SCRIPTA SIGNA VOCIS

Studies about
Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages
in the Near East,
presented to

J. H. HOSPERS

by his pupils, colleagues and friends.

Edited by
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Meije jo formannichfäldigje fierren fan lok,
meije jins moannen yn foarsooed forstrike,
jins dagen yn libben en bisväld
en jins åren yn sounens.

(pAnast.III rt.4,7)

It may not always be easy for an Egyptologist to find a suitable subject for an article in honour of a Semitic scholar, but no such problems arise in the case of Prof. Hospers. Egyptian is one of the many languages he commands, and he has even taught it himself at the University of Groningen during the brief "interregnum" (1950-1952) between G. van der Leeuw and Th.P. van Baaren. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that I dedicate the following remarks to him, in grateful memory of the many happy hours spent "at the feet of Camaliel", listening to his expositions on the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages or reading Hebrew ostraca under his guidance.

There are in existence, in the rich literary heritage given to us by the ancient Egyptians, two texts for which a Canaanite origin has been postulated. These have been or still are considered as Egyptianized versions or even "translations" of Canaanite myths. One of these is the story preserved in the so-called C Astarte Papyrus, a badly damaged manuscript dating from the reign of Horemheb and nowadays kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. This text deals with the conflict between the Ennead, presided over by Ptah, and the insatiable Sea (p3 yšm), who keeps asking for more tribute and in fact seems to demand the rulership over heaven and earth. Ptah sends his daughter C Astarte as a messenger to the Sea, but apparently she is unable to satisfy the ever increasing demands. At the end, just before the text breaks off, the god Seth appears, and from allusions in other (chiefly magical texts) it is usually assumed that the Sea is finally defeated.
by this aggressive god, who elsewhere in Egyptian mythology is depicted as warding off Apophis, the monster of chaos). The story has been compared to the Ugaritic mythological poem describing the battle between Ba'al, who is often seen as a manifestation of Seth in New Kingdom Egypt, and Yam, the Sea). Although Posener has made an attempt to demonstrate that the Egyptian text is rooted in indigenous Egyptian mythology which has only been "modernized" by the introduction of foreign elements like the phrase ḫr ḫm instead of ḫhr ḫm, or the Canaanite goddess Astarte), it is in my opinion hard to imagine that the Egyptian text could have been written without any knowledge of the Canaanite myth).

The other text, the one that will concern us here, is commonly known as the Story of Anat and Seth. Contrary to the Astarte Papyrus, which, as far as can be judged from its tattered state, seems to have been an independent narrative, the Anat story has come down to us only in the form of a "mythical precedent" to certain magical spells. Each of the five sources presently known to us is damaged, but the two most important texts, though showing a number of variants, supplement each other, and a more or less complete story can be reconstructed from them. The sources are the following:


2. pTurin, without number; A. Roccati, "Une légende égyptienne d'Anat", in Rê, vol. 24, 1972, pp. 154-159, pl. 14; an additional fragment appears on a photograph illustrating Roccati's article "Les papyri de Turin", in BSFE, vol. 99, 1984, pp. 9-27, pl. 4. The fragment dates from Dyn. XIX and derives from Deir el-Medīna. It may have been part of the ms. now known as pTurin CO 54052; see Roccati, "Tra i papiri torinesi", in ORAN vol. 14, 1975, 245 [10]. The spell to which our fragment belongs was directed against the poison, presumably of a scorpion. The fragment corresponds to pCH. Beatty VII vs. 1,5-2,2.

3. oUC 31942, W. Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka and Papyri found by E. Quibell, in the Ramessum, 1885-6, London 1898, pls. 1-1 A, nos. 1-2. A modified transcription based upon Spiegelberg's facsimile (not upon the original!) was given by Gardiner, op. cit., vol. I, p. 62 n. 8. The ostracon is of Ramesside
date and was found in the south east corner of the mud-brick dependencies surrounding the Ramesseum ⁹). There are drawings on the reverse ¹⁰). Although line 1 of the ostracon corresponds to pCh. Beatty VII vs. 1,6, the rest of its text apparently contained a different version of the story.

4. oDM 1691; C. Posener, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh, vol. III/2, Cairo, 1978, pp. 77, pl. 45-45⁴. A Ramesside ostraco containing short fragments of 16 lines, the first 8 of which correspond to pCh. Beatty VII vs. 1,5-2,3, though several phrases not found in the other sources occur. The remaining lines contain a version of the Gliedervergottung similar, but not identical, to pCh. Beatty VII vs. 2,5-5,7.

5. oDM 1692; Posener, op. cit., p. 77, pl. 45-45⁴. This tiny little fragment contains a few words corresponding to pCh. Beatty VII vs. 1,6 and 1,8. Stadelmann¹¹) has suggested that an episode from pVatican 102, which relates of the poisoning of the god Seth¹²), belongs to the same story. This is not very likely, because a) not a single phrase from the Vatican Papyrus can be linked with any of the known versions of the ₣Anat story listed above, and b) it is not Isis but Horus who after an initial refusal (?) cures Seth from the poison in the story of the Vatican Papyrus. The latter, though doubtless belonging to a group of related stories about Seth and the seed or poison¹³), has therefore no place among the sources of ₣Anat and Seth.

The following translation of the story is based upon the version given by pCh. Beatty VII. The missing parts have been supplied from pTurin and put between brackets. In addition to this, phrases absent from both sources have been printed in italics. The notes to the translation are not meant to be exhaustive; further details concerning the interpretation will be given in the commentary.

[The Seed took a bath] on the shore (a) in order to purify herself (b) in the šmnk (c). Then the Great God (d) went out for a walk and he [perceived her (and saw) her beauty because of (?) the girdle] of her buttocks (e). Then he mounted her like a ram mounts, he covered her like a [bull] covers (f).

Hereupon the Seed flew up to his forehead, to the region of his eyebrows (g), and he lay down upon his bed in his house [and was ill. Hur]ried ₣Anat (h), the Victorious Goddess, the woman who acts like a warrior (i), who wears a skirt like men and a sash (?) like women (j), to PrC, her father. He said to her: "What is the matter with you, ₣Anat, Victorious Goddess,
who acts as a warrior, who wears a skirt like men and a sash (?!) like women? I have ended (my course) in the evening (k) and I know that you have come to ask that Seth be delivered from the Seed. [Look], let (his) stupidity be a lesson (to him) (l). The Seed had been given as a wife to the God Above (m), that he should copulate with her with fire after deflowering her with a chisel" (n). Said the divine Isis: "I am a Nubian woman (o). I have descended from heaven and I have come to uncover the Seed which is in the body [of X son of Y], and to make him go in health to his mother like Horus went in health to his mother Isis. X born of Y shall be (well), for as Horus lives so shall live X son of Y (...)".

(a) ⲜBounds, var. pTurin θx bounds θp/θx-pa, a Semitic loan-word doubtless to be connected with Ug. θp and Hebr. 3576 "shore", "(river-)bank"[14]. The meaning is proven by oDM 1591 which replaces θp by the Eg. equivalent apq. Roccati[15] has connected θp with a place-name 𓊩𓊦 mentioned on a Dyn. XXI statue from a place near Tanis in the Delta, published by the late Labib Habachi[16], who compared it to "the district 𓊦𓊦 occurring on another statue from the same area. This does not testify against a Semitic derivation of the term, however; in fact the Delta toponyms, whether or not connected with the place where our story is situated, may well be derived from the same Semitic word.

(b) It is impossible to be sure whether some more specific meaning should be attached to the verb ḫ3b, which can mean "purify (oneself)" as well as simply "wash", "bathe"[17]. On the other hand, certain Near-Eastern parallels to be discussed later on suggest that the text may refer to the ritual purification following a woman's monthly period of impurity, see H. Behrens, Enil und Niniil. Ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur, Rome 1978, pp. 62-65 and the remarks of L.R. Fischer and F.B. Knutson, in JNES vol. 28, 1969, pp. 164-166, on washing (and subsequent dressing up) as a preparation for making love. Related passages in Egyptian texts, like the bathing beauty in the Love Songs of the Cairo Vase or the naked goddess in the Story of the Herdsman, also suggest that Seth is not just following his own lascivious nature, but that he is responding to an erotic signal of the Seed-goddess.

(c) The identification of 𓉈𓉉 remains a mystery. Albright connected it with Ug. 𓉈 mentioned in KTU 1.10,II,9.12 as the name of a swampy area[18] where BaC.al and C.Anat meet[19]. But, apart from being linguistically difficult to explain, the equation is now completely obsolete, since the Egyptian story has no direct parallel in the Ugaritic episode concerning BaC.al and C.Anat (see the commentary below).
(d) Var. pTurin: "Seth", which proves that "the Great God" of the Ch. Beatty version is Seth, not Pārē (Gardiner, op. cit., vol. I, p. 62 nn. 3 and 7; Stadelmann, SFGX, p. 132 n. 2; cf. Roccati, Ṣēq 24, 1972, p. 158).

(e) The translation follows oDM 1891, but the exact wording varies in the three sources: pTurin has māt šīt nfrw.s r p3 mr n pḥt.s; pCh. Beatty reads [.....] ḫr pḥt.s, whereas oDM 1891 gives [.....] ḫr nfrw.s ḫr pāṭy.s mr n [.....]. For the meaning of mr ("Zeugstreifen, Binde", ḫb. I 105,9), derived from a verb mr "to bind (together)", one may compare a phrase from the Ch. Beatty Love Songs: bāš pḥt.s mr ḫr[y-š] dā mnty.s nfrw.s "her buttocks droop, her waist is girt, her thighs reveal her beauty"[20]. In Egyptian erotic art women are often shown dressed in nothing but a girdle tied around the waist or hips, see e.g. the famous Leiden faience bowl[21] or the Turin Erotic Papyrus[22].

(f) See for the different versions of this line in various sources Roccati, op. cit., 158. ḫmq is a Semitic loan-word deriving from a root with the basic meanings "strong", "deep", "wise"[23]. In Akkadian in particular it denotes physical strength (as localized in the arms) and violence. Unlike the Egyptian usage[24], however, it is not employed as a fientic verb in Akkadian nor, as far as I am aware, in any of the North-West Semitic languages. A specialized sexual meaning of ḫmq is also absent from the Semitic usages. Perhaps the closest parallel is a phrase from a Middle Assyrian text quoted in the CAD[25]: "If a man seizes (another) man's wife, emuqama ṣabābāti ittiakši if he takes her by force and rapes her", but here the sexual activity is expressed by the verbs ṣabātu and niʔaku[26] and not by the adverb emuqama "by force". The Egyptian verb ḫmq therefore does not necessarily imply that Seth is raping the goddess, i.e. that he is taking her against her will[27]; rather it stresses the vigorous nature of Seth's coition.

(g) Seth is immediately punished for his sexual indulgence, see the remarks on this passage by Te Velde, Seth, p. 37.

(h) Although constructed in a different way (ḫn ḫmq ... ḫt ... ḫn. ti'), pTurin suggests that we should read [ḥn]. ḫn ḫmq in pCh. Beatty.

(i) See Gardiner, op. cit., vol. I, p. 62 n. 12 for this translation. The phrase refers to the well-known belligerent aspect of the goddess ḫAnat, not to her bi-sexual traits (thus Te Velde, Seth, p. 56, who translates "acting as a male"; cf. also W.F. Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, London 1968, p. 112: "a man-like woman"; Helck, Beziehungen, p. 461: "Frau die wie ein Mann ist").

(j) It is difficult to ascertain the exact difference between the verbs ḫd and ḫbd which both refer to some kind of clothing. Unfortu-
nately, the same must be said about the related nouns sad (Old Eg. madt) and bnd. 3d, usually spelled sad or ady in Late Eg., seems to refer to the triangular loin-cloth commonly worn by gods and men.28) No exact meaning is known of bnd (also written bdn), but according to Janssen30) the price to be paid for such a garment would indicate something small. Since the verb bnd can also mean "to tie", "wrap up" one might suggest that a bnd is a kind of sash tied around the waist to confine the garment underneath. A long ribbed sash of this type is often worn by royal ladies since the early Amarna Period31), and also by goddesses in the period following Amarna32). On a statue group from Tanis, CAnat too is shown wearing such a sash.33) The word bnd occurs as an Egyptian loan-word in the OT ('abnēt) with the meaning "sash" or "scarf"34). The word pair 3d/bnd is found in other magical texts as well, see e.g. pturin 1983 vs. 5,8 (= Pleyte/Rossi 137,8): [sad].kət m wry, bnd.kuš m 3st "I am wearing a kilt like Horus and a sash like Isis"; similarly in Cairo JE 37558,8: sad.kuš m wry, bnd.kuš m (3st) (7)35); pLeiden 1 349 vs. 2,1: sad.kuš m 3ynt, bnd.kuš m 3p3r wry "I am dressed in faience, I am wearing uraei for a sash".

In the first two of these quotations it is noticeable that a male divinity (Horus) is opposed to a female one (Isis) in the same way as "men" and "women" are opposed in our text. In the magical texts, the reciter identifies himself with what may be called the prototypes of male and female deities, Isis and Horus, in order to unite within himself the all-embracing power of both. The same may be said of the phrase describing CAnat in our text: in the mighty warrior-goddess the powers of man and woman are united. In Near-Eastern sources both CAnat and her "double" CAshtar are sometimes described or depicted as androgynous goddesses.36) In Ugaritic texts CAnat is said to "be like a man"37) and to wear a beard and side-whiskers.38)

(k) See the commentary below.

(1) Taking swg as a nominal subject of the phrase sb3 pw asw "being stupid is a lesson/punishment". Swg "(be) foolish" is used as a noun in 3 y3 3p3y.k swg "hey, what is this stupidity of yours?", pDM XI rt. 4. The alternative rendering "it is a punishment for (his) stupidity"39) would almost certainly require sb3 pw n swg. Roccati takes the following 3t mtw as subject of a verb swg "inflict (punishment)n40), but such a meaning of swg is unattested. In the short lacuna preceding sb3 in pCh. Beatty one might read the enclitic particle m.t or sim.; pturin begins with 3w.s, which probably means that here again it had a different reading from pCh. Beatty (a verbal sentence with the preceding 3t mtw as subject: "she punished him for his foolishness" ?).
(m) pë ntr hry "the God Above" is usually taken as a designation of the Sun-god, see Gardiner, op. cit., vol. I, p. 63, n. 4; A. Massart, The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 342 + 345, Leiden 1954, p. 67 (16); Stadelmann, SPGK, p. 133, n. 1; Helck, Beziehungen, p. 468. But in our text it is Prêc himself who is speaking and who would thus be referring to himself as pë ntr hry, whereas elsewhere he uses the 1st pers. sing. This is not impossible in itself, but it is not very likely either, especially since a comparison with other texts mentioning "the God Above" point in a different direction. The phrase occurs in three more places, all in magical texts with a clear Asiatic flavour. In pLeiden I 343 + 345 rt. 5,6 (= vs. 8,2-3) pë ntr hry definitely refers to the Moon-god. Here he appears together with "his wife Nikkal" (חכ יככ, i.e. Ḫkl) and with "Reshep and his wife "Itm". The Mesopotamian lunar goddess Ningal was the consort of the Moon-god Nanna/Sin, and in Ugarit, where she was called Ḫkl (Nikkal), a mythological poem describes her wedding to the Moon-god Yarikh\(^{41}\). Since it is obvious that the author of this magical papyrus was quite familiar with Canaanite mythology\(^{42}\), there can be little doubt that he knew these facts and that he used the phrase pë ntr hry with reference to the Moon-god. The God Above occurs again in the same papyrus in rt. 2,11 (= vs. 4,6), where he is mentioned in parallelism with Prêc. From this Gardiner\(^{43}\) concluded that the God Above was identical with Prêc, especially since the phrase ḫṣ t ṣbn.f is used in connection with pë ntr hry. But, as Massart rightly points out, the parallelism would rather indicate that two different deities are meant, and the verb ṣbn "arise" can be used not only for the sun, but also for the moon. A third text mentioning pë ntr hry is a rather obscure spell from pHearst (11,12-15) directed against the "Asiatic disease" (23 ntr "ḥmr). It reads: "Who is wise like Ṣc? Who is as wise as this god, who blackens his belly in order to seize the God Above? Even as Seth conjured the Sea\(^{44}\), so will Seth conjure you, Asiatic disease! Then you will no longer wander about in the body of X son of Y". The meaning of the beginning of this spell is obviously difficult to grasp. With all reserve I would suggest an interpretation along the following lines: "the god who blackens his belly" is Ṣc himself. Black is the colour of night and underworld, and Osiris, Ṣc's nocturnal body, is called "the Black One"(krm)\(^{45}\). When Ṣc descends into the underworld he makes himself "black", and he and Osiris unite. The visible proof of the united Ṣc-Osiris is the moon. When Ṣc makes himself black he "seizes" the God Above, i.e. the moon, his nocturnal manifestation\(^{46}\). Although hry "above" (not pë ntr hry?) is used in at least one isolated case with reference to the Sun-god\(^{47}\), I think it is highly probable that in all of the texts discussed above the phrase pë ntr hry denotes the Moon-god.
(n) See the commentary.

(o) This rare designation of Isis is sometimes applied to Hathor in Ptolemaic texts \(^{48}\), but, as Borghouts points out, in that case she is a fearful goddess \(^{49}\). On the other hand Nekhbet may be called a Nubian woman in her role of mother-goddess and divine wet-nurse \(^{50}\). In view of the fact that Isis is the mother-goddess par excellence in Egyptian religion, the epithet N\(\text{hajt}\) may refer to this aspect of Isis. Maria Münster has suggested that Isis is called a Nubian woman in our text, because of the prominence of her cult in the NK temples of Lower Nubia \(^{51}\). In any case it is significant that she replaces the goddess Mut as wife and mother of Amun-R\(\text{e}^\text{C}\)-Kamutef \(^{52}\) in the temples of Ramesses II in ed-Derr, Abu Simbel and Wādī es-Sebua. The ambivalence of the epithet N\(\text{hajt}\) may reflect the two contrasting aspects of the goddess in the mythical complex of the Eye of R\(\text{e}^\text{C}\): as R\(\text{e}^\text{C}\)'s daughter she is a fearful goddess who withdraws to Nubia and destroys his enemies, but after having been pacified by Shu or Thoth, she returns from Nubia in order to become R\(\text{e}^\text{C}\)'s wife and mother who gives birth to him in her temple.

Since, as we have seen, the subject of the first line of the text is missing in pCh. Beatty, all commentators have invariably followed Gardiner in defining this subject as the goddess C\(\text{Anat}\). This restoration was in itself a plausible one, not only because it seemed to make excellent sense, but also because it was suggested by a comparison with an episode from the Ugaritic myth of Ba\(\text{c}^\text{al}\) which relates how Ba\(\text{c}^\text{al}\) and C\(\text{Anat}\) mate as bull and cow \(^{53}\). On the other hand, none of the scholars who followed this line of thought \(^{54}\) have made an attempt to connect the rest of the Egyptian story with the Ugaritic text, and this is not surprising, for it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to establish such a connection. In the Ugaritic poem the alleged mating of Ba\(\text{c}^\text{al}\) and C\(\text{Anat}\) results in the birth of a son, and when news of this is brought to Ba\(\text{c}^\text{al}\) he rejoices. In the Egyptian story Seth's copulation is an illicit act resulting in illness and punishment. No son is born to Seth – quite on the contrary: as I will try to demonstrate, the birth of a son is prevented by Seth's copulation.

After Roccati's publication of the Turin version of the story a comparison with the Ugaritic text is no longer possible, for here the subject of the first line is clearly stated as t\(\text{3 m\text{t\text{u\text{t}}}}\), "the Seed". Despite this, however, the occurrence of the Canaanite goddess C\(\text{Anat}\) and especially the elaborate description of her nature and appearance still invite us to look for Near-Eastern elements in the story, and such elements are not difficult to find. To start with the description
of "Anat, Helck has already mentioned a parallel in *KUB* XXXI, 69, 5ff., where the Hurrian goddess Šauška is said to "dress herself like a man and like a woman" and to similar statements about Ištar.55) In the Ugaritic Aqhat text the princess Pughat, in order to revenge the death of her brother Aqhat, "puts on the [neath] the dress of a hero" as well as his weapons, and "on top she puts on the dress of a woman".56 Since she also paints herself with rouge from sea shells, a custom elsewhere ascribed to "Anat, de Moor has rightly concluded that Pughat is deliberately disguising herself as the goddess "Anat.57) Another element in the Egyptian story common to several Near-Eastern texts is the motif of the bathing goddess inducing sexual contact. It occurs e.g. in the Ugaritic myth of Shachar and Shalim,68) where El goes out to the shore of the sea and perceives two women who represent Athirat and Rhmy, i.e. "Anat.69) These goddesses are "raising themselves up" from the water "at the beginning of the bay(?)".60) Then El's "hand", i.e. his penis, "grows long as the sea" and he takes the women home and engenders Shachar and Shalim, the gods of dawn and sunset, and later a number of minor deities, the so-called "Gracious Gods". In the Sumerian myth of Enlil and Ninlil61) a similar course of events takes place. Upon the advice of her mother the young goddess Ninlil bathes "in the pure stream Nunbirdu". As the mother had predicted, the god Enlil sees her and, although Ninlil objects that her vagina is too small, he takes her against her will, impregnating her with the Moon-god Nanna. Enlil is punished for this behaviour and sent to the underworld, but as Ninlil has followed him there he is able to engender three minor deities who will serve as substitutes for the Moon-god in order to release him from the underworld.

These parallels are certainly not without interest, but they are probably not very significant for the interpretation of the Egyptian story. The woman disguising herself as a male warrior and the bathing seductress may represent mere folk tale motifs, "the building-blocks of any narrative".62) They belong to the narrative form of the myth, not to its underlying structure, and stories that share a common motif are therefore not necessarily relevant for their mutual interpretation. Moreover, the first of these motifs has been cast in a typical Egyptian phrase (see textual note (j) above), and the "bathing beauty" motif itself occurs not only in Ugaritic or Mesopotamian texts, but also in genuine Egyptian literature. It seems best, therefore, to return to the native ground of our story, and proceed to analyse it from a purely Egyptian point of view.
The bathing woman who seduces Seth is called t3 mtwt "the Seed". It can also mean "the poison", sd. of a snake or scorpion, and as in many magical texts, this double meaning is also implied here. But on the mythological level to be discussed now, the meaning "Seed" is prominent and this translation will be retained in the following. Roccati has already quoted another magical text in which t3 mtwt is personified and said to be able to appear as a snake, a dog, a human being and a crocodile. As early as 1891 Marucchi recognized in t3 mtwt in the Vatican Magical Papyrus a divinitas malefica muliebris; An interesting parallel for the role of the Seed-goddess in our text is provided by a passage from the Pyramid Texts which says that "the King has copulated with Wy Wm". Later variants write this word as Wmmt or Wmgt. It is generally assumed that Wm or Wmgt is a personification of semen. In our story this goddess is said to have been given as a wife to the God Above, who, as we have seen, probably represents Osiris Lunus as nocturnal incarnation of the Sun-god; in other words, the Seed-goddess is Pre's own wife, to be impregnated by his nightly "body" Osiris in order to give birth to him as the rejuvenated Re Harakhty. Like the King in the Pyramid Text the God Above copulates with the Seed-goddess, and he does this "with fire", i.e. he impregnates her with fire. This further corroborates our interpretation of p3 ntr hry as the nocturnal Sun-god, for it is precisely this god who begets himself with fire in the primaeval darkness of the Underworld. Texts which document this idea have been discussed elsewhere and it is not necessary to repeat them here; suffice it to recall the vignettes and text of La orbation du disque solaire and the statement of several classical authors that the mother of the Apis bull was made pregnant by heavenly fire or by light emitted by the moon. The seed cannot develop when it has not been joined with the light or fire of the Sun-god (or his nocturnal form), and this is the reason why the God Above has to copulate with the Seed "with fire". The Seed-goddess represents Re's primaeval wife, she is identical with Hathor. In his admirable study on Hathor, Derchain has shown that this goddess represents l'excitation sexuelle, the libido of the Creator God, which is the source of his creative activity. The Seed also behaves like Hathor, who often plays the role of a divine seductress. When Pre has retreated because his ability to rule the earth has been questioned, Hathor stands before him and exposes her vagina before his eyes. Then Pre laughs at her, gets up from his bed and resumes his responsibilities. In Egyptian love songs the girl is often called "the Golden One", i.e. Hathor. In one of these songs the girl behaves in much the same way as the Seed-goddess in our text. After having addressed her lover as "my god" and
"my lotus" she says to him: "It is my desire to descend (to the water) and bathe myself before your eyes. I will let you see my beauty (nfr, m3k. nfrw.) through my robe of first class royal linen (...)"[76].

But as a divine seductress, Hathor does not direct her attentions exclusively to Prê-C. She is also the divine prostitute, the "woman who is a stranger", so often condemned in the wisdom texts. In the opposition Mut versus Hathor, Mut is the goddess of good women and Hathor the goddess of bad women[77]. This aspect she shares with Seth, who breaks the boundaries of regular sexuality, the god of bad men who do not care to distinguish between married and unmarried women[78]. Seth commits adultery with the wife of Prê-C. In a late mythological text the crimes of Seth are summed up before Re-C: apart from leading Apophis to Re-C's sanctuary in Heliopolis and from cutting down the tšd-tree from which the Sun-god arises in the morning, Seth has also "taken away the penis (m3k) of Tefnut"[79]. In this text Tefnut represents the primordial wife of the Creator God Re-C-Atum, who like Iusa-C and Nebet-ḥetepet symbolizes the "hand" with which the god masturbated in order to impregnate himself[80]. By taking away the penis of this primordial androgynous goddess, Seth frustrates Re-C's rebirth and resurrection, and this is exactly what he does in our story too. This is also the reason why Prê-C refers to the "evening" (m3k-rw), the time of sunset, when he has become an old man who is about to enter the realm of the dead, from which he can arise only by means of the Seed which will engender him again.

After the intervention of C-Anat, Isis descends from heaven in order to uncover the Seed. The fact that the goddess is given the name of Isis and the epithet "Nubian woman" signifies that she is Re-C's mother. This is further indicated by the statement that she descends from heaven, for the mother of Re-C who gives birth to him in the morning is usually called Mut, the sky-goddess.

Between the Seed (Hathor) and Isis stands C-Anat. She plays a very interesting ambiguous role, which is quite in agreement with her character. Unlike the Seed, who has given herself to Seth, and Isis, who is Re-C's mother, C-Anat is committed to both gods. She is Re-C's daughter, but Seth's wife. Thus she is the right person to intervene in the conflict between Re-C and Seth, and she does so by asking Re-C to release Seth from the Seed, for this is in the interest of both parties: the Sun-god will be able to ensure his resurrection and Seth will be cured from his illness. As consort of Seth, C-Anat's role is similar to that of his Egyptian spouse Nephthys. Nephthys is sometimes called "the would-be woman without a vagina"[81] and, although exceptions occur in Egyptian mythology, she usually represents the childless woman who acts as wailing-woman and wet-nurse[52]. The same applies to C-Anat. Like Nephthys, she is not a "real" woman, for she behaves and
dresses like a man, and just like her Egyptian equivalent she is childless, for although she conceived a child, she was unable to give birth to it. In Ugaritic mythology too she is the divine wet-nurse who does not bear a child herself, but suckles the child of another goddess. On the other hand, "Anat is the daughter of Re, and as such she may be compared with Sakmet, the Eye of Re who protects her father against those who take advantage of him when he has grown old and weak.

The three goddesses mentioned in the text, ṭē ḫtāt (Hathor), "Anat and Isis, are three aspects of one and the same goddess who herself is an aspect of Re. These goddesses are part of the "multiplicity of constitutive powers, roles and forms" of the divine person which Assmann has called a "constellation". Our text shows in a narrative form how one aspect (ḥprw) of this constellation, the divine prostitute, is transformed into its opposite, the divine mother. Between the two stands "Anat, who is a true mediator in the Lévi-Straussian sense of the term. She bridges the gap between the two opposites, sharing aspects of both. Re's primaeval wife (his hand, his penis, his seed) is an androgynous goddess, she belongs to the undifferentiated unity of the Creator God who was alone in the primaeval chaos. This androgynous goddess who acts as a "strange woman" by committing adultery, is transformed into "Anat, who is a foreign goddess in the literal sense of the word and who is also characterized by a certain amount of androgyny, at least in outward appearance. On the other hand "Anat is the Eye of Re, who protects her father against his enemies, and as such she becomes Isis, the Eye of Re, who returns from Nubia in order to become Re's divine queen, his spouse and mother. Thus "Anat bridges the gap between Hathor, the divine prostitute and Isis, the divine wife and mother, between undifferentiated unity and the structured duality of man and wife, between irregularity and chaos represented by Seth and order and regularity established by Re.

Before closing this already too long discussion of the myth of "Anat, Seth and the Seed of Pre, three further aspects must be mentioned briefly. First, there is a remarkable similarity between the structure of our story and the myth of Osiris. It is well-known that a coherent account of this myth is lacking from Egyptian sources, and that such an account has to be reconstructed from allusions in various religious texts and from Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride (ch. 13–20). The episode which interests us here relates how Seth, after having killed Osiris, cut his body into pieces and scattered them all over the country. Isis, assisted by Nephthys, searches for them and manages to recover all of them except Osiris' penis, which
had been eaten by a fish, a feature found in Plutarch but not in ancient Egyptian sources, which say that the penis was found as well. In Plutarch's version Isis replaces the lost member by a new one. After having reassembled Osiris' body, Isis joins her husband and conceives posthumously Osiris' son Horus. The similarities between this myth and the Anat story are shown in the following tabulation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Osiris myth</th>
<th>Anat myth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seth kills Osiris.</td>
<td>Re is old and about to die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth prevents Osiris' resurrection by cutting his body into pieces and making the penis lost.</td>
<td>Seth prevents Re's rebirth by robbing his seed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isis, assisted by Nephthys, recovers the pieces, including the penis (or: fashions a new penis) and, becoming his wife and mother, gives birth to Osiris' reincarnation Horus.</td>
<td>Isis, assisted by Anat, recovers the seed and, becoming his wife and mother, enables Re to be reborn in the morning.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a penetrating study Jan Assmann has made a distinction between "myth" (Mythos) and "mythical statement" (mythische Aussage). Myth, according to him, is an abstraction, a nucleus of actions and events, of heroes and fates, which form the basic thematic material shared by a group of mythical statements. The latter represent the concrete realizations of myth found in written or inscribed documents.

Following this distinction one may say that the Osiris and the Anat stories are two divergent mythical statements of one and the same myth. Both are narrative realizations of a myth, which itself has a non-narrative structure, and which deals with the interrelations between Re-Osiris and his constellation and with the interactions between the opposite forces of chaos and order, which was one of the major concerns of ancient Egyptian religion.

A second remark regards the practical application of the mythical precedent told in our text. Elsewhere I have presented a case-study in Egyptian magic, in which I have tried to show how the magical spell operates and how the recitation of the spell influences in a favourable sense the process to which the patient is subjected. Much of what has been said there, may be applied to our text as well. What remains to be shown is how the analogy between the mythical precedent and the actual situation of the patient is established in this case. We have already remarked that part of the analogy lies in
the double meaning of the word mtwt, which indicates both the seed that harmed Seth and the poison of the scorpion from which the patient suffers. But for obvious reasons the patient is not identified with Seth. In the mythical precedent the seed is given back to Re Osiris, its rightful owner; the integrity of the god and his constellation is re-established, and it is with this god that the patient is identified. Just as Re is reborn and Osiris is resurrected as Horus, so the patient will recover from the poison that threatens to kill him. When the patient is cured "the Sun will arise and the inundation will flow and rituals will be observed in Heliopolis"; in other words, cosmic order will be re-established. This analogy is realized by means of the deification of the members of the patient's body (Gliederervergottung), which Assmann has interpreted as an enumeration of the constellation and of the "Sphäre des Seinigen" of the god. Thus the renewed integrity of the god is reflected by that of the patient, who will regain control over every part of his body despite of the scorpion's poison. The recitation of the mythical precedent and of the Gliederervergottung with its solemn, repetitive strain, influences the psychic attitude of the patient, and mobilizes his ability to overcome the poison's attack on his life.

Finally, we must return briefly to a problem mentioned earlier in this article, viz. the possible influence of non-Egyptian myths on our story. The occurrence of a few Semitic loan-words and of a Canaanite goddess does not mean very much in this respect, and, as we have seen, even the inclusion of some motifs known from other Near-Eastern stories is not necessarily of great importance. On the other hand, our story reveals a number of similarities, notably with the Mesopotamian myth of Enlil and Ninlil, which seem to go beyond these superficial resemblances. Both stories begin with a goddess (Ninlil, the Seed) who bathes, thereby revealing her attractions to a god passing by (Enlil, Seth), who has illicit sexual intercourse with her (against her will in the Sumerian myth; with her consent in the Egyptian story). Both gods are punished for their bad behaviour. In the Mesopotamian case, the result of Enlil's intercourse with Ninlil is the birth of the Moon-god Nanna, who is born in the underworld, from which he is set free by the subsequent birth of three minor divinities given as substitutes for the Moon-god, a feature probably invented to explain the periodical invisibility of the moon. In the Egyptian myth, the final outcome is that Re is reborn with the help of his mother Isis, who recovers the lost seed of the Moon-god. Re's nocturnal form. How Isis manages to do this is not mentioned, but as the seed is located in Seth's forehead one may surmise that she operated in the same way as Thoth did in a related story from The
Contendings of Horus and Seth. When Seth has swallowed the seed of Horus, Thoth makes it appear from Seth's head in the form of a golden disc. Before Seth can seize it, Thoth places it on his own head, and since Thoth is a Moon-god it is clear that this golden disc represents the moon. In fact, one may wonder whether the myth of Anat and Seth does not also contain a level describing the (re)birth of the moon. This is suggested by a passage in the Coffin Texts discussed by Dermen and Te Velde, ascribing the periodical waning of the Moon-god to the temporary removal of his seed. If this interpretation is accepted, there would be a further parallel between the myths of Enlil and Ninlil on the one hand, and that of Seth and the Seed on the other: both would describe the birth of the Moon-god, and both would give an explanation for the waning and periodical invisibility of the moon.

Kirk, without whose wonderful study of ancient Near-Eastern and Greek myths this article could hardly have been written, has given an analysis of Enlil and Ninlil and of the related myth of Enki and Ninhursag. According to him, the underlying meaning of these myths is that "the pursuit of fertility can be carried to excess; if it is so carried, it tends to result in infertility." They also reveal a moralistic statement, viz. that sexual excess and irregularity should be condemned because they are harmful and counterproductive. This again is certainly one of the underlying ideas in the Egyptian myth, and an idea quite familiar to us from Egyptian wisdom literature, with its emphasis on the concept of ma'at and its constant warning to avoid excess in every aspect of life. Seth is punished for his sexual exuberance, and his irregular sexual behaviour does not result in fertility and birth, but in infertility and abortion; it is only when cosmic and social order (ma'at) has been restored that Ra is reborn.

Roccati has expressed the opinion that "there are no certain non-Egyptian elements in the story, even if it shows a certain familiarity with Canaanite motifs". After all that has been said in the preceding pages it would be difficult not to agree with this opinion. Certain non-Egyptian motifs are detectable in the story, but these have been incorporated in a genuine Egyptian myth expressed in purely Egyptian religious terms, and it is quite out of the question that the story represents an Egyptian translation or even an interpretatio aegyptiaca of a non-Egyptian myth. If on the other hand there exists a similarity between the Egyptian story and a Mesopotamian one, this similarity lies mainly in the underlying structure shared by these stories, i.e. in the "myths" themselves rather than in their divergent mythical realizations. Since the transmission of the mythical heritage
of one culture to another is more likely to have taken place by means of narrative forms than by means of mythical abstractions, it seems best to assume that both myths arose from their own cultural setting, and that the Mesopotamian myth had no influence on the origin of the Egyptian story. After all, Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, besides displaying many differences, have also much in common, and the similarities as well as the divergencies are reflected in the mythologies of these ancient cultures.
Abbreviations used in this article follow the standard accepted in Egyptology, see the Annual Egyptianological Bibliography, Leiden 1947— and the Lexikon der Ägyptologie (= LÄ), Wiesbaden 1972—. In addition to these note the following: Helck, Beziehungen zu Verderbtem im 3. und 4. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Wiesbaden 1971; Stadelmann, SPGr = R. Stadelmann, Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten, Leiden 1967; Te Velde, Seth = H. te Velde, Seth, God of Confusion, Leiden 1977. This article has been written with financial support of the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.).


2) pHearet 11,13; pBerlin 3088 rt. 21, 2-3; pLeiden 1 343 + 345 rt. 4, 12-13 = vs. 7,7.


10) Information kindly supplied by Ms. Rosalind Hall, assistant curator of the Petrie Museum, University College, London. I learned too late about the present location of the ostraco to be able to use for the present article the excellent photographs sent to me by Ms. Hall, but I hope to return to the ostraco elsewhere. In the meantime it may be noted here, that Gardiner's transcription is certainly not an improvement upon the one published by Spiegelberg.

11) SPGr, pp. 131-133.


13) pLeiden 1 349 vs. 2,9-10; pCh. Beatty I rt. 11,1-13,1.

14) W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore 1946, p. 197, n. 39; Stadelmann, SPGr, p. 131, n. 4.


20) *PC*H. *Beatty* I vs. Cl. 5.


24) In *PC*H. *Beatty* VII rt. 8.4 a verb ḫmr (written ˒aḥā ˒aḥā) is used with reference to a scorpion, the object of ḫmr being its tail (hence Gardiner's suggestion "tuck together"). Whether a verb ˒aḥā ḫmr (Edelbu IV, 34, 7-8), which, judging from its context, appears to mean "pluck" (or flowers), has anything to do with this meaning of ḫmr, as suggested by D. Meeks, *AL* 77.0646, seems highly dubious to me.

25) *CAD*, E, p. 156.

26) Cf. *CAD*, §, p. 12 (e, 2) and N, pp. 197-198, resp.

27) Stadelmann, *SPG*, pp. 132-133 translates ḫmr as "Gewalt antun" and "vergewaltigen"; according to him Seth "zwingt die Göttin gewalt- sam ihn zu Willen zu sein". Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 37 also speaks of "rape".


29) *Wb.* IV, 365.


35) Cf. G. Navressy, "Stèle de Karnak avec textes magiques" in *ASAE* 17, 1917, pp. 194-196, who reads ad.kuš m ḫmr, nd.kuš (ṣīr, J.v.d.) m ḫmr, m ḫmr without indicating a lacuna at the end. The copy made for the Berlin Dictionary, quoted in the Belgenstelen to *Wb.* I, 465, 3 gives ad.kuš m ḫmr, nd.kuš m [ṣīt]. The parallel in *Uturin* 1936 suggests the restoration nd.kuš m [ṣīt].


41) KTU 1.24; Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, pp. 30-31, 128-129.

42) Cf. Stadelmann, *SGA*, pp. 124-125, who suggests that the author had an onomastic element of Near-Eastern gods at hand.


44) Cf. note 2 above.


46) The same idea is probably meant in another magical spell (pUM 10050, 8, 2) where seven gods are invoked "who bring the one above of the Underworld and make him travel towards this ground (INy w hry n du$t rdyg nm J r s3 t3 n3)". The one above of the Underworld is the moon as nocturnal Sun-god, who travels along the nightly sky towards the earth, the place where he will arise in the morning as the newly born Sun-god. Cf. my remarks on CT Spell 691 = BD 71 in *JEOL* vol. 26, 1979-1980, p. 21.

47) KRI II, 197, 10 = H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, E.F. Wente, *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, Chicago 1967, pl. 15: pr. n. k mmt r3 iw.k mtt r3 hbr nbs (2) s3tyw "When you (i.e. the King) come forth upon earth you are like RE above who illumines (? the Two Horizons". Another text in the same temple (*op. cit.*, p. 10 = KRI II, 197, 3), badly damaged, mentions "the rays of the light above (genw 3s n hty)", but this is inconclusive, since 3s can refer to the light of both sun and moon, see *WB*, IV, 430, 7-9.

48) *WB*, II, 303, 11.


53) It should be noted, however, that this interpretation of the Ugaritic text is not beyond doubt, "A cow" is repeatedly mentioned and this cow "bears a bull to Ba'al" (KTU 1.10, III, 20-22), but it is by no means certain that this cow is actually identical with "Anat; rather it would seem that "Anat chooses a cow from "the inundated shore... teeming with wild oxen" (*m3h...m3t r'ummm*; cf. Ge 41:22, 28 and Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, p. 59) and gives it to Ba'al to bear him a son. The crucial passage describing Ba'al's mating with the cow is much damaged. For another view see E. Lipiński in *Syria* vol. 42, 1965, pp. 45-73.


56) KTU 1.19, IV, 206-208.


58) KTU 1.23, 30ff.


64) O. Marucchi, Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptiaca, p. 92.

65) Pyr. 123a (W).


70) The text adds: "... after deflowering her with a chisel", a phrase unknown to me from other sources. In any case it has nothing to do with ḫ Anat's alleged epithet "Mistress of the chisel" (Stadelmann, SPQ, p. 133, n. 2), for the passage in our text does not refer to "Anat. Moreover, the connection of the "Mistress of the chisel" (found only in pLueden I 343 + 345 vs. 3,7 = rt. 1,112 with ḫ Anat is itself highly dubious. The chisel is mentioned in magical texts as a weapon used to strike a demon on his head, see Massart, op. cit., p. 55, n. 24. It is interesting to note that this use of the chisel survives in the Coptic Mar- tyrs, see the references given by W.E. Crum, A Coptic Dic- tionary, Oxford 1939, p. 213, s.v. MAK.


72) R.O. Faulkner in JEA vol. 54, 1968, p. 44.

73) Cf. Te Velde, Seth, p. 52.


75) pCH, Beatty I rt. 3,9-4,3.

76) oDM 1968 + oCairo CG 25518, 8-9; see G. Posener, Catalogues des oeuvres hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médineh, vol. II, 3, Cairo 1972, pl. 76, and the commentary by Ph. Derchain in CDE vol. 50, 1975, pp. 70-77.


78) Te Velde, JEOl, pp. 55-56.

79) TW II, 228, 18ff., ed. J.-Cl. Goyon in BIPAO vol. 75, 1975, pp. 349-399. I do not believe it is necessary to emend the text as Goyon has suggested.


81) Pyr. 2720b.


89) op. cit., p. 38.
91) pch. Beatty VII vs. 6,2-3.
94) pch. Beatty I rt. 11,1-13,1.
95) Cf. Ph. Derchain, in *La Lune*, pp. 21-23, where allusions to this myth in other texts are mentioned.
96) CT Spell 310; see Derchain, op. cit., p. 41; Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 43.