

## THE BIRTH OF HORUS ACCORDING TO THE EBERS PAPYRUS\*)

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§ 1. In his monumental study *De Geboorte van Horus* Stricker<sup>1)</sup> presents us with an impressive reconstruction of the ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning conception, pregnancy and birth; in essence the work is an extensive commentary on the texts and representations on the walls of the burial chamber of Ramesses VI which STRICKER interprets as an embryological treatise dealing with the birth and rebirth of the king. In this treatise embryological and cosmological terminology are interwoven, since both were viewed by the Egyptians as basically identical. That the author draws heavily on non-Egyptian sources (classical, Jewish, early-Christian) and that the Egyptians themselves are often quoted from classical authors is not only a result of Stricker's conviction of the unity of thought of the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean<sup>2)</sup>, but is indeed almost inevitable, since the material from ancient Egyptian sources is scarce and often rather ambiguous. Nevertheless an important study such as Dieter Müller's *Die Zeugung durch das Herz in Religion und Medizin der Ägypter*<sup>3)</sup> shows that at least some of the ideas treated by Stricker<sup>4)</sup> can be traced back to very ancient times.

The present article contains a re-interpretation of a well-known text, the second spell from the Ebers Papyrus (Eb. 1,12-2,1), which, as I hope to show, describes the rebirth of the Sun-god at dawn and at the same time the birth of Horus, son of Osiris. After a translation (§ 2) a commentary will elucidate the mythological background of the spell (§§ 3-6); in the final paragraphs (§§ 7-8) an attempt is made to analyse the spell as a whole and to trace the relations of myth and magic in this particular case.

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<sup>1)</sup> B. H. Stricker, *De Geboorte van Horus* I-III (Leiden 1963-75), to be continued; hereafter cited as *Horus*.

<sup>2)</sup> See the review of Ph. Derchain, *BiOr* 21 (1964), 158-159.

<sup>3)</sup> *OrNS* 35 (1967), 247-274.

<sup>4)</sup> *Horus* I, 28-31.

§2. The translation I propose for the text<sup>5)</sup> runs (with omission of the two-fold enumeration of evil forces) as follows:

- (a) Another spell, FOR RELEASING ANY BANDAGE.
- (b) "Be released, be released!", said Isis.
- (c) Horus was released by Isis from the evil which was done to him by his brother Seth, when he killed his father Osiris.
- (d) Oh Isis, Great of Magic, release me, deliver me from everything evil..., like you were released and delivered from your son Horus,
- (e) for I have entered the fire,  
I have come forth from the water,  
and I will not go down into the East of today!  
I have spoken being a new-born child,  
being a prototype-child (?):  
"Oh Rē, speak on behalf of your body,  
Osiris, cry out on behalf of your offspring!"  
Rē did speak on behalf of his body,  
Osiris did cry out on behalf of his offspring.
- (f) You have rescued me from everything evil...

§3. *ḳ.n.ī m ḥt, pr.n.ī m mw*. The fire (*ḥt*) and water (*mw*) of this phrase were interpreted by Sethe as "das Feuer der Krankheit und das Wasser des Heilmittels"<sup>6)</sup>; the editors of the *Grundriss* suggested that the text refers to "eine Art Feuer- und Wasserprobe als symbolische Wiedergeburt, zumal vorher und nachher auf die Geburt angespielt wird"<sup>7)</sup>, and this suggestion was followed up by Westendorf, who, taking fire and water together, recognized a reference to the Pool of Fire of BD 126, though his article is mainly concerned with the notion of immunity against fire and water<sup>8)</sup>. I think we should slightly modify Westendorf's interpretation by keeping fire and water separated; *ḳ.n.ī m ḥt* then refers to the entrance of the Sun-god into the Island of Fire, while *pr.n.ī m mw* refers to the rise of the Sun-god from the primeval waters.

<sup>5)</sup> G. Ebers, *Papyros Ebers. Das Hermetische Buch über die Arzneimittel der alten Ägypter in hieratischer Schrift I* (Leipzig 1875), Tf. I; the hieratic text is also accessible in W. Wolf, *Die Welt der Ägypter* (Stuttgart 1954), Tf. 117 (reproduced from Ebers); transcriptions may be found in e.g. K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig 1928<sup>2</sup>), 47,17 - 48,10 and in H. Grapow, *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert* (Berlin 1958), 532-533 (= *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, Bd. V; this work will hereafter be cited as *Grundriss*).

<sup>6)</sup> K. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den ägyptischen Lesestücken* (Leipzig 1927), 70.

<sup>7)</sup> H. von Deines, H. Grapow, W. Westendorf, *Grundriss IV/2*, 232.

<sup>8)</sup> W. Westendorf, 'Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten, IV. Feuer- und Wasserprobe', *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 149-151.

When the Sun-god comes from the Netherworld he enters the Island of Fire before he is reborn<sup>9)</sup>. In many places in the Coffin Texts it is stated that the deceased "has come into the Island of Fire"<sup>10)</sup>, where he becomes a flame himself<sup>11)</sup> and where he becomes sexually active again: "I beget and my Ba begets, my Ba begets for me in the People who are in the Island of Fire and I myself beget in the (gods and) goddesses"<sup>12)</sup>. In this passage we take the preposition *m* after *sti* "beget" as the *m* of predication or equation<sup>13)</sup>, indicating that the sexual activity of the Ba of the deceased manifests itself in the sexual activity of the People in the Island of Fire<sup>14)</sup>. This is a way of formulating the idea of the deceased as the Sun-god "begetting himself" (*wtt sw ds.f*), or in this case, "having himself begot" in the Island of Fire in order to be re-born in the morning. Of course the flames of the Island of Fire are also described as dangerous and destructive; but this applies in the first place to the enemies of Rē<sup>15)</sup>, while Rē himself is immune to it, as stated in CT Spell 88: "I will not obey magic, I will not be burnt by the fire, I will not be wetted by the water, I will be like Rē every day who is born every day with<sup>16)</sup> the Sun-folk"<sup>17)</sup>.

The procreation of Rē is one of the major themes of Stricker's "embryological treatise" and it is interesting to find that the seed with which the Sun-god is begotten is called "flame" or "fire" there. An unmistakable illustration of the

<sup>9)</sup> H. Kees, 'Die Feuerinsel in den Sargtexten und im Totenbuch', *ZÄS* 78 (1942), 41-53; cf. H. Altenmüller, *Die Apotropaia und die Götter Mittelägyptens I* (München 1965), 92: "Ausschlaggebend ist (...) überall, wo die Flammeninsel genannt wird, der Gedanke, dass ein uranfängliches Entstehen wiederholt und eine Neugeburt eingeleitet wird".

<sup>10)</sup> CT I 117b; III 321d; 327e; IV 110g-h; V 180d [Sq 5 Sq]; VI 382d; VII 51q; 230a; 237k.

<sup>11)</sup> CT IV 102c-d.

<sup>12)</sup> CT I 364/65b-366/67b [MSC].



<sup>13)</sup> Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (= *AECT*) I, 73 translates: "my soul impregnates the people" (etc.), taking *sti m* as a substitute for *sti + dir*. object; according to the *Wörterbuch*, however, this construction is only found from the NK onwards and even then it is "ungewöhnlich" (*Wb.* IV 347, 14).

<sup>14)</sup> Cf. CT VII 218g-h: "I have come to yonder Island of Fire and I go to rest in the manifestations (*h'w*) of the Begetters"; see for *'j'w* "Begetters" the places in the Litany of Rē, cf. n. 29 below.

<sup>15)</sup> CT VI 270w-x.

<sup>16)</sup> Or: "fashioned by the Sun-folk"; cf. for *hr* "with", "in the presence of" Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, § 768a and for *hr* "by" (of agent, thus Faulkner, *AECT* I, 91) *ibid.*, § 768f. In any case a comparison with the passage quoted above n. 12 suggests that the Sun-folk, who are sometimes associated with the birth of the Sun-god and of the solar king (cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 112\*), and the People in the Island of Fire are actually identical; cf. CT VII 182c, f: "My seed is that of the Bull of the Sun-folk (...), I have travelled to Osiris (...) and he has given me his house and his seed that I may beget with it" (Faulkner's translation); after a lacuna the text proceeds: "I am the Ram, and I have come that I may be a crocodile-spirit" (182n-o), for which see Stricker, *Horus* II, 41-43 + fig. 8: the birth of the ram-headed Sun-god from the womb depicted as a crocodile (vignette from the *Création du Disque Solaire*).

<sup>17)</sup> CT II 54m-r; cf. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 150; see also Spells 246-247 and 711.

impregnation with fire is found in a vignette in several Ramesside royal tombs<sup>18</sup>). Here an ithyphallic god, called "He who hides the hours" in the tomb of Ramesses IX, is standing between two sloping lines forming a funnel<sup>19</sup>) containing the hours of the night. Below the phallus of the god and connected with it by a dotted line are two hieroglyphic signs, the first depicting a child () , the second a flame () ; one of the accompanying legends (only present in the tomb of Ramesses IX) states: "This god is like this: he procreates the flame (*wtt.f sdt*)"<sup>20</sup>). This vignette was also studied by Stricker, who concluded that the flame represents the fiery nature of the Ba-soul which is present in the semen<sup>21</sup>). Apart from the many references from classical and Jewish authors quoted by Stricker the following passage from the Coffin Texts is particularly instructive: "I am this Ba of Shu which is in the flame (*nis*, var. *nbi*) of the blast of fire (*hh*) which Atum kindled (*sti*) with his hand; he created orgasm and a drop fell into<sup>22</sup>) his mouth; then he spat me out as Shu, together with Tefnut who came forth after me"<sup>23</sup>). Here the production of semen by masturbation is called the kindling of a flame. The Ramesside vignette also recalls a passage from a hymn on an ostrakon found in the Valley of the Kings praising the new-born Horus: "Oh infant who came forth from the phallus, oh child of fire (*pḥ hy n sdt*), with gleaming rays"<sup>24</sup>). One might also refer to a rather obscure passage from the "chapitres supplémentaires" in which the deceased identifies himself with the phallus of Rē (*īnk ḡt n R*<sup>25</sup>) who is afterwards called "Bull, Lord of the phallus", "Amun, copulating bull" and "Bull, Lord of the flame, strong of fire (*pḥ k3 nb nbi nht nsrt*)"<sup>26</sup>). These quotations lend new

<sup>18</sup>) A. Piankoff & N. Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York 1954), Pl. 115 and text vol., p. 339, fig. 95; see A. Piankoff, *La Création du Disque Solaire* (Le Caire 1953), 18; 62-66 + Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII (tomb of Ramesses IX; other parallels are mentioned by Piankoff, *op. cit.*, 62 n. 1 and 63 n. 1).

<sup>19</sup>) This funnel has convincingly been interpreted as a clepsydra by P. Barguet, 'Remarques sur quelques scènes de la salle du sarcophage de Ramsès VI', *RdEg* 30 (1978), 51-56.

<sup>20</sup>) Piankoff, *Création*, 64.

<sup>21</sup>) Stricker, *Horus* II, 99-104 + fig. 17.


<sup>22</sup>) Zandee, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 71-72, is certainly right in translating "Same geriet in seinem Mund" and not "from his mouth" (so e.g. De Buck, *Sjoe*, 232; Sauneron/Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde*, 47; Müller, *OrNS* 35 (1967), 263; Faulkner, *AECT* I, 80); Atum is here impregnating himself through his mouth and consequently gives birth to Shu and Tefnut from his mouth; cf. the vignette in a mythological papyrus (BM 7312) where Geb as "father of the gods who creates the earth and the whole circuit of the Sun" is shown impregnating himself through his mouth, see J. A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften* (Turin 1971), Pl. XXVIIIb and H. te Velde, art. 'Geb' in *LÄ* II, 429. Cf. perhaps also *CT* VI 191e.

<sup>23</sup>) *CT* II 18a-e.

<sup>24</sup>) A. Erman, 'Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern', *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 20.

<sup>25</sup>) W. Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires au Livre des Morts 162 à 174* (Leiden 1881), Ch. 167, 18; see for *ḡt* with phallus-det., *Wb.* V 506, 13 ff.

<sup>26</sup>) *Ibid.*, Ch. 167, 29.

support to Faulkner's much disputed interpretation of *kī sšd* in CT II 20d as the impregnation of Isis by heavenly fire<sup>27</sup>); the fact that the same expression *kī sšd* is also used of the Sun-god in the Netherworld where his Ba gives life to those who dwell there<sup>28</sup>) seems to me only to favour Faulkner's interpretation. In his commentary on the Litany of Rē Hornung agrees with Faulkner's opponents; like them he feels that the CT-text refers to "den Aufruf in der Natur beim Erscheinen oder bei der Geburt eines Gottes"<sup>29</sup>); but here after *kī sšd* it is stated that Isis "awakes pregnant with the seed of Osiris", in other words, Horus has not yet been born and consequently the "appearance of a god" can only be the manifestation of the dead Osiris in the heavenly fire. Moreover, as Hornung notes himself, in the Litany of Rē *kī sšd* is not followed by expressions of fear but by "etwas Positives, das Dunkel vertreibendes". Another stanza from the Litany of Rē identifies the Sun-god with an ithyphallic god called 'š'y, "Begetter", "Samen-ergießer", on which Hornung comments: "Offenbar will der Dichter (...) das Licht des Sonnengottes als überquellenden Samen deuten, mit dem er auch in der Unterwelt fortgesetzt zeugt, so wie Osiris als gemordeter Gott noch den Horus zeugt"<sup>30</sup>). For the impregnation of the Mother of Apis by heavenly fire or by light from the moon, mentioned by classical authors<sup>31</sup>), one may recall the fact that in Ptolemaic texts the moon is often called , "fiery bull"<sup>32</sup>).

Like the flames of the Island of Fire, the fire in the semen is also a destructive power. In the Rameside vignette discussed above the fiery seed is received by a small male figure called *snfy*, "Bloody One", who then "places the fire amidst the damned"<sup>33</sup>). Stricker has noted that the texts of the embryological treatise frequently stress the destructive effects accompanying the procreation<sup>34</sup>), a fact which can be explained from the idea that procreation and birth of the Sun-god constitute the defeat of the powers of chaos<sup>35</sup>).

The rise of the Sun-god from the primaeval waters is too well-known to need further illustration here: only two examples will be quoted in which the same phrase *pri m mw* is used in this sense, one from the Book of the Dead: "Oh divine

<sup>27</sup>) R. O. Faulkner, 'The Pregnancy of Isis', *JEA* 54 (1968), 40-44.

<sup>28</sup>) E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* I (Basel/Genève 1975), 132; id., II (1976), 78.

<sup>29</sup>) *op. cit.*, II, 130 n. 310.

<sup>30</sup>) *op. cit.*, II, 109 n. 96.

<sup>31</sup>) Faulkner, *op. cit.*, 44.





<sup>32</sup>) *Wb.* V 95, 15-16. On light and semen, see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967), 151-53.

<sup>33</sup>) Piankoff, *Création*, 64.

<sup>34</sup>) Stricker, *Horus* I, 35.

<sup>35</sup>) The symbolism of the ritual kindling of a fire at childbirth (H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden 1964), 104-105; cf. Pap. Ram. IV, C 12-13?) may also contain these two aspects of the fire; usually the apotropaic function of the fire is stressed, but see already E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* II, 16-17, who took it as a symbol of life.

child, hear of eternity, who begot himself and gave birth to himself (...), who came forth from the water (*pr m mw*) and dragged himself from Nun"<sup>36</sup>), and one from a magical text: "You Great One in heaven, Great One in the Netherworld (...), I have come with you from the water (*pr.n.i r-ḥn'.k m mw*)"<sup>37</sup>). The ambiguity of the Egyptian word *mw* "water" makes it rather haphazard to discuss the embryological connotations of this word in our text. Naturally one thinks of the "water" (= seed) in the womb, for which the Great Hymn to the Aten provides the *locus classicus*; here it is said that this god "brings into being the seed (*mšy*) in the women, makes water into men (*ir mw m rmt*) and feeds the son in his mother's womb"<sup>38</sup>).

§4. *nm ḥ3.i r iḥbt nt hrw pn*. The main problem in this line is the word *iḥbt*, written with the determinative . There seems to have grown a certain *communis opinio* on this point, since all translators so far have rendered the word with "bird-trap", "snare", "Falle"<sup>39</sup>, though most of them add a question-mark. The reasons for this translation are obvious: first the determinative points to an object of wood, secondly the word *iḥbt* resembles *ihṯ(t)* which means "bird-trap", "Bügel-falle"<sup>40</sup>). Both arguments however are questionable; the writing of the word for "bird-trap" shows a limited amount of variation<sup>41</sup>), but all examples known to me agree in writing the first consonants as *ib-*, not as *iḥb-*; in fact when one looks through the relevant pages of the *Wörterbuch* and of Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary* only one example of the variant *iḥb-* for *ib-* is found: of two stelae of Amenhotep II from Giza one gives the name of a certain royal headdress as *ibḥ* , while the parallel-text has *ibḥs* <sup>42</sup>). In addition, the determinative  is not used in any of the writings of the word *ihṯ(t)* known to me, though this is of course in itself no serious objection. Nevertheless it is in my opinion very unlikely


<sup>36</sup>) BD 15, quoted from the papyrus of <sup>Nakht</sup> ~~Am~~, see E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum* (London 1895), 6.



<sup>37</sup>) *Mag. Pap. Harris VI*, 11-12.

<sup>38</sup>) M. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten* (Bruxelles 1938), 94:10; cf. for the terms *mw* and *mnw* in the "Embryological Treatise" Stricker, *Horus II*, 139ff.

<sup>39</sup>) E.g. H. Joachim, *Papyrus Ebers. Das älteste Buch über Heilkunde* (Berlin 1890), 2; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 70; *Wb.* I 31, 12; Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 8; *Grundriss IV/1*, 309; J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden 1978), 49.

<sup>40</sup>) *Wb.* I 64-65; see B. Grdseloff, 'Zum Vogelfang', *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 52-55; 136-139.

<sup>41</sup>) Apart from abbreviated writings employing only the -sign, we find in the OK *ihṯ*, *ihṯ*; in the MK it is also written *ihṯ* (the forms *ihy* and *ihṯ-t* quoted by Zandee, *Death as an Enemy* (Leiden 1960), 230 n. 5, refer to different words); in the NK the usual writings are *ihṯ* and *ihṯy* (in one case *ih* is found: *Stela Leiden V* 1,13).

<sup>42</sup>) *Urk.* IV 1277, 20; 1286, 16, see Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 16; in *Beni Hassan II*, 13 the word *ihṯ* "dance" is written , but this is certainly a case of metathesis, whether real or graphical is hard to say, though the Late-Egyptian form  might suggest the ~~ihṯ~~ possibility (cf. *imṯ*/*iṯm*).

that *ibtt* is to be identified with *ibt(t)* and that it means "bird-trap". As an alternative I would suggest that  $\text{𓂏}$  is a scribal error<sup>43)</sup> and that we should simply read  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , "East".

The East is, of course, the place where the sun rises from the Netherworld; going down to the eastern horizon is therefore identical with "dying again". In Spell 93 of the Book of the Dead, a "spell for not letting the deceased be ferried to the East in the Netherworld", the deceased threatens the Sun-god with destruction should he be taken to the East against his will; in the MK-version (CT Spell 548) one ms. (T2L) replaces this title by "Spell for not dying again in the Netherworld"<sup>44)</sup>. Similarly, in BD 176 ("Spell for not dying again in the Netherworld") the deceased states: "The Land of the East is my abomination". In a fragmentary magical papyrus from the MK we find in an enumeration of terms for killing also the expression *ḏš[.t r] ibtt* "ferry to the East"<sup>45)</sup>; in a NK-ostracon someone who apparently has cursed (?) the temple of Amun is summoned: "Hurry on, go to the East, you hot-mouthed one!" in which "Go to the East" means nothing less than "Go to hell"<sup>46)</sup>! The reason for this unfavorable position of the East in Egyptian mythology is clear: when the Sun-god (and with him the deceased) goes down below the western horizon he "dies" only to be reborn in the morning; but when he goes down again to the eastern horizon the "cosmic cycle of death and resurrection"<sup>47)</sup> is broken; then he dies again and this time he dies a final death. This mythology of annihilation caused by cosmic disturbance<sup>48)</sup> may also lie behind the well-known theme of the East as the place of execution of the enemies of Rē<sup>49)</sup>, though one can also see this as an

<sup>43)</sup> W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte (Grundriss VIII)* (Berlin 1962), § 18 ("falsche Determinierungen").

<sup>44)</sup> Cf. E. Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen* (Berlin 1968), 33 n. 9: "Die unterschiedlichen Titel des Spruches 548 (...) deuten vielleicht darauf hin, dass man sich den 'Zweiten Tod' der Sargtexte im gefährlichen 'Osten' des Jenseits vorstellt, wo auch die 'Schlachtbank' häufig lokalisiert wird".

<sup>45)</sup> *Pap-Ram. IX*, 3, 3; cf. Sir Alan Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford 1955), Pl. XLII.

<sup>46)</sup> *Ostr. Leipzig 8*, see J. Černý & A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I* (Oxford 1957), Pl. VII, 5. That it is not simply "an abusive order to disappear" (Černý/Gardiner, *op. cit.*, 3) is clear from the following sentences, in which it is said that the person cursed will be delivered to "cold shadow in winter and burning heat in summer", which is exactly the opposite of what any Egyptian would have wished for himself!


<sup>47)</sup> Hornung, *Höllenvorstellungen*, 33.

<sup>48)</sup> See in general S. Schott, 'Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Weltende', *Analecta Biblica* 12 (Roma 1959), 319-330.

<sup>49)</sup> Ph. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825, I* (Bruxelles 1965), 157-158; see for a comparison of this idea in Egyptian, classical and early-Christian sources S. Morenz, 'Rechts und links im Totengericht', *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 62-71. The theme is mainly known from Late Period sources (cf. Derchain, *op. cit.*, 157 and Morenz, *op. cit.*, 64); in addition to the earlier references quoted by these authors one may mention CT VII 250j-k; *Book of the Celestial Cow*, S. I, 41 (ed. Maystre, *BIFAO* 40, 106); Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637*, rt. 23, 7-8 and vs. 8, 3-4; see also J. Cl. Goyon, *Textes mythologiques* II, [199] n. 10 (= *BIFAO* 75, 364).

aetiological myth originating from the red colour of the morning-sky, just like the Island of Fire which is also mentioned as the place of execution, e.g. in BD 71: "Oh you seven knots (...) who cause a slaughter (*š't*) in the Island of Fire"<sup>50</sup>).

For the idiom of our phrase one may compare a similar line from the Berlin Rituals of Amun and Mut: *nm hr.n.i n š't nt hrw pn* "I will not fall in the slaughter of today!"<sup>51</sup>), said by the priest when he prostrates himself after having opened the shrine and awakened the god.

§5. *dd.n.i hy.kwī hš.kwī*. With this sentence the reciter of our spell introduces the reason why he will be saved from annihilation in the East: he has spoken to Rē and Osiris being *hy* and *hš*. The first element does not constitute any great difficulty, since the word *hy* is well-known with the meaning "child", "infant", "baby"<sup>52</sup>). Whatever its exact relation may be with  *h*, which allegedly means "placenta"<sup>53</sup> or perhaps rather "amnion (with its contents)"<sup>54</sup>), it should be noted that *hy* usually refers to a child after its birth, as is clear from the fact that the Sun-god is called *hy* in the morning and *nhh* "old man" in the evening<sup>55</sup>) and that the term is applied to a little girl (*hyt*) who died in infancy, "while the breast was still in her mouth"<sup>56</sup>). The translation "Embryo (Fruchtsackkind)" proposed for *hy* in our text by H. von Deines is therefore only acceptable as a possible etymology and does not mean that the term indicates exclusively the child in the womb. In our text a denominal verb *hy* "be a child" is used, for which only one other example is known to me: in the great representation of Nut in the Cenotaph of Seti I we find at the place where the Sun-god is born from the vulva of the goddess (marked *šht ištut*) the legend [*s*]w *hy m dī sw hrw pr.f* "He is a child"<sup>57</sup>) when he shows himself on the day of his going forth"<sup>58</sup>); in the demotic paraphrase of this line<sup>59</sup>) *hy* is twice rendered by forms of the verb *hm* "be small". The word *hy* as a designation of the young Sun-god fits neatly within the solar context already established in our preceding paragraphs.

The second verb, *hš*, is a *hapax* and gave rise to many different translations

<sup>50</sup>) BD Nav. 71, 16-18 = CT VI 323q-u.

<sup>51</sup>) Pap. Berl. 3055, 5, 2 = 3014, 4, 6-7; also in 3055, 11, 9-10.

<sup>52</sup>) Wb. III 217, 3-9.

<sup>53</sup>) A. M. Blackman, 'The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons', JEA 3 (1916), 235-249.

<sup>54</sup>) H. von Deines, 'Mwt-rmt' "Mutter der Menschen", MIO 4 (1956), 39 n. 30.

<sup>55</sup>) Wb. III 217, 5.

<sup>56</sup>) Stela Leiden V 55, 3.6; cf. E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der Ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden 1954), 187; E. Feucht, art. 'Kind', LÄ III, 430.

<sup>57</sup>) H. Frankfort a.o., *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos II* (London 1933), Pl. LXXXI; the reading *hy* is confirmed by the late parallel-text in Pap. Carlsberg I (see n. 59 below).

<sup>58</sup>) Cf. for the construction *sw* + participle H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 173-175.

<sup>59</sup>) Pap. Carlsberg I, 2, 18-19; H. O. Lange & O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg No. I* (København 1940), 23.



varying from mere guesses<sup>60</sup>) to attempts at emendation. Von Deines suggested "in gebeugter Stellung?"<sup>61</sup>), apparently thinking of *h3* "sich beugen vor jem." (Wb. III 223,1), which only occurs in *Urk. VIII* 44 [55k, 10] and, as the *Wörterbuch* notes, should probably be emended to *h3b* or *h3m*; recently Borghouts proposed "be innocent (<w>h3?)"<sup>62</sup>). I am fully aware that my own suggestion is hardly any better than these and I give it for what it is worth. From the parallelism between *hy.kwi* and *h3.kwi* one might deduce that the latter word is also a denominative verb, which would leave us with a word \**h3* meaning something like "child". This word one could connect with a god *H3* mentioned in the temple of Denderah<sup>63</sup>); here we find a scene showing the king offering herbs to Harsomtut who is shown wearing the sun-disk on his head and is therefore characterized as a form of *Rē*; this is confirmed by the epithet given to the king here: "Image of *Rē*-who-is-on-the-Lotus-bud"; the offering is described as "pacifying (the god) *H3*". From this evidence we may safely conclude that *H3* is a form of the young Sun-god in Denderah. Most probably this god should be connected with the *s h3 tpy* "Man of the First Lotus-Leaf" occurring in a number of Edfu-texts as an epithet of Horus and the Pharaoh; these texts have been studied by Blackman and Fairman<sup>64</sup>), who concluded that *s h3 tpy* probably denotes "the first created being of the primordial age, the expression containing a reference to the lotus out of which the sun-god emerged in the beginning of time", a conclusion which is corroborated by the equation of the Man of the Lotus-Leaf (*s h3*) and the First Man (*s tpy*) with Shu, "the first being to be created by the sun-god"<sup>65</sup>). I therefore would suggest that *h3*, which like *hy* must be a designation of the new-born Sun-god, be translated as "be a Lotus-child", or, to use the term coined by Fairman, "be a prototype-child"<sup>66</sup>).

<sup>60</sup>) E.g. Joachim, *Papyrus Ebers*, 2: "bejammernswerth"; Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 70: "frisch"; Lefébvre, *Grammaire*, § 350: "frais"; *Grundriss* IV/1, 309: "klein"; Faulkner, *Conc. Dict.*, 183: "be young, little"; Westendorf, *ZAS* 96 (1970), 150: "verjüngt".

<sup>61</sup>) *MIO* 4 (1956), 39 n. 30.

<sup>62</sup>) *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 49.

<sup>63</sup>) Mariette, *Dendérah* II, Pl. 47a = Chassinat, *Le temple de Denderah* II, 188. A god *H3* is also mentioned on the Turin altar of Nectanebo (cat. 1751 = CGT 22055): *H3 m Hwt-H3*, see L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta, are e bacili da libagione* (Torino 1977), 98 (l. 15).

<sup>64</sup>) A. M. Blackman & H. W. Fairman, "The Myth of Horus at Edfu - II", *JEA* 29 (1943), 20-21. See now also Fairman's remarks in *The Triumph of Horus* (London 1974), 130 (Glossary s.v. Prototype Man).

<sup>65</sup>) Blackman/Fairman, *op. cit.*, 21. See for a possible occurrence of the *s h3* in *CT* VI 173b R. el Sayed, *OrNS* 43 (1974), 286 with n. 114. It is tempting to see a connection with the MK title *nḥ n h3 tpy* "Person of the First Lotus-Leaf (?)", cf. *Wb.* III 220, 7 and S. Bosticco, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Roma 1959), 49 n. al.

<sup>66</sup>) Note that the birth from the Lotus is sometimes located in the Island of Fire, e.g. *BD* 15B1 [Ba], 13-14; *Urk.* VIII 75 [90c].

§ 6. *i R' mdw hr dt.k, Wsir sbh hr prt-im.k*. To understand this line is much more difficult than to translate its individual words. Sethe<sup>67)</sup> surmised that the spell ends after *h3.kwi* and that a new spell begins here; this view was rejected by later translators and is indeed very unlikely, since the enumeration of evil forces in 1,14-15 is repeated in 1,19-2,1 and the rubrics in 1,12 and 2,1 make it clear that we are dealing with one spell here. Consequently, the meaning of this line must be judged in the light of the foregoing phrases, which, as we have seen, allude to the Sun-god begetting himself in the Island of Fire and giving birth to himself from the primeval waters. For *prt-im.f* "what has come forth from him", "his offspring" one may compare *pr-im.f* "who has come forth from him", a common phrase for "his son"<sup>68)</sup>.

The usual translation of *dt* is "body", but this translation needs a good deal of specification. After all that has been written about the Egyptian concepts of what we call "soul" a thorough investigation of the different Egyptian terms for "body" is certainly one of the desiderata of Egyptology; no attempt at such an investigation can be made here, however, and we have to confine ourselves to a few remarks. It is noteworthy that *dt* is only used of the living body; even when it is applied to the body resting in its tomb<sup>69)</sup>, it is not the corpse (dead body) that is meant, but the spiritualized body (*3h*) of the deceased who has become an Osiris. When the corpse (*h3t*) has been embalmed by Anubis the Ba and the Shadow of a person join his *dt*<sup>70)</sup>; thus the mummification accomplishes the reintegration of the personality of the deceased. Illness may be ascribed to the intrusion of a disease-demon's *dt* in someone's flesh (*iwf*)<sup>71)</sup>; an expression like *k3.i n dt.i* "my Ka of my *dt*" is therefore not simply a synonym of *k3.i ds.i* "my own Ka", but stresses the fact that the Ka of a person is a part of his own personality and confirms the bodily integrity of a person. Perhaps the best translation of *dt* would be "bodily manifestation of someone's personality", uniting the concepts of "body" and "personality".

Returning to our text I propose the following interpretation: by *dt.k* is meant the body of Osiris reintegrated by Rē, who becomes one with Osiris during his nightly sojourn in the Netherworld, while *prt-im.k* is the result of this unification, the young Sun-god begot by the "dead" Osiris; in other words: Rē should speak on behalf of Osiris, his nightly body, and Osiris should cry out on behalf of Rē, his offspring. With this line our text refers to one of the main themes of the "*Unterweltbücher*", as e.g. in the sixth hour of the Amduat: "Das grosse Thema

<sup>67)</sup> *Erl.*, 70.

<sup>68)</sup> *Wb.* I 522, 4-5.

<sup>69)</sup> *Wb.* V 503, 14.

<sup>70)</sup> *CT* VI 74g-i; cf. B. George, *Zu den altägyptischen Vorstellungen vom Schatten als Seele* (Bonn 1970), 94.

<sup>71)</sup> Unpublished magical papyrus in Turin, quoted in the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* V 503, 15.

dieser Stunde ist die Vereinigung des Sonnengottes mit seinem Leichnam (...). Die ihm innewohnende Lebenskraft vereinigt sich mit dem Leichnam, der sonst getrennt von ihm starr und unbeweglich in den Tiefen der Dat ruht, und erfüllt ihn mit neuem Leben"<sup>72</sup>). The Litany of Rē is also largely concerned with the unification of Rē with his nightly manifestation, Osiris; this whole book may even be summarized in one vignette showing a ram-headed mummified figure with the legends "This is Rē who has gone to rest in Osiris" and "Osiris who has gone to rest in Rē"<sup>73</sup>). In the texts accompanying the unification of Rē and Osiris in the "Embryological Treatise" in the tomb of Ramesses VI these gods are indeed speaking to one another: "Passing through the body of Him-who-is-Mysterious-of-Forms by this Great God (sc. Rē). He passes through the body of Osiris and he speaks (*mdw*) to those who are in his following. What Rē says to Osiris, the body of the god who is in the Netherworld: Oh Osiris, Mysterious One, Exalted of Forms, speak, you body of mine! Oh, behold, I pass through your cavern, you who are alone, who guard the West, for whom those who are in the Netherworld lament, you whose heart breathes at my voice!"<sup>74</sup>). The vignette showing the result of this unification, the "body of Horus" which literally comes forth from the "body of Osiris" guarded by Isis and Nephthys, is introduced by the following text: "What Rē says to the two goddesses who guard the body of this god:

Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,  
for the darkness which is in you has been dispelled!  
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,  
for your Ba has gone to rest in your body!  
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,  
for I have made that your followers join you!  
Oh, lift yourself up, you Dweller in the Dat,  
for you will be content with (your) diadems!  
Oh, lift yourself up, you dweller in the Dat,  
for Rē ..."<sup>75</sup>).

It is remarkable that this impressive divine Creative Word<sup>76</sup>) is not addressed to the body of Osiris, but to Isis and Nephthys; like in the Ebers-text, Rē does not

<sup>72</sup>) E. Hornung, *Das Amduat II* (Wiesbaden 1963), 123.

<sup>73</sup>) In the tomb of Nefertari and in some non-royal Ramesside tombs, see E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt 1971), 85-87 and id., *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen II*, 53-54; see also J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (Berlin 1969), 101-105.

<sup>74</sup>) Piankoff/Rambova, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Pl. 133 and text-vol., p. 362; Piankoff, *Création*, Pl. XXV, vii; Stricker, *Horus I*, 61.

<sup>75</sup>) Piankoff/Rambova, *op. cit.*, Pl. 131; Piankoff, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXV/XXVI, viii; Stricker, *op. cit.*, 62. Cf. also *Litany of Rē* (ed. Hornung I, 163-164): "Oh Rē, come to me, Leading One, my body speaks as Osiris (*mdw gt NWsir*)".

<sup>76</sup>) Cf. Stricker, *op. cit.*, 61-73.

speak *to*, but *on behalf of* Osiris. The vignette makes it clear that the resurrection of Osiris manifests itself in the birth of Horus; thus the result of the unification of Rē and Osiris (*pṛt-īm.k*), with which the reciter of our spell identifies himself, may not only be called Rē as the re-born Sun-god, but also Horus, son and re-incarnation of Osiris. Hornung writes: "Wenn der Sonnengott am Morgen wieder im Horizont erscheint, ist er schon nicht mehr Osiris, ist er aller Fesseln des Todes ledig"<sup>77</sup>), and one may add: then he has become Horus<sup>78</sup>) or, to use the Egyptian formula, *R'-Hr-šḥty*, "Rē-Horus-of-the-Horizon".

Both in mythological background and in the theme of releasing and delivering our spell closely resembles a spell from Egyptian funerary literature (CT Sp. 691 = BD 71). Here the deceased calls upon the gods seven times with the words: "Make me hale as you make yourself hale, release me, deliver me (*wh'.k wi, šḥ.k wi*)!" and seven times the deity addressed answers: "Release him, deliver him, place him on the earth, grant his desire!". Among the gods invoked are the "Falcon rising from the Deep", "Horus, son of Isis" and "the One-faced Lord"; by this last epithet is meant Osiris, who is also called "Possessor of his Two Ba's", an unmistakable reference to the unified Rē and Osiris<sup>79</sup>). In the second half of the spell the deceased passes the slaughter in the Island of Fire and he ends the spell with: "May I arise to be my (own) likeness, breath being in my nose and my eyes seeing in the midst of those who are in the Horizon on that day of reckoning with the Robber"<sup>80</sup>).

§ 7. To explain the connection between the different mythological subjects touched upon in our spell we will first divide the text into a number of sections (cf. § 2). The first section contains the "mythical precedent" of the spell (*ḏ-h*); in a second part the reciter claims a treatment analogous to the mythical precedent (*ḏ*) and states the reason why he—or the patient—is entitled to such a treatment (*ḏ*); in the final line (*ḏ*) he confirms the effect of the spell. Summarizing these sections in a few catch-words:

<i>mythical precedent</i>	<i>spell proper</i>
(ḏ) Be released!, said Isis	(ḏ-ḏ) Oh Isis, release me!
(ḏ) Horus was released by Isis	(ḏ) You <sup>81</sup> ) have rescued me

<sup>77</sup>) Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 87.

<sup>78</sup>) Cf. e.g. the hymn quoted above n. 24 and the variants of BD 175 cited by Assmann, *op. cit.*, 110 n. 93.

<sup>79</sup>) Cf. CT IV 276a-281a and M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden 1963), 78-80.

<sup>80</sup>) CT VI 324c-g; with the Robber Seth as god of death is meant, see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden 1967), 25; for "robbing" as a metaphor of (untimely) death see Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen*, 72 with n. 54.

<sup>81</sup>) *nḥm.n.k wi*; it is not clear who is addressed here; the text as it stands can only refer to Rē (and Osiris), but this is somewhat unlikely since the address of Rē has already been closed (cf.

Section *d*<sup>e</sup> has been analysed in the preceding paragraphs; since the reciter identifies himself with the young Sun-god and with Horus the relation with section *d* which refers to the delivery of Isis from her son Horus, is clear. Somewhat less obvious is the connection of the spell proper with the allusion to the myth of Osiris killed by Seth, which serves as the mythical precedent (*f*). In this section it is stated that the evil done to Horus consists in the murdering of his father Osiris. Seth, the god of chaos and disorder, by murdering Osiris before he has begotten Horus and by trying to prevent the future birth and succession of Horus by cutting Osiris' body in pieces or throwing it in the river, not only harms Osiris himself but also Horus, the reincarnation of Osiris upon earth. In an interesting article Sir Edmund Leach<sup>82)</sup> has shown that the "multiplicity of approach" by which Seth may be called both brother of Osiris (and therefore uncle of Horus) and brother of Horus may be explained in sociological terms by saying that Osiris and Horus are actually "two persons but one god", as exemplified in the institution of Divine Kingship: "The legitimacy of the reigning king depended upon the principle that he was both the living 'son' of his dead predecessor and also the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor"<sup>83)</sup> by having herself impregnated by the "dead" Osiris and giving birth to him in the person of Horus Isis "releases the evil done to Horus by his brother Seth" and thus reassures the cosmic cycle of death and resurrection and the social cycle of "positional succession"<sup>84)</sup> which Seth tried to disturb by murdering Osiris. As Jan Assmann has shown, Egyptian solar hymns often use themes from the myth of the triumph of Horus over Seth when they deal with the nightly unification of Rē and Osiris and the birth of the Sun-god in the morning<sup>85)</sup> and we close this paragraph with a quotation of Assmann's conclusion: "So wie mit dem mythischen Tod des Osiris und dem geschichtlichen Tod eines Pharao eine Krise ausbricht und der Triumph des Horus und seine Vereinigung mit dem Vater bzw. Krönung und Thronbesteigung des neuen Königs die Katastrophe abwenden und den Fortbestand der Weltordnung sichern, so erscheint hier den Sonnenuntergang als Tod und die Nacht als eine damit ausgebrochene Krise, deren Katastrophe, das Abreißen der Kontinuität periodischer Erneuerung, das Nicht-wieder-Aufgehen der Sonne, abgewendet wird durch die Vereinigung von Re und Osiris, von Gestern und Morgen,

3rd person in the preceding line); perhaps we should emend *nḥm.n.t wī* (referring to Isis) or *nḥm(n).kwi* ("I am rescued", thus Sethe, *Erläuterungen*, 71).

<sup>82)</sup> E. Leach, 'The Mother's Brother in Ancient Egypt', *Royal Anthropological Institute News* No. 15 (august 1976), 19-21.

<sup>83)</sup> *op. cit.*, 20; cf. Stricker's remarks on the vignettes in the tomb of Ramesses VI: "Ramesses VI is begetting himself here and the scene can be connected both with his own birth and with the birth of his son" (*Horus* I, 62).

<sup>84)</sup> See for this term Leach, *op. cit.*, 21 n. 1.

<sup>85)</sup> Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 110-112.

von den beiden komplementären Aspekten der 'Ewigkeit' über den 'zeitlosen' Abgrund der Nacht hinweg".

§8. Finally, we must try to answer the question as to what the mythology outlined in the preceding pages has to do with the removal of a bandage. And why was a spell recited anyway when a bandage was removed? An answer to this question is implied in the "explanation" of the mechanism of this action given by the editors of the *Grundriss*: "Anscheinend nimmt der Ägypter an, dass die Krankheiten in die Verbände übergehen und bei deren Abnehmen zugleich mit entfernt werden"<sup>86</sup>). Obviously they supposed that this miraculous event, "magical" in the true sense of the word, is brought about by the recitation of the spell. It is not difficult to trace the background of such an explanation: it is part of the heritage of early anthropologists like Tylor and Frazer, whose theories of magic as a primitive pseudo-science practised by superstitious "Ali Babas and Aladdins, uttering their magic words and rubbing their magic lamps"<sup>87</sup>), though long since rejected in modern anthropology, die hard in many Egyptological publications, impeding any serious attempt to understand the function of "magic" in Egyptian society.

Since A. van Gennep wrote his *Rites de passage* (1908), anthropologists have been increasingly aware of the fact that rituals, and especially non-periodic rituals, are often performed in situations of transition from one status to another; in such marginal situations lies danger, "simply because transition is neither one state nor the next, it is undefinable"<sup>88</sup>). I think the essence of untying a bandage is that it marks the transition between being ill and having recovered. To appreciate this one should bear in mind that in Egyptian medicine bandaging was applied in many more cases than in modern medicine; it was not only used to cover wounds or fractures, but also to keep in place medicaments prescribed for many diseases and ailments not always externally visible<sup>89</sup>). This is also the reason why our spell occurs right at the beginning of the Ebers Papyrus, between two other "allgemeine Begleitsprüche", following a spell "for applying a medicine to any limb" and preceding one "for drinking a medicine". Egyptian texts may call a sick person "someone who is in the Netherworld", from which he may be rescued when God cures him<sup>90</sup>). In the process of curing the final removal of the bandage

<sup>86</sup>) *Grundriss* IV/2, 232.

<sup>87</sup>) M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London 1966), 58.

<sup>88</sup>) Douglas, *op. cit.*, 96.

<sup>89</sup>) Cf. J. H. Breasted, *The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus* I (Chicago 1930), 96-97 and *Grundriss* VII/1, 226-232. In one of the glosses in the Edwin Smith Papyrus a "Treatise of What Pertains to the Embalmer" is cited concerning a case of "blood-shot eyes" (Breasted, *op. cit.*, 281), suggesting that *wr* "bandager", "embalmer" hardly means more than "doctor" or "surgeon".

<sup>90</sup>) E.g. *Stela Berlin* 20377, see J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich/München 1975), 352 (no. 148, 1.22) and the parallels quoted there, p. 597.

with which the medicine was applied to that part of the body where the symptoms of the disease manifested themselves, constitutes an important moment and a moment of great psychological tension for the patient: will he be cured and rescued from the Netherworld or will he still be ill and finally succumb to his illness? Similarly, it is also a moment of tension for his relatives: will the patient be able to reoccupy his place in society or will he remain separated from them and eventually be separated for ever from society by death<sup>91</sup>? Thus the physical disturbance of the patient is matched by psychological and social insecurity and it is in this transitional situation of suspense and insecurity that the myth related in the spell exercises its function, by bringing to the patient's mind that the crisis of the "death" of the Sun-god and the possibility that he will not arise again has been defeated, that the crisis of the death of Osiris and the possibility that order may be replaced by chaos has been averted by the triumph of Horus over Seth, thus reassuring the patient of his own secure place in cosmic and social order.

It is clear that in such an explanation of the connection between the spell and the effect produced by it the working of the ritual is primarily viewed as psychological, a notion long recognized by psychologists and anthropologists. Ritual and recitation may indeed be able to produce some effect in the outer world, but they do this by bringing about a change in the "inner world", the psychic attitude of the patient. In the words of the psychologist Erich Neumann, writing about a hunting ritual: "Denn die magische Wirkung des Ritus ist eine faktische, keine illusionistische. Sie wirkt sich auch, ganz wie der Frühmensch annimmt, in seinem Jagderfolg aus, nur dass der Weg dieser Wirkung über das Subjekt geht, nicht aber über das Objekt"<sup>92</sup>). In his famous analysis of an Indian shamanistic song to facilitate difficult childbirth Lévi-Strauss has elucidated the method by which this psychological effect is produced<sup>93</sup>: it consists in "making explicit a situation originally existing on the emotional level" and the relationship between the myth depicted for the patient in the recitation of the spell and his actual situation is "a relationship between symbol and thing symbolized, or, to use the terminology of linguists, between sign and meaning. The shaman provides the sick woman with a *language*, by means of which unexpressed, and otherwise inexpressible, psychic states can be immediately expressed. And it is the transition to this verbal expression (...) which induces the release of the psychological process, that is, the

<sup>91</sup>) See for the sociological implications of the topos "be dead" in Egyptian texts P. Seibert, *Die Charakteristik I* (Wiesbaden 1967), 42-43.

<sup>92</sup>) E. Neumann, *Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins* (Zürich 1950), 229, quoted by Th. P. van Baaren, *Geruststellingsriten. Een bijdrage tot de critiek op de gangbare opvattingen over magie* (Groningen/Djakarta 1952), 11.

<sup>93</sup>) C. Lévi-Strauss, 'L'efficacité symbolique', *RHR* 135 (1949), 5-27, reprinted in *Anthropologie structurale* (Paris 1958), 205-226; I quote from the English translation *The Effectiveness of Symbols*, in: *Structural Anthropology* (New York 1963), 186-205.

reorganization, in a favourable direction, of the process to which the sick woman is subjected"<sup>94</sup>). This method is almost literally illustrated in our spell, for it is precisely the release of the psychological process accompanying the removal of the bandage which is symbolized in the releasing of Horus from the evil done to him, in the deliverance of Isis from her son Horus and in the unharmed re-birth of the Sun-god at dawn<sup>95</sup>). Thus myth, "a symbolic statement about social reality and human existence"<sup>96</sup>), does not "decline in the service of magic", as Morenz once put it<sup>97</sup>), but on the contrary reveals one of its major *raison d'être* in its use in ritual or magical contexts.

*January 1980*

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<sup>94</sup>) *op. cit.*, 198.

<sup>95</sup>) On the level of language this association is made possible by the semantic ambivalence of the terms *wh* and *sfh* (the same applies to the use of these words in *CT* Spell 691).

<sup>96</sup>) A. M. de Waal Malefijt, *Religion and Culture. An Introduction to Anthropology of Religion* (New York 1968), 195.

<sup>97</sup>) S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart 1960), 229.



# CORRIGENDA

<u>page</u>	<u>for:</u>	<u>read:</u>
15,n.36	Ani	Nakht
15,n.42	<u>ib3</u> ( <del>4B18</del> )	<u>ib3</u> ( <del>4B18</del> )
	latter	former
19,n.69	Wb.I 522,14	Wb.V 503,14
20,n.75	<u>mdw dt.i Wsir</u>	<u>mdw dt.i m Wsir</u>
21,3 <sup>rd</sup> l.	receiver	reciter