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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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ᶜAnat, Seth and the Seed of Prēᶜ

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Meije jo formannichfâldigje jierren fan lok,
meije jins moannen yn foarspoed forstrike,
jins dagen yn libben en biwâld
en jins ûren 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 Gamaliel", 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 Ḥoremheb and nowadays kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York [1]. This text deals with the conflict between the Ennead, presided over by Ptaḥ, and the insatiable Sea (*p3 ym*), who keeps asking for more tribute and in fact seems to demand the rulership over heaven and earth. Ptaḥ sends his daughter ᶜAstarte 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 [2]) it is usually assumed that the Sea is finally defeated

31

by this aggressive god, who elsewhere in Egyptian mythology is depicted as warding off Apophis, the monster of chaos[3]. The story has been compared to the Ugaritic mythological poem describing the battle between Ba^{c}al, who is often seen as a manifestation of Seth in New Kingdom Egypt, and Yamm, the Sea[4]. 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 *p3 ym* instead of *wd wr*, or the Canaanite goddess ^{c}Astarte[5], it is in my opinion hard to imagine that the Egyptian text could have been written without any knowledge of the Canaanite myth[6].

The other text, the one that will concern us here, is commonly known as the Story of ^{c}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 ^{c}Anat story has come down to us only in the form of a "mythical precedent"[7] 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:

1. *pCh. Beatty VII* vs. 1,5-6,7; A.H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series; Chester Beatty Gift*, London 1935, vol. I, pp. 61-65; vol. II, pls. 36-37. The papyrus, written in the reign of Ramesses II, originates from Deir el-Medîna[8]. Its main text contains a collection of spells against scorpions.

2. *pTurin*, without number; A. Roccati, "Une légende égyptienne d'Anat", in *RdE*, vol. 24, 1972, pp. 154-159, pl. 14; an additional fragment appears on a photograph illustrating Roccati's article "Les papyrus de Turin", in *BSFE*, vol. 99, 1984, pp. 9-27, pl. 4. The fragment dates from Dyn. XIX and derives from Deir el-Medîna. It may have been part of the ms. now known as *pTurin CG 54052*; see Roccati, "Tra i papiri torinesi", in *OrAnt* 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 J.E. Quibell, in the Ramesseum, 1895-6*, London 1898, pls. I-I^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 1591; C. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, vol. III/2, Cairo, 1978, pp. 77, pl. 45-45[A]. A Ramesside ostracon 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 1592; Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 77, pl. 45-45[A]. This tiny little fragment contains a few words corresponding to *pCh. Beatty VII* vs. 1,6 and 1,8. Stadelmann[11] has suggested that an episode from *pVatican 19a*,which relates to the poisoning of the god Seth[12], 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 [C]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 poison[13], has therefore no place among the sources of [C]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 Ḥmkt (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). [*Thereupon the Seed* fl]ew 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 [C]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 Prē[C], her father. He said to her: "What is the matter with you, [C]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 un-
cover 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) 𓀀𓁐𓈖𓏏𓏏, var. *pTurin* 𓂝𓈖𓏏𓏏 *ḫp/ḫa-pú*, a Semitic loan-
word doubtless to be connected with Ug. *ḫp* and Hebr. *ḥōp* "shore",
"(river-)bank"[14]. The meaning is proven by *oDM 1591* which replaces
ḫp by the Eg. equivalent *spt*. Roccati[15] has connected *ḫp* with a place-
name 𓁐𓂝𓊖 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 𓉐𓅱𓏤𓊨 " 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 *wᶜb*, 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, *Enlil und Ninlil. 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 beaty 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 *Ḥmkt* remains a mystery. Albright connected
it with Ug. *Šmk* mentioned in *KTU* 1.10,II,9.12 as the name of a
swampy area[18] where Baᶜal and ᶜAnat 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 Uga-
ritic episode concerning Baᶜal and ᶜAnat (see the commentary below).

(d) Var. pTurin: "Seth", which proves that "the Great God" of the Ch. Beatty version is Seth, not Pre^c (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62 nn. 3 and 7; Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 132 n. 2; cf. Roccati, *RdE* 24, 1972, p. 158).

(e) The translation follows *oDM 1591*, but the exact wording varies in the three sources: pTurin has *m33 sw Sth nfrw.s r p3 mr n pḥt.s*; pCh. Beatty reads [......] *ḥr pḥt.s*, whereas *oDM 1591* gives [......] *ḥr nfrw.s ḥr p3(y).s mr n* [....]. For the meaning of *mr* ("Zeugstreifen, Binde", *Wb.* I 105,9), derived from a verb *mr* "to bind (together)", one may compare a phrase from the Ch. Beatty Love Songs: *bd3 pḥt.s mr ḥry-ỉb d3 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 fayence bowl[21] or the Turin Erotic Papyrus[22].

(f) See for the different versions of this line in various sources Roccati, *op. cit.*, 158. $^c mq$ 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 $^c mq$ 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 issabassi ittiakši* if he takes her by force and rapes her", but here the sexual activity is expressed by the verbs *ṣabātu* and *niāku*[26] and not by the adverb *emuqama* "by force". The Egyptian verb $^c mq$ 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 ($^c ḥ^c.n$ $^c nt$ ... *ḥn.tỉ*), pTurin suggests that we should read [*ḥn*].*ỉn* $^c nt$ in pCh. Beatty.
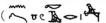
(i) See Gardiner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 62 n. 12 for this translation. The phrase refers to the well-known belligerent aspect of the goddess ^{c}Anat, not to her bi-sexual traits (thus Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 56, who translates "acting as a male"; cf. also W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 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 *sd* and *bnd* which both refer to some kind of clothing. Unfortu-

nately, the same must be said about the related nouns sd (Old Eg.
$msdt$) and bnd. Sd, usually spelled sdw or sdy in Late Eg., seems to
refer to the triangular loin-cloth[28] commonly worn by gods and men[29].
No exact meaning is known of bnd (also written bdn), but according to
Janssen[30] 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 Period[31], and
also by goddesses in the period following Amarna[32]. On a statue
group from Tanis ^{c}Anat too is shown wearing such a sash[33]. The word
bnd occurs as an Egyptian loan-word in the OT ($'abn\bar{e}t$) with the
meaning "sash" or "scarf"[34]. The word pair sd/bnd is found in other
magical texts as well, see e.g. $pTurin$ 1993 vs. 5,8 (= Pleyte/Rossi
137,8): [sd].kwi m $Ḥr$, $bnd.kwi$ m $Ꜣst$ "I am wearing a kilt like Horus
and a sash like Isis"; similarly in $Cairo$ JE 37508,8: $sd.kwi$ m $Ḥr$,
$bnd.kwi$ m [$Ꜣst$] $(?)$[35]; $pLeiden$ I 349 vs. 2,1: $sd.kwi$ m $ṯḥnt$, $bnd.kwi$
m $^{c}r^{c}rwt$ "I am dressed in fayence, 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 ^{c}Anat in our text: in the mighty warrior-goddess
the powers of man and woman are united. In Near-Eastern sources both
^{c}Anat and her "double" ^{c}Astarte are sometimes described or depicted
as androgynous goddesses[36]. In Ugaritic texts ^{c}Anat is said to "be
like a man"[37] and to wear a beard and side-whiskers[38].
($\underline{k}$) See the commentary below.
($\underline{l}$) Taking swg as a nominal subject of the phrase $sb3$ pw swg "being
stupid is a lesson/punishment". Swg "(be) foolish" is used as a noun
in i $y3$ $iḥ$ $p3y.k$ 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 $t3$ $mtwt$ as subject of a verb swg "inflict
(punishment)"[40], 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 $iw.s$, which probably means
that here again it had a different reading from pCh. $Beatty$ (a verbal
sentence with the preceeding $t3$ $mtwt$ as subject: "she p[unished him
for his foolish]ness" ?).

(m) p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$ "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 343 + 345, Leiden 1954, p. 67 (16);
Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 133, n. 1; Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 468. But in
our text it is Pre̅ᶜ himself who is speaking and who would thus be
referring to himself as p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$, 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 mention-
ing "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) p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$
definitely refers to the Moon-god. Here it appears together with "his
wife Nikkal" (⟨hieroglyphs⟩, i.e. *Nkl*) 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 *Nkl* (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 p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$ 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 Pre̅ᶜ. From this Gardiner[43] concluded that the God Above was
identical with Pre̅ᶜ, especially since the phrase $\hbar f^{c}t$ $wbn.f$ is used in
connection with p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$. But, as Massart rightly points out, the
parallelism would rather indicate that two different deities are
meant, and the verb wbn "arise" can be used not only for the sun, but
also for the moon. A third text mentioning p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$ is a rather
obscure spell from *pHearst* (11,12-15) directed against the "Asiatic
disease" (t^3 nt $^c\bar{3}mw$). It reads: "Who is wise like Rē̅ᶜ? 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 Rē̅ᶜ
himself. Black is the colour of night and underworld, and Osiris, Rē̅ᶜ's
nocturnal body, is called "the Black One"(km)[45]. When Rē̅ᶜ descends
into the underworld he makes himself "black", and he and Osiris unite.
The visible proof of the united Rē̅ᶜ-Osiris is the moon. When Rē̅ᶜ makes
himself black he "seizes" the God Above, i.e. the moon, his nocturnal
manifestation[46]. Although $\hbar ry$ "above" (not p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$!) 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 p^3 $n\underline{t}r$ $\hbar ry$ denotes the Moon-god.

(n) See the commentary.

(o) This rare designation of Isis is sometimes applied to Hathor in Ptolemaic texts[43], 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 *Nḥsyt* 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-Rē^c-Kamutef[52] in the temples of Ramesses II in ed-Derr, Abu Simbel and Wādi es-Sebua. The ambivalence of the epithet *Nḥsyt* may reflect the two contrasting aspects of the goddess in the mythical complex of the Eye of Rē^c: as Rē^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 Rē^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}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^{c}al which relates how Ba^{c}al and ^{c}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^{c}al and ^{c}Anat results in the birth of a son, and when news of this is brought to Ba^{c}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 *t3 mtwt*, "the Seed". Despite this, however, the occurence of the Canaanite goddess ^{c}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 ^{C}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 be [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 ^{C}Anat, de Moor has rightly concluded that Pughat
is deliberately disguising herself as the goddess ^{C}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[58], where El goes out
to the shore of the sea and perceives two women who represent Athirat
and *Rḥmy*, i.e. ^{C}Anat[59]. 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 Ninlil[61] 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 Egyp-
tian story. The woman disguising herself as a male warrior and the
bathing seductress may represent mere folktale 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 inter-
pretation. 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, there-
fore, 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", *sc.* 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[63]. As early as 1891 Marucchi recognized in *t3 mtwt* in the Vatican Magical Papyrus a *divinitas malefica muliebris*[64]; 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 [hieroglyphs] *Mwt*"[65]. Later variants write this word as [hieroglyphs] [66] or [hieroglyphs] [67]. It is generally assumed that *Mwt* or *Mwyt* is a personification of semen[68]. 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[69] as nocturnal incarnation of the Sun-god; in other words, the Seed-goddess is Prē^c's own wife, to be impregnated by his nightly "body" Osiris in order to give birth to him as the rejuvenated Rē^c-Harakhty. Like the King in the Pyramid Text the God Above copulates with the Seed-goddess, and he does this "with fire"[70], i.e. he impregnates her with fire. This further corroborates our interpretation of *p3 nṯr ḥry* 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[71] and it is not necessary to repeat them here; suffice it to recall the vignettes and text of *La création 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[72]. 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"[73]. The Seed-goddess represents Rē^c'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[74]. The Seed also behaves like Hathor, who often plays the role of a divine seductress. When Prē^c has retreated because his ability to rule the earth has been questioned, Hathor stands before him and exposes her vagina before his eyes. Then Prē^c laughs at her, gets up from his bed and resumes his responsibilities[75]. 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 ($d\dot{i}.\dot{i}$
$m\check{s}\check{s}.k\ nfrw.\dot{i}$) through my robe of first class royal linen (...)"[76].
But as a divine seductress, Hathor does not direct her attentions
exclusively to Prē^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 Prē^c. In a late mythological
text the crimes of Seth are summed up before Rē^c: apart from leading
Apophis to Rē^c's sanctuary in Heliopolis and from cutting down the
$\check{i}\check{s}d$-tree from which the Sun-god arises in the morning, Seth has also
"taken away the penis ($m\underline{i}\check{s}$) of Tefnut"[79]. In this text Tefnut repre-
sents the primaeval wife of the Creator God Rē^c-Atum, who like Iusa^{c}as
and Nebethetepet symbolizes the "hand" with which the god masturbated
in order to impregnate himself[80]. By taking away the penis of this
primaeval androgynous goddess, Seth frustrates Rē^c's rebirth and resur-
rection, and this is exactly what he does in our story too. This is
also the reason why Prē^c refers to the "evening" ($m\check{s}rw$), 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 Rē^c's mother.
This is further indicated by the statement that she descends from
heaven, for the mother of Rē^c who gives birth to him in the morning
is usually called Nut, 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 Rē^c's mother, ^{c}Anat is committed to both gods. She is Rē^c's
daughter, but Seth's wife. Thus she is the right person to intervene
in the conflict between Rē^c and Seth, and she does so by asking Rē^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 excep-
tions occur in Egyptian mythology, she usually represents the childless
woman who acts as wailing-woman and wet-nurse[82]. 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[83]. In Ugaritic mythology too she is the divine wet-nurse
who does not bear a child herself, but suckles the child of another
goddess[84]. On the other hand, ^{c}Anat is the daughter of Rē^c, and as
such she may be compared with Sakhmet, the Eye of Rē^c 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, $t\check{s}$ $m\underline{t}w\underline{t}$ (Hathor), ^{c}Anat
and Isis, are three aspects of one and the same goddess who herself
is an aspect of Rē^c. These goddesses are part of the "multiplicity
of constitutive powers, roles and forms" of the divine person which
Assmann has called a "constellation"[85]. Our text shows in a narrative
form how one aspect ($\underline{h}prw$) of this constellation, the divine prostitute,
is transformed into its opposite, the divine mother. Between the two
stands ^{c}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. Rē^c'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[86]. This
androgynous goddess who acts as a "strange woman" by committing
adultery, is transformed into ^{c}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
^{c}Anat is the Eye of Rē^c who protects her father against his enemies,
and as such she becomes Isis, the Eye of Rē^c, who returns from Nubia
in order to become Rē^c's divine queen, his spouse and mother. Thus
^{c}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 Rē^c.

Before closing this already too long discussion of the myth
of ^{c}Anat, Seth and the Seed of Prē^c, 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[87].
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 ^{c}Anat story are shown in the following tabulation:

Osiris myth	*^{c}Anat myth*
Seth kills Osiris.	Rē^c is old and about to die.
Seth prevents Osiris' resurrection by cutting his body into pieces and making the penis lost.	Seth prevents Rē^c's rebirth by robbing his seed.
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.	Isis, assisted by ^{c}Anat, recovers the seed and, becoming his wife and mother, enables Rē^c to be reborn in the morning.

In a penetrating study Jan Assmann[88] 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[89].
Following this distinction one may say that the Osiris and the ^{c}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 Rē^c-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[90].
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 Rē^c-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 Rē^c 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"[91]; 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 (*Gliedervergottung*),
which Assmann has interpreted as an enumeration of the constellation
and of the "*Sphäre des Seinigen*" of the god[92]. 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 *Glieder-
vergottung* with its solemn, repetitive strain, influences the
psychic attitude of the patient, and mobilizes his ability to over-
come the poison's attack on his life[93].

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 under-
world, 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 Rē^c is reborn with
the help of his mother Isis, who recovers the lost seed of the Moon-
god, Rē^c'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*

Contending of Horus and Seth[94]. 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[95]. In fact, one may wonder whether the myth of ^cAnat 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
Derchain and Te Velde[96], 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 myth 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[97]. 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^cat* 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[98]; it is only
when cosmic and social order (*ma^cat*) has been restored that Rē^c is
reborn.

Roccati has expressed the opinion that "there are no certain
non-Egyptian elements in the story, even if it shows a certain famili-
arity with Canaanite motifs"[99]. 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[100], and the similarities as well as the divergencies are reflected in the mythologies of these ancient cultures.

Notes

*) Abbreviations used in this article follow the standard accepted
   in Egyptology, see the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*, Leiden
   1947-- and the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (= LÄ), Wiesbaden 1972--.
   In addition to these note the following: Helck, *Beziehungen* =
   W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasiens im 3. und 4.
   Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, Wiesbaden 1971[2]; Stadelmann, *SPGÄ* = R. Stadel-
   mann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, Leiden 1967;
   Te Velde, *Seth* = H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, Leiden 1977[2].
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1) A.H. Gardiner, "The Astarte Papyrus", in *Studies presented to
   F.Ll. Griffith on his 70th birthday*, London 1932, pp. 74-85; *id.*,
   Late-Egyptian Stories, Brussels 1932, pp. 76-81. See Stadelmann,
   SPGÄ, pp. 125-131 for bibliographical references. More recent
   translations include E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen*,
   Düsseldorf-Köln 1963, pp. 72-76, 268-269 and E.F. Wente, in *The
   Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W.K. Simpson, New Haven/London
   1972, pp. 133-136. Cf. also W. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung
   des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*, Berlin 1962[2], pp. 81-91,
   166-167; Stadelmann, art. "Astartepapyrus", in *LÄ* vol. 1, cols.
   509-511.

2) *pHearst* 11,13; *pBerlin 3038* rt. 21, 2-3; *pLeiden* I 343 + 345 rt.
   4, 12-13 = vs. 7,7.

3) Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 99-108.

4) *KTU* 1.1-2; J.C.L. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, Edinburgh
   1978, pp. 2-8, 37-45. Cf. Th.H. Gaster, "the Egyptian 'Story of
   Astarte' and the Ugaritic Poem of Baal", in *BiOr* vol. 9, 1952, pp.
   82-85, 232.

5) G. Posener, "La légende égyptienne de la mer insatiable", in
   AIPHOS vol. 13, 1953, pp. 461-478.

6) Cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 123; Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 130, and much
   more reluctantly, *id.*, in *LÄ* I, col. 510; J. Leclant, art.
   "Astarte", in *LÄ* I, col. 502, with nn. 57-58 speaks of a "traduc-
   tion en égyptien de fragments de mythes [cananéens]".

7) G. van der Leeuw, "Die sog. epische Einleitung der Zauberformeln",
   in *Zeitschrift für Religionspsychologie* vol. 6, 1933, pp. 161-180.

8) Gardiner, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. viii; G. Posener, in J. Černý,
   Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh, vol. I, Cairo 1978, p.
   viii; cf. P.W. Pestman, "Who were the owners, in the 'Community
   of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri", in *Gleanings from
   Deir el-Medina*. eds. R.J. Demarée and J.J. Janssen, Leiden 1982,
   pp. 155-172.

9) Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, Introduction; J.E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*,
   London 1898, p. 9 (14).

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 ostracon 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 ostracon elsewhere. In the mean-
    time it may be noted here, that Gardiner's transcription is cer-
    tainly not an improvement upon the one published by Spiegelberg.

11) *SPGÄ*, pp. 131-133.

12) O. Marucchi, *Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia Bibliothecae Vaticanae*,
    Rome 1891, pls. 2-3; A. Erman, "Der Zauberpapyrus des Vatikans",
    in *ZÄS* vol. 31, 1893, pp. 119-124; E. Suys, "Le papyrus magique
    du Vatican", in *OrNS* vol. 3, 1934, pp. 63-87; B. de Rachewiltz,
    Il papiro magico vaticano, Rome 1954.

13) *pLeiden* I 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[2], p. 197, n. 39; Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 131, n. 4.

15) *RdÉ* vol. 24, 1972, p. 157.

16) L. Habachi, "A Statue Made for Ankhefenamun, Prophet of the House of Amun in Khapu and His Daughter", in *ASAE* vol. 47, 1947, pp. 261-282.

17) Cf. *Wb.* I, 280-282.

18) Ug. *'aḫ* = Hebr. *'aḫu*, for which an Egyptian derivation has been suggested, see T.O. Lambdin, "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament", in *JAOS* vol. 73, 1953, p. 146, and J. Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, Louvain 1959, pp. 59-66. Others have approached it to Akk. *aḫu* "(river)bank)", see Ch. Virolleaud, in *Syria* vol. 17, 1936, pp. 156-158; B. Couroyer, in *RB* vol. 66, 1959, p. 588. The toponym *Šmk* has been connected with the Samachonitis mentioned by Josephus, modern lake Huleh, see Virolleaud, *loc. cit.*, and R. de Langhe, *Les textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, Gembloux-Paris 1945, vol. II, pp. 209-217.

19) Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 197, n. 39.

20) *pCh. Beatty* I vs. C1, 5.

21) H.D. Schneider and M.J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid*, 's-Gravenhage 1981, pp. 26, 105 (no. 102); A.J. Milward, in *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1550-1085 B.C.*, Boston 1982, pp. 144-145 (no. 143).

22) J.A. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001 und seine satirisch-erotischen Zeichnungen und Inschriften*, Turin 1973.

23) See e.g. *CAD*, E, pp. 151-152, 156-162; *AHw*, pp. 213-214, 216-217; C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Glossary, no. 1874; *DISO*, p. 217.

24) In *pCh. Beatty VII* rt. 8,4 a verb *ᶜmq* (written ⸗) is used with reference to a scorpion, the object of *ᶜmq* being its tail (hence Gardiner's suggestion "tuck together"). Whether a verb ⸗ (*Edfou* IV, 34, 7-8), which, judging from its context, appears to mean "pluck" (of flowers), has anything to do with this meaning of *ᶜmq*, as suggested by D. Meeks, *AL* 77.0646, seems highly dubious to me.

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

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

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

28) J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, Leiden 1975, pp. 272-277.

29) *Wb.* IV, 365.

30) *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.

31) C.Aldred, in *JEA* vol. 56, 1970, pp. 195-196.

32) See e.g. G. Thausing and H. Goedicke, *Nofretari. Eine Dokumentation der Wandgemälde ihres Grabes*, Graz 1971, *passim*.

33) Louvre AF 2576; P. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis 1929-32*, Paris 1933, pls. 70-72.

34) Cf. B.H. Stricker, in *AcOr* vol. 15, 1936, p. 10; *id.*, in *OMRO* vol. 24, 1943, p. 30 n. 1; Lambdin, *op. cit.*, p. 146; A. Loprieno, in *AION* vol. 37, 1977, p. 128.

35) Cf. G. Daressy, "Stèle de Karnak avec textes magiques" in *ASAE* 17, 1917, pp. 194-196, who reads *sd.kwi m Hr,nd.kwi* (sic, J.v.D.) *m Hr* without indicating a lacuna at the end. The copy made for the Berlin Dictionary, quoted in the *Belegstellen* to *Wb.* I, 465,3 gives *sd.kwi m Hr,bnd.kwi m [Sth]*. The parallel in *pTurin 1993* suggests the restoration *bnd.kwi m [Sth]*.

36) See e.g. J.C. de Moor, in *UF* vol. 1, 1969, p. 171; J. Leclant, in *Syria* vol. 37, 1960, pp. 7-9; W.F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London, 1968, pp. 112-113; H. Gese, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, eds. H. Gese, M. Höpfner, K. Rudolph, Stuttgart etc. 1970, pp. 158, 214.

48

37) *KTU* 1.3,V,27; cf. J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Uga-ritic Myth of Ba°lu*, Neukirchen 1971, p. 132.

38) *KTU* 1.6,I,3; so with De Moor, *op. cit.*, p. 193, despite the criticism of K. Aartun, in *WdO* vol. 4, 1968, pp. 286-287, and S.E. Loewenstamm, in *IOS* vol. 4, 1974, pp. 1-3.

39) Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 133; Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 461; Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

40) *op. cit.*, p. 157.

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

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

43) A.H. Gardiner, "The goddess Ningal in an Egyptian text", in *ZÄS* vol. 43, 1906, p. 97.

44) Cf. note 2 above.

45) H. Kees, *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten*, Göttingen 1943, p. 418.

46) The same idea is probably meant in another magical spell (*pBM 10059*, 8,2) where seven gods are invoked "who bring the One Above of the Underworld and make him travel towards this ground (*inyw ḥry n dwꜢt rdyw nm.f r sꜢt tn*)". 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 ḥr tꜢ iw.k mi Rᶜ ḥry sꜢb (?) Ꜣḫty* "When you (i.e. the King) come forth upon earth you are like Rᶜ 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 (*stwt šw ḥry*)", but this is inconclusive, since *šw* can refer to the light of both sun and moon, see *Wb.* IV, 430,7-9.

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

49) J.F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (*OMRO* vol. 51), Leiden 1971, p. 151 with n. 2.

50) Cf. H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Wiesbaden 1964, p. 86, and Borghouts, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

51) M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Berlin 1968, p. 180.

52) See on this role of Mut H. te Velde, "Towards a Minimal Definition of the Goddess Mut", in *JEOL* vol. 26, 1979-1980, pp. 3-9.

53) It should be noted, however, that this interpretation of the Uga-ritic text is not beyond doubt. "A cow" is repeatedly mentioned and this cow "bears a bull to Baᶜal" (*KTU* 1.10,III,20-22), but it is by no means certain that this cow is actually identical with ᶜAnat; rather it would seem that ᶜAnat chooses a cow from "the inundated shore... teeming with wild oxen" (*ʾaḥ...mlʾat rʾumm*; cf. Gen 41:2,28 and Vergote, *Joseph en Égypte*, p. 59) and gives it to Baᶜal to bear him a son. The crucial passage describing Baᶜal's mating with the cow is much damaged. For another view see E. Lipiński in *Syria* vol. 42, 1965, pp. 45-73.

54) Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 197-198 n. 39; Stadelmann, *SPGÄ*, p. 133; Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 461; *id.*, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den mit ihr verbundenen Gott-heiten*, Munich-Vienna, 1971, pp. 151-153.

55) Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 461; *id.*, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin*, pp. 105 and 125, n. 135.

56) *KTU* 1.19,IV, 206-208.

57) J.C. de Moor in *OrNS* vol. 37, 1968, pp. 212-215; see esp. p. 213, n. 1.

58) *KTU* 1.23, 30ff.

59) Cf. J.C. de Moor, *New Year with Canaanites and Israelites*, part 2, Kampen 1972, p. 18.

60) Following a suggestion made by C. Haaijer in his unpublished
   thesis *Een ritueel voor een sacrale maaltijd uit Ugarit. De tekst
   CTA 23*, Groningen 1978, p. 30.
61) H. Behrens, *Enlil und Ninlil. Ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur*,
   Rome 1978; cf. S.N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (revised ed.), New
   York 1961, pp. 43-47. A similar incident occurs between Enki and
   the goddesses Ninmu and Ninkurra, in the myth of Enki and Ninhursag,
   see Kramer's translation in *ANET²*, pp. 38ff.
62) G.S. Kirk, *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other
   Cultures*, Cambridge etc. 1970, p. 93.
63) pGeneva MAH 15274; see Roccati, *op. cit.*, p. 157.
64) O. Marucchi, *Monumenta Papyracea Aegyptia*, p. 92.
65) *Pyr.* 123a (W).
66) E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 4, London 1901,
   pl. 110.
67) H.O. Lange and H. Schaefer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren
   Reiches*, vol. 2, Berlin 1908, p. 119 (CGC 20520).
68) *Wb.* II,53,11; R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*,
   Oxford 1969, p. 38, n. 4; T.G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or
   Going Forth By Day*, Chicago 1974, p. 187 n. 292; H. te Velde in
   JEOL vol. 26, 1979-1980, p. 4.
69) On Osiris and the moon see Ph. Derchain, in *La Lune: mythes et
   rites* (*Sources Orientales*, vol. 5), Paris 1962, pp. 44-46; J.Gw.
   Griffiths in *JEA* vol. 62, 1976, pp. 153-159.
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 ᶜAnat's alleged epithet "Mistress of the
   chisel" (Stadelmann, *SPGA*, p. 133, n. 2), for the passage in our
   text does not refer to ᶜAnat. Moreover, the connection of the
   "Mistress of the chisel" (found only in pLeiden I 343 + 345 vs.
   3,7 = rt. 1,12) with ᶜAnat 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-
   tyrdoms, see the references given by W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dic-
   tionary*, Oxford 1939, p. 213, s.v. ⲘⲀϪⲈ.
71) J. van Dijk in *JEOL* vol. 26, 1979-1980, pp. 11-14.
72) R.O. Faulkner in *JEA* vol. 54, 1968, p. 44.
73) Cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, p. 52.
74) Ph. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifrons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un
   mythe égyptien*, Istanbul 1972, pp. 45-49.
75) pCh. Beatty I rt. 3,9-4,3.
76) oDM 1266 + oCairo CG 25218, 8-9; see G. Posener, *Catalogues des
   ostraca 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.
77) Cf. H. te Velde, in *JEOL* vol. 26, 1979-1980, p. 8.
78) Te Velde, *JEOL*, pp. 55-56.
79) *TM* II,228,18ff., ed. J.-Cl. Goyon in *BIFAO* vol. 75, 1975, pp.
   349-399. I do not believe it is necessary to emend the text as
   Goyon has suggested.
80) Cf. U. Verhoeven, art. "Tefnut" in *LÄ* VI, col. 298, with n. 24.
81) *Pyr.* 1273b.
82) Cf. H. te Velde, "Relations and Conflicts between Egyptian Gods,
   particularly in the Divine Ennead of Heliopolis, in *Struggles of
   Gods* (Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of History
   of Religions), ed. H.G. Kippenberg, Berlin etc. 1984, p. 253.
83) p mag. *Harris* rt. 3,8-9.
84) Cf. JC. de Moor in *UF* vol. 1, 1969, p. 182, and *id.*, *New Year
   with Canaanites and Israelites*, part 2, p. 19, n. 62.
85) J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott*, Berlin 1969,
   pp. 339-352.
86) Cf. Te Velde, in *Struggles of Gods*, pp. 247-249.

87) J.Gw. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cambridge 1970,
    pp. 342-344.
88) J. Assmann, "Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten" in *GM* vol.
    25, 1977, pp. 7-43.
89) *op. cit.*, p. 38.
90) J. van Dijk, "The Birth of Horus according to the Ebers Papyrus"
    in *JEOL* vol. 26, 1979-1980, pp. 10-25.
91) *pCh. Beatty VII* vs. 6,2-3.
92) Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, pp. 347-349.
93) Cf. *JEOL* vol. 26, pp. 23-25, and the remark of P. Behrens, art.
    "Skorpion", in *LÄ* V, col. 988 (D).
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.
97) C.S. Kirk, *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other
    Cultures*, pp. 90-107.
98) Cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, pp. 28-29, 55.
99) Roccati in *RdE* vol. 24, 1972, pp. 158-159.
100) See e.g. H. and H.A. Frankfort *et. al.*, *Before Philosophy*,
    Harmondsworth 1949[2], pp. 238-241; S. Morenz, "Der Alte Orient. Von
    Bedeutung und Struktur seiner Geschichte" in *Summa Historica. Die
    Grundzüge der welthistorischen Epochen* (*Propyläen Weltgeschichte*,
    vol. 11), Berlin etc. 1965, pp. 25-64.