one stroke is visible forming the snout. I think it is likely, however, that there was originally a second stroke which has now faded.

[14] Yet Gardiner (1930: 19) commented that the hand of the Chicago letter is very similar to that of the Qaw bowl.

[15] Anthes (1928: 29) translated more literally: "Ich bezauberte (?) das kranke Antlitz".

§7  (the one who gives) healing remedies

 to those coming ill,

(13)  clothes to those coming naked. (Gr. 20, 12-3)

The form of the Seth deity sign in each of these instances is fairly consistent, although the determinative in graffito 12 is slightly damaged so that only one ear is visible (fig. 4a) whereas both ears are represented in graffiti 16 and 20 (fig. 4b-c). The signs in graffiti 16 and 20 do not show the tick at the back of Seth's head but instead project a line down from his ear.


Fig.4a

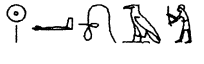

Fig.4b

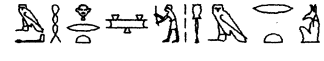

Fig.4c

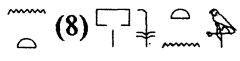
The intertwining of magic and medicine in the treatment of illness is evident here. In graffito 12, the ill are given specifically magical treatment: the verb *ḥk3* contrasts with the "healing remedies" (*pḥrt snb.t*) mentioned in graffito 20 which recall the recipes in the medical papyri. The use of Seth is again a deviation from the customary bad bird determinative of *ind*.

Also from Hatnub comes a usage of *mr.t* in a rather difficult context:

§8  I rescued my city

 on the day of plundering

 from the fear and suffering[16]

 (8) of the palace. (Gr. 24, 7-8)

mr usually describes suffering (as in §§1 and 2) either due to an illness or of a psychological nature. It seems to be the latter in this case. The sense of the phrase can be gleaned from its occurrence in other contexts:[17] the writers' village is in conflict with the palace and from there come the *ḥr(j).t* and *mr.t* (which is given distinctly ominous undertones by its

[16] Anthes (1928: 55) had understood *mr.t* as an adjective qualifying *ḥr.t* and translated "der schlimme Schreck". But I think it is more likely to be a noun standing in apposition to *ḥr(j).t*.

[17] It occurs identically (except that *mr.t* lacks a determinative) in Gr. 23, 4; also compare a similar, rather damaged phrase in Gr. 25, 12-13. A further clue is in a clause in Gr. 26, 5 ("(I) fought(?) the soldiers of the king on the day of fighting").

determinative).


Fig.5

The Seth sign (fig. 5) is damaged and rather faint, but the two erect, straight ears are clearly visible, as is the projection at the back and the snout, which is slightly curved but not down-turned. The body, as far as is visible, is represented with only one stroke.

Finally, again from Hatnub, there is an attestation of the word *ḫ3.t* with a Seth deity determinative:

§9  I was indeed an effective lector-priest,

 skilled in the determination of disease (Gr. 12, 6)

I know of no other examples of this writing, but the derivative *ḫ3tyw* is well attested in medical texts and is usually understood to mean "disease-demons".[18]


Fig.6

The paleography of the head of this sign is quite distinct from the other examples (fig 6), especially the ears, but the downward projection at the back of the head and the representation of the snout are similar to the other Seth determinatives at Hatnub.

Trends can be noted in the writings of the Seth deity determinative in hieratic, although exceptions exist. Both ears tend to be represented, although only one is on the Qaw bowl; the snout may be down-turned, as in the writings of *ind(w)* at Hatnub, but not always (Qaw bowl, Hatnub Grs. 24, 7; 12, 6). The Chicago vessel's writings of *nḳm(t)* include the tick at the back of the head, whereas at Hatnub there is a downward-projecting line instead, but the Qaw bowl does not include either in its simplified form of the sign. Thus, neither the straight snout nor its lack of a tick at the back provides palaeographic arguments against identifying the determinative of *rsw.t* in the Nag' ed-Deir letter as the Seth deity sign.

The contexts surveyed above show Seth semantically linked with illness, both specific disease (*ḫ3t*) and general suffering (*mr(t)*; *nḳm(t)*; *ind*) which were fought by a combination of

[18] These "disease-demons" are mentioned often in P. Edwin Smith: for references, see Breasted (1930: 554); von Deines and Westendorf, (1962: 646-7).

medicine and magic. In addition, pre-emptive spells existed to ward off evil influences before they could inflict harm. Bad dreams seem also to have been considered to be the result of supernatural interference. An incantation from the Ramesside dream book of P. Chester Beatty III[19] entitled "A Spell to be said by a man when he has had a 'nightmare' (*rsw.t* ) in his own place" points to a specific connection between Seth and bad dreams: cited below are some of its final lines, together with Borghouts' translation (1978: 4):



Hail to you, Good Dream!

May night be seen as day!

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

(ll. 14-15)

The deity sign after *inḏ-ḥr* here, which personifies and elevates the dream to the divine sphere, stands in strong contrast to the Seth deity determinative of *rsw.t* in the Nag' ed-Deir letter. There is no doubt that the *rsw.t* in the Chester Beatty papyrus is a nightmare: in l. 13 it is described as having frightened (*snḏ*) the dreamer, resulting in *ṯmsw* and *ḏw.wt* (ll. 13-14), which then have to be driven out (l. 15).

Can we construe the *rsw.t* in the Nag' ed-Deir letter as referring to such a nightmare? Simpson (1966: 41) and te Velde (1977: 23) translate "nightmare", but others have simply translated "dream",[21] as does Szpakowska, who states (1999: 166):

> ... it may be the case that the term "dream" was itself neutral, as opposed to the events "seen" in the dream, which could be good or bad.

I agree that the word *rsw.t* itself fundamentally means "dream", but while English requires an adjective to affect the meaning of "dream", in written Egyptian the determinative could alter the word's exact nuance in a text, especially when it was a deviation from the standard determinative. The Nag' ed-Deir letter deliberately deviates from the customary painted eye determinative () and I think the deviation was meant to convey the writer's feelings. The

---

[19] Gardiner (1935).

[20] Gardiner (1935: 19, n.8) suggested that is a corruption of but the syntax remains awkward. The sign seems to be a mistake, but in any case it makes no difference to the sense.

[21] Fecht: "Traum" (1969: 111); Roccati: "sogno" (1967: 327); Parkinson: "dream" (1991: 144); Szpakowska: "dream" (1999: 165).

"dream" Heni describes is a disturbing experience, regardless of how we interpret the letter's overall meaning.[22] To use Seth as *rsw.t*'s determinative is to assert that the dream is the result of a supernatural malevolence.

What nuance would an Anubis determinative bring? His various religious roles as lord of secrets, lord of the necropolis, and lord of the dead are only tenuously linked to the world of dreams. Seth, by contrast, is specifically said to be responsible for bad dreams in the Chester Beatty Dream book and occurs as the determinative of several words connected with suffering in texts of the same period as the Nag' ed-Deir letter, seeming himself to indicate supernatural interference. Seth's role as such a conceptual determinative is therefore well attested, whereas if the determinative were Anubis, it would be an entirely isolated usage.

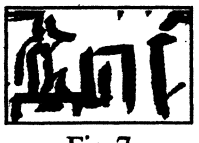
Although the Nag' ed-Deir letter itself contains the only known instance of *rsw.t* with the Seth deity as its determinative, analogous usages of the Seth deity determinative occur in other words with similar associations. A final parallel may be pointed out in P. Edwin Smith.[23] In Case 47 (a gaping wound to the shoulder), a particular set of symptoms is described at the stage of the fourth examination and the accompanying instructions state:

§11  Do not bind it (the wound);

moor (him) at his mooring stakes[24]

until the period of his suffering passes by.

(XVII, 12-13)


Fig.7

The hieratic is very clear (fig. 7, left): the determinative, Seth in deity form sitting above a *nwb*-sign, is a deliberate and solitary deviation from the usual writing with the bad bird determinative, which occurs in all thirteen other instances of *ih* in the papyrus (six of these are in the same expression "until the period of his injury passes by"). Breasted's allusion to superstition (1930: 135) does

---

[22] Different interpretations are possible: I am inclined to believe, with Parkinson (1991: 143-4), that Seni was murdered and that Heni is guiltily protesting that even though he had nothing to do with it, Seni is haunting him. Yet, as Fecht (1969: 111-12) points out, it is also possible that Seni is still alive and is harrying Heni in the flesh due to some wrong he believes Heni to have committed against him. Either way, Heni is being harassed and the dream he has is the result.

[23] Breasted (1930).

[24] There are ten instances of this phrase in the papyrus. Breasted (1930: 134) described it as "an archaic idiom", for the scribe felt the need to explain it in a gloss (II, 1-2) paraphrasing it to mean "putting him on his customary diet without administering a prescription to him".

not explain why the scribe deviated from the bad bird determinative only in this single instance. The symptoms of the wound (inflammation and fever) occur in other cases: why should the *ih* they induce in Case 47 be any different? Whatever the reason, the Seth determinative stands out, particularly given its form.[25]

While only the scribe could tell us what made this case unique, it is tempting to combine Breasted's implication of superstition with what has been gleaned so far about the god Seth as a determinative and to interpret the choice of determinative here as indicative of an evil supernatural force gripping the patient, against which the *swnw* was powerless and could only wait out. The Seth determinative makes this underlying idea explicit and represents the same evil influence found in all the other First Intermediate Period instances I have discussed, including the Nag' ed-Deir letter.

And so, the determinative of *rsw.t* is best identified as the Seth deity sign. There are paleographic parallels for its form in hieratic, whereas no similar, contemporaneous usage of the Anubis deity sign is known. Many analogous usages of the Seth deity sign[26] represent an appropriate conceptual domain, whereas a similar conceptual category does not seem to exist for Anubis.

---

[25] It recalls the epithet of Seth common in religious literature, *Nwbty* "Lord of Ombos", but may simply be an honorific Sethian variant of  .

[26] Seth is quite unique in the Egyptian pantheon for his use as a conceptual determinative. A chapter of my thesis (in progress) is devoted to his role as a determinative, both in deity and in animal form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anthes, Rudolf — 1928. *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, 9. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

Borghouts, Joris. F. — 1978. *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts.* Nisaba, 9. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

Breasted, James. H. — 1930. *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

de Buck, Adriaan — 1935-61. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* 7 vols. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Erman, Adolf et al. — 1911. *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* vol. III: *Schriftstücke der VI. Dynastie aus Elephantine, Zauberspruche für Mutter und Kind, Ostraka*. J.C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

Fecht, Gerhard — 1969. Der Totenbrief von Nag' ed-Deir. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 24, 105-28.

Gardiner, Alan H. & Kurt Sethe — 1928. *Egyptian Letters to the Dead mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.* Egypt Exploration Society, London.

Gardiner, Alan H. — 1930. A new letter to the dead. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16, 19-22.

Gardiner, Alan H. (ed.) — 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum.* 3rd Series: *The Chester Beatty Gift.* British Museum, London.

Goldwasser, Orly — 1995. *From Icon to Metaphor; Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 142. University Press Fribourg, Switzerland.

Gunn, Battiscombe — 1930. Review of Gardiner and Sethe (1928). *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 16, 147-55.

Massart, Adhémar — 1954. *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345.* E. J. Brill, Leiden.

Möller, Georg — 1909-12. *Hieratische Paläographie*, 3 vols. J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig.

Parkinson, R. B. — 1991. *Voices from Ancient Egypt.* British Museum Press, London.

Roccati, A. — 1967. Due lettere ai morti. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 42, 323-29.

Simpson, W. Kelly — 1966. The letter to the dead from the tomb of Meru (N 3737) at Nag' ed-Deir. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52, 39-50.

Szpakowska, Kasia. — 1999. A Sign of the Times. *Lingua Aegyptia* 6, 163-166.

te Velde, Hermann — 1967. *Seth, God of Confusion. A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion.* Probleme der Ägyptologie, 6. E. J. Brill, Leiden.

von Deines, Hildegard & Wolfhart Westendorf
1961-2. *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte,* 2 vols. Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter, VII, 1-2. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin.

Wente, Edward F. 1975/6. A misplaced letter to the dead. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7, 595-600.

Wente, Edward F. 1990. *Letters from Ancient Egypt.* Edmund S. Meltzer (ed.). Society for Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World. Scholars Press, Atlanta.