



Critical analysis of J. P. Allen's

**«The Ancient Egyptian
Pyramid Texts»**

edition

by Timofey T. Shmakov

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
J. P. ALLEN'S "THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PYRAMID TEXTS"

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PRELIMINARY RESULTS

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swt jrr nTrw.f m zSA nj zjn.f
"He is the one who put his gods in a writing¹ that cannot be erased"
(painted plaster from the mastaba of Nefermaat and his wife Itet)

¹ i.e. recorded them.

To my mom, Elena Leonidovna, who had patience with me making long hours, and to my friend, Marina Sokolova, who taught me a lot of things.

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Foreword

The Pyramid Texts constitute the most ancient written text corpus of such a size to have reached us. They reflect the images of the ancient Egyptians about the life of a king after physical death and present a rich source of philological material still in need of urgent study. The correct reading of these monumental texts is necessary for an integral understanding of the funerary cult of a king. Important work in the field of the Pyramid Texts has been done by James Allen. Due to the work of this outstanding scholar, we have essentially enriched our knowledge of the language of these ancient texts. Since the editing by Prof. Allen of his translation of the Pyramid Texts in the year 2005 (J. P. Allen. *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta), his work has become the standard. However, as our knowledge of language steadily grows it is apparent that there is still much to be done. The present work is an attempt to thoroughly look into the whole PT corpus to add to, and sometimes to contradict, the readings suggested by Prof. Allen.

Several new suggestions will be presented on these pages, e.g. the discovery of the collocation *ba m* "make an impression/affection on, impress/affect" (**W 134**, 2). Moreover, it has been observed that the ending *-tj/wtj* (as a variant of the *t*-ending) was a common feature of the attributive forms (relative forms, participles), for instance there is more than one example of the relative perfect spelled *sDmtj.n.f* (a variant of the more common *sDmt.n.f*) and many *sDmtj.f* relative forms (**W 155**, 4, **T 203**, 3). The work also proposes that spellings like *mrjj n jt(j).f* should be interpreted as perfect relative "whom his father loves" (i.e. *mrjj.n jt(j).f*, the same was proposed by James Allen), taking into consideration the number of instances in which the perfect of 3rd-weak verbs has a final double reed-panicle (**P 517**, 1). One characteristic of the present work is that some words are not considered as independent semantic units but as a variant spelling of (an)other word(s) for the sake of word-play or as an unknown dialectal form. For instance, the verb *drp* "feed, present, offer" may be spelled */dAp/* just to make a word play between this verb and the noun *dAb(w)* "figs" (a case of */A/ ~ /r/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/*), the verb *wAH* "lie" could be spelled with two allophones as *mnH* in the stative form: PT 554, §1371b: *abA.k mnH.j m Drt.k ~* Jéquier, Pepi II, pl. 6, col. 709+2: *abA.k wAH.j m Drt.k* "your baton lies in your hand" (**W 166**, 1). In addition, more instances of a 1ms pronoun have been found (**T 204**, 1, 4). The work suggests a lot of new readings; it also provides support to many of the readings by Prof. Allen. Of course, the readings proposed in this work do not claim to be the final word on the matter, their aim is to give food for thought on the correctness of translation of some passages in this large corpus..

If you have comments or suggestions, or would like to signal a mistake, please write to the author: tshmakov@yandex.ru.

LEXICON

(only words read differently from Allen's reading, separately or within a passage)

Awt "ration" (W 145, 2)

Ax(w) "effective power, akh-magic" (P 31, 2, P 303, 2)

Axw "effective power, akh-magic" (W 150, 1, W 180a, 7)

Axt "Behind the Horizon, Transhorizontal (realm/area)" (Supplemental notes, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 13)

Agbgb (~ *Axbx*) "move, dance" (T 225, 2, P 357, 2)

jAA "sunshade" (W 160, 1)

jAb "miss" (W 155, 4)

jw(j) "wreck" (P 463, 2)

jwn(w) (stative form) "all together" (N 404, 2)

jp "subordinate, subject, subjugate" (W 148, 3), "recognize" (T 145, 8)

jm(j) "not do, not act" (semantic/main verb) (T 145, 4)

jm(j)w-bAH "ancestors (lit. those who were before)" (W 224, 4)

jmn rn.f "The One Who Hides His Name" (W 180a, 8)

jns "pink-colour" (P 510, 4)

jr w "census" (in *jr jr w* "carry out census, take accounting, take stock") (P 465, 3)

jxt wtt(t) "Firstborn Thing" (M 50, 1)

jk w "chop up, root up (? the earth)" (N 360)

jzkn "the sky's western horizon" (W 140, 3)

jdAt "patty" (W 84)

wart "thigh" (T 227)

wp(j) "settle, stop" (W 168, 4), "deliver, discharge, disgorge" (of belly) (M 2)

wp wAw "Paths Discerner", Paths Discoverer" (W 155, 10)

wpt "instructions, business" in *m wpt* "on the instructions (of), on the business of" (P 466, 1)

wn "hold out (hand/arm), offer (hand/arm)" (N 428, 4)

wrm "grow" (T 163)

wHm "declare, announce" (W 142), "carry out" (W 180b, 8)

wsrt "(bull's) neck" (W 223)

wtT "waldrapp" (T 202, 3)

wdHw "offering ration, food receipt/supply" (T 276, 2)

wDA jb "inform" (P 466, 3)

wDH "let you grow adult" ? (T 228, 5)

wDb "distribute" (W 136)

aA "(sarcophagus') lid" (T 225, 6)

abw "impurity, uncleanness" (W 155, 7)

apr m "experienced in" (P 324, 2)

arrt "(false) door" (W 165, 14)

axt "burning" (N 347, 1)

aSm "delight" or "invoke reverence, fill with awe" (W 180b, 5)

ag(w)t (~ *ax(w)t*) "roasted patties" (W 125)

bA m (collocation) "impress, affect" (W 134, 2)

bAt/bAbAt "groats" (W 127)

bjA "water smooth surface" (W 168, 1)

baH(j) m (collocation) "be/become satisfied with" (P 334)
bn "become erect" (P 312, 1)

pAx "scratch, itch" (T 9, 1)
pAz (~ *pnz*) "overturn, turn upside down" (W 78)
pAqt "?" (N 430)
psD "resist" (T 145, 4)
psDt (*pDwt*) "Nine (Arcs of the sky)" (W 151, 1, N 359, 3)
pSr/pXr "food supply" (P 37)

fA(j) "give, present" (N 359, 4)
fx "shed, get rid of, purge, purify" (W 155, 7)

mAa "pull" (W 165, 4)
mAat "leading boat" (N 32, 2)
mAn "view, sight" (W 167, 2)
mADw "(desert's) dunes" ? (W 205)
m.aHA "fighting arm" (W 206, 3)
m(j) (subjunctive *sDm.f* and imperative) "see" (W 211, 2)
mm/m(j)m(j) "move" (T 196, 5)
mjnj "the one of the pavilion" (P 319a, 1)
mjnt "Moorer" ?, *mjnnt wrt* "Great Moorer" (N 70, 3)
mnH (~ *wAH*) "lie, rest" (W 166, 2, iii)
mr nxA "Curved Canal"
mHt wrt "Great Marsh" (W 165, 11)
mHt(j)t/mHt(j)t jwnw "She-Northerner"/"Heliopolis's She-Northerner" (the epithet of the goddess *jw.s aA.s*) (P 467, 8)
mz "come up (to)" (W 94)
mst "?" (P 520, 1)
mSA/mXA "get worried, excited" (P 333, 1)
mdw(j) (transitive) "introduce, present" (P 4, 3)
mdw(j) Hr "deputize for, advocate, speak on behalf of" (P 36, 4)
mds "cutter, slicer" (W 180a, 13)

nwr "to be unsettled" ? (P 30, 3)
nwtj.k nw "your Hostile One" (P 50)
nfr "fair (of name)" (W 173, 3), "right, straight (of way)" (P 38, 4)
nhp "awake (from sleep or death)" (W 152, 1)
nH "idol" (W 206, 2)
nxb(jj) "Nekhbite" (W 170, 3)
nxbt "lamp, lighter" (W 170, 3)
nxn "grow up, mature, evolve" (secondary meaning of the primary "endure") (T 248, 2)
nxn "food workshop, kitchen" (T 286, 2)
nzr "fulfill, accomplish (desire)" (W 153, T 203, 3)
nzrt "Fulfiller" (W 153)
nSbSb "salivate, drool" (W 67-68)
nSf "spittle" (W 5, 1)
nkAkA (~ *nxx/nxjxj*) "endure, last" ? (W 48, 1)
nkjkj (~ *nxjxj*) "endure, last" (W 48, 1)
ngA "to butt, gore" (W 219)

nt "basin, spring, watery area" (**W 171**, 2, **P 467**, 7)
ntjw "those who have passed away, ancestors (lit. those who were)" (**W 144**)
nTr aA "elder god" (**Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 8)
nTr nfr "junior god" (**Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 8)
nTb "shine" (**W 180a**, 5)
ndfdf "to water" (**W 145**, 1)
nD m-a (collocation) "tend/help out from" (**P 4**, 4)
nD Hr (collocation) "tend the face, greet" (**N 511**, 1)

r nTrw "Mouth of the Gods" (chapel's name) (**Nt 243**)
rnpwt "fresh provisions" (**M 284**, 2)

hh "hot breath" (**T 17**)

H(wj) "thresh, step" (**T 204**, 4)
HAt(j) "(bull's) heart" (**W 148**, 3)
HwAAAt "putrefying liquid" (**P 526**, 3)
Hwwt nt "Watery Area's enclosures" (**W 54**, 2, **P 467**, 7)
Hbnnwt "scones" (**W 82**)
Hmwst "Neith's fetish" (**W 180a**, 4)
Hn "resolved, enacted" (**P 519**, 4)
Hnkt "gifts" (**W 133**)
Hr "look, gaze, glance" (**T 264**, 2)
Hrt "(Celestial) Distance" (**W 159**)
Hzmn "natron-cleanse, wash with soda solution" (**W 22**, 2)
Htp "altar" (**W 165**, 8)
Htp m (collocation) "become sated with, have enough of" (**W 168**, 3)
Htpt "nourishment" (**W 180a**, 9)
Htmwt "*Htmwt*-canal" (**W 212**, 2)

xAa "deliver" (**W 180a**, 10)
xAtA ? (**P 321**, 3)
xAD "dough" (**P 337**, 2)
xwrr "newborn (calf)" (**W 151**, 1)
xpr "Evolved One" (**W 168**, 2)
xm(j) "desecrate" (**W 169**, 5)
mx "not know" (**W 64**, 1)
xnfw "pancakes" (**W 81**)
xnms "'Friend" (beer)" (**W 64**, 2)
xnmt t "she-bread-cook" (**T 194**, 1)
xr "from" (**W 140**, 4), "by" (**T 142**)

Xn "interior" (**T 185**, 1, **T 181**, 3)
Xnm see *Snm*

zAj "guard, detain, restrain" (**W 175**, 5)
zAb aD mr "governor" (**P 311**, 3, **N 359**, 3)
zAbwt "issue, outflow" (**W 180a**, 3)
zmjn "soda solution" (**W 22**, 1)
zmjn m (collocation) "introduce to" (**P 501**, 1-2)

znwt "ruin" (W 165, 14)
zH "(dining)-booth" (W 143, 3)
zxn/zx(j)n "seek" (W 41)
zxn wr "Great Explorer" (W 155, 2)
zSS "pull out (papyrus)" (W 178, 1)

sAw "offering slab" (P 292, 1)
s.Ax m (collocation) "turn into" (P 31, 3)
saH m (collocation) "dignify/title/rank into, appoint" (P 31, 2)
swt(j)t "substitute" (W 69)
s.b(A)q "become bright, luminous" (W 176, 2)
s.bn "make rise, show, manifest" (W 180b, 8)
s.bSw "bloodletting" (W 180b, 12)
spAtj nTr "the God's Two Districts", i.e. the sky (Supplemental notes, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 6)
spH "lasso, tie" (W 165, 9)
spHt "bundle" (P 32, 4), "skeleton, chest" (W 5, 1)
s.fkk (~ *s.fxx*) "become free, release, let loose" (W 48, 1)
s.fg jrw "Form Discarder" (P 376)
s.mnt(j)t "Westernizer" (N 70, 3)
s.hA(j) "launch" (P 324, 1)
s.Hm "cause to turn" (W 59)
sxm "power-bearer"
s.zwn (~ *s.zwr*) "drink, feed" (W 106)
sSm(j) "make (a path)" (W 168, 2), "distribute" (meals) (N 511, 4)
sSr Dwjw "*sSr*-bowl and *Dwjw*-jar" (W 113)
sq(j) wdnt "give a signal, beat a gong" ? (P 357, 2)
sq(j) Dbw "give a signal, beat a gong" ? (W 165, 4)
st jb "liking" (W 180b, 17)
st(j) "pour (water)" (W 5, 2)
stp "cut off, sever" (P 337, 1)
s.DH "adult (snake)" ? (W 195)

Sa (or *Sa(j)* ?) "combine, sheaf" (T 203, 2)
Sat "veneration"
Swtj "a pair of horns (lit. feathers)" (T 228, 4)
Smst "*Smst*-fetish (of Mafdet-genet)" (W 5, 3)
Snm/Xnm "shield" (W 165, 7)
Sns "(bread) loaf" (W 79)
Ss "alabaster vases (with unguents)" (T 225, 4)
Sdj "suckle, rear, bring up" (P 357, 3)

qrqr "heat, warm up" (P 321, 1)
qd "to model" (W 206, 3)

kApt "mould" (W 180b, 2)
kAr "ark"
kf(j) "bend (arm)" (W 207, 2)
knzt "the sky's eastern horizon" (W 140, 3)
ktjt "slaughtering block" (W 180b, 9)

gnm (~ *xAm*) "hurry, hasten" (**W 180a**, 2)

t wt "emmer bread" (**W 61**, 2)

t rtH(t) "baker's bread" (**W 62**)

tAjt "linen fabric" (**W 54**, 1)

tAjt(j)t "she of linen fabric, linen shroud" (**W 54**, 1)

twr "to be wary, beware" (**W 143**, 2)

tjxtjx (~ *txtx*) "outcast, loner" (**W 179**, 2)

trw "seasons" (**P 464**, 5)

TAz "set, spring up, form" (**N 347**, 2)

THnw "Libyan cedar oil" (**W 52**)

dAp "feed" (**W 114**)

dwaAt "morning" (**P 38**, 3, **P 458**, 1)

d.nxn / d.nx(j)nx(j) "give endurance/duration, add lifetime" (**N 359**, 2)

dSrw "blood" (**W 165**, 13)

DbA m (collocation) "robe in" (**W 54**, 1)

Drb "?" (**W 99**)

Dsr "restricted, exclusive, hidden (land, road), sacred" (**T 145**, 7), "shout" (**ibid**), "beat/blaze (path)" (**P 31**, 5)

Dsr Hr "tower upon/due to, be elevated by means of" (collocation) (**P 510**, 1)

Dsrt "a table (with meal)" (**W 38**, 1)

Dsr(t) wAst(j)t "Theban strong ale" (**W 108**)

Dt "person, self" (**W 175**, 3, **N 72**), *n Dt* "personal, own" (**ibid**)

Dt "*Dt*-time" (**T 196**, 9)

Dd "pause, delay" (**T 196**, 9)

Part I: Unis's PT corpus

W 1 (PT 226)

§225b: *Sn bHz xAb jbHw pr m Hzp*

Allen "the toothless calf that emerged from the garden has been entwined"

Shmakov "the calf with crooked teeth that emerged from the garden is entwining"

We do not have any other examples of *xAbw* that could suggest that this word would mean "toothless": the example in the current passage is unique, hence Wb. doesn't give any meaning for this word (Wb.III:229:15). Moreover, the normal designation for "toothless, suckling calf" is *bHz jrTt(j)* (§27d, lit. "milk calf"). The word *xAbw* or *xAb jbHw* (due the presence of the *bH*-{tusk}-F18 sign which is carved much clearer in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 474)) rather seems to mean "crooked (teeth)" or "crooked of teeth", from a root *SAb/XAb/xAb* (for /x/ ~ /X/ ~ /S/ in these word and others, see **W 88**). "Calf crooked of teeth" would be a metaphor for a snake whose only pair of teeth is also crooked (cf. Allen's note 6, page 61).

W 2 (PT 227)

§227b: *xs(r)*

Allen "God-expelling scorpion"

Shmakov "Expelling scorpion (?)"

The *nTr*-{cloth wound on pole}-R8 sign seems to stay for *s*-{folded cloth}-S29, because it faces unnaturally backwards and is inserted between *x* and {arm holding stick} (cf. similar spelling *xs(r)* in §§1244b PM, 2158c), which is strange should it really be a "god".

W 3 (PT 228)

§228a: *xr Hr r Hr mAn Hr Hr prj nm km wAD r.s*

Allen "Face has fallen on face, face has seen face. The dappled knife, all black and green, has emerged"

Shmakov "Glance has caught (lit. fallen (on)to) glance, face has seen face. The black and green knife has emerged against it"

The word *Hr* has the meaning "look, gaze, glance" in this passage, not the literal "face", see **T 264**, 2. The sign {foxhide}-F27/28 that occurs in this passage isn't a phonogram *sAb* "dappled". It seems to be a phonogram for *nm* (occurs in *knm* (§1197b) and *knmwt* (§§1226e N, 1462a Pb)), together with *nm*-{butcher knife}-T35 making *nm* "knife". Hence the sign F27/28 plays the role of the complementary unnecessary sign. Cf. Teti's version of the similar spell PT 290 (§§431a-b) that has *nm km* "black knife" without F27/28 (the only difference between W and T is the sign for *km*). Note also that when the {foxhide} stays for *sAb* the complementary *s* is usually spelled (§1211c; Urk.I:81:1, 135:9, 177:11; L.D.II:21). Allen ignores *r.s* in this and §§431a-b passages, however he reads its variant in Neith's PT 290, Nt 716: *prj...r.k* "has emerged...against you".

W 4 (PT 229)

§229a-b: *ant tw nn nt tm...s.zAt Xnw m wnw*

Allen "This is the fingernail of Atum...the one that stripped chaos from Hermopolis"

Shmakov "This is the fingernail of Atum...that removed disturbance from Hermopolis"

The meaning of the causative verb *s.zA* is "remove", literally "make betake oneself", "make leave". It may be compared with the verb *s.rwj* "remove", which likewise literally means "make go away", "make depart". Cf. also PT 518, §1197e: *s.zA.jn.sn mnxt.sn* "Then they removed their linen garment".

W 5 (PT 230)

§230a: *nSfwj.k m tA spHt.k m bAbA*

Allen "Your two drops into the earth! Your two ribs into the hole!"

Shmakov "Your two (poisonous) spittles are in the earth, (snake), your skeleton is in the hole"

The word *spHt* has the meaning "bundle, knot (of ribs)", not ribs themselves. The two {rib}-F42 signs as the determinative of this word came about under the influence of *spHt (nt) spr* "bundle (of) ribs", see **P 32**, 4, and their quantity (two signs) probably doesn't indicate the dual number of *spHt* (cf. CT VII, 3t). In this passage it probably rather has the meaning "a bundle (of ribs/bones)", i. e. skeleton, chest, cf. CT V, 208a: *psD gbb spHt Ast Snaw nHb-kAw r<n>.s* "its (i. e. bank's) name is spine of Geb, skeleton of Isis, chest of Apportioner of Kas" (cf. also *ibid*, 203d, CT VI, 38e). For the meaning of *nSfwj*, cf. PT 285, §426a: *jw nSz(wj).k jr Szw(j).k* "(Put) your two (poison) drops to your two cups (i. e. poison-glands ?)!" (the snake is subsequently ordered to keep the poison within glands). Note that both *nSf* and *nSz* contain the root *nS* (for its meaning, see **W 67-68**).

2)

§230b: *st mw aHa Drtj*

Allen "Shoot liquid and the two kites will stand up"

Shmakov "Water has been poured, the kite and the screecher have stood up"

The verb form in *st(j) mw* is probably a passive *sDm.f*, the action referring to the fulfilment of that what had been asked for by the deceased. Rather than being a command to the snake, for it is not probable that there is any connotation of *mw* "water" as snake's poison:

Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 57, p. 126: *Htp Dj nswt st.t(j) n.f mw ra nb*

"A king-given offering: water will be poured for him every day"

Urk.I:75:8-10: *j anxw tpjw tA swAt.sn Hr jz pn st n(.j) mw*

"O the living who are upon the earth, who will pass by this tomb – pour water for me"

Urk.I:76:9-10: *st mw [Dj] t n jmAxw* "pour water, [give] bread to the honored"

The mastaba of Inumin (Kanawati, *Inumin*, pl.39): [*mrrw*] *jnpw pw sttw mw...n.j* "[the beloved ones of] Anubis (lit. those whom Anubis loves) are those who pour water...for me"; CT VII, 238m: *st.n.j mw n jt(j).j m(w)t(.w)* "I have poured water for my dead father"; Stela BM 152: *st.Tn n(.j) mw* "You should pour water for me"; Urk.IV:27:1: *stt mw* "pouring of water"; *ibid*:123:13: *nj xm.n.f stt n.f mw* "(who) doesn't forget to pour water for him"; *ibid*:149:17: *sty.f n.j [mw]* "he will pour [water] for me"; *ibid*:519:2: *st mw nj tm.n.f anw* "one who pours water cannot fail to come back"

Outside of a mortuary context, the expression *stt mw* "pouring of water" may refer to the pouring of water to reduce friction while dragging something. As such it occurs in the mastabas of Ti (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 69); Niankhihnum and Khnumhotepi (*nj-anx(.j)-Xnm(w)* "My life belongs to Khnum", *Xnm(w)-Htp(.j)* "Khnum is content") Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhihnum*, Tf. 16, 17; Mariette, *Mast.*, D55, p.324; Rashepsesi (*ra-Sps(.j)* "the Sun is noble") L.D.II:64.bis a, b.

Drtj "two kites" refers to Isis and Nephthys and is actually a "false dual": there is a rule that a pair is named after only one of its elements if it consists of elements of the same sex/gender (like in this case), and after the element of the female sex/feminine gender if a pair consists of elements of different sexes/genders (man and woman), for example:

- i) *rwtj* "a pair of Lionesses" = "Lion and Lioness", i. e. "Shu and Tefnut",
- ii) *zAt(j) snt(j)* (§1248d) "a pair of twin daughters (lit. two alike daughters)" = "a pair of twins", i. e. "Shu and Tefnut",
- iii) *zAtj* (CT II, 32 f; CT VI, 413i) "a pair of daughters" = "son and daughter", i. e. "Shu and Tefnut", in the PT *zAtj* occurs in §§147a, 149c, but the spelling was probably meant to be read *zA zAt* "son (and) daughter", rather than *zAtj* "a pair of daughters".
- iv) *wADtj* (Meir III, pl. 9; CM CG 20683; Urk.IV:16:13; 287:6; 483:13; Budge, BD172:19; Sethy I, Abydos III, pl. 36) "a pair of Wadjets, a pair of Green ones", i. e. "Wadjet (Green one) and Nekhbet",
- v) *HDt(j)* ((Allen's) N 466 (~ CT 516), Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +29) "a pair of White ones", i. e. "Wadjet and Nekhbet" (Nekhbet has the epithet *HDt* "White one" in the PT, and since the early Middle Kingdom *HDt nxn* "White one of/from Nekhen", see MMA 07.230.2, 08.200.5),
- vi) *psDtj aAtj* (CT IV, 30j (Sq3C)) "a pair of Elder Enneads", i. e. "Elder (*aAt*) Ennead and Great (*wrt*) Ennead",
- vii) *Hrwwj* (CT VI, 198e; Budge, BD172:17) "a pair of Horuses", i. e. "Horus and Seth",
- viii) *xnmt(j) t* "a pair of female bread cooks" (CT IV, 165c (B2Bo)), i. e. "male and female bread cooks" (S1C, S2C and Pap. Berl. give *xnm t xnmt t* "male bread cook (and) female bread cook").

For Isis and Nephthys as the kite and the screecher, see:

PT 535, §1280b: *jj HAt jj Drt Ast tj Hna nbt Hwt*
 "The screecher has come, the kite has come: it are Isis and Nephthys"

PT 532, §1255c-d: *jj Ast jj nbt Hwt...wat.sn m HAt wat.sn m Drt*
 "Isis has come, Nephthys has come:...one of them (lit. their one) as a screecher, another (lit. their one) as a kite"

For the concept of "false duals" we are indebted to Oleg Berlev (Berlev, *Sculpture*, p. 234).

The standing up of the kite and the screecher could be a protective measure, cf PT 246, §256b: *aHa aHa HA.k...nj sk.k nj tm.k* "Someone has stood up behind you:...you will not perish, you will not end"

3)
 §230c: *tmm r.k jn Smst tmm r n Smst jn m.Afdt*
 Allen "your mouth will be closed by the executioner's gear, the mouth of the executioner's gear will be closed by Mafdet"
 Shmakov "your mouth will be closed by *Smst*-fetish, the mouth of *Smst*-fetish will be closed by Mafdet"

The sign *Sms* that represents {crook with a package attached}-T18, here translated as "executioner's gear", is sometimes fully represented as {crook with a knife and a package attached}. Thanks to Toby Wilkinson we know it is actually Mafdet-genet's fetish:

"a sealing of Den from Abydos shows the fetish of Mafdet [*i. e. the sign T18 – T. S.*] (Petrie 1900: pl. XXXII:39 [*Mafdet is climbing the sign-T18 – T. S.*]); two fragments of a stone vessel show Mafdet as a lioness, identified as "mistress of the mansion of life" (*nbt Hwt anx*) (Petrie 1900: pl. VII:4; 1901:VII.10); a further stone vessel fragment bears the serekh of Den and the fetish of Mafdet in raised relief" (Petrie 1901:VII.7 [*Mafdet is climbing the sign-T18 – T. S.*])"
 (Wilkinson, *Annals*, p. 118-119 (PS r.III.13, Den's x+13th year), *comments of the current author are in italics*).

Also on the Palermo Stone, Mafdet is climbing the sign-T18² (PS r.III.13, Wilkinson, *Annals*, fig. 1, after p. 287), and her name has this sign as determinative in §1212d MN, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +54 (= §442c), +55 (= §438a WT), col. +58 (= §440c), Nt 710, 711.

For the identification of Mafdet as a genet (rather than a feline at least originally) we are indebted to Hermann Kees (Kees H., *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*. Berlin (DDR), 1956. pp. 33-34). Mihail Korostovcev supported this identification (the following passage was translated into English by the present author):

"The goddess Mafdet, mentioned in the "Pyramid Texts", was personified by a small predatory animal – an ordinary genet from the viverra family" (M. Korostovcev, *Religia Drevnego Egipta* (The religion of the Ancient Egypt). Chapter I. Fetishism and totemism. A cult of animals. Moscow, Nauka (publisher). 1976).

Mafdet-genet's fetish is often represented in the two solar boats (§§335c T, 336a T, 496a (morning boat); 150a, 335b T, 336a T, 497a (evening boat)), and it occurs in the model solar boat of Imhotep (MMA 14.3.22) with two perches with falcons (cf. the sign {falcon on a perch} in §468a N and two falcons resting on two perches depicted in the two leading (*mAtj*) boats in §1785b). There are another fetish-signs (or emblem-signs) used in hieroglyphs, such are O44 (fetish of Min), R20 (fetish of Seshat), R22 (emblem of Min), R24 (fetish of Neith) and {Bat emblem} (§§712b TPaMN (see **T 284**, 1), 1096b).

4)

§233b: *Sn pt Sn tA Sn (j)m(j)-Dr-bAH HA rxt*

Allen "Sky will entwine, earth will entwine, the Male who turns around the subjects will entwine"
Shmakov "Entwined has been the sky, entwined has been the earth, (once) The Original one in charge of the *rxt*-people has been entwined"

All *Sn*'s in the passage are probably passive *sDm.f*'s. The text probably has a nisbe of the compound preposition (*j)m(j)-Dr-bAH* "he who is before". Actually, we probably have two compounds: *m-bAH* + *Dr-bAH* = *m-Dr-bAH*, cf. the compound preposition *m-Dr* (§113b, Nt 281: *t dwA m-Dr rr.f* "the morning bread in its (proper) time"). *Dr* plus {penis} sign is the usual way to write *Dr-bAH* "before" in Old Egyptian (Urk.I:43:5, 45:4, 84:17, 101:4; also with {papyrus scroll} determinative – ibid:106:3, 125:7, 127:11, 129:4, 138:16). Likewise, *m* plus {penis} sign is the usual way to write *m-bAH* "before" (§§2c, 18a,b, 63c, 490c, 753c, 1189b, 1219c, d, 1774b, 2086c; Urk.I:13:10, 15, 75:14, 223:12, 15). The {penis} sign could not be the determinative of a form of the verb *mDr* "turn", for this verb never has a determinative in the whole PT corpus. So if we were to read *mDr*, then the {penis} would need to be read as an ideogram-phonogram *TA(jj)* "man, male" (which occurs in §§601b, 1462c), but such a construction (verb (*Sn*) + verb (*mDr*) + subject (*TA*)) is impossible.

There is a small possibility that *Dr-bAH* is independent of (*j)m(j)*, and is the nisbe "that which is before", i. e. "the original/primeval state", but if so then the sense of the line hardly changes: "He who is in the primeval state in charge of the *rxt*-people will entwine". Cp. it with *jmj pAt.f* "who is in his origin/primeval time" (plural in CT VI, 393l: *jmjw pAwt.sn*). The present author supposes this is less possible and prefer the first treatment.

For *HA* "behind, around" as "in charge of", cf. **W 214** and PT 424, §771b: *mjnjwt.k HA bHzw.k* "your shepherd in charge of your calves" (after Allen).

² This was also noted in Wb.IV:482:9.

5)

§234a: *Sn.t(j) nTr Sp tp.f*

Allen "the blind god will be entwined"

Shmakov "the (crocodile)-god whose head is blind will be entwined"

Sp tp.f is an unmarked relative clause "(who) his head has become blind", cf. §853a: *j.(n)D(.j) Hr.k wa j.Ddd.f[ra nb]* "Greetings, one who is stable [every day]" (cf. also **P 460**, **M 392**).

For *Sp tp* as a reference to a crocodile in a common formula from private Old Kingdom tombs, see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 70-71: *j nr pw anx Hr.k r Sjj pw nt(j) Hr mw jw m Sp tp* "Oh, this herdsman, be informed about (lit. may your face live against) this aquatic (i. e. crocodile) who came as blind-headed", and also Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamhor*, pl. 37: *j nr pw anx Hr.k r Sjj pw nt(j) Hr mw tm jw nw n Sjj pw j(w).f m Sp tp anx Hr.k r.f wrt*

"Oh, this herdsman, be informed about this aquatic who is on the water, that these (cattle) haven't come to him while he is blind-headed, be informed about about him very (much)".

6)

§234b: *TAz 2 nw nw Ab(w) jmjw(j) r n Asjr(t) TAzw(j).n Hr Hr bqsw*

Allen "These are the two spells of Elephantine that are in the mouth of Osiris, which Horus has cast on the (snake's) spine"

Shmakov "These are the two spells (lit. knots) of Elephantine that are in the mouth of Osiris, which Horus has uttered (lit. knotted) on the (deceased's) spine"

bqsw "spine" probably refers to the spine of the deceased, rather than to that of the snake.

W 7 (PT 232)

§236c: *jatj n m xmw*

Allen "the desert shall be washed for me: don't ignore me"

Shmakov "Iati(-monster), don't desecrate (?)"

The {mountain range}-N25 sign after *jatj* seems to occur as the determinative for dangerous beings, see **P 50**. The rest of the passage is unclear, for the verb *xmj*, see **W 169**, 5. The reading by the present author is arguable as it needs emendation in the text: *jatj {n} m xmw*. The reading by Allen is also arguable as the sign N25 doesn't seem to be an ideogram nor we have complements to read it *xAst* "desert, mounting range" or *z(mjj)t* "desert".

W 9 (PT 234)

§236c: *Hm n Hknt m Hrwj.s snnw*

Allen "Go back for me, you who jubilate with her two faces"

Shmakov "Turn away from she who exults over her two alike faces"

For the expression *Hm n*, see **T 145**, 3. "she who exults over her two alike faces" is probably Bat goddess, cf. PT 506, §1096b: *mrjj-ra pj bAt Hrwj.s snw* "Meryre is Bat (with) her two alike faces", for *Hrwj.s snnw*, cf. CT II, 396b (same CT III, 382e-383a) *nj xprrt jStj sntj m tA pn* "before the two alike (pair ?) things had come into being in this land". For the collocation *Hkn m* "jubilate at, exult over", cf. **Nt 278**.

W 10 (PT 235)

§239b: *jw nk.n.k jrtj rt aA*

Allen "You have mated with the pair of goddesses at the threshold"

Shmakov "You have copulated with the pair of female gatekeepers (*jrtj rwt*) and doorkeepers (*jrtj aA*)"

W 11 (PT 236)

§240: *kbb hj tjtj (j)bj tjSs*

Allen "Earthen One... Trampled Porphyrite, Foot-trampled, Cord"

Shmakov "Mashed one... twice trampled, one of the heart, grinded one/chopped one"

kbb is probably the verb *Tbb* "mash, crush" spelled with original *k*, while *Tbb* shows /k/ > /T/, cf. §681e: *Tbb.n Hr w r.f m Tbw.f* "Horus has mashed his mouth with his foot".

It is very speculative to translate *tjtj* as "Trampled Porphyrite" because the meaning could be "twice trampled", as there also is a verb *tjtj* "trample", and a {stone} determinative is missing.

What Allen reads as *bj* "Foot-trampled" is probably (*j*)*bj* "he of the heart", a term that could refer to a heart's vessel, the word *jbj* occurs fully spelled in §426c: *Htt jbj* "windpipe, one of the heart". For note that the {heart} sign is not determinative of the word "windpipe", see §§270c, 451c where the sign {head and neck of animal}-F11 is the determinative of this word. Moreover, this *jbw* "one of the heart" occurs in CT II, 130f along with *tjw* "long one" (after Allen). The verb *tjSs* occurs in Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 85: *tjSs bS(A)* "grind *bSA*-grain", see also Montet, *Scènes*, pp 233-234.

W 14 (PT 239)

§243b: *am.n ns HDt wrt nj mAtj ns*

Allen "The White Crown's tongue has swallowed the great one with the tongue unseen"

Shmakov "The White Crown's tongue has swallowed the great one, there is nothing (else) that the tongue saw"

Allen treats the latter half of this passage as having perfective *sDm.tj.f* negated: **nj mA.tj ns* "one has not seen the tongue". However the passage seems to have relative perfective, see **W 155**, 4, **T 203**, 3.

W 15 (PT 240)

§244b-c: *nr jwA Hr w xnd.f xnd.n wnjs Hr zbnt Hr w xm wnjs njj rx wnjs*

Allen "The cowherd, Horus, is stepping. Unis has stepped on Horus's glide-path only unconsciously, Unis not knowing (better)"

Shmakov "The shepherd of Horus's bull(s) is stepping – Unis has stepped on the gliding (snake) of Horus, (only because) Unis is ignorant, Unis did not know"

This spell occurs with only a little change in the pyramid of Teti as PT 378. "The herdsman of Horus's bull(s)" is a reference to Unis.

2)

§245a: *sTAz.tj jmj TpHt.f*

Allen "Be dragged away, you in his cavern!"

The similar phrase occurs in PT 390, §685a-b: *Hr Hr.k pAxd.tj Hr Hr.k sTAz.tj* "On your face! Be overturned... On your face! Be dragged off!" (after Allen). The verb *sTAz* is unclear, it occurs only in the spells against inimical beings. Faulkner regarded it as the original of the M.K. verb *stAs* which he by-turn regarded as the form of the verb *stA* (< *sTA*) "drag" (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p.255), for *z* and *s* are no more distinguished in the M.K.. To treat it as two different verbs **sTA z.tj* "Be dragged away, be gone" is unlikely³. *sTAz* may have different meaning from *sTA* "drag".

³ Yet it is possible. For the spelling of the verb *zj* without the {walking legs} sign, see §694: *j.zjj* "go!", Junker, *Giza IV*, Tf. 9: *z jm.k jm* "go and don't linger". For the stative as continuation of an imperative, see **N 361**.

W 19 (PT 23)

§16a,b: *mdw m rn.f Dw*

Allen "anyone who speaks bad of his name"

Shmakov "anyone who speaks badly of his name"

Dw in this passage is probably adverb "badly" rather than a noun "bad", cf.:

CT I, 173f-g: *nn H.n.j sDb r.f Dw mdw.f jm.j Dw m DADAt*

"There is none against whom I have set (lit. driven in) a bad obstruction that he might speak badly of me in the tribunal"

Note there is a collocation *mdw(j) m* "speak against, contest":

Urk.IV:260:12-13: *jr z(j) nb mdw m rn n Hmt.s dd nTr m(w)t.f Hr-a*

"As to anyone who will speak against the name of Her Incarnation – the god will make him die at once" (also *ibid*:217:16-17: [*mdwT.f m rn n Hmt.s*] "[the one who will speak (*mdwt.f*) against the name of Her Incarnation]")

ibid:1070:1-4: *jr jw...z(j) nb n hAw.j r mdt m tA jmjt-pr*

"As to anyone of my relatives who will come to contest (lit. speak against) this will (lit. "that in which the house is")"

Sin. B184: *nj mdw.k m zH n srw* "you didn't speak against the House of Officials"

2)

§16c-d: *m s.fxx.k jm.f zA m.k s.fxxw jm.f z(A)T*

Allen "Don't you let loose of him: beware that you not let loose of him. Libation"

Shmakov "Don't you become free of him: beware and don't become free of him. Libation"

This is a use of the negative construction *jm.f sDm* "so that he doesn't hear" (Allen, *M. E.*, 19.11.2) as a continuation of the imperative (Allen, *M. E.*, 19.8.3; also can be treated as a use in the purpose clause, Allen, *M. E.*, 19.8.1, 19.11.2). *zA m.k s.fxxw jm.f* is "beware, so that you may not do becoming free of him", "beware and don't do becoming free of him" or "beware, and you will not do becoming free of him". Literally the whole passage is "Don't do that you became free of him: beware, so that you may not do becoming free of him". The traditional reading of *zA* as "beware (lest)" doesn't make sense, as then we get a meaningless phrase "Beware lest you don't do". There is a word-play in the passage between *zA m.k* "detain so that you don't do" and *zAT* "libation" (i. e. *zA 'k ~ zAT*), a case of /k/ ~ /T/, see **W 48**.

W 20 (PT 25)

§17a: *zj zj Hna kA.f*

Allen "Someone has gone with his ka"

Shmakov "(lit.) The one who is to go has gone with his ka"

Such a construction of a perfective *sDm.f* followed by a participle as its subject involving the same verb twice, can be found in many passages, cf. §§256b: *aHa aHa*; 275a, c: *wab.n wab.n*; 463d: *pA pA*; 827a, 834a: *jj jj*; 890a: *pA pA*; 986b, 987a, 988a, 989a: *pr jr.f pr*; 1063a: *Hms zp 2*; 1107a P: *pr pr*; 1431a: *zj zj*. It is clear that such a construction was a way in which ancient Egyptian expressed the notion of "someone, something", for which a word or word-formation as such did not exist. So Allen's

translation is excellent, but it might be useful to have a closer look at the literal meaning. In such constructions the participle probably has a modal meaning, i. e. the literal translation is probably "The one who was to go (or "was going to go") has gone", rather than a meaningless "The one who has gone has gone". Alan Gardiner writes in his grammar about the ability of participles in ancient Egyptian to have modal meaning: "*Use of the participles to express obligation or the like.* Egyptian lacking equivalents for such notions as 'ought', 'have to', these may be implicit in the meaning of simple participles, whether active or passive" (Gardiner, *E. G.*, §371, p. 287). Cf. also **T 145**, 4. Allen himself does not address this topic in his grammar, but does translate a participle as having modal meaning in PT 254, §290c: *jw nD.n sw wnjs m-a jr w nn jr.f* "Unis has saved himself from those who would do this against [him]". He does not read *jr w* as "those who did/those who have done/those who do", but sensibly as "those who would do". That is, Unis does not save himself from a negative action that others already did (for that would be too late), but from something they were about to do, but haven't done, as Unis has saved himself (timely). We can also suggest a translation "who were going to do (this against [him])", "who were to do (this against [him])", etc.. The same "modal" reading by Allen occurs in Nt 779 *jr.n(j) n.f jrt* "I have done for him what should be done".

Some other examples of the construction:

Sin. B 149-152: *war war n hAw.f jw mtr.j m Xnw zAA zAAy n Hqr jw.j dj.j t n gsy.j*
 "Someone runs away because of his business while there is (good) news (lit. witness) about me at home, someone can't move (lit. delays) because of hunger while I give bread to my neighbour"

Thus literally "He who has to run runs" and "He who has to delay delays"

CT II, 143a-f: *d.n.f zp 2 m-sA.j nj pH.n.f wj d.n.f Hr w zA Ast m-sA.j nj pH.n.f wj*
 "He has put someone behind me (but) he cannot reach me: he has put Horus, the son of Isis behind me (but) he cannot reach me"

Literally "he has put (*d.n.f*) the one whom he has got to put (*d.n.f*) behind me", where the second *d.n.f* (*d.n.f zp 2 = d.n.f d.n.f*) is probably a relative perfect.

CT III, 16c-17a (B5C) = *ibid*, 185c-d (the descendant of PT 494, §1063a): *Hms zp 2 r wnm t Hms ra r wnm t*
 "The one who is to sit to eat bread has sat: the Sun has sat to eat bread"

CT VI, 121a-b: *wab zp 2 n kA.f wab N pn n kA.f*
 "The one who is to become clean for his ka has become clean: this N has become clean for his ka"

CT VI, 266c-d: *aHa zp 2 HA Asjr(t) aHa mdw HA Asjr(t)*
 "The one who is to stand up behind Osiris has stood up: the staff has stood up behind Osiris"

CT VII, 142q(-v) (the descendant of PT 25, §17a): *zj zp 2 Hna kA.f*
 "Someone has gone with his ka"

Naville I, BD 45:2-3: *wrd zp 2 m Asjr(t) wrd at m Asjr(t)*
 "Something of (lit. in) Osiris has become weary: a limb of (lit. in) Osiris has become weary"

See also the passage CT I, 43c-44d in **T 263**.

The present author thanks Marina Sokolova (Moscow) for pointing out the meaning of a participle in

such constructions. It is noteworthy that Harold Hays in his dissertation also reads *zj* in similar passage (PT 450, §832a) as having a modal meaning: *z z xr kA=f* "The one who would go is gone to his Ka" (Hays, *Structure*, p.37).

W 21 (PT 32)

§22a: *qbH.k jpn Asjr(t) qbH.k jpn hA wnjs prw xr zA.k prw xr Hrw*

Allen "These your cool waters, Osiris—these your cool waters, oh Unis—have come from your son, have come from Horus"

Shmakov "(Here is) this your cool water, Osiris, this your cool water, oh Unis, which has come from your son, which has come from Horus"

prw is a plural active perfective participle, not as Allen's translation (as if a stative) seems to imply. The text has the plural demonstrative pronoun *jpn* (as well as a plural form of the participle) because any liquid is plural in Egyptian (cf. §§688: *mw nw tjt* "water of (*nw*) Teti", 1039a: *j.(n)D.(j) Hr.Tn mw* "Greetings (lit. I have tended your (*Tn*) face(s)), water"). Hence the text actually has "This your cool water", not "These your cool waters", cf. PT 459, §864b N: *Szp n.k mw jpn wabw prw m Abw* "Receive this your clean water that has come from Elephantine" (also with *jpn* and *prw*).

2)

§22b-23a: *jw.n.(j) jn.n.(j) n.k jrt Hr qb jb.k Xr.s jn.n.(j) s(j) Xr kbwtj.k mj n.k rDw prj jm.k nj wrD jb.k Xr.s*

Allen "I have come having gotten Horus's eye, that your heart may become cool with it; I have gotten it under your feet. Accept the outflow that comes from you: your heart will not become weary with it"

There is a word-play in the passage between the words *qb.k Xr* "you become cool with (lit. under)" and *Xr kbwj.k* "under your feet" (a case of /q/ ~ /k/), and between *rDw jm.k* "outflow...from you" and *wrD jb.k* "your heart becomes weary" (a case of /m/ ~ /b/).

For /m/ ~ /b/, see **M 365**, 2. For /q/ ~ /k/, cf. *mqHA* (M36C, M35C) ~ *mkHA* (M1Ann) "back of the head, occiput" (CT VI, 124e); *Hnq* "foam" ~ *Hknw* "Jubilation" oil" (the word-play in §50c), *rqH* (Wb.II:457) ~ *rkH* (Wb.II:458:9, 459:3) "burn", *qfdnw* ~ *kfdnw* "baboon-shaped god" (Wb.V:33:6), *qnd* ~ *knt* "rage" (Wb.V:56:16), *qb* ~ *kb* "leaf of a plant" (Wb.V:154:7).

W 22 (PT 34)

§26a-e: *zmjn zmjn wpp r.k hA wnjs j.dp.k dpt.f xnt(j) zH(j)w nTr jSSw Hrw zmjn jSSw stS zmjn t(w)t jb nbwj zmjn*

Allen

"Condensed milk, condensed milk that parts your mouth,
ho, Unis! may you taste its taste in front of those of the gods' booths,
the spittle of Horus, condensed milk;
the spittle of Seth, condensed milk;
the reconciliation of the two gods' hearts, condensed milk.

Shmakov

"Soda solution, soda solution that parts your mouth,
ho, Unis! may you taste its taste, (you) at the fore of those of the god's booth,
that which Horus spat out (is) soda solution;
that which Seth spat out (is) soda solution;
that which reconciled the heart(s) of the two lords (i. e. Horus and Seth) (is) soda solution.

xnt(j) zH(j)w nTr is "(you) at the fore of those of the god's booth", not "in front of those of the gods'

booths". The text uses more than one *nTr*-sign just to fill the empty space inside of three *zH*-{booth}-signs, the latter forming a plural nisbe *zH(j)w* "those of the booth" (not "those of the booths"), thus the reading is actually *zH(j)w nTr* "those of the god's booth".

jSSw is probably a relative form used in an AB nominal construct, of the verb *jSS* "spit", with standard *w*-ending, rather than a noun "spittle", which is *jSS* (without *w*, see §850a; CT II, 4a: *jSS n r.f* "spittle of his mouth", *ibid*, 31e-f: *jSS n tm pr m r.f* "spittle of Atum came forth from his mouth"). For the verb *jSS*, see PT 660, §1871a: *jSS.n Tw tm m r.f* "Atum has spat you out with his mouth", PT 600, §1652c: *jSS.n.k m Sw tfn.k m tfnt* "You have spat as Shu and sneezed as Tefnut".

2)
§26f: *Dd mdw zp 4 Hzmn.k m-ab Smsw Hrw*
Allen "Recitation 4 times: Your natron-salt is among Horus's Followers"

Shmakov "Recitation 4 times: You have been natron-cleansed (to be) among Horus's Followers"

Hzmn is probably a verb ("natron-cleansed, wash with soda solution"), not a noun, because usually some kind of action is performed in a clause with *m-ab*, cf. §§221a: *Ax.k...m-ab snw.k nTrw* "you become akh...among your brothers the gods", 251a: *wp.k st.k...m-ab sbAw nw pt* "you shall clear your place...among the stars of the sky", 485a: *nj sTp.fj(n)bt m-ab snw.f* "he will not leap the barrier among his brothers the gods". Only rarely *m-ab* is used in non-verbal clauses, cf. §484d: *nj t.f nj pAq.f m-ab snw.f nTrw* "absent is his bread, absent is his wafer among his brothers the gods".

Some examples of the use of the verb *Hzmn* from the N.K.:

Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 34:

r n ja wxA jn nswt mn-mAat-ra ja.j tw wxA s.ntr.j tw wxA ja.k r Hrw s.ntr.k r DHwtj Hzmn.k r nxbt prt m nxb r jrt xt jm.k

"A spell of washing a cup by king Menmaat: I have washed you, cup, I have censed you, cup, you have been washed more than Horus, you have been washed more than Thoth, you have been cleansed with soda solution (*Hzmn.k*) more than Nekhbet who came from Nekheb to perform rituals by you"

The tomb of Sennedjem (TT 1), burial chamber, north wall, eastern half:

s.wab.tj m sntr Hzmn.tj

"You have been cleansed with incense, you have been washed with natron water"

The verb *Hzmn* (or *bd*?) of this TT 1 passage is in stative form and was written with the ideogram {a cup with natron pellets}.

The verb *Hzm(j)n* is formed through a *H*-prefix plus the root *zmjn* "soda-solution" (see **W22**, 1, just above, and **T 226**, 1). Similar formations are *H.kA* "magic" (the root is *kA* "ka", just like in *s.kA* "farm", see **W 165**, 6) and *H.tm* "end" (the root is *tm* "complete, fail, give out").

Harold Hays reads this passage similarly "May you be purified in the company of the Followers of Horus" (Hays, *Worshipper*, p.156).

W 24 (PT 36)

§29c: *snTr TA I*

Allen "1 pellet of natron"

Shmakov "1 pellet of incense"

The spell is very strange, it clearly consists of two parts: part (a) is §28a-29a, part (b) is §29b-c. Part (a) is about natron cleansing and thematically belongs to three previous spells – PT 32, 34, 35. Part (b) is a double of §18c-d, referring to incense burning. Allen opted for "natron" as the presented substance, basing himself upon the presence of part (a), having a natron-cleansing theme. But if one would go by part (b), it is rather a pellet of incense that is being presented.

You can notice something similar in the spell in Sethy's I temple at Abydos. The spell is about incense cleansing as is clear from the text and the image of a priest burning incense, but it too contains part (b) with a natron cleansing theme:

Sethy I, Abydos II, pl. 30: *r n s.wab nswt m s.nTr Dd mdw jn Hrw jwn mwt.f wab Hrw snTr.n.f s<w> m jrt.f nt Dt.f wab nswt mn-mAat-ra wab.n.f sw m jrt Hrw nt Dt.f jw.f wab(.w) Ddwj s.nTr.n.f sw m jrt Hrw nt Dt.f rdj.n.f Htm.f sw jm m rn.f pwy n p(A)Dw n(w) snTr wab nswt mn-mAat-ra jm mj wab sw ra jm wab Asjr(t) xntj Hwt skrj jm.s*
bd.k bd Hrw TAz-pXr bd.k bd gbb TAz-pXr bd.k bd DHwtj TAz-pXr r n zA ra sty mr.n ptH mj ra r n {n}<bH>z jrtr hr(w) ms s<w> mwt.f jm

"A spell of cleansing the king with incense. Recitation by Horus, Support (lit. Column) of His Mother: (Part a:) Horus is clean – he has censed himself through his own eye. The king Menmaatra is clean – he has censed himself through Horus's own eye. He is firmly clean – he has censed himself through Horus's own eye. He has made him provide himself with it in its identity of incense's loaves. The king Menmaatra is clean with it like the Sun has cleansed himself with it, (like) Osiris at the fore of Sokar's Enclosure has become clean with it.

(Part b:) Your natron is Horus's natron and vice-versa, your natron is Geb's natron and vice-versa, your natron is Thoth's natron and vice-versa. The mouth of Sun's son Sethy whom Ptah loves (given life) like the Sun is the mouth of a milk-calf on the day he is born by his mother"

A similar phenomenon occurs in Neith's pyramid PT 32 (Nt 74-77), where *snTr TA 2* "incense, two pellets" is presented instead of the *nTr TA 2* "natron, two pellets" in other PT versions.

PT 420, §750a: *hA tjt pw wab s.nTr Tw n ra*

"Ho, Teti! Become clean, *cense* yourself for the Sun" (after Allen)

The verb *snTr* probably has the meaning "cense", not "cleanse with natron", and the derived noun *snTr* would mean "censing", cf.:

PT 684, §2053b: *Sd.sn pppj nfr-kA-ra jr pt jr pt Hr Htj n snTr*

"They will take Pepi Neferkare to the sky, to the sky on the smoke of censing"

James Allen reads "on the smoke of incense", but his interpretation is arguable, as usually the ancient Egyptians wrote *snTr (Hr) sDt/xt* "incense (on) the fire" when they wanted to express the action of "censing" nonverbally, as incense itself cannot give smoke. Moreover, this sentence is related to PT 267, §365b: *pr.f Hr Htj n jdt wrt* "He will ascend on the smoke from (lit. of) great censing". The same phenomenon occurs in the following passage:

PT 463, §877a: *TAw.k s.nTr mHt.k Htj*

Allen "Your air is incense; your northwind, smoke"

Shmakov "Your air is censing; your northwind is smoke (from the censing)"

In the following passage from a spell pronounced by Thoth in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos, a spell which occurs earlier under the reign of Hatshepsut (Naville, *Deir el Bahari* V, pl. 139) and Thothmes

III (Urk.IV:873:13-874:12), the verb *s.nTr* is used in the section about censuring (Part a) while *s.wab* is used in the section about natron cleansing (Part b):

Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 35, Naville, *Deir el Bahari* V, pl. 139:

dj.f n.k s.ntr Htp kA.k kAp.f tw Hr jrt.k wDAT (sic, i. e. *wDat*) *s.ntr.f tw Hr prt xnt.k psDt xnm.s stj.k jdt prt m jf.k...s.wab.f tw m bd Hzmn*

"(Part a) He will give you incense that your ka may become content, he will fumigate you by means of your sound eye, he will cense you by means of (*Hr*) the emerged one of your face (i. e. the eye), the Ennead smells your scent, dew emerged from your flesh...(Part b) he will cleanse you with natron (and) soda solution"

The word that is spelled *snTr* plus {braizer with flame}-Q7 sign, and which Hermann Junker transliterates *snTr* and reads "räuchern" ("censing", e.g. Junker, *Giza* IV, p.101), probably cannot be taken into consideration as another proof for the notion that the verb *snTr* has the meaning "cense". For the inscription in the mastaba of Akhethetep shows that this formation was an abbreviated spelling of *snTr* (*Hr*) *sDt/xt* "incense (on) the fire" ~ "censing" as it has complementary *t* after the {brazier} sign in it (Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl.31: *snTr*-{braizer with flame}-*t*, i. e. *snTr sDt/xt*).

(*snTr* plus {braizer with flame} occurs in the mastaba of Sankhuptah (*s.anx-w(j)-ptH* "Ptah has made me live", Kanawati-Raziq, *Sankhuptah*, pl. 67(or 71)), Watetkhetor (*wat(j)t-Xt-Hrw* "Unique one of Horus's (i. e. king's) belly", Kanawati-Raziq, *Watetkhetor*, chamber B5, north and south reliefs of the west wall), and Meriteti (*mrjj tjt* "whom (king) Teti loves", Kanawati-Raziq, *Meryteti*, pl. 49), *snTr* with {braizer} determinative (probably determinative rather than ideogram for *sDt* or *xt* "fire") though is parallel to the action *stt mw* "pouring water" (Sankhuptah), *Djt qbHw* "giving cool water" (Watetkhetor, Meritety). *snTr* also occurs in the mastaba of Kaiemankh (Junker, *Giza* IV, p. 23, Abb.7), but there it does not have {braizer with flame} and is parallel to the noun (not action) *qbH* "cool water").

From the N.K. we have more examples of the verb *s.ntr* (< *s.nTr*) "cense":

Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 43: *Dd mdw jn nswt mn-mAat-ra (w)ab.t(j) sntr.T(j) wrt HkAw wADyt nbt pr wr Hr(j)t jb pr nzt*

"Recitation by king Menmaatira: you have been cleansed, you have been censed, Great of Magic, Wadjit, lady of the Great house, the one in the midst of the Fulfilling house"

Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 43 (an inscription before a censing priest):

s.nTr.k s.nTr kA.k "You have been censed, your ka has been censed"

ibid IV, pl. 47: *r n s.ntr n ra Hrw Axtj*

"A spell of censing for Sun-Horus-of-the-Behind-the-Horizon"

Note a separate verb existed for "cleansed with natron, wash with soda solution", namely *Hzmn*, see W 22, 2, above. Some later examples of cleaning with natron:

CT IV, 345g-h: *Dd z(j) <r> pn...ja(.w) m H(n)qt Hzmn*

"A man should pronounce this <spell>...washed with beer (and) natron solution"

CT V, 53a: *wab N pn m bd*

"This N has become clean with soda solution"

Urk.V:97:16-17: *Dd z(j) r pn wab.f sw m mw nw Hzmn*

"A man should pronounce this spell when he cleanses himself with natron water"

So to apply the meaning "cense" (purify with incense smoke) rather than "cleanse with natron" for *snTr*:

PT 210, §127a: *wab r n wnjs s.nTr psDtj wnjs*

"the mouth of Unis is clean, the Dual Ennead has censed Unis"

("...the Dual Ennead *has cleaned* Unis with natron" after Allen)

PT 512, §1164c: *wab.k m S(j) zAbj s.nTr.k m S(j) d(w)Atj*

"that you may become clean in the jackal lake, that you may become censed in the Duat lake"

("...become *washed in natron-water* from the Duat lake" after Allen)

PT 515, §1181b: *wab.s pjjj pn s.nTr.s pjjj pn*

"she will clean this Pepi, she will cense this Pepi"

("...*washing* this Pepi in natron-water" after Allen)

PT 685, §2066b: *s.ab.sn Tw s.nTr.sn Tw*

"They will cleanse you, they will cense you"

("...that they may *cleanse* you with natron" after Allen)

(Allen's) Nt 16, col. Nt 42: *kAp.n sw Hr Hr jrt.f hA nt pw kAp Tw Hr jrt Hr w s.nTr Tw Hr jrt Hr w*

"Horus has fumigated yourself by means of (*Hr*) his eye. Ho, this Neith, fumigate yourself by means of Horus's eye, cense yourself by means of Horus's eye!"

("...Ho, Neith! Cense yourself with Horus's eye, *natron-cleanse* yourself with Horus's eye" after Allen)

CT VI, 122f-j (T1C): *kAp.n sw Hr Hr jrt.f Asjr(t) N pn kAp Tw Hr jrt Hr s.nTr Tw Hr jrt Hr*

"Horus has fumigated yourself by means of his eye. This Osiris N, fumigate yourself by means of Horus's eye, cense yourself by means of Horus's eye!"

The just mentioned spell, (Allen's) Nt 16, and its descendant CT 530, to which the passage just above belongs, are about incense, not about cleansing with natron, thus *s.nTr* in the passage is undoubtedly "to cense".

CT VII, 137p: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hr w Sma(wj)t s.nTr.s Hr.k s.nTr.s jrtj.k*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye of the Nile Valley, it will cense your face (and) eyes"

CT VII, 137q: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hr w s.nTryt...s.nDm.s sT Hr.k jrtj.k*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye which censes...it will sweeten your face (and) eyes' scent"

CT VII, 138a: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hr w s.nTr Hr.k s.nTr jrtj.k jm.s*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye with which your face and eyes will be censed"

It is clear from the passages just cited that *s.nTr.s Hr.k s.nTr.s jrtj.k* and *s.nTr Hr.k s.nTr jrtj.k jm.s* is equivalent to *s.nDm.s sT Hr.k jrtj.k*, and it is also clear from the texts that *sT* "scent" refers to the sweet scent after censing, rather than after cleansing with natron.

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads this passage in the same way as the present author: "incense, one

pellet" (Hays, *Structure*, p.80, note 89).

W 27 (PT 39)

§31a: *jr(t) Hr(w) zjt.f r.s*

Allen "Horus's eye, which went away"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, to which he went"

zjt.f r.s is a relative construction with the relative form *zjt*, with *jr(t)* as an antecedent and *r.s* as a coreferent, lit. "Horus's eye he went to it", which is equivalent to the passage of §83a: *jr(t) Hr(w) Smt.f r.s* "Horus's eye, to which he went".

W 32 (PT 44)

§§34c-d: *Htpt jnt n{t}.k Htpt mAAt.k Htpt sDmt.k Htpt m bAH.k Htpt m xt.k Htpt xr(j)t.k pAt wDA*

Allen

"Contentment be what is gotten for you,
contentment be what you see, contentment be what you hear,
contentment be before you, contentment be behind you,
contentment be your lot.

A fresh bread-loaf"

Shmakov

"Nourishment is what is gotten for you,
nourishment is what you see, nourishment is what you hear,
nourishment is before you, nourishment is behind you,
nourishment is what you abound in.

A whole bread-loaf"

For *Htpt* as "nourishment", see **W 145**. For the prepositional nisbe *xr(j)t*, see **W 159**, *xr(j)t.k* is lit. "what is with you, what you have". *pAt wDA*t is "a whole bread-loaf", for it derives from *wDA* "be(come) sound, whole" (not from *wAD* "become green, fresh").

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads *pAt wDA*t of this passage similarly as *pA.t wDA.t* "a whole Pat-cake" (Hays, *Structure*, p.78, note 75).

W 38 (PT 50)

§37d: *Dsrt*

Allen "Sweeping the offering table"

Shmakov "a table (with meal)"

The text has {offering table (with legs) with bread loaves} followed by *Dsrt*. This likely should not be read as **Dsrt wdHw* (or **Dsrt xAwt*) as Allen seems to do, for apart from the order of the words, it should be noted that the verb *Dsr* is a 3-lit. verb, meaning the infinitive "sweeping" would be *Dsr*, not *Dsrt*. (That there would exist a verb *Dsr* "sweep" is in itself debatable, see **W 225**). So it would sooner be a piece of cultic furniture: *Dsrt*. For lists of such pieces of furniture, cf. L.D.II:28: *Dsrwt xA* "a thousand of tables", *ibid*:44, b: *xA xAwt xA Htp xA Dsrt* "thousand of offering tables, thousand of altars, thousand of tables (with meal)". The option that there's only one object, *Dsrt*, could be supported by Neferkare's version of the text, which has *Dsrt* followed by an empty offering table as determinative. This word *Dsrt* is probably the same as the word *Dsr* "table" (Wb.V:617:10), cf. *gsA* "two-legged headrest" (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 2), which is also spelled with *t*-ending – *gsAwt* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 62), *gst* (Brovarski, *An Inventory List*, p. 119, fig. 1). It is noteworthy that Harold Hays reads *Dsrt* similarly in his dissertation "a sacred (offering table)" (Hays, *Structure*, p.80, note 88).

W 41 (PT 128)§38c: *jrt Hr w zx(j)ntj.k*

Allen "Horus's eye, which you should embrace"

Shmakov "Horus's eye which you sought"

zx(j)ntj is a relative form of the verb *zx(j)n*, which is sometimes spelled with *jn*-pot (§§310e T, 314e), just like in Neferkare's copy of this spell, and thus probably must be read *zxjn*. This verb always has the meaning "seek" in the PT (cf. §§310e, 314e, 575a, 600c, 1008c, 1799a, 1936a, 1945c, 2059a), as the PT use *HjHj* "seek" very seldom (§§1242b, 2145b), and do not use *Dar* "seek". In the PT, *zxn* does not have the meaning "embrace", the notion of embracing is rather expressed by the phrases *Xnw aw(j)* (§208b) "arm(s)' inside, a hug", *m Xnw a(wj)* (§§151e, 212b, 258d) "inside the arm(s), in a hug", *Sn m Xnw a(wj)* (§§160b, 213a) "encircle inside the arm(s), embrace", *sbx a(wj) HA* (§585c) "enfold arm(s) around, embrace", *d a(wj) HA* (§1653a, b) "put arm(s) around, embrace", *awj HA* "arms around!, embrace!" (§§189b, 190b, non-verbal imperative, see **P 318**, 2).

The meaning "seek" especially applies when referring to the Eye, cf. the New Kingdom copy in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos, which gives (Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl.32, 35, col. 6, bottom): *jrt Hr w zxn(t).f* "Horus's eye which he (i. e. Horus) sought", cf. also *ibid* (Mariette, *Abydos*, T.1. Pl. 37, b, col. 30-31 from the left): *jn.n(j) n.k zxn<t>.k jn.n(j) n.k dbHt.k... jnk DHwtj jn.n(j) n.k jrt Hr w* "I have brought you that which you sought, I have brought you that which you asked for... I am Thoth, I have brought you Horus's eye". The same note is valid for PT 128, §80c.

W 48 (PT 74)§51a: *jrt Hr w j.s.fkkt.n.f Hr.s*

Allen "Horus's eye, on which he caused devastation"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, from which he has become free"

s.fkk ~ s.fxx "become free, release, let loose" is a very rare case of /x/ ~ /k/. For the latter phenomenon, cf. *xfa* (Wb.III:272:1) ~ *kfa* (Wb.V:121:2) "grasp" (cf. also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §119). A very probable example *nkjkj ~ nxjxj* may be added, for the root of the verb spelled *nkjkj* in the following PT passage cannot be *nk* "copulate", as that verb is never spelled *nkj*; the root is sooner *nxj* "endure, last" (§§256d, 663b, c, 1292a; for the meaning, see **T 248**, 2):

PT 479, §990a: *ra nkjkj Xt nwt Xr mtwt Ax jm.s*

"Sun, Nut's belly has grown (lit. endured, lasted) with (lit. having) the seed of the akh who is in her"

(This passage is a variant of PT 325, §532a: *hpAT j.TApr Xt pt Xr At mtwt nTr jmjty.s*

"Howler, the sky's belly has swollen with (lit. having) the force of the god's seed that is in it")

In that light, the unknown verb *nkAkA* in PT 690 may probably be equated with *nxAxA* "endure" (CT I, 296c (T9C, Sq3C)), spelled with *xA*-{shell}-L6 sign, instead of the usual spelling with *x* (*ibid*, T2C, B10C), which is a case of *xA ~ x*, see Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §45:

PT 690, §2114a-b: *anx jb.k nkAkA Ha.k nTr*

"May your heart live and your body endure (?), god"

The name of the god Sobek has an unattested root *sbk*, which could be a variant spelling of the attested root *sbx* and probably reflects dialectal differences.

Cf. also transitions into Coptic: *xAa* "throw, leave" > S. *kō*, *xnp* "snatch" > B. *kōlp*. We also may observe the reverse phenomenon in Coptic: the transition *k* > *x*, which is quite common in Bohairic, with lots of examples, e.g. *kkw* "darkness" > B. *xaki* (S. *kake*); *kAp* "hide" > B. *xōp* (S. *kōp*); *km* "be(come) black" > B. *xamē* (S. *kamē*).

Though the verb *s.fxx* is used in the PT with governing preposition *m*, it also could be used with *Hr*:

CT I, 16d: *s.fx.t(w) Dba Hr.T*

"the evil curse (lit. "finger") has been released from (*Hr*) you"

In the following spell from the temple of king Sethy I at Abydos copies vary between collocations *s.fx m* and *s.fx Hr*, both meaning "release from": Sethy I, *Abydos* I: pl. 26 gives *Hr*, all others give *m* (I: pl. 18, 26; II: pl. 3, 14, 22):

r n stA z/z(w)j Dd mdw jn nswt stA Dba n stS m/Hr jrt Hr w nDm sj s.fx Dba n stS m/Hr jrt Hr w nDm sj s.fx r(w)d Hr Asjr(t) s.fx dHrt Hr sA nTr

"The spell of pulling back the (door)-bolts, recitation by the king: Seth's evil curse (*Dba*) has been pulled back from Horus's eye, so it is happy (lit. sweet); Seth's evil curse (*Dba*) has been removed (lit. loosened) from Horus's eye, so it is happy; removed has been the lash (?) from Osiris, removed has been the illness from the god's back"

The suggested reading of the PT text is also supported by the New Kingdom copy of the spell in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos (II, pl. 18) which gives: *jrt Hr w s.fkkt.n.f stS Hr.s* "Horus's eye, from which he has removed (lit. released) Seth". Cf. also PT 219, §192b where the simplex *fx* is used with Horus's eye as an object: *j.fx n.k s(j) zA.k Hr w* "Your son Horus released it (i. e. his eye) for you".

Some other verbs likewise vary between governing preposition using either *Hr* or *m*:

i) *dr Hr* ~ *dr m* "remove from", PT 255, §297a: *j.dr Tw Hr st.k* "Remove yourself from your place", PT 476, §955a: *j.dr sw m st.f* "Remove him from his place", PT 504, §1083c: *j.dr Tw m wAt.f* "Remove yourself from his path" (also §1229c);

ii) *xnr m* ~ *xnr Hr* "keep from", Naville II, BD 26, p. 91, Pb: *nn xnr.tw bA.j Hr XAt.k Hr sbAw nw jmnt(j)t* (similar Naville II, BD 91, p. 206, Lc) "My ba will not be kept from your corpse (and) from the gates of the West", Urk.IV:938:6: *nn xnj bA m mrt.f* "without keeping the ba from what he loves";

iii) *nDrj Hr* ~ *nDrj m* "hold on to, take hold of, grasp by", PT 361, §604e: *nDr n.k tjt Hr a.f* "Grasp Teti by his arm", CT III, 288b-289a: *nDrw N pn mHyt Hr Hnzkt.s* "This N will grasp the Northwind by her braid", PT 528, §1250b P: *nDr m a n pppj pn* "hold on to the arm of this Pepi"; PT 4, 5, §§3c, e: *nDr.s jm.k* "that she may take hold of you" (also §§1300a, 1630c);

iv) *Hmsj m st* (§305a) ~ *Hmsj Hr st* (§§391c, 1154b, 1241b, 1367c, 1707b, 2015a) "be seated on the seat"; *Hmsj Hr nst* (§1992b) ~ *Hmsj m nst* (CT VI, 383e) "be seated on the throne";

v) *sSmj Hr wAt* ~ *sSmj m wAt*, PT 482, §1010a: *sSm Tw zA.k Hr w m wAwt pt* "Your son Horus will lead you on the paths of the sky", *sSm.t(j).f Hr wAwt Dsrt* "He will be led on the restricted paths"

(Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33; also Mariette, *Mast.*, E12, p. 412-13, F2, p. 433); CT VI, 831-m: *sSmw.sn Tw Hr wAt nt nTr nb* "they will lead you on the path of every god" (also CT V, 290m);

vi) *xpj Hr wAt* "go on a path" ~ *xpj m wAt* "go by a path", (Junker, *Giza* II, Abb. 7, p. 115) *xp.s Hr wAwt nfrt xppt jmAx(w)t jm.s(n)* "She will go on the right paths by which honored women go" (the same – Junker, *Giza* VI, Abb. 69, p. 191: *xp.f Hr wAwt nfrt xppt jmAxw jm.s(n)*; Junker, *Giza* VII, Abb. 46, p. 123: *xp.f Hr wAwt nfrt xpt jmAx jm.s(n)*); Hassan, *Giza* VII, fig. 20, p. 26: *xp.f Hr wAt nfrt [x]ppt jmAxw jm*; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 72 fig. 46: [...x]ppt jmAx(w) jm.s[n] "by which honored one(s) go"; L.D.II:56, b;

vii) *Smj Hr wAt* ~ *Smj m wAt*, PT 441, §817b: *Sm.k Hr wAt (t)fj.Smt nTrw jm.s* "You will go on that path by which the gods go" (also CT V, 46c: *wAt Smt.k Hr.s*), Urk.I:182:15-16: *njj gm.n(j) rmT nb*

- Sm.sn m wAwt n Da* "I cannot find any men who went by the paths of the storm";
viii) *Htp Hr* (§195a, b) ~ *Htp m* (§772b) "be content/pleased with (someone, something)"; *Htp m* (W 168, 3) ~ *Htp Hr* "get sated with, have enough of", Urk.IV:1064:2-3: *Szp.k Awt Htp.k Hr Sbw Hr wDHw n nb Dt* "You will receive a ration (and) get sated with food from the table of the lord of Dt-time";
ix) *awn Hr* ~ *awn m* "remove from", Peas. B1 262-263: *m awn Hwrw Hr xt.f* "Don't remove/keep back an unfortunate from his property", Urk.IV:133:4: *nj awn.j ky m xt.f* "I did not remove/keep back another from his property";
x) *jr Hr* (Urk.I:50:6-7, 226:12, 229:12) ~ *jr m* (Urk.I:50:1, 69:16, 71:17, 225:18, 226:5, 269:11) "buy for, make for", Urk.I:50:1: *jr.n(j) jz pw m jSt mAa(t)* "I have bought this tomb for real property".
xi) *Sdj m* ~ *Sdj Hr* "suckle, bring up with", Sethy I, *Abydos IV*, pl. 16: *jnk mwt.k Sd(j) tw Hr mnd(j)* "I am your mother, I have suckled/brought you up with my breast", Urk.IV: 578:6 (also 578:10:14, 580:17, 581:5:9): *Twt zA(j) Sd.n(j) m jrTt.j jptn jmjt(j)* "You are my son whom I suckled/brought up with this my milk which is in me";
xii) *stj/sTj Hr* ~ *stj/sTj m* "sow, fertilize, inseminate", Urk.IV:238:8: *kA st Hr nfrwt* "the bull that inseminates cows", CT I, 366b: *sTT.j Ds.j m nTrwt* "I myself inseminates goddesses", *ibid*, 365c-367a (M5C): *stt.n.j bA.j m r(m)T jmjw jw nsrsr* "I have sown my ba into the people of the Island of Blazing";
xiii) *xntS Hr* ~ *xntS m* "marvel at", Sethy I, *Abydos III*, pl. 31: *xntS.j Hr zpw jrr.k n.j* "I marvel at deeds which you make for me", Urk.IV:114:17: *xntS.k m a(w)t.k nbt* "you will marvel at (the state) of all your limbs";
xiv) *Hnk m* ~ *Hnk Hr* "endow with", Nt 745: *Hnk sw [Hrw] m jrt.f...wAgjt sw Hrw m jrt.f*, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.6, col. 709+13-14: *Hnk sw Hrw [Hr] jrt.f...wA[g sw Hrw Hr jrt.f]*;
xv) *DAj Hr zxnwj* "cross on the two reedfloats" (§§926b,d, 932b, d) ~ *DAj m zxnwj* (§§337, 342a, b, c, d); *Smj Hr zxnwj* (§1179a) ~ *Smj m zxnwj* (§1206d, f) "go/move on the two reedfloats";
xvi) *Axj m* ~ *Axj Hr* "become sated with" (CT II, 394a (B1Bo); CT III, 126b (B1Bo)), *Ax mjzt ra Hr mAat ra nb* "The liver of the Sun is sated with maat every day" (CT III, 6b).

So in general, the prepositions *m* and *Hr* often show interchangeability when used in collocations.

In the PT text at hand, the spelling *s.fkk* is used instead of the usual *s.fxx* to make a word-play between *s.fkk* and *sfT* "pine oil", i. e. *sfk'* ~ *sfT*, a case of /k/ ~ /T/, cf.:

- kw* (§218c W) ~ *Tw* (*ibid* TMN) "you",
sk (§§327a T, 483b) ~ *sT* (§327a W) "adverbial marker",
Dd.k (§17c) ~ *Dd.T* (§1800b) ~ *Dd.kT* (§27c, Nt 88, combined *Dd.k* + *Dd.T* = *Dd.kT*) "too, as well",
kbw(tj) (§22b) ~ *Tbw(t)* "sole, foot" (§681e) ~ *Tbwwt/Tbwtj* (§§1297c, 1368c, 2016b, Urk.I:102:13, 105:11, 17, also in the M.K.; in the N.K. also > *tbwtj*) "sandals".

See also Edelman, *Alta. Gr.*, §111.

2)

§51a: *sfT*

Allen "Pine oil"

James Allen is probably right, as sometimes this oil name is written with a {piece of wood}-M187 sign, see the mastaba of Kaiemankh (Junker, *Giza IV*, Tf. 16), the mastaba of Nikainisut II (*nj-kA(j)-(n)swt* "My ka belongs to the king", Junker, *Giza III*, Abb. 22, between pp. 154 and 155), Kai (Junker, *Giza III*, Abb.17, p. 135), Nisedjerkai (*nj-sDr-kA(j)* "My ka cannot lie", Junker, *Giza II*, p.119-20, Abb. 9, 10), Nefer (Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb.10, p. 47), Ueri (Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 72, p. 197), Minu (Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 98, p. 236), Ateta (*jttj*, probably for *jtjt*, Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.18(= 19), *sfT (HA)t(j)t* "the first class pine oil"); Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, pl. 63, 67; Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 79, p. 189; Inkaf (*jn-kA.f*, Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 79, p. 175); Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 33:44 (*jn-*

kA.f), 41:46 (*s.(w)DA w(j) kA(.j)*), 49:58 (*dwA(.j)-kA(.j)* = Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part III, pl. 45), 49:63 (*wAS-dwAw*), 89:98 (*wrj*), 106:113 (*pnw*), 106:115-116 (*nj-anx-pjppj*).

W 49 (PT 75)

§51b: *jrt Hrw Snmt.n.f*

Allen "Horus's eye, which he rejoined"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which he shielded"

For the meaning of the verb *Snm/Xnm*, see **W 165**, 7; cf. also

CT VII, 134e (G1T): *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hrw jnt.n.f Xnmt.n.f nTrw jm.s*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye with which he has brought and shielded the gods"

W 51 (PT 77)

§53a: *Dj.T Sat.f m jrtj Axw {k}<nb>*

Allen "you shall put his ferocity in the eyes of all the akhs"

Shmakov "you shall inspire (lit. give) the veneration of him in the eyes of all the akhs"

The meaning of the passage is that a feeling of awe and dread is evoked, a feeling that shows in the eyes of the akhs. There is a word-play in the passage between *HAt* (§52a, b) plus *Sat* (§53a) and *HAt(j)t aS* "first class cedar oil" (§53b).

W 52 (PT 78)

§54a: *HAt(j)t THnw*

Allen "First-class Libyan oil"

Shmakov "First-class Libyan cedar oil"

It is interesting that this oil occurs with a {piece of wood}-M187 sign as the determinative in the offering-lists of the mastabas of Userinetjer (*wsr-nTr(.j)* "My god (i. e. king) is strong", Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.21, 23); Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, fig. 30 (= L.D.II:49, b); Junker, *Giza X*, Abb. 64, after p. 166; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 25:28 (*k(A.j)-s.DA-(wj)* II), 49:61 (*dfDj*), 73:80 (= Hassan, *Giza VII*, fig. 101, p. 104, *Htpj*), 81:91-92 (*nfr-sSm-sSat*), suggesting that the oil originated from the wood of a tree, just like *sfT* "pine oil (after Allen)" (see **W 48**, 2) and *aS* "cedar oil" (§53b).

W 53 (PT 79-80)

§54c: *s.dm(j.j) n.k jr(t) Hrw wDAt r Hr.k*

Allen "Horus's eye has been painted sound on your face"

Shmakov "I am attaching the sound eye of Horus to your face for you"

The verb in the passage is likely not *sdm* "pencil, outline (eyes)", but rather the causative of the simplex *dmj* "touch". Firstly, because there is no obvious sense in "Horus's sound eye has been outlined to your face" (passive), for what does "outline/pencil *to* (*r*) a face" mean? (exactly "to, towards", contrary to "pencil on", cp. *zSA Hr* "write/draw/paint on").

Secondly, because the passage, as many others, contains a word-play, namely between the verb *s.dm(j)* "attach" and the noun *msd(m)t* "(black) eyepaint" (§54d); were we to take *s.dm(j)* as *sdm* "pencil, outline (eyes)", then there's no longer a real play on the words, as *sdm* and *msd(m)t* have one semantic root *sdm*. For normally, a word-play consist of two semantically different words (i. e. words from different roots) that sound alike, for example "you are full in your identity of fuel tank" (a word-play on "full" and "fuel" – words have different roots), contrary to "you are full in your identity of full tank" (there is no word-play). This rule seems to hold also for ancient Egyptian word-plays, although exceptions may have existed (§§479a, 785d probably are such an exception, with *jAq* "climb" and

m.Aqt "ladder", *Hr* "be far" and *Hrt* "(Celestial) Distance" being of the same root).

Thirdly, Neferkare's §55d gives *s.dmj* "attach" (the verb in §55d N should be the same as in §55b,c N which is spelled *sdm*) as well as §54c in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 143) and §609c (see **T 196**, 3), while *sdm* "pencil, outline (eyes)" is never spelled with the *mj*-W19 sign. Moreover, in §283a (both WT) the verb *sdm* occurs with the {outlined eye}-D7 sign as the determinative, which doesn't occur in §54c, 55b, c (Neferkare's editor wrote only the {papyrus scroll}-Y2 sign after *s.dm(j)* in §55c). Note the omission of the final *j* is normal for PT and O.K. spellings, cf. *sq(j)* "pound, flat", *bn(j)* "become sweet", *dA(j)* "subdue".

Fourthly, CT VIII (PT 79-80, p. 25) definitely gives all the verbs in question as *s.dmj* "attach".

The verb *s.dm(j)* probably was misunderstood in CT VII, 138j, for this M.K. variant of §54c gives *sdm* with {outlined eye} determinative: *Asjr(t) N pn sdm n.k jrt Hr wDAt r Hr.k* "This Osiris N, outline Horus's sound eye onto your face", but the following passage uses *s.dmj* (with {papyrus scroll} det.), 138k: *Asjr(t) N pn s.dmj n.k jrt Hr r Hr.k* "This Osiris N, attach Horus's eye to your face".

There is another word-play in the passage: between *wDAt* "sound" and *wAD* "green eyepaint" (§54d).

W 54 (PT 81)

§56a: *rs.T m Htp rs tAjt m Htp rs tAjt(j)t m Htp*

Allen "May you awake in peace! Awake, Ta'it, in peace! Awake, you of Ta'it-Town, in peace!"

Shmakov "May you awake in peace! Awake, linen fabric, in peace! Awake, you of linen fabric (i. e. linen shroud), in peace!"

In Unis copy of the spell, the word *tAjt* has the {sheaf of flax}-M38/M178 sign as determinative, and in the copies of Neferkare and Neith (Nt 149-150) also *tAjt(j)t* has this determinative. So both words were undoubtedly considered as being made of linen fabric. We know for sure that *tAjt* is a "linen fabric":

CT I, 254c: *tAyt.s rxtt ptH sxtt tAyt Ds.s*

"Its linen fabric which Ptah laundered, which Tait braided herself"

In the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 145-146), the sign {falcon on standard which stands on a sandal} (G7 + horizontal S33), a variant of G142/143, which is used to write the word *jdmj/dmj* "linen" (see §816b and **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 13) follows *tAjt*, giving us the reading *tAjt jdmj* probably "linen cloth" or the like.

The {village plan}-O49 sign which occurs alone or in combination with the {sheaf of flax}-M38/M178 at the end of the word *tAjt* in §737c⁴ (also §§1642, 1794a, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.2 A, col.20, pl.11, col.3), probably does not indicate that *tAjt* would be a toponym ("Weaving-town"), but rather is secondary. For in several instances the sign seems to take the place of other determinatives; cf. the occurrence of the secondary {village plan} sign determinative in words like *Htp* "offering" (§897b M, probably the influence of *sxt Htp*, cf. §749d M), *SsAt* "night" (Nt 4 = §1761d), *swHt* "egg" (§714b), and in *mnH* "lying" (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.14, col. +74).

The O49-sign also appears in the names-epithets of the deities *mAa Hr Tryt* "Pilot covered in gore" (CT VIII, 150b, T1L, TT240), *sAH* "Orion" (§1763c, spelled without O49 in Nt 807), *jw.s aA.s* "She-Comes-(and)-She-Increases" (see **P 467**, 8; CT VI, 247g, 283r, 284i), *Htp.s xw.s* "She-Rests-(and)-

⁴ *wnx.k m jrt Hrw jmjt tAjt* "get dressed in Horus's eye which is a linen fabric".

She-Defenses" (CT IV, 256a, 260b (BqCb, B1P, B5C, BqCa)), *nfrw.s* "Beauty-tree"⁵ (CT III, 87b, 93g, cf. §1783b with the {tree}-M1 determinative) and *jtnw.s* "jtnw-tree" (CT II, 120a, CT III, 87c, 203b (B3L, here with the {tree} determinative), without O49 in *ibid*, 240a-241a), *ggw.s* "Stare-tree" (CT III, 90a), *Hknw.s* "Jubilation-tree" (CT III, 108b, without O49 in *ibid*, 130h (S1C), 138d) and in the epithet of Anubis, *jmj wt* "who is in mummy-wrappings" (cf. Urk.I:268:10 where it occurs without the sign O49 and has the {bandage}-V38 sign instead. In the M.K. mostly without O49), probably likewise as substitute for another sign. Cf. a similar use of the {mountain range}-N25 sign which occurs as the determinative for dangerous beings (§§236c, 245b, 851b N, 1639c N, see **P 50**). *tAjt(j)t* is the feminine nisbe of *tAjt*, literally "she of linen fabric" and seems to mean "linen shroud".

Another indication for the meaning of *tAjt* and *tAjt(j)t* lies in their occurrence as objects of the collocations *DbA m* "robe, clothe in" and *wnx m* "get dressed in" in PT and CT:

PT 71C, §*49n: [*DbA.n sw Hrw <m> tA*]*j[t]*
 "[Horus has robed himself <in> linen] fa[bric]"
 (James Allen himself reads *tAjt* in this passage as "woven cloth")

PT 622, §1755a-b: *DbA.n(j) kw m jrt Hr rnnwt(j)t jtn nrt.n n.s nTrw*
 "I have robed you in Horus's eye, this Nurterer of which the gods have become afraid"

PT 634D, §*1793f-g: *hA pppj [nfr-kA-ra DbA.n Tw] Hrw m tA[jt(j)t jmjt] tAjt DbA[.n.f jt(j)].f jm.s*
DbA[.n.f Asjr jm.s]
 "Ho, Pepi [Neferkare]! Horus [has robed you] in the linen shroud [which is of] linen fabric, in which [he] robed his [father, in which he] robed [Osiris]"
 (James Allen reads *tAjt(j)t* in this passage as "woven cloth")

PT 690, §2094a: *aHa Hr DbA.f pppj nfr-kA-ra pn m tAjt(j)t prt jm.f*
 "Horus has stood up that he may robe this Pepi Neferkare in a linen shroud (*tAjt(j)t*, lit. "her of linen fabric") that emerged from him (i. e. in his eye which he lost in the battle with Seth ("that emerged from him"))"

CT VII, 64a: *DbA.n.j Tw m jrt Hrw jmjt tAjt DbAt.n.f jt(j).f jm.s DbAt.n.f Asjr(t) jm.f*
 "I have robed you in Horus's eye that is a linen fabric (*tAjt*) in which he (i. e. Horus) robed his father, in which he robed Osiris"

The word has {fringed cloth}-S28 determinative in the just cited passage.

CT VII, 66j-k: *saH.s Tw s.Xkr.s Tw m rn.s n tAjt jmjt jtrt(j)*
 "It (i. e. Horus's eye) will rank you high (and) adorn you in its identity of a linen fabric (*tAjt*) in the Dual Shrines" (the preceding passage 65h reads: *N mj n.k Hbsw nb jmj jtrt(j)* "N, take all clothes which are in the Dual Shrines")

CT VI, 221i-q: *jj tAjwt jj tAjt(j)t jj jrt Hrw prt m tA jj znt Ast jj stAt nbt Hwt jj ms {n} t nt jj sxtt rHtj sntj*
jj sam.n ptH jj rdjt.n Hrw n jt(j).f Asjr(t) r Hbs.f jm.s
 "Linen fabric has come, She of linen fabric has come, Horus's eye that emerged from the ground has come, That which Isis spun has come, That which Nephthys wove has come, That which Neith wove

⁵ This and the following nouns are made with the word-formative model "noun/root plus the suffix .s", cf. *Smaw.s* "Nile Valley crown", *mHw.s* "Delta crown", also in *Am.s* "Ams-scepter" (*Amm* "grip") and *mk.s* "case for a deed to property" (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p.120, *mk* "protect"), and probably in *xA-bA.s* "night/starry sky" (lit. thousand of ba(s)), later *xAbsw* "stars".

has come, That which two alike female comrades braided has come, That which Ptah inlaid has come, That which Horus has given to his father Osiris that he may dress (lit. to his dressing) in it has come"

tAjwt and *tAjt(j)t* are written with {cloth}-V48 determinative.

CT VI, 221s: *Htm tw m jrt Hrw tA(j)t(j)t* "Provide yourself with Horus's eye of linen fabric".

CT VI, 411b: *s.Ha.f tw m jrt.f tAjt(j)t* "He will make you get excited at his eye of linen fabric"

tAjt(j)t has the {sheaf of flax}-M38/M178 sign as determinative.

(Naville, *Deir el Bahari* V, pl. 139, Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 35)

DbA.s tw m [jrt Hrw] tAyt jmjt tAyt(j)t

"She will robe you in [Horus's eye] of linen fabric that is a linen shroud (*tAyt(j)t*)"

tAyt and *tAyt(j)t* in Hatshepsut's copy are written with {fringed cloth}-S28 determinative.

PT 414, §737c: *wnx.k m jrt Hrw jmjt tAjt*

"You shall get dressed in Horus's eye which is a linen fabric"

Moreover, Horus's eye is identified with cloth:

CT VI, 221a: *hA Asjr(t) N pn wnx.k m jrt Hrw nt Dt.k*

"Ho, this Osiris N, dress in the eye of Horus of your own"

CT VI, 221b-e: *rdj.n.j n.k s(j)...dmj.tj r jwf.k m rn.s p(w) n jdmj wnx.k jm.s m rn.s pw n mnxt*

"I have given it to you...(and) it has stuck to your flesh in her identity of linen. You shall get dressed in it in its identity of cloth" (see also *ibid*, 221d).

CT VII, 65r: *Asjr(t) N m(j) n.k mnxt jptn jmjt Hwt ptH wrt aAt*

"Osiris N, take these great (and) considerable cloth which is from Ptah's Enclosure"

CT VII, 65t: *mnx.k jm.s m rn.s n mnxt*

"You will become efficient in it (i. e. the Eye-Nurturer (*rnnwt(j)t*)) in her identity of cloth"

A descendant of CT spell 608 may be found in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos, II, pl. 12, 19, 27:

xa.k jm.s mnx.k jm.s Hr jb n nTrw m rn.s pwy n mnxt dmj.s Hr.k/r.k m rn.s pwy n jdmjt/jdmj aA.s Hr.k m rn.s pwy n aAt Smat.s Hr.k m rn.s pwy n Smat

"You will appear in it, you will become efficient in it in the gods' opinion in its identity of cloth; it will stick to you in its identity of that which is of linen (var. linen); it will get big on you in its identity of that which is of *aA*-linen; it will make music on you in its identity of that which is of Nile Valley linen"

Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 12: *DbA.n.j tw m jrt Hrw DbAt rnnwt(j)t*

"I have robed you in Horus's eye which Nurturer wore"

Cf. also the following passage where the eye of Horus is the source of linen:

PT 519, §1202a-d: *DA.fjm.f Hna sSd pw nj wADt n (j)dmj sT(A)j m jrt Hrw jr wt DbA pw jm nj Asjr(t) zj mr(j)*

"so that he might ferry in it (i. e. the boat), together with this headband of fresh linen fabric, spun from

the eye of Horus in order to bandage with it that finger of Osiris that had become sick".

2)

§56b: *jrt Hr w jm(j)t dp m Htp jrt Hr w jm(j)t Hwwt nt m Htp*

Allen "Horus's eye in Dep, in peace! Horus's eye in the Red-Crown enclosures, in peace!"

Shmakov "(Awake,) Horus's eye in Dep, in peace, Horus's eye in the Watery Area's enclosures (i. e. probably the marshes of Pe), in peace!"

Hwwt nt is probably "Watery Area's enclosures", not "Red-Crown enclosures", as the word *nt* has the meaning "spring, watery area" (Wb.II:198:10, see also **W 171**, 2, **W 192**, especially **P 467**, 7, below). According to Allen it was the ancient area of Buto (i. e. *Pe (p)* and *Dep (dp)* together) (Allen, *Medicine*, p. 65) in the Delta, so probably marshy or watery area. The spelling *n-t*-{red crown} (due to "Phonetic Influence", see **T 228**, 10) was a variant of spellings that, from our point of view, look more correct: *n-t*-{three ripples of water}-N35a, {three ripples of water}-*t* (Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 25, pl. 2:4, 34:6, 36:7), or only {three ripples of water} sign (which is still *nt*, not *mw*), and we may find these different spellings on the same monument, for example:

1) the mastaba of the dwarf Seneb: *Hwwt nt* (spelled *Hwwt* + {three ripples of water}, Junker, *Giza V*, Abb. 29A.) ~ *Hwwt nt* (spelled *Hwwt* + *nt* + {red crown}, Junker, *Giza V*, Abb. 4a ([*n*]*t*, p. 27), 29B. (*n(t)*, p. 109)).

2) the mastaba of Mereruikai: *Hwwt nt* (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 62, 76, 133, 207 (=208B), 210D, 211A, B, spelled *Hwwt* + *n-t*-{three ripples of water}; pl. 181 (=182), 183, spelled *Hwwt* + {three ripples of water}-*t*) ~ *Hwwt nt* (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 113, 159, 179 (=182), spelled *Hwwt* + *nt* + {red crown}).

In the mastaba of Gemnikai it is spelled uniquely *Hwwt* + *n-t*-{white crown}-{red crown} (Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai II*, p. 18 and pl. 34, false door of room VII), but this does not negate what just has been said about the toponym. Firstly, because Mereruikai as a successor of Gemnikai in the office of vizier would have had the same titles, i. e. *xrp Hwwt nt* of Mereruikai (spelled with {three ripples of water}) ~ *xrp Hwwt nt* of Gemnikai (spelled with -{white crown}-{red crown}). Secondly, because the toponym is still spelled *Hwwt nt*, not **Hwwt dSrt HDt*: although *dSrt HDt* could be spelled with ideograms, i. e. with the {white crown}-{red crown} signs like we have here, there would not be a *nt* before these signs like we have in the variant of Gemnikai. This means that the {white crown} sign in Gemnikai's spelling of the toponym is either "Determinative Influence" (see **T 203**, 2) or just a space filler (to fill the free space on either side of the {red crown} sign), i. e. nothing more than ornamental.

This title also occurs in similar lists of titles:

sm xrp SnDwt xrp Hwwt nt "sm-priest, manager of a kilt, manager of the Watery Area's enclosures" (Hassan, *Giza I*, p. 6, the mastaba of Raweri, (*ra wr(j)* "the Sun is great"))

~ *sm xrp SnDwt nbt xrp Hwwt nt* (Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai II*, p. 18 and pl. 34, false door of room VII), the only difference being the title *xrp SnDwt nbt* "manager of every kilt".

That is, the title in the mastaba of Rawer spelled *Hwwt* {three ripples of water}-*t* equals the title in the mastaba of Gemnikai spelled *Hwwt n-t*-{white crown}-{red crown}. See Jones, *Titles*, ## 2646-2648, for references to the title *xrp Hwwt nt*.

Cf. CT VII, 189d where the word *nt* of the toponym is spelled *n*-{red crown}-{three ripples of water}: [...] *r Hwwt nt wnm zwr m Hwwt n[t]* "[...] to the Watery Area's enclosures, eating (and) drinking from the Wat[ery Area's] enclosures".

Cf. CT III, 145f: *tAH zSw Hwwt nt nbj jrt Hr w* "Flooded have been the nests of the Watery Area's enclosures (and) the flame of Horus's eye" and CT VI, 196l: *tAHy.j zS(w) Hwwt nt* "I flood the nests of the Watery Area's enclosures" – in these two passages we have *zSw Hwwt nt* "nests of the Watery Area's enclosures", i. e. "nests of marshes" which does make sense, while "nests of the Red-Crown

enclosures" seems rather meaningless.

Cf. Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 3th hour, P:

xd.f xnt.f m Hwwt nt

"He will sail north and south in the Watery Area's enclosures"

Though versions P and B give *Hwwt nt* "Enclosures of Neith", there is no doubt that this is a reinterpretation of an original "Watery Area's enclosures" as is shown by the variant of Sch which gives {red crown inside the enclosure}.

Finally, compare §1353c: *Hwt Htmwt* "Enclosure of the *Htmwt*-canal" (for this body of water, see **W 212**, 2), and CT III, 214c: *Hwt ptrtj* "Enclosure of the dual looking waters".

3)

§57e: *r HAt(j) r HAt(j) xr Asjr(t)*

Allen "To the front! To the front, with Osiris!"

Shmakov "(Put) to my front, to my front" says Osiris"

This passage refers to the presentation of two linen stoles and putting them on Osiris. *xr* in the passage is parenthetic (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.17-18), not a preposition "to", cf. Jones, *Titles*, 1542-50, p. 418-419:

m Htp m Htp jn N "'Welcome, welcome" says N"

m Htp m Htp xr N "'Welcome, welcome" says N"

where N is a god or the personified west (*jmnt*), cf. also CT I, 54j (B3Bo): *m Htp m Htp xr ra jmj <X>n pt* "'Welcome, welcome" says Sun who is in the sky's interior". For *r HAt(j)* "to my front", cf. §54a: *jn(j) n.k jrt Hr w...r HAt.k* "I have brought for you Horus's eye...to your front", in the current passage this expression is probably a "non-verbal imperative" (see **P 318**, 2). For another example of parenthetic, see also **P 7**, 1.

W 59 (PT 86)

§59d: *s.Hm n.k s(j) xr.k*

Allen "Cause it to revert to you"

Shmakov "turn it to yourself"

s.Hm n.k s(j) xr.k is "turn it to yourself" (lit. "cause it to turn towards you") in the sense of "turn towards, direct to you", rather than "revert it to yourself" as former owner. Just like it does not have the meaning "cause to revert" in PT 356, §576a: *s.Hm.n.f jb n stS* "He has turned (away) the heart of Seth" and PT 357, §587c: *s.Hm.n n.k sw Hr w* "Horus has turned him (away) from (n) you".

W 61 (PT 88)

§60b: *jrt Hr w xw nkt.f s(j)*

Allen "Horus's eye: prevent him from trampling it"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, keep him from injuring (?) it"

James Allen seems to read here an imperative construction *xw n.k t(j).f* "keep for yourself him from trampling", probably presuming a verb *t* (N: *tj*) that would be analogue to the verb *tjt* "trample" that occurs in §73a, a presumption only based on the use of these verbs in both texts to make a word-play with the word *t wt* "emmer bread" (§§60b, 73b). However, rather than presuming an obsolete verb *t(j)*, the present author supposes that there's rather a verb *nkt/nktj* in the current passage, that probably derives from the verb *nkn* "be injured, be harmed" which sometimes is spelled just *nk(n)*. Cp. *nkt* "injury", *nknkt* ~ *nkkt* "the injured one (specifically referring to the damaged Eye)" (HWB 437-438).

2)

§60b: *t wt*

Allen "1 loaf of "trampled" bread"

Shmakov "one loaf of emmer bread"

In the mastaba of Kai (Junker, *Giza III*, Abb.17, p. 135) and Khufukhaf (*xw.f-w(j)-xa.f* "Khufu shines forth", Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 32) this bread has a {ear of emmer}-M34 sign as determinative, thus rather than a hypothetical **t tw* "tw-bread, "trampled" bread", we probably must read *t wt* "a type of emmer bread". In any case, the nature of word-plays (see **W 53**) makes it unlikely that the bread's name straightforwardly contains the mentioned verb (the same applies to the following section).

W 62 (PT 89)

§60c: *jrt Hr w jtHt.n.f / t rtH(t)*

Allen "Horus's eye, which he pulled out. 1 bowl of "pulled" bread"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which he pulled out. 1 bowl of baker's bread"

The word-play in the passage is no doubt between the relative form *jtHt* "which he pulled out" and the noun *rtHt* "baker" (a case of /j/ ~ /r/, see **W 166**, 1, i). For the office *rtH(tj)* "baker", see Jones, *Titles*, # 1848. For the *t rtH(t)* "baker's bread" spelled in full *t rtHt*, see Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 136, p. 77; Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 64a. A similar word-play appears in PT 124, where there is no sound word-play, but there is a word-play between *t ASr* "roasted bread" and *jtHt* "which he pulled out", which hints at *rtHt.n.f* "which he baked". The same reading is for PT 112 (W 74).

W 64 (PT 91)

§61b: *jrt Hr w j.xmxt.n.sn r.f*

Allen "Horus's eye, which they diverted from him"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which they (i. e. gods) know less than him (i. e. Horus) (lit. of which they are ignorant against (i. e. more than) him)"

James Allen translates the double of the passage (PT 147, §89c) differently: "Horus's eye, which they enjoyed against him". The verb form is surely written with graphic transposition and is not to be read as *jxxmt*, but rather as *j.xmxt*. We have here a prefixed partially reduplicated 2-lit. verb *xm* "not to know, loose knowledge of, forget, negate" (thus 3-lit. verb, the root pattern ABA⁶, absent in Allen, *M. E.*, 13.5.3); Allen states the same except for the verb's origin in Allen, *Inflection*, §743, p. 583: "the word...*jxxm*...is an improbable root pattern, and is possibly calligraphic for *j.xmx*: that is, prefixed form of the otherwise unattested simplex of causative *sxm(j)*". The causative 3-lit. verb *s.xmx* that occurs in the expression *s.xmx jb* "entertainment, amusement" (very common, for example §1189b) has probably no difference in meaning from the causative 2-lit. verb *s.xm*, both having the meaning "forget, cause to loose knowledge of, cause to forget".

That we have graphic transposition in the current passage and in §89c is further supported by the spelling of the expression *s.xmx jb* in the N.K. tomb of Nakht where it is twice spelled *s.mxx jb* (Theban tomb TT52, the transverse chamber, west wall, north side, upper register, see the tempera on paper, MMA 15.5.19e) and by the usual spelling of the verb *s.xm*, which is *s.mx*⁷ (§2118a), i. e. with the same pattern of optimal space use as in the present passage. Moreover, the {stretched arms as a

⁶ Another verb that has such a root pattern is *nxn* "grow up", see **T 248**, 2.

⁷ This graphical transposition was made according to the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position", see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 17. The same transposition occurs in the word *sxm* "have control", which sometimes is spelled *smx* (*s*-{scepter}-*m-x*) in the BD, e.g. BD68:5, 82:5 and in *hmhmt* "cry" which once is spelled *mhmh[t]* (Sethy I, *Abydos I*, pl.40, o).

gesture of negation}-D35 sign between *x* and *m* in the spelling of *j.xmxt* of §89c W shows that both verb forms (*j.xmx* and *s.xmx*) are no doubt the derivatives of the 2-lit verb *xm* (of which D35 is a characteristic feature). Non-prefixed *xmx* spelled *xxm* occurs in Nt 13 (ancestor of CT II, 148c): *xmx.n nt S(A)b n nb xmnw* "Neith has negated crookedness for the Lord of the Ogdoad". Finally, in the Middle Kingdom variant of the spells PT 91, §147, namely CT VII, 142d, the verb *xm* occurs: *mj n.k jrt Hrw xmt.n.s(n) r.f xnms n.k s(j)* "Take Horus's eye which they know less than him, make friends with it".

The full reduplication of the verb *xm* occurs in CT V, 32g-h (B2L, B2P): *nj xmxm Sw jn Ddw TAz pXr* "Shu has not been forgot by Busiris and vice-versa" (B1C has *xmxw*, so a partial reduplication just like *j.xmx* in the PT passage under discussion). The same phenomenon occurs in the causative verb form *s.xdx* (also with transposition, written *s.xxd* in the original, CT I, 281b (T1C)), which is formed through the half reduplication of the simplex *xd* (§685a) "overturn, become upside down, hang, dangle", more often in the full reduplicated form *s.xdx*.

Thus the meaning of *xmx* is ~ *xm*, and *s.xmx jb* "entertain, amuse" would literally mean "cause a heart to forget", "cause a heart to become oblivious", in the sense of "mental distraction". It seems that *s.xmx* alone can have a similar meaning to *s.xmx jb*. For in Junker, *Giza VII*, we may find the title (*j)m(j)-r s.xmx* "head of recreation" (Abb. 12, p. 33), so written without *jb*, and see CT VII, 222d: *s.xmx nTr jn nTr* which probably means "the god has been entertained by the god" (for "the god has been forgotten/ignored by the god" would be rather meaningless).

For *.sn* "they" referring to the gods, cf. the New Kingdom variant of the spell PT 152 (§91c) in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos (II, pl.32, 35, col. 15, bottom):

PT: *mnD n Hr dAp sn* "Horus's breast that fed them"

The temple: *mnDwj n Hr drp.n.f nTrw jm* "Horus's two breasts with which he has fed the gods"

2)

§61b: *xnms*

Allen "one jug of ale"

Shmakov "one jug of "Friend" (beer)"

It is possible that *xnms* is not the designation of a kind of beer/ale itself, but rather the name of some kind of ale or beer, a beer called "Friend". For the sign *xnms*-{man with scepter}/{man with scepter and crook}-A11 is often used as a determinative for *xnms*-beer, and the beer's name is also spelled with only the A11 as ideogram (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 18, 21, 23, 29, 30; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 126, Mariette, *Mast.*, D39, p.274). Moreover, in the offering lists this drink is often written *H(n)qt xnms* "'Friend" beer", not just *xnms*, so we probably have the same phenomenon as with the names of oils, for example *sT(j) HAb (mrHt)* "'Festival Scent" (oil)".

W 66 (PT 93)

§62c: *mA.k n prt jm.k H.s sxt jm*

Allen "look at what has come from you, striking the one who is netted in it"

Shmakov "look at that which has come from you, it will strike woven (?) from (it)"

The unclear word *sxt* of this passage may occur in PT 283, §424a, see **W 189**.

2)

§63b: *Dwj.k kA.k Asjr(t) js xw.f kw m-a Dnd nb nj m(w)t*

Allen "You shall summon your ka—namely, Osiris—and he shall defend you from every wrath of the dead"

Shmakov "You shall summon your ka being Osiris (and) he shall defend you from any raging one of the dead"

Asjr(t) js has, as elsewhere, the meaning "being Osiris, as Osiris", not "namely, Osiris".

W 67-68 (PT 94-95)

§64b: *Asjr(t) Wnjs m(j) n.k jrt Hrw nSbSbt.n.k Hr.s / Sbw*

Allen "Osiris Unis, accept Horus's eye, on account of which you have burst forth / The meal"

Shmakov "Osiris Unis, accept Horus's eye, at which (sight) you have salivated / The meal"

The sense of the passage is "Horus's eye, at which your mouth has watered", "Horus's eye, over which you have drooled". Neith's copy (Nt 190) has *m(j) n.k jrt Hrw nSbSbt.n stS Hr.s* "accept Horus's eye, at which (sight) Seth has salivated".

The verb *nSbSb* in the passage is not to be taken as a derivative of the root *Sb* which occurs in the verb *wSb* "feed, eat", as *wSb* is not used with the governing preposition *Hr* (its governing preposition is *m*, *wSb m* "feed on", see §§117a, 394b, 803b, 805d, 1717c, 1722b also **P 334**). The verb *nSbSb* is probably a variant spelling of the verb *nSfSf* "shed, drool" (§1788b, **N 74**, a case of /b/ ~ /f/, see **W 81**), with the root *nSf* which also occurs in the word *nSf* "saliva" (§230a, **W 5**). These words also share the root *nS/nX* which occurs in the verb *nS/nX* "spit" (Wb.II:318:14; §§686b (see **T 265**, 3), 1270b, 1965a) and the noun *nXw* "venom (lit. spit)" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 39). This root also appears as a fully reduplicated form *nSnS* "spit out" (§205a), and probably in *nSz* "drop" (§§426a, 1569b) and (as partial reduplication) in *nSnj* "tempest, rainstorm, rage; to rage" (if we may interpret the word for tempest as "spitting of the sky)" and the word for rage as "to foam at the mouth, to spit of anger", cf. the {spitting Seth-animal} determinative for these words in CT IV, 396b, CT VI, 253m, 254p and {Seth-animal with spittle atop him} in §326d — all rather similar to the sign {mouth with spittle}-D154 with which *nS/nX/nSnS/nSf* is determined). This root also occurs in the word *nXnw* "mouth-watering food", probably literally "that which makes a mouth water", "that over which one drools":

CT IV, 47a-b (B2L): *jw wnm.n.j zSt jw mtr n.j nX[n]w m Hwt nTr nt Hwt-Hrw*

"I have eaten *zSt*-ration, proclaimed has been for me a mouth-watering food (*nXnw*) in the temple of Hathor"

CT VI, 284n: *anx N pn m zSwt nXnw anxt Hwt-Hrw jm Hna Hrw.s*

"This N lives on a *zSt*-rations (and) a mouth-watering food (*nXnw*) on which Hathor lives with her Horus"

CT VI, 334q-335a: *wnm.j m wab...aq.sn r Xt.j tn m Sbw ra m nSfwt pw Hwt-Hrw*

"I eat of clean water...which (lit. it) enters my belly as food of the Sun, as this mouth-watering food (*nSfwt*) of Hathor"

CT VI, 137f: *wnm.j sStAw sdb.j nSnw m Smsw n Hwt-Hrw*

"I will eat *sStAw*, I will sip mouth-watering food (being) in retinue of Hathor"
(cf. also *ibid*, 137i, 138e, 141b)

CT VI, 383f-g: *Szp.j zXt wnm.j <n>Snw Awwt.j jpn*

"I will receive a *zSt*-ration, I will eat mouth-watering food – these are my rations"

CT VI, 341g: *wnm.j m <n>Snw anxw*

"I will eat of reviving mouth-watering food"

In the PT spell under discussion, the phoneme *b* is used instead of the usual *f* to make a word-play between the verb *nSbSb* "shed, salivate, dribble" and the noun *Sbw* "meal". Cf. the same phenomenon in PT 152, §91c-d: *m(j) n.k mnD n Hr(w) dAp sn / d(A)b 2* "Take the breast of Horus that feeds them (i. e. the gods) / two cups of figs" and PT 193, §110: *m(j) n.k jr(t) Hr w dAp Tw jm / d(A)b 2* "Take the eye of Horus, present yourself with (it) / two cups of figs", where we have cases of /r/ ~ /A/ ~ /l/ and /p/ ~ /b/, because the verb which we know as *drp* "present" is spelled *dAp*, with /A/ as the closest allophone for /r/, just to make a word-play between *dAp* "present" and the *dAb(w)* "figs" which are presented while reciting the spell.

W 69 (PT 96)

§64d: *mj n.k swt(j)t (nt) jrt Hr(w) / swt*

Allen "accept the one of the shank, Horus's eye / 1 bowl with a shank of meat"

Shmakov "accept the substitute (lit. that of the value) of Horus's eye / 1 bowl with a shank of meat"

The *swt(j)t* of the passage is probably a feminine nisbe of *swt* "value" (cf. the expression *jr/jn r (j)sw* "buy for value", *m (j)sw* "in acknowledgment of (lit. for a value of)"), so we have *swt(j)t (nt) jrt Hr w* "the substitute (lit. value) of Horus's eye". The feminine genitive *nt* is often omitted, for example In *HAt(j)t (nt) aS* "the best cedar oil" (§53b). In that example, *HAt(j)t* "best" (lit. "that of the front") is a feminine nisbe, as *mrHt* "oil" is feminine, and likewise *swt(j)t* is a feminine nisbe as *jrt* is feminine. Cf. a comparable but different solution in TLA, lemma-no 129670, "voller Ersatz für das Horusauge (?)". The same reading is valid for PT 129 (W 91).

W 76 (PT 114)

§74a: *jn.n(j) n.k nHrw(j) Hr.k*

Allen "I have gotten for you those that resemble your face"

Shmakov "I have brought you the two ones that elate your face"

nHrw(j) "be upcast" is probably the antonym of the verb *nrxr* (~ *nXrXr*) "be downcast" in the expression *m nrxrw Hr.k* "don't let your face be downcast" (just like the preposition *Hr* "upper" is the antonym of the preposition *Xr* "lower"). Thus we literally have "the two ones that make your face be upcast (i. e. elated)". *nHrw(j)* is probably a dual participle as two *nHr*-breads are presented.

W 78 (PT 116)

§74e: *xw pAz.f Hr.s*

Allen "prevent him from feeling pain from it"

Shmakov "keep him from turning upside down on it"

The verb is *pAz* ~ *pnz* "overturn, turn upside down" (a case of the allophones /A/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/), which is well-known as it occurs in the expression *pnz tp/DADA.f* "overturn his (i. e. the bull's) head" – the command uttered by one of the butchers who is going to cut the bull's throat on the walls of the Old Kingdom mastabas (also as a description *pnz tp/DADA jwA* "overturning the bull's head", see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 163-164; Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 54; Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 87, p. 211, 219).

There is a word-play in the passage between the verb *pAz* and the noun *pzn* "flat bread" (§74f, i. e. one more case of /A/ ~ /n/). The "turning upside down on it" or "because of it" probably refers to the roundness of the eye or its identification with a boat.

For /A/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/, cf.:

dng (Urk.I:130:14) ~ *dAng/dAg* (§1189a) "dwarf", *dAgj* (Urk.I:152:4) ~ *dnrgj* (Urk.IV:31:15, man's

name, probably the nisbe "Pygmean, Dwarf"),
knmwt (of the title *jwn knmwt* "column (i. e. support) of *knmwt* (a class of people ?)", Jones, *Titles*, ## 22-26) ~ *kAmwt* (Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 217),
wAb "to bloom, flower" (Urk.I:100:3, 17, 105:15) ~ *wnb* "flower" (Urk.I:44:16; §544b),
nwr (§§143a, 2109) ~ *Awr* (§924a) "shake",
nhw (ShS. 8) ~ *Ahw* (CT VII 25b, 523c) "loss",
Azb ~ *nzb* (Wb.I:20) "heat",
Aqdqd ~ *nqdqd* "sleeper" (Wb.I:22),
dwn anw(j) (PN) ~ *dwA anw(j)* (§1098a M) "Wings Outstretched",
mAtj (Urk.I:76:10) ~ *mnt* (Urk.I:114:16) "Mat (lion goddess)",
s.ATwtj (§§804c, 1015b) "he of the fettering" ~ *nTT* "fetter",
snS (§§712b, 1673b, 1727a, 2084b) ~ *zAS* (§712b T) "unplug",
mAn ~ *mAA* "see" (OE-ME *mAn* is occasionally a variant of *mAA* in the subjunctive and infinitive, **mVAVA* ~ **mVAnV* – after Allen),
kHn (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. XIII) ~ *kHA* "cauldron" (§401a),
s.nhd (§306d) ~ *s.Ahd* (§270d) "frighten, terrorize",
qAnt (§194a) ~ *qAAAt* (CT II, 209a) ~ *qAt* (CT II, 166f) "door bolt",
gAgAw "cackler" (CT II, 117l) ~ *ngngn* "cackler" (CT III, 207h, 208e),
fgn (CT V, 48d) ~ *fgA* "defecate" (Navelle I, BD 48:3),
m.s.xAt kAw ~ *m.s.xnt kAw* "She who remembers kas" (CT VIII, 150c),
HfAw ~ *Hfnw* "snake" (§674b),
mnfrt ~ *mAfrt* "bracelet" (Hannig, *ÄR*, pp. 534-535),
mnzA (§32b) ~ *mnzn* (L.D.II:44) "vessel",
wAD(w)t ~ *wnDwt* (§602c) "prow",
dwn ~ *dmA* "stretch, stretch out" (see **W 67-68**),
pAD (> *pAd*) ~ *pnd* "bread loaf" (CT I, 167h),
qrs ~ *qAs* (Wb.V:14) ~ *qns* (Wb.V:55:3) "bury",
wSnw(w) "fattened fowl/fish" (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Abb.12, Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl.4, 5, Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl.10; CT V, 372e; from the root *wSA* "fatten", cf. with *wSAAw* "fattened cattle" (Wb.I:369:8)),
HAg ~ *Hng* "be happy",
bTn (> *btn*) ~ *btA* (Leb. 40) "disobey, rebel" (James Allen agrees with this suggestion and suggests in turn the following treatment of Leb. 39-40: "Your [*i. e. of the present author* – T. S.] suggestion that *btA* is related to *bTn/btn* is possible, diachronically *bTn* → *btn* → *btA*, and makes sense in the context. *btA*, however, is an infinitive, not the stative (see 14.15.2 in my grammar). Since the signs below the negative-arms in 39 are lost and the top of 40 has the seated man instead of the expected "bad" bird, I would read *jr sDm n.j bA.j n[n n].j btA* "if my ba listens to me without disagreement to me."),
s.nwd (Wb.IV:158:1) ~ *s.Awd* (Budge II, BD64:24-25 (pNu, long version)) "disappear, vanish",
Aby ~ *nby* "Neby" (town name, Sethy I, *Abydos*). Spelling of the town name *nbyw* with the hieroglyph *Aby* "panther".
For the nature of the phoneme /A/, see Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §130, Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, pp. 127-132, Ancient Egyptian Language (AEL) Email List (<http://www.rostau.org.uk/AEgyptian-L/archives/index.html>), the posts by J. P. Allen (Forwarded by Geoffrey Graham) of 27 Jun 1998 and 30 Jun 1998.

W 79 (PT 117)

§75b: *S(n)s*

Allen "Sns-bread"

Shmakov "(bread) loaf"

The beginning of the common formula $xA t xA H(n)qt xA Ss xA mnxt$ "thousand of bread, thousand of beer, thousand of alabaster vases (with ointments), thousand of clothes" which often occurs under the offering tables scenes in the O.K. private tombs was probably not $xA t xA H(n)qt$, but rather (at least originally or alternatively) $xA Sns xA Dwjw$ – "thousand of loaves, thousand of jars".

The sign {bread loaf} taken as t "bread", and the sign {jar} taken as $H(n)qt$ "beer" could have other meanings. Cf. the following components of the offering list of Dynasty V (e.g., L.D.II:67-70):

Sns I Dwjw I (n) jaw-r

"One (bread) loaf, one (beer) jar (for) breakfast (lit. washing of the mouth)"
(in Unis' and Neferkare's pyramids (§72f) briefly written $jaw-r$ {bread loaf}-{jar})

Sns I Dwjw I (n) Sbw

"One (bread) loaf, one (beer) jar (for) lunch (lit. meal)"
(in Unis' pyramid (§64a) briefly written Sbw {bread loaf}-{jar}, Neferkare's version gives Sns {bread loaf} $H(n)qt Dwjw$ (this is more probable than $H(n)qt$ plus {jar} sign as the determinative), i. e. "a loaf, beer, one jar")

Sns IHnt I (n) fAt

"One (bread) loaf, one (beer) cup (for) presentation (lit. lifting)"
(in Unis' pyramid (§61c) briefly written fAt {bread loaf}-{cup}, Neferkare's version gives $t Sns$ (this is more probable than t plus {bread loaf} sign as the determinative) $H(n)t$, i. e. "bread, one loaf, (beer), a cup")

Brief spellings (just {bread loaf} sign, just {jar} sign) and full spellings (Sns plus {bread loaf} sign, $Dwjw$ plus {jar} sign) prove that the {bread loaf} sign was actually Sns "loaf (of triangle form)" and not t "bread", i. e. Sns as type of bread did not exist, and that {jar} sign was actually $Dwjw$ "jar" and not $H(n)qt$ "beer". Moreover, note that the rest of the formula is $xA Ss xA mnxt$ "thousand of alabaster vases (with ointments), thousand of **clothes**", i. e. we have containers (**vases**), rather than their contents (ointments mDt), and general designations (**clothes** $mnxt$), rather than specific varieties (for ex. jaA "kilts").

This all means that the signs {bread loaf}, {jar}, which we read in the formula as $xA t xA H(n)qt$, is rather (at least originally) to be read as $xA Sns xA Dwjw$ – "thousand of loaves, thousand of jars". Even when it is spelled $xA t$ {bread loaf} xA {jar} it is rather $xA t Sns xA Dwjw$ "thousand of bread, loaf(es), thousand of (beer), jar(s)". Note also, that the {bread loaf} sign hardly should always be Sns , it could be pAD "loaf" as well; likewise, {jar} sign could be ds "jar" instead of $Dwjw$. Cf. Sns written in parallel to ds and $Dwjw$: $jw dj.tw n.f Sns dsj$ "he will be given a loaf (of bread), a jar (of beer)" (Budge, BD99:38, BD125B:51-52), $anx.tw...m Sns Dwjw$ "one lives on...a (bread) loaf, a beer jug" (Budge, BD149, I:2) vs $t H(n)qt$: $jmj dj.tw n.f t Hnq<t>$ "Let he be given bread, beer" (Budge, BD30B, V:3).

However, sometimes the spelling t -{bread loaf} occurs in the formula (e.g., Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 126; Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.113) which probably nothing but an alternative to Sns -{bread loaf}.

W 81 (PT 119)

§76a: $jrt Hr w xAnft.n.f xnf w$

Allen "Horus's eye which he carried off. A bowl of 4 $xnf w$ -breads"

Shmakov "Horus's eye which he has snatched. A bowl of 4 pancakes"

The verb $xAnf \sim xnf \sim xnp$ "snatch" (Wb.III:290:5) is a case of $/A/ \sim /n/ \sim /l/$ (xlp) and $/f/ \sim /p/$. The

spelling with *f* was here preferred to the usual spelling with *p* (*xnp*) just to make a word-play between the verb and the noun *xnfw* "pancakes".

For the group of allophones /*m*/ ~ /*b*/ ~ /*p*/ ~ /*f*/, cf.:

/*m*/ ~ /*p*/:

mAqt "ladder" ~ *pAqt* "ladder" (the word-play in §995d).

/*m*/ ~ /*f*/:

xma (B5C) ~ *xfa* (B6C, B2La) "grasp" (CT III, 289b),

xma (B2L) ~ *xfa* (S2C) "grasp" (CT V, 391i; in Old Egyptian (namely PT) both spellings are used, but the spelling *xma* gradually disappears by Middle Egyptian, thus in M.K.-N.K. only *xfa* is used),

mnDwt "noses" ~ *fnD* "nose (of a man)" (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.32, *mnDwt.f* "its (i. e. probably crucible's) noses" with three {face in profile}-D19 det. (also Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf.64, *mnDt*, but without any determinative and PT 698C, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 20, col. 1308+69: *r mnDt.f* "at his (crucible's) nose" with {face in profile} det.); another part of a crucible is also referred to as if being a human's body part, namely *Tb(w)tt.f* "its foot" (Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, pl.40, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 219, after p.190)).

/*f*/ ~ /*p*/:

fsj (O.K. spelling, §1485 b) ~ *psj* (M.K. spelling) ~ *psj* (combined spelling, CT VII, 49f, 300a) "cook, boil",

xnp (§§1839a, 1939b) ~ *xnf* (§95a) ~ *xnfp* (combined spelling, CT V, 43j: *xnfpw m awj* (?) "snatched from...") "snatch".

/*f*/ ~ /*b*/:

xsf ~ *xsB* "bar" (§§336b T, 334c, 448c, 492d),

Axfxf (CT IV, 154e, also §§295d, 298c: *xfxf/xfxf*) ~ *Agb* (§120a) "flood" (for /*x*/ ~ /*g*/, see **M 52**),

fAw (Wb.I:575:4) ~ *bAw* (Wb.I:413:12-16) "impressiveness, influence" (both nouns are used with the verb *dj* "give, inspire" (*fAw* (Urk.VII:58:6, 62:1; Urk.IV:936:6); *bAw* (Urk.IV:20:11, 612:8, 620:15):

this fact, besides similar meaning, probably indicates that *fAw* is a different spelling of *bAw*),

nxbt (CT V, 260c) ~ *nxf[t]* (CT II, 404b (B1Bo)) "light",

zBT ~ *zFT* "laugh" (CT VII, 138f: *jrt Hr zFT.s(n) Hr.s* "Horus's eye on account of which they laughed").

HfA (Hannig, *Wb*, 526) ~ *HbAbA/Hbnbn/Hbrbr* (ibid, 522) "creep" (the root is *Hfl/Hbl*)

/*m*/ ~ /*b*/: see **M 365**, 2.

/*b*/ ~ /*p*/:

HpD r (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. I, line 574) ~ *HbD r* (CT III, 57e, CT V, 291i, CT VII, 485l, 486d)

"open/gape mouth"

Sp (*S(A)p* ?) ~ *SAb* (CT I 56a (T9C, B.H.5C)) "blind, become blind"

nAbt ~ *nApw* "tresses" (§282c/§1363c)

bwt ~ *pwt* "abomination" (graphically transposed *ptw*, Nt 27; cf. *btw* §2082c, d)

Sbtjw ~ *Sptjw* "poultry houses" (in the title *wa wr Sptjw* "the sole one great of poultry houses (?)")

kbn ~ *kpn* "Byblus" (Wb.V:118:2)

sXb ~ *sXp* "swallow" (Wb.IV:268:13, 269:7)

sAbt ~ *sApt* "*sAbt*-plant" (CT VI, 102d (B3L/B1L))

bAgj ~ *pAgj* "become tired, lazy" (CT I, 18a)

bAs ~ *pAs* "scribe's cup for water" (Wb.I:499:5)

HbD/Hbd ~ *Hpd* "bite" (Wb.III:67:8, 72:12)

sb(j)w ~ *spr* (a word-play in §81c-d)

Drb ~ *T(rp)* (a word-play in §85a-b)

xnp.n.f ~ *xbzt* (i. e. *x'p'* ~ *xb'*), a word-play in Nt 297, 301)

n.bDbD "bounce" (§976a, after Allen) probably derives from the root *pD*, just like the verb *pDpD* "stretch" (it is most unlikely it would be related to *nbd* "disgusting" (Wb.II:247:4)). See also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §§110, 114, 124.

In the offering lists the word *xnf* usually has {three round scones on top of a bowl} determinative (for ex. Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 205) similar to the one for *Hbnnwt* "scones", hence the reading "pancakes".

W 82 (PT 120)

§76d: *mj n.k jrt Hrw m(j) s(j) Hbnbn s(j) Hbnnwt 4*

Allen "accept Horus's eye: don't let it jump around. A bowl of 4 *Hbnnt*-breads"

Shmakov "accept Horus's eye, see it (and) *Hbnbn* it! / A bowl of 4 scones"

The verb *Hbnbn* is probably an imperative, not a *sDm.f*, and the verb *m(j)* "see" likewise (for the meaning of this verb, see **W 211**, 2). The spell-counterpart of the current passage – PT 158, §94c: *mj n.k jrt Hrw Hbnbn s(j)* "accept Horus's eye (and) *Hbnbn* it!" shows that *m(j)* is unlikely to be a negative imperative (don't (do)!) here, for the construction **m(j) s(j)* is then impossible while the causative form (**m(j) s.Hbnbn.s*) is strange as we have a simplex form in §94c (*Hbnbn*). In the offering lists the word *Hbnnt* usually has {three round scones on top of a bowl} determinative (e.g., Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 205), hence the reading.

W 83 (PT 121)

§77b: *q(m)H(w) qmA*

Allen "wheat breads"

Shmakov "kneaded wheat breads"

See **T 194** for comments.

W 84 (PT 122)

§77d: *jdAt (d) HA.k*

Allen "truncated *jdAt*-breads"

Shmakov "patty, (place/hold) behind you"

In the mastaba of Hesi of the Old Kingdom the determinative of *jdAt (d) HA.k* is {man with his arms behind him holding patties} (Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 64). In some offering lists the offering is written in full as *jdAt d HA.k* "*jdAt*-patty, place/hold behind you" (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 23).

W 87 (PT 125)

§79a-b: *jn n.k jbHw.f HDw wDAw / HDw (TAw) 4*

Allen "get for yourself his white, sound teeth / A bowl of four onions"

Shmakov "get for yourself his white, sound teeth / (A bowl of) four onion bulbs"

We should read "(A bowl of) four onion bulbs" because the text actually has *HDw (TAw) 4*, with the word *TAw* "bulbs (lit. pellets)" unwritten, but the presence of which is indicated by the variant of this spell, PT 45, §35a: *HD(w) TA(w) 5* "(A bowl of) five onion bulbs", and by the word play between *wDAw* "sound" and *TAw* "bulbs" (a case of /D/ ~ /T/, see **W 170**, 3). Cp. Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl.32, 35, col. 25, bottom: *mj n.k jbHw n Hrw HDw wDAy / HDw TA 20* "Take white (and) sound teeth of Horus / (A bowl of) twenty onion bulbs".

W 88 (PT 126)

§79c-d: *m xpx jrt Hrw*

Allen "here is the one who stole Horus's eye. 1 bowl with a foreleg"
Shmakov "take *xpx* Horus's eye. 1 bowl with a foreleg "

Also occurs PT 20, §12c: *Asjr(t) pjjj nfr-kA-ra wp(.j) n.k r.k m xpx jr(t) Hrw* "Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I have parted your mouth for you with *xpx* Horus's eye". The meaning of *xpx* in the present passage is uncertain. It may be a relative form or a participle semantically connected or not with presented *xpS* "foreleg", e.g. *"that which Horus's eye chopped off" or *"that which trampled Horus's eye". The source of Allen's "the one who stole" is uncertain to the present author. In the passage itself there is a word-play between the *xpx* and the noun *xpS*, i. e. final *x* of the first ~ final *S* of the second.

For /x/ ~ /X/ ~ /S/:

jxt ~ *jSt* "things, food",
axwt ~ *aSwt* "roasted patties" (see **W 125**),
txtx (CT IV, 385d) ~ *tStS* (CT VI, 295h) "tear",
xfa (Wb.III:272:1) ~ *SfA* "grasp" (Wb.V:460:1)
xnf (~ *xnp*) ~ *Snf* "snatch" (Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl.32, 35, col. 30, bottom: *mj n.k m jt(j).j Snft* "accept what was snatched from my father"),
xrp (§1143a P) ~ *Xrp* (ibid M) "manage",
nrxr (§633d) ~ *nXrXr* (Nt 312) "be downcast",
s.xd ~ *s.Xd/s.XdXd* "overturn, become upside down" (CT III, 211a,c,e, CT VII, 436h),
mSA (§1004c P) ~ *mXA* (ibid MN; CT VIII, 1973a) ~ *mxA* (CT VIII, 1973a (B10Cb)) "get, be worried/excited (see **P 333**, 1)",
SApt (§500b) ~ *XApt* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 32 = §500b) "downpour",
aSm ~ *aXm* ~ *axm* "icon, image",
pSr ~ *pXr* ~ *pxr* (CT VI, 407h, j) "go around, conduct",
SbSb (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 30 = §205b) = *nxbxb* ~ *nXbXb* ~ *nSbSb* "flood" (CT VIII, 205b),
nSS ~ *nXX* ~ *nxx* "saliva" (CT VIII, 199a),
stS ~ *stX* ~ *stx* (Urk.IV:1085:7) "Seth",
SAb ~ *XAb* ~ *xAb* "crooked", the root in *S(A)bt* (§1459a)/*XAbt* (Wb.III:362:3) "(red crown's) curl/coil", *XAb* (Wb.III:361:14)/*x(A)b* (Urk. IV:453:14, reads "hippopotamus (i. e. the animal with crooked teeth ?)", but is spelled with the {sickle} sign) "sickle (lit. crooked thing)", *XAbt* (Wb.III:362:5)/*XAbb/xAbb* (Wb.III:230:5, (Gardiner, *E. G.*, Vocabulary, p. 586)) "crookedness, falsehood",
xAw (Molen, *HDECT*, p.373), *wx(A)* (ibid, p.100) and *wSAw* (ibid, p.103-104) "evening".

For cases of /x/ ~ /S/, /X/ ~ /S/ and /x/ ~ /X/, see Edel, *Altag. Gr.*, §§119, 120, 121; Peust, *Phonology*, 3.8.2.

W 94 (PT 132)

§82c: *mj n.k jrt Hrw j.mz.k jr.s*

Allen "accept Horus's eye and go toward it"

Shmakov "accept Horus's eye that you may come near to it"

The verb in the passage is 2-lit *mz* "come near, bring near, hold out", that is, the {duck} sign has a phonetic value of *mz* in this passage, not *zA*, (despite the omission of *m*). This is suggested by the fact that the same construction (imperative plus subjunctive) with the verb *mz* occurs in §645c: *s.ja kw n Hr j.mz.k jr.f* "Elevate yourself to Horus that you may come near to him". Moreover, there is a word-play in the passage between *j.mz* "come near" and *mzt* "liver" (§82d).

That the sign G39 {pintail duck} which occurs in the verb *mz* (§§44a, 85c, 645c T) has a phonetic value of *mz* (as well as *zA*) is shown by the offering-list from the Idu mastaba at Giza, and the Hemra mastaba at Saqqara, where the offering "she-duck" is spelled *mzt* (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 41 (= Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 85:88); Mariette, *Mast.*, C15, p. 141; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 13:16 (*xw-w(j)-ptH*), 29:29 (*nfr-jrt.n.f*), 69:72 (*n-k(A)w-ra*), 94:93 (*jHjj*), 111:113 (*pnw*), 120:119 (*s.bAqw I*)), instead of the usual spelling *zt*. This means that the sometimes suggested transliteration *mzA* for the verb *mz*, as an attempt to explain the phenomenon of the sign {duck} occurring in the verb in the PT, is mistaken. In addition, in the Middle Kingdom the verb occurs in an imperative form with a prefix *j*. (*j.mz* "bring!") which is used in the M.K. exclusively with 2-lit. verbs. This conclusion on the presence of the *zA*-sign in this verb is different from the solution suggested by Edel (Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §43) and accepted by Allen (Allen, *Inflection*, §728, p. 545).

It is hard to tell apart the verb *zA* "go" spelled with the {duck}-sign (Wb.III:413:1) from the verb *mz* when there is no *A* complement; often verbs that look like *zA* "go" are probably *mz*, cf:

PT 544, §1338b-c: *j.z j. {duck}z.Tn Xr Asjr(t) N pn...fA sw* "Go, that you may come near under this Osiris N...lift him"

PT 648, §1829a-b: *j. {duck}z.Tn Xr N fA.Tn sw* "You shall come near under N (and) lift him"

PT 648, §1829c-d: *j.mz.sn jr.k fA.sn Tw* "they have come near to you, they have lifted you"

CT VI, 110g-h (B18C): *mz kw Xr.f fA.Tn sw* "bring yourself under him, that you (all) may lift him"

CT VI, 115g (B18C): *mj mz kw Xr Asjr(t) N pn* "come, bring yourself under this Osiris N"

j. {duck}zA.sn Xr.k which occurs in PT 368, §637c T is likely a variant of *j.mz.sn Xr.k*, as P, M, and N probably give *j.mz* (namely *j. {duck}z*), not *j.zA*, which is also used with *jr* "to" as a governing preposition.

Cf. also the word-play in PT 138 between the verb *mz* (§85c) and the noun (*m*)*zt* "she-duck" (§85d).

W 98 (PT 136)

§84c: *mj n.k tpw stS (j)m(j)w-xt srj(w)*

Allen "accept the severed heads of Seth's followers"

Shmakov "accept the goose heads of Seth's followers"

srj (written without any determinative) at the end of the passage is likely a nisbe-adjective of the noun "sr-goose" (§1224b, where it has a {goose} determinative); *j* is either nisbe ending or a combined spelling where *r ~ j*, i. e. *sr + sj = srj*. It has been placed at the end of the sentence, though should be placed after *tpw*, for this cf. **P 324**, 2.

In the New Kingdom copy of the present PT passage in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos the relevant word is spelled *sr(j)w* with a {goose} determinative, i. e. "goose (heads)" (Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl.32, 35, col. 12, bottom).

W 99 (PT 137)

§85a-b: *mj n.k Drb pn...T(rp)*

Allen "accept all of this heart...1 bowl of white-fronted goose"

Shmakov "accept this *Drb*...1 bowl of white-fronted goose"

The position of the sign {heart}-F34 between the signs *r* and *b* (WNNt), as well as after *rb* in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 256)⁸, shows that the sign is not separate (i. e. we probably

⁸ Even if not to take into consideration the version of Senusert-ankhu that fact looks strange that the word *jb* is constantly

cannot read it *Drjb*), but is an unnecessary phonetic complement (probably rather a space-filler) in the spelling of the word *Drb*. This phenomenon, which sometimes can cause misreading, was called by the present author "Phonetic Influence", see **T 228**, 10. Note that *Drb* is not the only word that uses the *jb*-{heart} as phonetic sign: it was also used to write the words *H(j)b* "stepladder" (§542b P), *jbH* "tooth" (Wb.I:64:2, spelled *jb-H*-{tusk}) and *mnjb* (Wb's *mjnb*) "axe" (Wb.II:44:7, Gardiner, *E.G.*, Sign List, T7, p. 511). For a case of probably dialectal /j/ ~ /r/ (hence *jb* ~ *rb*), see **W 166**, 1, i. For /j/ ~ /r/ in the middle position, see **T 271**. There is a word-play in the passage between the words *Drb* and *T(rp)* (for /D/ ~ /T/, where /D/ is an emphatic /T/, see **W 170**, 3; for /b/ ~ /p/, see **W 81**).

W 100 (PT 138)

§85c: *jrt Hr w mzt.n.f*

Allen "Horus's eye, which he has brought"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which he has held out/brought near"

There is a word-play in the passage between the verb *mz* and the noun (*m*)*zt* "she-duck" (§85d); for the reading of the {duck} sign as *mz*, see **W 94**.

W 102 (PT 140)

§86c: *mj n.k jrt Hr w xw mn.f s(j)*

Allen "accept Horus's eye: prevent him from suffering from it"

Shmakov "accept Horus's eye: keep him from eating (?) it"

The verb *mn* is here written without determinative, and none of the Middle or New Kingdom copies gives a {sparrow}-G37 ("bad bird") sign after *mn* to treat it as the verb "suffer (from)". The verb is probably *wnm* "eat", cf. *jmn(j)* ~ *wnm(j)* "right" (§§601d PN/T, 1194b P/MN) (a case of allophonic *mn* ~ *nm*), and moreover, the verb *wnm* actually spells *wn(m)* in PT (cf. §35c W; also *wn* (M42 or E34) + {two halves of bread} as determinative), thus *wn* ~ *mn* (for /w/ ~ /m/, see **W 67-68**). That the verb has to do with the action of eating is suggested by the parallel in §92c: *xw am.f s(j)* "keep him from swallowing it" (see also §1450b, d). The unusual form *mn* was chosen by the scribe to create a word-play in the passage – *mn* (*wnm*) and *mnwt* "pigeon" (§86d).

W 106 (PT 144)

§88a: *jrt Hr w s.zwnt.n.f mw jm(j)w.s*

Allen "Horus's eye, the waters of which he caused to suffer"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, the waters of which he has drunk"

The context of water might suggest *s.zwn* ~ *s.zwr* "drink, feed", a case of /n/ ~ /r/ ~ /l/. For the causative having the meaning of the simplex (i.e., "drink" rather than "make drink"), cf. *s.zn* "open", *s.wn* "open", not "cause to open", the same applies to *s.Am* "grasp" (CT III, 289b (B2Lb)), *s.xd* "overturn", *s.Sd(j)* "pull out, extract", *s.dmj* "attach to", *s.Tnj* "distinguish", *s.Tzj* "raise", *s.wab* "cleanse", *s.Awj* "extend", *s.sn* "smell" etc.

For /n/ ~ /r/ ~ /l/:

nHnHr (§799b P) ~ *nHrHr* (ibid N) "welcome, get excited at (of heart (*jb*))",

jnq.n.s ~ *qrsw* (i. e. *qns* ~ *qrs*, the word-play in §616e),

THnw ~ *THrnw* "Libya" (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 23, upper register),

Tr(w) (Urk.I:133:12) ~ *Tnw* (ibid:14) "number",

kAny (Wb.V:107:8) > *kAry* (Wb.V:108:13) "wine-grower",

grg ~ *gnng* "lie, false" (stela of *mnTw wsr(.w)*, New York = Les. 80:3),
tkn ~ *tkr* "approach" (Urk.VII:54:17),
ptH skr ~ *ptH skn* "Ptah-Sokar" (stela Hermitage 1084 of *sbk-Htp(.w)*, M.K.),
Hwnt (§728a) ~ *Hwrt* (§2204a) "lass", also *Hwrr* (CT III, 78b)/*Hwr* (Wb.III:55:5) ~ *Hwn* "youth" (Wb.III:54:13),
Hntj (§§871b M, 2146b) ~ *Hrtj* (§871b N) "basin",
j.np (CT VI, 384p) ~ *j.rp* (ibid, 386d) ~ *rpw* (§1257a) "spoil, decay" (ibid there is a word-play with *jnpw* "Anubis"),
qr(j)/qrj/qrr ~ *qrn(j)* "heat" (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 237),
mw Xr nw ~ *m Xnw* "inside",
nfr ~ *nfrn* "be(come) good" (Urk.I:132:16),
nDs wnm ~ *Dsrt* (i. e. *Ds'n't* ~ *Dsrt*, the word-play in §61a),
Hr.k "your face" ~ *Hnt* "cup" (the word-play in §61c),
Hr Smt.f ~ *nnSm* (i. e. *rSm* ~ *nSm*, the word-play in §83a-b),
xXr(f)t ~ *xnft* "snatched", *Xrxnf* (i. e. *Xrf* ~ *xnf*) (the word-play in §108a),
j.bn "be(come) active, erect" ~ *jbr* "a kind of oil" (the word-play in the offering ritual spell, Sethy I, Abydos II, pl.18),
jwr ~ *wnwn* "move" (the word-play in the offering ritual spell of the temple of Sethy I at Abydos (II, pl.32, 35, col. 7, upper register)),
xrp ~ *xnp* "present" (Wb.III:290:14, in the expression *xnp qbHw n N* "presentation of cool water to N" (Sethy I, Abydos III, pl. 15) and *xrp stpwt* "presentation of meat cuts" (Mariette, *Abydos*, T. 1. pl. 35, a) which occur on and the same monument),
The verbs *qfn* (§§460a, 1008b, 1213b; CT VI, 407b) and *qrf* (CT I, 56b; CT III, 255a, 256b) "bend" are probably related (cf *qfn* ~ *qnf* "bake" (Wb.V:32:11)).

New Egyptian uses a digraph *nr* (which phonetically means a sound between /n/ and /r/ according to Allen (his post of 30 Jun 1998, see just below for ref.)) to express a phoneme //l/: *bnrw* ~ *bl* "outside" (Urk.IV:655:5) > S. *böl*; *qAA* ~ *qAl* "hill" (O.K., M.K.) > *qAnr* (N. K., Adm. 4.4, 5.6, 6.14, 7.8) > Demotic /*ql*/ (E 545) > Coptic *kla/kro*, "bank", also with the meaning "hill, hills" in plur (*krōōu*).

See also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §130, Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, pp. 127-132, Ancient Egyptian Language (AEL) Email List (<http://www.rostau.org.uk/AEgyptian-L/archives/index.html>), the posts by J. P. Allen (Forwarded by Geoffrey Graham) of 27 Jun 1998 and 30 Jun 1998 on the nature of the phoneme /*l*/.

W 108 (PT 146)

§89a-b: *Dsr(t) wAst(j)t*

Allen "2 bowls of whipped cream"

Shmakov "2 bowls of Theban strong ale"

The beverage presented while this spell is pronounced is *Dsrt* "strong ale" – the same beverage as is presented in the previous spell (PT 145, §88d) and spell PT 90, §61a. In the latter spell, James Allen (as well as many other Egyptologists) translates *Dsrt* as "strong beer", because in PT 90, §61a and standard offering-lists it precedes *H(n)qt xnms* "'Friend' beer" of PT 91, §61b, i. e. it must be some sort of beer/ale too. The only difference is that in §89a-b this *Dsrt* is specified by a nisbe of a toponym, namely *wAst(j)t* "that of Thebes, Theban" (feminine nisbe of *wAst* "Thebes", because *Dsrt* is feminine), i. e. we have "*Dsrt*-beverage of Thebes" (in PT was written with honorific transposition as *wAst(j)t Dsrt*). In offering lists of O.K. tombs it often appears as just *wAst(j)t* "that of Thebes". In some offering lists, cells with *Dsrt* and *Dsrt wAst(j)t* are combined, having the common element *Dsrt* (see Junker, *Giza X*, Abb. 53; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 62:67, 78:84), just like in the case of combined cells with different sorts of wine having the common element *jrp* "wine" (see §92b T; Junker, *Giza VIII*,

Abb. 56). That the {Seth animal-headed staff}-S40 or {Seth animal-headed staff with feather on standard}-S40a must be read here as *wAs*, not *jAt*, follows from Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, plates 13:14 (spelled {the staff}-s) and 86:91-92 (spelled {the staff on standard}-s-t-t), i. e. no doubt the spelling for (*wA*)*st(j)t* "that of Thebes". Moreover, the sign S40/S40a is very often spelled without one or more {crescent moon}-N11 signs on top of it, i. e. exactly like later spellings of *wAst* "Thebes" (the sign occurs with four {crescent moon}-N11 signs in §131d as the probable ideogram for *jAt*). It is also possible that in §131d Teti's editor just changed Unis's original *wAst(jt)* "Theban goddess" (occurs on Palermo Stone, Djer's sixth year (PS r.II.8); Hassan, *Giza V*, p. 276: *Hm nTr wAst(jt)* "priest of the Theban goddess"; also a male divinity labeled with the sign S40 (*wAst(j)* "Theban one") occurs on one of the so-called "triad of Mykerinos" (JE 40678), Urk.I:159:6) to *jAt*-goddess, this means that the sign S40/S40a never had the phonetic value *jAt*, and actually still has the phonetic value *wAs*. There probably is a word-play in the spell between *jw.sn* (WT)/*jw.n.sn* (N) "they have come" and *wAst(j)t* (i. e. 'wns' ~ *wAs*'', a case of /n/ ~ /A/, see **W 78**, 1).

On the block from mastaba of Izi (4th dynasty), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, AEIN 896b-c (= Berlev, *Stelae*, p.31) *wAst(j)t* occurs with another nisbe of a toponym *nbwt(j)t* "Ombite" (feminine nisbe of *nbwt* "Ombos"): *H(n)qt pr(w) HDt wAst(j)t nbwt(j)t* "beer, *pr(w)*-beer, white beverage, Theban (ale), Ombite (ale)" (for *pr(w)* and *HDt* (white) beverages, see Junker, *Giza III*, Abb. 9a, 9b).

W 113 (PT 151)

§91b: *H(n)qt sSr Dwjw 2*

Allen "2 bowls of Bowland beer"

Shmakov "a *sSr*-bowl and *Dwjw*-jar of beer (lit. beer, *sSr*-bowl, *Dwjw*-jar, 2)"

Or "two jars of *sSr*-beverage (?)"

In the passage the {bow}-T9A-vertical sign has the phonetic value *sSr* (not *ztj*, as in *tA ztj* "*Bowland"), cf. Wb.V:551:6-7 (*Dwjw sSr*), §443a: *sSr* "to milk" with a {bow} sign instead of the usual {arrow} sign, and the title *jmj-r sSrt* "Overseer of the milk herd" written with the {bow} sign (El-Sabbahy, *JEA* 79 (1993), p. 244 = Jones, *Titles*, # 871). The {bow} sign occurs in combination with the {arrow} sign in the *Dwjw sSr* of the mastaba of Kaipura (*kA.j-pw-ra* "My ka is the Sun", Mariette, *Mast.*, D39, p. 273-74), and it also occurs in the mastaba of Kahif (Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb.33, p. 113) and on the coffin of Idu II (Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 46, p. 103). The {jar} sign after the {bow} sign probably stands for *Dwjw* "jar", rather than being the determinative of *sSr*. *H(n)qt sSr Dwjw* occurs in the pyramid of Unis and his successors instead of the usual *Dwjw sSr* (Wb.IV:295:7-8); the word *sSr* probably means "*sSr*-jar".

Two villages are named after these two vessels in the mastaba of Persen:

Mariette, *Mast.*, D45, p.300: *sSr* "*sSr*-bowl", *Dwjw* "jug" (transposed in the original as *jwDw*, cf. the village named after *abS* "wine bowl" and *nmst* "jar" in Hassan, *Giza II*, fig.137.1, *mnzA* "*mnzA*-jar" in Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 10)

These two vessels are separated in the offering lists of Nikainisut and Hemra:

Junker, *Giza II*, p. 155, Abb. 21: *Dw(jw) 2 sSr 2* "two jugs, two *sSr*-bowls (of beer)"

Mariette, C15, p. 141: *Dwjw sSrw(j)* "a jug, two *sSr*-bowls"

In the offering list of Seankhuptah these vessels have different determinatives, Kanawati-Raziq, *Seankhuptah*, pl. 72, 74: *Dwjw* {jug} *sSr* {double jar}

The proper sequence in the offering lists is {drink/beverage}, {container}, for example *H(n)qt nmst*

"beer, jug" which is "a jug of beer", *jrTt mr* (§32a N) "milk, jar" which is "a jar of milk" etc., which means that *Dwjw sSr* could not be "a jar of *sSr*-beverage"⁹, only "*Dwjw sSr*-jar of..." and as we know from the current passage it probably was "*Dwjw sSr*-jar of beer". Another proof for the reading suggested is the fact that the determinative for this offering list's item often was {double jar}, which resembles *abS*-{double jar} for wine. Such a {double jar} could be called *Dwjw sSr*, as opposed to a single jar (just *Dwjw*).

W 114 (PT 152)

§91c: *mnD n Hrw dAp sn*

Allen "the breast of Horus, which they made a gift of"

Shmakov "Horus's breast that fed them (i. e. gods)"

dAp is a participle "that fed", not a relative form **dAp.sn*, cf. the New Kingdom variant of this spell, in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos (II, pl.32, 35, col. 15, bottom): *mnDwj n Hr drp.n.f nTrw jm*

"Horus's two breasts from which he has fed the gods"

Though this variant uses a relative form *drp.n.f, nTrw* "gods" (~ *sn* of §91c) is still an object of the action, and not a subject.

For the reading, cf. Urk.IV:415:7(= 1032:13): *drp.t(w).f m mnDwj Hr*

"He is fed from Horus's two breasts"

PT 193, §110: *mj n.k jrt Hrw dAp Tw jm*

"Take Horus's eye, feed yourself with it"

The word-play in this spell has been described in **W 67-68** above.

W 121 (PT 159)

§95a: *jrt Hrw xnft.n.f xnfw*

Allen "Horus's eye, which he carried off"

Shmakov "Horus's eye which he has snatched"

See **W 81** for the relevant comments.

W 125 (PT 163)

§97b: *zwt (nt) ag(w)t*

Allen "roasted wheat"

Shmakov "roasted patties of wheat"

The meaning "dried/roasted grain" for *agt* was established by Hermann Junker (Junker, *Giza II*, p. 171) on the basis of the {braizer with flame}-Q7 sign which once occurs as its determinative in the offering list (Junker, *Giza II*, p. 155, Abb. 21). As it turns out, Junker was absolutely right as we have enough cases of /g/ ~ /x/ (see **M 52**) to suggest that this word has the root *ag/ax* that also occurs in the words *ax* "braizer" (§§558a, 2118b), *axwt* "burnings" (§1961b) and *s.ax* "roast, burn" (§1485b: *fst Drw.s j.s.axt jmjt.s* "who cooks her limits, who roasts that which is within her"). In fact, we even have variant spellings of *ag(w)t* to support this:

⁹ However, in the fourth dynasty mastaba of Khafkhufu I it is written *sSr Dwjw 2* which suggests the reading "two jars of *sSr*-beverage" (Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig.31).

axwt/axt (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 142, p. 128/Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 31:28)
axrt (Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 87:91-92, a variant of the spelling *agjt* (ibid, pl. 96:99) and *agrt* (ibid, 79:82), a case of probably dialectal /j/ ~ /r/, see **W 166**, 1, i)
aSwt (~ *axwt*, Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 71:73, a case of /x/ ~ /S/, see **W 88**).

For the root *ag/ax*, cp. also *axw* "burn" (CT V, 12d (G1T, A1C), graphically transposed as *awx*), and *ag/agw* "roast" (Wb.I:173:8, CT V, 10g, 12a, CT VII, 72b, 142a, regularly graphically transposed as *awg*). Moreover, there is a word-play in the spell PT 163: *zxz.f* and *zt agt* (i.e. *zx* ~ *zg*), *jrt...zxz.f* and *jt agt* (i.e. *jt...x* ~ *jt'g*).

In §97d (*jt ag(w)t*), as well as in the O.K. offering lists, the feminine *ag(w)t* does not agree in gender with the masculine noun *jt(j)* "barley" (*t* is part of the root, not an ending, just like in *jt(j)* "father"; cf. *jt(j) mHj* "the Delta barley"), which means that *ag(w)t* is a separate plural noun, probably "roasted patties/pies", Moreover, cf. Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 87:88 (*jdw*): *ag(w)t nt z(w)t/jt(j)* "roasted patties of (nt) wheat/barley", the same occurs in CT VII, 126x-y and Meir II, pl. 8: *agwt nt zwt agwt nt jt(j)* (Meir has *zw(t)* and *jt(j) mH(j)* "northern barley"). Literally the current passage is "wheat, roasted (things)", i. e. "roasted patties of wheat", cf. CT III, 124b (S6C): *s.(A)Srrt nt bdtj dSrt* "roasted (pies) of the red emmer". The scene of "making roasted patties (of) wheat (and) barley" (*jrt ag(w)t z(w)t jt(j)*) remained in the M.K. tomb of Djehutihetep (El Bersheh I, pl.31). It is noteworthy that under the fourth dynasty there also was *ag(w)t bdt* "roasted patties (of) emmer" (Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 31, 32).

The above means that Wb.I:235:5 "Art Zubereitung des Getreides (Schrot)" (the way of grain's preparation (Crudely milled grain)), which can be translated as "wheat/barley groats", is incorrect.

W 126 (PT 164)

§97d: *jt(j) ag(w)t*

Allen "roasted barley"

Shmakov "roasted patties of barley"

See the comments just above.

W 127 (PT 165)

§98a-b: *mj n.k jrt Hr w j.s.nbAbA s(j) / bAt ab 2*

Allen "accept Horus's eye: it is slipping / 2 bowls of *bAt*"

Shmakov "accept Horus's eye (and) *j.s.nbAbA* it / two bowls of groats"

The verb *s.nbAbA* is probably an imperative, not *sDm.f*. The word *bAt/bAbA(w)t* probably means some way of preparing barley and emmer because it occurs written *bAbAt jt(j) 2 bdt 2* "two bowls of barley groats, two bowls of emmer groats" (lit. "groats: barley two bowls, emmer two bowls") on the offering plate of Imeri (Junker, *Giza* X, Abb. 53, after p. 144) and as *bAbAt zt 2 bAbAwt jt(j) 2* "two bowls of wheat groats, two bowls of barley groats" in the offering lists of Sehemkai and Maakheruptah (Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 39:42 and 87:90). The verb *s.nbAbA* is not the verb *znbA* (which Allen reads as "slip") as *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in the Old Kingdom.

W 131 (PT 169)

§100a: *s.xt n.k s(j)*

Allen "return it to yourself"

Shmakov "turn it to yourself"

See **T 146** for the comments.

W 132 (PT 170)

§100c: *jrt Hrw jp n.k s(j)*

Allen "Horus's eye: allot it to yourself"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, subordinate it to yourself"

For the meaning of *jp* as "subordinate", see **W 148**, 3, **T 145**, 9.

W 133 (PT 171)

§100f: *Hnkt*

Allen "Dedicating the offering"

Shmakov "Gifts"

This word derives from the root *Hnk* "present", hence the reading.

W 134 (PT 223)

§214a: *Hw jnn jh jh*

Allen "Hey! Turn around! Ah, ah!"

Shmakov "Announce (yourself), turn (yourself), oh, oh!"

See **W 135** for the comments.

2)

§215b: *jj.t(j) n bA.k Asjr(t) bA.j m Axw sx(m).j m swt.f*

Allen "You have come to your ba, Osiris, ba among the akhs, in control in his places"

Shmakov "Welcome to your ba, Osiris, (the ba) impressing/affecting akhs (and) in control of its places"

bA.j and *sx(m).j* are statives (with stative *j*-ending spelled out, cf. the same in §§244c T: *xm.j*; 546a: *sSd.j*; 886b: *bA.j, sxm.j, wAS.j*; 1223b: *rx.j*, 1371b: *mnH.j*, 1373b: *DbA.j*, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 6, col. 709+2: *wAH.j*, Nt 819, 823; outside of the PT – *pjppj Dd.j* "(the king) Pepi is firm" (man's name, Mariette, *Mast.*, E9, p. 401)).

They refer to *bA.k* "your ba" and both have *m* as governing preposition, literally "your ba...making impression (*bA*) on (*m*) akhs, having control (*sx(m)*) of (*m*) his places". The sign *m* has been omitted in *sx(m)* to avoid having twice *m* in a row (*sxmjm*, see **P 450**, 4). The same omission occurs in §§53a N, 145b, c, 204c W, 300c W, 620a M, 824a M, 837c M, 857c N, 903b N, 1300c N, 1621b, 1624a, 1626, 1824e, 2075b.

For the collocation *bA m*, cf. also:

PT 437, §799c: *Sd.sn Tw jr pt m bA.k j.bA.tj jm.sn*

"They will take you to the sky due to your ba, (for) you have impressed/affected them"

Literally "they will take you to the sky through your ba, you having made an impression on/affected them"¹⁰ (*j.bA.tj* is 2ms stative. See also *bA m* in **P 4**, 3; **P 45**).

¹⁰ Allen reads this passage "they will take you to the sky in your ba, you having become ba as one of them" (Allen, *P. T.*, p.105). However, the preposition *m* doesn't have the meaning "among" (which is *m-m*), hence the feasible reading "you having become ba among them" is incorrect. Allen's reading "as one of them" would be *m wa jm.sn* (§2085b) or *mj wa jm.sn* (Budge, BD169:26) in Egyptian. This means that *m* here can only be the semantic part of the verb *bA*, namely its governing preposition.

CT IV, 83k (B6C): *Dsr wAt jr HmAtt bA SfSft*

"The way has been beaten (see **P 31**, 5), *HmAtt* has been made, respect has been impressed/inspired"

The verb *bA* is used in the latter passage instead of the usual *qmA* "create (respect (*SfSft*))" (ibid, 69c (T1C), 74e (B6C), 88i), *rdj* "give, inspire (respect)" (ibid, 89c), *TAz* "tie (respect)" (ibid, 69c (B6C, D1C, B2Bo, B6Bo), 74e (D1C), 82o (B6C).

bA is one of the numerous verbs that have the governing preposition *m*, cf. – *apr m* "equip with", *s.Df(A) m* "supply with" (Urk.IV:767:16), *mH m* "fill with", *xsfj m* "meet with (lit. go towards)" (§§1162d, 1702b), *Htp m* "have enough of, be pleased with", *s.Htp m* "please with, satisfy with", *zSA m* "write of, record, register", *prj m* "come out/in", *zBT (>zbt) m* "laught at", *DbA m* "robe in", *anx m* "live on", *wrH m* "anoint with" (§816c), *sd (>sD) m* "clothe in", *njs m* "call by" (§2025a; Mariette, *Mast.*, B14, p. 107; Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 230, p. 210), *sxm m* "have control of", *gAj m* "deprive of" (Urk.IV:613:13, 767:12), *tkn m* "be close to, approach to" (Urk.IV:1118:12), *xpr m* "evolve into/originate from, become", *s.Ax m* "turn (lit. akhify) into", *Swj m* "be empty of", *s.Swj m* "deprive of", *SsA m* "be aware of", *jwr m* "be pregnant with", *bkA m* "be pregnant with" (Urk.IV:268:7), *s.nm m* "feed with" (Urk.IV:267:8), *Htm m* "provide/furnish with", *Hbs m* "dress in, put on, wear" (§§816b, 2039), *sAH m* "be rewarded with", *jwa m* "be granted with", *grg m* "settle with", *s.mnx m* "supply with (lit. make become functional with)" (Urk.VII:29:16), *nHb m* "provide with", *s.nxt m* "strengthen with", *mjnj m* "moor to, marry to", *zmA m* "join with", *Hzz m* "meet", *saH m* "dignify/title into, appoint", *Xnm m* "join to, present/endow with", *(w)d(j) m* "appoint to (an office)", *wrx m* "get dressed in", *nDrj m* "grasp at", *sq(j) m* "play (*bnt* "harp")", *z(A)b m* "play (lit. blow) (*mAt* "transverse flute", *mt* "double clarinet")", *rx m* "know about (in the sense "confide in/be sure of")" (Urk.IV:437:1, 1199:1), *s.xm m* "forget about" (CT VI, 154l), *Dd m* "speak with (*r* "mouth")", and the verbs expressing joy (**Nt 278**), satiety (**P 334**) and hostility (**W 166**).

The verb-preposition combinations with special idiomatic meanings ("collocations" as they are known in linguistics) have not received the same attention in Egyptology as they have in the study of other languages, because Egyptology was and is occupied with sentence-theory. Take for example the English collocation (verb + preposition in function of an adverb) "live on" as an expression of the stable diet that a living being eats. Here we can say "The goats live on grass" or "He lives on bread" to express that they eat this substance to stay alive, which is different from "The goats live on the hill" and "he lives on the street", as the preposition "on" in these sentences is not a part of a collocation, but a part of the prepositional phrase (cf. also "A boy looked through the keyhole" and "A manager looked through the files").

Such collocations also existed in Egyptian, and the preposition used in them changed the verb's meaning just like a preposition in the function of an adverb does in English:

anx "live"/ *anx m* "live on",
prj m "come out/in" / *prj r* "go up to, ascend to" / *prj Xr* "reveal, divulge (lit. emerge under)",
zXA "write"/ *zXA m* "record, register (lit. write of)",
xpr "evolve"/ *xpr m* "become (lit. evolve into)",
sDm "hear"/ *sDm n* "listen to, take heed to, obey",
pXr "go around"/ *pXr n* "serve",
zA(j) "guard, detain, restrain" / *zA(j) n* "watch for"
zBj "send, reach, spend"/ *zBj Hr* "stand up for, patronize",
aHA "fight"/ *aHA Hr* "defend (lit. fight for)"/ *aHA xft* "attack, fight against",
Hmsj "sit"/ *Hmsj Hr* "besiege",

mdwj "speak"/ *mdwj Hr* "advocate, stand up for, deputize for (lit. speak on behalf of)"/ *mdwj xft* "contest against"/ *mdwj m* "speak against, abuse",
Htp "be pleased"/ *Htp m* "have enough of, be pleased with".

There also are collocations where a preposition doesn't change the verb's meaning, but these are still collocations as the choice of the preposition fully depends on the verb (just like in English in which we use a preposition *on* with the verb *depend* and a preposition *at* with the verb *laugh*, but not vice-versa). In Egyptian such collocations are:

Intransitive:

aq r/Hr "enter", *aq Hr* "enter into presence",
spr r "arrive at, attain to, reach",
zbj r "arrive at, attain to, reach",
zmA r/m "partake of (food)" (CT III, 21c; Urk.IV:1011:3, 1165:15, 1167:13),
njs r "call to",
tSj r "part from, come away from",
rwj r "go away from, leave; go to" (Urk.IV:114:2, 496:5; CT VI, 273f),
Spt r "be(come) angry with",
Dnd r "be(come) mad at",
gWA r "unmoor from" (T 283, 2),
Hrj r "be far from" (trans. *s.Hrj r* "distance from"),
wA r "be far from",
bjAj r "move away from/to",
StA r "hide from",
SAk / XAk jr "object to" (§1162a-b)
bST (>bSt) Hr, sbj Hr "rebel against (lit. on)",
swAj Hr "pass by",
xpj Hr "go by (a road), walk on (a road)",
Hmsj Hr/r "sit on/to",
mAA / dgj n "look at".

Transitive:

Smsj r "follow to",
ja/s.ja n "ascend/elevate to",
mz jr "come near to",
mr r/m "fasten to, become attached to",
Sdj r "take to",
sSmj r "lead to",
stj r "throw to",
wxA r "clear away from",
dmD r "join to",
stp r "choose to (an office, rank)",
wpj r/Hr "part from",
Tnj r "be distinct from, distinguish from" (trans. and intr.),
rx r "tell (lit. learn, know) from",
nHm r "take away from" (CT III, 298c),
s.Hrj r "distance from/to",
s.wA r "distance from",
wd/wD r "push off (with a pole) from",
jwd r "separate from",

snsn r "behave brotherly to, fraternize to" (trans. and intr.),
(w)d(j) r "place to",
jj r/n "come to",
mr r "become attached to (lit. fasten oneself to)",
s.dmj/dmj r "attach to",
s.xpr r "turn (lit. make evolve) into",
dbH r "ask/beg for/to",
Dd r "say to, say about",
DAj r "transport/ferry to",
sbA r "teach (something)" (CT VI, 4111),
wDb Hr "turn to/from",
nS / awn / xsf / dAjr / Ajr / dr / Sna / HnHn Hr "remove from",
sSmj m/Hr "lead by (a road)",
bz Hr "introduce to",
Hzz Hr "praise for",
zmjn m "introduce to" (see **P 501**, 1-2),
stp zA Hr/r/HA "extend protection over/to",
nDrj / Amm / xfa (~ xma) Hr "grasp at",
nHm m-a "save, take away from",
Sd(j) m-a "save, take away from",
nD m-a "tend/help out from",
xw(j) m-a "defend from",
mk(j) m-a "protect from",
jp m-a "withdraw from",
dbH m-a/xr "ask/beg something from someone (*r* for)",
nhp m-a "get free of",
xpr m-a "happen to", "happen because of/due".

However, it is important to realize that the existence of a collocation generally does not exclude the occasional use of the verb with the preposition in its usual sense ("non-collocational uses" as they are known in linguistics), for example:

1. collocational use of *bA m* "impress, make an impression on": see just above.
2. non-collocational use of *bA m*:

PT 356, §579a: *bA.k jm.s sxm.k jm.s*

"You will become impressive through it (i. e. Horus's eye), you will gain control through it" (not "impressing it...in control of it")

1. collocational use of *sxm m* "have control of":

PT 215, §146a: *Asjr(t) nj sxm.n.k jm.f nj sxm.n zA.k jm.f*

"Osiris, you cannot have control of him, your son (Horus) cannot have control of him"

2. non-collocational use of *sxm m*:

PT 422, §752b: *Sm.n.k Ax.k sxm.k m nTr*

"You have gone to become akh and gain control as a god (not "gain control of a god")"

PT 553, §1364c: *sxm.k m Xn.k*

"Your control is inside of you" (not "you have control of your interior")

1. collocational use of *Htm m* "provide/furnish with":

PT 223, §215a: *Htm nTr m Htp nTr Htm wnjs m t.f pn*

"(As) the god is provided with a god's offering, (so) Unis (too) is provided with this bread of his"

2. non-collocational use of *Htm m*:

PT 222, §206a: *Htm.n.k Tw m Hrw*

"You have provided yourself as Horus" (not "provided yourself with Horus")

PT 422, §759a: *aHa.k pjpj pn nD.tj Htm.tj m nTr*

"You shall stand up, this Pepi, tended (and) provided as the god" (not "provided with the god")

1. collocational use of *wnx m* "get dressed in":

PT 414, §737c: *wnx.k m jrt Hrw jmjt tAjt*

"You shall get dressed in Horus's eye which is a linen fabric"

2. non-collocational use of *wnx m*:

PT 470, §918b: *wnx pjpj pn m sxt xpr*

"This Pepi will get dressed in the Marsh of the Beetle"

1. collocational use of *anx m* "live on":

PT 440, §816b: *anxw m d(A)b*

"who live on fig(s)"

2. non-collocational use of *anx m*:

PT 475, §948b-c: *nTrw...anxw m jAwt Hrw anxw m jAwt stS*

"the gods...who live in Horus's mounds, who live in Seth's mounds"

1. collocational use of *prj m* "emerge from/into":

PT 298, §442b: *HfAw pn pr m tA*

"this snake that comes from the earth"

2. non-collocational use of *prj m*:

PT 665, 665A (Nt 606, 667, 753): *DHwtj mds pr m stS*

"Thoth, a butcher, who emerged as Seth"

PT 406, §709a: *mA Tw tjt pr.k r.k m DHwtj*

"Teti will see you when you emerge as Thoth"

1. collocational use of *sDm n* "listen to, obey":

ShS. 12: *sDm r.k n.j HAt(j)-a*

"So, listen to me, high official" (in the sense of "obey me")

2. non-collocational use of *sDm n*:

ShS. 182: *mj.k nfr sDm n r(m)T*

"Look, listening (lit. hearing) is good for people"

pPrisse 16, 3: *Ax sDm n zA sDmw*

"Listening (lit. Hearing) is effective for a son-listener"

1. collocational use of *Smsj r* "follow to":

Urk.VII:57:1: *Sms nTr r st.f*

"The one who followed the god to his place"

2. non-collocational use of *Smsj r*:

Urk.VII:62:6: *Sms nswt r nmтт.f*

"The one who followed the king wherever he went (lit. according to his step/tread)"

I follow James Allen in the meaning he offered for the verb *bA* and for the abstract noun *bAw* (Allen, *Inflection*, §728, p. 545: "become impressive", Allen, *Reading a Pyramid*, p. 22: *b3=kj* m nTr* "impressive as a god"; Allen, *M. E.*, Essay 7, p. 79, "*bAw*...something like "impressiveness"). Cf. also the verb's use parallel to the verb *wAS* "be(come) esteemed": §§723b, 833c: *j.bA.k bA.tj wAS.k wAS.tj* "You will impress having become impressive, you will inspire estimation having become esteemed".

The present author is thankful to Dr. Rune Nyord, of Cambridge University, who kindly discussed and helped to formulate the problem of collocations in Egyptian, and who advised on using the terms "collocation" and "non-collocational use".

W 135 (PT 224)

§218c: *Hw kw wnjs jnn kw wnjs*

Allen "Hey, you Unis! Turn about, you Unis!"

Shmakov "Announce yourself, Unis, turn yourself, Unis!"

The first verb is in graphical transposition (cf. §218c MN, Nt 347 (*Hw Tw*)) and is an imperative of *Hwj* (Wb.III:44:3, Allen, *Inflection*, 549), the sense of "announce (yourself)" is "make your presence known". The notion behind "turn" is "turn yourself toward me as I am speaking", see also **W 134** above.

PT 628, §1786b: *Hw kw pppj nfr-kA-ra j.nn.k pppj nfr-kA-ra jnk nbt*

"Announce yourself, Pepi Neferkare (and) turn, Pepi Neferkare! I am Nephthys"

PT 664A, §*1884a: *Hw kw pppj [j].nn kw pppj nfr-kA-ra jnk Ast*

"Announce yourself, Pepi (and) turn yourself, Pepi Neferkare! I am Isis"

CT I, 200d-g: *jnk zA j.mr.f sDm sDm jnk zA.k Hw Tw mA[.t(j)] ra nb*

"I am the beloved son of his father (lit. the son whom he (i. e. his father) loves), listen, listen! I am your

son, announce yourself being new every day!"

Note the way in which this passage is constructed: *jnk...sDm sDm jnk...Hw Tw...*
"I am N listen, listen! I am Y announce yourself...!"

The particle *Hw A*, *H(w)A*, *H(w)A A*, *Hwj A* "If only, Would that, I wish" (Allen, *M. E.*, 16.6.12) probably started out as a form of the verb *Hw(j)* "announce, proclaim!", either in *sDm.f* form or an imperative, for as the following passages show it was followed by a dependent pronoun (*Tw*), like the imperative in the passages above, rather than the suffix forms (cf. the same phenomenon with the particle *mj.k*, **W 211**, 2):

CT I, 198e: *Hw A Tw jp.t(j) s.(w)DA.t(j) m saH.k pn ntj m-bAH.j*

"Announce yourself recognized and made sound in this your rank which is before (that of) mine"

i. e. "Would that you are recognized and made sound in this your rank which is before (that of) mine"

CT VI, 386f: *Hw A sw rxs(.w) m dsw bjbj m awt*

"Announce him butchered with the sharp (? *bjbj*) knives from the limbs"

As subjunctive:

PT 467, §886a P: *nw r.f Dd.n.k ra Hw.j zA j.t(j) Tw ra*

"that which you said, Sun—"May I proclame a son," so you said, Sun"

Hw.j zA "'May I proclame a son,'" of this passage may also be read "'Would that I have a son,'"

2)

§§219a-220a: *Htp Dj nswt m saH.k nb m swt.k nb(t)*

Allen "A king-given offering of all your insignia in all your places"

Shmakov "A king-given offering of all your dignity's insignia, of all your places"

m swt.k nb(t) may have the meaning "of all your places", rather than "in all your places", and of course it are not places themselves that are offered but the ability to dwell there, cf.:

PT 424, §770b: *hA pppj pw Htp Dj nswt Hms.k jAwt.k Hrw(j)t wwn.k jAwt.k stS(j)t*

"Ho, Pepi! A king-given offering: you will occupy your mounds of Horus and move about your mounds of Seth"

In this passage the ability to "occupy" and "move about" places may be given through a king-given offering.

The expression *m swt.f nbt* (traditionally read "in all his (cult) places") that sometimes follows *Htp Dj nswt* formula in the O.K. (rare) and M.K. (frequently) with the suffix *.f* "his" referring to the god-donor has unexpected suffix on the female coffin of the M.K.¹¹. On this coffin the expression *m swt.s nbt nfrt* refers to the female deceased, not to the male god Osiris:

Htp dj nswt Asjr(t) nb Ddw xnt(j) jmntjw nb AbDw m swt.s nbt nfrt...jmAxt myt

¹¹ Outer coffin of the female child Myt ("Cat") of the Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 11, early reign of Mentuhotep II (MMA 26.3.9a, b)

"A king-given offering of Osiris, lord of Busiris, the one at the fore of the westerners, lord of Abydos of (?) all her beautiful places...honored Myt"

Compare also:

PT 617, §1745a: *Htp Dj nswt m swt.k nb(t) Htp Dj nswt m saHw.k nb*

"A king-given offering of all your places; a king-given offering of all your dignity's insignia"

Berlin 1191: *Htp dj nswt n N m saHw.f nb m swt.f nb(t) m mrt.f nb(t) nfrt n.f jm xr nTr*

"A king-given offering for N of all his dignity's insignia, of all his places, of all that he loves by which it goes him well due to the god" (see also stela Leiden AP 69 V 79 Boeser 36)

CM CG 1486: *Htp dj nswt sm m saH.k nb m swt.k nb(t) mrt.k*

"A king-given offering of sem-priest (consisting) of all your dignity's insignia, of all your places which you love"

PT 534, §1277a-c, PT 172, §101c-d: PT 224, Nt 372 (see also CT VII, 128, 129).

3)

§220b-c: *nHbt.k xnt(j) anxw mdw.k xnt(j) Axw jnpw js xntj jmntjw anDjt js xntj spAwt jAbt(j)t*

Allen "your water-lily-bud sceptre at the fore of the living, your staff at the fore of the akhs, as Anubis at the fore of the westerners, as Andjeti at the fore of the eastern nomes"

Shmakov "your water-lily-bud sceptre at the fore of the living, being Andjeti at the fore of the eastern nomes; your staff at the fore of the akhs, being Anubis at the fore of the westerners"

Paragraph 220b-c is no doubt split, cf. §57d: *xnt(j) Axw jnpw js xnt(j) jmntjw* "at the fore of the akhs, being Anubis at the fore of the westerners".

4)

§221a-b: *Htp.w(j) xr(j)t.k...nS.w(j) s(j) nS.w(j) s(j) j.nD msw.k zA Tw*

Allen "How content is your situation...How different it is, how different it is, you whom your child tended. Beware"

Shmakov "How content is your situation...How desirable (lit. mouth-watering) it is, how desirable it is! Tend your children and beware"

The verb in the passage is *nS* "drool, spit" with the {drops of liquid} determinative. For its meaning, see **W 67-68**. *j.nD* is probably an imperative "tend (your children)!", just like the following *zA Tw* "beware!", not a relative form "the one whom (your children) tended". Cf. another variant of this passage and spell in the pyramid of Neferkare (PT 225) which has (§224c): *j.Sm smsw j.nD.f zA.f* "The elder has gone that he may tend his son". Teti's first copy has *nDj*, with the *j*-ending which sometimes occurs in imperative forms: *j.nDj Asjr(t) pjpj pn* "tend this Osiris Pepi!" (§1334a), *DHwtj jabj pjpj* "Thoth, gather Pepi!" (§830a), *aHAj kAwj* "Fight, you two bulls!" (? , §425e P). Merser also has an imperative here: "(So) protect thy children; beware..." (Mercer, *P. T.*, p. 70).

5)

§221c: *wnx Dt. {nb}<k> jw.k xr.sn*

Allen "Get dressed in your body and come to them"

Shmakov "Your person has been dressed (in your dignity's regalia) that you may come to them (i. e. *msw.k*, your children)"

The verb *wnx* is probably a passive *sDm.f*, not an imperative, moreover the spell PT 224 to which this passage belongs is about putting on the king's regalia. Cf. also

PT 537, §1300c: *sxm.k m Dt.k wnx.t(j) Dt.k*

"You have taken control of your person (and) your person has been dressed"

PT 225, §224d, PT 690, §2119: *wnx.tj Dt.k jwt.k xr(.j)*

"Your person has been dressed that you may come to me"

The *wnx.t(j)* in the latter passages is a passive perfective *sDm.f*, rather than a 2S stative used as a command (cf. "be dressed in your body" and "Get dressed in your body" after Allen, *P. T.*, P 281, p. 117, N 309, p. 263, N 524, p. 295, respectively). For the examples of 2S/P statives used as a wish or command are only with intransitive verbs or transitive verbs in non-transitive use. Moreover, it remains unclear what "be dressed in a person", or "get dressed in a person", would mean. For the meaning of *Dt* as "person" (not loose "body"), see **W 175**, 3.

W 136 (PT 199)

§115c: *wDb Htp nTr*

Allen "[Reversion] of the god's offering"

Shmakov "Distribution (lit. turning) of the god's offering"

The noun *wDb* has the same meaning in this passage as in the Old Kingdom title *Hr(j) wDb* "Who is in charge of distribution" or *s.HD pr Hr(j) wDb* "tutor of the department in charge of distribution" (Jones, *Titles*, ## 293, 304, 488, 2212, 3407).

W 138 (PT 244)

§249b: *d n.k s(j) m(j)m(j).k*

Allen "it has been set for you that you may become powerful"

Shmakov "set it that you may move"

See **T 196**, 5 for the relevant comments.

W 139 (PT 204)

§118a: *j.Haj j.Hnnw wTz jb n Tssw Snbt*

Allen "the heart of those who cleanse the breast became fully uplifted"

Shmakov "Those who masticate the breast (of earth) have cheered up"

The determinative of the otherwise unknown word *Tss* is {tooth}, so the meaning of the word is probably "to masticate, to chew" i. e. to hoe lumps of the earth. The CT VIII (p. 42) version *rss* with {foot with pot pouring water on it}-D60 as determinative does not prove the meaning "cleanse" for this word, but probably shows a Middle Kingdom reinterpretation of the original meaning.

The expression *wTz jb* is probably synonymous to *Tzj jb* and has a meaning "cheer up, take heart", see CT I, 233f.; CT II, 34j.; Sin. B 23: .

2)

§119b: *jn aw(j) HA j.dr Hqr.fj.mH.jj j.mH.jj jbw*

Allen "Ha's arms are what repel his hunger. Become awash (with joy)! Become awash, hearts!"

Shmakov "Ha's arms are what repel his hunger: he has become flooded (i. e. sated), he has become flooded, hearts"

j.mH.jj is probably a stative, not an imperative.

W 140 (PT 205)

§120a: *j Hr(j)w st jr(j)w Agb*

Allen "O you in charge of the bread production, who belong to the flood"

Shmakov "O you in charge of the bread and beer products (lit. the pouring), who are attached to abundance"

For *Agb*, cf. **W 143**, 3.

The meaning of the word *st* according to the determinative {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf} is "meals of bread and beer", see

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 85: *Szp st jn DAD(A)t nt pr Dt*

"Receiving bread (and beer) products by the administration of the personal farm (lit. house)"

where the action is labeled *Szp st* "Receiving bread and beer products" – a text written under the man who is placing bread into a bowl before the scribes of the farm (*pr Dt* "personal house") administration (*DADAt*) who write down the results.

Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 23, 26, p. 71:

Szp st m-a (j)m(jw) r pr Snaw n Xrjt Xrw ra nb xt xA

"Receiving bread and beer products from overseer(s) of the cook house(s) for daily requirements every day, thousand of meal" (on the relief, man no. 3 holds in his hands a partly destroyed but still visible beer jug).

So *st* is not only baked food, i. e. not only bread, but includes beer. For this word, see also Borchardt, *Neuserre*, 123 Abb.103.a, Montet, *Scènes*, p. 248 (*Spss ra*).

The word *st* undoubtedly derives from the root *st* "pour out, put, shoot out", as the verb *st* is used in other O.K. tombs in such "Receiving bread and beer products" scenes:

James, *Khentika*, pl. 9 (bottom register): *st nw r mnx* "pour/leave this properly", *jrt st m H(n)qt*

"leaving beer", *jrt st m pzn* "leaving *pzn*-bread", *jrt <st m> HT(A)* "leaving *HTA*-bread", *jrt st <m> xt nfr(t)* "leaving good thing(s)".

Kanawati-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, pl. 48: *jnt aq n Xr(j)t hrw r stt (j)m(j)-r pr Snaw n HT(A) (j)m(j)-r pr Snaw n H(n)qt nrt xrw Snwt*. "bringing the income of the daily requirements to pour. Head of the cook house of *HTA*-bread, Head of the cook house of beer, Crier of the granary"

In the scene from the tomb of *Nikauisesi*, one cook house's head is pouring out beer into a container, while another is putting bread into another container.

Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, pl. 38 (upper register): [...*(j)m(j)*]-*r pr Snaw n pr Dt*

"[...he]ad of the cook house of the personal farm (lit. house)"

(bottom register) *st nw r mnx [n] Xr(j)t [hrw]*

"pour/put this properly [for daily] requirements (?)", *zSA jr.k tp-r jr.n(.j) xA 6 pzn* "Write the statement: I have made six measures of *pzn*-bread", *Dj jw kjj HT(A) j(w).f mH(j) wrt* "Let another *HTA*-bread

come (i. e. bring it), it (i. e. the container) is completely full".

2)

§120b-c: *wD wnjs n ftk-t wdpw n ra wD n.f sw ra Ds.f wD sw ra n Hr(j) s.(w)nm*

Allen "commend Unis to Fetekte, the cupbearer of the Sun, whom the Sun commended to himself, that the Sun may commend him to the one in charge of provisioning"

Shmakov "appoint Unis to Fetekte, the cupbearer of the Sun, (for) the Sun himself appointed him (i. e. Unis) to him (i. e. Fetekte). May the Sun appoint him (i. e. Unis) to the one in charge of provisioning"

wD n.f sw ra Ds.f is "the Sun appointed him (i. e. Unis) to him (i. e. Fetekte) himself"

The name of the divinity *ftk-t* "Fetekte" may mean "He who filters bread(-dough)" if *ftk* relates or is a variant of the verb *jtx/atx* "filter, strain" (Wb.I:236:13), for a rare case of /x/ ~ /k/, see **W 48**, 1. The *wdpw* "cupbearer" was a person in charge of preparing and serving food, cf. Peas. B1 207: *mj.k tw wdpw rS.fpw rxs* "Look: you are cupbearer whose joy is to butcher", and cf. the scene from the mastaba of Nikainisut where the cupbearer is holding the foreleg of a bull (Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 20, p. 154).

3)

§121b: *kA wr H knzt*

Allen "the great bull who struck Kenzet"

Shmakov "the great bull visiting/tramping (lit. stepping on) the sky's east horizon (Kenzet)"

cf. §1033a: *j.H.f Tn jpp.f xAswt m zxn Asjr(t)*

"He was tramping the mountain range and scouring the desert hills in search of Osiris"

El Bersheh I, pl.18 (= Urk.VII:51:15): *H.n. Tn Sa xnD. Tn smw*

(an inscription above a herd of bulls)

"You have stepped (*H*) on sand, you are stepping on grass"

For *H* as "to step", see **T 204**, 4.

Kenzet (*knzt*) is probably "the sky's eastern horizon" while Izekeken (*jzkn*) is "the sky's western horizon", just like *bAXw* is "the earth's eastern horizon" and *mAnw* is "the earth's western horizon" (after Allen, *Medicine*, cf. also Urk.IV:372:9: *tAS jmntj r mAnw* "western boundary up to western horizon"). Kenzet twice occurs on the east gable in the burial chamber of Unis's pyramid, in §126b in connection with awakening, in §920c and §1254a Kenzet's marsh and Kenzet's canal or lake are the places where cleansing occurs – along with the Marsh of Reed (§920b and §1245b), the usual place for morning cleansing in the east. In §1541a Kenzet's canal is the boundary of the east: "You will cross the Curved canal (*mr nxA*), you will pass the Kenzet canal and fall in the eastern side of the sky". Izekeken as a western region is considered by Allen ("A portion of the western sky", Glossary, p. 434) on the basis of its mention in §§496b, 497a in connection with the Evening bark. The toponym Kenzet (*knzt*) perhaps actually reads *k(A)nzt*, i.e. *k(A)-n-z(mjj)t*, "Ka of the desert". The abbreviated spelling *k* for the word *kA* is very common in the Old Kingdom inscriptions (mostly in names, but also in other words ending in *A*), and the word for *z(my)t* "desert" is always spelled *zt* in the Old Kingdom. The toponym *knzt* occurs in Pepi I's pyramid spelled with three {mountain range}-N25 signs as the determinative, suggesting the reading *knzwt* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 10, col. 30) – exactly like the three {mountain range} signs after *zt* "desert" in §806d suggest the reading *z(mjj)wt* "deserts".

4)

§121c-d: *n nnt Wnjs js jr(j) djwt jStt m Hwt jw xmtt r pt xr ra jw sntj r tA xr psDtj*

Allen "For Unis is the one who has a quintet of meals in the enclosure: a triad is for the sky with the Sun, a pair is for the earth with the Dual Ennead"

Shmakov "For Unis is attached to the five portions of food in the enclosure – three portions are (chargeable) to the sky and (exacted) from the Sun; two portions are (chargeable) to the land and (exacted) from the Dual Ennead"

The construction “*r* {place} *xr* {person}” in the current passage is not about a direction of destination (in this case direction of meal consumption – “for the sky...for the earth”), but of a direction of source (see also **W 169**, 6).

The following fragments are well known and occur many times in CT III and other volumes (CT I, 65c-d; CT III, 1b-c, 14b-15c, 51c-e, 53a-d, 75a-c, e-g, 78c-e, 85k-86a, 93b-c, 97c-d, 106a-b, 113l-m, 122a, 125g-i, 136l-137a, 151e-f, 161c-e, 166c-d, 167d-e, 169a-c, 172b-e, 173j-k, 176b-177a, 184b-185a, 194k-195e, 197b-d; CT IV, 24f-g; CT VI, 197j-n, 198q-s, 208f-h, 282p-r, 288h-j, 295p-r, 287d, m, 374a-c, 406i-j; CT VII, 225p-r): we are given an explanation of the source of the food portions that are present in a certain context (in an enclosure, on an offering table, etc.).

CT III, 99f-100a: *jnk nb jSt 5 aAt xr Asjr(t) jw jr xt 2 r pt xt 3 r tA*

"I am the one who has a quintet of abundant (*aAt*, lit. big, considerable) meals from Osiris: a pair has been charged (*jr*) to the sky, a triad (has been charged (*jr*)) to the earth"
(this column is split in the original)

CT III 113k-m: *anx N pn m 7 jpwt prt Hr xAwt bAw jwnw jw xt 4 r pt xr ra jw xt 3 r tA xr gbb*

"This N lives on the seven (food) portions emerging on the offering table of the bas of Heliopolis: four food portions are (chargeable) to the sky and (exacted) from the Sun; three food portions are (chargeable) to the land and (exacted) from Geb"

Spell 195 has a very similar text, but with the discussed phrase written differently: “*m* {place} *xr* {person}” “from the {place}, from the {person}”, showing that the statement “*r* {place} *xr* {person}” must have the same meaning (namely is referring to the origin of the portions):

CT III 97b-d: *Awt.j pw xt 7 prt Hr xAt wrt nt bAw jwnw jw xt 4.s m pt xr ra jw xt 3.s m tA xr gbb*

"My provisions are seven food portions emerging on the great offering table of the bas of Heliopolis: four portions of it are from the sky from the Sun; three portions of it are from the land, from Geb"

For the reading, cf. Urk.IV:1198:5-6: *rnpt nbt prt m tA xr gbb*

"every fresh plant that emerges from the earth, from Geb"

CT VI, 197i-n: *jnk...kA...nb xt 7 m jwnw jw xmtt r pt xr bjkwj jw Hr tpt DnHwj.sn jw xt 4 xr HfAwj jw Hr qAbwj.sn*

"I am...a bull...an owner of seven food portions in Heliopolis: three portions are (chargeable) to the sky, (exacted) from the two falcons, (brought) on the tip(s) of their wings; four portions are ((chargeable) to the earth), (exacted) from the two snakes, (brought) on their two coils"

Spell 581, from which these lines are extracted, is for the ensuring of food supply, so the main theme of these lines is about food source and its delivery to a deceased, not about food distribution by a deceased. A deceased is telling us that he has seven food portions (the base of his food security so as not to have to eat excrement and drink urine) and is informing us about the sources of these portions:

"from the sky...(from the earth)", and the way of their delivering: "on the tip(s) of their wings", "on their coils".

CT VI, 198p-s: *nTr nb Dd wnm.j bwt.j wnm.f Hna.j jnk nb xt 5 xmtt r pt xr ra jw snntj r tA m Hwt nTr*
"Any god who says that I will eat my abomination – he will eat (it) with me, (for) I am an owner of five food portions: three portions are (chargeable) to the sky, (exacted) from the Sun, two portions are (chargeable) to the earth, (exacted) from the temple"

One more time in the spell the deceased states that he has got enough food and warns any god of making a false statement about his need of food.

It is worth noting that post-O.K. copies of the current passage and spell, CM CG 20520 (M.K.) and Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 110 (N.K.), give *nmt nTr* "god's slaughterhouse" instead of *Hwt* "enclosure" (only CT VIII, 121c and Budge, BD178:8 unexpectedly give *wsxt* "broadhall" and *Hwt nTr* "temple, god's enclosure" respectively).

Compare the meaning of the prepositions in the passages just above with the meaning of the preposition *Hr* in the following passages, which also tell us about the source/origin of food:

Urk.IV:452:1-2: *dj.sn xt nbt Hr xAt.sn m Xr(j)-hrw n ra nb n kA n DHwtj*
"they will give every (kind of) thing from (*Hr*) their offering stand(s) daily for the ka of Tjehuti"

ibid:478:15-16: *dj[.s] mAawt nbt Hr xAwt.s n kA n...Hjpwj snb(.w)*
"[she] will give every (kind of) gifts from (*Hr*) her offering stands for the ka of...Hipusenebu ("Apis-bull is sound")"

For the meaning of *xr* as "from, by, on somebody's part", as an alternative for the preposition *m-a* "from (the arm of)", cf.:

PT 437, §806c-d: *xA.k m rn n mA xr z(mjj)wt*
"your thousand of fattened (lit. raised) oryxes from the deserts"

PT 685, §2066a: *jw.n.sn jn.n.sn n.k mw wabw xr jt(j).sn*
"They have come having brought for you the clean waters from their father"

Junker, *Giza* VIII, p. 111 (the man's name): *kA(j) xr ptH* "My ka is from Ptah"

Urk.I:13:2, 14:1: *zA nt(j).fxr.f* "the phyle which he is from (i. e. his phyle)"

CT I, 55c-e: *nn xft(j).k xr ra jmj pt nn tpj mAa.k xr Asjr(t) nTr aA jmj AbDw*
"There's no opponent of yours that is from the Sun, who is in the sky; there is no antagonist of yours that is from Osiris, the Elder god, who is in Abydos" (this column is split in the original)

CT I, 237f: *jw n.k anx xr jnpw* "Life is for you from Anubis"

CT III, 298e-f: *Htp dj nswt Asjr(t) prt-xrw n xA m t H(n)kt Ss xAw jwA Apd xr Ast nbt-Hwt n N pn*
"A royal offering of Osiris, a calling-offering of a thousand of bread, beer, alabaster vessels, offering-tables, oxen, fowl, from Isis (and) Nephthys for this N"

CT IV, 325e, 326c(= Urk.V:95:11-12): *wDA tp tA xr ra mjn nfr xr Asjr(t)*

"Soundness on the earth from the Sun, good burial (lit. mooring) from Osiris"

CT VI 126h: *jw Szp.n.j jmAx.j xr ptH-skr*
"I have received my spine from Ptah-Sokar"

CT VII, 105k-m: *xt nfrt n Asjr(t) xt nfrt n N xr nTrw nb*
"Good things are for Osiris, good things are for N from all the gods"

CT VII, 381b: *jn Ast jnt n.f sw xr Hr smsw* "This is Isis who brought it to him from Elder Horus"

Urk.IV:361:7: *wat(j)t.f xprrt xr.f* "his unique one who came into being (lit. evolved) from him"

ibid:907:8: [*r dbH*] *Htpw xr Hm.[f]* "to beg favor from his Incarnation" (also ibid:321:14, 332:9, 333:11, 370:17, cf. usual *dbH m-a* "ask/beg from")

Mariette, *Abydos*, T. I. Pl. 39, a: *mj n.k jrt Hrw...xr N*
"take Horus's eye...from N"

Wb.V:328:17: *tS(j) r ~ tS(j) xr* "come off, part from"

ibid:944:6: *jnk js wAH-jb xr nTr*
"I am favorable on the part of the god" (i. e. the god's attitude to me is favorable, the positive condition is granted by him)

ibid:1194:14: *jnk wDA xr ra mAa xrw xr Asjr(t)*
"I am sound on the Sun's part, justified on Osiris's part"

Though the expression *mAa xrw xr N* usually means "justified/vindicated regarding N" (see **W 207**, 6), here it clearly has the meaning "from/on Osiris's part" (i.e. the condition is granted by him), not only because of parallelism to the first part of the passage, but also due to the role of Osiris as the judge of the dead in the N.K. from which this passage occurs.

Some expressions with *xr* "from, granted by, on the part of":

i) the expressions *Hzwt xr* "grace from", *mrt xr* "love from":

Urk.VII:30:17-18: *Hzt.j xr Snwt.f jAmt.j m-bAH smrw.f*
"Grace for me (lit. my grace) is from his suite, my kindness (i. e. kindness for me) before his companions"

Urk.VII:46:18: *n wrw(j) aAw(j) Hzw<t>.j jpnt xr jt(j).j xr nTr.j*
"for how great, how significant is this grace for me from my father (and) my god (Thoth)"

Urk.IV:30:13: *dj.j sDm.tn Hzwt.j xr Hmt njswt wrt*
"I will let you hear grace for me (lit. "my grace") from the elder king's wife"

ibid:34:13: *jw(j) m Hzwt x[r] Hmw.sn*
"I am in the grace from Their Incarnations (i. e. the king and the queen)"

ibid:64:10: *jw Hzwt.j xr wrw.s mrt.j xr nDsw.s*

"Grace for me is from its (i. e. the city's) great ones, love for me is from its little ones"

ibid:132:17: *mrt.j xr nTr.j* "love for me is from my god"

ibid:167:7: *mn xpr ra mn Hzwt xr jmn* "'Menkheperre firm of grace from Amon'"

ibid:428:14: *jw Hzwt.j mn.tj xr.f* "grace for me is firm from him"

ibid:1143:16: *wnn Hzwt.k xr kA.f m Xr(j)t hrw nt ra nb*

"Grace for you will be from his (i. e. king's) ka daily"

ibid:1204:3: *nb Hzwt xr Sny.f* "the one who has grace from his suite"

ii) the expression *s.rx xr* "charge from, accusation on the part of":

Urk.IV:505:9: [*nj s.*]*rx.j xr r(m)T* "[there is no ch]arge against me (lit. my charge) from the people"

ibid:994:5-6: *nj wnt s.rx.j xr r(m)T wpw-Hr Hzw(t) aAt xr njswt*

"there is no charge against me (lit. my charge) from people, only (lit. but) significant grace from the king"

ibid:1024:9: *nj gm.tw zp nb xr.f*

"Any misdeed from him has not been found"

Cf. this expression with ibid:439:5: *nj xpr [zp] Xz m-a.f* "a vile [deed] did not happen because of/from him",

Budge, BD30B, IV: *nn s.rx.f xr.n* "there is no charge against him (lit. his charge) from us (i. e. gods)"

5)

§123a: *jw sn wnjs Swst*

Allen "Unis has kissed dryness"

Shmakov "Unis has kissed abundance"

The unknown word *Swst* probably does not mean "dryness" (*Swj* "be dry"). This part of the spell tells about the king interacting with symbols of food production or satisfaction, like *mwt* "moisture (for food production)" and *nxbwt* "fertility (?)"¹², so *Swst* probably means "abundance" or the like.

W 141 (PT 207)

§124a-b: *xt n(.j) sSm...jnj jrt ra xt n(.j) wHa Apd njj jrt nTr*

Allen "A meal for me, knife-sharpener!...you in the Sun's eye!...you with access to the (sun's) boat, you in the God's-Eye (boat)"

Shmakov "A meal for me, butcher!...you in "The Sun's Eye" (working team)!...bird's catcher who is in "The God's Eye" (working team)"

The present author translates *sSm* as a "butcher" (Wb.IV:292:11), not as a "knife-sharpener" (even though the sign (T33) represents a {knife-sharpener}) – all workers labeled *sSm* had a knife-sharpener at the back of their kilt and sometimes they are pictured sharpening their knives with it (such scenes are

¹² For the primary (?) meaning of *nxb*, namely "shine in the night/dark", see **W 170**, 3.

inscribed *pDt ds* "sharpening a flint knife"), but their job, of course, was to slaughter cattle, not to sharpen knives, which is their secondary work. James Allen reads *HnTj* of §966e as "butcher" instead (nisbe of *HnTt* "butchering, slaughter": for the verb *HnT* "butcher", see Montet, *Scènes*, p. 162, instance 2 (Montet read *HnT* differently), CT VI, 77a: *HnTw rw* "those with butchering mouths", CT VII, 39g).

Allen's "you with access to the (sun's) boat" is actually *wHa Apd* "bird-catcher", see Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 11: *sxt Apdw jn wHa(w) Apd nw pr Dt* "trapping of birds by the bird-catcher(s) of the personal farm (lit. house)"; Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamahor*, pl. 42: *sxt Apdw jn wHa(w) Apd nw Dt.f* "trapping of birds by his personal bird-catcher(s)"; Mariette, *Mast.*, D41, p. 288: *sxt Apdw jn wHa(w) Apd* "trapping of birds by the bird-catcher(s)", (cf. also Jones, *Titles*, 1486-87, p. 404-05).

For such a form of *wHa*-{cargo boat with a seat/cabin in the middle} (var. of P4, P4a {cargo boat with pile of grain}, §§910d P, 1255a P, 1292c, 1363b, 2008b, 2188a, 2189b), normally without phonetic complements, cf. §§349b, 593b, 910d N, 1255a,b N, 2105b,c, 2114b. Cf. also the boat's spelling in L.D.II:42a: *mAA jnw n...wHa(w) rmw* "Review of the produce of...the fish-catchers" and MMA 08.201.1b (the tomb chapel of Raemkai (*ra-m-ka(j)*)): *wHa mHjt grgt* "the settlement "Fish-catchers"" In the mastabas such cargo boats are depicted full of cargos (grain, cattle, fowl) having come from the Nile Valley (*Smaw*):

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 12 (= Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 88a): [...] *smr wat(j) Tjj r wHaw* "[...] unique companion *Ti* to the cargo boats", also Tf 21, 22

L.D.II:60; *ibid*:61: [*mAA*] *wHaw* [...] "Review of the cargo boats (hewing)"; *ibid*:62-63: *mAA wHaw xd* "Review of the cargo boats that came northwards"; *ibid*:103

ibid:104: [*mAA*] *wHaw xd jnnw n.f m Hwwt.f nt Smaw* "Review of the cargo boats that came northwards (i. e. at home) (and) brought to him (produce) from his enclosures of the Nile Valley"

Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamahor*, pl. 57: *mAA spr wHa(w) n* [...] *jnnw n.f m nwwt.f nt S[maw]* "Review of the cargo boats [...] that brought to him from his villages of the [Nile Vall]ey"

Junker, *Giza IV*, Tf. VI; X: *wxr(t) Xr wHa(w)* "dockyard with cargo boats"

Meir V, pl. 42: *mj.k wHaw jj.j* "Look, cargo boats have arrived"

Urk.I:127:14-15: *wHaw ATp(.w) m bnjt mswq t H(n)qt* "cargo boats loaded with date wine, pie(s), bread, beer"

Urk.VII:48:4: *wHaw apr(.w) mH(.w) m Spssw* "cargo boats equipped (and) filled with precious things"

Firth-Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* 2, pl. 53:1; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 34, 41. There also was a title (*j)m(j)-r pr wHaw* "head of the cargo boats house" (Jones, *Titles*, # 485, Hassan, *Giza II*, 134 fig. 160).

The word *wHa* in the inscriptions above is spelled in graphical transposition as *Hwa* or *Haw*, just like the verb *wHa* "release" (§§2188a, 2189b), which is spelled *Hwa* (§1363b), according to the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position", see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 17.

Middle Kingdom copies of the current passage (CM CG 20520) and New Kingdom ones (Naville, *Deir*

el Bahari IV, pl. 110; MMA 12.186.2a–c + 11.155.3a (relief of Ramesses I)) no doubt demonstrate a M.K. misunderstanding of the original meaning of *wHa Apd*, which passed to the N.K., as they give *wjA aq* and {boat} *aq* (MMA 12.186.2a–c is damaged and has only [...] *aq*) respectively. But even that can hardly be read as "one with access to (lit. who enters) the (Sun's) boat", for it is written *wjA aq*, not *aq wjA*. On the inscribed fragment from the mastaba of Ankhimahor and on one of the walls (Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhmahor*, pl. 42, 72, TNE95:F150) the bird sign used in the title (*j)m(j)-r wHa Apd* "head of the bird-catcher(s)" really resembles (and probably is) the *aq*-{cormorant}-G35 sign.

Work teams (*jzwt*) and phyles (*zAw*) were named after the names of boat's parts in ancient Egypt: *jmj-wrt* "starboard", *tA wr* "larboard", *jmj-nfirt/nfirt* ~ *jmj nDst/nDst* "stern", *wADt* "prow", even though they did not deal with sailing. This is probably the reason of the occurrence of a {boat} determinative after *jmj jrt nTr* in §124e (a boat sign can undoubtedly be a determinative, cf. §1228b: *jrt Xnm* "(the boat) that Khnum made"). So, "Sun's Eye" and "God's Eye" are probably the names of working teams. See Roth, *Phyles*, p. 43: "The clearest connection between boats and phyles is a very rare title [*zSA n zA dpt* – T. S.], "boatman, scribe of a phyle" or "scribe of a boat phyle."".

W 142 (PT 209)

§125c: *wHm jnww jAbtjw t.k pw*

Allen "The eastern fetchers shall repeat: "It is your bread""

Shmakov "The eastern fetchers shall declare/announce: "It is your bread""

For *wHm* as "declare/announce", cf.:

CT I, 8a: *jw wD.n gbb wHm.n rwtj rdj.t(w) n.k bA.k*

"Geb has commanded, Ruti has announced that your ba might be given to you"

CT II, 249d-250b: *jw wD m DADAt jw wHm r-gs mAatj*

"It has been commanded in the tribunal (and) announced near the Dual Maat"

Translating "Geb has commanded, Ruti has repeated" and "commanded in the tribunal, repeated near the Dual Maat" would create the strange notion that one god or judicial body commands and that another repeats that command for some reason, rather than the logical notion that a command is expressed by the two gods and the two judicial bodies. Cf. also

CT III, 151c-d (B1Bo, B2Be): *jj.n.k r jSst wHm snwj*

"“Why (lit. to what (purpose)) have you come?” pronounced the two companions".

CT III, 350e-f: *qA kA.j wHm.n.f rn.j*

"My ka has gone high and pronounced my name"

(also in the deity's name *wHm rn* "Name Pronouncer" (CT III, 73e (T1L), 78g, CT IV, 59p).

CT VI, 303j-k: *jj.n N pn wHm.f mdw pn qA sDm sw*

"This N has come that he may pronounce this speech, the one who will hear it will go high"

BM 828: *nj zp wHm.j mdt nbt Dwt*

"I have never pronounced any bad word"

To read the passage as "I have never repeated any bad word(s)" is meaningless as it is absolutely not clear why the man should "repeat" a swear word rather than "pronounce, say" it.

CT VII, 26o: *nj wHm.j sDmt.n.j m bAH*

"I will not pronounce (i.e. proclaim publically) that which I heard before"

W 143 (PT 210)

§126c: *pr m H(j)p(j)*

Allen "that comes from the garden"

Shmakov "that comes from the Nileflood"

The original of §126c W has *H(j)p(j)*, and not the *Hzp* "garden" of later versions (TMN). Remarkably, Middle Kingdom (CM CG 20520) and New Kingdom (Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 110; Budge, BD178:14; MMA 12.186.2a–c + 11.155.3a (relief of Ramesses I)) copies of the current passage also give "Nileflood" (*Hap(j)*).

2)

§127c-128c: *twr wnjs wzSt...jmr twr stS m(w)t rHw(j) jpw DAjj pt ra pj Hna DHwtj Sd n.Tn wnjs Hna.Tn*

Allen "Unis rejects urine...like Seth rejects the two *mtrH* that cross the sky.

Sun and Thoth, take Unis with you"

Shmakov "Unis is wary of urine...like Seth is wary of dying. Oh (*jpw*), two comrades, who cross the sky, Sun and Thoth (i. e. the Moon), take Unis with you (both)!"

PT 210, §128b is an example of the misunderstanding or reinterpretation of the original text by Unis's successors (this is not the only case, cp. Allen, *P. T.*, Pepi I's note 124 (p. 205), Pepi II's note 47 (p. 305), 105 (p. 307) also **P 4**, 6, 7, **T 204**, 1 (PT 355, §§572b-74c), **P 326b**, 1, and **P 506** in this work): an original *m(w)t rHwj* "death. Comrades" becomes *mtrHwj* (with wood determinative as if they were really wooden objects), and later *mtrwj* "two witnesses" in the versions of Merenre and Neferkare: *jmr twr stS mtrwj.f DAjj pt* "like Seth's bewareing of his two witnesses (i. e. accusers who saw that he killed Osiris) who cross the sky".

The Coffin Texts descendant of the discussed passage shows us that actually *m(w)t* "death, dying" and *rHwj* "two comrades" were meant originally, and that *rHwj* begins a new sentence:

CT VII, 227j-1: *mkw.j Hs twrw.j wzSt mj mkt DHwtj m(w)tw j nTrw jpw wrw aAw xnz pt jT wj Hna.Tn*
"I will safeguard against excrement, I will beware of urine like Thoth's bewareing of the dead. Oh these great and elder gods, who traverse the sky, take me with you!"

Other derived passages showing that *m(w)t* "death, dying" was meant:

CT III, 190e-191a: *mj mkt DHwtj m(w)t nTrwj jpwj wrwj aAwj xnzwj pt*
"like Thoth's keeping these two great (and) elder gods who traverse the sky from dying"

CT III, 54g: *mj bwt DAAw(j) pt mwt zp sn*
"like the abomination of the two who cross the sky is death, (repeat) two times"

CT III, 194j: *mj <bwt> ra <pw> qdd <twr> jtmw m(w)t*
"like the Sun(<'s abomination is)> sleep (and) Atum (beware) of death" (split column)

CT VI 198e interprets *m(w)t* as *jmjt*, *rHwj* as *Hrwwj*:
mj mkt Hrw Hna DHwtj jmjt Hrwwj
"like Horus and Thoth's protection of what is in Horus and Seth"

(a false dual, (cf. **W 5**, 2), lit. "a pair of Horuses")

As a "guarding" verb, *twr(j)* could have the meaning "beware", literally "guard (oneself)",

CT III, 162c (B1BOa): *twr.f sw m wzSt*

"He guards himself from urine"

Cf. the same use of *zAj* "guard" with a reflexive (and without reflexive in CT I, 71b,d) and *xwj* "defend", for example CT VII, 488b: *xw.k Hr Hr.k* "beware, on your face!", *ibid*, 495f: *xw.k Hr Hr.k rwj Tw* "beware, on your face, remove yourself!"; CT I, 218b: *xwy Tn jr.Tn aqnw-Hr nwAw wabt* "beware, you attentive ones, of those who watch the Place of Clearing", CT III, 347f-h (T1L): *sxm.f jm N pn sxm N pn jm.f xw.f N pn xw sw N pn* "He has control of this N (and) this N has control of him; he bewares of this N (and) this N bewares of him", CT I, 297a: *xw mH.k* "Beware lest you drown", CT V, 245d-e: *xw aHA.k xr n.j zbn n.j* "Beware lest you fight, fall from me, glide (away) from me" (cf. Urk.I:130:9: *zAw xr.f* "Beware lest he falls").

The verb *twrj* often occurs in parallel to the verb *mk(j)*:

PT 534, §§1264b-1265c: *j.Hm Hr.t(j) twr w(j) Hrw mk w(j) stS*

"Go back, keep away – Horus guards me, Seth protects me"

CT III, 54e-f: *mkw.j Hs twrw.j wzSt*

"I will safeguard against excrement, I will beware of urine"

CT IV, 17f-g (B2Be): *mk N pn r(m)T twr sw nTrw*

"Guard this N, people! Protect him, gods!"

CT IV, 35m-n (B2L): *mk w(j) xdw jmjw mw twr w(j) xdw jmjw jtrw*

"The fish in the water guard me, the fish in the river protect me"

CT V, 52a-b: *twr bA.j mkj HkA.j*

"Guard, my ba! Protect, my magic!"

CT VII, 153h: *mkj.kj ty.kj*

"I am protected, I am guarded"

Urk.VII:53:20--54:1: *mkt.sn zSA.f twrt.sn Xntjw.f*

"who will protect its (i. e. the tomb's) writings, who will guard its statues".

Naville II, BD 96&97:7-8 (Aa bis), p.214: *mk(j).n(j) w(j) twrj.n(j) w(j) n bA.j pn*

"I have guarded myself, I have protected myself for this my ba"

3)

§130a-b: *zH n wnjs sxt(j) m jArw Agb n wnjs m sxt Htpt*

Allen "The booth of Unis is plaited of reeds; the flood of Unis is in the Marsh of Offerings"

Shmakov "The (dining)-booth of Unis is plaited of reeds; the plenty of Unis is in the Marsh of Nourishment"

zH means "(dining)-booth", rather than just being a booth for spending time. The word occurs in the title *xrp zH* "Manager of the (dining)-booth" (§§560b, 566b; Jones, *Titles*, # 2682) and as a name for a

private village, e.g. *zH Tjj* "The (dining)-booth of Ti" (Steindorff, Ti, Tf. 3) and *zHw kA(j)-m-nfrt* "The (dining)-booths of Kaiemnefret" (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137, 2, after the p. 122).

Agb means here probably "abundance, plenty" rather than "flood", as the latter would be meaningless in this context. That the word has the {three ripples of water}-N35a determinative does not speak against this, for that determinative also occurs in the collocation *baHj m* "become satisfied with", which is about being sated, not about flooding. Moreover, the verb *Agby* occurs in CT VII, 227q which is a descendant of discussed passage: *Agby.j m sxt Htp* "I am being satisfied in the Marsh of Nourishment". Note the text actually reads *sxt Htpt* "Marsh of Nourishment": the spelling in Unis's copy is *Htpt* (cf. also §§284b, 289b W), not *Ht(p)* (cf. §133c). Note also the determinative of *Htpt*, which is {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf}. For *Htpt* as "nourishment", see **W 145** just below.

W 144 (PT 211)

§131c: *wnjs pj wnnt rDj.ft n ntjw*

Allen "Unis in fact is the one who will give bread to those who are"

Shmakov "Unis in fact is the one who will give bread to those who have passed away/ancestors (lit. those who were)"

The word *ntjw* may be a variant of the expression *ntjw jm*, lit. "those who are there", i.e.

"those who have passed away, ancestors", used for those who are secure in the Afterlife. Cf.

Urk.IV:26:17: *Hr HjH(j) Axt n ntjw-jm* "(I) am looking for something useful for those who have passed away". Cf. the discussed passage with these lines:

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 14: *ja sw hdn rDj.ft n jmjw pAwt.s[n]* "The broom-plant will wash him (i. e. Pepi) and he will give bread to those from the original time"

PT 457, §859a-d: *t.k pn j.xm xsD H(n)qt.k j.xmt awA rDj.k jm n (j)m(jw)-bAH.k*

"this your bread that does not mould (and) that your beer that does not sour, from which you will give to your predecessors/ancestors".

CT III, 113q: *N pn nswt ntjw jm* "This N is a king of those who have passed away"

In the M.K. the word *ntjw* has an antonym *jwtyw*, probably "successors (lit. those who were not)"

CT I, 199b: *nTr pn nfr nb n ntjw HqA n jwtyw*

"this Junior god, the lord of the ancestors, the ruler of the successors"

2)

§131d: *xnmt.ft pj jAt*

Allen "The Milk-Goddess is his attendant"

Shmakov "his bread-cook is Iat"

For the relevant comments, see **T 194**.

W 145 (PT 212)

§133a-c: *ndfdf jrt Hr w Hr bAt nt Dnw jj r.f r.f xnt(j) jmntjw jnj.n.f Df(Aw) Htpwt n(w) Hr w xnt(j) xntjw*
Allen "Horus's eye dripped on the *Dnw*-bush, and Foremost of Westerners came for it, fetched sustenance for Horus, foremost of the houses"

Shmakov "Horus's eye is watering (being) on the *Dnw*-bush, (for) Foremost of Westerners came to it (i. e. the *Dnw*-bush ?), (and) fetched provision (*DfAw*) (and) nourishment (*Htpt*) of Horus at the fore of

the cookhouses".

The verb *ndfd* probably has a meaning that is similar to the verb *nSfSf* "shed, drool" (see **W 67-68** and **135**, 4, note the {drops of liquid} determinative in TMN), for the image conjured up in this passage is that of Horus's eye oozing fluid as if drooling over the food which Foremost of Westerners brought. It is not clear what Allen had in mind with "for it" (*r.f*), but as the text has "he" (*.f*) it can refer only to the masculine *Dnw*-bush, and not to Horus's eye (*jrt*) or to the bush (*bAt*) which both are feminine (though cf. **W 24**).

Htpwt does not have the meaning "offerings (for deceased)", but rather it refers to "nourishment, meal" for the living as well as the gods and the deceased, as it occurs in an Old Kingdom title along with the word *Df(A)w* "provisions": (*j*)*m(j)*-*r swt Htpwt DfAw* "head of the places of nourishment and provisions" (Jones, *Titles*, ## 827, 922). It occurs as food for the living (*tpj(w) tA*, "those upon the earth": CT IV, 122e (B2L): *sSm.j pAqw n nTrw Htpwt n tpj(w) tA prt-xrw n Axw* "I distribute wafers to the gods, nourishment to those on earth, invocation-offerings to the akhs". Cf. also the mastaba of Mereruikai (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 208 A, B), an inscription before a row of seven granaries: *HAt Htpwt nb(t) nfrt* "The best of every good nourishment", and under a pile of food: *jnt Htpwt nb(t) nfrt n...mrj* "Bringing of every good nourishment to...Meri", pPrise 11, 4: *nj jn.tw Htpwt r dmj* "Nourishment is not brought to a landing stage (i. e. food is not for free and one has to work to earn it. Cf. Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 10 (village name): *ptH Htp(.j) Htpwt* "Ptahhetep's nourishment".

Notice the use of a {papyrus scroll} determinative after food designations (*Htpwt, Awt*) in the current passage and in §399c, 399d T, for unknown reasons.

DfAw and *Htpwt* are different terms (Allen translates them both as "sustenance") even though sometimes they are used side by side, see Urk.IV:245:2-4: *rdj.n.n n.s...Htpwt nbt xr.n Df(A) nb xr.n* "we have given her all nourishment we have, all provision we have", *ibid*:223:13: *Dj.n.(j) n.T Htpwt nbt Df(A) nb* "I have given you all nourishment, all provision".) Also cf. Kanawati-Raziq, *Neferseshemre*, pl. 58: *s.xp(t) Htpwt Df(A)w* "Bringing nourishment (and) provisions".

The current PT passage may be compared to PT 400, §695b (see **T 276**, 1), which is a variant of this passage: in the variant, a pair of Horuses at the fore of the cookhouses (*Hrwj xnt(j)wj xntw*) are called to feed Teti, hence the *n* of the current passage must be genitive *n(jw)* "of" and was used instead of *nt* probably because *DfAw*, which is masculine, comes first, though cp. the following passage where *Htpwt* is treated as masculine:

CT I, 109b: *jw Htpwt.s DA.w Hr a.s*
"Her nourishment (*Htpwt.s*) are held out (*DA.w*) on her arm(s)"

Other sarcophagi give *s.DA.y* (T1Lb) and *s.DA(.w)*.

Cf. also CT IV, 113a: *jnk jn Htpwt DfAw n bjt(j) pw [jAq/HqA ?] jw n s(j)sr*
"I am the one who brings nourishment (and) provision of this king, [ruler ?] of the Isle of Blazing"

The current PT passage probably does not have *xnt(j) prw* "foremost of houses", but rather *xnt(j) xntjw*, where *xntjw* is "food workshops, cookhouses" with {house}-signs as ideogram. Usually this word is being spelled *xnt*, but it is actually the nisbe of *xnt* "front" as it occurs spelled *xntj* in Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 6, col. 709+19). That this word *xnt(j)* would have the meaning "cookhouse" rather than "jar-stand", that is, a workshop that is the source of prepared food, is suggested by the following examples:

A person labeled *wdpw xnt(j) wr* "butler/cupbearer/cook of the great cookhouse" often partakes in the ritual named *s.nmt Ax* "feeding the akh" (*xnt wr* has {house plan} sign as the determinative, Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 15, p. 146, 16, p. 147)

PT 573, §1482e: *s.rwD.f DfA n xnt(j).f jr(j)w tA*

"that he may make firm the (supply of) nourishment of (i. e. from) his cookhouse(s) that belong to the earth"

PT 665, Nt 759: *jw s.rwD(.j) xnt(j).k t.k*

"I have strengthen your cookhouse (and) your bread"

(Allen's) N 466, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +30 (restored with CT VI, 105b-c):

[*nHm.n(j) msw.k m-a jA]kb s.rwD.n(j) xnt(jw).k tp(j)w tA n Dt Dt*

"[I have saved your children from mou]rning; I have strengthen your cookhouse(s) on the earth for the course of *Dt*-time (lit. of *Dt*-time's ownership)"

CT I, 284a-b: *jA N pn mH.n.j Snaw.k xsf.n(j) xnt(j)w.k*

"Oh, this N, I have filled your kitchens, I have promoted your cookhouses"

CT III, 68a: *jnk DfA wr xnt(j)w*

"I am the sustenance, great one of the cookhouses"

CT V, 100d-101b: *xr nTrw pyw xnt(j)w xnt(j)w.sn gm.n.j sn rxt.sn afnwt.sn jw.sn Xr xfAt nTrw jr.sn n.k xfAt m xd pAd m xsfyt*

"(led me) to the gods who reside in Pe at the fore of their cookhouses. I have found them putting on their wigs and coming with the meals of the gods – they will make for you meals while moving north, a bread loaf while moving south"

2)

§133f: *xnD s.ASrt Awt.f pj*

Allen "A joint of roast meat, that is his offering"

Shmakov "a haunch (and) roast meat, that is his ration"

The word *Awt* doesn't have the meaning "offering", but rather means "ration" as it is also used in connection with the living, cf. Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 59: *wn rDj Hm.f..jrt(j) Awt(.j) mj nm Xr(j)-tp nswt* "And His Incarnation ordered...(my) ration to be made like a privilege (?) of the king's intimate". The same is true for the word *aAbt*, which is loosely translated as "offerings", but as James Allen noticed it actually has the meaning "feast" (i.e. hearty meal), for it also occurs as a food for the living: Urk.IV:86:5-6: *dd TAw.f n Sms sw aAbt.f n mjDd mjTn.f* "who gives his air to the one who follows (i. e. serves) him (and) his feast to the adherent of his course".

W 147 (PT 214)

§139c: *Dj.f n.k jm(j)t HAt Hrw bA.k jm.s sxm.k jm.s*

Allen "he will give you what is on Horus's brow. You shall become akh through it, you shall take control through it"

Shmakov "he will give you what was on Horus's brow. You shall become impressive through it, you shall take control through it"

Allen overlooked, the original has *bA.k jm.s* "You shall become impressive through it", not *Ax.k jm.s* "You shall become akh through it". The "what was on Horus's brow" is Horus's eye, cf. §578d-579a

(also §2075b): *jrt.f...bA.k jm.s sxm.k jm.s* "His (i. e. Horus's) eye...you will become impressive through it, you will gain control through it".

W 148 (PT 215)

§141a-145a: *nj nTr sb(A) jwtj rmnwtj.f...mAA w(j) mAn.k jr w ms w t jt(j)w.sn j.r x w r.sn j.x m sk...nj mt w t nTr zjt n j<j>.f nj zj.k n j<j>.f*

Allen ""There is no star-god without his companion... See me, as you have seen the forms of the progeny who know their spells, the Imperishable Stars"... No god's own seed has gone (from life): you, his own, will not go"

Shmakov "(The address to Atum:) "There is no star-god without his companion... See me and you will see the form of the progeny, whose fathers, knowing their spell(s), (are) the Imperishable Stars"... (Atum's response:) "There is no god's seed that has gone (from life) because of his (i. e. Seth's) hurt: you cannot go (from life) because of his hurt""

This passage consists of the two parts: the address to Atum and his response. *nTr sb(A)* is probably "star-god", "a god, a star". However the reading "god of star(s)" is also possible, firstly because it refers to Atum whose representation as a star is unknown, secondly, because CT VIII, §141a (T1NY) gives *nTr sbAw* "god of stars", and cf. §506a which deals with plural "stars" (seeing the pronoun *.Tn*) but employs the singular *sHd* "star" (see **W 221**, 1). *mAn* is a subjunctive that follows the imperative, hence the reading "See me and you will see", "See me that you may see".

Allen overlooked *jt(j)w.sn* "their fathers" in his translation. The passage *jt(j)w.sn j.r x w r.sn j.x m sk* should be read "whose fathers, knowing their spell(s), (are) the Imperishable Stars", because CT VIII, §141b-c (B4Bo, B6C, B19C) gives *jt(j)w.sn j.r x w r.sn j.x m sk.k* "whose fathers, knowing their spell(s), (are) your Imperishable Stars", which also bolsters the reading "god of stars" (Imperishable Stars are yours because you are their god).

The spelling *j.f* in §145a is the defective spelling of *jj.f* "his hurt" as is shown by CT VIII, §145a (B6C). The word *jj* "hurt" occurs being spelled *jjj* in §142b and *jj* in §§143b, 391a, b, 426b (in the latter paragraphs with the {eye} determinative). The suffix *.f* "his" probably refers to Seth, for it cannot refer to *mtwt* "seed" which is a feminine noun. However, it seems that §145a had been reinterpreted or misunderstood in Neferkare's copy (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VIII, col. 709+55) and in CT VIII (all but B6C): *nj zj.k n.f* "you cannot go (from life) because of him".

2)

§142c-143a: *ms.n.k pf jwr.n.k pn ms.k Hr w*

Allen "That one has been born to you, this one has been conceived to you, for you have given birth to Horus"

Shmakov "You have born that one, you have conceived this one: you gave birth to Horus"

Probably two *sDm.n.f*s, rather than two passives.

3)

§145b, c: *nj jp.f jb.k nj sx(m).f m HAt(j).k*

Allen "he will not claim your mind, he will not have control of your heart"

Shmakov "he will not subordinate your mind, he will not have control of your heart"

For the meaning of *jp* as "subordinate, subject, subjugate", see **T 145**, 9; cf. CT I, 70b-c (B1P): *nj jp.t(w).k nj D<d>H.t(w).k nj xnr.t(w).k nj jnT.t(w).k nj zA.t(w).k* "You will not be subordinated, you will not be imprisoned, you will not be restrained, you will not be fettered, you will not be detained". It is clear that all the verbs in this CT passage express actions that restrict freedom, so the verb *jp* must

have a related connotation¹³. Similar (positive) passages do occur:

PT 217, §157c and CT VIII, 161b (B10Cb), also (damaged) on B10Ca: *jp.f jbw sxm.f m HAt(j)w*
"He subordinates minds and has control of hearts"

PT 357, §590b: *jn n.k gbb Hrw jp.f n.k jbw.sn*

"Geb has brought Horus for you, that he may subordinate their hearts to you"

PT 535, §1287a: *jp jbw.sn m rn.k pw n jnpw jp jbw*

"Subordinate their hearts in this your identity of Anubis who subordinates hearts"

PT 577, §1523c: *jnpw jp jbw jp.f Asjr(t) pppj m-a nTrw jr(j)w tA n nTrw jmjw pt*

"Anubis, who subordinates hearts is subordinating (i.e. withdrawing) Osiris Pepi from the gods attached to the earth to the gods in the sky"

CT VI, 412b-c: *jp.f n.k jbw.sn Sa.f jr r.k Hr zAw*

"He will subordinate to you their hearts, he will put (lit. cut off) the one who would act against you under (lit. on) detention"

Manassa, *Underworld*, p. 161 (the reading is by the present author): *nD.Tn bA.Tn jnpw jp.f jb.Tn*

"Tend your ba(s) as Anubis is subordinating your heart(s)"

As to the difference between the *jb*-heart and the *HAtj*-heart – it does exist. It is interesting to notice that Egyptian has a couple (or even a triplet) of designations for each body part or organ, cf. *jb* ~ *HAtj* "heart", *Srt* ~ *fnD* (>*fnD*) "nose", *anxwj* ~ *msDrwj* "ears", *ns* ~ *SsAw* "tongue", *nHbt* ~ *wsrt* ~ *bant* ~ *xx* ~ *TAz* "neck", *mnt* ~ *wart* "thigh" (see **T 227**), *sA* ~ *psD* (>*psD*) ~ *jmAx* "back, spine", *znf* ~ *dSrw* ~ *Tr* "blood, gore", *HAt* ~ *wpt* "forehead, brow", *tp* ~ *DADA* "head".

The explanation of this phenomenon could be that Egyptian could have had different designations for the body parts and organs of animals and those of humans, and that in time the designations for the parts of animals came to be used for humans. That is, the difference between *jb* and *HAtj* would be that *jb* is the designation of a human heart, while *HAtj* is the heart of an animal, namely a bull (hence *jb* is "mind" as well as "heart", whereas *HAtj* is normally "heart" (as an organ)). Evidence for such a point of view may be found in the images of the cutting out of a bull's heart (butchering scenes in private tombs of the Old Kingdom and later) that are inscribed with *Sdt HAt(j)* "Extracting of the (bull's) heart" (e.g., PT §1286b; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 86, 89; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 13, 72, 138) and never **Sdt jb*. Cf. also PT 477, §963a-b: *Hsq.f HAtjw nw DAT.sn sn m pppj nfr-kA-ra* "It (i. e. the knife) will cut out the (bulls') hearts of those who will extend themselves against (lit. for) Pepi Neferkare" and PT 372, §653a: *stp.n Hr xpSw xftjw.k* "Horus has cut off the forelegs of your opponents" – in both these passages with a butchering association, opponents are considered as having the shapes of bulls, hence in the first passage the word *HAtj* "bull's heart" is used, and in the second *xpS* "bull's foreleg". *HAt(j)* also occurs as "bull's heart" among other body parts of a bull, such as *xpS* "foreleg" and *psD* "back", in §1547c where Seth in the form of a bull is butchered by Horus. The word *DADA* "bull's head" occurs determined by the {bull's head} sign and followed by *xpS* "foreleg" in TT 100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē*, pls. 92 - 93): *rdjt DADA xpS r tA* "Putting of a bull's head and foreleg to the ground" (cf. Wb.V:530:7, where the word also has {bull's head} determinative).

Thus *jb* (human) ~ *HAtj* (bull's) "heart", *fnD* (>*fnD*) (human) ~ *Srt* (bull's) "nose", *anxwj* (human) ~

¹³ Though 'claim' can express restriction ('subjugate') in this context, James Allen reads *jp* as 'claim' only in Unis's corpus, preferring to read it 'allot' in other corpuses.

msDrwj (bull's) "ears", *ns* (prob. human, hence as seat of speech) ~ *SsAw* (prob. bull's) "tongue", *nHbt* (human) ~ *xx* (bull's) ~ *bant* (bird) ~ *TAz* (bird) "neck", *mnt* (human) ~ *wart* (bull's) "thigh", *dSrw/Tr* (human, lit. "red one") ~ *znf* (bull's) "blood, gore", *sA* (human) ~ *psD* (>*psd*) (bull's) ~ *jmAx* (animal) "back", *tp* (human) ~ *DADA* (bull's) "head". Only *r* "mouth", *jrtj* "eyes", *mnD* "breast, udder", *Drt* "hand, paw", and *Xt* "belly" don't have a pair and are used for both humans and animals. For *wart* as "bull's thigh", cf. PT 659, §1867a: *xpS.k m tA wr wa(j)t.f m tA zt* "Your bull's foreleg is the Great Land district, its thigh is the Bowland". For *znf* as "bull's blood", see §1286c; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 73: *s.xpt anD(w) Xr znf* "bringing of a basin for blood".

4)

§148c, 149c: *zA zAt tm*

Allen "Atum's twins"

Shmakov "son (and) daughter of Atum"

For the reading (*zA zAt* rather than *zAtj*), see **W 5**, 2, iii.

5)

§149d: *nj sk.k nj sk kA.k Twt kA(j)*

Allen "You will not perish, your ka will not perish: you are ka"

Shmakov "You will not perish, your ka will not perish: you are my ka"

This passage was supposed to be pronounced by an attendant in the role of Horus, hence *kA* at the very end of this passage probably has a first-person suffix which is not spelled as is usual in the PT and O.K. texts, cf. §§102b, 587b, 610d: *Twt kA.f* "you are his (i. e. Horus's) ka", PT 370, §647d: *jr.n Hrwn kA.f jm.k* "Horus has acted for his ka in you(r person)", PT 589, §1609a-b (= PT 649, §1831d-32a; Nt 369): *Asjr(t) nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n ra Twt kA n nTrw nb nD.n kw Hrwn xpr.tj m kA.f* "Osiris Nemtiemzaf Merenre, you are the ka of all the gods. Horus has tended you having become his ka", and §1623a: *Twt kA n nTrw nb* "you are the ka of all the gods", also CT VI, 392j-n: *twt {jr.f} kA n nTr nb...nD.n Tw Hrwn {j}<H>t<m>.nf Tw m kA n nTrw nbw nn nTr nb jwtw kA.f jm.k* "You are the ka of every god...Horus has tended you and provided you with ka(s) of all the gods: there is no god whose ka is absent in you". In the Egyptian notion of a ka, he (i. e. the ka) cannot be by himself, he always has an owner.

W 149 (PT 216)

§150b: *jj.n(j) xr.T mAa Hr Trwt*

Allen "someone has come to you, Pilot covered in gore"

Shmakov "I (i. e. Unis) have come to you, Pilot covered in gore"

Unis's editor mistakenly kept the original first-person suffix in this passage instead of changing it to the name of Unis. *xr.T* "to you (fem.)", with feminine pronoun *.T*, indicates that originally a female divinity was supposed to be in this passage, instead of the male *mAa Hr Trwt*; this is also suggested by the fact that we have three other female divinities in the current passage: *nbt-Hwt* "Nephthys", *m.sktt* "Evening bark" and *m.s.xAt kAw* "She who remembers kas".

W 150 (PT 217)

§153a: *stS nbt-Hwt j.zjj Hw n nTw Smaw Axw.sn jsT*

Allen "Seth and Nephthys, go, announce to the gods of the Nile Valley as well as their akhs"

Shmakov "Seth, Nephthys, go, announce to the gods of the Nile Valley as well as (to) their akh-magic"

§155a: *Asjr(t) Ast j.zjj Hww n nTw mHw Axw.sn jsT*

Allen "Osiris and Isis, go, announce to the gods of the Delta as well as their akhs"
Shmakov "Osiris, Isis, go, announce to the gods of the Delta as well as (to) their akh-magic"

§157a: *DHwtj j.zj Hw n nTw jmntjw Axw.sn jsT*

Allen "Thoth, go, announce to the gods of the West as well as their akhs"
Shmakov "Thoth, go, announce to the western gods as well as (to) their akh-magic"

§159a: *Hrw j.zj Hw n bAw jAbtjw Axw.sn jsT*

Allen "Horus, go, announce to the bas of the East as well as their akhs"
Shmakov "Horus, go, announce to the eastern bas as well as (to) their akh-magic"

Also in PT 222, §204c: *m(j) Tw jr.k bA.tj sxm.tj r nTw Smaw Axw.sn jsT*

"see yourself having become impressive (and) in control more than (lit. against) the gods of the Nile Valley and their akh-magic"

PT 222, §206c: *m(j) Tw jr.k bA.tj sxm.tj r nTw mHtjw Axw.sn jsT*

"see yourself having become impressive (and) in control more than (lit. against) the northern gods and their akh-magic"

The three *Ax*-{crested ibis}-G25 signs in the PT must be the way to spell *Axw* "effective power, akh-magic", with the one *Ax* sign and plural ending of the M.K. (cf. the spelling of *HkAw* "magic" with three *kA* signs in §§250d, 855b and with one *kA* sign and plural ending in §§397b, 403c). In CT VIII, 153a (B6C, M1C) and 204c, 206c (BH5C, Sed1Sed, Sq1Ch) the spelling of *Axw* has {papyrus scroll}-Y2 determinative or *x-w* complements, i. e. exactly like the M.K. spelling of *Axw* "effective power". Otherwise, if one were to follow Allen's reading, it means that the word *Axw* didn't exist in the O.K., which is impossible considering the existence of *Ax* "akh". Cf. the current passages with Budge, BD134:10-11: *mAA.sn wrwt mn.tj m tp.f xr.sn Hr Hrw.sn Axw.sn jst* "They see the crown set on his head (and) prostrate themselves (lit. fall on their faces) as well as their akh-magic"¹⁴. Cf. also passages in which *HkA* is used in parallel to *Axw*:

PT 274, §403c: *wnjs pj wnm HkA.sn j.am Axw.sn* "Unis is the one who eats their magic and swallows their akh-magic"

CT I, 194c-d (B10Cc): *jw rdj.n.j [HkA] m zA.k Axw Ast m nxt.k*

"I have given [magic] as your protection (and) akh-magic of Isis as your strength"

CT IV, 58a-c: *HkA.j m Xt.j nj awA.t(w).f Axw.j n.j*

"my magic is in my belly (and) it will not be stolen, my akh-magic is for me"

CT V, 299b-d (S14C): *nHm.n.j HkA.j nj rdj.n.j Axw.j*

"I have saved my magic (and) I don't give my akh-magic"

Budge II, BD64:40 (pNu, long version): *HkA.j m rwd jf.j Axw.j m zA awt.j*

"my magic is the strength of my flesh, my akh-magic is the protection of my limbs"

Budge, BD 156:1: *Axw.T n.T Ast HkA.T n.T Ast*

"your akh-magic is for you, Isis; your magic is for you, Isis"

¹⁴ *Axw.sn jsT* "as well as their akh-magic" in the PT passages above may be compared with (*nTrw*) *kAw.sn jsT* "(the gods) as well as their kas/life-forces" (§§776b, 824a-b, 1626), where *kAs* "life-forces" are not beings but are powers, forces.

Cf. also the expression *apr Axw* (**W 180a**, 7) and *apr HkA* both meaning "acquire magic":

CM JE 51733: *jnk...Ax mnx apr Ax(w).f*
"I am...a mighty akh who acquired his akh-magic"

Jones, *Titles*, # 4: *Ax apr HkA r r(m)T nb* "an akh who acquired more magic than (lit. against) any men"

The following passage also must have "akh-magic" as the traditional readings raise doubts: reading "together with thy spirits" (Mercer, *P. T.*, p.159) or "amongst your akhs, (Pepi)" (Allen, *P. T.*, p.50) would mean that *nwt.k nw* "your Hostile one" acted against Pepi in common with his akhs (here another question arises: who are one's akhs?):

PT 455, §851a-b: *sfx Dwt jrt.f jr tA jm.f jrt.n nwt.k nw jr.k m-ab Axw.k*
"Released to the ground through it (i. e. spittle) has been the evil (curse) stuck to him—that your Hostile one did/inflicted against you (Pepi) in spite of (?) your akh-magic"

The same is valid for §2011d (*Axw.k*) and 2038c-d (*Axw stS Hr(j)w Xr(j)w*). See also **W 180a**, 7, **P 31**, 2, **P 303**, 2 for "akh-magic".

2)
§153c: *mrw.f m(w)t. Tn m(w)t. Tn mrw.f anx. Tn anx. Tn*
Allen "Should he want you to die, you will die; should he want you to live, you will live"
Shmakov "You whom he wants to die will die; you whom he wants to live will live"

The passage probably has the subject-*sDm.f* (subject-imperfective ?) construction, where subject is expressed with the relative form (cf. **W 152**, 1). *mrw.f* is actually a plural perfective relative form "the ones whom he wishes/wished", just like in the following passages: §§155d, 157d, 159c: *mrw.f anx.f swt anx.f mrw.f m(w)t.f swt m(w)t.f* "the one whom he wishes to live will live; the one whom he wishes to die will die". *m(w)t. Tn* of the passage is either infinitive, subjunctive or even a noun as object of *mrw*, "you to die", "that you die", "your death". Thus literally the whole passage is "you whom he wishes that you die, you will die; you whom he wishes that you live, you will live".

3)
§155b: *jj r.f wnjs pn Ax j.xm sk dwA js Hr(j) H(j)p(j)*
Allen "This Unis has come, an imperishable akh, as the one who is to be worshiped, (Osiris) who is over the inundation"
Shmakov "This Unis has come, an imperishable akh, being the one whom the head of the inundation worships"

dwA in this passage is probably not a passive participle but rather a relative form, cf. CT VIII, 155b: *dwA sw Hr(j)w H(j)p(j)* (B10Cc) "that the head of the inundation worship him" and *dwA.n sw Hr(j) H(j)pr* (T1L) "(after) the head of the inundation has worshiped him". *Hr(j) H(j)p(j)* is literally "the one in charge of the inundation".

W 151 (PT 218)
§§161a, 163a, 164c, e, 165b, 165d, 166b, d: *xwrr psDt*
Allen "the Ennead's fledgling"
Shmakov "the newborn (calf) of the Nine (Arcs of the sky)"

The following CT passage suggests (via the association with the east/horizon/morning) that the noun *xwrr*, with the final phoneme geminated (for geminated versus non-geminated forms of the same word, see **P 31**, **P 525**), refers to the newborn state of a calf:

CT II, 371b-372a (B2P): *jw.j rx.kj bAw jAbtjw Hrw Axtj pw bHz xwrr pw nTr dwAy pw*
"I know eastern bas: it is Horus of the Behind the Horizon, it is the newborn calf (*bHz xwrr*), it is Morning God"

Cf. also the descendant of this passage: Naville II, BD 109:11.

It is here proposed that the unknown word *xwn* (used for calves) is a variant spelling of *xwrr* since the Middle Kingdom, showing that the word was actually *xwl* (a case of /r/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/, see **W 106**):

CT V, 317b: *jw mAa.n.j xwnt mHt(j)t.j*
"I have led my northern newborn she-calf (*xwnt*)"
(a similar expression occurs *ibid*, 318d)

Urk.IV:1080:15: *Hr spH tp xwnw r [jr]yt*
"tying the head(s) of newborn calves (*xwnw*) for the stock-taking of cattle"

The occurrence of the {bird} or {duck} sign after *xwrr* in CT VIII (161a, 163a, 164c, e, 165b, 165d, 166b, d) on B6C, M5C and B10Cb (166b, d) does not advocate the meaning "fledgling" as it probably came about due to a misunderstanding of the {sparrow}-G37 ("bad bird") sign-determinative which occurs on B10Ca (164c, 165b, 166b) and which determines the meaning "small, little, young" (like it does in the word *nDs* "little"). Cf. the same {duck} sign instead of the {bad bird} sign in the word *H.wrr* "youth" (CT III, 78b, also geminated, though there is a non-geminated *Hwr* (Wb.III:55:5)) and *H.aA* "youth" (CT VI, 378h; both *H.wr* and *H.aA* are formed through the prefix *H* plus the root *wr/aA*). The {bad bird} sign also occurs as determinative of *xwn* in the following expression:

Wb.III:247:16: *jwtj xwn.f* "who has no trifle/littleness (lit. who his trifle/littleness is not)".

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads *xwrr* in this passage same as "a *newborn" (Hays, *Structure*, p.129, note 89).

The word *psDt* of the current passage is not a variant spelling of the word "Ennead", but the reference to the nine arcs of the sky (see **N 359**, 3):

PT 222, §202b: *Dj.k jAq wnjs pn psDt Htm.f psDt*
"that you may make this Unis rule the Nine (Arcs) (and) provide the Ennead"

CT VIII, 202b (L3Li, L1NY) give *pd(w)t psDt* "nine arcs" instead of *psDt* "Nine" in all other versions. CT VIII, 165b, 166b (L2Li) gives *pD(wt) psDt* "nine arcs" instead of *psDt* "Nine" in all other versions.

2)
§§161b-162a: *jp.f jbw nHm.f kAw nHb.f kAw mTnt.f nbt Snt rmn.f n.f spr n.f jn Hmwt.f nb nj t.f nj t kA.f Dr t.f r.f*

Allen "He will claim minds, take away life forces, and bestow life forces, as what he reckons, including whomever he associates to himself or petitions to him. There is none who will be excluded without his bread, without his ka's bread, deprived of his bread"

Shmakov "He subordinates hearts, takes away life forces and bestows life forces. His every assignment (?), that which his arm encircles for him... Anyone who will shirk – absent will be his bread, absent will be the bread of his ka, his bread will have been confiscated from him"

This obscure passage has three parts: (first) *jp.f jbw nHm.f kAw nHb.f kAw*, (second) *mTnt.f nbt Snt rmn.f n.f spr n.f nj*, (third) *Hmwt.f nb nj t.f nj t kA.f Dr t.f r.f*. The third part begins with a *sDmt.f* participle *Hmwt.f* "the one who will shirk". Cf. the division of parts in PT 214, 137c-d: *j.fx.k pr.k n zA.k n (w)tTt.k mdwt.f nb m rn n wnjs Dw* "(first) leave your house to your son of your begetting. (second) Anyone who will speak bad of the name of Unis..."

mTnt.f is a participle of the verb *mjTn* (Wb.II:175:15), not of *Tnw* "count, reckon" as James Allen suggests, for *Tnw* is spelled in the PT with *nw*-{pot} and {papyrus scroll}-determinative (cf. §§179c, 1726c). Moreover, CT VIII, 161b (also B6Bo, p.107) clearly gives it as *mjTn*, as it is spelled with {throw-stick}-T14 + {pintail duck landing}-G41 and {papyrus scroll} signs; B10Cb even spells out a *mj*-arm. (Cf. also the spelling of the words that have the root *mjTn*, including *mjTn* "way, path" etc. in Wb.II:176:1-12 and *mTn* "lead" of §952a P which just like the current passage doesn't have any determinative).

For the meaning of the verb *jp* in this passage, see **W 148**, 3. The passage includes the noun *rmn* "arm from shoulder to fingertips", not the verb *rmnj* "shoulder, support, stand beside/associate with (n)".

The second part may also begin with a *sDmt.f* participle: the remnant of Pepi I's version of this passage has *mTnt.f nb (Snt rmn [...])*, probably "Anyone who will hand over (?)" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 12), just like Neith's variant: *mTnt.f nb* (Nt 526).

CT VIII, 161b-c (B10Cb): *mjTnt.f n.f Snt nbt {nbt} rmn.f spr.n.f nn nHmt.f st nb m-a.f nn t.f nn t kA.f dr t.f r.f*

"The one who will hand over (?) for him everything that his arm encircles... Anyone who will take it away from him – absent is his bread, absent is the bread of his ka, his bread has been removed from him"

Note that a similar sequence of expressions/verbs occurs in PT 681, §2040a-b: *wD pppj nfr-kA-ra mdw nHb pppj nfr-kA-ra kAw mTn pppj nfr-kA-ra swt* "Pepi Neferkare will give command(s) and bestow life forces. Pepi Neferkare will hand over/assign (?) places (i. e. positions/offices)".

W 152 (PT 219)

§§167a-d: *tm zA.k pw p(j) nn Asjr(t) Dj.n.k sDb.f anx.f anx.f anx wnjs pn nj m(w)t.f nj m(w)t wnjs pn nj sk.f nj sk wnjs pn nj nhp.f nj nhp wnjs pn nhp.f nhp wnjs pn*

Allen "Atum, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live: he will live and this Unis will live, he will not die and this Unis will not die, he will not perish and this Unis will not perish; he will not be taken away and this Unis will not be taken away: he will be taken away should this Unis be taken away"

Shmakov "Atum, this Osiris here is your son. The one whom you have made revive and live (i.e. Osiris) will live should this Unis live, will not die should this Unis not die, will not perish should this Unis not perish, will not awake should this Unis not awake, will awake should this Unis awake"

The passage is likely to have the subject-*sDm.f* (subject-imperfective ?) construction, where the subject is expressed with the relative construction *Dj.n.k sDb.f anx.f*, which rather begins a new clause than continues a previous clause (cf. **W 150**, 2 where the same construction is used). In this passage the original Osiris (or Osiris-archetype) and Osiris-Unis (or Osiris-hypostasis, though written just "this

Unis") seem to be present and the passage may state that the well-being of the god-archetype depends on the well-being of the hypostasis. The passage may belong to the type of extorting spells, in which gods and the current world order are threatened to ensure the deceased's survival or the realization of some other condition on behalf of a deceased (other spells of this type in PT are PT 254, §§277a-278a; 255, §§296b-299b; 310, §492a-492d). The "should" (or "if"), unexpressed in hieroglyphs, might be expressed through the intonation and by putting the clauses with *.f* in first place and with *wnjs pn* in second place.

In this context *nhp* seems to be a verb with the meaning "awake (from sleep or death)", suggesting that the root is related to that in the noun *nhpw* "morning". For the verb occurs determined with {sun with two stroke under it}-N5a sign in CT VIII, PT 219, source B10Ca, and the same determinative is used with *nhpw* "morning". Cf. also the context of the following passage in which *nhp* is used with verbs expressing resurrection actions:

CM JE 51733: *Dd.Tn n.j...N sDb.k nhp.k anx.k x(p)r.k m wa m [xA]-bA.s*

"You shall say to me:...N, you will revive, you will awake (*nhp*), you will live, you will become one of (the stars) of the Night Sky (lit. [Thousand] of ba(s))"

The same verb seems to appear in CT:

CT V, 365d-e: *s.kA.j jm.s Azx.j jm.s nhp.j jm.s Htp.j jm.s*

"I will plow there (lit. in it, i.e. in the *sxt*-marsh), I will reap there, I will awake (*nhp*) there, I will rest there"

(B3L gives the {sun with rays}-N8 determinative)

Ibid, 385b (B3L): *nhp.j Hr snt.j spdt m wnw.t.s*

"I will be awake for my sister Sopdet in her (vigil) hour"

In the current passage it is also used in parallel to the verb *anx* (as only these two verbs are used in positive clauses without *nj*): *anx.f anx wnjs pn...nhp.f nhp wnjs pn* "he will live should this Unis live...he will awake should this Unis awake".

The verb *nhp* "awake" probably should not be confused with the collocation *nhp m-a* "get free of, escape from", which likely has another root that is spelled alike (§§582b, 652a, 1817b, probably *n*-prefixed, because there is a variant spelling *hp m-a* (§§36a, 39a)). But the possibility for *nhp m-a* to have the same root does exist, for *m nhp.f m-a.k* could be read as "don't let him awake (in sense of "rise") from you", which makes sense.

2)

§186b-c: *Asjr(t) pS(j) Hr.k mA.k n wnjs pn mtwt.k prt jm.k spdt*

Allen "Osiris, turn your face and look at this Unis, your seed that came forth from you active"

Shmakov "Osiris, turn your face and look at this Unis, your active (lit. sharp) seed that came forth from you"

James Allen treats *spdt* in the present passage as 3fs stative *spd.t(j)* which refers to the noun *mtwt* "seed": "your seed that came forth from you, (it being) active" (pers. comm. to the present author). However *spdt* seems to be an adjective rather than a stative. For such cases when a prepositional phrase (a participle with a prepositional phrase as in the present case or an address) precedes an adjective or a genitival adjective (B part in AB indirect genitival construction), see **P 324, 2**.

PT 366, §632c: *pr mtwt.k jm.s spdt m spdt*

"(You have put her on your penis) so that your active seed might come forth into her as Sothis"

PT 576, §1505a: *pjpp pw mtwt.k Asjr(t) spdt*

"Pepi is your active (lit. sharp) seed, Osiris"

PT 576, §1508b: *pjpp pw mtwt.k ra spdt*

"Pepi is your active seed, Sun"

CT I, 310h: *mtwt.k Asjr(t) spdt jmjt p*

"your active seed, Osiris, that is in Pe"

Urk.IV:244:5-6: *[t]wt [j]s zAt.k nt tjt.k mtwt.k spdt*

"for perfect is your daughter of your image, your active seed".

W 153 (PT 220)

§194b: *jw.n.f xr.T nzrt*

Allen "he has come to you, Fiery One"

Shmakov "He has come to you, Fulfiller"

Graphemes *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in the Old Kingdom with only rare exceptions (Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §§116-117, for *zAS* and *snS* as rather different verbs, see **T 284**, for the divinity's name *sSA* as not having the root *zSA*, see just below). This means that the verbs spelled *smn* and *zmn* have absolutely different meanings, the first is "establish, set, fix" (caus. 2-lit), while the second is "introduce" (3-lit, see **P 501**, 1-2), and the same applies for *zmA* "join" and *smA* "kill", *zmA* "lung" and *smA* "wild bull", "side/lock/scalp", *zwA* "sever" and *swA(j)* "pass", *zA* "son", *zA* "protection" and *sA* "back", *zAb* "jackal", *zAb* "to flute" and *sAb* "dappled", *zr/zj* "ram" and *sr* "judge", *swt* "shank", *swt* "value" and *zwt* "wheat", *sjn* "hurry, hasten" and *zjn* "rub", *Hs(j)* "favor, praise" and *Hs(j)* "clap hands and sing", *Hs* "excrement". According to Allen, *z* sounded "perhaps like English *th* as in *think*" (Allen, *M. E.*, 2.4).

Whereas the divine name *nzrt* (§§194b, 196b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 2 B, col. 26 (= §194b), Nt 564 (= §194b), 567 (= §196b); Jones, *Titles*, # 3254 (*smA nzrt*)) and the shrine name *pr-nzr/nz(j)* (§852c = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 3, col. 8; Urk.I:243:13; Hannig, *ÄR*, p. 453) are spelled in the Old Kingdom with *z*, the root *nsr/ns(j)* "flame" is consistently spelled with *s* (§§265b, 276b, 295c, 302a, 323d, 324c, 397c). Also in the Middle Kingdom and even New Kingdom inscriptions, *nzrt* and *pr-nzr* are still spelled with *z*, for example the relief fragment from the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I (MMA 09.180.114) which has *pr nzr* (other examples are CT V, 234c-235a, CT VI, 194n, CT VII, 163j, B.H.I, pl.7; for *nzrt* are CT I, 185g, 186a, CT IV, 260c-261c, CT VI, 322q, CT VII, 108k, 163j; *nzr* "Fulfiller" of CT V, 60c; N.K. inscriptions: Urk.IV:265:5, 1071:10, L.D.III:53). Therefore, the root *nzr* is different from the root *nsr*, and the {braizer with flame}-Q7 sign that occurs in *pr-nzr* since the New Kingdom must be a later reinterpretation owing to indistinguishability of *s* and *z* (Q7 in *pr-nzr*: Urk.IV:1071:10, Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 43; Q7 in *nsrt* (! not *nzrt*) CT IV, 260c (B1P) 261c (M57C)). So in the O.K. and M.K., *nzrt* cannot mean "Fiery One", and *pr-nzr* cannot mean "Flame-house" (after Allen, *P. T.*, Glossary, p. 429). The verb *nzr* occurs in §653d with the probable meaning "fulfill" (see **T 203**, 3), hence the present proposal to read *nzrt* as "Fulfiller" and *pr-nzr* as "Fulfilling house" – such a designation of the ancient shrine of the Delta may mean something like "shrine answering (i. e. fulfilling) prayers".

The name of the goddess Seshat is also spelled with *s* (§616b), which means that her name has nothing to do with the root *zSA* "write", although in the New Kingdom she is clearly depicted as scribe-

goddess. This again may indicate that, after the *z* and *s* were no longer distinguished, her name was reinterpreted, namely as "she-scribe". But according to the PT this ancient divinity is originally the goddess of pottery-modelling (probably also of building): PT 364, §616a-b: *jnq.n n.k nbt-Hwt awt.k nbt m rn.s pw n sSAt nbt j.qdw* "Nephthys has collected all your limbs for you, in her identity of Seshat, lady of pottery-modellers", and the descendant of this passage, CT VI, 410h-i: *jnq.s tw qd.s tw m rn.s n sSAt nbt j.qdw* "she (i. e. Nephthys) has collected you and modelled you in her identity of Seshat, lady of pottery-modellers" (for the meaning of the verb *qd*, see **W 206**, 3).

W 154 (PT 221)

§197d: *Dj.T mrwt Wnjs pn mj mrwt.T*

Allen "may you make the love of this Unis like the love of you"

Shmakov "may you inspire the love for this Unis like the love for you"

Or "may you liken the love for this Unis to the love for you"

James Allen's translation is correct, the present author only suggests his variant. *Dj Y mj Z* is "liken Y to Z". *mrwt wnjs pn* is literally "love of this Unis" but actually means "love for this Unis". See also **W 51**.

2)

§197e: *Dj.T abA.f xnt(j) anxw [Dj.T sxm].f xnt(j) Axw*

Allen "may you make his baton at the head of the living, [may you make] his [sceptre] at the head of the akhs"

Shmakov "may you make him direct at the head of the living, [may you make] him [be in control] at the head of the akhs"

abA and *sxm* are probably verbs, although it is also possible that they are nouns: "place his direction at the fore of the living, his control at the fore of the akhs". For the verb *abA* "direct", cf. §§733b (**T 228**, 10), 922c, 1143a.

W 155 (PT 222)

§200d: *jw.n.f xr.k dndn*

Allen "he has come to you, O Rager"

Shmakov "he has come to you, Wanderer/Visiter"

The text has the verb *dndn* "to wander, visit", not *Dnd* "to rage".

2)

§201b-209c: *jw.n.f xr.k zxn wr...wbn.k Hna zxn wr*

Allen "he has come to you, O One of the Great Reedfloat...you will...rise up with the One of the Great Reedfloat"

Shmakov "he has come to you, Great Explorer (i. e. the Sun)...you will rise up with the Great Explorer"

zxn wr is probably "Great Explorer (lit. Seeker, Searcher)", of the root *zx(j)n* "seek, search", in which case the {reedfloat} sign would be merely an influence of *zxn* "reedfloat". Cf. *zx(j)n* "seek, search" of §38c, §575a, with secondary {reedfloat} determinative, and in §455a (**W 206**, 7) the name *zxn wr* is spelled without {reedfloat} sign.

3)

§203a: *aHa.f Hr tp wrw m wrw.f*

Allen "stand up over the Great One as his greater"

Shmakov "he stands up over the great ones in his basins"

The word *wrw* "basins" occurs in PT 611, §1728a: *jnq n.k wrw jab n.k mrw* "basins have been assembled for you, canals have been gathered for you". *wrw* "great ones" is probably plural.

4)

§§204b, 206b: *nj fxtj.n.k nj j(A)btj.n.k*

Allen "nothing has been lost to you, nothing has been wanting to you"

Shmakov "there is nothing you have lost, there is nothing you have missed"

fxtj.n.k and *j(A)btj.n.k* are probably two relative *sDm.n.f*'s, not *sDm.tj.f*'s with passive *tj*-suffix. In the pyramid of Pepi-Meryre, §206b is *nj Hm fxt.n.k nj Hm j(A)bt.n.k* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 31), §204b W also gives *nj j(A)bt.n.k*, i. e. we just have a variation of the relative ending between *-t* or *-tj*, hence *sDmt.n.f* = *sDmtj.n.f* "that which he has heard". The relative perfect spelled *jrtj.n* occurs in PT 477, §970c: *jrtj.n Hr w n Asjr(t) [jr.f n pppj pn mjj]* "What Horus has done for Osiris, [he will do for this Pepi likewise]", PT 691C, §*2131a N.: *jrtj.n(j) r[npwt.k jm]* "[of] which I have made [your fresh provisions]" (= Nt 835: *jrt.n(j) n rnpwt.k* "which I have made for your fresh provisions (or "yearly festivals (lit. your years)"), for the restoration see §1950b; cf. also Allen, *Inflection*, §71, B); spelled *jrwtj.n(j)* (T2C, Sq3C) and *jrtj.n(j)* (T9C, B10C) "which I have made" occurs in CT I, 286b, c, d, see **T 203**, 3, **T 204**, 4. Another relative perfect with the *tj*-ending probably occurs in §674a: *abX dtj.n.k jm.f* "Suck out (lit. swallow) what you have placed in him!". Cp. also the descendant of the current passage and spell (CT spell 53) which has active verb forms (though not relative), CT I, 242b: *nn fx.k pr.k n Awt jb* "You will not lose your house of joy", *ibid*, 243d: *nn Hm fx.k pr.k n anx zp 2* "you won't also lose your house of living life".

5)

§205b: *Htm.tj m stS S[bSb] wAD(j)w*

Allen "provided as Seth, whose raw (testicles) were pulled off"

Shmakov "provided as Seth, who waters (feeds ?) the green ones"

The verb restored by Sethe as *S[xbxb]* is not the verb *xbxb* "draw back" (the source of Allen's "were pulled off"). This damaged verb occurs spelled *SbSb* in Pepi I's copy (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 30) and in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 377), and also as *SbSb* with {three ripples of water}-N35a determinative in CT VIII, §205b, BH5C. It contains either the root *SbSb* ~ *SfSf* "shed, drool" (**W 67-68**, a case of /b/ ~ /f/, see **W 81**) or the root *Sb* which occurs in the verb *wSb* "feed, eat". In CT VIII, §205b, *nSbSb wADw* has {sitting god} determinative, which shows that it was considered to be Seth's epithet. James Allen's translation does not fit the context of the spell PT 222, which is about the king as being both Horus and Seth (see **W 175**, 1), so a mention of their conflict would be strange.

6)

§206a: *Htm.n.k Tw m Hr w Hwn(w)tj*

Allen "You have provided yourself as Horus the Youthful"

Shmakov "You have provided yourself as Horus, he of the Lass"

Hwn(w)tj may be a nisbe of *Hwn(w)t* "lass", which could refer either to Horus's eye (§93a) or to Isis: CT II, 217d: *jwr.T s.dx.T Hwnt pw mss.T* "Since you are pregnant, you should conceal, Lassie, that you

are going to give birth". Allen's reading is attractive but grammatically unclear, one would expect *Hrw Hwnw.

7)

§207a: *j.fx.k ab.k n tm m jnw*

Allen "you shall release your cleansing to Atum in [Heliopolis]"

Shmakov "you shall purge your impurity for Atum in [Heliopolis]"

§208c: *wab.k m Axt s.fx.k (a)b.k m Sjw Sw*

Allen "You shall become clean in the Akhet and release your cleansing in Shu's Lakes"

Shmakov "You shall become clean in the Behind the Horizon (and) purge your impurity in Shu's Lakes"

The word *ab(w)* "impurity, uncleanness" probably has the same root as *abw* "purity, cleanness", cf. another words of the same root having contrary meanings *rs* "to wake" and *rswt* "dream". It is found in the tombs owners's appeal to the living:

The mastaba of Peheniukai (*pH.n-w(j)-kA(j)* "My ka has reached me"):

Urk.I:49:1-2: *jr z(j) nb aqt.f Hr twt(j) pw m abw.f jr z(j) nb aqt.f Hr twtw(j) pn m abw.f*

"As for any man who will enter into the presence of this my statue in his (state of) impurity; as for any man who will enter into the presence of these my statues in his (state of) impurity"

ibid:8-10: *jr r(m)T nb aqt.sn jm.f m abw.sn jrt.sn xt Dw(jt) r.f m-xt nn Dd.n(j)*

"As for any people who will enter it (i. e. the tomb) in their (state of) impurity, who will do a bad thing against it (even) after these (things) I have said"

The mastaba of Akhetihetepiheri (*Axt(j)-Htp(j)-Hr(j)* "He of the Behind the Horizon (i. e. the Sun) is content with me"):

Urk.I:50:16-17: *jr r(m)T nb aqtj.sn jr jz(j) pw m ab.sn jrtj.sn xt Dw(jt) jr nw*

"As for any people who will enter this my tomb in their (state of) impurity, who will do a bad thing against this (tomb)"

The mastaba of Merefnebef (*mr.f-nb.f* "The one who loves his lord"), Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*:

jr r(m)T nb aqt.sn r jz(j) pn n Dt m ab.sn wnm.n.sn bw(w)t bwt Ax nt(j) xp(j) r Xr(j) nTr njj wDa.sn ab.sn mr wab.sn r Hwt nTr nt nTr

"As for any people who will enter this (my) personal tomb in their (state of) impurity, having eaten abominations which akh who has gone to the necropolis abominates, who have not removed their impurity like they become clean at a temple of a god".

The mastaba of Ankhimahor (*anx(j)-m-a-Hrw* "I live due to Horus's (giving) arm" or "My life is from Horus's arm"):

Urk. I:202:3-5: *[jr r(m)T] nb aqtj.sn r jz(j) pn m ab.sn wnm.sn bwwt [bw]t n Ax jqr nj wab.sn n(j) mj wab.sn n n Ax jqr jrr Hzst nb.f*

"[As for] any [people] who will enter this my tomb in their (state of) [impur]ity, having eaten abominations which an excellent akh abominates, who have not become clean for me like they should become clean for an excellent akh who did what his lord praised"

See also Urk.I:90:2-3, 122:14, 142:15-16.

The mastaba of Nekhebu (*nxbw* "Light one")

Urk.I:218:11: [...] *n.Tn Hr abw.Tn* "[Get rid ?] for yourselves from your impurity"

The mastaba of Nimaatre (*nj-mAat-ra* "Maat belongs to the Sun", Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 231, p. 213):

[...] *tmt.f aq r jz(j) pn Dt m ab.f wn.f* [...]

"[...] who will not enter this my private tomb in his impurity, he will be [...]"

In the Middle Kingdom copies (CT VIII, pages 240, 244) the word *ab* "impurity" is written exactly like in the tomb examples above: *ab* plus {horn} or {horn pouring water} determinative.

Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl. 29: *j jr(j)w aA n(w) r-pr pn Snay abw nb n(w) nswt mn-mAat-ra nn rdjt aq.sn m-sA.f r r-pr pn*

"O doorkeepers of this shrine who bar every impurity of the king Menmaatre without letting it enter the shrine in his wake"

CT III, 127c: *bwt.j pw abw* "My abomination is impurity (of coitus ?)"

ibid, 293b: *jw rnpt 110 m Dr sDb.f abw.f*

"One hundred ten years without his obstacle (and) his impurity"

Budge, BD105:4: *TAz pwy Dw Dd.n.j abw pwy Dw jr.n.j*

"this evil utterance which I have said, this evil impurity which I have reached (lit. done)"

For *s.fx* as "shed/get rid of, purge, purify (something bad, unclean)", see:

PT 258, §308f: *s.fx.n wnjs rDw.f...jr tA*

"Unis has shed his outflow...to the ground"

PT 455, §§850c, e, 851a: *s.fx Dwt jrt.f jr tA*

"the bad on him has been shed to the ground"

PT 565, §1427b N: *j.s.fx.n pppj nfr-kA-ra Dw(j)t jr(j)t.f*

"Pepi Neferkare has shed what is bad on him"

PT 637, §1801c: *s.fx.s fdt.k Dw(j)t jr tA*

"It will shed your bad sweat to the ground"

Eb. 1, 14: *s.fx.t wj m-a xt nbt bjnt*

"may you shed me from everything bad"

CT I, 130a-b (B1P): *jx dj.j s.fxt m Sjw dwAtjw*

"Then I will cause (lit. give) a purging in the morning lakes"

CT IV, 60p: *s.fx.n N jzft jmjt.f*

"N has shed the wrong that was in him"

CT VI, 150a: *s.fx.n N pn m S(j)w zAb(j)w*

"This N has purified in the Jackals' lakes"

For *s.fx* as "purge", see also **W 48**, **W 175**, 2. For *Axt* as "Behind the Horizon", see **Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 14. Harold Hays in his dissertation reads

abw in this passage same as "impurity" (Hays, *Structure*, p.130, note 93).

8)

§207b: *wDa.k mArw nnt*

Allen "that you may decide the needs of the undersky"

Shmakov "that you may remove hindrances of the Lowersky"

The Middle Kingdom copies of this passage (CT VIII, pages 240, 243) give the word *mArw* with "fetters" determinative, thus the word is rather "hindrances, something that has got in the way" than "needs" (which is rather *sArw*). For *wDa* as "remove", cf:

PT 665 (Nt 737-738) (has become CT I, 288h): *wDa n.k zArw.k*

"You have removed your shackles"

PT 703, §2202a: *jj n.k Hrw wDa.f zArw.k xAa.f mD(w)t.k*

"Horus has come to you that he may remove your shackles and throw away your hobbles"

CT VI, 394m-n: *nfa.k qAsw.k nbw wDa.n.k zAwt.k* "You have driven away your fetters, you have removed your detention (lit. guarding)".

9)

§207d-e: *j.fx n.k mArw tp.k n rpwt jwn(j)t*

Allen "release needs. Head to (Nut), the Heliopolitan in the sedan chair"

Shmakov "Release (i. e. remove) hindrances of your head/on you for (Nut), the Heliopolitan in the sedan-chair"

James Allen follows Sethe's spell division, but Sethe could be mistaken here, cf. the following passage from the Coffin Texts, probably the descendant of the discussed passage:

CT I, 183i: *sjn Tms.k nwHw tp.k n rpyt jmt(j)t*

"your purple (and) ropes of your head (or "on you" ?) have been rubbed (?) for the Butite in the sedan-chair"

and also CT II, 163h: *s.fx.n.j tpjw nwHw* "I have loosened those on whom are ropes"

The discussed passage follows §207b: *wDa.k mArw nnt* "may you remove hindrances of the Lowersky", so it is unlikely that *mArw* "hindrances" of §207d would be indefinite (as suggested by to Allen's reading "release [*indefinite* – T. S.] needs. Head to (Nut)..."), sooner it is definite (as being of the Lowersky) in §207b.

The Middle Kingdom copies of PT (CT VIII, pages 240, 243) reinterpret the word *mArw* in PT 222 as "fetters" for the removing of which the same verbs are used, namely *s.fx* (with causative difference) and *wDa* (for example CT I, 288h). In the passage from the Coffin Text cited above, CT I, 183i, the word *mArw* "fetters" was further reinterpreted as *nwHw* "ropes".

In Neith's copy of the PT the verb *fx* is subjunctive (as it has the suffix *.k*, Nt 579):

j.fx.k mArw tp.k "Release hindrances of your head"

10)

§208a: *pr.k wp.k wAt.k*

Allen "go forth and part your path"
Shmakov "go up and discern your path"

The name of the god *wṗ wAwt* which James Allen translates as "Paths-Parter" does have the literal meaning "He who Parts/Separates Paths (from everything else)", i. e. actually "Paths-Discerner". Cf. for example Thoth's epithet and the self-reference of an official (Urk.IV:1118:5) as *wṗj mAat* "Maat-Discerner", literally "He Who Parts/Separates Maat (from falsehood/chaos)"; the expression also occurs in the full form in Budge, BD168A:2: *wṗyw mAat r jzft* "who part Maat from chaos". Cf. also Metternich stela, 191: *rdj{t}.n Ast fnd.s m r.f Hr rx st jrj...wṗ.s mn nw jwaa ntr* "Isis put her nose in his (i. e. Horus's) mouth (and) recognized its smell...she discerned/discovered (*wṗ*) the illness of the god's heir". So, *wṗ wAwt* is a god who can tell a path from a blind alley, i. e. "Paths Discerner", "Paths Discoverer". Cf. the expression *sSmj wAt* "make a path, break a trail" (**W 168**, 2), and the following expressions which seem to be synonymous to *wṗj wAt*:

i) *wn/zn wAt/mjTn* "open a path/way":

CT IV, 96d: *wn jr.Tn wAwt wṗ jr.Tn mjTnw n bA.j n Dt.j*
"force (lit. open) the paths, discern the ways for my own ba!"

Urk.IV:1191:14: *wṗ.f wAwt [zn.f mjTnw]*
"He will discern paths, [he will open ways]"

ii) *wbA wAt* "open up, develop a path":

CT IV 89g: *jw.j r wbA n.k wAwt jmHt*
"I am to develop for you paths of the Cavern"

Urk.IV:352:2-6: *[jw grt wD.n] Hmt.j...wbA wAwt.f...zn.t(w) mjTnw.f*
"Moreover, My Incarnation has commanded...to develop its paths...that its ways be opened"

iii) *Dsr wAt* "beat/blaze/smooth a path", see **P 31**, 5.

iv) *mDd wAt/mjTn* "beat a path/way" (Wb.II:192:4-5), *jr wAt/mjTn* "make path/way"

Urk.VII:62:4, 66:2, Louvre C 170, Leiden AP 21 Boeser 8 V 7; Urk.IV:208:7, 888:12:
mDd wAt nt/mjTn n s.mnx sw
"the one who beats a path/a way (i. e. pursues a policy/course) of the one who ennoble him"

Urk.VII:54:18: *nb bnjt n jrr mjtn.f*"the one who has kindness for the maker of his way"

11)
§211c: *Szp.n.k ab(w).k m HqA a(n)D(tj) xr jt(j).k xr tm*
Allen "having received your cleaning in the Bubastite nome, with your father, with Atum"
Shmakov "having received your cleaning in the Bubastite nome, from your father, from Atum"

For the meaning of *xr* "from", see **W 140**, 4.

12)
§212b: *qbb.n n.k*
Allen "it has become cool for you"

Shmakov "it has become comfortable for you"

The suggested translation just aims to be less literal, cf.:

Helck, *HBT*, 85: *tw.n qb.wjn Xr tA.n kmt*

"We feel comfortable in our (part of) Egypt"

W 156 (PT 245)

§250a-b: *jj n.T wnjs pn nwt qmA.n.f (j)t(j).fr tA*

Allen "this Unis has come to you, Nut, having left his father on earth"

Shmakov "this Unis has come to you, Nut, having rejected his father"

The expression *qmA r tA* is probably synonymous to the expression *rdj r tA* with the meaning "reject" – as the literal meaning of both is "throw to earth" and "put to earth", respectively.

2)

§251a: *wp.k st.k m pt m ab sbAw nw pt*

Allen "(Unis), you shall part your place in the sky among the stars of the sky"

Shmakov "(Unis), you shall clear your place in the sky (to be) among the stars of the sky"

Compare:

CT VII, 14m: *wp.y.j st.j Hr jdbw pt* "I will clear my place on the shore of the sky"

CT VII, 138r: *wp.f st.f r Axw jnpw js{T} xntj jmntjw xntj spAw*

"He will clear (lit. part) his place from akhs, being Anubis at the fore of the westerners, at the fore of the nomes"

Budge, BD180:26: *wp.n.j st m ab.Tn*

"I have cleared the place (to be) among you"

W 157 (PT 246)

§253a-b: *jj r.Tn Hrw xsbD jrtj zA.Tn Hrw dS(j) jrtj mr At nj xsf bA.f*

Allen "Blue-eyed Horus has come against you (gods): beware of red-eyed Horus! The one with painful wrath—his ba cannot be barred"

Shmakov "Blue-eyed Horus has come to you, (gods), (but) you shall avoid red-eyed Horus, the one with painful wrath, whose ba has not (yet) been barred"

Though James Allen proposes to read *zA Tn* as imperative "beware" in §253a (cf. Allen, *Inflection*, §598 p. 415: "The 3ae-inf. verb *zAj* shows no final *w* in plural *zA Tn* 'guard yourselves!'), the text probably actually has a *sDm.f* form – *zA.Tn* "you shall beware, you shall avoid, you shall stay away from". Cp. PT 378, §666b: *zA tjt zA.f Tn* "Stay away from Teti (and) he will stay away from you" (this passage belongs to a set of anti-snakes spells, hence the reading "guard" is ruled out) and PT 214, §136a: *hA wnjs zA.k S(j)* "Ho, Unis, beware of the lake".

nj xsf bA.f reads "whose ba has not (yet) been barred" rather than "his ba cannot be barred", showing the lack of precedent of his ba being barred rather than the impossibility to bar his ba.

jj r means "come to", not "come against", cf.:

PT 269, §376c (and also §377a): *jj sT.k jr wnjs snTr*

"Your scent has come to Unis, incense"

PT 606, §1684a: *jj.n(j) jr.k wab(j) Tw* "I have come to you that I may cleanse you" (also §1686a and §486a: *jj.n wnjs jr.k*).

The "Blue eyes" is a sign of friendliness as opposed to the "red eyes" as sign of hostility. For the adjective *dSr* "red" being used as synonym for the adjective *Dwj* "bad, evil", see:

Eb. 1:14: *xt nbt bjnt Dwt dSrt* "every bad, evil, red thing"

CT I, 21c: *jd dSrw tp awj DADAt nTrw*

"The redness (i. e. hostility) before the tribunal of the gods has been censed (i. e. moderated)"

It is noteworthy that T9C gives *jd.t(w) nrw* "the fear has been censed"

CT I, 378c: *s.gr.n.j Hr(j)t.jb dSrw.s*

"I have pacified the One in the midst of her redness"

CT I, 392d-393a: *bwt.j pw dSrw* "my abomination is redness (i. e. hostility, aggression)"

Budge, BD182:20-21: *jj.n.j ja.j dSrw s.hr{n}.j Xnnw s.amA(.j) {n.f} xt nbt Dwt*

"I have come that I may wash away redness, appease disturbance and consume everything evil"

Metternich stela, 11-12: *mj r.k m sxm.k m dndn.k m dSrw.k*

"Come, by means of your control, of your wrath, of your redness"

The expression "red eyes" used in regard to the eye(s) of Horus also occurs in a N.K. spell in the temple of Sethy I at Abydos (II, pl.32, 35, col. 23, upper): *mj n.k mw jmjw jrt(j) Hrw dS(j)tj* "Take the water which is in Horus's red eyes". The signification "Blue-eyed Horus" also occurs in CT V, 376e-f (*Hr xsbD jrtj jr n.jb.f* "Blue-eyed Horus acting for his heart").

W 158 (PT 247)

§260c: *jr t.k nfr m p Szp sxm.k m jwnw*

Allen "Your good bread has been made in Pe; receive your control of Heliopolis"

Shmakov "Your good bread has been made in Pe, your control has been received (i. e. recognized) in Heliopolis"

There is a parallelism in these two sentences – "made in Pe...received in Heliopolis", i. e. two passive *sDm.f*'s rather than a passive *sDm.f* plus an imperative ("receive") according to Allen's translation.

2)

§261a: *nb qr j.s(A)H sn.f jsd*

Allen "The storm-lord, the one with spittle in his vicinity, Seth"

Shmakov "The storm-lord, who had been kicking his brother, Spitter (i. e. Seth, according to the determinative)"

j.s(A)H sn.f "who had been kicking his brother". The sign *sn*-{arrowhead}-T22 after D63 looks like the sign *mdw*-{walking stick}-S43 because of an extreme lack of space (for the same reason the *A*-{vulture} has been left out in *sAH*), see any photo of the text. Moreover, see CT IV, 384c where after *sAH* comes *sn* "brother": *nb qrr j.sAH sn.f* "(Seth), lord of the storm who kicked his brother". In §959c Seth charges Osiris with what he actually did himself: *sAH.n.fwj* "he kicked me".

W 159 (PT 248)

§263a: *sbA spd HAt Aw Smwt jnn xr(j)t Hrt n ra ra nb*

Allen "a star with sharp front and extensive goings, who fetches what the above has for the Sun every day"

Shmakov "a sharp-fronted (and) far reaching star, who fetches for the Sun that what the (Celestial) Distance abounds in every day"

Allen's translation is absolutely correct, the present translation just aims to be less literal. The toponym *Hrt* "(Celestial) Distance" (i. e. the sky) derives from the root *Hrj* "be(come) far, distance". For the expression *jnj xr(j)t*, cf. also:

CT IV, 4c: *jw jn.n.j xr(j)t tA pn n tm*

"I have brought that what this land abounds in to Atum"

CT VI, 162g-i: *sk w(j) swA.kw jT.j xr(j)t jmnt n jAbt jnt.j xr(j)t jAbt n jmnt*

"So, I have passed that I may take that what the west abounds in to the east (and) bring that what the east abounds in to the west"

Urk.VII:23:14-15 (see also *ibid*:38:2): *nat m xnt r jnt xr(j)t AbDw n...jmny m HAt*

"Sailing to the south to get that what Abydos abounds in to...Ameniemhet"

Urk.VII:23:21: *na m xd r jnt xr(j)t Ddw n...jmn m HAt*

"Sailing to the north to get that what Busiris abounds in to...Amenemhet"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 114: *j.nD(j) Hr n jarwt.k [jp]w jnnywt n.k xr(j)t pt tA*

"Greetings to (lit. I have tended the face(s) of (see **N 511**)) these your uraei, who bring you what the sky (and) earth abound in"

Compare this epithet of the sky with its earthly counterpart:

Urk.I:123:17: *jnn xr(j)t xAswt nb(t) n nb.f*

"who fetches for his lord what all the foreign lands abounds in",

xr(j)t xAswt nb(t) is literally "what all the foreign lands has".

and its variants:

Jones, *Titles*, # 2792: *xtmt(j) nTr jnn xr(j)t xAswt rsw(jw)t mHt(jw)t n nswt*

"god's treasurer (i. e. of a temple) who fetches for the king what southern (and) northern foreign lands abounds in",

Jones, *Titles*, # 244: *jnn Xkr nswt m xAswt rsw(jwt)*

"who fetches king's ornament(s) from the southern foreign lands".

W 160 (PT 249)

§264a: *j jAAw(j)*

Allen "O you two combatants"

Shmakov "O (you) two sunshades"

The meaning of "combatant" for the word *jAA* has been suggested by Wb (I:27:14) only on the basis of the secondary determinative {man threatening with a stick}-A59 of the word *jAjw* "loose hairs" (after Allen, §§1221e, 1223d) but the word in the current passage has as determinative {two sunshades (S36) leaning against each other}.

2)

§264b: *wnjs pj nw n zSzS wbn m tA*

Allen "Unis is that water-lily that rises clean from the earth"

Shmakov "Unis is a water-lily that rises from the earth"

There is no word "clean" in the passage; Allen seems to attach that extra qualification to the verb *wbn* as it is used for the rising and shining of heavenly bodies, however, the verb is used for plants as well. The verb *wbn* is spelled with the sign {ingot of copper}, the Old Kingdom variant of the sign N34, which according to Gardiner "resembles [*the sign* – T. S.] X3" (Gardiner, *E. G.*, Sign List, p. 490). It also resembles the signs {fig} (with which the word *dAb* "figs" is determined) according to the observations of the present author, see §§590c P, 1454b M. The sign is also carved as {small circle} (its shape in the current passage), see §§590c N, 615b M, 636d N, 647a N, 770c N, 873a M, the determinative of *bjA* "copper". This sign {ingot of copper} has a phonetic value of *bn*, as it occurs after *bn* of the verbs *wbn* "rise" (resembles X3: §§152d, 154d, 156d, 158d, 283a W, 1465d, e P; {fig}-sign: §§207d, 209c, 210c, 1465d, e M, 1874a (second *w(b)nnj*), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 7, 10; {small circle}-sign §§283a T, 661b, 1444a, 1874a (first *wbnnj*)) and *dbn* ({fig}-sign §847c P, {small circle}-sign §629b T) and probably in *wbjn* "coccyx" (§547b). The same sign is used in the Coffin Texts after *wbn* (CT VII, 256b (B3L)). The sign {ingot of copper} is also carved rhomb-shaped in the spelling of the verb *bjAj* (§§590c T, 615b T, 636d TP, 647a TP).

W 161 (PT 250)

§267c: *dmD wnjs jbw Hr sA wrt*

Allen "Unis will join to hearts experience of the great thing"

Shmakov "Unis will join hearts with the knowledge of that what is great (?)"

The word order in Allen's reading is unclear.

2)

§268d: *s.nk(n) jb*

Allen "reserved of heart"

Shmakov "whose heart can cause injury (?)"

The word in the current passage must be the causative of the root *nkn* "harm, injury", not *snkw* (§152c) or *snkt* (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p.234) "darkness" (hence probably Allen's "reserved of heart", i.e. *"dark of heart"). The word *nkn* "injury" is often spelled without final *n*, cf. CT I, 233b (B12Cb): *wd nk(n)<.f> jn sn.f* "<his> injury has been inflicted (lit. put) by his brother", CT V, 368e: *nk(n)t* "injury", CT VI, 126k: *r Dr nk(n) jr.n stS* "to remove an injury that Seth has inflicted (lit. made)". The phrase *nkn jb* "injured of heart" occurs in Nt 775. Moreover, the {leg}-D56 sign after *s.nk* often occurs as the determinative of *nkn/s.nkn* (equally with the {leg with knife}-D57) and the N.K. copy of this passage has the sign D57 as the determinative (Budge, BD174:19). The meaning of the expression *s.nk(n) jb* is uncertain.

W 162 (PT 251)

269a-b: *j Hrijw wnwtp-aw(j) hrw jrjj wAt n wnjs swA wnjs m Xnw pXrt nt aHAw Hr*

Allen "O you in charge of hours, who precede the Sun, make way for Unis that Unis may pass within

the circuit of Belligerent-Face"

MMA 12.183.14a–c (canopic chest of Hapi Ankhtifi) gives a M.K. version of this passage (which is absent in CT I–VIII): *j Hr(jw) wnwtp-aw(j) hrw jr wAt n N m-m Axw* "O you in charge of hours, who precede the Sun, make way for N (to be) among akhs".

W 163 (PT 252)

§274a: *sxm wnjs jr tp.f Ams wnjs twr.f Wnjs*

Allen "Unis's (symbol of) control is at his head, Unis sceptre is causing respect for Unis"

Shmakov "Unis's (symbol of) control is at his head, Unis's sceptre is protecting Unis"

For the meaning of the verb *twr*, see **W 143**, 2.

W 165 (PT 254)

§276c: *j nTr aA xmm rn.f*

Allen "O great god whose identity is unknown"

Shmakov "O Elder god whose name will be/stay unknown"

xmm is probably a passive prospective *sDm.f* in an unmarked relative clause, "(who) his name will stay unknown", rather than a passive participle in a *nfr sw* construction. Cf. PT 272, §392a, PT 360, §603a: *qAjt nj dmm.s* "Height that will not be penetrated" (after Allen), CT II, 198c-199a: *xm rn.f xmm rn.f* "the one whose name is unknown (and) whose name will be/stay unknown".

2)

§277c: *tA nj mdw.n.f gbb nj wA.n.f*

Allen "The earth has no spokesman; Geb has no guard"

Shmakov "The earth cannot speak; Geb cannot fight"

James Allen treats the passage as *tA nj mdw.n.f gbb nj wA.n.f*, "Earth, there is no speaker for it; Geb, there is no guardian for him", but in the PT, the earth does speak (*mdw(j)*, §§796a, 1014a, 1713a, also Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col.10: *mdw tAw jA wr* "The lands shall speak great praise"), has a mouth (§2169a: *wp n.k r n tA mdw n.k gbb* "the mouth of the earth has been opened to you, Geb is speaking to you"), and even introduces the king (*zmjn*, §1416b, see **P 501**, 1-2) in the PT, thus we probably have two *sDm.n.f*s in the current passage.

3)

§278b: *sr Hnt*

Allen "The pelican will prophesy"

Shmakov "The she-pelican will proclaim"

The verb *sr* has the meaning "prophesy, predict, proclaim, introduce". The word *Hnt* is actually "she-pelican".

4)

§279d: *mAa nwH DA m.sq(j)t sq(j) Db m r mr Hjpwj*

Allen "The rope has been guided, the Beaten Path crossed, and the ball struck at the mouth of the Apis's canal"

Shmakov "The (boat's) rope has been pulled, the Beaten Path crossed, a gong (?) beaten in the bed of Apis's canal"

bD W or *bDw T* (with {little circle} sign as determinative) is probably written in graphic transposition and must be read *Db/Dbw*. This is probably not a word for "ball", but a word for "gong" or some other gong-shaped item, seeing its determinative and the combination with the verb *sq(j)*. Cf. the expression *sq(j) bnt* or *sq(j) m bnt* "play on the harp". Probably the same word occurs in the CT, spelled with the two {ingot}-N32 signs, which then should be read as *Dbwj* rather than as *Hmwj* (cp. the word *bDjt/Hmtj* "coppersmith" which has that uncertainty in reading as well):

CT I, 74f-g: *Ast pw Hna nbt-Hwt {j}m sqr n.k Dbwj m-bAH nTrw*
"This is Isis together with Nephthys as the beaters of the gongs for you before the gods"

CT I, 248b: *sDm.f sqr n.f m Dbwj*
"He hears a beating for him on the gongs"

The descendant of the latter half of the current passage, CT VI, 231r, has *rdj bD{n}w* (B3L) and *rdj Db{n}w* (B1L), instead of original *sq(j) Db*, with *nw* of *bDnw/Dbnw* as a result of misreading of {little circle} sign-determinative in the original. Similar to CT VI, 231r expression occurs in CT III, 40a-b: *rdj Dbw Dmd jxmwtj* and *ibid*, 40 j-k: *rdj n N pn Db(w) Dmd n.f jxmwt(j)* which due to the equivalence *sq(j) Dbw ~ rdj Dbw* must be read "the gong has been beaten (and) two banks have been united" and "This N has beaten the gong (and) united two banks" respectively. For the expression *sq(j) wdnt* which presumably has similar to *sq(j) Dbw* meaning, see **P 357**, 2.

For *mAa* as "pull", see:

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 116: *mAa nwH* "Pulling of the rope"

CT II, 164a: *mAa.n.j rdwj.j dwn.n.j awj(.j)*
"I have pulled my legs, I have outstretched my arms".

CT VI, 166f-g: *mAa.n.s a.s m nb wr dwn.n.s rdwj.s m wnn xa.y*
"She has pulled her arm as the great lord (or "as lord, the great one"), she has outstretched her legs as He who is continually Apparent"

CT VI, 264m-n: *jnk Szp wDyt m wjA xrp mAa HAt(j)t m dpt nTr*
"I am the one who receives the pushing pole in the leading bark, who pulls (*mAa*) the front rope in the god's boat"

CT III, 371c (and also 378b): *mAa HAt(j)t n wr pf*
"who pulls the front rope for that Great one"

CT VI, 285i: *mAa.f nwH n wjA aA*
"He pulls a rope of a big bark"

CT V, 173f (M5C): *jn s(j) Sd s(j) mAa s(j) dj s(j) r rwd*
"Bring it (i. e. the ferryboat), pull it, haul (*mAa*) it, put it at the causeway"

CT V, 375d: *mAa Snw* "who pulls (out) hair"

CT VI, 90g-h: *mAa.n.j a.j m ra dwn.n.j a.j m [...]*
"I have pulled my arm as (that) of the Sun, I have outstretched my arm as [...]"

CT VII, 234f: *mAa nwH* "a rope has been pulled"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 114: *aHa.s n mAa nwHw*

"She (i. e. the personified-hour, *wnwt*) serves to the Puller of the ropes"

ibid: [*nTrw*]...[*s.DA*]*yw sw m Htp r nw.f n mAaw nwHw*

"[gods]... who [accomp]any him in peace to his time of the ropes' pulling"

(for the reconstruction, see Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 11th hour)

Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 11th hour, R_{T 157}: *wnwt pw nt mAa nwH r Axt{t} jmnt<(j)t> hAyt r wjA*

"This is an hour of pulling a rope (and) boarding the bark"

Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 11th hour, Pb: *hnw n.k jn jmjw nwHw.k s.mAa.sn n.k*

"jubilation for you by those who are your ropes (as) they have been pulled for you"

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 114-115: *dwn.n rdwj.Tn mAa.n mAswt.Tn*

"Your legs have become outstretched, your knees have become pulled"

ibid, p. 128: *mAa.n jf.Tn* "Your flesh has become pulled".

r "mouth" is probably "canalbed", cf. the use of *sptj* "lips" as a metaphor for "canal banks" in PT 473, §938c: *Hms pjpp pn Hr sptj mr sHsH* "Pepi will sit on the lips of the stork canal".

5)

§280c: *j.Ax nr ngAw tp mjz.f*

Allen "the Oxherd shall be overwhelmed upon its stem"

Shmakov "the (constellation of) Shepherd of Oxen has become full-watered"

6)

§282a: *wr s.kAt*

Allen "the god with the great plow"

Shmakov "the great one of the cultivation"

The word for "plow" is *hb*, while *s.kAt* likely is an infinitive "cultivation" of the caus. 2-lit verb *s.kA* "plow, cultivate, cover/trample the crop" (the root is *kA*). Cf Mariette, *Mast.*, D60, p.346: *s.kAt m Hzt* "cultivation/trampling the crop with a herd of sheep".

7)

§283b-284a: *swA m Htp Xnm.n(j) Tw*

Allen "pass in peace, for I have joined you"

Shmakov "pass in peace, for I have shielded you"

The verb *Snm/Xnm* normally translates as "to join", but in this case we probably have its secondary meaning that conveys the idea of "protection" (joining > embracing > shielding, keeping safe), rather than "joining somebody in his journey".

i) Cp. Sin. B 271, which is a variant of AOS 56:

B 271: *Xnm tw nbt sbAw* "May the lady of stars (i. e. Nut) shield you"

AOS 56: *xw tw nb sbAw* "May the lord of stars defend you"

i. e. we have *Xnm* ~ *xw* "defend".

Moreover, in the CT the verbs are used together:

CT VII, 3g-j: *Dd mdw jn nwt Asjr(t) N jnk mwt.k jnk nwt jj.n.j Xnm(.j) tw xw(.j) tw m-a xt nb(t) Dwt*
"Recitation by Nut: Osiris N, I am your mother, I am Nut, I have come to shield (*Xnm*) you and defend (*xw*) you from everything bad"

ii) Also, see PT 368, §638a-d and its New Kingdom descendant – BD 178:

PT 368, §638c: *Xnm.s Tw m-a xt nb(t) Dwt m rn.s n Xnmt wrt*
"She will shield you from everything bad in her identity of Great Sieve"

Budge, BD178:33: *nHm.s tw m-a xt nbt Dw(t) m rn.s n Xnmt wrt*
"She will save you from everything bad in her identity of Great Sieve"

i. e. we have *Xnm* ~ *nHm* "save".

iii) Cf. different copies of BD 64:

Budge II, BD64:31 (pNu, long version): *nh.n wj nh<t>* "the sycamore has sheltered me"

Budge II, BD64:44 (pNebsemi): *Xnm.n wj nh<t>* "the sycamore has shielded me"

i. e. we have *Xnm* ~ *nh* "shelter".

iv) Cf. also PT 446, §825a-b and c:

§825a-b: *s.dx.s Tw m-a xt nb(t) Dwt* "Osiris Pepi, your mother Nut has spread herself over you that she may conceal you from everything bad."

§825c: *Xnm.n kw nwt m-a Dwt nb(t)* "(So,) Nut has shielded you from everything bad"

i. e. we have *Xnm* ~ *s.dx* (~ *s.dg*) "hide, conceal".

v) Cf. Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 12th hour, 6-7 (= BD 15(B3, c)):

H: *Xnm tw jrt tm [jmn].s tw m Xnw qb.s...Xnm.s zA.s HA jf.k* "Atum's eye shields you and [hides] you inside its coil...She will join her protection around your flesh"

K: *Xnm.n tw jrt jtm...Xnm.s tw zA.s {t} HA jwf<.k>* "Atum's eye has shielded you...She will shield you (with) her protection around <your> flesh"

BD: *Xnm.n tw jrt tm stp.s zA.s {n} HA jwf.k* "Atum's eye has shielded you, it extends its protection around your flesh" (Budge, BD15:6-7 (pMuthetepet))

vi) The passage PT 593, §§1629a-b: *xw.s Tw Xnm.s Tw jnq.s Tw* "she will defend you, shield you, collect you" is written in Neith's pyramid without *Xnm.s Tw* (Nt 428), as *xw.s T[w] jnq.s Tw* "she will defend you (and) collect you" – making it clear that *Xnm* and *xwj* had a similar load, so that it was felt to be enough to use just the verb *xwj* to express the idea of Nut's protection.

Another examples from the texts:

PT 447, §827c: *Xnmt wr...Xnmt snDw*

"She who shields the great...she who shields the fearful"

MMA 12.183.11a (outer coffin of Hapi Ankhtifi): *Xnm sw z(my)t jmnt(j)t m Xnw xm nb Htp nfr jmj.s*

"The western desert will shield him inside any peaceful and beautiful shrine (i. e. tomb) which is in it"

stela MMA 13.182.3: *Xnm w(j) grH Hn w(j) wSAw*

"May a night shield me (and) an evening shelter (lit. tend) me"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 115 (a part of the N.K. "Book of night"):

Xnm tw jrt tm [jmn].s tw m Xnw q(A)bw.s

"Atum's eye will shield you: it will [hide] you inside its (snake's) coils"

Sethy I, *Abydos* II: pl. 3:

Dd mdw jn nxbt HDt nxn awj.j m zA.k Hr Xnm Haw.k nb tAwj

"Recitation by Nekhbet, white one of Nekhen: my arms are your protection shielding your body, the Lord of the Two Lands"

Budge, BD30B, II: *ntk kA.j jmj Xt.j Xnm s.wDA awt.j*

"(for) you are my life-force in my belly which shields (and) makes sound my limbs"

Urk.IV:914:1: *nb anx Xnm [XAt Sms nswt]* "the lord of life (i. e. sarcophagus) that shields [the corpse of the king's follower]"

PT 537, §1300a: *nDr mwt.k nwt jm.k Xnm.s Tw*

"Your mother Nut has taken a hold of you that she may shield you"

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads *Xnm* in the PT similarly as "protect" (Hays, *Structure*, p.41, note 23, p.127, note 78, p.353).

8)

§286a: *nb Htpw Dj.f n.k a.k*

Allen "The lord of contentment is giving you your title"

Shmakov "The lord of altars is giving you your title (with a list of offerings provided)"

Cp. the block from the tomb of Heny GMII I.1.a.1137 *b*, (Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 65), early Middle Kingdom:

rdjt a r stpt dbHt Htp aprt m Abd m mDdjwnt m HAb nb n kA n...Hny

"Giving the title to the pieces (lit. cuts) of meat and the requisite offerings provided at the monthly festivals, at the half-monthly festivals (and) at all the festivals to the ka of...Heny"

Oleg Berlev comments: "'Title to property", assigning to Heny the indisputable right of ownership over all the foodstuffs depicted or merely mentioned on this wall of his. From the second part of the Old Kingdom onwards, it was customary to support the rights of the deceased to his tomb and everything represented in it by references to his tomb's being legally acquired (Volten was the first to appreciate the importance of statements of this kind, see *An. Or. Lugd.* 9, p. 370 ff.; see also Wilson, *JNES* 6, p. 230 ff.; Perepiolkin, *SO* VI, pp. 304, 309 ff. and *id.*, *AE*, p. 162 f.)" (Berlev, *Stelae*, note s), p. 66)

In the private Old Kingdom tombs this was mostly called *rDjt zSA* "giving a list (of gifts, products)" (see Manuelian, *Presenting the Scroll*), though sometimes a "title" is used just like in the current passage, cf. L.D.II:20: *mA a pr...* "Review of the title of the house of she-weaver(s)".

9)
§286e: *hrw pw n spH ng*
Allen "on the day of lassoing the longhorned bull"
Shmakov "on the day of tying the longhorned bull (for slaughtering)"

See Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 17, where men are binding the longhorned bull, this action is labeled as *spH ng* "binding the longhorned bull", *jnt ng n xt dwAt* "bringing the longhorned bull for the morning meal (i. e. for slaughtering)". Cf. also CT IV, 300b: *dd spHw m jzftjw* "those who put a fetter/a lasso onto disturbers". This "day of *spH ng*" also occurs in CT V, 23j: *jw.n n.k jmjw nwt hrw pw n spH ng* "Those in Nut have come to you on the day of tying the longhorned bull". But there are certainly scenes in which the verb *spH* rather has the meaning "lasso": MMA 08.201.1a: *spH njA jn nw* "lassoing ibex by a hunter"; Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 22: *spH ng aA wrt* "lassoing a very big longhorned bull"; Mariette, *Abydos*, T.1. Pl. 53: *spH (n)g(A)w TA Smaw jn nswt* "lassoing a male longhorned bull of the Nile Valley by the king".

10)
§287c: *jx mk.t(j) wnjs jm jn mAAw sw*
Allen "so shall Unis be protected in the same by those who see him"
Shmakov "then Unis will be protected from (them) by those who see him"

.*sn* "they" in this passage refers to the *gfw* "apes" of §286b. For *m* in the function of *m-a* "from", see **P 483**, 2.

11)
§289c: *wDa wnjs mdw m mHt wrt jmjt Xnw*
Allen "Unis will judge between the two contestants in the Great Immersion"
Shmakov "Unis will judge case(s) in the Great Marsh enveloped (lit. which is) in disturbance"

Unis's copy gives nisbe *jmjt* "which is in" (not *jm(j)wt(j)* "between"). *Xnw* is "disturbance": two sticks (or maces) as the determinative of the word probably express the idea of fighting, rather than of dual. The *jmjw* of Teti's copy is a plural nisbe (also not *jm(j)wt(j)* "between") as the word *mHt wrt* "Great Marsh" is actually plural (cf. its spelling with plural strokes in CT I, 311h (T1C), CT II, 120g, CT V, 212a, 214b, 215a, 217a, 218a, 219b, e etc.), just like any watery object or word in Egyptian. But even if one would assume that the interpretation of the phrase by James Allen is correct and it should be read as "the two contestants" (actually "two disturbers"), then it can refer only to Horus and Seth; however, we should not forget that these two gods were personifications of the king's authority, and calling them "two disturbers" is not possible. Moreover, there is no dual ending *w(j)*, *Xnw* of Unis's copy and *Xnnw* of Teti's copy are the usual spellings of the word "disturbance".

The word *mHt* is the base in the Old Egyptian words-nisbes *mHt(j)w* "fish" (literally "those of a marsh") and *mHt(j)w* "marsh-men" (literally "those of a marsh", i. e. hunters and collectors in a marsh). Thus *mHt wrt* has the meaning "Great marsh" (not "Great Immersion") and refers to the sky as a big marshy area:

Simpson, *Mersyankh* III, fig. 4:
prt m SA Hna nHb(w)t jn mHt(jw).s jn.sn n.s xt nb(t) nfrt jnnt n Spst m kAt sxt
"Coming out of the marsh with lotus blossoms by her marsh-men. They are bringing to her every good thing which is brought to a noblewoman as the work of the marsh".

Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 13: *jnt xt nb(t) nfrt jrnt m mHt jn mHtjw Apd nb*

"Bringing of every good thing gained (lit. made) in the marsh by the marsh-men (i. e. catchers) of every bird".

12)

§291c: *s. {aHa}<j>aw hrw.f n anx*

Allen "who would bring to a standstill his days of life"

Shmakov "who would bring his day(s) of life closer (to an end)"

In Unas's copy, the verb is determined with N31, but the verb *aHa* "stand" does not have this {road} sign as determinative, whereas the verb *ja* "ascend, come close" does (e.g., §1679c), so the *aHa*-P3 sign in Unis's pyramid is probably a mistake for a *j*-{reed panicle}-M17 sign, which occurs in Teti's copy. Therefore, both copies of Unas and Teti probably have *s.ja*, and later, in the Coffin Texts, also *s.ja* ~ *s.jar* is used:

CT I, 72c: *s.(j)arw m(w)t.k stbnw jw.k Ddw n nTr jn sw hrw xbnt*

"who bring your death closer, who detain your coming, who say to the god (about you) "The day of blame/guilt has reached him"".

CT I, 158d: *s.(j)arw.t(w) hrww.j m tA pn n anxw*

"that my days in this land of the living will be brought closer (to an end)"

CT I, 167c-d: *r jnt s.jart hrww N pn m tA pn n anxw*

"to fetch and bring days of this N in this land of the living closer (to an end)"

CT V, 330f-h: *j jt(w) rnpwt s.arw m hrww m jT rnpwt.j m s.arw m hrww.j*

"O those who take away the years (and) bring the days closer (to an end), don't take away my years, don't bring my days closer (to an end)"

B3L and B1L both give *s.arw m hrww* (only B1L once gives a transitive *s.arw hrww*) suggesting that the meaning was something like "who carry away from the days".

CT V, 334l-m: *s.ar.n.f rnpwt.j wn [Sb]w(j) tp tA*

"He has brought my years closer (to an end), (though) there (still) was (my) meal on the earth"

CT VI, 234b: *s.ar hrww.j nw m(w)t s.anD hrww.j nw anx*

"who brings closer my days of death, who reduces (lit. makes small) my days of life".

13)

§292b: *dSrw.sn n jr(j)w tA*

Allen "their red parts to those who belong to the earth"

Shmakov "their blood to those who belong to the earth"

For *dSrw* as "gore" (lit. red one), cf. CT IV, 316c (=328i): *nb dSrw wAD nmwt* "owner of blood (of slaughtered animals), whose slaughtering blocks are copiously used (lit. abundant one of slaughtering blocks)", CT V, 67h-i: *znf.j zwrt.f dSrw.j* "My blood, who will drink (?) my gore". Cf. it also with another designation for "blood": *Trw* "red liquid" (§1263c, undoubtedly liquid as the plural participle *prw* "that emerged" follows it (any liquid is plural in Egyptian, see **W 21**, 1). In another spell (Allen's **P 540**) James Allen himself reads *dSrw* as "red blood" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 36).

14)

§292d: *jwa(ww).sn n SwAt prw.sn n znwt arrwt.sn n H(j)p(j) wr*

Allen "their heirs to indigence, their houses to conflagration, their portals to a high inundation"

Shmakov "their heirs to poverty, their houses to ruin, their (false) doors to a high inundation"

As there is no fire determinative after *znwt*, James Allen's translation is very doubtful. *znwt* in Unis's pyramid and *znznwt* in Teti's pyramid probably have the root *z(j)nj/zwnj* "perish, expire" (the verb probably belongs to the 4-th weak class, for in §909d it occurs in the prospective active form with *w*-ending (*zwnw*) and in the CT a geminated root occurs: CT I, 81i; CT IV, 18f (BH2C); CT VI, 161e (B1Bo)).

CT VI, 173m-n: *z(j)nz(j)n.kA.t(w) Hwt whn.kA.t(w) Hwt*

"Then the enclosure will be destroyed, then the enclosure will be demolished"

Cf. also the negatival complement verb form *nznznw* in §903a, Nt 833. There, just like in Unis's copy of the present passage, the verb occurs with the {oval bread} sign (X4, X4a, X5) which has the phonetic value of *zn*. It also occurs with {oval bread} sign in CT I, 401c: *s.z(j)n.n.j saHw.sn* "I have destroyed their dignity'sregalia"; CT II, 252e: *s.z(j)n.j jwt(j)w* "I destroy those who do not exist"; CT IV, 18f: *Ax s.z(j)n N pn* "akh whom this N destroys" (B2Be), *jw.fz(j)nn(.w)* "He has expired" (BH2C); CT VI, 134h, i: *[jw.tj z(j)]n.n.f* "[who] cannot expire" (M23C), *nj xr.j sk.j nz(j)nzw.j m(w)t.j* "I will not fall, perish, expire, die" (P.Gard.III), 267x: *s.z(j)n.j jzft m DADAt* "I will destroy wrong in the tribunal", in CT VII, 141i: *nj z(j)n.k Xr.s* "You will not expire with it (i. e. Horus's eye)".

The use of the *zn*-{oval bread} or *zjn*-{pot} (§§617a, 637a, 1753a) signs with the verb is not indicative of its meaning as both signs have the phonetic value *zn* and are used with another *zn*-verbs: *znj* "cut" (§286b), *zn* "open" (§§1203c, 1361a, 1408a,c-1411a,c PM), *znj* "pass" (§1161a).

For the reading of the sign {pot}-W6 as *zjn*, see Gardener, *Grammar*, p. 512 (commentary for the sign T11), p. 589 under *swnw* "physician"; O.K. *jrp zjn/sjn* > M.K. *sjn* > N.K. *jrp swn*, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 23; Kanawati, *Inumin*, pl.53 (*jrp zjn* with {pot}-*zjn* sign), Wb.IV:155:8; O.E. *zjn* (Urk.I:3:4) > M.E. *swnw* (Wb.III:427:13) "physician"; the {pot}-*zjn* sign is used in the spelling of the verb *zn* "open" in §§1408a,c-1411a,c; finally, cf. the verb's spelling in §617a M – *zjn* (*z-jn-zjn-n*), as we cannot read it **znwn*. Moreover, the verb uses the *jn*-{pot}-W24 sign just like in *jnk* "I, me", *jnj* "bring", *sjn* "run" (§1462c), *wbjn* "coccyx" (§§547b, 1464b), *zxjn* "seek".

Teti's copy probably reads "their heirs to paupers (*SwAt(j)w*, lit. to those of poverty), their houses to ruins (*znznwt*)", rather than that the plural dots (behind *SwAt*, as well as behind *znznt*) would signal abstractions. Compare *SwAt(j)w* "those of poverty" in Teti's copy with *wASt(j)w* "those of estimation" in §1296a.

The word *arrt* "door, gate, portal" probably has the meaning "false door"¹⁵ in the discussed passage, cf.:

Urk.I:218:12-14: *jr z(j) nb aqt.f jm zb(j) m-xt nn jw(j) r wDa Hna.fjn nTr aA jw dr(j) tpjw.sn tA arrwt.sn tp tA*

"As to anyone who will enter it unclean (even) after these (words I have said): I will be judged with him by the Elder God, I will remove their descendants (and) their (false) doors on the earth"

Urk.I:256:7-9: *jw grt dr(j) tpjw.sn tA nj rDj(j) grg arrt.sn nj rDj(j) anx [...]*

¹⁵ Another word for "false door" in the O.K. is *rwt* (Hannig, *ÄR*, 705).

"I will remove their descendants, I will not allow to found their (false) door(s), I will not allow [...] to live"

PT 659, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 37-38 (= §1869b): *Hnj.j pr.k s.rwD.j arrwt.k*

"I will manage your house and make firm your (false) door"

This passage was originally spoken by the deceased's son; Pepi Neferkare's editor has mistakenly substituted the king's name for the original first-person pronoun, preserved in this variant of Pepi I (see Allen, *P. T.*, Pepi II's note 47, p. 305): PT 659, §1869b: *Hn pjppj nfr-kA-ra pr.k s.rwD pjppj nfr-kA-ra arrwt.k* "Pepi Neferkare will manage your house and Pepi Neferkare will make firm your (false) door"

Compare also a similar passage, likewise spoken by the deceased's son, in which case Neferkare's editor hasn't emended it:

(Allen's) N 510, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +75: *s.aHa(j) n.k aA.k s.rwD(j) n.k arrwt.k n<H>m(j) msw.k m-a jAkb [...]*

"I have erected your doorleaf for you, I have strengthen your (false) door for you, I have saved your children from mourning [...]"

CT I, 154d-f: *mj.k xft(j) pf...jj.y r.fr sD pr.k r s.wgg arrwt.k*

"Look, that opponent...has come to ruin your house (and) your (false) door"

CT I, 163e-i: *sk wj...Hr Sdt nmHyw.k Hr s.r(w)D arrwt.k Hr s.anx rn.k tp tA tp r n anxw*

"for I am...bringing up you orphans, strengthen your (false) door, restoring (lit. resuscitating) your name on the earth in (lit. on) the mouth(s) of the living"

The Cairo bowl (CG 25375), (the letter to the dead, the following is the address to the dead) K4-7:

mrr.k wS.t(w) aryt.k Hr-jx jr nfr-n m-a.k kA pr.k xBA(.w)

"Do you want your (false) door to be ruined?...If there is no (effect) from you then your house will be destroyed"

Note there's a second term that is used for false door: *sBA*

Urk.VII:32:20-21: *s.anx.n.j rn n jt(j)w.j gm.n.j wS(.w) Hr sBAw*

"I have restored (lit. resuscitated) the name(s) of my (fore)fathers which I found damaged on the (false) doors (*sBAw*)"

W 166 (PT 255)

§§295a, 296a: *jd Axt n Hrw nxn(j) xt n(j) nbw*

Allen "The Akhet will be censured for Horus of Nekhen. A meal for the lords!"

Shmakov "The Akhet will be censured for Horus of Nekhen. A meal for me, lords!"

Cf. §124a: *xt n(j) sSm* "A meal for me, butcher!", §124e: *xt n(j) tm* "A meal for me, Atum!", §561d: *jxt n(j) sSmw* "a meal for me, butchers!" (T), *xt n(j) Hmw* "a meal for me, servants!" (M, N), §571a: *jxt n(j) sSm jxt n(j) jwn* "A meal for me, butcher! A meal for me, now!"

2)

§295d: *xfxft hh.s r.Tn wTzw wrt*

Allen "the swell of its blast will be toward you who bear the great goddess"

Shmakov "the flood of its fiery breath will be against you who bear the great one"

§298c: *d.s...xfxf.s m pAwtjw pw*

Allen "so that it puts...its swell among those original gods"

Shmakov "so that it sets...its flood against those original gods"

The word *xfxft/xfxf* has the root *xf* which is probably a variant spelling of the more common root *gb*, which occurs in the word *Agb* "flood" (hence the reading proposed here), i. e. we have a case of /x/ ~ /g/ (**W 52**) and /f/ ~ /b/ (**W 81**). Cf. CT IV, 154e: *dAr.n.fjrt Ad.s Axfxf.s* "He has subdued the eye when it was aggressive and poured fire" and the spelling *nxbxb* (~ *Axfxf*) of §205b (see **W 155**, 5).

We have several other cases in Egyptian in which a verb is likewise spelled with two allophones:

i) *Awj* (§924a PM) ~ *nwr* (§2109) "shake", a case of the allophones /A/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/ (see **W 78**, 1) and probably dialectal /j/ ~ /r/ (see Peust, *Phonology*, 3.13.5, p. 140: "There is a group of words that show variation /r/ ~ /j/ ~ Ø in Old Egyptian, most frequently in word-final position"), cf.:

mr (§489a,b,c) ~ *mj* (§280c) "like",

mhjt "milk cow" (§550a) and *mhr* (*mjhr*, Urk.I:254:15) "milk jug"

nHr ~ *nHrj* (combined spelling, Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 92:95) "cone bread",

nr (§244b, Nt 707) ~ *nrj* (combined spelling (not nisbe), *nj* + *nr* = *nrj*, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 32) "shepherd",

hkj and *hkrt* (§429a, snake names),

Drt (§§1280b, 1484c P) ~ *Drjt* (combined, §1484c MN) "kite",

wAr (Wb.I:252:2) ~ *wArj* "tie (sack, *jAdt*)" (comb., in the expression *wArj jAdt* "tie a net-sack", Junker, *Giza*, XI, fig. 75, p. 193),

wr ~ *wrj* "great one" (combined, §§638d, 811c),

zj ~ *zr* (§252b = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 35 = Nt 724) "sheep, ram",

zwr (§133e) ~ *zwj* (§§1200b, 1218b) ~ *zwrj* (Wb.III:428:5, combined spelling of the M.K.-N.K.) "drink",

qrr (Wb.V:61:9) ~ *qr(j)* (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 237) ~ *qrj* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 26a, p. 68) "heat",

dmj (§844c) ~ *dmr* (§2073b) "attach, adhere",

xr ~ *xrj* "from, by, with" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 2 B, col. 52, pl. 22, col. 76; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 6, col. 709+1, combined spelling (not nisbe): *xj* + *xr* = *xrj*, cf. Urk.I:168:6, 15: *xrjt(j)* "which I have" and *ibid*:169:5: *xrj(j)* "which I have".

In his grammar James Allen suggested that *j* in *xrj* is a nisbe ending (Allen, *M. E.*, 18.7, note 9, p. 229, first instance: "*xrj(j)* is a prepositional nisbe"). He probably errs on what *j* is, as the spelling *xrj* clearly occurs as a preposition:

The tomb of king Horemheb (KV 57), Antechamber, west wall: *Dd mdw jj(j) xrx.k zA(j) mry(j) Asjr xntj jmnt(j)t*

"Recitation: "I have come to you, my beloved son" (says) Osiris at the fore of the West"

The tomb of the king Ramses I (KV 16), the sarcophagus chamber, the back wall, right: *jj(j) xrx.k nb nTrw nTr aA nb pt*

"I have come to you, lord of the gods, Elder god, lord of the sky",

ibid, left: *mAa xrw xrx DADAt jmj<t> xbs tA* "justified regarding the tribunal which is in the place of

digging up the ground",

ibid, the sarcophagus chamber, the left side wall: *jj(.j) xrx.k jj(.j) xrx.k nb tAwj* "I have come to you", "I have come to you, lord of the Two Lands";

Canopic Chest of Khonsu, MMA 86.1.3a, b: *jj.n(j) xrx.k Asjr(t) xnsu mAa xrw*
"I have come to you, Osiris Khonsu, justified")

ii)

axrt (Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 87:91-92) ~ *agjt* (ibid, pl. 96:99, ~ *agrt* (ibid, 79:82)) "roasted patties (of wheat (*zt*) and barley (*jt*), for the reading, see **W 125**)", a case of /g/ ~ /x/ (see **M 52**) and probably dialectal /j/ ~ /r/ (see just above).

iii)

PT 554, §1371b: *abA.k mnH.j m Drt.k*

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+2: *abA.k wAH.j m Drt.k*

"your baton lies in your hand"

mnH ~ *wAH* "lie, rest" (a case of the allophones /A/ ~ /n/ and /m/ ~ /w/), cf. *wAH* (Wb.I:257:13) ~ *MAH* (Wb.II:31:1) "wreath", both verb forms are 3ms statives with the *j*-ending spelled out (for another cases of the stative ending's spelling, see **W 134**, 2).

iv)

Sh.Sailor 135-136: *wn.k(w) r.f dmA.kw Hr Xt.j*

Sinuhe B 252-253: *wn.k(w) r.f dwn.kw Hr Xt.j*

"I was stretched out on my belly"

In these passages from the well-known M.K. texts the verb *dwn* "stretch out" has the form *dmA* in Sh. Sailor 135-136, thus we have here the cases of /n/ ~ /A/ ~ /l/ (see **W 78**, 1) and /m/ ~ /w/. This phenomenon is also present in the expression *dmAt pDt* "She who stretches a bow" (epithet of Nekhbet since the Old Kingdom (Sahure II Text S 84), Wb.V:452:1), cp. *dwn pDt* "stretch a bow" (§673b; CT IV, 364b (T1L) *dwn pDw(t).f* "that stretches its bows"; CT VII, 376a: *dwn pDwt* "who stretches the bows")

James Allen agrees with this and writes (in a private message): "*dwn* = *dmA* is also possible: dáwal = dámal";

For the case of /m/ ~ /w/, cf.:

amA ~ *awA* "turn sour" (§§655a/859b, 1226b; CT I, 284d/CT IV, 163h),

mA''gs'm ~ *mAgsw* (a word-play in Nt 300),

nms ~ *nws* "headdress" (CT VI, 207d, 208d),

mH ~ *wAHt* (a word-play in §614d),

wAH (Wb.I:257:13) ~ *MAH* (Wb.II:31:1) "wreath",

wDH "wean, let grow adult" ~ *mDH* "head-fillet of maturity".

v) *gspw* ~ *xsfw* "meeting", see **N 15**.

vi) *gnm* ~ *xAm* "hurry, hasten", see **W 180a**, 2.

vii) *Agbgb* ~ *nxbxb* "move, dance" (*Agbgb* ~ *Axbxb* ~ *nxbxb*, see **T 225**, 2; **M 52**)

CT VI, 262c-e: *pr jw dj janw m Axt nxbxb spAtj nTr*

"complaint has emerged, salutation has been given in the Behind the Horizon, the two districts of the god have skipped/moved vehemently"

It is unlikely that the verb would here be *nxbxb* "draw back, open itself", for in the PT the two districts of the god (*spAtj nTr*) usually shout (*nhmhm*, §§1120b, 1394c, 1561d), and a similar action of expression of emotion is implied in this CT passage as well, also seeing the preceding utterings of lament and greeting. Hence the districts probably "moves vehemently" (or the derived meaning "skips, dances", cf. **M 52**).

ix) CT I, 18a: *pAxy* (B15C) ~ *pAg(j)* (B3Bo, B2Bo, B4Bo, B1P) ~ *bAg(j)* (S10C) "become tired", a case of /p/ ~ /b/ (**W 81**) and /x/ ~ /g/ (**M 52**).

3)
§298b-c: *rDj.kA.f nsr n jrt.f...d.s nSn m jr w jrwwt xfx.f.s m pAwtyw pw*

Allen "[he] will give [the flame of his eye]...so that it puts tempest among those who do (evil) deeds and its swell among those original gods"

Shmakov "[he] will give [the flame to his eye]...so that it sets tempest against those who carry out orders and its outpouring against those original gods"

rDj nsr n is probably "give the flame to", i.e. he "puts fire into" his eye so it can do damage.
wdj m has the meaning "act against", while *wdj* without *m* means just "put, place":

Urk.I:102:19, 106:5: *r nfr.n dd wa jm m snw.f*

"so that one there doesn't act (lit. set himself) against his fellow (lit. second)"

CT VI, 231d-e: *jr tm.Tn jr n.j wAt swA.j r.j wd.kA.j jmntjw m gbb jt(j) nTrw*

"If you don't make a way for me that I may pass, I will set westerners against Geb, father of the gods"

pPrisse 7,1: *bwt kA pw wdt jm.f* "It is abomination for the ka to act against him"

Budge, BD40:6 (pNu): *nn wd.k jm.j* "you will not hurt/act against me", Budge II, BD64:13 (pNu, long version): *m wd jm.j* "don't hurt/act against me".

Some other verbs with *m* as governing preposition likewise express the meaning "act against":

with reflexive:

DAj m "oppose oneself against, take a hostile stand towards", lit. "extend/transport oneself in" (§§963b, 1237b; CT IV, 127b; CT V, 333i; CT VI, 89c-d, 276m, 300j, 378r, 403i, m; CT VII, 93n, 178q, 191f, 224l,p, 241e; Budge, BD124:12; Urk.IV:945:14)

xsfj m "proceed against", lit. "advance oneself in" (§963c N; CT IV, 82e, 86g, 96f, 126e, 127a (B2L); CT VI, 317a,c; CT VII, 107o, 224n)

Hzz m "proceed against", lit. "bring oneself forward in" (CT IV, 128a; CT VII, 18s, 20g; Urk.IV:85:4, 10; 613:6 (*m hAw* "against the vicinity")).

twr m "guard against" (CT III, 162c (B1BOa)).

Sn xt r "scheme/plot against; frame up (trump up) an accusation (a charge) against" (Urk.I:13:3, 36:17, Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf.11) ~ *Sn xt jm* (CT I, 192f, g); cf. also CT III, 317o: *nn Sn nTr nb r.j* "there is no scheme of any god against me" and Budge, BD125:41, note 2 (Nu): *nn Snt nt nTr jm.j* "there is no god's scheme against me".

without reflexive:

xsfj m (in *jj xsf(.w) m* "the one who would come opposing") (CT II, 252f; CT III, 262g; CT IV, 83e, 87l, 101e, 104e, 126f; CT VI, 276o; CT VII, 192m,n, 193a, 487a, 492g)

mdwj m "speak against, abuse" (Urk.IV:217:16, 260:12, 1070:1-4; Sin. B184)

xmj m "desecrate" (see **W 169**, 5)

PT 254, §277b: *jr.kA wnjs fAt m jt(j).f gbb* "then Unis will make a threat against his father Geb"

PT 288, §429c: *jm.k jr wpt.k m wnjs* "You should not carry out your commission against Unis"

PT 569, §1441b: *nj jr w aHaw m pjpj pn* "roadblocks will not be set (lit. made) against this Pepi"

CT I, 52c-53a: *jr.kA.j a Hr m Xr(j)w m wrw.sn m jwnw r-gs Asjr(t) xaw* "Then I will use (lit. make) an upper arm against lower ones, against their great ones in Heliopolis near apparent Osiris"

CT VI, 157a: *jw Asjr(t) st.f m xft(j)w.f* "Osiris is shooting in his opponents"

CT VII, 49h: *wp-wAwt wp.f wAwt.k m xft(j)w.k* "Paths Discerner discerns your paths against (lit. in) your opponents"

jr ad(t)/xryt m xftjw/sbjw "carry out a massacre/butchering among (lit. in) the opponents/rebels"

(Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 1st hour, 12, Budge, BD173:21) VS *jr Hm jr.t(w) aDt aAt r.j* "If however a big massacre will be carried out against me" (CT VII, 242k).

Budge, BD42:11-12: *nn jry r(m)T nTrw Axw...awA nb jm.j* "People, gods, akhs...will not commit any atrocity against (lit. in) me"

pPrisse 6,8: *jmj.k jr Hr m r(m)T* "You should not weave (lit. make) a plot against people",

Urk.IV:613:16: *jr.s j.z HAq m nbdw qd* "She will make devastation (lit. "go and plunder!") in/against the ones perverted of character"

ibid:944:5: *nj jr(j) zp Xzj m sxrw.f nb* "I did not do a vile deed against any of his plans".

But *m* as "against" cannot be applied mechanically, cf. *wdj m* "appoint to" (lit. put into):

CT I, 207e: *jr nTr nb Ax nb m(w)t nb DA(j)tj.sn st m saHw.k jpn* "As to any god, any akh, any dead who will encroach upon (lit. extend themselves for) these my dignity's regalia"

CT I, 213g-214b: *jr DAt.f sw m dbHt Htp nt Hwt-Hrw DAt.f sw m nn wAH.j n Asjr(t) N pn m hrw pn* "As to the one who will encroach upon (lit. who will extend himself for) the requisite offerings of Hathor – he will encroach upon (lit. extend himself for) these which I laid for this Osiris N today"

In these passages the preposition *m* is not "against" but "for", as it is about seizing the regalia or offerings..

Urk.IV:126:9: *s.DA Hr m kAt nbt jr rt m sxt* "being interested in (lit. extending of the face for) every work which is done in the marsh" (cf. also ibid:1062:10, 1161:4); ibid:956:5: *DAt [Hr m] jrt b[w nfr]* "being interested in doing goodness"; Urk.IV:976:13: *DAt Hr m sbA r stt* "being interested in (lit. extending of the face for) teaching (i. e. being thought) shooting (a bow)"

Urk.IV:240:1: *DAy r.T m jr tt.j* "Extend your mouth for my milk"

Peas. B2, 119-120: *DAt r n Xrd n sbnt m jr tt* "Extending a child's mouth for milk"

Urk.IV:247:3-5: *nTrw nbw...Hz(.w) jm.s* "All the gods met her"

Urk.IV:971:8: *Hz sw m jr t bw mAa* "One who is set on (lit. one who brings himself forward towards) doing the right thing"

For *jr w jr wwt* "those who carry out orders", see **W 180b**, 17.

4)

§299b: *wd.kA wnjs rmn.f m znbt tw rmnt.k jr.s*

Allen "Unis will put his shoulder to the bulwark you depend on"

Shmakov "Unis will demolish (lit. set his whole arm against) the fortification you depend on"

wdj rmn m or *wdj a m* have the meaning "to destroy, to demolish", see Budge, BD173:12: *wd.n.j a m sbjw Hr.k* "I have destroyed (lit. set my arm against) those who rebelled against you". For *wdj m*, see also the example above.

5)

§300a: *aHa r.f wr m Xnw kAr.f*

Allen "So, the great one will stand up inside his shrine"

Shmakov "So, (even) the great one will arise out of (lit. stand up from the inside of) his palanquin"

The determinative of the word *kAr* is {palanquin, litter}. It is probably in the Middle and New Kingdoms that the word gets the meaning "ark, shrine". For "standing up" as a way of leaving the palanquin, cf.: pWestcar 7,14: *aHa.n wAH pA qnjw aHa pw jr.n.f r wSd.f* "Then the litter was put down and he stood up in order to address him".

It is the "despicable one" who was commanded to lay down his insignia for Unis (earlier in §297), not the great one, but after Unis's threats even the great one lays his insignia down, hence the translation "So, (even) the great one...".

W 167 (PT 256)

§301c: *jw mk.t(j).f m jrjtt r.f*

Allen "for his protection is what was done to him"

Shmakov "He has been protected from what could be done against him"

mk.t(j) is probably a perfective *sDm.f*. For *m* in the function of *m-a* "from", see **P 483**, 2. "do to" is normally *jr n*, see §477c, *jr r* is rather "act against".

2)

§303a-b: *jw mAn nTrw m HAwt kss.sn n wnjs m jA*

Allen "Unis has seen the gods naked and bowing to Unis in praise"

Shmakov "There is a view of the gods naked while they are bowing to Unis in praise"

mAn is probably a noun, "view, sight", not a *sDm.n.f* with Unis's name left out, and also not a *sDm.f* ("we see", *mAn*). Cf.: Urk.IV:246:1: *nfr mAn.s r xt nb(t)* "Her sight is better than anything"; PT 249, §266a-b: *zSSn...wabw nTrw n mA.f* "the water-lily...at the sight of which the gods become clean"; CT VI, 223c: *Hay m mA.f* "get excited at his sight!"; Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 30: *xntS.tn n mA nfrw.f* "You shall marvel at the sight of his beauty" (*mA* is a variant spelling of *mAn/mAA*). Of course there is a chance that Unis's name was left out in the passage, just like Pepi's and Merenre's in §1230c (see **P 470**), but in CT VIII, PT 256, §303a (page 274) this line still occurs without deceased's name: *jw mAn nTrw m HAwt.sn* "There is a view of the gods in their nakedness".

W 168 (PT 257)

§305a: *jT wnjs pt pSn.f bJA.s*

Allen "Unis will acquire the sky and split open its basin"

Shmakov "Unis has acquired the sky (and) rippled (lit. split/disrupted) its water smooth surface (i. e. sailed on it)"

The term *bjA* which James Allen reads "[the sky's – T. S.] basin", Thomas Allen as "the (watery) firmanent" (Allen T. G., *BD*, p. 57) and "metallic expanse". (Allen T. G., *BD in OIM*, p. 138), may well have the meaning "(water) smooth surface". This word occurs with {winding canal} and {canal} determinatives in the expression *DAt bjA* "Crossing of (water) smooth surface" (*Ptah-hetep 1898*, pl. 39 (= Urk.I:189:12) and Urk.I:199:16). Smooth, i. e. glassy/mirror-like surface may fit the probable root meaning which is "copper" (hence the reading "firmanent" for *bjA*), for "water smooth surface" may resemble polished copper. The rippling of water smooth surface may be a reference to sailing on it. Cf.

PT 509, §1121a: *pr.fr.fjr pt DA.f bjA*

"So, he will go forth to the sky. He will cross the water smooth surface"

CT IV, 292-295b: *j ra...psD m Axt.f nbb Hr bjA.f*

"Oh Sun...shining from his Behind the Horizon, swimming in (lit. on) his water smooth surface"

Budge II, BD64:25-26 (pNu, long version): *zn.j Hrt xnd.j Hr bjA.s*

"I will cross the (Celestial) Distance and step on its smooth surface"

Urk.IV:481:7-8: *prt r pt DAt bj(A)w*

"ascending to the sky, crossing the smooth surface"

2)

§305b: *sSmw Wnjs wAwt n xpr*

Allen "Unis will lead the paths of Evolver"

Shmakov "Unis will make the paths for Evolved One (Khepri) (i. e. will lead him)"

The noun *wAt* "path" is feminine, hence *n* of the current passage can only be a preposition "for" (otherwise it should be genitive *nt*), cf.:

CT II, 37g: *wp.j wAwt n ra sqd.fr Axt jmnt(j)t*

"I discern paths for the Sun (when) he sails to the western Behind the Horizon"

The expression *sSmj wAt* has the meaning "make a path, break a trail", cf.:

Urk.I:127:7-9: *wn.jn [HqA] pn Hr sSm n(j) wAwt n(w)t TAzwt nt jrTt*

"Then this [ruler] was making for me mountain-paths of Irtjet"

Urk.IV:247:6: *sSm.sn n.s wAwt nfrt*

"They will make for her the right paths"

CT II, 138f: *sSm n.j wAwt n Hr.f HA.f*

"Make for me the paths to His Face Behind Him"

CT II, 140d-141b: *Sm.k jr.f Hr zj-wAt Hr wAt wrt...Smt.n xntjw Hr.s sSm.sn wAwt n nTr aA*

"(May) you go by the walk-path, by the great path...by which those at the fore have gone when they were making paths for the elder god"

CT IV, 164e-j: *gwA.n Asjr(t) N pn r rwd...sSm Asjr(t) N pn wAwt r jdb jzkn*

"This Osiris N has pushed off from the mound...this Osiris N will make the paths to the shore of the

(sky's) western horizon (Izeken)"

CT IV, 319c: *sSm n.f wAwt nHH*
"for whom the paths of *nHH*-time were made"

CT VI, 377a: *sSmt wAt nt dwAt* "Making of Duat's path"

CT VII, 117c: *jj.n N sSm.s wAwt* "N has come that she may make paths"

CT VII, 379c-d: *Ast nw nt(j)t m HAt.f m mAat sSm.s n.f wAwt m DAt pt*
"This is Isis who is in front of him as a pilot (lit. leader), she will make for him the paths at the sky's crossing"

CT VII, 414b: *sSm.f wAt ra sbAt* "He will make the Sun's starry way"

CT VII, 476a: *jw.j sSm.j r.j wAt tn swA.j jm.s* "I am making a way I will pass on"

Alan Gardiner suggested a meaning "show the way" for *sSmj wAt* (Gardiner, *E. G.*, Vocabulary, p. 592) which is almost synonymous to the above suggestion, "make a path (for someone)". In the New Kingdom *sSmj wAt* corresponds to *mAa wAt* (both *sSmj* and *mAa* have the meaning "lead, direct"), cf.:

Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 8th hour, H: *jw.k Sm.k [Hr wAt] Twy s[Sm]w xnzw Hr.s s.mAat.n n.k jmjw kArj*
"You are going on this path on which Khonsu leads, which those in the ark has made for you"

Manassa, *Underworld*, p. 101 (the reading is by the present author): *jw.f rx(.w) mAa wAwt*
"He knows how to make the paths"

ibid, (the reading is by the present author): *jw sTA.n Asjr(t) N nTr pn aA m qrrt StAt mAa.n.f wAt r r-sTAw*
"Osiris N has hauled this great god from the secret cavern, having made the path to Rostau"

ibid, p. 106 (the reading is by the present author): *dj.f a n ra mAa.f wAwt StAt n ra Hrw Axtj*
"He gives his arm to the Sun, he makes the unknown (lit. secret) paths for the Sun-Horus of the Behind the Horizon"

The name of the god *xpr* means "Evolved One", not "Evolver", which would be **s.xpr*; compare also the god's signification as *xpr Ds.f* "Self-Evolved".

3)

§306a: *Htp wnjs m anx m jmnt Sms sw d(w)At(j)w*

Allen "When Unis sets in the west, those of the Duat will follow him"

Shmakov "(When) Unis becomes sated with/has enough of life (i. e. sets) (and occurs) in the west, those of the Duat will follow (i. e. serve) him"

The expression *Htp N m anx* (*N* stands for noun or pronoun) is well known and is used almost exclusively with the Sun as subject, hence we are absolutely right when understanding it as "set (of the Sun), die (of a king who was a Junior Sun (*nTr nfr*))". But until now it was still a problem how to translate it literally. James Allen, for example, in his work "*Cosmology of the Pyramid Texts*", translates it literally as "rest from life". The present author earlier tried to understand it as "to be pacified with life". But the key to understanding the expression lies in the Middle Kingdom stela, in

the expression *m xt Htp kA.f jm*:

BM 159, CM CG 20514, 20542, 20548, Muenchen AS 33: *prt m bAH nTr aA m xt Htp kA.f jm*
"(feast) emerging before the Elder God after his ka has had enough of (it) (for the ka of N)"

CM CG 20088: *prt Hr Htp n Asjr(t) m-xt Htp kA.f jm*
"(feast) emerging onto the altar of Osiris after his ka has had enough of (it) (for the ka of N)"

CT VII, 2e: *mj.Tn Hmswt Htp N m Df(A)w*
"Look...N has had enough of provisions"

Urk.IV:165:2: *xft Htp nTr m xt.f*"when a god has had enough of his meal"

Urk.IV:769:3: *jr m-xt Htp twt pn m aAbt tn*
"After (lit. as to after) this statue has had enough of this feast"

Urk.IV:977:10: *wdn xt nbt nfrt wabt n jmn ra Hr Axtj Htp.f jm Htp kA.f jm*
"Presenting every good and pure thing for Amon-the Sun-Horus of the Behind the Horizon, that he might become sated with it, that his ka might become sated with it"

(also *ibid*:768:6, 11, 769:15, 872:12, 1156:16, 1165:13, 1166:6, 1167:11, 1202:1, 1225:5)

Thus with meals as object we get the meaning of *Htp m* as "get sated with, have enough of". The same fits for a life (*anx*) as object:

PT 603, §1679b-c: [*Htp.f*] *m anx m jmnt m-m Smsw ra*
"[He will have had enough] of life in the west among the Sun's followers"

Hermitage 1073: *jr.t(w) mjtt n Hmw.Tn m-xt Htp kA.Tn m anx*
"(Then) similar will be done to your incarnations, after your ka(s) will have had enough of life (i. e. after your death)"

CT II, 386c: *Htp xr ra m anx*
"Then the Sun got sated with/had enough of life (i. e. set)"

CT V, 349c-d: *wbn.f m msxn nTr Htp.f m anx m qnqnt*
"He rises from the god's resting place, he has enough of life (i. e. sets) in Qenqent"

CT VII, 18l: *jw.f Htp.f m anx m Axt xr nw*
"He has enough of life in the Behind the Horizon where Nu is"

Urk.IV:58:11-13: *Htp njswt m anx pr(.w) r Hrt km.n.f rnpwt.f m nDm jb*
"The king has got sated with life and gone up to the (Celestial) Distance, having completed his years in delight (lit. sweetness of heart)"

Urk.IV:942:5-6: *dwA ra xft wbn.f r xprrt Htp.f m anx*
"Glorifying the Sun at his rising, until his satiation with life occurs (i. e. sunset)"

There also is an opposite expression – *rs m anx* "wake (longing) for a life" (Urk.IV:656:13)

Not to be confused with *Htp m* "be pleased with": *Htp.j m anx mj tm* "I am pleased with life like Atum" (Urk.IV:366:12).

4)

§306c: *jwt n.f wp Xnw m ksw*

Allen "he who parted the two contestants will come to him in obeisance"

Shmakov "He Who Settles (i. e. puts an end to) Disturbance will come to him in obeisance (lit. bowing)"

wp Xnw/Xnnw is "He Who Settles (lit. Parts) Disturbance", not "he who parted the two contestants", for the spelling of the word *Xnw/Xnnw* is the same as in §304a: *Xnw/Xnnw m pt* "Disturbance is in the sky". For the meaning of *wpj* as "settle, put an end to", cf. CT II, 211c: *Asjr(t) wp Sat tAwj* "Osiris who settles the massacre of the Two Lands"; CT IV, 160d: *jw.n Asjr N pn wp.f Xnw* "This Osiris N has come that he may settle disturbance"; stela Louvre C2: *Hr wp Sat tAwj* "Horus who settles the massacre of the Two Lands", Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 81, 4: *qA xrw Hr nD rn n nswt hrw xsf Sat wp xnr* "loud (lit. high of voice) when greeting (lit. tending the name) of the king on the day of barring massacre (and) settling down (lit. parting) criminality" (see **P 473**, 1); also Berlev, *Stelae*, page 116-177 (monument 117), note b: *Hrw wp Sat tAwj* "Horus who stops the massacre of the Two Lands".

It is noteworthy that in his earlier work James Allen reads this passage: "Dispute-solver shall come to him bowing" (Allen, *Inflection*, §663, p.463).

5)

§306d-e: *s.nhd n wnjs nTrw smsw(.j) r wr jn sw sxm(.j) m st.f*

Allen "The gods will terrorize for Unis, since he is senior to the great one and belongs to the control of his seat"

Shmakov "“Frighten for Unis, gods, being elder than the great (god),” – says he (i. e. Disturbance Settler) – “(and) who has control of his place”"

smsw(.j) and *sxm(.j)* are statives – "he has become (more) elder than the great...he has gained control of his seat".

The present author came to the understanding of *jn sw* as parenthetic "says he" (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.17-18) independently from Samuel Mercer who also reads it "so says he" (Mercer, *P. T.*, p. 81), as the version of Teti – *sxm n tjt m st.f* "the control of Teti is in its (proper) place" does not let us read the current passage as James Allen does, i. e. "(he) belongs to the control of his seat".

It means that James Allen errs in his grammar about *j.n.sn* ("jnsn is probably the perfect *j.n.sn*" (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.18, p. 313): *sn* is actually a dependent pronoun just like in *xr sn* "say they", *xr sw* "says he", cf. the following passages which also have dependent pronoun after PT 219, §179a: *Asjr(t) Dd.n.T jr.f ms.n.t(j) n(j) j.t(j) Tn* "Osiris of whom you said: “(Someone) has been born for me,” – you said", PT 467, §886a: *j.t(j) Tw ra* "you said, Sun", just like in the discussed passage the dependent pronoun *Tw* is put after *j.t(j)*.

The verb *smsj/smsw* occurs in the formula *qrs.t(j).f..jAw(.j)/sms(.j) nfr(.j) wrt* "he has been buried...being very much worthy (lit. being very much elder)" – *jAw(.j)* or *sms(.j)* are statives which is proved by the feminine version of the formula where the stative *t(j)*-ending occurs: *jAw.t(j) nfr(.j) wrt* "(she has been buried)...being very much worthy (and) fair".

Old Kingdom sources for *sms(.j) nfr(.j) wrt* – El-Khouli A., Kanawati N. *The OK Tombs of El-*

Hammamiya. Sydney, 1990 (ACER 2). Pl. 49 – *sms(.j)*; Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 360 (*sms.t(j)*), F2, p. 433 (*sms.jj*); Borchardt L. Denkmäler des AR (ausser den Statuen) in Museum von Kairo. Teil 1. B., 1937. S. 114 – *sms.jj*; Middle Kingdom source – stela Guimet E.11324 – *sms.jj*. In the Coffin Texts – CT IV, 113f: *jw.f sms.y r.f* "He is elder than he".

W 169 (PT 258)

§308a: *Asjr(t) pw wnjs m z(j)z(j)w*

Allen "Unis is Osiris in dustdevil"

Shmakov "Unis is Osiris in *z(j)z(j)w*"

The meaning of the word *z(j)z(j)w* is uncertain. In Unis's copy and in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 403) it has {walking legs} determinative, from the verb *z(j)z(j)* "catch" (§§173a, 175a, 271a, 643c, 1285c; CT VI, 17f) as if it is a verbal noun "catcher", but this could be a case of "Determinative Influence" (see **T 203**, 2). However, in the CT IV, 46a-b *z(j)z(j)w* has {sky}-N1 determinative.

CT IV, 46a-b: *pr.n.j m wnwt wab.n.j m z(j)z(j)w*

"I have gone forth into day-hours and become clean in *z(j)z(j)w*"

In the following passage it has {walking legs} determinative:

CT VI, 120j-k: *aq.n.j m z(j)z(j)w pr.n.j wab.kw*

"I have entered *z(j)z(j)w* and emerged clean"

For the present author it is unclear how a man can become clean in a dustdevil.

2)

§308c-d: *Htm.f qd.f m Hwt.f tp tA sD qsw.f dr sDbw.f*

Allen "He will end his sleep with his bones broken in his enclosure on earth, and remove his obstructions"

Shmakov "He destroys his sleep in its (i. e. sleep's) enclosure on the earth, its (i. e. sleep's) bones have been broken, its (i. e. made by sleep) obstacles removed"

A very interesting conclusion of this passage is that euphemisms for death, namely "sleep" and "laziness", could be viewed or embodied as living beings made of flesh and blood and thus could be destroyed, i. e. Egyptians could embody even abstracts. Teti's editor misunderstood all these "its/his" and took the bones and obstacles as Teti's, not as Sleep's. Cp. also:

CT I 292d-293d: *bwt.k qdd msD.k bAg Hr r.sn...spd r.sn...bA r.sn...bAs n.k HAtjw.sn zwr n.k znf.sn*
 "Your abomination is sleep and you hate laziness, be far from them...be sharp (i. e. prepared) against them...be impressive against them...eat their hearts, drink their blood".

All the instances of "their" in the passage refer to *qdd* "sleep" and *bAg* "laziness".

As to destroying somebody in his enclosure, cf. CT I, 401a: *whn.n.j sn m Hwt.sn*

"I have thrown them down in their enclosures".

Something similar occurs in PT 338, where *Hqr* "hunger" is being begged not to come to Teti and go to Nu and Inundation: the abstract "hunger" has to have at least legs for these actions, i. e. just like in the discussed passage be embodied in a being.

Moreover, see this passage about keeping the death signs ("sleep" and "lying") away from the deceased:

PT 247, §260a-b: *jr wD(j) msDD qdd s.bAgj*

"Do what I command, you who hate sleep (but) immobilized (lit. made to become slack)"

PT 412, §721d: *bwt.f qdd msD.f bAgj*

"he abominates sleep, he hates slackness"

(the same passage is §1500c)

In this passage from the Coffin Texts sleep is used in parallel to death:

CT III, 194j: *mj <bwt> ra <pw> qdd <twr> jtmw m(w)t*

"like the Sun('s abomination is) sleep (and) Atum (beware) of death" (column is split in the original)

3)

§308e: *Drt(j) Asjr(t)*

Allen "Osiris's two kites"

Shmakov "Osiris's screecher (and) kite"

See **W 5**.

4)

§309b: *jw wnjs r pt jw wnjs r pt m TAw m TAw*

Allen "'Unis is off to the sky, Unis is off to the sky, in the wind, in the wind'"

Shmakov "'Unis is off to the sky, Unis is off to the sky, as the wind, as the wind'"

The passage probably has a "*m* of predication", rather than the preposition "in", cf. PT 573, §1484a: *j.pA.f.j.pA.f m-a.Tn r(m)T m Apdw* "He has flown away, he has flown away from you, people, as birds (do)"

5)

§309c: *nj xm.f nj xmwt.f jm.f*

Allen "He shall not be turned away, and there is none who will turn away from him"

Shmakov "there is none whom he (i. e. Unis) desecrated, so there is none who will desecrate him"

xm.f is probably a relative form "one whom he (i. e. Unis) desecrated", not a passive prospective, cf.

CT VII, 1m: *nj xmt N* "there is none whom N desecrated"

Stela Chicago16956: *jw sab.k(j) Hna zj 120 nn zx(j) jm nn zx w(j) jm nn aA(j) jm nn aA w(j) jm*

"When I was circumcised along with 120 men, there was none whom I struck, there was none who struck me, there was none whom I scratched, there was none who scratched me"

jm.f probably belongs to both verb forms, i. e. **nj xm.f jm.f nj xmwt.f jm.f*, literally "there is none whom he (i. e. Unis) desecrated him, there is none who will desecrate him (i. e. Unis)".

For the collocation *xm(j) m* "desecrate", cf. Budge, BD134:3-4: *xmyw xmt.sn m jwA n ra Sad.n Hr w tpw.sn* "Desecrators who would desecrate the Sun's bark – Horus has severed their heads"; *ibid*:5-6: *DAw nb DAYt nbt xmt.sn m Asjr(t) N...Hsq.n st DHwtj* "Any masculine adversary, any feminine

adversary who would desecrate Osiris N... Thoth has severed them".

For the verb's meaning, cf. also Nt 744, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 62 (PT 665D): *xmjw.t Tw nj anx.f* "The one who will desecrate you will not live"; PT 691H, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 11, col. 1016+9: *nj zA[w] pjpj nfr-kA-ra nj xmw pjpj nfr-kA-ra nj xft(j) [pjpj nfr-kA-ra]* "there is none who can detain Pepi Neferkare, there is none who can desecrate Pepi Neferkare, there is no no opponent of [Pepi Neferkare]"; CT I, 212c: *SAs.k HAtj n xm Tw* "You will go through the heart of the one who desecrated you"; CT III, 80e (= 84h, 85f, 88a, 92f, 96f, 103f, 123f) *nj xmy.j jm.f* "I will not be desecrated with it (i. e. excrements)" (the verb form is a passive prospective, Allen, *M. E.*, 21.2.2); CT III, 112c-d (BqC): *nj wnm.j wTz[t] gbb xmt xtjw tA* "I will not eat that (i. e. excrements) which raised Geb (i. e. raised the level of the soil ?) (and) desecrated those throughout the earth" (B1L, T1C give *xmmt xtjw tA jm* "with which those throughout the earth were desecrated"); CT IV, 11d: *jw rdj.n.f nrw N pn n Hr(j)w xmw Sfsft N pn n nbw xrwt* "He has given fear of this N to those in charge of desecration, respect for this N to the lords of slaughter"; CT IV, 63c (=Budge, BD135:8-9): *nj xm wj jr w jzft* "those who do disorder will not desecrate me"; CT V, 299g: *n-nt jnk js wab xm Dt.f* "for I am the one who cleanse the one who desecrated himself (lit. his person)" (also *ibid* 296d: "cleaner of the desecrated one"); CT V, 305b-c (B1Boa): *nn xm.t(w).f m pt tA nn xm.t(w) N pn m mw m H(j)p(j)* "He will not be desecrated in the sky (and on) earth, this N will not be desecrated in the water (and) in the inundation"; CT VI, 165g: *nn jmj-rd nb xmw.t N pn* "There isn't any hinderer who will desecrate this N"; CT VI, 415m: *nj xm.t(w) N* "N will not be desecrated"; CT VII, 188f: [...].*k xft(j) nb xmw.t wj* "You should [...] any opponent who will desecrate me" (the verb in [...] was something like "destroy"); CT VII, 312a: *nj anx.f m Axt xmw.t N tn Hna nTr nxn* "The one who will desecrate this N with the god who grows up (see **T 248**, 2) will not live in the Behind the Horizon"; *ibid*, 315b (B3C): *nj xmw s(j) jrjw arrwt* "Those attached to the portals will not desecrate her"; *ibid*, 319c (B3C): *jm.k xmw N tn* "You should not desecrate this N"; *ibid*, 492g: *m(j).Tn xmy pn jj xsfjm.j* "Look at this desecrator who has come to oppose me"; *ibid*, 511i: *nj xm.n wj jrjw awt* "Those attached to the limbs (var. rooms) cannot desecrate me".

6)

§310a-b: *jw pAD.f jr Hr Hna ra jw aAbt.f m nww*

Allen "his cake of bread is for above with the Sun, his feast is from Nu"

Shmakov "his cake of bread is (chargeable) to above and (exacted) from the Sun, his feast is from Nu"

This passage is about food sources, see **W 140**, 4. The same applies to PT 259, §314a-b: *jw pAD n tjt pn r Hr Hna ra jw aAbt tjt pn m nww* "This Teti's cake of bread is (chargeable) to above and (exacted) from the Sun, the feast of this Teti is from Nu", cf. also:

CT III, 51b-e: *anx.k jr.f m jSst Hr ntt xt 7 m tA pn jj.n.j r.f r xt {7}<4> r Hr xr ra xt 3 r Xr xr gbb*

"“What will you live on?” (ask they). (I live) due to seven portions of food in this land I have come to – three portions are (chargeable) to above and (exacted) from the Sun; two portions are (chargeable) to below and (exacted) from Geb"

The preposition *Hna* "with, together" sometimes has the contrary meaning, cf.:

Urk.IV:1045:10: *nD mAjr Hna wsr*

"who helps out (lit. tends) an oppressed person from (lit. with) the powerful" (cf. usual *nD m-a* "help out from (lit. from the arm)", see another examples in **W 180a**, 8)

and Urk.I:199:2 (also *ibid*:255:6, 269:7): *nHm.n(j) mAr m-a wsr r.f*

"I used to save (lit. take away) an oppressed person from (the arm of) one stronger than he (lit. strong person against him)"

For the variation of *Hna* and *xr*, cf. §17a: *zj zj Hna kA.f* "Someone has gone with (*Hna*) his ka" and §826a, b: *zj zj xr kA.f* "Someone has gone to (*xr*) his ka".

7)

§311c: *s.Htp.f nw(t) nw m wnw*

Allen "pacifying the two (contestants with) adzes⁵⁶ in Hermopolis"

Shmakov "He has pacified hostility (?) in Hermopolis"

Allen, note 56 (page 63): "Horus and Seth".

Although reading the object of *s.Htp* "pacify" as *nwtj* "two adzes" does make sense, we should probably be looking for another noun, in light of what follows later: PT 259, §315c: *wrS tjt pn sDr.f s.fx.n tjt pn nwtj m wnw*. In the latter verse, reading *nwtj* "two adzes", as indicating Horus and Seth, does not make sense, for one cannot well *s.fx* "purge, loosen" two contestants, among which Horus. For the meaning of the verb *s.fx* "shed/get rid of, purge, purify (something bad, unclean)", see **W 155**. Moreover, compare PT 229, §229a-b: *ant...nt tm...s.zAt Xnw m wnw* "the fingernail of Atum...that removed chaos from/in Hermopolis". That analogy suggests that PT 259, §315c is probably to be read as *s.fx.n tjt pn nwt nw m wnw* "This Teti has shed hostility (?) from Hermopolis", and this then also affects the reading of §311c. *nwt nw* or *nwt nwj* is likely what occurs as *nwt(j).k nw* "your hostile one" in §851b (for the position of the suffix in a two-parts word, cf. §806b: *jkw.k tA* "your earth-hider", §859d: *tpj.k tA* "your successor", CT VI, 396q: *jmj.f rd* "his impediment"); for *nwt(j).k nw*, see **P 50**, 1.

8)

§311d: *nj DA rd.f nj xsfjb.f*

Allen "His foot will not be crossed, his heart cannot be barred"

Shmakov "His foot cannot be crossed, his heart cannot be barred"

The passage has two passive *sDm.f*s: "His foot has not been crossed, his heart has not been barred". The same note is valid for §315d: *nj DA rd n tjt pn nj xsfjb n tjt pn* "The foot of this Teti cannot be crossed, the heart of this Teti cannot be barred".

W 170 (PT 260)

§316b-c: *fdw jpw nTrw jnw mw dw ababt jrrw hjj m xpS n jt(j)w.sn*

Allen "those four gods who fetch water, administer scrubbing, and make jubilation with the foreleg of their fathers"

Shmakov "these four gods who fetch water, inspire (lit. put) excitement, and make jubilation over/because of the foreleg(s) of their fathers"

The noun *ababt* does not likely derive from *wab* "be(come) clean", to arrive at the hypothetical meaning "purification, scrubbing", but sooner derives from the root *ab* "get excited at, boast of/to, be proud of, exult at", which occurs in the verb *abab* (see **Nt 278**). *jrrw hjj m xpS* is "those who exulted over the foreleg(s) of their fathers" (*m* here expresses the reason of joy, the matter *in* which they rejoice, not the instrument *with* which these gods express joy).

2)

§319c: *rw n.f Dndw pXr n.f jmjw nw anx(.j)*

Allen "Rage will depart for him, and those in Nu will serve him with life"

Shmakov "Raging ones have hurried to him (obediently), those in Nu have served him alive"

The word for "rage" is *Dnd*, cf. §1463a. *Dndw* is the plural participle "raging ones" which is used in

parallel to another plural word-formation, *jmjw nw* "those in Nu". Cf. CT VI, 149f (G1T): *jw swA.n.j Hr Dndw jpw jmjw Dr{r}w Axt xsfw nTr nb* "I have passed by these raging ones in the limits of the Behind the Horizon, who bar every god".

For *rwj n*, "move (oneself) for, hurry to", cf. PT 456, §852a-c: *j.nD(.j) Hr.k...rw n.k pr nz(j)* "Greetings,...you to whom the Flame-house has hurried"; CT IV, 117a (S1P): *jw rw n.j wrw m TpHw(t).sn* "Great ones have hurried to me from their caverns".

3)

§321a-322b: *j nTrw...mkjj wnjs snD n.f Hms n.f...Am n.Tn Axt tw Dnnwt(j)t Dmd.s jbw.Tn jwT.sn r wnjs m jmj-rd mj j n.f mj j n.f wnjs pj DsDs n jt(j).f nxb(jj) n mwt.f*

Allen

"O...gods, protect Unis and be afraid of him, for he has sat down...That effective uraeus Djenenutet will burn for you and press your hearts. You who would come against Unis as an impediment, come to him, come to him! Unis is the very person of his father, the bud of his mother"

Shmakov

"O...gods, protect Unis, be afraid of him, sit for him...This effective (and) distinct uraeus will burn for you (your opponents, gods) and press your hearts, you who would come against Unis as an impediment, come to him, come to him – Unis is a personality of his father, the Nekhbite of his mother"

In §321a-b there are probably three imperatives – "protect Unis, be afraid of him, sit for him", cf.

CT III, 388a-b: *Hms n.j kAw nwt m saH.j pw wr n nb kAw*

"Sit for me, bulls of Nut, in this my great rank of lord of kas"

Three imperatives following each other:

CT III, 387d-e (B1Bo): *snD n N pn jd n.f ks n.f*

"be afraid of this N, be quiet for him (lit. be deaf for him), bow down for him"

CT IV, 116d-f (= 120d-f, 123g-I, 128i-129b): *mA wj jr.Tn my m Sms.j dy n.j jA*

"See me, come in my following, give me praise"

CT V, 396i-k (S2C): *my n.j m ksw sdA n.j snD n.j dy n.j jA*

"Come to me bowing down, tremble for me, be afraid of me, give me praise"

Just like in Unis's passage three imperatives begin with nominal object and continue with pronominal ones (*wnjs...n.f...n.f* and *n N pn...n.f...n.f*).

The word *Dnnwt(j)t* probably derives from the verb *Tnj* "distinguish", thus literally "She of distinction", i. e. "Distinct uraeus" (a case of *D ~ T*) (cf. this name with the one of the snake-goddess *Tnnt* "Distinct one" (Wb.V:381:11)).

For */D/ ~ /T/*, where */D/* is an emphatic */T/*, cf:

DbA (Wb.V:561:14) ~ *Tb(A)* (ibid:360:12) "cage" (Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, pl. 25, a dialog between two catchers putting birds into a cage - first man: *mj.k w(j) Hr s.xnt Apd n DbA* "Look at me making the bird to land to the cage", second man: *d nn m Tb(A) pn* "put these (birds) into this cage"),

HDw wDAw ~ HDw (TAw) (the word-play in §79a-b),

Drb ~ T(rp) (the word-play in §85a-b),

Tw r pt ~ Drt (i. e. *T'r't ~ Drt*, the word-play in §741c),

s.anx.n Tw ~ anDjt (i. e. *an''T ~ anD*, the word-play in §614a),

Tnw ~ Drw (?) "limits (?)" (CT VII, 313d: *jj.n.j mjn m Drw Axt* "I have come today in the limits of the Behind the Horizon"),

TAjr ~ DAjr (< *dAjr*) "subdue" (Urk.IV:896:10: *TAjr.f <xAst> nbt* "He has subdued every <foreign land>". For *d > D* (unexpectedly, instead of usual *D > d*), cf. *dmD > Dmd* (CT III, 40b, k (B1Boa); Urk.IV:257:13) "unite", *wd* (§368a) > *wD* (CT I, 267f, 271b; CT V, 213b (B2Bo, B3Bo), CT VII, 261a) "push off (with a pole)", *ndb* (§123i MN) > *nDb* (CT V, 370a, 384i; Wb.II:377:18) "sip", *wdHw* > *wDHw* "offering ration, offering table" (see **T 276**, 2), *sd* > *sD* "bull's tail" (CT IV, 366e, CT V, 396h), *xnd* > *xnD* "step" (CT III, 104b (B2Bo), 110c (B1Bo), 142b (B2L); El Bersheh I, pl. 18), *ndjt* > *nDjt* "Nedit, the Place of Throwing down" (CT III, 312a (G1T, T1Be, T3L)); also in *stpt* > *sTpt* "meat cuts" (El Bersheh I, pl.34).

Equally */d/ ~ /t/*, where */d/* is an emphatic */t/*: *sSt ~ s.Sd* (the word-play in §§96a-b, c-d; 108b-c), *pnd ~ pt* (i. e. *p'd ~ pt*, the word-play in §783a). See also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §§110, 121.

The word for "(water-lily) bud" in the Old Kingdom is *nHbt*, not *nxb*, which occurs only in the late New Kingdom (Wb.II:307:3). In the present passage we have a classical spelling of the city name *nxb* "Nekheb" with unknown function of the {pot}-W24 sign, which is probably nothing but a space-filler as the toponym is often spelled without this sign (cf. the spellings with the {pot} sign, §§910b P, 1107b (also in the spell-double, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col.64), 1111b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 2 B, col. 44 (Allen's T 206 ~ CT 517); outside the PT: Urk.I:98:8, 140:4, 8). The title *nxb(j) Hr(j)-tp* "Chief Nekhbite" is often written without a {village plan} sign (see Jones, *Titles*, # 2374) just like in the present passage. Thus in the passage we have *nxb(j) n mwt.f* "the Nekhbite (Wb.II:309:6) of his mother", which may be compared with *nxb(j) Hr(j)-tp n (j)t(j).f* "Chief Nekhbite of his father" (Jones, *Titles*, # 2375), *jwnwj.k m wnjs ra* "your Heliopolitan is Unis, Sun" (§482b) and *pjppj Ds.f jwnw(j).k nTr* "Pepi himself is your Heliopolitan, god" (§1507c). In support of such a reading CT VIII, 322b (p. 277) gives this word determined by the {village plan} sign and the {pot} sign also written out. For identification of the deceased with a flower (which is different from what we have in the discussed passage), cf. CT VI, 281s: *Npn wnb wa n mwt.f* "This N is the unique flower of his mother".

The word *nxbt* that occurs in §§4a, 104, a, b (for the reading of these §§, see below and **N 246-247**), with what looks like a {rush}-M22 (Allen also reads it "bud"), is unlikely to be connected with the later word *nxb* mentioned above, for M22 always comes first with *b* complement following it when having the meaning *nxb*. It is more probable that *nxbt* of §4a has the same root as the divine name that occurs in §§1229c, 1451a, b and Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 8, *nxbt* "Nekhbet" and the proper name *nxbw* "Nekhbu" (Urk.I:215:3), both with a {brazier with smoke rising}-Q7 or a {smoke}-Q7b sign and *n-x-b* complements spelled before it (*nxbt* divinity here is different from Nekhbet, titulary goddess of Upper Egypt, see **Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 3). *Nxb* spelled this way and with this determinative also occurs in §123b (*nxbwt*), CT V, 260c (*nxb, nxbt*), CT VI, 246i (*rw nxb.f*). That is, in §4a we have a false plant sign that is actually the fire sign carved carelessly and we should read *nxbt wrt* of §4a as "great lamp/lighter" or "great illuminating one" (maybe even "great candle") – probably a reference to the starry sky at night (see Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, p. 32 "as a substantive *nxbw* appears to mean "lamp" or "nocturnal illumination"", also *ibid* note 145).

For Q7/Q7b carved as M22, cf. Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 22, col. 1309+17 (= §1451a); Junker, *Giza II*, p. 166 and Abb.20 (p. 154), the determinative of *fs* "cook" (in *fs wnxw* "cook Unekhu"), see also references for *fs* in Jones, *Titles*, # 1541; Junker, *Giza III*, p. 129, Abb.14, the determinative of *rkH* "lighting (festival)"; Junker, *Giza V*, p. 97, Abb.26, second register from above, the determinative for the word *ax* "braizer" (not *ax* of the first register); L.D.II:28, the determinative of *ax* "braizer"; Block of Izi (I.1.b.322 (4050) = Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 29 (1:E)): the determinative of *rkH* "lighting (festival)" and

the word *ax* "braizer"; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 4:3, ideogram (?) in *t (A)S(r)* "roasted bread", the determinative in *ASrt* "roasted meat".

For *Ds* as a synonym of the word *Dt* "person", see **W 175**, 3.

4)

§323a-b: *b(w)t wnjs pw SAs m kkw nj mAA.f sxdw*

Allen "Travelling in darkness is Unis's abomination: he will not see those who are upside down"⁵⁸

Note 58, p. 63: "The inhabitants of the netherworld".

For the term *sxdw* as a reference to the dead, cf. CT I, 188d: *nHm.sn Tw m-a DnDn n mwtw Smw sxdy*
"They will save you from any raging one of the dead who walk upside down".

W 171 (PT 261)

§324d: *Dr Swt a Hnbw m wnjs*

Allen "when the lightning bolts' arms have become empty of Unis"

Shmakov "since the (sunlight) beams' arm has become empty of Unis"

The word *Hnbw* probably doesn't have the meaning "lightning bolts", instead the Wb. editors are probably right when they give the meaning of the word as "Bez. für die Strahlen der Sonne" (Wb.III:113:6). For we can pose the question "Has the lightning bolts' arm ever had Unis?", which remains without answer, whereas a similar question in regards to solar beams can be answered without too much imagination: while he lived on earth, Unas could be said to be embraced by the Sun's warmth, touched and nurtured by its beams. We could even refer to the known reliefs of Akhenaten on which beams (depicted as arms with hands) reach for the king and his family. We also do not have a word "beams, rays" in Old Egyptian, having only *jAxw* "sunlight", but we would certainly expect the word "beams" to be present in the language of this period like it is present in later stages of the language – *stwt*, *mAw*. In §1212c, the *Hnbw* are surely of the Sun: *bwn(wj).s Hnbw ra* "whose double prong is the Sun's beams", whereas "the Sun's lightning bolts" would sound strange. Moreover, cf. *Hnmmt* which is supposed to be "the Sunlight's people (i. e. the Egyptians)", written with the sign {sunlight}-N8 as the determinative and which could be connected with *Hnbw* "sun's rays" via a root *Hnm/Hnb* (for /m/ ~ /b/ see **M 365**).

2)

§325a-b: *SAs wnjs Sw nmt.f Akr sn.f nt*

Allen "Unis will traverse Shu, travel the horizon, and kiss the Red Crown"

Shmakov "Unis will traverse Shu, travel the horizon, and kiss (i. e. reach) the Watery area (i. e. the sky)"

nt is not the "red crown", which is normally *dSrt*, but the word is rather "Watery area" (see **P 467**, 7), with the {red crown} sign being the influence from the word *nt* "red crown", just like the {white crown} sign influenced the adjective *HDt* "white" in §729a. For *sn* "kiss (i. e. touch with lips or nose)" as "reach", cf. PT 467, §891c: *sn pppj pn pt m bjk* "This Pepi will touch the sky (with the nose) as a falcon", CT VI, 411i-j: *sn.n.f sbAw nww spr.n.f sbA prt r pd* "He has reached (lit. kissed) the gates of Nu, he has arrived at the gate of ascending to the (sky's) arc". Compare also *sAH* "touch with a toe" and *dmj* "touch" which also have the meaning "reach (a place)". Moreover, "brook" absolutely fits the context "Shu (i. e. air)...horizon...brook", whereas "Red Crown" seems strange after Shu and horizon. Compare also:

CT V, 272b-d: *SAs.j Sw nmt.n.j Snjt war.n.j nwt* "I have traversed Shu, traveled the storm, ran (to) Nut"

CT VI, 330i: *SAs.n.j Sw nmt.n.j Snjt war(.j) pt* "I have traversed Shu, traveled the storm, ran (to) the sky"

CT VI, 140f-141a: *Hfd.j Sw [n]mt.j Akr SAs.j Sw nmt.j jAxw SAs.j jAd pH.j jAd*

"I have climbed Shu, traveled the horizon, traversed Shu, traveled the sunlight, ran (to) the climbing star, reached the climbing star" (the last two phrases of this column are split in the original)

CT VI, 341k-m: *SAsw nmt.j Sn(j)t SAs.j jAd Hfd(.j) jAxw m Sms n Hwt-Hrw*

"I will traverse (and) travel the storm, run (to) the climbing star (and) climb sunlight in the following of Hathor"

In all the passages just above, Shu (*Sw*), horizon (*Akr*), storm (*Snjt*), and sunlight (*jAxw*) are acting as obstacles before reaching the sky (*pt*, *nwt*, *jAd*). For Shu and horizon/horizons as obstacles, see §§658d-e, 2202c; CT II, 112e; CT VI, 46g, 95l-m.

3)
§326c: *jn.n.fjat n Hrt*
Allen "having used the ascent to the above"
Shmakov "He has reached the ascending path to the (Celestial) Distance"

jn probably has the meaning "reach" in this passage (cf. §416a). In this passage, *jat* is written with {path}-N31 sign. As Unis PT corpus does not use a {path} sign as the determinative for the verb *ja(j)* "ascend", but uses (like in other pyramids) the {mastaba} sign as the normal determinative for the verb, *jat* should here probably be translated as "ascending path". Of course it is nonetheless possible that the scribe merely preferred {path} to the usual {mastaba} sign, and then *jat* means "that which ascends" in a generic sense.

W 172 (PT 262)
§327a: *sT Tw rx.t(j) sw*
Allen "since you know me"

James Allen misprinted here – "since you know him" is in the original.

2)
§334a: *swA(j).n Wnjs Hr pr nmt(j) <p>f*
Allen "Unis has passed by his ba's house"
Shmakov "Unis has passed by that (dangerous) Butcher's house"

The sign that follows *pr* "house" is neither *bA*-{cup with stylized incense smoke}-Aa4/W10a sign nor {cup}-W10, as the sign in the original is too tall to fit with these signs. It is rather a variant of *nmt*-{butcher's block}-T28/T28A sign (see Nt 762), as it occurs in other spellings of the divinity *bA nmt(j) pf* "that Ram-Butcher" right after the Aa4/W10a sign. Compare the descendants of this passage:

CT VI, 401p: *swA.n N pn Hr pr bA pf*
"This N has passed by the house of that Ram"

CT VIII, §334a: *swA.n N pn Hr pr bA*
"This N has passed by the house of the Ram"

The *pr bA pf* "house of that Ram" in Unis's and Teti's passages is regarded as a dangerous place that needs to be avoided, as is suggested by the fact that the kings are said to pass by it and the parallel clause about missing the great lake's wrath. The danger of *bA pf* "that Ram" is also indicated by the

nmt-{butcher's block}-T28/T28A sign that occurs as part (determinative ?) of this divinity's name in Pepi I's (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 67, PT 666), Neferkare's (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VII, col. 709+33), Neith's (Nt 762, PT 666), and probably Teti's copies of this passage and the following passage from PT 666. This {butcher's block} sign can be considered as nisbe (*nmt(j)* "He of the butcher's block") and thus the name of the divinity can be read as *bA nmt(j) pf* "that Ram-Butcher".

PT 666, Nt 761-62: [*zA Tjw S(j) wr pw...zA Tw r(m)T jpf nt pr bA nmt(j) pf Hr(jw)t DAt m rn.s<n> pw n DAt(w)t jm.sn nDrw a.k jr pr bA nmt(j) pf*

"[Beware] of the Great Lake...Beware of those women (lit "people-women") of that Ram-butcher's house who are in charge of confrontation in their identity of textile workers, lest they take your arm to the house of that Ram-Butcher"

However, Pepi I's and Neferkare's copies of the current passage that were emended by the editors don't regard "house of that Ram" as dangerous place (*Hr(j)t* is reverse nisbe "that on which is"):

P (§§333c-34a): [*mdw nTr s.j]a.f sw n xaw n wAt Hr(j)t [pr bA nmt(j) pf]*

"[written message (lit. god's speech) had been elev]ating him to the appearance (and) to the road on which [the house of that Ram-Butcher is]"

N (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VII, col. 709+33): *mdw [nTr s.j]a.f pppj [nfr-kA-ra n] wAt Hr(j)t pr bA nmt(j) pf*

"written message had been elevating Pepi [Neferkare to] the road on which the house of that Ram-Butcher is"

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XXIII, col. 1309+56: *wab zkr m fdw.f qAdw xntjw pr [bA]*

"Sokar has become clean in his four vines which are at the fore of the [Ram]-house"

The house of that Ram also occurs in Coffin Texts (CT I, 284i which is the descendant of Nt 762). In the Old Kingdom, the divinity *bA pf* "That Ram, Bapefi" had queens as priestesses, see Jones, *Titles*, # 1916. See also **M 387** for this divinity.

It is interesting to notice that sometimes the demonstrative pronoun *pf* "that, yonder" is clearly used as a marker for inimical persons:

xrw pf "that enemy" (Urk.IV:6:11, 7:3(*jwnt(j) pf*), 8:15, 9:5(*jwnt(j) pf*), 9:11) (probably synonymous to *xrw Xz(j)* "miserable/pitiful enemy" (Urk.IV:658:12))

CT I, 154d, 155b; CT II, 62a, 261b: *xft(j) pf* "that opponent"

CT II 66c (B2Boa), 261b (BqC): *xft(jw) jpf* "those opponents"

CT I, 300c-d: *r(m)T jpf j.Ddw m(w)t.n.k js m(w)tt* "those people who say that you have died irretrievably (lit. "deadly")"

CT VII, 41i: *zA Tw r r(m)T jpf* "Beware of those people"

CT VII, 111e: *j mds w jpf* "Oh, those cutters"

CT VII, 466b: *jw Hw Hna HkA Hr s.xrt n.j Dw qd pf*
"Hu and Magic are overthrown for me that Evil of Character"

CT I, 308f (T2C): *jT.n zA.k Hrw wr rt nHmt m a pf jr r.k*

"Your son Horus has acquired the crown taken away from the arm of that (one) who (or "from that arm which") acted against you"

CT I 3091 (T1C): *xw.k jSt.k m-a nTrw (j)pf*
"Defend your meal from those gods"

CT IV, 347g: *jm jT sw mzH pf anx m HkAw*
"so that that crocodile living on magic may not take it away (i. e. magic)"

CT VI, 379l: *j tmw jpf nw nb anx*
"Oh those cutters of the Lord of life"

PT 377, §662c-d: *n Twt js hpjw Hrj Xt.f anx m HAtjw nTrw jpf jmjw jwnw*
"for you are a *hpjw*-snake on its belly, that lives on the hearts of those gods"

3)
§334c: *nj xsf.n.f sw m aH HD*
Allen "there is no one who bars him from the White Palace"
Shmakov "he cannot proceed (lit. advance himself) against the White Palace"

Note "bar from" is *xsfjr* (§§334c T, 1437c, 1439a, 1440a etc.), but *xsf* with reflexive and with *m*-preposition has the meaning "advance himself against", see **W 166, P 327, 2**.

W 173 (PT 263)
§338a: *nf(r) rn n wnjs Hna kA.f anx wnjs Hna kA.f*
Allen "It has become good for Unis with his ka: Unis will live with his ka"
Shmakov "Fair is the reputation (lit. name) of this Unis with (i. e. due to) his ka, alive is (lit. lives) Unis with his ka"

This passage actually has *nf(r) rn n wnjs* "Fair is the reputation (lit. name) of this Unis", not **nfr.n n wnjs* (i. e. *sDm.n.f* with dummy subject) as James Allen suggested, for this passage is the origin of the later §908a-b which also refers to *rn* "name, reputation" (see **P 319b**, 4). Moreover, it would be strange to have two different verb forms (*sDm.n.f* and *sDm.f* according to Allen) in semantically related clauses, hence it is clear that we have two *sDm.f*. The *r* of *nfr* has been omitted to avoid twice *r* in a row (cf. **P 450**, 4). For the meaning of the adjective-verb *nfr* and the noun *rn*, see section 3 just below.

2)
§339c: *Dsrw Hr Damw.sn*
Allen "who...sweep away with their electrum staves"
Shmakov "who are elevated by means of their electrum staves"

For the collocation *Dsr Hr* "tower upon, be elevated by means of", cf. **P 510**, 1.

3)
§340a: *Dd.sn rn nfr n wnjs pn n ra*
Allen "they will tell the Sun the nickname of this Unis"
Shmakov "so that they tell the Sun the fair reputation (lit. name) of this Unis"

The present author sees no sense in telling the Sun one of the possible names of Unis (in this case possible *rn nfr* "junior/younger name" (Allen's "nickname"), which some Egyptologists loosely

translate it as "good name", often mentioned in a couple with *rn aA* "elder name" among the names of O.K. officials¹⁶), instead *rn* as "name, reputation" (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p.131) is meant, cf.:

Urk.I:123:2, 133:1: *mr.n(j) nfr(r) rn(j) xr nTr aA*

"I wanted my reputation (lit. name) to be fair regarding the Elder god"

ibid:195:12: *j.mr(j) nfr rn(j) jm xr nswt xr nTr aA*

"I wanted my name to be fair due to (it) regarding the king (and) the Elder god"

ibid:203:3: *mr(j) nfr rn(j) xr nTr xr r(m)T*

"I wanted my name to be fair regarding the god (and) people"

Kanawati-Raziq, *Seankhuptah*, pl. 64, b: *nj nfr rn.f xr nTr*

"His reputation is not fair regarding the god"

James, Khentika, pl.6: *mr(j) nfr rn(j) xr nTr jmAx(j) xr r(m)T nb*

"I wanted my name regarding the god (and) my honor regarding all people to be fair"

ShS, 159: *jmj rn.j nfr(.w) m njwt.k* "Make my reputation fair in your town"

Peas. B1 95-96: *jmj jry.j rn.k m tA pn r hp nb nfr(.w)*

"Let me make your reputation fair with respect to every law in this land"

MMA 98.4.2a–c (lintel from the tomb of Mereri): *rn(j) nfr(.w)*

"my reputation is fair"

pPrisse, 5,14: *rn.k nfr(.w) m rx n smsw*

"(and) your reputation will be fair in the opinion (lit. knowledge) of the elders"

CT I, 211g-212a: *Dd.s rn.k nfr(.w) m Xnw wjA hrw Hsb qdww*

"She says (i. e. claims, testifies) your reputation to be fair inside the bark on the day of the measuring of characters (i. e. on the judgment day)"

CT VII, 176a: *nTr nb Ax nb D[dt].f rn.j nfr(.w) mAa(.w) m xa.j pn...pr.f r pt m Hr w dwAt(j) hA.f r pt Xr(j)t m Sz(m)t{t}(j)*

"Any god (or) any akh who will say my reputation to be fair and righteous on this my appearance – he will go up to the sky as Horus of Duat, he will go down to the lower sky as the Eastern One (lit. He of Shethmet)"

Stela U.C.L. 14333: *jr wn xpr(.w) mj Dd wnn rn(j) nfr(.w) mn(.w) m njwt(j)*

"If it happens as said my reputation will be fair (and) firm in my town"

Urk.IV:62:7: *rn.f nfr(.w) m r anxw* "his reputation is fair in the mouth of the living"

ibid:75:5: *rn.j nfr(.w) m tA r Dr.f* "my reputation is fair in the whole land"

ibid:430:16: *rn.j nfr(.w) xr r(m)T* "my reputation is fair regarding people"

¹⁶ See **Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 8.

ibid:470:7: *rn.j nfr(.w)* "my reputation is fair"

Adjective-verb *nfr* has the same meaning with the word *jmAx* "honor", cf.:

Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 206, p. 173: *jr.n(.j) sw m Sw jmAx nfr xr (r)mT xr nTr*
"I have made it (i. e. the tomb) in the shade of fair honor regarding people and god"

Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 208, p. 175: *[nj zp Dd(.j) xt nb(t) Dw(t) r] rmT nb n [sx]m jr.f n mrw(t) wnn jmAx(.j) nfr(.j) xr nTr aA*
"[I have never said something bad against] any people to a potent person (lit. the one who controls when he acts) for the sake of my honor to be fair regarding the Elder god" (for the restoration, cp. Urk.I:123:1)

Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 226, p. 205: *sk s(j)...m Sw jmAx nfr xr nswt ra nb*
"while she...was in the shade of fair honor regarding the king everyday"

Urk.I:205:2, 4 and 12-13: *jn jw mrjj.Tn...wnn jmAx.Tn nfr(.j) xr nTr aA*
"Do you want...your honor to be fair regarding the Elder god?"

Junker, *Giza II*, Abb.7, p. 115: *wAwt nfr(w)t xppt jmAx(w)t jm.s(n) nfr(w)t* "right paths by which fair honored women go"

Mariette, *Mast.*, D18, p.225: *wn jmAx.s nfr(.j) xr ra nb Axt*
"her honor is (lit. exists) fair regarding the Sun, lord of the Behind the Horizon"

Budge, BD151:9-10: *jw zXA nbsny m nb jmAx nfr xr psDt aAt*
"A scribe Nebseny is owner of fair honor regarding the Elder Ennead"

4)
§341a, b: *DA.t(j) DAt wnjs pn*
Allen "Let this Unis be transported over"
Shmakov "This Unis has been fully/completely transported"

DAt in this passage is complementary infinitive (Allen, *Inflection*, §§689, 690).

5)
§341c: *snt.f spdt msTwt(j).f dwAt*
Allen "His sister is Sothis, his female sibling is the Morning Star"
Shmakov "His sister is Sothis, his female sibling is the morning"

In the original, the writing of *dwAt* includes the sign {star in circle}-N15 as if the Duat-region was meant, but James Allen ignores that and reads it as "the Morning Star" (which is actually just "morning", see **P 38**, 3), and he is probably right as ancient PT editors did confuse the words for Duat-region and duat-morning.

1. In paragraphs that are variants of §341c, *nTr dwA* "Morning God" occurs (§§357a, 929b, 935c, 1001b, 1123b, 1707a) instead of Unis's *dwAt*.

2. PT confuse *S(j) dwAt* "morning lake" and "Duat lake" (the correct name of this body of water was probably "morning lake", and "Duat lake" is probably a mistaken writing or reinterpretation of the

original "morning lake")

§372c – Unis's version "Duat lake", Neferkare's version has "morning lake"

PT 466, §882c: *Xn dAt Hna Asjr(t)* – Pepi's I version "row Duat with Osiris", Merenre's version has "row morning lake with Osiris",

PT 504, §1083a: *S(j)w dwAt(jw)* "morning lakes",

PT 511, §1152c: *S(j)w dwAt* "morning lakes",

PT 512, §1164c: *S(j) dAtj* "Duat lake",

PT 577, §1530c: *S(j)w dAtjw* "Duat lakes",

PT 671, §1987b: *S(j) dAtj* (can be either, there is no determinative),

PT 697, §2170a: *S(j) dAtj* "Duat lakes".

W 174 (PT 267)

§365a: *sq(j).t(j) n.f tA-r(w)dw r pt*

Allen "Let a footpath to the sky be laid down for him"

Shmakov "A mound to the sky will be pounded for him"

James Allen translates the expression *sq(j) r(w)dw* throughout his PT edition as "lay down a stairway", but because of the nature of the verb *sq(j)*, it also may be interpreted as "pound/flatten a mound" or "erect/construct a mound", compare CT VI, 87c-d: *xnmt t...sqr bnbnt m jAbt* "she-bread cook...who pounded a hill in the east" (the present author is thankful to Marina Sokolova for calling his attention to this option). Although cf. the expression *sq(j)/sqr t HD* "lay down a white bread" (Wb.IV:307:9).

2)

§367a-b: *aHa j.dr Tw j.xm jwt Hms wnjs pn m st.k*

Allen "Stand up and remove yourself, you who do not know the reeds, that Unis may seat in your seat"

Shmakov "Stand up, remove yourself, (boy) who does not know the reeds, that this Unis may seat instead of you"

Neferkare's version gives the determinative of *j.xm jwt* as {child with hand to mouth}, thus an inexperienced boy is meant. The expression *m st.k* probably has the primary meaning "in your place", i.e. "instead of you" (see **P 326a**), rather than "in your seat", because *Hmsj Hr st/nst* "sit **in/upon** a seat" is more usual (see **W 48**, 1, iv).

3)

§369: *Hr.t(j) jr Hmt SnDwt*

Allen "away from (earthly cares of) wife and kilt"

Shmakov "away from a wife-kilt"

Hmt SnDwt is probably a word-formation, cf. Peas., B1 93-95: *ntk jtj n nmH hj n xArt sn n wDat Sndyt nt jwtj mjw.f* "for you are a father for an orphan, a husband for a widow, a brother for a divorcée, a wife (lit. kilt) for one without mother", and in Heqanakht's letters the wife is called *Hbswt/Hbsyt* "kilt, cloth" (Allen, *H. P.*, Lexicon, p.279); compare English slang "skirt" (i. e. "woman").

W 175 (PT 268)

§370b-371b: *qA nbt(j) m xnt jtrt nHm wnjs pn pat m at jm.f xfa wnjs pn wrrt m-a psDtj*

Allen "Should the Ombite become elevated to the fore of the shrine, this Unis will take away the elite as a limb of his, this Unis will seize the crown from the Dual Ennead"

Shmakov "The Ombite at the fore of the shrine has gone high – (i. e.) this Unis has carried off the elite"

as a limb of his (lit. in him) and this Unis has seized the crown from the arm of the Dual Ennead"

In the passage Unis is probably likened to Seth (the Ombite), as the king is both Horus and Seth (for this, cf. two royal names of Dynasty II – *Hrw stS xa sxmwj* "Horus (and) Seth. Two Power-bearers (i.e. Horus and Seth) have appeared" and *Htp sxmwj* "Two Power-bearers have become content". PT 437, §797b: *sxmwj* "Two Power-bearers"; queens' title during the O.K.-N.K. *mAt Hr stX* "She who sees Horus (and) Seth" (Wb. II:7:13, "die den Horus-Seth (d. h. den König) sehen darf"), priestly title *Hm nTr Hrw stS* "priest of Horus (and) Seth" (Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 34, p. 189); PT 81, §57a-b, PT 213, §135c; PT 215, §§141d, 144a-b; PT 222, §204a-206a, §211b; PT 254, §294a-c; PT 271, §390b, **PT 359**, §601b-f (especially); PT 437, §798a; "Two Lords (*nbwj*). Seth and Horus, representing opposing forces, united in the person of the living king" (Allen, *P. T.*, Glossary, p. 443)). Cf. Seth on the serekh of the second dynasty king Seth Peribsen: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescoraf/hesyra/pribsn.htm>. Seth and Horus together: the reliefs ornamenting solid throne of seated statues of Senusert I from either sides (Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG 411-420, <http://www.joanlansberry.com/setfind/uniting.html>), the relief from the temple of Medamud, Senusret III: (<http://www.ancient-egypt-history.com/2010/08/senusret-iii-12th-dynasty.html>), Ramesses III crowned by Horus and Seth (<http://www.joanlansberry.com/setfind/set-ram3.html>) also L.D.III:33g, 35b, 36b, 124d. See also:

PT 510, §1145b: *pHt pjjp pHtj stS nb(w)tj*
"Pepi's strength is the strength of Seth, the Ombite"

(Allen's) N 470 (= (Allen's) M 294), Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XIII, col. +39:
zn n pjjp nfr-ka-ra jtrt qAjw ra xaw nbwt(j)
"pull open for Pepi Neferkare the shrine: the Sun will become high and the Ombite will appear"

CT III, 360b: *xa.j m Hr qA.j m nbwt(j)*
"I have appeared as Horus, I have gone high as the Ombite"

The verbs *nHm* "take away, carry off" and *xfa* "grasp" in the passage do not convey any hostile meaning, cf. PT 222, §202a: *Dj.k nDr wnjs pn qbHw* "Let this Unis take hold of the Cool Waters"; PT 570, 1459a: *pjjp pw xfa HDt* "Pepi is the one who grasped the White Crown"; Urk.IV:17:7-8: *jw xfa.n.f Hnmmt Amm.n.f rxyt* "He has grasped Sunlight's People (i. e. the Egyptians), he has taken hold of the subjects"; Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl. 36: *Amm.n.f Hq(A)t nxx Hq(A).f tA mj ra* "He has grasped crook (and) flail so that he may rule the earth like the Sun"; *ibid Amm.n.f Hq(A)t nxx xay.f tp tA mj ra dj.f sw* "He has taken hold of crook (and) flail so that he may shine forth on the earth like the Sun when he shows (lit. gives) himself".

2)
§372c: *s.fxw.f ka n wnjs pn m S(j) dAtj*
Allen "and release the ka of this Unis from the Duat Lake"
Shmakov "he will purge the ka of this Unis in the Morning Lake"

Pepi Neferkare's version gives *dAt* "the Morning Lake", see **W 173**, 3. For *s.fx m* as meaning both "release from" and "purge in, purify in", cf. **W 48**, 1 and **W 155**, 7; due to the context, the latter option must apply.

3)
§372d: *j.sk.f jf n ka n wnjs pn n Dt.f*
Allen "He will purge the flesh of the ka of this Unis and of his body"
Shmakov "He will wipe the flesh of this Unis' own ka"

§373b: *s.xp.f kA n wnjs pn n Dt.f r Hwt aAt*

Allen "He will conduct the ka of this Unis to his body at the Big Enclosure"

Shmakov "He will conduct this Unis' own ka to the Big Enclosure (i. e. to the sun-temple at Heliopolis)"

James Allen translates the expression *n Dt.f* in §§372d and 373b as "(and) of his body" and "to his body" respectively, though we have the same constructions in both cases: *n Dt.f* "of his person"¹⁷ = "his own". *kA n Wnjs pn n Dt.f* "ka of this Unis of his person" i. e. "personal ka of this Unis", "this Unis' own ka", cf. *zA.k pw n Dt.k* (§§160c, 213b) "this is your son of your person", i. e. "this is your own son", *zA{j}.k n Dt.k* "your son of your person" (CT VIII, 137c-d (M1C)), *jnk zA.k n Dt.k* (Budge, BD149, XIII:13) "I am your son of your person" (i. e. "I am your own son"), *zA.f mrjj.f Hn n Dt.f* (Jones, *Titles*, # 1768) "his own beloved son Hen (lit. his son whom he loves Hen of his person)", see also examples in N 72. The expression *n Dt* "of the person" is a way to say "own, proper, personal" as designation of relationship and ownership in Egyptian (which didn't have a word for "own", nor the verb "to have"). It may be compare to two expressions that are used in the same way: *n Xt* "of the belly" (as designation of relationship), e.g. *zA.j n Xt.j* "my bodily son" (lit. my son of my belly), i. e. "my own son", and *Ds(.j).f* "my/his own" (§364b, as designation of relationship and ownership widely-used in the M.K.), e.g. MMA 12.183.8, BM 1783: *jw DA.n(.j) jwwj m (m)Xnt(.j) Ds(.j)* "I transported the wrecked person in my own ferryboat (lit. probably "in my ferryboat of my person (?))". The exact meaning of *Ds* is unknown; the word is a noun, nearly always used with suffix pronoun and linked to another noun by direct genitive. Cf. the similar unique use of *Xt.f* with direct genitive on the O.K. stelae: *zA (n)swt Xt.f* "king's own son" (BM 1273, 1274). The designation of ownership in Egyptian through such nouns as *Dt* "(of) person" and *Xt* "(of) belly" suggests that the meaning of the word *Ds* must be sought in the sphere of the human person as well, and the probability is high that it is a synonym of *Dt* "person". Cf. PT 267, §364b: *jb n wnjs n.f Ds.f* "Unis's own heart (lit. Unis's heart of his person (?)) is his" and Nt 742-743: *jb.k n.k n Dt.k* "your own heart (lit. your heart of your person) is yours"; *Hrw n Dt.f* "Horus in (lit. of) his person, Horus himself" (§683b, see T 265, 1), *ra Ds.f* "the Sun himself" (CT IV, 215c (M1N4)) and *twt n ra Dt.f* "image of the Sun himself" (Sethy I, Abydos I, pl. 40, 1).

References to the ka as being personal also occur in the Coffin Texts:

CT III, 61b-m: *jTj.n.j kA.j n Dt.j Hna(.j) jT.f wj r aAaw nw sxt Htp ra*

"I have taken my own (lit. "of my person") ka that he may take me to the springs of the Sun's Marsh of Offering",

CT III, 394i: *aHa kA.j n Dt.j* "so that my own ka stands up",

CT VI, 259d: *jn.sn n.j kA.j n Dt.j* "They are bringing me my own ka",

CT VI, 350a: *j.nD(.j) Hr.k kA n N tn n Dt.s*

"Greetings, own ka of this N (lit. ka of this N of her person)"

CT VI, 398j: *dj.f n.f kA.f n Dt.f* "He gives him his own ka",

CT VI, 404e: *dj.f n.k kA.k n Dt.k r mtr.k* "He will appoint (lit. give) you your own ka to your witness"

¹⁷ The word *Dt* doesn't have the meaning "body", the word for "body" in Egyptian is *Haw*, cf. BD 15A, pBerlin 3002 (pNacht-Amun), 55: *aSA Hrw nn rx.tw Dt.f tA m Haw.f* "Many-faced One whose person will not be known, hot in his body".

CT VIII, §2028c (B6C): *jr.k mn(w).k jm nfrw Hna kA.k n Dt.k Dt*

"where (i. e. in the Behind the Horizon) you will make your beautiful abodes with your own ka during Dt-time"

Cp. also references to the ba as being personal:

CT IV, 96d: *wp jr.Tn mjTnw n bA.j n Dt.j* "Discern ways for my own ba!"

CT IV, 63k: *bA.j pw bA Dt.j pw* "This is my ba, this is my own ba"

CT V, 228b (=227b, 228k, 229e,k, 230h, 231d,o): *bA n N pn n Dt.f* "this N's own ba (lit. ba of this N of his person)".

Other examples of *n Dt* "personal" (see Jones, *Titles*, # 1767):

pr Dt or *pr n Dt* (Old Kingdom and later) is "personal/private house (i. e. farm)"; also *pr n Dt.f* "his private house (lit. the house of his person)", not "estate" or "funerary domain".

jz Dt or *jz n Dt* (Old Kingdom) is "personal/private tomb" (Urk.I:14:15, 15:4, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 231, p. 213, fig. 240 after the p. 220), not "tomb of eternity"

sn Dt (Old Kingdom) is "personal brother" (not "brother of the estate" nor "brother of the endowment"), i. e. hired mortuary servant, also deputy or representative (see Garcia, *A new inscription*), this title doesn't designate blood relation and might show the rate of confidence between people. *sn Dt* seems to be a variant of just *Dt/n Dt* "personal man". For the references, see Jones, *Titles*, ## 3324, 3325.

n Dt (Old Kingdom and later) "he of the person" = "personal/own man", see Jones, *Titles*, ## 1767, 1769-1775. Cf. it with *n(j)w Xt.f* (§647b) "his own ones", lit. "these of his belly" = "his children".

Dt (Old Kingdom and later) "personal/own man", e.g. *Dt.s* (Urk.I:273:1) "her personal man", i.e. "her servant/menial", for more references, see Jones, *Titles*, # 3747.

Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 226, p. 205: *jn sn.s Dt...jr n.s jz pn Dt.s*

"It is her private brother...who made for her this tomb of her own"

Merefnebef (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*, the northern inscription of the facade):

jr Hm jz(j) pn n Dt jr.n(j) sw m Sw jmAx xr nswt r xt nb(t)

"As to this private tomb of mine: I have made it in the shade of honor regarding the king more than (in the shade of) anything (else)"

Urk.IV:447:4-5: [*dj.k s.qbb.j Xr nhwt*].*j m Hwt jrt.n.j m Sj n Dt.j*

"[Let me become cool under] my [sycamores] in the enclosure I have made, in my own garden"

Urk.IV:1189:1: *pr(t) xrw n.f nfr m Hwt kA nt Dt.f m jz.f n Xr(j)-nTr*

"Making good offerings (lit. sending a good voice) for him in his own ka enclosure (and) in his tomb of the necropolis"

BM 101: *s.wD.Tn jAwt.Tn n Xrdw.Tn wnn msw.Tn mn(.w) Hr nswt.Tn m jAwt.Tn nt Dt*

"You will bequeath your offices to your children, your children will be firm on your (office's) seats (and) your own offices"

Urk.I:174:8: *pṛt xrw nt Dt m Xr(j)t hrw m Awt Dt*
"personal offerings daily during Dt-time"

CT I, 164f (= ibid, 177g-h): *s.mn.j pṛt xrw.k m pr n Dt.k nt(j) m jw nsrsr*
"I make firm your offerings in your own house (lit. in the house of your person) which is on the Isle of Blazing"

CT VIII, 137c-d (B10Ca, B1P): *fx.k pr.k n Dt.k n zA.k*
"leave your own house to your son"

CT I, 402d: *s.jp.j sn n Dt n zwn*
"I have intended them (them)selves for perish"

CT IV, 103f-g: *xpr.kj m jrt Hr w xt(j)t ms.n w(j) Dt.s Ds.s*
"I have become the fiery eye of Horus, its own person has given me birth"

CT V, 243c: *Sm bA.fr pr.f n Dt.f* "His ba goes to his own house".

CT V, 332f: *j.nD(j) Hr.k jb.j pn n kAw.j HAtj.j pn n Dt.j*
"Greetings, this my mind of my kas, this my heart of my person" (split line in the original).

CT VI, 77d: *jw bA.j n Dt.f jw Swt.j n a.s* "My ba is for himself (lit. for his person), my shade is for its arm"; CT VI, 74i: *jw bA[j n] Dt.j* "My ba is for my person"

Urk.IV:614:5: *s.HDt tp(j)t.j m n(j) Dt.k*
"The Illuminating (uraeus) on my head is your property/your personalia (lit. is as of your person)"

Urk.IV:140:17: *jr w Tn m n-Dt nt Hm.f mj zp.s jmj HAt*
"This (land of) Iru is in His Incarnation's property like its previous state", literally "This Iru is as what is of the person of His Incarnation..." (similar expressions: ibid:138:9, 14, 272:5, 331:14, 795:13, 796:8, 1276:18, 1303:12).

CT VII, 154d-e: *jn n.j jSt.j nt Dt.j rdj n.j nHmt m-a.j*
"My own (lit. of my person) property has been brought to me: I have been given what was taken away from me"

CT IV, 56j: *jw nD.n.j Dt.j Ds.j*
"I have helped myself out on my own"

CT VI, 204b: *n wj Dt.j* "I belong to myself"

CT VII, 49m: *n Tw s(j) n-s(j) Dt.k* "you belong to her, she belongs to your person"

Sethy I, Abydos III, pl. 50: *nfr.wj Hwt.k m tA wr spAt nt Dt nt*
"How beautiful is your enclosure in the Great Land, the personal nome of the Lowersky"

In the following passage personal property marked with *Dt* is contrasted with official/state property:

El Bersheh I, pl.18 (= Urk.VII:52:16-19):

jwt m Htp spr r zH n jrt Tnwt aAt m jdrw.f n(w) xr nswt Hna jdrw.f Dt m spAwt wnt jn... [DHwtj

Htp(.w)]

"Coming in peace, attaining to the booth for making a big count of (lit. in) his official herds (lit. the herds of that with the king/of the king's property, see **T 196**, 9) with his own herds from the districts of the nome of the Hare by...[Tjehutihetepu ("Thoth is content")]"

The expression *n Dt Dt* "for the course of *Dt*-time, during *Dt*-time" is literally "of the person of *Dt*-time, of the personality of *Dt*-time, of *Dt*-time's own", i. e. means something like "belongs to the nature (lit. person) of *Dt*-time" (see **T 196**, 9). For *Dt* referring to the bodyparts, see **N 72**.

Yuriy Perepiolkin was the first Egyptologist who showed the meaning "person" for *Dt*, in his fundamental works of 1966 and 1988: *Chastnaia sobstvennost v predstavlenii egyptian Starogo carstva* (Private Ownership as Viewed by the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom), Palestinskij sbornik 16 (79), Moscow-Leningrad. 1966 (was published in German in 1986), and *Hozyaystvo staroegyptskiyh velmog* (A Farm of the Old Kingdom Officials). Moscow. 1988, see **Bibliography**. The term *Dt* in the Middle Kingdom was studied by Oleg Berlev proceeding from Perepiolkin's study (Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie*, pp.172-254). It is noteworthy that Harold Hays reads *n/nt Dt* same in his dissertation, yet doesn't give literal translation of this phrase: "Pyr 69b: *ir.ti Hr n(i)t(i) D.t=f*" "Horus's own Eyes" (Hays, *Structure*, p. 78, note 74).

4)

§373c: *jr w n.f arrwwt T(A)zz n.f HmATT*

Allen "The portals will act for him, the (Red Crown's) coil will be tied on for him"

Shmakov "(False) doors will be made for him (i. e. for Unis's ka), the *HmATT* will be tied together for him"

For "(false) door" as one of the meanings of the word *arrwt*, see **W 165**, 14. The word for red crown's coil is *S(A)bt*, see §1459a, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 60. The meaning of the word *HmATT* is unknown and we can only judge by the word's determinative, which is a {rope}.

5)

§375a: *nj zA a.f*

Allen "his arms will not go off"

Shmakov "his arm cannot be detained (lit. guarded)"

The passage probably has passive *sDm.f*. The verb in the passage is undoubtedly *zAj* "guard, detain, restrain", cf. the verb's spellings without *zA*-{hobble for cattle}-V16 sign in §§265d, 401b W, 436b, 686b (**T 265**, 3), 771a,c N, 979a, 1059b, 1163b P. The verb has the meaning "detain, restrain", literally "watch over/guard somebody so that he doesn't escape", not "watch over/guard somebody to protect him", cf.:

PT 273, §401b: *jn Ds(j) tp zAA n.f sn xsf n.f sn*

"It is the snake Who Lifts Head who detains them for him (and) bars them for him"

Urk.I:223:10-11: *nj zp zA.t(j.j) nj zp [x]nr.t(j.j)*

"Never was I detained, never was I restrained"

CT I, 362-363d: *nj zA.n.t(w) bA.j* "My ba cannot be detained"

CT I, 396b: *nj zA.n.t(w) bA.j jn jrjw awt Asjr(t)*

"My ba cannot be detained by those who are attached to Osiris's limb"

CT I, 398b: *nj zA.n.tw bA.j jn HkA n Snwt ra*

"My ba cannot be detained by the magic of the Sun's suite"

(note that S1C, S2C give *nj Amm bA.j* "My ba will not be seized")

CT II, 13c (= ibid 16i-17a): *j kA HHw zAA aApp*

"Oh bull of Infinite gods who detains Apop"

CT II, 47e: *nj zA.n sw HkA tp tA Dt*

"He cannot be detained by the magic on the earth during *Dt*-time"

CT II, 55b-c (= ibid, 84a-b): *jj.n.j xr.k jbw wrt...zAA nbDw*

"I have come to you Kid of the Great... who detains disgusting ones"

CT III, 216-217a: *jn zAA Tw s.fx Tw*

"The one who detained you is who has released you"

CT IV, 178m: *nj zA.n.tw bA.j Hr XAt.j*

"My ba cannot be detained from my corpse"

CT IV, 282-283c-284-285a: *grH pw...n jrt zAwt sbjw*

"at the night...of arranging (lit. making) the detention of rebels"

CT IV, 321f-322a: *rdj.n n.sn nb r Dr Ax r jrt zAwt xftjw.f*

"to whom the Lord to the Limit has given akh-magic to arrange the detention of opponents"

CT IV, 322c (= 330k): *jwjtjw prt Xr zAwt.sn*

"the ones from whose detention there is no emergence"

CT VI, 70b (B9C): *nj sx(m).Tn m zAt bA.j pn*

"You have no control of this my ba's detention"

CT VI, 165b: *jm zAw sw jwnwj.k Ddwj.k ra*

"Sun, your two columns (and) your two *Dd*-columns should not detain him"

CT VI, 412b-c: *Sa.fjr r.k Hr zAw*

"he will combine (i. e. put) one who would act against you under (lit. on) detention"

CT VI, 413n: *zA.k spd w spd jbH(w) jr.f zAwt jr r.k m z(my)t jAbt(j)t*

"Your son Sopdu (with) sharp teeth arranges the detention of the one who would act against you in the eastern desert"

CT VII, 18h: *wsr bA.j r zAAw sw*

"My ba is stronger than (lit. against) those who would detain him"

CT VII, 26e: *qAt Tn jwt(j)t prt m zAwt.s*

"this door-bolt from whose detention there is no emergence"

CT VII, 66f: *zA.f xft(j)w.k*

"He will detain your opponents"

CT VII, 313b: *swt zAA hAA jm.f*

"he is the one who detains the one descended in it (i. e. winding (*qAb*))"

Urk.V:86:11-17: *HA.k rw...jrr zAwt nj mA.n.tw.fm zAw wj*

"Back, you lion...who arranges detention (and) is invisible (lit. whom one cannot see), don't detain me!"

Urk.V:87:7-8: *Ast dr.s zAwt.j nbt-Hwt bHn.s Xnnw.j*

"Isis is removing detention of me (lit. my detention), Nephthys is cutting off my disorder/mess"

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 120: *nj pr.Tn m zAwt.f Dt*

"you will not emerge from his detention during *Dt*-time"

Cf. the similar use of the verb *nhzj* "watch, guard" in CT V, 346a: *nj nhz N pn jm* "This N cannot be restrained in (it)"

The theme of the discussed passage is similar to the passages PT, §271b: *nj xsf a n wnjs m Axt* "Unis's arm cannot be barred in the Behind the Horizon"; PT 258, §311d: *nj DA rd.f nj xsf jb.f* "His foot cannot be crossed, his heart cannot be barred"; PT 365, §625d: *nj Dr rd.k m bw nb mrjj.k (wnn) jm* "there is no limit for (lit. of) your leg in any place you might wish (to be) in"; PT 365, §622d: *nj Dr rd.k m tA* "there is no limit for (lit. of) your leg in the earth"; PT 412, §722c: *nj swAA rd.k* "your leg will not be crossed"; CT III, 341e: *nj xsfw r.j* "my mouth will not be barred"; CT IV, 117c-d: *nn Dr n Hr.j nn xsf n awj.j* "there is no limit for my face, there is no barring for my arms"; CT IV, 172e-f: *nn Dr n Hr.j nn Snw awj.j* "there is no limit for my face, there is no net for (lit. of) my arms"; CT V, 316h (also 312i): *nj xsfw a.s rd.s* "her arm (or) leg will not be barred"; CT VII, 158p: *nj xsf a.j* "my arm cannot be barred"; Budge, BD22:5: *nj xsf.tw a.j m DADAt nt nTr nb* "My arm cannot be barred in the tribunal of any god"; Urk.IV:138:10 (cf. *ibid* 1278:20): *nj xsf a n wptj.f xt tAw f<n>xw* "His messenger's arm has not been barred throughout the lands of Fenekhu"; Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 9: *xAswt Xr Tbwjt.k nj xsf a.k* "foreign lands are under your feet: your arm cannot be barred"; Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 47: *nxt xpS.k r pDt 9 nn xsf a.k* "your bull's foreleg is strong against the Nine Bows, there is none who can bar your arm".

W 176 (PT 269)

§378b: *jj pAq jj pAD prj m mAst Hrw*

Allen "The wafer has come, the cap that comes from Horus's knee has come"

Shmakov "The flat loaf (of incense) has come, the loaf (of incense) that emerged from Horus's knee has come"

Incense was kept in loaves (*pAD*), cf. *snTr pAD* "a loaf of incense" (Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 28), *snTr pAD xA* "one thousand loaves of incense" (The mastaba of Merib, L.D.II:22a); PT §116b: *j.(n)D(j) Hr.k snTr... pD Tw m rn.k pAD* "Greetings, incense...spread yourself in your identity of the loaf", PT §1644a: *[pA]D n snTr* "a loaf of incense".

Compare the notion "the loaf (of incense) that emerged from Horus's knee" of the passage with the signification of incense as *mn wr jmj awt Hrw* "great whoever who is in Horus's limbs" in §116a.

2)

§380b: *nTrw jpf s.b(A)qjw sAAjw j.xmw sk*

Allen "those gods who are wise and experienced, the Imperishable Stars"

Shmakov "those gods who are bright/luminous and experienced (lit. sated), the Imperishable Stars"

The word *sbq* in the current passage is probably a causative of the root *bAq* "bright" (Wb.I:424:12; *bAq* is also spelled *bq*; *s.bAq* (Wb.IV:86:16) is also spelled *s.bq*), hence the transliteration is rather *s.b(A)q*. The same designation of the imperishable stars occurs in §997c. Cf. also the title *s.HD* "instructor" which is literally "enlightener".

Urk.IV:84:17: *tjt s.b(A)qt nt Haw nTr*
"Bright image of the god's body"

Omission of *A* in the middle position (abbreviated spellings) are not rare:

a(A)bt "washing jar" (§1293b), *T(A)z* "tie" (§472b), *z(A)b* "jackal" (§§804d, 865b N), *z(A)b* "to flute" (almost always in graphical transposition as *zbA*), *b(A)H* "before, formerly" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. VIII, col. 4), *a(A)b* "vegetation, feast" (§§310b T, 314b, 699a P, 2040c), *s.b(A)gj* "tire" (§230d), *z(A)T* "libation", *H(A)b* "festival", *s(A)H* "Orion", *S(A)bt* "(red crown's) curl" (§1459a), *d(A)b* "figs" (§91d WN), *j(A)dw/j(A)dt* "boy/girl" (cf. *jAdw* in *Kemit*, pl. 8), *k(A)p* "cense" (§1017b), *j(A)b* "miss" (§204b W), *H(A)m* "net" (the mastaba chapel of Akhetihotep, Louvre).

W 177 (PT 270)

§385a-386a: *jj.n wnjs n gs {s} .f mj jwt nTr n gs.f jj.n wnjs n smA.f mj jwt nTr n smA.f nj s.rxw anx jr wnjs*

Allen "Unis has come to his side like a god's coming to his side; Unis has come to his proximity like a god's coming to his proximity. There is no accusation of one alive against Unis..."

Shmakov "Unis has come for his support like a god's coming for his support, Unis has come for his backing like a god's coming for his backing, (thought) there is no accusation of one alive against Unis..."

jj n gs "come to the side" and *jj n smA* "come to the (head's) temple/scalp" probably have here the meaning like in the English expression "take somebody's side, side with somebody", i. e. "support".

2)

§386a-b: *nj s.rxw anx jr wnjs nj s.rxw m(w)t jr wnjs nj s.rxw (m)zt jr wnjs nj s.rxw ng jr wnjs*

Allen "There is no accusation of one alive against Unis, there is no accusation of one dead against Unis, there is no accusation of a duck against Unis, there is no accusation of a longhorned bull against Unis"

There probably is a word-play between *anx* "alive" and *ng* "longhorned bull" (for /x/ ~ /g/, see **M 52**), and between *m(w)t* "dead" and *(m)zt* "she-duck".

W 178 (PT 271)

§388a-389a: *wnjs pj zSS wAD wnjs pj Htp(.j) tAwj wnjs pj zmA.jj tAwj wnjs pj dmD.jj mwt.f...mwt nt wnjs*

Allen "Unis is fresh water-lily. It is Unis: be content, Two Lands. It is Unis: unite, Two Lands. It is Unis: join together, his mother...and the mother of Unis"

Shmakov "Unis is the one who pulls out papyrus, it is (the case that) Unis is content, Two Lands, it is (the case that) Unis is joined, Two Lands, it is (the case that) Unis is united, his mother...and the mother of Unis"

zSS wAD is undoubtedly "pull out papyrus", see Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 328-329, Simpson, *Mersyankh III*,

p. 10, fig. 4., Junker, *Giza V*, pp.65, 67 (Abb.15). The word for water-lily is *zSSn*¹⁸, not *zSS* (§266a, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137, 2, after p. 122 (*zSSn kA(j)-m-nfrt*), Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 28, p. 182 (*Sms zSSn* "servant (named) Water-lily"), Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 65, p. 159 (*(j)m(j)-r sSr zSSn* "head of linen (named) Water-lily"), L.D.II:47 (*zSSn pHn*), Meir V). *Htp(j)*, *zmA.jj*, and *dmD.jj* are probably statives, not imperatives, cf. **T 17**.

2)

§390b: *nDr Hrw stS m a n wnjs Sd.sn sw r dwAt*

Allen "Horus and Seth shall take the arm of Unis and take him away from the Duat"

Shmakov "Horus and Seth shall grasp at the arm of Unis (and) take him to the Duat"

The usual meaning of the collocation *Sdj r* is "take to (a place)" (*Sd jr pt* "taking to the sky" occurs in §§506c, *1034b, 1496c, 1497c, 1498c, 2053b). James Allen's reading "away from the Duat" was dictated by the context of climbing a ladder (§389b-390a), which is usually a way to ascend to the sky, and by his wish to fit this passage into his idea about the texts of the antechamber (to which this passage belongs). According to this idea, suggested in his work "*Reading a Pyramid*", those texts are about leaving the burial chamber-Duat: a king's way to the sky begins in the Duat (*dwAt*, burial chamber), proceeds to the Behind the Horizon (*Axt*, antechamber), and then leads to the sky (*pt*, antechamber passage to the corridor). Although this idea is now widely accepted (and the author of the current work also agrees with it), it has nothing to do with the actual meaning of the preposition *r* in this passage (cf. Hays, *Structure*, p.252, note 103: *Sd=sn(i) sw r dA.t* "they taking him out to the Netherworld"). The Duat region, in spite of its location below the earth, is not the zone to escape from; we should not forget that it is the place where the dead Osiris had (been) resurrected. However, theoretically, James Allen's reading is possible, as the preposition *r* does have the meaning "away, from" as a governing preposition of some collocations, *bjAj jr* has the meaning "be away from" as well as "be away to (the sky)" (§§801a, 1016a); *s.Hrj r* "distance from" (§§653c, 1622a) as well as "distance to (the sky)" (Sin. R7; Urk.IV:896:1).

W 179 (PT 272)

§392c: *wnjs pj Srr jm*

Allen "Unis is the little one in it"

Shmakov "Unis is the youngest"

jm(j) "who is in/from" or loosely "among" is a nisbe and is probably a superlative marker (not an adverb "there", Allen, *M. E.*, 6.8), i. e. "young one who is from (the young ones, i. e. he is young even among/compared to the young ones)" ~ "the youngest". Cf. PT 336, §548a: *aA jmj nTrw* "eldest of the gods", PT 446, §825d: *Twt wr jm ms.s* "You are the eldest of her progeny/children", literally "elder who is from the gods" and "You are the great one who is from/in her progeny/children" respectively. The same probably occurs in the word-formation *bAk jm(j)*, i. e. "servant who is from (the servants)" ~ "the most (valuable) servant" ~ "(your) humble servant".

The same idea of the king's youthful age is expressed in the similar spell PT 607, §1701a-b: *ms.n nw nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n ra Hr Drt.f jAbt nxn(j) njj sAAAt nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n ra*

"Nu has given birth to Nemtiemzaf Merenre on his left hand, he is growing up and without Nemtiemzaf Merenre's experience".

2)

§392d: *jw wnjs pn tp(j) Smsw ra nj wnjs pn tp nTrw tjxtjx(.w)*

¹⁸ Also probably existed the word of feminine gender or nisba: *zSzSt (zSzS(j)t ?)* "(she of ?) water-lily" (the name of Mereruka's wife).

Allen "For this Unis is at the head of the Sun's followers; this Unis is not at the head of the gods of disturbance"

Shmakov "This Unis is at the head of the Sun's followers, this Unis is not at the head of the outcast/loner (lit. parted) gods"

For *tjxtjx(.w)* read *txtx(.w)* (*tj* is sometimes used for *t* (Edel, *Altag. Gr.*, §41), cf. *tjHn* ~ *tHn* (< *THn*) "glisten", and cf. the variant *txAxA(.w)* below which also stays for *txtx(.w)* (Edel, *Altag. Gr.*, §41, 45), cf. *nxAxA* for *nxx* in CT I, 296c (T9C, Sq3C)), which probably means "outcasts (lit. parted ones)", a stative used as an epithet (Allen, *M. E.*, 17.20). The verb *txtx* is a variant spelling of the verb *tStS/tS(j)* "come off, part", often as the collocation *tS(j) r* "come off, part from" (cp. *txtx* (CT IV, 385d) ~ *tStS* (CT VI, 295h) "tear", a case of /x/ ~ /S/ (see **W 88**)). Allen's translation "disturbance" makes clear he derives the word from a verb listed in the dictionaries as *txtx* "mess up, disorder" (said e.g. of hair, Urk. V:87:4), but in the PT, the word for "disorder, disturbance" is *Xnw/Xnnw*. For the meaning of the verb *tStS/tS(j)*, cf.:

CT III, 315b: *Hbs.n.j gmt.n.j tS.w*

"I have swaddled that which I have found came off (the corpse as a result of rotting)"
(the same expression occurs *ibid*, 297c)

CT IV, 94t: *wn.j Hna Hw hrw Hbs tStS(.w)*

"I will be with Hu on the day of swaddling of that which came off"

CT VII, 26p-q: *jnk wt j.n jnpw jj.n.j Hbs(.j) gmt.n(.j) tSy.w*

"I am an embalmer" – said Anubis, "I have come that I may swaddle that which I have found came off"

Budge, BD183:27-28: *Ast Hna.k nn tS.s jr.k*

"Isis is with you and will not part from you"

Urk.IV:32:10: *tm tSt r nb tAwj Hr prjt*

"without parting from the Lord of the Two Lands on the battlefield"
(similar occur *ibid* 603:10, 899:13, 901:6, 938:14)

Urk.IV:38:11: *jwtj tS r nswt Hr prj*

"who didn't part from the king on the battlefield"

The verb's meaning "tear" or "crush" (Eb. 69, 12) is secondary of the base "come off, part", literally "part (into pieces)":

CT IV, 385c-e: *zwA ar.k txtx mDAwt.k Hr nn mrmr Dd.n.k jry.k r N tn*

"Your writing-reed has been broken, your papyrus-scrolls have been torn because of that painful thing which you have said that you are going to do against this N"

CT VI, 295h-i: *sD.f xAw.k tStS.f {Htpw}<mDAwt>.k st.f pAs.k r tA*

"that he may break your water-pots, tear your papyrus-scrolls (and) smash your ink-pot against the ground (lit. throw your ink-pot to the ground)"

The scribe no doubt misunderstood three *mDAwt*-{papyrus scroll}-Y1/Y2 signs in the hieratic for *Htpw*, so there is no "offerings" or "peace" in the just cited passage.

Cf. also the collocation *tS(j) r* "come off, part from" as the synonym of the collocation *wp(j) r* "part from".

These gods also occur in PT 607, §1701c-d, despite the rather different writing of the word (a case of *xA ~ x*, see Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §45):

nHm.n.f nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m-a nTrw txAxA(.w) nj rDj.n.f nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra n nTrw txAtxA(.w)
"He has taken Nemtiemzaf Merenre away from the outcast gods, he cannot give Nemtiemzaf Merenre to the outcast gods".

The *nTrw tjtjx(.w)* "outcast/deserter (lit. parted) gods" are the gods who cut themselves off from the group (in this passage from the *Smsw ra* "the Sun's followers"). For the word's meaning cf. also the following passage about an amnesty granted by the queen Jahhotpu (*jaH-Htp(.w)* "The Moon is content"):

Urk.IV:21:13-14: *nw.n.s wtxw.s jnq.s tSw.s*

"She has gathered her fugitives, she has collected her outcasts/loners (*tSw*) (for the new life)".

W 180a (PT 273)

§393b: *nm(j)nm(j) pDwt sdA qsw Akrw*

Allen "the (sky's) arcs have quaked, the bones of the horizons have trembled"

Shmakov "the (sky's) arcs have moved, the bones of the horizons have trembled"

For *pDwt* "arcs" as those of the sky, see §1443a M: *pDt pt* "the sky's arc" and **N 359**, 3. The verb *nm(j)nm(j)* is probably 6-rad., not 4-rad., see **T 196**, 4. James Allen is here followed in the meaning "horizons" for *Akrw*, cf. CT VI, 270q-r: *Hr.tjwn r.j Akrw nw pt Hrt zAAw wAwt m pt mHt(j)t* "Be far from me, horizons of the upper sky, who guard the roads in the northern sky", cf. also §658d-e where the word is used in parallel to *sHdw* "stars". Dr. Oleg Berlev suggested the reading "(protective) doorstep" for *Akr* (Berlev, *Sculpture*, p. 359, note eφ).

2)

§393c: *gr r.sn gnmw*

Allen "those who move have grown still"

Shmakov "hastening ones have stopped (lit. grown still)"

When referring to speaking, the verb *gr* has the meaning "be(come) silent", and when referring to an action, the verb has the meaning "be(come) still, stop" (this note about the verb is due to J. Allen). The root of the nominalized plural participle (i. e. actually plural noun of agent) *gnmw* is probably a variant of the geminated root *xAmm* "hurry, hasten" (Wb.III:231:14, Allen, *Inflection*, §§82, 739), a case of /A/ ~ /n/ (~ /l/, see **W 78**) and /g/ ~ /x/ (see **M 52**), i. e. *gnm ~ xAm*. Note that both verbs have {walking legs} determinative (§§393c T, 1254d P), but there are also cases in which this determinative is omitted (§§393c W, 1254d MN), which often happens to verbs of motion in the PT spellings, cf. the spellings of the verbs *zA* "go" and *prj* "emerge, go out". Moreover, this is not the only case in which a word is spelled with two graphemes-substitutes which are allophones of the more usual phonemes (in this case *gn* instead of *xA*), for another cases see **W 166**, 1. For the meaning of *xAmm*, cf.:

PT 531, §1254d M: *jw mr.n ra m wpt Hrw m xAmm*

"Merenre is on a commission from Horus as a herald"

PT 613, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 66: [*mXnt X*]*nnt jt(j).f Asjr(t) nt(j)[t ja].tj xAmm.tj*
"[the ferryboat] which his father Osiris rows and which has [ascended] and hastened"

pKairo CG 25095 (pMaiherperi), 206-207: *m Htp zp 2 mj zp 2 xAmm zp 2*
"Welcome –twice–, come –twice–, hurry –twice"

Budge, BD99(B):3: *m Htp zp 2 mj zp 2 xA{a}m zp 2*
"Welcome –twice–, come –twice–, hurry –twice"
In this papyrus (pNu) *xAm* is without germination.

3)
§394c: *wnjs pj nb zAbwt*
Allen "Unis is the lord of jackal-like rapacity"
Shmakov "Unis is the lord of issue (i. e. birth)"

The word *zAbwt* is probably "issue, outflow" as a synonym of *mswt* "birth" (in §457b a relative form *zAbjj* "which poured out" also occurs without {flowing liquid} determinative (**W 206**, 8)), cf. CT IV, 181e-j: *jnk pw aAa.j aAat zAb.n.j zAbt jmj tj mntj.sj [m rn.j] pw n zAb jxx...aAa.n wj mwt.j Ast xm.n.s Dt.s Xr Dbaw nb nTrw*

"This is me: I have flowed out (as) an outflow, I have issued (*zAb.n.j*, i. e. was born) (as) an issue (*zAbt*) between her thighs [in my identity] of Evening Jackal (*zAb jxx*)...My mother Isis has poured me out having forgot herself under the fingers of the lord of the gods".

The term "lord of issue" probably refers to a person who caused his own birth. Note that in PT 273, §394c, this expression is used in parallel to the clause "whose (own) mother (*mwt.f*) does not know his identity", which (via the mentioning of the mother) again suggests that *zAbwt* is connected to birth. It does not support the idea that *zAbwt* is to be translated as "wisdom", as sometimes is done, and moreover, the word for wisdom is *sAA* "experience, wisdom".

4)
§396a-b: *jw Hmwswt.f Xr rdwj.f jw nTrw.f tp.f*
Allen "his guardian forces under his feet, his gods atop him"
Shmakov "his guardian/protective (Neith's) fetishes under his feet, his god's power atop him"

The determinatives of the word *Hmwswt* are the classical Neith's fetishes: {shield and crossed arrows}. *nTrw* in the passage has the meaning "god's power" rather than "gods", just like *kAw* is "ka-power", *Axw* "akh-power, akh-magic", *bAw* "ba-power, impressiveness". Though these words look like plurals they were abstracts, thus actually singular, cf. Urk.IV:140:7: *bAw Hm.f sSm.n.f st* "His Incarnation's impressiveness (or ba-power) has begun to lead them (i. e. his army)".

5)
§396c: *jw sSmwt wnjs m HAt.f ptrt bA Axt nTb.s*
Allen "Unis's lead uraeus is on his forehead, ba when seen and akh for shooting fire"
Shmakov "Unis's leading (uraeus) is on his forehead, the One an Impression of Whom is Visible, Efficient When Shining"

ptrt bA "visible one of an impression" is a *nfr Hr* construction. *Axt nTb.s* "efficient when she shines" is a nominalized sentence that also occurs in CT VI, 270d-e: *Snwt.f m Axt nTb.s psDt.f HA.f* "His suite is Efficient When Shining, his Ennead is around him". Cf. also another designations for uraeus, Urk.IV:614:5: *s.HDt tp(j)t.j* "Illuminating (uraeus) on my head", CT IV, 51c, 91s: *xat* "Appeared/Shone Forth (uraeus)".

6)

§396d: *jw wsrw Wnjs Hr mkt.f*

Allen "for Unis's powers are on his torso"

Shmakov "Unis's power is on his torso"

wsrw is singular "power", cf. §290a. Teti's copy of this passage has *jw wsrwt tjt Hr mkt.f* "Teti's necks are on his torso".

7)

§398a: *wnjs pj apr jab Axw.f*

Allen "Unis is an equipped one who gathered his effectiveness"

Shmakov "Unis is an experienced one who gathered his akh-magic"

The post Old Kingdom texts often say about *apr Axw* "acquiring/gaining akh-magic", the expression synonymous to the *jab Axw* in the present passage:

pPrisse 56: *nn Hmww apr Axw.f*

"there is no craftsman who acquired his mastery (lit. effectiveness) (in full)"

CT I, 86-87b-c: *s.DA.f...apr.n.f Axw nbw*

"He will go...having acquired all akh-magic"

ibid, 148b: *mj.k Hm.k jj.y apr.n.f Ax nb*

"Look: your incarnation has come having acquired all akh-magic"

CT V, 157b-c: *Dd.sn Ax pw apr jjw r tA pn jn Ax apr.n.f*

"They say: "This is an equipped akh who has come to this land by akh-magic which he has gathered""
(*jjw* here is actually a passive participle)

CT VI, 178g (also CT VII, 2y): *jnk apr Axw.f* "I am the one who acquired his akh-magic"

ibid, 321f: *apr.n.f Ax nb* "he has acquired all akh-magic"

CT VII, 236t-237a: *jw apr.n.k Axw.sn nb nj s.xm.k jm*

"You have acquired all of their akh-magic, there is nothing you forgot from (it)";

ibid, 238y: *apr.n.j Axw nb* "I have acquired all akh-magic"

CM JE 51733: *jnk...Ax mnx apr Ax(w).f*

"I am...a mighty akh who acquired his akh-magic"

Budge, BD124:19-20: *jnk Ax apr jw apr.n.j Axw nbw* "I am an experienced akh, I have acquired all akh-magic"

Jones, *Titles*, # 4: *Ax apr HkA r r(m)T nb* "an akh who acquired more magic than (lit. against) any men"

8)

§§398c-399a: *Hms.f sA.f jr gbw wnjs pj wDa mdw.f Hna jmn rn.f*

Allen "sitting with his back to Geb. Unis is the one whose case against him whose identity is hidden

was decided"

Shmakov "He sits with his back to Geb – Unis is the one who judges him (i. e. Geb) with (i. e. against) The One Who Hides His Identity"

Literally – "is the one who decides his (i. e. Geb's) case with (i. e. against) The One Who Hides His Name"

The expression itself contains three different persons: two litigating parties and one judge, and by this a proper decision is guaranteed (i. e. Unis cannot be the litigating one and the judge at the same time). For this model of two litigating parties (X's case (*mdw*) versus (*Hna*) Y) being judged (*wDa*) by a judge Z, compare:

Urk.I:71:1-2: [w]nn wDa mdw(.j) Hna.sn Hr.s jn nTr aA nb wDa mdw m bw nt(j) wDa mdw jm

"the judgment (lit. judging) of my case about it with them will be by the Elder god, lord of judgment, in the place where judgment is (held)"

wnn is a prospective *sDm.f*, *wDa* is an infinitive, see Allen, *M. E.*, 21.7.

The place "where judgment is (held)" was called *DADAt* "tribunal", Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.59: *jw wDa(.j) Hna.fm DADAt nTr aA* "I will litigate with him in the tribunal of the Elder god"

Urk.I:117:6: *jw(.j) r wDa Hna.sn jn nTr aA*

"I will be judged with them by the Elder god"

Literally: "I am to the judgment (lit. judging) with them by the Elder god" (*wDa* is an infinitive).

Sometimes only two persons are present: the accused and the judge:

Urk.I:122:16: *j(w).fr wDa Hr.s jn nTr aA* "He will be judged about it by the Elder god"

Literally: "He is to judgment (lit. judging) on it by the Elder god".

cf. also Urk.I:226:6: *jn nTr wDa mdw.f Hna jrt.f xt r.s*

"A god is the one who will judge him (i. e. the deceased) with the one who will do a (bad) thing to it (i. e. the tomb)"

CT II, 162j-163a: *Hms.j sA.j r gbb jnk wDa sw Hna jmn rn.f*

"I sit (with) my back to Geb – I am the one who judges him with The One Who Hides His Name"

CT VI, 178o-p: *Hms.j r.j sA.j r gbw m xnt jtrtj jnk wDa mdw.f Hna jmn rn.f*

"I have sat (with) my back to Geb at the fore of Both Shrines – I am the one who judges him with The One Who Hides His Name"

Amon's full name *jmn rn.f* is an active transitive participle "He who hides his name", rather than being a passive *sDm.f* in an unmarked relative – (*ntj*) *jmn rn.f* "(who) his name is hidden", which is meaningless as it would imply that somebody took his name and hid it, and rather than being a strange *nfr sw* construction with a passive participle "hidden of name", cf.:

CT II, 156j-157a (G2T): *jj.tjw(n) ms.j n.Tn jmjw pAwt.sn jmnw rn.sn r.j*

"Welcome, you for whom I was born, (gods) who are in their original time, who *hide* their names *from* me" (to read "hidden of their names from me" is rather strangely)

CT II, 162i (Sq3Sq): *HAp.sn rn N pn jmn.sn bAggt nt N pn*
"They conceal the name of this N (and) hide feebleness of this N"

In the latter passage *HAp* and *jmn* are synonyms and can switch the places **jmn.sn rn N pn HAp.sn...*, for in CT III, 311c we have *HAp.j bAgg.f* "I conceal his feebleness".

This is a case of full name vs. short name, the latter being *jmn* "He Who Hides". The same phenomenon occurs with the name of the goddess Selket whose name is spelled in full as *srqt Htw* "She Who Clears Out a Throat (so that one may breathe)" (§§606d, 673d, 1375c N, "She who Aspirates Throats" after Allen, but *Htw/Ht* is singular, not plural), and in short form (most often outside the PT) as just *srqt* "She Who Clears Out".

The preposition *Hna* is sometimes used in Egyptian with the meaning "against" and "from", cf. *wDa mdw Hna* and *jr wDa mdw xft* "institute legal procedure against" (CT I, 35c, 40c), cf. Urk.I:217:8, 222:13: *nj zp sDr.(j) Spt.k(j) jm Hna rmT nb* "I have never spent the night there angry with somebody (lit. any men)" (cf. usual *Spt r* "be(come) angry with (lit. against)"), *aHA Hna* "fight with (i. e. against)", Urk.IV:1045:10: *nD mAjr Hna wsr* "who helps out the oppressed person from (i. e. against) the powerful" (cf. usual *nD m-a* "help out from (lit. from the arm)"), The Cairo bowl (CG 25375), K10 *nHm Hna* <*jrr nb*> *jrrt nbt r.s* "Save from <males and> females who would act against her" (cf. usual *nHm m-a* "save from"), Budge, BD126:3-4: *wppyw mAjr Hna wsr* "those who part the oppressed person from (i. e. against) the powerful", Urk.IV:1118:8 (also *ibid*:1077:17, 1161:12): *wp mAjr Hna wsr* "the one who parts the oppressed person from the powerful" (cf. usual *wpj r* "part from (lit. against)" and CT VII, 466e: *wDa N tn mAr m-a wsr* "This N separates an oppressed person from the strong one").

9)

§399c-d: *wnjs p(j) nb HtpT TAz aqA jr Awt.f Ds.f*

Allen "Unis is lord of offering, who ties on the leash (of the sacrificial animal), who makes his own presentation of offerings"

Shmakov "Unis is the owner of nourishment, who ties the towing lashing (of his ferryboat), who makes his ration himself"

HtpT is "nourishment", not "offering (for the deceased)", as it occurs in an Old Kingdom title along with the word *DfAw* "provisions": *(j)m(j)-r swt Htpwt Df(A)w* "head of the places of nourishment and provisions" (Jones, *Titles*, # 827). The word *Awt* also doesn't have the meaning "offering", but "ration" (see **W 145**, 2). For *nb HtpT* "owner of nourishment", cf. CT III, 297l-298d: *jw.j m Smsw n Asjr(t) mm jmAxyw nbw HtpT jj.n.j apr.kw m HkA.j nj m(w)t.j nj nHm TAw r fnD.j jnk nb HtpT* "I am in retinue of Osiris among honored ones, owners of nourishment. I have come equipped with my magic, I will not die nor can air be taken away from my nose, for I am an owner of nourishment".

For the expression *TAz aqA*, see **W 224**, 2. Some examples may be added, namely Naville II, BD 99:3, 8, Budge, BD99:2-3, 5-6, Urk.IV:895:10: *jnk TAz aqAw m j[mn wsr HAt]* "I am the one who ties towing lashings in the (bark) "A[mon Powerful of the Front]" (also CT III, 76c (S10Cb), 76p-77a, 197g-h, 199i-k). The expression "who ties the towing lashing (of his ferryboat)" probably refers to making a boat ready and thus creating the ability to leave the place where Unis could go hungry, i. e. the action guarantees food security – the idea expressed in PT 555, §§1375a-1377c (see **P 528**, 2).

10)

§400b: *nb jnww xAa wpwwt*

Allen "one who has fetchers and sends off dispatchers"

Shmakov "owner of fetchers who deliver instructions"

Samuel Mercer was probably right about the meaning of the verb *xAa* as "to distribute" referring to the noun *jnww* "fetchers", not to *nb* "lord, owner". See

CT V 252 b-c: *HA.Tr.T amjAt sjnt xAat wp(w)t(j)t nTrw hAbt nTrw*

"Back, you, throwing stick, running and delivering, fetcher of the gods, whom the gods send"

Here the same verb *xAa* refers to throwing stick-fetcher and has the meaning "to bring, to deliver", not "to send off", hence the above translation of the PT passage.

11)

§400b: *jn j.xma wpwt jmj kHAw spH sn n wnjs*

Allen "Grasper of Forelocks in the kettle is the one who lassoes them for Unis"

Shmakov "Grasper of (bull's) Horns (lit. brows, tops of heads) in the kettle is the one who ties them for Unis"

In Unis's copy, the word *wpwt* "bull's horns, brows, tops of heads" has three {forelock} sign as determinative (idem in §396b: *jw jarwt.f m wpt.f* "his uraei on his (bull's) horns"), but in Teti's copy (also in §396b) there's only a {stroke} determinative, making it clear that "bull's horns" are meant. For "(bull's) horns", cf. §397a: *wnjs pj kA pt* "Unis is the sky's bull". For the verb *spH* as "bind, tie", see **W 165**, 8.

12)

§401b: *jn Ds(j) tp zAA n.f sn xsf n.f sn*

Allen "Serpent with Sweeping Head is the one who guards them for him and bars them for him"

Shmakov "It is (the snake) Who Hides the Head who detains them for him and bars them for him"

The verb *zAj* "guard, detain" (for the meaning see **W 175**, 5) is used in the passage probably as a synonym of the verb *nDrj* "hold" which is used more often in the oxen's holding scenes, for example, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 12: *nDrt rn jwA* "holding a fattened ox"; L.D.II:14 (= Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 79, p. 138): *nDrt ng* "holding out of a longhorned bull". For the meaning of the verb *Ds(j)/Dsr*, cf. **T 145**, 7.

13)

§402a: *xnzw mds nbw*

Allen "Courser, the lords' knife-bearer"

Shmakov "Courser, the lords' cutter"

The word *mds* was, probably, another designation for a butcher, along with the word *sSm*, and could have the meaning "cutter" as well as "violent, dangerous, lethal":

PT 254, §281a: *hA snD sdA mds w tp-a(wj) qrr n pt*

"Oh, be afraid, tremble, cutters, before the storm of the sky"

PT 587, §1606b: *jm.T{n} sDm n mds*

"You should not listen to the cutter"

CT III, 337g, 338f: *jnk ds mds jmj a DHwtj*

"(for) I am a butcher's (flint) knife in the arm of Thoth"

CT VI, 156a-b: *s.rwD.n.f ds mds jmj a DHwtj*

"He has strengthened a butcher's (flint) knife which is in the arm of Thoth"

CT VI, 266f-g: *spd HAt aA pHtj mds xftjw nw As[jr]*

"Sharp-fronted with big strength who slices Osiris's opponents"

CT VI, 32e-f: *ds pw zft.f sw jm.f mds pw n jmj a Szmw*

"the flint knife with which he slaughters is the butcher's one (*mds*) in the hand (lit. arm) of Shethmu"

CT I, 226d-e: *jmj.k Sm Hr wAwt mds w khAw xrw ddw sDbw*

"You should not go on the ways of cutters, who growl (and) set obstructions"

CT II, 56a (also 85b): *jnk mds pr m hrw* "I am a cutter who emerged by day"

CT VI, 230e-f: *N tn mds mds.s r.Tn nTrw*

"This N is a dangerous one, she is dangerous against you, gods"

CT VII, 111e-f: *j mds w...Ddw awAw.sn N pn*

"Oh cutters...who said that they would rob this N"

CT IV, 66m-o: *jnk xnzw...jnk mds jmj.Tn*

"I am Courser (Chonsu)...I am the most dangerous of you"

Urk.IV:18:13-14: *mn rdwj mds tbt* "firm of legs, resolute/energetic of foot"

Urk.IV:969:1: *s.Htm At nt mds jb* "who eliminates the force of the one dangerous of heart"

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 120: *mds.f sn mjq/maq.f sn* "he slices them, he chops them"

14)

§402c: *wpt pw hAbw.f r xsf*

Allen "he is the messenger he sends to confront"

Shmakov "he is the messenger he sends to drive back"

This translation of *xsf* is determined by the general context (handling of cattle, butchering scenes), see **W 180b**, 1 just below.

W 180b (PT 274)

§404a: *jw wrw.sn n jSt.f dwAt*

Allen "their adults are for his morning meal"

§404b: *jw Hr(j)w-jb.sn n mSrwt.f*

Allen "their middle-sized ones are for his evening meal"

Shmakov "their middle(-aged) ones are for his lunch (or "lunchtime")"

§404c: *jw Srrw.sn n jSt.f xAw*

Allen "their little ones for his nighttime snack"

Shmakov "their juniors are for his evening meal"

All the verbs used in §§401a-403a: *spH* "tie, lasso", *zAj* "detain", *xsf* "bar", *qAs* "bind", *DAd* "cut a

throat", *Sdj* "take out, extract", *rxs* "butcher", refer to the actions for bringing and butchering animals in the butchering scenes in the Old Kingdom mastabas (most often oxen, more rarely antelopes etc.): though the verbs *zAj* and *DAd* are not attested in such scenes, the first could be used instead of the verb *nDrj*, and for the second, cf. Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 107, where the oxen are represented with their throats cut).

Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 22: *qAs ng aA wrt* "binding very big longhorned bull"

L.D.II:35: *rxs jwA n qrs aA wrt m Htp Dj (n)swt* "slaughtering of a bull for a very important burial as a royal offering"

Junker, *Giza* II, Abb. 20, p. 154: *rxs <j>n sSm* "slaughtering by a butcher"

MMA 08.201.1b (tomb chapel of Raemkai (*ra-m-ka(j)*)): *rxs* "slaughtering"

The terminology means that all the gods were considered to have the shape of bulls/oxen, not of humans; in other words: they were slaughtered not like oxen – they were slaughtered because they are oxen. Cf. the representation of the Sun as a bull in PT 334, §543a-c: *j.nD Hr.k ra...nDr.n n.f tjt sd.k* "Greetings, Sun...Teti has grasped your bull's tail (*sd*)" (for *sd* as "bull's tail", see PT 538, §1302a-b: *HA.k ng...sd.k m a Ast* "Back, (you) longhorned bull...your tail (*sd*) is in the arm of Isis"), cf. also the use of such terms as *xpSw* "(oxen) forelegs" in §405b and *HAt(j)w* "(oxen) hearts" in §§409c, 410c. Unis himself is said to be "the bull of the sky" (§397a).

Similarly, *wrw*, *Hr(j)w-jb*, and *Srrw* are references to the gods–oxen of different ages: cf. their use for morning, lunch, and evening meal in these paragraphs with scenes and inscriptions from the O.K. mastabas:

Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*,

Tf. 16: *s.xpt rn ng n x[t] xAw*

"bringing a fattened longhorn bull for the evening meal";

Tf. 17: *spH ng* "binding the longhorned bull", *jnt ng n xt dwAt* "bringing the longhorned bull for the morning meal (i. e. for slaughtering)";

Tf. 52: *s.xpt rn jwA n xt dwAt*

"bringing a fattened ox for the morning meal";

Tf. 53: *s.xpt rn jwA n xt xAw*

"bringing a fattened ox for the evening meal";

Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 21, bottom register: *jnt rnt jwAt n xt dwAt*

"bringing a fattened she-calf for the morning meal";

pl. 22: *s.xpt rn jwA n xt xA(w)*

"bringing a fattened ox of the evening meal"

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 71: *s.xpt stp(t) n xt xA(w) jn Hm-ka jmj Abd, xt dwA jn Hm-ka jmj Abd smr wat(j) Tjj*

"Bringing of a cut (ox's foreleg) for the evening meal by a servant of ka who is in his month(ly service), (for) the morning meal by a servant of ka who is in his month(ly service), (for) the unique companion Ti".

2)

§404d: *jw jAw.sn jAwT.sn n kApwt.f*

Allen "their old men and women (fuel) for his ovens"

Shmakov "their old men and women are (filler) for his (pile of) moulds"

The word *kApwt* is determined in Unis's copy with the sign {a pile of moulds}-W93, in Teti's copy it has three {censer}-R6 signs making the word plural. Such moulds were also called *bDA(w)* or *aprt* (*apr(w)t* ?) (see Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 26; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 86; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 38, Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 64, p. 159, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 219, after p. 190, bottom register, also the model bread moulds heaped on fire (MMA 64.66.10)).

The word probably occurs in CT II, 207c: *jnk am jrt.f xnt(j) kApwt pt*

"I am the one who swallowed his eye, the one at the head of the pile of moulds of the sky"

The words *jA* "old man", *jAt* "old woman", and *jAw* "old age" are probably derived from the root *jAj* "praise", i. e. literally "praised man" and "praised woman", just like in the case of the etymology of another word for "old man" – *Tnj* (> *tnj*) "Distinguished one", cf. James Allen's comment: "*tnj* 'distinction' is a common idiom for 'old age': to the ancient Egyptians, who honored their elders, one who was old was also distinguished" (Ancient Egyptian Language (AEL) Email List (<http://www.rostau.org.uk/AEgyptian-L/archives/index.html>), the post by J. P. Allen of 15 May 2000). Egyptians did not know the word "old" or "old age", as the one who was old was "esteemed" and "praised" rather than "feeble" or "senile". The same is valid in the case of the term *jmAx* "honored" or "honor", which is usually a reference to old age in the expression *z bj r jmAx* "arrive to the honor", which is sometimes a synonym for "get old, reach old age", but we do not translate *jmAx* as "old age":

CT I, 173i: *[bw]t.j pw m(w)t r jAwt.j r zbt.j r jmAx*

"My abomination is death before I have grown old (or "become praised/worthy") and before I have attained to honor"

Urk.IV:64:9-12: *pH.n(j) tnj m njwt rswt jmAx m xft(j)t Hr nb.s*

"I have reached distinction in the Southern City (i. e. Thebes) (and) honor in the (city) Which Is In Front of the Face of its Lord (i. e. Thebes in front of the face of Amon)"

In this passage from the N.K. text, written in Middle Egyptian, the words *tnj* and *jmAx* both have {old man} determinative, but as *jmAx* does not have the meaning "old age", these words are just euphemisms for "old age", just like the words *mjnj* "moor" and *xpj* "walk, pass" are often euphemisms for "die".

3)

§405b: *r wHAwt Xr(jw)t.sn m xpSw nw sms(ww).sn*

Allen "to the cauldrons containing them with the bones of their senior ones"

Shmakov "to the cauldrons containing them by means of the forelegs of their elders(-bulls)"

The fire is set (§405a) with these forelegs, i. e. forelegs are used here as a fuel (*xpSw* "forelegs", not *qsw* "bones" as Allen read).

4)

406c: *jw dbn n.f ptwj tm.tj jw pXr n.f jdbwj*

Allen "both skies go around (in service) for him and the two shores serve him"

Shmakov "both skies attend (lit. go around for) him (and) the two shores serve him"

Cf. CT IV, 159c (S1Ca, S1Cb): *dbn n.f psDtj ra* "The Dual Ennead of the Sun attend (lit. go around for) him"

stela MMA 63.154: *awj dj.sn baH s.wab.f DHwtj dbn.f n kA n N*

"Arms are giving, Inundation cleans, Thoth attends the ka of N"

5)

§407a-b: *wnjs pj sxm wr sxm m sxmw wnjs pj aSm aSm aSmw wr*

Allen "Unis is the most controlling power, who controls the controlling powers; Unis is the sacred image who is the most sacred of sacred images"

Shmakov "Unis is the great power-bearer, who controls the power-bearers; Unis is the icon who delights icons of the Great one"

Or if we mimic the repetition of words in the Egyptian:

"Unis is the great power-bearer who has power over the power-bearers, Unis is the reverence-object that that invokes reverence among the reverence-objects of the Great one"

The second *aSm* in §407b is a verb with the meaning "delight" or even maybe "invoke reverence, fill with awe" (cf. Wb.I:226:6, "Schauder erwecken; Ehrfurcht erwecken"), cf. CT III, 367d-368a: *aSm.j xsf.j xAtjw* "I fill with awe and bar *xAtjw*", the god's name in CT V, 333m-n: *jw.j rx.kw st m rn.sn jrj xnp rnw aSm Hr w* "I know them by their name(s): Iri, Snatcher of Names, One Who Delights Faces"; CT IV, 4d: *N pn aSm aSm Hr* "This N is the icon that delights a face" (or "...is the icon and face-delighter"), cf. also **P 460**, **M 392**.

6)

§407d: *jw mkt wnjs m HA(t) saHw nbw jmjw Axt*

Allen "Unis's proper place is in front of all the privileged ones in the Akhet"

Shmakov "Unis's protection is by means of the vanguard of all the dignity's regalia which are in the Behind the Horizon"

Reading *m HA* as a compound preposition "in front of" doesn't make much sense in the passage: "Unis's protection is in front of all the dignity's regalia which are in the Behind the Horizon". *saHw* is "dignity's regalia" (just like in §§411c, 412b), not "privileged ones".

7)

§408a: *wnjs pj nTr sms(.j) r smsw(w)*

Allen "Unis is the god who is senior to (lit. against) the senior ones"

Shmakov "Unis is a god, he is senior to (lit. against) the senior ones"

sms(.j) is probably a stative, not a participle (cf. **W 168**, 5). When used comparatively the preposition *r* has the meaning "against", not "with respect to" as James Allen suggests in his grammar (Allen, *M. E.*, 6.8). The same use of "against" occurred in old Russian in which it could be said of a father and his most loved child: "He loved him against his brothers", with the meaning "He loved him more than his (i. e. the child's) brothers".

8)

§409a: *jw wHm.n Wnjs xaw m pt j(w).f s.bn(.j) m nb Axt*

Allen "Unis has reappeared in the sky and is crowned as lord of the Akhet"

Shmakov "Unis has carried out an appearance (lit. a shining forth) (i. e. he ascended the throne) in the sky, he has been shown as the lord of the Behind the Horizon"

s.(w)bn is the causative of the verb *wbn* "rise" (for the reduction of initial *w*, see **W 195**), and has the meaning "make rise, show, manifest", cf. Faulkner, *Suppl.*, §1854b: *s.bn Tw nTrw n Hr w* "Gods have shown you to Horus", §§2035b-2036a: *j.nD pjpj nfr-kA-ra Hr n jt(j).f ra s.bn.f sw m Hr w* "Pepi

Neferkare has tended the face of his father, the Sun (i. e. greeted him), (and) he (i. e. the Sun) has shown him as Horus";

Urk.I:53:13: *s.bn Hmt nb(t) xr nswt*
"who causes every craft to appear to the king"
(also Urk.I:82:13)

CT VII, 212f-g: *qd.n.f w[j...] s.bn.f wj n rnpt*
"He has modeled m[e...], he has shown me for a year"

CT VII, 239s: *j(w).k.jj.t(j) xa.t(j) Ax.t(j) s.bn{y}.t(j)*
"You have come having appeared, having become an akh, shown"

CT I, 143a-c (B3Bo): *sa[H]t.s m pr spdt s.bnnt.s m Hwt wrw Szp.s st.s nTryt m Hwt kA HD*
"Her robing into dignity's regalia (or "her ranking/dignifying", for *saH m ~ Hbs m*, cf. CT IV, 375f-g and 377c) is in the house of Sothis, her appearance (*s.bnnt*, lit. "showing") is in the Enclosure of the Great (bulls), her receiving of her divine seat is in the Enclosure of the White Bull"

though it is probably rather *sa[H].t(w).s...s.bn.n.t(w).s* "she has been robed into dignity's regalia (or "she has been ranked/dignified")...she has been shown", cf. *ibid*, 146c-147a, and 226a-b (B10Cc): *saH.k m pr bAtj [wHm.n.k xa]y.k* "You have been robed into dignity's regalia in the house of Two Bas and [have carried out] your [appearan]ce". The spelling of the word *s.bnnt* on this sarcophagus B3Bo includes a *bn*-{bird} sign, and on sarcophagus L2Li an {ingot of copper} sign occurs (for such a treatment of the sign, see **W 160**, 2), hence the {penis} sign on the other three sarcophagi (B4L, B12Cb, B16C) is an influence from the paronym *sbn* "impregnate". CT V, 395f-g: *saH m pr bAwj s.bnw m pr sAH* "robed into dignity's regalia in the house of a Pair of Bas, shown in the house of Orion" (a similar passage occurs *ibid*, 390h-i).

In the descendant of PT 274, CT spell 573, CT VI, 181a, the word *s.bn* is spelled with the {*bn*-bird} sign (not "bad bird" G37), just like the spelling of the verb *wbn* in §§207d, 209c, 210c, 376a, b, 1652b, 2036a; CT VII, 212g (also in the spelling of the baboon-god name *bnt(j)* (§§608c, 1437c PM) and *bnbn* "tall/erect stone" (§1652b)). The {crown} determinative in Teti's copy of §409a hints at the meaning of the verb as a metaphor for coronation (note the parallelism with "carrying out an appearance" ~ "ascending the throne"). The verb *s.bn* is a synonym of the verb *s.xaj* "show", lit. "make appear", cf. CT VII, 65i: *s.xa.s tw m zA.s* "she will show you as her son", Sethy I, *Abydos* I, pl.8: *mry Asjr(t) s.xa.n.f m (n)swt Hr nst.f* "the one beloved of Osiris whom he has shown as a king on his throne" (cf. also Urk.IV:357:13, 361:16, 1276:17).

The expression *wHm xaw* "carry out an appearance" is a common idiom for "ascend the throne", like the verb *xaj*, which has the original meaning "shine forth" (the hieroglyph itself represents {the sun appearing/shining forth from the hill/horizon}), often is a reference to a king's ascending of the throne (cf. Urk.I:159:8 (cf. also *ibid*:11): *sk Tw xa.t(j) m nswt bjtj Dt* "now when you have shone forth as the Southern and Northern king during *Dt*-time"). A king was *nTr nfr* "Junior God", the son of the Sun (*zA ra*) who was called in turn *nTr aA* "Elder God" (see Berlev, *Dva Caria*), i. e. a king was supposed to be "Junior Sun", hence his ascending the throne was called "appearance"/"carrying out an appearance" or more precisely "shining forth/rising"/"carrying out of shining forth/rising", cp. a king's title *nb xaw* "lord of appearance/shining forth", which can be paraphrased as "lord of the throne". In the expression *wHm xaw* the verb *wHm* doesn't have its usual meaning "repeat":

Urk.IV:279:13 (= Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 19) (also *ibid*:284:9):

dj.n.(j) n.T wHm xa Hr st Hr w mj ra

"I have let you carry out an appearance on the throne of Horus like the Sun"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* I, pl. 11 (also Naville, *Deir el Bahari* VI, pl. 159):

dj.n.(j) n.T wHm xaw m nswt bjt(j)

"I have let you carry out an appearance as a Southern and Northern King"

In these passages the gods Amon-Sun and Osiris say to the queen Hatshepsut that they have let her ascend the throne, but there isn't any repetition in the action, cf. also Urk.IV:229:14: *dj.n n.T jt(j).T [jmn] xat Hr st Hr w* "Your father Amon has given you an appearance on the throne of Horus" and

CT I, 226b (B12C, B16C): *wHm xa a.k* "the appearance of your arm has been carried out"

(B10Cb gives *xay.k* "you have appeared", B10Cc probably should be restored [*wHm.n.k xa*]*y.k* "You have carried out your appearance", B17c is unclear)

CT V, 393h-i: *mj sAH mA.k w(j) wHm.n.j xaw m wrwt*

"Come, Orion, that you may see me, for I have carried out an appearance in the crown"

CT IV, 90o: *wHm.n.j xa[w] [r].sn*

"I have carried out an appearance[e against] them"

CT IV, 100f-h: *mA wj jr. Tn r(m)T nTrw xpr.kj m nbt xaw wHm.n.j xaw.j s.mn.n.j xprw.j*

"See me, people and gods, having become a lady of appearance, having carried out my appearance (and) established my form"

CT IV, 102h-j: *hAb Hm bA.k mA.f m Hr.f Hr w pw wHm.n.f xaw*

"Do send your ba that he might see with his face (that) this is Horus who has carried out an appearance (i. e. ascended the throne)"

CT IV, 113e: *jw wHm.n.f n.j xay.f*

"He has carried out his appearance for me"

CT VI, 58d (S1C): *gm.n.j s(j) wHm.n.s xaw.s*

"I found her having carried out her appearance"

CT VII, 171g-h: *n msDwt mAA wj stS wHm.f xaw*

"so that Seth doesn't see me (when) he carries out an appearance (lit. because of hatred of Seth's seeing me)"

CT VII, 175k: *wHm.j xaw*

"I am carrying out an appearance"

The "Horus (covered with) gold" (*Hrw (m) nbw*) name of Sethy I was *wHm xaw wsr pDwt m tAw nbw* "The one who carried out an appearance, strong of bows in all the lands" (Sethy I, Abydos, I, pl.8).

Compare it with similar expressions in the following texts:

i) *xrp xaw* "manage an appearance":

CT V, 313c: *jw xrp.n.j xaw.j* "I have carried out (lit. managed) my appearance" (i. e. I have managed to appear).

ii) *Szp xaw* "receive/take an appearance":

CT V, 316k: *Szp.n.s xaw nfrw m hrw pn* "She has taken the beautiful appearance today"

iii) *jTj xaw* "take an appearance" (the sense of this expression is "take/receive the throne as inheritance", "ascend the throne"):

CT V, 312d: *jT.n.j xaw ra nb nHH* "I have taken an appearance/shining forth of the Sun, lord of *nHH*-time",

Urk.IV:16:15: *jty anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) jT xaw m Ax-bjt* "Sovereign, alive, sound, healthy, who took an appearance in Akhbit",

ibid:231:13: *jt.t xaw m Smaw mHw m Hr(j)t tp nst tm* "You will take an appearance in the Nile Vally and Delta as the head of Atum's throne" (also ibid:251:13, 229:12, 232:16),

ibid:571:17: *jt.k xaw m nb wrrt* "You have taken an appearance as the lord of the crown".

iv) *xa xaw* "make an appearance appear":

CT V, 236c (B1Bo): *jw xa bA n N pn xa.f* "The ba of this N has made his (i. e. ba's) appearance appear",

Urk.IV:361:13: *xat xaw mj Axtj* "the one who made (her) appearance appear like He of the Behind the Horizon (i. e. the Sun)" (for the verb *xaj* as transitive cf. CT III, 196a (S10C): *xaw.n wj pt* "The sky has made me appear").

Thus *wHm xaw* "carry out an appearance" ~ *jtj* (< *jTj*) *xaw* "take an appearance" ~ *xaj* "appear" (Urk.IV:230:5, 233:16).

CT IV, 113e (S1C): *jw wHm.n.j xaw.f* "I have carried out his appearance"

CT IV, 132f: *s.mn.f rn.j [wH]m.f xay.j* "He is establishing my name (and) carrying out my appearance"

Cf. *wHm xaw* in the passage just above with *rdj xaw* in CT IV, 98f-g: *jrt Hr.w...rdjt.n n.s ra xaw s.mnt.n ra-tm mswt.s* "Horus's eye...to whom the Sun has given an appearance, whose birth has established Sun-Atum".

Compare the expression *wHm xaw* with other expressions in which *wHm* also cannot have the meaning of "repeat", but sooner that of "carry out, arrange, dispense":

(a)

CT II, 23a-b: *jnk pw nHH msw HHw wHmw.n tm*

"I am *nHH*-time that gave birth to the infinite ones, the one whom Atum produced"

CT II, 31d-e: *jnk* (var. *N pw*) *pw nHH ms HHw wHmw jSS n tm*

"I am (var. N is) *nHH*-time that gave birth to the infinite ones, the one whom the spittle of Atum produced"

(i) *wHm Hzwt* "do favor, render grace/kindness" (not "repeat favor").

In the following passage a repetition of the action of doing favor (*wHm Hzwt*) is expressed through the use of the noun *kt* "another, one more", not through the *wHm*:

Urk.IV:30:13-31:5: *dj.j sDm.tn Hzwt.j xr Hmt njswt wrt jaH Htp(.w) wHm.n.s n.j kt Hzwt*

"I will let you hear of a favor for me from the elder wife of the king Jahhotpu...she did me another (*kt*) favor"

Urk.IV:41:10: [*zpj*] *tp(j) n wHm Hzwt N* "first [time] of doing favor (by) N", ibid:14: [*zpj snnw n wHm*

Hzwt N] "[second time of doing favor (by) N]"

Cp. it with Urk.VII:31:4, where the verb *jr* "do" is used: *kt Hzwt jryt n.j* "another favour that was done to me"

(ii) *wHm nfr/Dw* "carry out right/bad" etc.

Kanawati-Raziq, *Neferseshemre*, pl. 58 (=Urk.I:198:16-17, similar expression in Urk.I:204:5-6):

Dd.n(j) mAa jr.n(j) mAat Dd.n(j) nfr wHm.n(j) nfr

"I said proper things (and) I cultivated (lit. did) maat, I said right things (and) carried out right things"

In this passage from an O.K. tomb the verb *wHm* is used in parallel to the verb *jrj* "do". In the O.K. ideal autobiographies officials often claim that they said right things or truth (*Dd nfr/nfrt*) and carried out right things or truth (*wHm nfr/nfrt*), see Urk.I:150:80, 198:17, 204:5, 219:6, 253:1, 263:6.

CT IV, 90i-j: *jj.n.j wHm.j n.k nfrt s.ar.j n.k mAat*

"I have come that I may carry out for you the truth (and) present to you maat"

CT IV, 31d: *jm.Tn wHm bw Dw r Asjr(t) N pn*

"You should not carry out the bad regarding this Osiris N"

CT VI, 212f-h (S1C): *jw nbD pn jr.n.f HA[a]yt wHm.n.f HAqt qmA.n.f Xnnw*

"This Detestable one has made revolt, carried out strife, created disturbance"

In this passage above the verb *wHm* is clearly a verb of action parallel to *jr* "do, make" and *qmA* "create".

Budge, BD181:6: *dj.n mwt.k nwt awj.s HA.k xw.s tw wHm.s mkt tw*

"Your mother Nut has put her arms around you that she may defend you and carry out the protection of yours"

(iii) *wHm aAbt* "distribute a feast".

CT IV, 95h: *hrw jrt H(A)b wHm aAbt snt dnjt m jwnw*

"on the day of holding a festival, the distribution of a feast, a sixth day meal, a seventh day meal in Heliopolis"

CT IV, 124h (B2L): *wHm.n.j aAbt n nTrw*

"I have distributed the feast to the gods"

CT VI, 315m: *jrj n.f snwt wHm.n.t(w) Dnjt n N pn*

"The meal of the sixth day has been made for him, the meal of the seventh day has been distributed for this N"

instead of the usual *sSmj aAbt* "distribute a feast", CT VI, 171a: *Szmw skr xnt(j) pDw S(j) Hr sSmt aAbt* "Shethmu (and) Sokar at the fore of Saqqara are distributing a feast".

(iv) *wHm HAb* "hold (lit. carry out) a festival".

CT IV, 89f: *[jw.j r] wHm HAb.k m jnw*

"[I will] hold your festival in Heliopolis"

CT IV, 97i: *jw.j r wHm HAb.k m AbDw*

"I will hold your festival in Abydos"

Urk.VII:7:8-9: *mAA kAw jwAw wnDww jrr.f r sSm HAb n nTrw nb AbDw jn...zA rnpwt*

"Review of bulls, oxen, which he bought to hold a festival for all the gods of Abydos by...Sarenput"

Urk.IV:572:14: *dj.n(j) n<.k> wHm HH m sd HAb*

"I have let <you> carry out (the celebration of a) million of Sed Festivals" or "...hold million of Sed Festivals"

To read "I have let <you> repeat a million of Sed Festivals" is meaningless (why repeat and not hold?); in this passage *wHm* is used instead of the more usual *jrj* "hold, celebrate (a festival)" (Urk.IV:233:15).

Also more usual than *wHm HAb* is *sSm HAb* "hold, celebrate (a festival)":

Mariette, *Mast.*, D60, p.343: *sSmt HAb jn Xr(j) H(A)b(t)* "holding a festival by the lector-priest"

Mariette, *Mast.*, D10, p.195: *sSm n.f HAb apr xft zSA n Hmt Xr(j) H(A)b(t)*

"holding for him a festival equipped according to the scroll of the mastery of a lector-priest"

(v) *wHm mswt* "carry out a birth".

Urk.IV:820:17 (also *ibid*:817:10, 17): *wHm.n.f mswt zp snnw*

"He has carried out (his) birth a second time"

Here the repetition of the action *mswt* "birth" is expressed through an adverbial phrase *zp snnw* "second time", not through the verb *wHm*.

Urk.IV:830:7-8: *s.aHa.n.k n(j) gbtjw m mAwt r-pr.j wHm.n.f mswt*

"You have erected for me Koptos as something brand new: my temple has carried out (his) birth"

Urk.IV:807:15-16, 812:16-17: *s.anx rn n nTr nb wHm.n.f mswt jm.sn*

"Perpetuated a name of every god, through which he has carried out (his) birth"

Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 30: *xntS.tn n mA nfrw.f wHm.f msw(t) mj jtn m pt*

"You shall marvel at the sight of his beauty as he carries out (his) birth like the sun disk in the sky"

The "Two Ladies" (*nbtj*) name of Sethy I was *wHm mswt sxm xpS dr pDt 9* "The one who carried out birth, (the one with) a bull's foreleg that controls, who drives away the Nine Bows" (Sethy I, *Abydos*, I, pl.8).

(vi) *wHm xAwt* "supply an offering stand"

Urk. IV:290:5: *wHmt xAwt.n* "who supplies our offering stands"

instead of the usual *s.Df(A) xAwt* "supply offering stands" (Urk.IV:173:2, 247:17, 300:5, 303:3, 12, 553:14, 577:11, 591:4, 691:11, 767:16, 873:15, 1184:10 (*s.Df(A) wdHw* "supply offering tables")).

(vii) *wHm jrt* "grant the ability to make/do something".

Urk.IV:1095:12: *wHm.f jrt mjt(j)t n HHw m rnpwt*
"He will carry out the making of the like for millions of years"

cf. Urk.IV:300:8: *wHm.n(j) n.T jrt HHw m sd HAb aSA wrt*
"I have granted (carried out for) you (an ability) to celebrate (lit. make) millions of Sed Festivals, very numerous (as it is)" instead of the verb *dj* "give" in the common phrasing *dj.n(j) n.k jrt HH m sd HAb*
"I have given you (an ability) to celebrate (lit. make) million of Sed Festivals" (Urk. 564:13).

(viii) *wHm bAw* "inspire impressiveness"

CT I, 156c: *dj.sn bAw.k wHm.sn SfSft.k*
"They will inspire (lit. give) your impressiveness, they will evoke your respect (i. e. respect of you/for you)"

CT IV, 147o: *wHm.n.j bAw.f Hna bAw.j Ds.j*
"I have inspired his impressiveness with my own impressiveness"

Also in this case, reading "they will repeat respect of you" and "I have repeated his impressiveness" is meaningless: cf. CT IV, 132c-d: *dj.f bAw.j s.mn.f Sft.j* "he is inspiring (lit. giving) my impressiveness (and) establishing respect of me" (B2L gives *sSm.f SfSft.j* "he is distributing respect of me").

(ix) *wHm wrrt* "establish (?) crown"

CT IV, 88j: *wHm.k n.j wrrt.f* "You shall establish (?) for me his crown"
CT IV, 89i: *jw.j r wHm wrrt.k m AbDw Hna wrrt nt ra* "I am to establish (?) your crown in Abydos with the crown of the Sun"

(x) *wHm rmw*

CT VI, 342k: *jj.n.j wHm.j n.f rmw.f* "I have come that I may carry out weeping of him (lit. his weeping)"

(xi) *wHm anx* "one who carries out/lives life":

The well known expression *wHm anx* could also be read "one who carries out/continues life".
CT III, 57h: *wHm.j anx m xt* "I continue life thereafter"
Urk.IV:496:4: *wHm.k anx m-xt m(w)t* "you will carry out life after death"
(cf. also *ibid*:518:10)

Cf. the Horus name of Senwosret I, *anx mswt* "The one who lives birth", and that of Amenemhet I, *wHm mswt* "The one who carried out birth", suggesting *anx* ~ *wHm*.

(xii) *wHm mnw* "carry out/build monument(s)".

Urk.IV:358:9-10: *jw Hmt.T r wHm mnw jr.t anx.tj Dt*
"Your Incarnation has to carry out a monument that you may achieve (lit. make) (the status of) "alive during *Dt*-time""

ibid:1151:5: *jw.f Hr wHm mnw m pr jt(j) [jmn]*

"He is carrying out a monument in the house of father [Amon]"

See also ibid:880:1, 2, 6.

9)

§406b: *sSr{t}.t(j) n.f ktjw m rdw nw Hmwt.sn*

Allen "while the hearthstones are poked for him with the legs of their women"

Shmakov "while the slaughtering blocks are covered for him with the legs of their wives"

§403a-b: *jn Szmw...fss.n.f.j.xt jm.sn m ktjw.f mSrwt*

Allen "Shezmu is the one who...cooks a meal of them for him on his evening hearthstones"

Shmakov "Shezmu is the one who... prepares a meal of them for him on his (i. e. Shethmu's) slaughtering blocks of dinnertime"

In both texts the word *ktjt* has the determinative {butcher's block}-T 28, with as only difference that the upper line (§403b) and the upper and bottom lines (§406b) of this sign are absent (cf. the same in *nmt* "butcher's block" in §869c M), thus the word is probably "slaughtering block", not "hearthstones". The name of the divinity Shethmu is a noun of agent of an unknown verb, i. e. "*Szm-er*" (Presser ?) (just like in the nouns of agent *xnzw* "Traveler", *Smsw* "Follower", *jwaw* "heir" etc.), probably "Presser" seeing that his name is written with a sign {wine press}.

10)

§409b: *jw Hsb.n.f TAzw bqsww jw (j)T.n.f HAt(j)w nTrw*

Allen "the vertebrae of spines have been broken up for him and he has acquired the gods' hearts"

Shmakov "He has counted the vertebrae of spines and he has acquired the gods' hearts"

We cannot be absolutely certain about the meaning of the verb *Hsb* here, it can be "count, reckon" (as the determinative Y2 would suggest) as well as "break up". Knowing that the information about the number of something was important in Egyptian religion it is possible to suggest the interpretation of counting in this passage. We also, probably, have two *sDm.n.f*'s here, just like in the two following lines, §410a: *jw wnm.n.f dSrt jw am.n.f wADt* "he has eaten the Red, he has swallowed the Green (crowns)".

11)

§410b: *wSb wnjs m zMAw sAAw*

Allen "Unis will feed on the lungs of the experienced"

sAAw "experienced" is probably a reference to the imperishable stars, cf. §§380b, 997c.

12)

§411a: *ffw wnjs nsb.f s.bSw jmjw dSrt*

Allen "Unis will spit out when he licks the emetic parts in the red"

Shmakov "Unis will become sated (?) (when) he has gulped down the bloodletting from the red"

Most Egyptologists treat the word *sbSw* in the passage as the derivative of the caus. 2 gem. verb *s.bSS* "cause to vomit, spit out" and thus translate *sbSw* as "emetics" (Mercer, *P. T.*, p. 94), "emetic parts" (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 52), following Wb.IV:93 "Erkelerregendes" ("disgustful stuff")

This treatment of *sbSw* influenced the meaning of the verb *ffw* (Wb.I:576 "sich erkeln" ("to be

disgusted")) and Samuel Mercer follows Wb.: "N. is disgusted when he licks the emetics which are in the red crown" (Mercer, *P. T.*, *ibid*)

James Allen understood it differently but in the same way: "Unis will spit out when he licks the emetic parts in the red" (Allen, *P. T.*, *ibid*). So, in his version the verb *ffw* has the meaning "spit out".

But still there is the following question: "Why should the king lick emetics and spit them out?"

As James Allen noticed a verb *sbS* in PT 302, §458a is the same in Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 72: *s.bSt rn jwA jn sSm* "bloodletting of a fattened ox by a butcher", i. e. "bleed, let blood" and not "to be clear" (Wb.IV:93) as it occurs in the spell-double (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. VIII, col. 51) with the {knife} determinative. Moreover, see CT VI 312k: *wnm Nm sbSw jmjw dSrt* "N eats from *sbSw* that are from the Red Crown", where *sbSw* has the determinatives of {knife}-T30 and {plural pellets}-N33a. This all suggests that *sbSw* in PT derives from the verb *sbS* "bleed, let blood" and thus has got to have a meaning "bloodletting" or "bleeding". Hannig (Hannig, *ÄR*) gives as meaning of *sbS* "entkehlen" ("disembowel") in which case we can assume the meaning "bowels" for *sbSw*.

The verb *nsb* has the meaning "gulp, swallow" as well as "leak": CT VII, 253b-c: *Tz Tw jr.k ra jmj kAr.fnsb.k TAww am.k mHwt* "Raise yourself, Sun in his ark, that you may gulp winds (and) swallow north wind". Thus the verb *ffw* probably has the meaning "become sated", creating a parallel with §410 ("he is satisfied with living on hearts and their magic").

13)

§413a: *sk bA.sn m Xt wnjs Axw.sn xr wnjs*

Allen "For their ba is in Unis's belly, their akhs is with Unis"

Shmakov "For their ba is in Unis's belly, their akh-magic is with Unis"

For the reading of *Axw*, see **W 150**, 1, **W 180a**, 7.

14)

§413b: *mHA xt.fr nTrw qrrt.n wnjs m qsw.sn*

Allen "as the excess of his meal with respect to (that of) the gods, since it was heated for Unis with their bones"

Shmakov "his meal exceeds (that of) the gods, which Unis has heated by means of their bones"

qrrt is either a passive participle or a relative form *qrrt.n wnjs* "which Unis has heated"

The construction of the passage's beginning is that of PT 357, §588b:

wr pHt.k jr.f "your strength is greater than his", literally "great is your strength against his (one)"

where *wr* is an adjective-verb, thus similarly *mHA* should be an adjective-verb or a verb as it is being read in the above translation.

To read the beginning of the passage as *m HA xt.fr nTrw* "in/as excess of his meal against the gods" doesn't make much sense (for *m HA*w, cf. Urk.IV:607:11-12: *wAH n.sn Htp nTr aA m mAwt m HA wnt m bAH* "to lay for them the big god's offering anew in excess of what was before").

Moreover, Teti's copy gives *mHAw.fjxt r nTrw*, probably "he will exceed the meal more than (lit. against) (that of) the gods", and to read *m HA w.fjxt r nTrw* "in his excess of the meal more than the gods" is rather meaningless.

15)
 §413c: *sk bA.sn xr wnjs Swwt.sn m-a jr(j)w.sn*
 Allen "for their ba is with Unis, and (only) their shadows are (still) with their owners"
 Shmakov "their ba is with Unis, their shadows are with their attached ones"

The pronoun *.sn* in *jr(j)w.sn* "their attached ones, their those who are attached" probably refers to the gods, not to the shadows (in Teti's version, *jr(j)w* has thrice {god}-G7 determinative).

16)
 §414a: *jw wnjs m nn xa(.j) xa(.j) j.mn(.j) j.mn(.j)*
 Allen "Unis is in this (state), ever apparent, ever set"
 Shmakov "Unis is this, he has appeared apparently, he has become stable stably"

The two *xa(.j)* and two *j.mn(.j)* are probably statives.

17)
 §414b-c: *nj sxm jrj jrwt m xbs st jb Wnjs m anxw m tA pn Dt r nHH*
 Allen "Those who do (evil) deeds will not be able to hack up the place of Unis's heart among the living in this world forever continually"
 Shmakov "Those who execute orders will not have control of hacking up Unis's liking (and) of the living in this country during *Dt*-time up to *nHH*-time"

The expression *jrj jrwt* probably has a meaning synonymous to *jrj wpt* "execute a commission", otherwise it could be a variant of the expression *jrj jrjw* "take a stock", see **P 465**, the examples from Urk.IV:188:6, 743:11-14. There is another way to express the word combination "evil doers" in Egyptian:

CT VII, 167d-f: *wAD(y)t...nDt nTrw m-a jrrw xt r.sn*
 "Wadjit...who saves gods from doers of (evil) things against them"

CT VII, 60g: *nD.k Asjr(t) N tn m-a jrt.sn Dwt nbt r.s*
 "Save this Osiris N from those who will do any bad against her"

The collocation *sxm m* in the discussed passage probably has more than one object, i. e. *sxm...m xbs...m anxw* "the control of hacking up (and) of the living", for this cf.:

CT VI, 83c: *nj sxm.Tn m zAt.j m xnr bA.j Ax.j Swt.j*
 "You cannot detain me or confine my ba, akh or shade"

literally "You have no control of my detention (lit. guarding) and the confinement of my ba, akh, and shade"

CT VI, 269p: *nj sxm r(m)T nTrw Axw m(w)tw m Sna[.j] m xmwt.j*
 "People, gods, akhs, and the dead cannot keep [me] back or desecrate me"

literally "People...have no control of my keeping back (and) of my desecration"

See also §298b-c W (**W 166**) for two indirect objects of the verb *wdj*.

st jb "liking, affection" is literally "place of the heart" and in this case probably refers to the pyramid complex of Unis: cf. the name of the king Niuserre's Sun temple – *st jb ra* "the Liking of the Sun", and the village's name in the mastaba of Akhethetep (Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 15, 16): *Hwt kA st jb Hr(w)* "Ka-enclosure "The Liking of Horus"". Also cf.:

Urk.IV:167:1: *jsT s.aHa.n n.f Hm.j xm Spsj st jb jmn*

"Then My Incarnation has erected for him the noble shrine "The Liking of Amon""

Urk.IV:183:11-13: *jr w rn.f m mn-xpr-ra mn mnw st jb pw nt nb nTrw msxn nfr n psDt.f*

"It (i. e. the building) was named "Menkheperre firm of monuments" – this is the liking of the gods' Lord, beautiful resting place of his Ennead"

Urk.IV:364:1-5: *jw.j rx.kw ntt Axt pw jpt swt tp tA...wDAt nt nb r Dr st jb.f wTzt nfrw.f*

"I know that (the temple of) Karnak (lit. (the temple) Counted of the Places) is the Behind the Horizon on the earth... Sound Eye of the Lord of All, his liking which bears his beauty"

Urk.IV:353:14-15: *gm jpt.f st jb.f mrt.n.f jt s(j)*

"his private apartment, his liking he wishes to acquire, has been found"

This passage is about Amon's longing for Punt.

Urk.IV:834:1-5: *Ab.n Hm.j...s.mnx n.f xft(j)t Hr nb.s st-jb jt(j).j nt zp tpj*

"My Incarnation has wished...to revive (lit. make become functional) for him the (city) Which Is In Front of the Face of its Lord (i. e. Thebes), the liking of my father of the creation".

For "during *Dt*-time up to *nHH*-time", see **T 196**, 9.

W 181 (PT 275)

§416a: *wn wnjs xns*

Allen "Unis will open two facing doorleaves"

Shmakov "Unis will open two swing doorleaves"

xns stands for door leaves that can be opened by pushing and by pulling, like those of bars in American Westerns, so this is a door that is an entrance to the Behind the Horizon and can be the exit as well.

The

determinative is the {bull with two front ends}-E177 sign, suggesting the movement in two directions.

W 186 (PT 280)

§421a-b: *jr.tj jr.tj sA.tj sA.tj Hr.k HA.k zAw Tw rjj wr*

Allen "You of the (evil) deed, you of the (evil) deed! You of the wall, you of the wall! (Set) your face behind you! Beware of the great mouth!"

Shmakov "Do, do! Pass, pass! (Set) your face behind you! Beware of that which relates to the Great one!"

jr.tj and *sA.tj* are probably two staves of the verbs *jrj* "make, do" and *swA* "pass" (Pepi's version gives as determinative {walking legs} in both cases), expressing a wish or command. For the spelling *s(w)A*, cf. Urk.I:218:3, 7. *rjj* or *r* of §421b is not "mouth" (which normally has {stroke} determinative) but probably nisbe of the preposition *r* "that which relates to". PT spell 380 occurs as a variant of this spell.

W 189 (PT 283)

§424a: *jk rr wnjs ant.f tn jr.k jAbt(j) d.f sxt jm.s n mnw jkw*

Allen "Shall Unis chop this left nail of his against you and set a blow with it for Min, attacker?"

Shmakov "Should Unis make this left nail of his attack you and put a *sxt* with it for Min, attacker?"

The word *sxt*, having in this passage the {bent upward arm with fist} sign (like D245 without tool) as determinative, has a different root than the verb *zsj* "blow, beat" (§§672c, 686a, 1005b, 1974d), for the graphemes *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in the Old Kingdom (see **W 153**)¹⁹, and moreover, the verb *zsj* has a different determinative, namely just a {fist}-D49. The *jk* is "(make) attack" rather than "chop" in this spell. Although *ant jAbt* "left nail" is strange (are there "left" or "right" nails?), it may be compared with CT VI, 303n that has the phrase *rmn ant.f jmnt Sw* "whose right fingernail shoulders Shu".

W 192 (PT 286)

§427b-c: *H z nwt tjww Sjj tjww Sjj n Tz.j nwt*

Allen "The lake-long-one's Red Crowns shall bring in the lake-long-one, for I shall raise the Red Crowns"

Shmakov "The lake-long-one's basins will bring in the lake-long-one, for I shall raise the basins"

The passage is obscure; *nwt* in the passage is not "Red Crowns", but "basins", see **W 171**, 2, **P 467**, 7. *Sjj* "the one of the lake" may be a reference to a crocodile rather than to a snake, as the word occurs as a designation of a crocodile in a common formula from private Old Kingdom tombs (see **W 5**, 6): *Sjj pw nt(j) Hr mw* "the one of the lake that is on/in the water".

W 195 (PT 289)

§430a: *xr kA n s.DH xr s.DH n kA*

Allen "The bull has fallen to the *sDH*-snake, the *sDH*-snake has fallen to the bull"

Shmakov "The bull (i. e. Seth) has fallen because of the adult snake (i. e. Horus), the adult snake has fallen because of the bull"

s.DH is probably a causative of the root *wDH* "let grow adult, wean". For the meaning of *wDH* as "let grow adult", see **T 228**, 5. For the reduction of initial *w*, cf. *s.sx* "widen" (§§288b, 698a, 1239a, the root is *wsx* "wide"), *s.nm* "feed" (§§120c, 123h in *s.nmw* "provisioning", the root is *wnm* "eat"), *s.bn* "show, cause to rise" (§409a, §2036a, the root is *wbn* "rise"), *s.ab* "cleanse" (§§372b, 838b, 841b, the root is *wab* "become clean"), *s.DA* "make sound" (§704c, the root is *wDA* "be(come) sound"), *s.AD* "freshen, make flourish" (§565c, 696a, b, 704d, the root is *wAD* "be(come) green, frash"), *s.DA* "invite to go, let proceed" (§§1203d, 1418b, 1420b, the root is *wDA* "go, proceed"), *s.Tz* "cause to bear, bear" (§§1148a, 1759b, 2060, 2061a, 2087a, the root is *wTz* "bear, support, carry") and probably *sA* "pass" (§421 P, Urk.I:216:7, 218:3, 7, the root is *wA* (?)). This is reduction, not omission as these verbs have their infinitive forms with *t*-ending, just like any caus. 2-lit. verb (see also Allen, *M. E.*, 13.5.9).

For references of the snake to Horus and bull to Seth, cf. PT 277, §418a: *xr Hr n jrt.f zbn kA n Xrw(j).f* "Horus has fallen because of his eye, the Bull (Teti's version gives "Seth") has fallen because of his testicles" (see also PT 386, §679d). Moreover, *s.DH* "made grow adult" absolutely fits the context of Horus's growing up (*nxn*, §1214c) and maturity (*T(A)z mDH*, §1214b) from a child (*Xrd*, §1214c).

W 196 (PT 290)

§431a: *xr Hr Hr Hr*

Allen "Face has fallen on face, face has seen face"

¹⁹ The word *zxt* "blow" occurs in L.D.II:74a.

Shmakov "Glance has caught (lit. fallen on) glance"

The spell does not have "face has seen face". For the meaning of *Hr* in this passage, see **T 264**, 2.

W 200 (PT 294)

§436a: *Hrw pj wnjs pr m SnD pr m SnD*

Allen "Unis is Horus, who came from the acacia, who came from the acacia"

There probably is a word-play in this passage between *SnD* "acacia" and an unwritten but implied *SnT* "rowing one/snake" which occurs in §444c, also Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 29: *SnT jm.k pzH* "Rowing snake, you should not bite", see **T 263**; "Unis is Horus who emerged as a rowing one (lit. acacia), who emerged as a rowing one". For /T/ ~ /D/, see **W 170**, 3.

W 202a (PT 296)

§439a: *TTw*

Allen "*TTw*-snake"

Shmakov "fettered-snake"

Elmar Edel is probably right when he writes about the origin of the snake's name that it derives from the root *nTT* "fetter" (Urk.I:305:18), *TTt* "she-fetterer" (§672b), *nTTw* "fettters" (§349b) (Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §427, p.187).

W 202b (PT 297)

§440a-c: *Drt nt wnjs jwt Hr.k nASwt nn jwt Hr.k m.Afdt*

Allen "The hand of Unis that comes on you, accursed snake—the one that comes on you is that of Mafdet"

Shmakov "The hand of Unis that came on you is (that of) the cursing one that came on you – Mafdet"

It is impossible for the feminine participle *nASwt* to refer to the snake, which is masculine (as is shown by the masculine pronoun *.k* "you"), thus *nASwt* could only be the active participle "cursing one" and undoubtedly refers to Mafdet (cf. her another significance as *TTt aAt* "Big fetterer" (§672b)). James Allen's reading was made under the influence of Neferkare's copy of this passage that no doubt has a reinterpretation of the original passage, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +58: *Drt(.j) jtn jwt Hr.k nAw jwt Hr.k m.Afdt* "This my hand that came on you, snake of the undergrowth, the one that came on you, (is) Mafdet".

W 203 (PT 298)

§442c: *j.Sa.f tp.k m ds pn jmj Drt m.Afdt Hr<(j)t jb Hwt anx>*

Allen "he shall cut off your head with this knife, which is the hand of her who has Mafdet's face"

Shmakov "he shall cut off your head with this knife, which is in the hand of Mafdet in the mid<st of the Enclosure of Life>"

Unis's editor for some reason (missed? decided to save some space?) left out the rest of the phrase after the *m.Afdt Hr* of §442c, which is Mafdet's standard epithet *m.Afdt Hr(j)t jb Hwt anx* "Mafdet in the midst of the Enclosure of Life" (§§677d, 685d) as it occurs spelled out in the copy of Neith (Nt 710). It is curious to note that the same omission occurs in the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 465).

2)

§443b: *fdw jpw rwDw jmjw-xt Tbwt Asjr(t)*

Allen "those four strings that trail behind Osiris's sandals"

Shmakov "these four strings which Osiris's sandal has (lit. which are behind of Osiris's sandal)"

See **P 338** for the comments.

W 204 (PT 299)

§444b: *Tb(w)t(j) Hr SAs.f nb Hwt kA TpHt*

Allen "Horus's sandal is treading on the enclosure's lord, the cavern's bull"

Shmakov "Horus's sandal(-bearer) goes, the lord of the enclosure, the bull of the cavern"

Tb(w)t "sandal" is a feminine noun, so the suffix *.f* "he" in *SAs.f* cannot refer to it. We probably have a nisbe *Tb(w)t(j)* "sandal(-bearer)". For the construction of the passage (subject-imperfective), cf. **W 15**.

W 205 (PT 300)

§445d: *snw jpw jn nw n mADw jpn nw z(mjj)t*

Allen "You two, get those (ferries) that cross the desert"

Shmakov "These brothers, get this (ferryboat) for (crossing) those expanses of the desert"

mADw is probably a term for "(desert's) dunes"; the word is determined with the sign {downwardly stretched arms} with which the words *nmt* "expanse" (§889c, e) and *pgA* "Wide-arms" (§604b) are determined.

W 206 (PT 301)

§446b, d: *m.Xnmtj nTrw*

Allen "you pair of the gods"

Shmakov "you pair of the gods' creators (lit. joiners)"

m.Snmtj/m.Xnmtj is a false dual feminine noun of agent made with a word-formative model with prefix *m* plus the root *Snm/Xnm* "join", literally "a pair of feminine joiners", i. e. "he-joiner and she-joiner" (see **W 3**). Compare it with CT I, 260c: *s.Ax Tw Sw tfnt nTrw jr w pAwtjw* "May Shu and Tefnut, the gods-makers of the original (gods), akhify you".

2)

§449a: *nH rn.f nH nb rnpt rn.f*

Allen "Continual is his name; Continual, the year's lord, is his name"

Shmakov "Idol is his name, Idol, the year's lord, is his name"

nH is probably "who is prayed, beseeched", i. e. "idol", from the root *nHj* "pray, beseech", not from *nHH*-time: cf. §490b: *nHt nTrw* "she whom the gods beseech" (after Allen), §522a, b: *dbt nHHwt* "beseeched she-hippopotamus" (after Allen).

3)

§449b-450a: *m.aHA Hrw Hr sHdw pt s.anx ra ra nb j.qd.f wnjs s.anx.f wnjs ra nb*

Allen

"He whose arms are a weapon, Horus at the sky's starry ceiling, who brings the sun to life every day, shall build Unis and bring Unis to life every day"

Shmakov

"A fighting arm of Horus, who is on the starry sky, which animates the Sun every day: it (i. e. the arm) shall model Unis, it shall animate Unis every day"

m.aHA is "fighting arm", the word is formed through a prefix *m* plus the root *aHA* "fight" with the {arm} sign as a determinative. Cf. PT 355, §574b-c: *Dj.k a.k m tA m.aHA.k m jAt wrt wnwn.k jm.f mm Axw* "use (lit. give) your arm in the earth, your fighting arm in the great mound, with which (i. e. with the fighting arm) you will move among the akhs". The suffix *.f* "he" in the discussed passage refers to the *m.aHA* arm, not to Horus, just like in §574c.

For *qd* as "model", cf. CT II, 3f: *nj qd.j m Xt* "I was not modelled in a womb", Urk.IV:161:2: *qd.n.f wj m bjk n nbw* "He has modelled me as a falcon of gold" – the verb *qd* in this case has the meaning "model, sculpture (on a potter's wheel)" rather than "build" (see also the verb's determinative {man modeling a jar on a potter's wheel} in Neferkare's copy of this passage (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XIII, col. +16) and in §§1184a, 1185a PM, 1597c P; alternatively the determinative could be {jar on a potter's wheel}, see §§524a, 1196b P.

4)

§451a: *jn n.k wnjs jrt.k wrt jAbt m rwx(j)t*

Allen "Unis has gotten you your great eastern eye from the cavern"

Shmakov "Unis has brought to you your great eastern eye as that of a *rwx(j)t*"

The word that is in the original spelled *rwx(j)t* is no doubt a feminine nisbe of some unknown word to which the Eye is compared in its healed state (as §451b-c stresses that it is *wDA(j)t*). Cf. CT IV, 103f: *jrt Hr w xt(j)t* "the fiery (*xt(j)t*) eye of Horus".

5)

§454a: *THnHn.k jm.s mm nTrw m rn.s pw n THnt*

Allen "you should glisten with it among the gods, in its identity of faience"

Shmakov "you should laugh because of it among the gods, in its identity of faience"

THnHn probably has the meaning "laugh, giggle, chuckle (*m*, at, cf. **Nt 278**)" in this passage, as the meaning "glisten" doesn't involve a word-play, which occurs here between *THnHn* and *THnt*, cf.:

PT 511, §1149a: *zbT gbb n.THTH nwt* "Geb is laughing, Nut is chuckling"

CT IV, 61f-g: *zyw n.f nTrw jmjw-bAH m Haawt THHw nTrw-jdwt mAA.sn sw*

"the one to whom the gods-ancestors come in excitement (and) goddesses (lit. gods-females) are chuckling (of joy) when they see him"

Urk.IV:347:11-12: *jsk w(j) Hr jrt n.T njnj jb[.j] pw m THw n mAn.T*

"So, I am beckoning (lit. making "to me, to me" to) you: it means that my heart is in laughter at your sight"

ibid:894:15: *THHwt Xnm.n.f Haw.j* "Laughter has joined my body"

See also **T 159**, 1.

6)

§454b-c: *Hkn.k jm.s m rn.s pw n Hknw rnnwt(j)t mr.s Tw*

Allen "you should jubilate in it, in its identity of "jubilation" oil of Renenutet, for it desires you"

Shmakov "you should have the use of it, in its identity of "jubilation" oil. Nurturer desires you"

Though there is a verb *Hkn* with the governing preposition *m* which has the meaning "jubilate at" this does probably not apply here, as there also is a verb *Hkn*, likewise with the governing preposition *m*,

which has the meaning "have the use of, use (something)", cf:

CT I, 49b-50a: *jw rdj.n n.f jt(j).f Asjr(t) jAAAtj.f jptntj jj.n Asjr(t) N Hkn.f jm.s(nj) m mAa xrw*
"His father Osiris has given him (i. e. Horus) these his two reed sceptres and Osiris N has come as justified one to use them"

CT VI, 281k: *Hkn.f abA.f Axy.f m jAAAt.f*
"He uses his *abA*-sceptre, he gets sated with his reed sceptre" (*Hkn* is transitive here)

CT II, 89c-d: *HkA.j...Hkn.j jm.f tp tA* "my magic... which I used on the earth",

CT VI, 127b: *jnk Hkn m tp.f* "I am the one who uses his head",

CT VI, 152b: *Hkn m HAt.f* "the one who uses his front",

CT VI, 326q: *hA Asjr(t) N pn rdj.n(j) n.k abA.f Hkn.n.k jm.f* "Oh, this Osiris N, I have given you his *abA*-sceptre which you have used",

CT VII, 138b (also ibid 134d): *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hr w Hkn jm.s* "This Osiris N, take Horus's eye (and) use it",

CT VII, 20q: *jnk js wat Hknt m bA.s* "(for) I am the one who uses her impression/influence",

CT VII, 230q: *dj Hkn.j m dmt* "Let me use a knife",

Louvre C 3, BM 567: *s.Ax sw kA jmnt Hkn.f Hna.f m Hpwt.f*

"The bull of the West will make him become akh that he may have the use of his *Hpwt* with him"

rnnwt(j)t "She of Nurture, Nurterer" refers to Horus's eye depicted as uraeus, not to the goddess of the harvest:

PT 622, 1755a-b: *DbA.n(j) kw m jrt Hr rnnwt(j)t jtn nrt.n n.s nTrw*

"I have robed you in Horus's eye, this Nurterer of which the gods have become afraid" (similar is PT 635, §1794a-b)

CT VII, 65s: *rnnwt(j)t tn nbt nrw aAt SfSft* "this Nurturer who has veneration, respect to whom is big" (the spell (CT 862) is about Horus's eye)

CT VI, 411d-e: *Asjr(t) N mAa xrw mj n.k Ssrw.k rdjt.n n.k rnnwt(j)t jmjt HAt Hr*

"Osiris N justified, take your linen which Nurterer on Horus's brow has given you"

7)

§455a: *aHa zxn wr m wp wAwt*

Allen "Stand up, great one of the reedfloat, as Paths-Parter"

Shmakov "Stand up, Great Explorer (lit. Seeker), as Paths Discerner"

There is no {reedfloat} determinative after *zxn* to make us suppose the reading "reedfloat", but the parallelism to Paths Discerner rather suggests nominalized "Seeker", from the verb *zxjn* "seek".

8)

§455c: *jT.n.k wrwt m (j)Aawj wrw(j) aAw(j) xntjw THnw*

Allen "Acquire for yourself the crown from the elder and great foreigners, foremost of Libya"

Shmakov "having taken the crown from the two great and elder scouts, foremost of Libya"

jT.n.k is probably a *sDm.n.f*, not an imperative. The word *(j)Aawj* (the two {arm}-signs make *awj*, not *aaw*) ~ *jaA* (Wb. I:27:15, 40:4) has the meaning "scout" or the like, and occurs in the Old Kingdom title *(j)m(j)-r jaAw* "head of scouts" (Jones, *Titles*, # 327). It also occurs in CT as a designation for

Paths Discerner, cf. CT I, 193b-194b (B10Cc): *jnk grt wp wAwt j(A)aw [snwj]* "I am Paths Discerner, the scout of the two companions".

9)

§456a-457b: *sbk nb bAXw...s.ja.k kA n wnjs n.f r gs.f mj ja n.k xnzwt.k tw wab r.k wnjs s.bAq r.k wnjs m S(j).k pw zAbjj zAb s.abjw.k nTrw jm.f*

Allen

"(as) Sobek, lord of Bakhu...you should make the ka of Unis ascend for him beside him just like that coursing of yours ascends for you. So, clean Unis; so, brighten Unis—in the jackal lake of yours, Jackal, in which you cleanse the gods"

Shmakov

"Sobek, lord of Bakhu...you should make the ka of Unis ascend to him (to be) beside him just like this coursing of yours ascends to you...clean Unis, brighten Unis—in the lake of yours that the jackal poured, in which you cleanse the gods"

PT §456a-457b is a single passage that begins with *sbk nb bAXw* "Sobek, lord of Bakhu" as the form of address, so all the following instances of *.k* "you, your" refer to Sobek. *ja n* is "ascend to". *zAbjj* and *s.abjw.k* are the two relative forms – "that poured" and "where you cleanse". For *zAb*, cf. §1257b, CT I, 304b and CT I, 307c-e: *zAb rDw pr m Ax pn mH n.k mrw jr n.k rnw jtrw* "Outpouring (and) outflow that came from this akh, fill canals, make the names of the rivers" (lit. fill for you (both), make for you (both)).

It is interesting that §456a-e has become a source for a new spell in the Middle Kingdom:

stela Parma 178; Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, 47:

dwA mnw (var. *nTr*) *jn N* (var. *nswt nb tAwj mn-mAat-ra anx(.w) Dt*) *Dd.f* (var. *Dd mdw*) *j.nD(.j) Hr.k mnw jmn* (var. *jmn ra Hr(j)-jb Hwt mn-mAat-ra*) *nb zHnt mj natj.k <r>* (var. *na.k T(w) r*) *sxwt.k ksbwt.k zSmt(jw)t (m)fkAt(jw)t Tfrr(j)wt sn.k jdwt Szmt dj.k n.k kA n nswt r gs.k mj mjzt jrt tp.k j(A)w n.k Hrwb nb zHnt qA.tj Hrwb nb sHnt jmAm.tj Hrwb nb zHnt jmAm jb.k r nswt mj jmAm jb n Hrwb r mw jpw bAqw prw m jrt.f dmj jb.k r nswt mj dmjt Hrwb jb.f r mwt.f Ast nk.n.f s(j) d.n.f jb r.s jm.f r jm.s*

"Worshipping of Min (var. "a god") by N (var. by the king) saying (var. "recitation"):

Greetings, Min-Amon (var. "Amon-Sun residing in the Enclosure of Menmaatre"), lord of the *zHnt*-shrine, come, that you may be transported (var. "(and) transport yourself") to your marshes (and) your malachite (cf. the det. in CT VI, 214d), turquoise and blue mangroves that you may smell odors of the land Shethmet, you should put the king's ka to your side like the white crown which is on your head. Praise to you, Horus, lord of *zHnt*-shrine, be high, lord of *zHnt*-shrine, be gracious, Horus, lord of *zHnt*-shrine, let your heart be gracious to the king, like Horus's heart was gracious to this bright water that emerged from his eye, attach your heart to the king, like Horus attached his heart to his mother Isis, when he copulated with her (and) put a heart to her, his rib (?) to her rib (?)".

10)

§457c: *ba.n.k spd.n.k Hrwb nb wAD zp 4 Hrwb wADwj*

Allen "ba for you and sharp for you, Horus, lord of malachite. 4 times. A pair of green falcons"

Shmakov "You have become impressive, you have become sharp, Horus, lord of malachite.

(Recitation) four times. A pair of green Horuses"

This passage probably has two *sDm.n.f*'s as is shown by **P 347** (= PT 706) which begins this passage with *Dd mdw Dd [zp 4]* "Recitation: say [four times]".

W 207 (PT 302)

§458a: *n wnjs js anx zA spdt*

Allen "for Unis is the living one, Sothis's son"

Shmakov "for Unis is the Living one, Sothis's son"

"the Living one" is the name of a god that also occurs in PT 573, §1482a. Cf. also CT II, 35i: *N wnnt anx zA tm* "N is indeed the Living one, Atum's son", *ibid*, 40c: *anx rn.j zA nTr pAt(j)w* "My name is Living one, son of the original (gods)' god".

2)

§459c: *kf.n nwt wrt rmnwj.s n wnjs*

Allen "Nut has bared her arms to Unis"

Shmakov "Great Nut has bent her arms for Unis (welcoming him)"

James Allen missed *wrt* in *nwt wrt* "Great Nut". The double of the passage occurs on the south wall of the antechamber, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col.52 (James Allen translates correctly there "Great Nut", *P. T.*, P 356, p.139). The term *rmn* has the meaning "shoulder" as well as "arm from shoulder to fingertips (i. e. whole arm)" (James Allen himself read it "arm" (spelled by *rmn*-ideogram) in Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col.52). The expression *kf rmn* has the meaning "bend the arm", as a gesture of respect while meeting, cf.:

PT 698A (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 59): *wAH.Tn tpw.Tn n pppj kfj.Tn n.f r(m)nw.Tn*

"You shall bow your heads for Pepi and bend your arms for him" ("...bend your shoulders" after Allen, *P. T.*, p. 192)

CT VII, 155g: *kf.n n.j skm r(m)n.f*

"Gray-haired one has bent his arm for me"

Urk.V:87:14: *kfA n.j skmyw rmnw.sn*

"Gray-haired ones (i. e. baboons) are bending their arms for me"

Cf. the use of the verb *kfj* with another body part as object:

CT III, 278a (B1P): *kf.f n.Tn mAswt Asjr(t)*

"He will bend for you Osiris's knees"

Cf. it with the synonymous expression *qaH rmn*:

Urk.V:87:11: *qaH n.j HHw rmnw.sn*

"Infinite gods are bending down for me their arms"

Cf. it with the synonymous expression *xAm rmn/a*:

CT I, 184e: *xAm n.k wrw awj.sn*

"The great ones are bending their arms for you"

The block from the tomb of Heny (I.1.a.1137 a) (= Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 65, note k) *mrrw m pr nb.f xAm r(m)n m Hr-jb Swt.f*

"one constantly beloved in the house of his lord, one respected (lit. who makes bend arm) in its interior

(lit. in the midst of its (i. e. house's) shadow)" (after Oleg Berlev)

Urk.IV:987:17: *jr.tw n.f xAm rmn [jn wrw nw] aH*

"to whom respect was displayed (lit. "arm's bending" was performed) [by the great ones of] the palace"

3)

§460a-b: *qfn.n.sn sn bAwj xnt(j)w(j) bAw jwnw Xr tp ra sDr*

Allen "the two foremost bas of the bas of Heliopolis, who spent the night...have knelt down at the Sun's head"

Shmakov "the two foremost bas of the bas of Heliopolis...have bent themselves at the head of the lying Sun"

The word-combination *Xr tp* has the meaning "at the head (of recumbent person)", cf. Nakhti's coffin (Louvre E 11936): *Dd mdw jn ra jw rdj.n(j) n.k Ast Xr tp.k rm.s Tw jAkb.s Tw* "Recitation by the Sun: I have given you Isis at your head that she beweeep and lament you" (ibid Nephthys is said to be given at the feet (*Xr rdwj*))²⁰; pWestcar 7,14-15: *gm.n.f sw sDr(.w) Hr tmAm...Hm Xr tp.f* "He found him lying on a mat...with a servant at his head".

The verb *qfn* beside the meaning "to knee" also has the meaning "bent", cf. CT VI, 407b-c: *qfnw mAst* "those who bend knee(s)", hence the reading of *qfn.n.sn sn* in this passage.

4)

§460c: *nst wnjs xr.k ra*

Allen "Unis's seat is with you, Sun"

Shmakov "Unis's seat is from you, Sun"

For *xr* "from", see **W 140**, 4.

5)

§461a: *prjj r.f wnjs r pt xr.k ra*

Allen "So, Unis will go up to the sky by you, Sun"

Shmakov "So, Unis will go up to the sky to you, Sun"

See the next note.

6)

§462a-b: *nj mdw n wnjs r tA xr rmT nj xbnt.f r pt xr nTrw*

Allen "There is no case involving Unis at the earth with people, there is no guilty verdict of his at the sky with the gods"

Shmakov "There is no (mis)deed of Unis regarding the earth (and) the people, there is no blame of his regarding the sky (and) the gods"

Literally "...to the earth regarding the people...to the sky regarding the gods"

For the meaning of *xr* as "to, regarding", cf.:

jmAxy xr N "possessor of honor/honored regarding N" (where N is a god, a king, any other person or

²⁰ This is an inscription on the coffin in which the mummy-Osiris was lying on his side; moreover, this inscription is picturing supine Osiris with Isis and Nephthys at his feet and head.

persons; in Russian "chestnoi (po otnosheniyu) k", the same occurs in the expression "chestnoi narod (~ people having honor, honored people)" which is a direct equivalent to *jmAxww* in Egyptian) *mAa xrw xr N* (§§361c, 1327c) "justified/vindicated regarding N".

The expression *jmAxy xr N* means that a person behaved according to maat regarding N. The expression *mAa xrw xr N* means that a person is innocent regarding N, i. e. did not sin against him or did not do unlawful actions against N.

Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 24: *nfr(.j) jAw(.j) xr nTr aA* "fair (and) worthy to the Elder god"

Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 25: *wsr(.j) Spss(.j) xr nTr aA* "strong (and) valuable to the Elder god"

Urk.I:47:3: *bn(j) xr snw.f* "courteous (lit. sweet) regarding his siblings"

Urk.I:51:14, 17, 52:5: *Spss xr nswt* "valuable to the king"

Urk.I:84:4: *jqr.k(j) xr Hm.f* "I am excellent regarding His Incarnation"

Urk.I:222:10: *zbt qd xr nTr* "obtaining (lit. reaching) the character regarding the God"

Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 73 fig. 47: *n mrwt Ax(.j) xr nTr* "for the sake of me being useful/effective to the god" (for *Ax.t(j) xr nTr aA* see also Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 3a, 3b)

Urk.I:82:3, 83:7, 84:14, 193:1: *mjn xr N* "contemporary to"

Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 73 fig. 47: *nj zp Dd(.j) xt Dw(t) r rmT nb xr sr nb* "I have never said (any)thing bad against any men to any judge (or "official")" (also Urk.I:57:16: *nj zp Dd(.j) ...xr Hm n nb(.j)*)

Louvre C 211: *Ax m pt xr ra wr m tA xr gbb mAa xrw m Xrj-nTr xr Asjr* "effectiveness in the sky regarding the Sun, strength in the earth regarding Geb, justification in the necropolis regarding Osiris"

Urk.IV, 68:3, 414:12: *jwtj wn.f xr r(m)T* "whose misdeed regarding people doesn't exist"

ibid:131:10: *jwtj wn.f xr nb.f* "whose misdeed regarding his lord doesn't exist"

ibid:133:3: *nj gm.tw wn.j xr r(m)T* "my misdeed regarding people has not been found"

ibid:430:16: *rn.j nfr(.w) xr r(m)T* "my reputation (lit. name) is fair regarding people"

ibid:435:12: *r[wD] rn(.j) xr Hr nb* "my reputation (lit. name) is firm regarding everyone (lit. every face)"

ibid:481:2 (also ibid:408:16): *s.xA(.j) nfr(.w) xr r(m)t* "memory about me (lit. my memory, i. e. everything I have done in life) is fair regarding people"

Budge, *BD30B*, V: *nj btA.f xr ntr nb ntrt nb(t)* "there is no crime of his regarding any god (or) any goddess"

See also **W 173**, 2.

The pair of the prepositions "r {place} xr {person}" is very common in the PT. It occurs in verbal clauses with verbs of motion expressing the direction of an action: "(move) to(ward) the {place} to the {person}". From the discussed passage it is clear that in non-verbal clauses the pair has the same meaning, though there is an exception (see **W 140**, 4).

W 209 (PT 304)

§468a: *j(n)D(.j) Hr.T zAt jnpw Hr(j)t ptrw pt*

Allen "Greetings, Anubis's daughter at the sky's Looking (Waters)"

Shmakov "Greetings, (Qebehut), Anubis's daughter in charge of the sky's Looking (Waters)"

zAt jnpw is *qbHwt* "She of the Cool Waters", cf. PT 515, §1180b: *qbHwt zAt jnpw* "Qebehut, Anubis's daughter".

W 210 (PT 305)

§473a: *jn Twt js nTr wab swt pr m wabt*

Allen "Are you a god of clean places? (they ask). He has come from a clean place"

Shmakov ""Are you a god whose places are clean and who has come from a clean place?" (they ask)"

It is possible to analyze *pr* as participle rather than a stative.

2)

§474b-c: *Szpt rmT qrs.sn xA.s(n) m t xA.s(n) m H(n)kt Hr wdHw n xnt(j) jmntjw*

Allen "What people receive when they have been buried, their thousand of bread and their thousand of beer, is from the offering table of Foremost of Westerners"

Shmakov "What people receive when they have been buried is their thousand of bread, their thousand of beer from the offering ration of Foremost of Westerners"

For *wdHw* "offering ration", see **T 276**, 2.

3)

§475a-c: *SwA jwaw nj wnt xr.f zS(A) zS(A) wnjs m Dba wr nj zS(A).fjs m Dba Srr*

Allen "Indigent is an heir who has no writing: Unis writes with his big finger; he does not write with his little finger⁷⁷"

Shmakov "Indigent is an heir who has no list: Unis's list is (made) of the great measure (? lit. finger); his list is not (made) of the little measure (? lit. finger)"

There is no "his finger" in the original, just *Dba wr* "great/big finger" and *Dba Srr* "little finger". For *zS(A)* "list" spelled with initial complements *z* and *S*, see Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 61: *rDt zS(A) n kAt Hmt nbt* "Giving a list of every craft's product(s)"; Mariette, *Mast.*, C15, p. 139: *rDt zS(A)* "Giving the list"; L.D.II:30: *rDj<t> zS(A) r mA* "Giving the list for review", *ibid*:61a: *Dj<t> zS(A)* "Giving the list"; Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 69, p. 80: Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 33, p. 72: *Sd(t) zS(A)* "reciting the list (or "scroll)"; Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, figs. 27: *zS(A) n njwwt* "the list of villages", 29: *Dt zS(A)* "Giving the list".

There is another way to treat *m* in the passage – in the Old Kingdom the verb *zSA* is used with *m* as governing preposition, i. e. we have a collocation *zSA m* "write about, record, register, inscribe":

The mastaba of Kagemni (*gm.n(.j)-kA(.j)* "I have found my ka"), room V, above the doorway to the room VII:

zSAw pr Dt zSAw m nDt Hr "the scribes of the personal farm (lit. house) who write about/register the gift(s)"

PT 303, §467b N: *jw zSA.n fdw jpw Axw jmjw jwnw jm* "The four akhs from Heliopolis have written about (it)"

PT 469, §906f: *zSA.f m pppj pn tp anxw* "that he may write about/record this Pepi at the head of the living"

The mastaba of Mereruikai (*mrr-w(j)-kA(.j)* "My ka loves me"), Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.32: *zSA m fAt bjAw* "recording of the weighing of copper"

Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 11: *zSA m Sd* "recording reared fowl"

Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 19: *zSA m mHtjw* "recording the fish"

Mariette, *Mast.*, C15, p. 139: *zSA m pXr jn DADAt* "recording the food supply by the administration",

rDt zS(A) "giving a list (of the food supply)"

Urk.I:4:15: *jw zSA jm r a nswt*

"It has been written about (it) to a king's record"

Urk.I:167:6: *zSA m Tnw sq(j) anx(.j) jnjj m xAst nbt*

"recording the number of captive(s) (lit. struck down alive) brought from every foreign land"

L.D.II:61a: *DADAt nt(j)t Hr zSA m rxt jrp [...]*

"Administration that is recording the list of wine [...]"

L.D.II:61b, also Mariette, *Mast.*, D52, p.317: *zSA m nDt Hr* "recording the gift(s)"

Junker, *Giza V*, pp. 47, Abb. 9: *zSA m wsx* "registration of collar"; *ibid*, pp. 49, Abb. 10: *zSA m sSr*

"registration of linen", *zSA m t* "registration of bread".

Mariette, *Mast.*, E1.2, p.384: *zSA m jwAw* "registering the oxen"

CT VI, 202c-d: *jw jn.n.j wrw Axt zSA.n.sn m Ddt.n.j n.sn*

"I have reached the great ones of the Behind the Horizon (and) they have written down what I have said"

CT VI, 204i-j: *jw DADAt.j m-xt.j zSA.sn m sAjr w nTrw*

"My administration is in my wake, they are registering the requests of the gods"

CT VII, 177f-g: *jw sptj.j Dd.sn wrt m ntt DHwtj zSA.fjm* "My lips tell the great thing as what Thoth writes about"

Urk.VII:34:13-14: *s.aHa.n.j sw...zSA(j) m rn.j Ds.j*

"I have erected it...inscribed with my own name"

Leb. 24-25: *xsf xns w Hr.j zSA.j m mAat*

"May Khonsu meet (i. e. respond) me (or "defend me"?), that I may inscribe maat"

Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl. 30, 37: *Drt.j [Hr] zSA [m] aHa.f aA*

"My hand [is] inscribing his long (lit. big) lifetime"

Thus the discussed passage could be read: "Unis inscribes the great measure (? lit. finger); he does not inscribe the little measure (? lit. finger)".

James Allen's translation of §475b-c is grammatically possible, cf. Urk.I:60:8: *zSA Hm.f m Dbawj.f* "His Incarnation has written with his two fingers", i. e. Egyptians wrote with a reed (*ar*) using thumb and index finger ("two fingers" of the passage), but it is hard to see any sense in "writing with the (one) finger".

Allen, note 77 (page 63): "The little finger is not used because it was employed in casting curses" (also Pepi I's note 131 (page 205): "the little finger is meant").

But this idea is too arguable, for two reasons:

i) The word *Dbw* can have the meaning "evil curse", but in the examples from PT or CT where the

word has this meaning it is not indicated which finger is meant:

PT 534, §1278a-b: *rDjt.f Dba.f jr mr Hwt nTr ptn nt pjpj nt kA.f rDj.n.f Dba.f r Hwt Hr w m qbHw*
"who will cast (lit. give) his evil curse (lit. "finger(-pointing)") against these – the Pyramid (and) (its) temple of Pepi (and) of his ka, he has cast his evil curse against Horus's Enclosure in the Cool Waters"

CT VI, 332b-c: *j pdtjw Sw xtm r n hAb Dba.f jr mAAt.f*
"O those of the (sky's) arcs of Shu, shut the mouth of the one who sends his evil curse against whom he sees!"

See also two passages with *Dba* "evil curse" in **W 48**.

ii) In PT 540, §1330a a little finger (*Dba nDsw*) is used for the opening of the mouth, so without negative connotation:

PT 540, §1330a: *wp r.k jn Hr w m Dba.f pw nDsw*
"Your mouth has been parted by Horus by his little finger"

In the following passages from PT and CT the word-formation *Dba Sr* does not have any "bad" meaning either:

PT 204, §118c: *Dba wnjs Srrw Sd nw jmj SpA Asjr(t)*
"Unis's little finger, extract this which is in Osiris's navel"

CT VI, 354k: *dbn.T pt tn m Dba.T Sr mj zwn*
"You will go round this sky through your little finger like Zewen(tjw)"

W 211 (PT 306)

§480d: *spd js Xr ksbwt.f*
Allen "as Sobek under his mangroves"

The text has *spdw js Xr ksbwt.f* "being *Sopdu* under his mangroves" in the original.

2)

§481b: *m(j).k jr.k Tw xpr.t(j)*
Allen "look, you have become"

Literally it is "May you see yourself having become". Similar passage occurs in Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.10, col.757 (= *§1966c-d): *m(j).k r.k sw msj.j m(j).k sw TAz(j) m(j).k sw xpr(j)* "May you see him born, may you see him sprung up, may you see him evolved". James Allen writes the following in his grammar about *mj.k*: "The particle *mj* may have started out as an imperative meaning "see!" or the like; it was originally followed by dependent pronouns, like an imperative, rather than the suffix forms" (Allen, *M. E.*, 16.6.7, p. 189). James Allen is right about the origin of what we know from M.E. as *mj.k/mj.T/mj.Tn* "See, Look, Behold". But the author of the current work thinks that "it was *originally* followed by dependent pronouns...rather than the suffix forms" should be altered to "there are cases in Old Egyptian when it is followed by dependent pronouns, next to cases that have the suffixal forms", as these PT passages show. And this means that we actually have ancient 2-lit. verb *mj* "see" (for the spelling with D38-*mj* sign, see §§603 T, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 66, 819c N, 887a N (*mj.k*), Nt 697; for the unique spelling {owl} {reed panicle}, see Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.19, col.1308+48) which has the same form when being subjunctive (like in this passage and in Middle Egyptian) and when

imperative, which for some reasons was restricted to the function of the introductory word: §§204c, 206c: *m(j) Tw jr.k bA.tj sxm.tj* "see yourself²¹ having become impressive (and) in control" (see also 162c), 629b-c: *m(j) kw dbn.tj Sn.t(j) ...m(j) kw Sn.tj aA.tj* "see yourself having become round (and) encircled...see yourself having become encircled (and) big", 1610a: *Asjr(t) N m(j) kw nD.tj anx.tj* "Osiris N, see yourself tended (and) alive"; §819c P first has the subjunctive and then the imperative of the verb: *m(j).k sw j.jj ...m(j) Asjr(t) j.jj* "May you see him having come...see Osiris having come"; 1864a-b: *m(j) sw jj(.j) m(j) sw jj(.j) m(j) sn.k jj(.j)* "see him having come, see him having come, see your brother having come" (see also 1492-1495a-b). See also Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §§612, 613.

That *m(j)* could have an imperative form is also proved by the following passages from the CT, in which it is used in parallel to another imperative, and the autobiography of Sennefer:

CT VII, 237b-c: *m(j) Tw jj.t(j) Ax.t(j) apr.t(j) s.mn Tw r.k m st.k tn xnt(j)t swt*
 "See yourself having come, akh (and) equipped, establish yourself in this your place foremost of places".

Urk.IV:547:8: *mj wj m Ax pn* "Look I am this akh (lit. see me as this akh)"

To the instance of a *sDm.f* use of the verb *mj* probably should be attributed the following passage from "The story of Sinuhe":

Sin. B 232-233: *mj(.j) wj m Xnw mj(.j) wj m st tn ntk js Hbs Axt tn*
 "Whether I see (i.e. imagine) myself at Home or see myself in this place, you are the one whom this Behind the Horizon covers (i.e. your nature is always hidden for me)"

Cf. very common *mj.k Tw/tw* "see yourself" (traditionally read "look") and similar passage in Sin. R 65-66: *mj mAA sw jdHy m Abw, z(j) n XAt m tA-ztj* "as when a Delta-man sees (i.e. imagines) himself in Elephantine, or a marsh-man in the Bowland".

W 212 (PT 307)

§485a: *nj sTp.fj(n)bt m ab snw.f*

Allen: "he will not leap the barrier amidst his brothers the gods"

There is no "the gods" in the copy of Unis (only in the copy of Pepi I). The unknown word that is spelled *jbt* (which also occurs in §1321c, there with {road}-N31 determinative) probably stands for *jnbt* "fence" (of the root *jnb* "wall") with *n* omitted for the sake of saving space, just like in *(n)hp* "set free" (§36a), *j.(n)D* "greet" (§§468a, 469a, 471b, 487a, b, c, 488a), *h(n)jj* "haul (rope)" (§303d), *r(n)pt* "year" (§965b N), *H(n)qt* "beer" (is always spelled this way), *(n)swt* "king". For the word's meaning, cf. CT I, 60e: *whn n.k jnbwt.k HAt zp 2 pr.k jrt.n n.k nTrw.k njwtjw* "Overthrown for you have been your barriers around –twice– your house, which your local gods made for you".

2)

§485c: *nj wn n.f aAwj Htmwt*

Allen: "the door of provisioning will not be opened to him"

Shmakov "the (lock)-leaves of the *Htmwt*-canal will not be opened to him"

Htmwt is probably a body of water, maybe a canal or lake. For the opening of a canal's (lock)-leaves, cf. §1203c: *wnjj aAwj pt(j) znjj aAwj jAt Xrt* "Open, (lock)-leaves of the looking-waters, pull open,

²¹ The descendant of this passage has *sDm.f* of *mj*: CT I, 194e: *mj.k Tw jr.k Ax.tj bA.tj sxm.tj r nTrw [rsw mHtjw]*.

(lock)-leaves of the canal “Kherti’s standard””; §255a *j.zn aAwj qbHw* "open the (lock)-leaves of the Cool Waters" (*qbHw* "Cool Waters", i. e. the sky, which was a body of water too). Cp. also Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 51: *xnt.k jr rt jAt* "you shall go forward to the gateway of the “Standard”-canal (with {canal}-N determinative)".

The absence of a body of water determinative in *Htmwt* in PT could be just like in *ptr* "Looking (waters)" which doesn't have such a determinative in PT but undoubtedly is a body of water. This *Htmwt* canal occurs in CT: CT III, 3b: *mrw* (or *S(j)w*) *Htmt nj xr.j jm.sn* "the canals of *Htmt* – I will not fall in them", CT IV, 366m: *nmj.j xnz Htmwt* "I will cross the *xns*-canal (and) the *Htmwt*-canal", CT V, 298c: *xpr.f m xnz Htm* "when he comes into being from the canals *xnz* and *Htm*", CT V, 308b (also 315j): *xr.f m xnz Htmyt* "He will fall in the canals *xnz* and *Htmyt*", CT VII, 223b-d: *wn {j}<H>tm{xnt}<t> zn xnz wr nb.j jm.k zn.j jm m DHwtj* "Open, *Htmt*-canal, pull open, great *xnz*-canal, that I may swim in you, that I may pass in (you) as Thoth" (for opening (*wn*) of a water body, cf. also §2146b: *Dj.f wn.k Hntj jmj nTrw* "he will let you open the basin in which the gods are", CT II, 392b: *jAbt pw wnt ptr* "this is the eastern wind that opens the looking-canal"). The *Htmwt*-canal could be a variant of *Htm* "Goose-canal" in §1228c. Cf. also **W 54**, 2 for *Hwt Htmwt* "Enclosure of the *Htmwt*-canal" (§1353c).

As to the strange sense of PT 540, §1329a: *Tz.n Tw Htmwt* "The *Htmwt*-canal has raised you", the *Htmwt*-canal can be personified in this passage, just like the *xns*-canal is in PT 539, §1306a: [*r n*] *mrjj-ra pn m xns wr* "The mouth of this Meryre is that of the great *xns*-canal", and like the *ptr* "looking waters" having a {falcon on standard} determinative in §1680b: *wn n.k TpHt pt(j)* "the cavern of the looking waters has been opened for you".

W 213 (PT 308)

§488a: *t(w)ttj jb*

Allen: "the two reconciled gods"

In the edition of Neith's PT corpus *t(w)ttj jb* is determined with two {woman's head} signs, so it does not refer to Horus and Seth. In pers. comm. James Allen kindly signalled that it is a reference to the dual goddesses *Mrt/Mrtj*, who accompany the sun god in his boat, and that there is a study on this by W. Guglielmi, *Die Göttin Mr.t* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 7; Leiden: Brill, 1991. Cp.

CT V, 183b: *j.nD(j) Hr.Tn rHtj snntj t(w)ttj jb mrwtj*

"Greetings, two female comrades, two female fellows, two reconciled ones, two beloved ones (*Mrwtj*)"

In CT V, 309e, 314b-c it is said that they *mAAat s.DAt ra ra nb* "see and accompany the Sun every day" and that they are *sqd(w)tj...ntj ra* "two sailors...of the Sun", respectively. Moreover, in CT V, 314b De Buck left two hieratic signs untranscribed into hieroglyphs and they are probably that of *zAtj bjtj* in PT 437, §804a, PT 483, §1017c.

W 214 (PT 309)

§490a: *wnjs pw DHAj nTrw HA Hwt ra*

Allen "Unis is the god's accountant, in charge of the sun's enclosure"

Shmakov "Unis is the god's barley peeler (?), in charge of the Sun's enclosure"

The meaning of *DHAj* in this passage is obscure. The verb *DHA* probably has the meaning "peel (barley)":

The mastaba of Ti, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 125: *fA a.T m jt(j) pn jw.f DHA(j)*

"Lift your arm with this barley, it is peeled"

Urk.I:211:14, 17: *jw wD.n Hm.j nfr.n jrt...DHA...m njwt mrwj ptn*

"My Incarnation has commanded not to purchase (lit. make)...peeled grain...in the settlement of these two pyramids".

W 215 (PT 310)

§492d: *xsbb wnjs m wAt tn xsbb tm*

Allen "should Unis be barred from this path, Atum will be barred"

Shmakov "should Unis be barred in this path, then Atum will be barred"

It's probably not "barred from", for in PT "bar from" is *xsfrjr* (§§334c T, 1437c, 1439a, 1440a etc.), and in CT it is *xsfrHr* (CT IV, 143b; CT VI, 388h; CT VII, 318d, 378b, 389a, 514k). *m* in *xsbb* (~ *xsfr*) *m wAt* is probably a part of *wAt*, not of *xsbb* (i. e. this is not a collocation *xsbb m*, and we should read "should Unis be barred (while he is) in this path", rather than "barred from this path"), cf. PT 365, §622d: *nj xsfk m tA* "you cannot be barred in the earth"; CT IV, 190b: *jw(j) xsfrfm nTrw* "(one) of the gods who is not barred" (lit. who his barring is not of the gods).

W 216 (PT 311)

§495a-c: *mAA ra wnjs sjA ra wnjs n sw j.rwx Tw j.rx sw jr pr nb.f nj xm.f Htp Dj*

Allen "See Unis, Sun! Recognize Unis, Sun! He belongs to those who know you, so he knows his lord will emerge. He will not forget the given offering"

Shmakov "See the Sun, Unis! Recognize the Sun, Unis! He belongs to those who know you, so, know him (too, Unis)! When (lit. as to) his lord emerges he will not forget the given offering"

We cannot read *mAA ra wnjs* as "See Unis, Sun!" (that would be **mAA wnjs ra*), for the object of the imperative always follows it, which means that it is Unis who is being addressed, not the Sun.

The second problem is analyzing what *j.rx sw* is. As Kurt Sethe shows (§495b), the older text version had a stative *j.rx.k(j)* "I know", but if the editor of Unis's corpus would have kept a stative it would have been *j.rx(j)* "he knows", but we have *j.rx sw*. There is a possibility to analyze *j.rx sw* as participle phrase/adjectival predicate "the one who knows is he" ~ "he knows" (Allen, *M. E.*, 23.11), but it is clear that an imperative fits the context better: "He belongs to those who know you, so, know him (too, Unis)!" (a similar idea occurs in PT 262).

The third question is what *jr pr nb.f* might be. It seems unlikely that it is a subordinate noun clause as in Allen's translation, for there's no introducing particle such as *wnt*, *ntt*, *js* "that", and of course it is not an unmarked clause as there is *jr*. So it is most likely a main clause; for *jr* as "when" rather than "if", see Urk. I:130, 6,10.

2)

§§497b-498a: *wD sw Dd mdw zp 4 Dd n fdw jpw khAw HAw.k mAAw m Hrwj mdww m wtwt mr(.w) Hna qsntj.sn Hna sk.sn*

Allen

"commend him—recitation 4 times without pause—to those four of yours who go down behind you, who see with two faces and argue painfully about the firstborn with those who will have difficulty and him whom they would destroy"

Shmakov

"appoint him—recitation four times with pause(s)—to those four ones who growl (*khAw*) around you, who see with two faces (and) speak against the firstborn, who are painful (*mr(.w)*) against (lit. with) whom they torture and against (lit. with) whom they destroy"

Dd occurs in PT having the meaning "to pause, delay", cf. §§591a, 618b: *nD.n Tw Hrw nj Dd.n nD.f*

Tw "Horus has tended you, for he could not delay tending you" (after Allen; also §1797b: *nj Dd.n nD(.j) kw* "I cannot delay tending you"). "those four of yours who go down" would be **fdw.k jpw hAw* with the suffix attached to the numeral *fdw*, not to the plural demonstrative pronoun *jpw*, hence we have *fdw jpw khAw*, for the plural participle *khAw* "those who growl", cf. CT I, 226d-e: *jmj.k Sm Hr wAw mds w khAw xrw ddw sDbw* "You should not go on the ways of butchers, who growl (and) set obstructions". The collocation *mdwj m* has the meaning "speak against", see **W 19**, 1. *qsntj.sn* "whom they torture" is a relative form with the *tj*-ending, see **T 203**, 3. For the preposition *Hna* as "against", see **W 180a**, 8.

3)

§§498b-499a: *mDr wnjs jr.k jw wnjs xr.k Dd(.j) n.k rn.k pw n Agb wr pr m wrt*

Allen "when Unis turns to you and Unis comes to you, to tell you your identity of the great flood that emerged from the great goddess"

Shmakov "when Unis turns to you and Unis comes to you, that I may tell you your your identity of the Great dancer who emerged from the Great one"

The original first-person suffix *.j* has not been emended to the third-person suffix *.f* ("that he may tell you") in this passage. For this note based on the copy of this passage in Theban tomb TT 57, which has *Dd.f n.k rn.k...*, see Hays, *Structure*, p.42, note 33, p. 341; Hays-Schenk, *Intersection*, p. 99, note 21; cf. also Allen's note 81 for another first-person suffix left in PT 311 (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 64).

The {three ripples of water}-N35a determinative that usually occurs in *Agb* "flood" is missing here, hence the root is probably *Agb* "dance" instead, see **T 225**, 2.

W 217 (PT 312)

§501: *r Hwwtj Hwwt nt*

Allen "toward him of the Red Crown's enclosures"

Shmakov "toward the enclosures' attendant of the enclosures of the Watery Area"

For the meaning of *Hwwt nt*, see **W 54**, 2.

W 218 (PT 313)

§§502b-503a: [*s*]T(A) <H>*nn bAbjj j.wn aAwj pt [xtm] j.wn n wnjs [wAt] Hr xbxw Xr jknt nTrw zbn*
Hrw zp 2 zbn wnjs jm m xbxw pn Xr jknt nTrw

Allen "Pull back, Baboon's penis! Open, [sky's door! You sealed door, open a path for Unis] on the blast of heat where the gods scoop water.

Horus's glide path—twice—will Unis glide on, in this blast of heat where the gods scoop water"

Shmakov "The Baboon's penis has been drawn back, the sky's door has been opened. Sealer, open a path for Unis over fertile (land) with the place where the gods scoop (water) which Horus sails across—twice—. Unis will sail there in this fertile (land) with the place where the gods scoop (water)"

The word *bxxw* may be a graphical transposition for *xbxw* (cf. the verb's spelling *j.xxmt* for *j.xmxt* in §§61b, 89c), if so it may be the derivative of the root (*n*)*xb* "fertile" (cf. §123b, **W 140**, 5).

PT 404, §702c: *wAD tjt m njs jrt.k jmjt xbxw* "Teti is green as the papyrus-head of your eye which is fertility (?)"

zbn is a relative form from the verb *zbn*, the simplex of *zbnbn* which occurs in §936b: *zbnbnw pjpp pn Hna.Tn m sxt jArw* "This Pepi will sail around with you in the Marsh of Reeds".

W 219 (PT 314)§504a: *HA.k ng ngA*

Allen "Back, gored longhorn"

Shmakov "Back, longhorned bull that butts"

ngA is an active participle, not passive, cf. PT 538, §1302a: *HA.k ng j.gA* "Back, longhorn bull that groans" (here *j.gA* is active participle). For *ng ngA*, cf. PT 580, §1544c: *ngA.n(j) n.k ngA Tw m ng* "I have butted for you the one who butted you as longhorned bull".

W 220 (PT 315)§505c: *Hms.f mm.Tn HaAtjw*

Allen "Unis will...sit among the youngsters"

The original has "he will sit among you (*mm.Tn*), youngsters".

W 221 (PT 316)§506a-c: *j.Hmj sHd(w) nj rDj.n n.Tn wnjs HkA.f...Sdw wnjs r pt*

Allen "O you back-turning star, Unis does not have to give you his magic...Unis will be taken to the sky"

Shmakov "Go back, (you) star(s)! Unis does not have to give you his magic....Take Unis to the sky!"

Initial *j* is not the interjection *j* "O, Oh" but an imperative's *j*-prefix that has been influenced by the sign {stroke}-Z1, hence *j.Hmj* is the imperative "go back!"; the same {stroke}-influence occurs in §119b: *j.mHjj* "become flooded", §676a *j.nDr* "grasp" (also §§228b: *j.nsb.n.f* "that which he has licked", 280a: *j.nr* "Should be afraid", 280c T: *j.Ax* "became full-watered", 414a T: *j.mn(j) j.mn(j)* "firmly firm", 424b: *j.TT* "the one who takes", 715c: *j.rnp.jj* "being young" = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 5: *j.rnp.(j)*, 1229b: *j.qrrj* "Heating snake", Nt 675: *j.Haa.t(j)* "excited", Urk.I:79:7, 195:12: *j.mr(j)* "I wanted"; CT III, 158b: *j.nxn jb.k* "may your heart be glad"). The verb forms could also be influenced by the {man beckoning}-A26 sign, see **T 282**, 1.

sHd(w) "stars" is plural as there follows a plural *.Tn* "you": "Unis doesn't have to give you his magic". This spell is constructed as a dialogue, instead of a narration, thus *Sdw* most likely is an imperative instead of a passive prospective, and this is confirmed by a variant of the spell from CT (sp. 426) where an imperative occurs: CT V, 270c-271c: *j.Hm sHD nj rdj.j n.Tn HkA.j pn...zy pw HkA.j pn Sd w(j) r pt* "Go back, star(s), I will not give you this magic of mine...."Who is it (speaking)?" (ask the stars) "(It is) this magic of mine (speaking), take me to the sky!" (B1Bo gives *Sd sw r pt* "take him to the sky!"). James Allen proposes to read *Sdw* as passive prospective *sDm.f* on account of the lack of examples in the PT in which 3rd-weak verbs have a *w*-ending when imperatives, and he produces as proof the lack of *w*-ending in the 3rd-weak verb *zAj* of §253a: *zA Tn* "beware, guard yourselves" (Allen, *Inflection*, §598, p. 415). However, the latter passage is treated differently in the current work, and moreover, James Allen missed that a damaged *w*-ending occurs in Neith's copy of §253a: [*zA*]*w Tn* (Nt 725) and in the plural imperative of 3rd weak verb *Hwj* "proclaim", §155a: *Asjr(t) Ast.j.zjj Hww* "Osiris (and) Isis, go (and) proclaim". Hence there isn't any evidence against the reading of *Sdw* in the current passage as a plural imperative.

For the reading of *nj sDm.n.f* as "he does not have to hear" in the current passage, cf. CT V, 55b (BqC, T1L): *nj rdj.n.j HAtj.j pn n xppw* "I do not have to give this heart of mine to those who passed on (i. e. the dead)"; other sarcophagi give a prospective *sDm.f*: *nj rdj.j HAtj.j pn n xppw* "I will not give this heart of mine to those who passed on", and so does the descendant of the discussed passage (CT V, 270c-271c), and cf. CT V, 311e-f (also *ibid* 299d): *nn rdj.n N pn Axw.f nj rdj.n N pn HkA.f n mrwtj jptwtj* "This N does not have to give his effective-magic; this N does not have to give his magic to

these two Meruti".

2)

§506b: *Hms wnjs sA.fjr Dsrt m jwnw*

Allen "Unis will sit with his back to the swept area in Heliopolis"

Shmakov "Unis has sat with his back to the Crier in Heliopolis"

For the meaning of the verb *Dsr* as "shout, cry", see (T 145, 7). Cf. also the descendants of this passage, CT V, 271a (S1C): *Hms.j sA.j r Dsrt wrt m jwnw* "I have sat with my back to the Great Crier in Heliopolis", *ibid.*, 400h: *aHa.n.j m Dsrt* "I have stood up as the Crier" (here *Dsrt* has {sitting woman}-B1 determinative).

W 222 (PT 317)

§507b-c: *wnjs pj sbq...abS pr m sbq xbzt wrt jmjt jAx*

Allen "Unis is Sobek...the splashing one who came from the thigh and tail of the great goddess in the sunlight"

Shmakov "Unis is Sobek...the swallower who came as luminous one, the great tail in the sunlight"

The expression *pr m sbq* occurs in PT 669, §1963a ("who has come as a wise one" after Allen). The word *sbq* is used to characterize the imperishable stars (see **W 176**, 2) and is probably a causative of *bAq* "bright, light", with *A* in the middle omitted (*s.b(A)q*) and for this reason spelled with {D56} sign as if *sbq* "shank, calf (of leg)". For the meaning of the verb *abS*, cf. Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 133: *jw rx st m tmw abS am bA.f* "The one who knows it is the one whose *ba* cannot be swallowed or gulped down". For *pr m* as "come forth as" (rather than "come forth from"), see **T 263**. The reference to Sobek as "great tail" (*sbq xbzt*) is probably due to his long crocodile's tail.

2)

§510c-d: *wnjs pj nb mtwt jT Hmwt m-a h(j).sn r st mrr wnjs xft Szp jb.f*

Allen "Unis is lord of semen, who takes women from their husbands to the place Unis likes according to his heart's fancy"

Shmakov "Unis is the one who has semen (and) takes wives away from their husband(s) to the place (when) Unis wants, according to his fancy (lit. to how his heart receives)"

Kurt Sethe indeed has missed the word *nb* "lord, owner" in this passage (it also occurs in CT VIII, §510c). The verb form *mrr* does not agree with the preceding feminine noun *st*: if it is not a mistake or omission of the *t*-ending (it is also absent in CT VIII, §510d), then this point indicates that *mrr* is probably not a relative form but a non-attributive relative (= nominal, Allen, *M. E.*, 25.1 ff.), and that we probably may read *mrr wnjs* as "(when) Unis wants". For the relative form having the noun *st* "place" as antecedent with the *t*-ending spelled out, cf. PT 690, §2100c: *swt.k mrt.k* "your places that you like", Naville I, BD 170:5: *r st mrtj kA.k* "to the place which your *ka* loves". For the relative construction with the noun *st* "place" as antecedent and having non-attributive relative form, cf. Budge, BD171:3: *s(w)t.f nb(t) mrr kA.f jm.sn* "all his place(s) where his *ka* loves (to be)" (with infinitive *wn* omitted). For comparable phrases having a non-attributive relative form of the verb *mrj* in combination with another non-attributive relative *Szp jb.f*, see:

CT II, 28e-29b (B1Bo): *N pn bA pw n Sw...pr r pt r mrr.f hAA r tA r Szp jb.f*

"This N is the *ba* of Shu...he ascends to the sky how he likes, he descends to the earth according to his fancy"

CT III, 263e: *jwr.n.s w(j) r mrr.s ms.s w(j) r Szp jb.s*

"She has conceived me how she liked; she gave me birth according to her fancy"

CT VI, 344d: *qd.n(j) wj r mrr.j xft jb.j*

"I built myself the way I wanted according to my wish (lit. heart)"

CT V, 349b (B6C): *jw.f Sm.f r mrr.f r st jb.f m spAwt.s m njwwt.s*

"He comes (and) goes the way he likes (and) according to his liking in its districts (and) villages"

Of course there is a chance that the *t*-ending was left out, and then James Allen's translation is the correct one, cf. §1153b N, Nt 792: *st wrt jr<t> nTrw* "great seat which gods made" (with *t* left out or missed in both pyramids), Naville I, BD 181:10: *Hms.n.k Hr st.k wabt jr<t>.n n.k gbb* "You have sat on your clean seat which Geb has made for you".

W 223 (PT 318)

§512c: *nHm.n wnjs wsrt.Tn nTrw*

Allen "Unis will take away your power, gods"

Shmakov "Unis has taken away your (bull's) neck(s), gods"

The word for "power" in the PT (and other texts) is *wsr/wsrw* (§§320b/290a), while the word *wsrt* has the meaning "(bull's) neck". Cf. the same phonetic spelling (with the *r*-{mouth} complementary sign and without the {stroke} sign) of this word by Unis's editor in PT 254, §286c-d: *TAz.n.f tp.f Hr wsrt.f jw wsrt wnjs Hr mkt.f* "He has tied his head onto his neck. Unis's neck is on his torso" and PT 217, §157b: *DbA(.j) m jnpw Hr wsrt* "robed into Anubis on the neck". The first copy of Teti of this PT spell also gives: *jj.n tjt nHm.f wsrwt.Tn nTrw* "Teti has come that he may taken away your (bull's) neck(s), gods", whereas the second copy was reinterpreted: *jj.n tjt j.dr.f wsr.Tn nTrw* "Teti has come that he may remove your power, gods". Cf. also:

CT II, 37a: *jnk anx TAz tpw s.mn wsrwt s.anx Ht(y)wt*

"I am life that joins heads, sets necks and brings to life throats"

CT V, 391h: *nHm.n.j wsrwt Axw*

"I have taken away the necks of the akhs"

CT V, 396l-n: *jw.j xa.kw m nTr jT.n.j HAwt.Tn xma.n.j wsrwt.Tn*

"I have appeared as god, I have taken away your fronts (and) have grasped your necks"

CT VII, 236p-q: *jw jT.n.j wsrwt.sn jw am.n.j Axw.sn jw wnm.n.j HkAw.sn*

"I have taken away their necks, I have swallowed their akh-magic, I have eaten their magic"

Sethy I, Abydos IV, pl. 16: *jrt snTr n Hr.k nfr st HAb n wsrwt.k nTr Spss*

"Censing (lit. making of incense) for your beautiful face, festival scent for your neck, (O) noble god"

W 224 (PT 319)

§513a: *wnjs pj kA jAxwj Hr jb jrt.f*

Allen "Unis is a bull with sunlight in the middle of his eyes"

Shmakov "Unis is a sunlight's bull in the middle of his eye"

There's a double {sun with rays} sign as determinative probably because the word is nisbe *jAxwj* "he of the sunlight", i. e. a false-dual is employed to make a nisbe, like in *Axtj* "he of the Behind the Horizon". For the expression *Hr jb jrt.f*, cf. CT V, 378b, 385k: *jw.j m Hr-jb jrt.j* "I am in the middle of

my eye". Moreover, cf. the designation of the king as *kA psDt* "bull of the sunlight" (§717a) and of the Sun as *kA jAxw* "bull of the sunlight" (§889d, with a single {sun with rays} sign). For comparable phrases, see:

CT VI, 224f: *N pn hdd Hr jb jrt.f* "This N is *hdd* in the middle of his eye"

CT VI, 262b: *jnk ra Hr jb jrt.f* "I am the Sun in the middle of his eye"

CT VII, 16u-v: *baH.j m DfA.T mj Hr(j)-jb jrt.f mssw mA.w ra nb* "I am being satisfied with your food like the one in the midst of his eye born anew every day"

CT VII, 177k (P. Gard. N): *jnk ra Hr [jb jrt.f]* "I am the Sun in the mid[dle of his eye]"

CT VII, 222h: *jnk sjA Hr jb jrt.k* "I am Perception in the middle of your eye"

CT VII, 409b (B1BO): *N aA Hr(j) jb wjA.f Hr(j) jb jrt.f*
"N is the elder one in the midst of his bark, in the midst of his eye"

Naville II, BD 96&97, 1 (Aa bis), p. 214: *jnk Hr jb jrt.f* "I am the one in the middle of his eye"

All these examples follow the pattern of {I/N being someone/something in the middle of the eye}, thus suggesting that *kA jAxwj* must not be split up, which is also proved by the epithet *kA jAxw* "sunlight's bull" (§889d), hence *jAxw* of §513a refers to *kA* "bull", not to *Hr jb jrt.f* "in the middle of his eye".

2)

Allen "Unis will cultivate lapis-lazuli"

xsbd "lapis-lazuli" is a reference to the blue colour of the sky.

3)

§514a,b: *jw T(A)z.n wnjs aqAw SmSmt zmA.n wnjs pwt*

Allen "Unis has tied together the peppergrass cords, Unis has united the skies"

Shmakov "Unis has tied the peppergrass tows (to his ferryboat), Unis has landed (on) (lit. joined) the skies"

The usual meaning of *zmA* is of course "unite, join", but the literal translation does not make sense in this case, as the combination of the verbs *TAz* and *zmA* has a semantic connection to shipping:

PT 555, §1376a: *TAzjj aHw zmA mXnwt.f*
"Tie the towing lashings, land his ferryboats"

CT II, 154f: *jnk TAz sn jnk mjnj s(j)*
"I am the one who tied them (i. e. the tows), I am the one who moored it (i. e. the ferryboat)"

CT II, 163e-f: *jnk TAz sw jnk jn s(j) r tA*
"I am the one who tied it (i. e. the tow), I am the one who moored it (i. e. the ferryboat)"

CT II, 191a-b: *nn TAz.Tn aqAw nn zmA.Tn mXnwt*
"You will not tie the tows nor moor ferryboats"

CT II, 197d-198a: *TAz.kA.t(w) aqAw zmA.kA.t(w) mXnwt*
"Then the tows will be tied and ferryboats moored"

CT III, 76p-77a, S10Ca: *zmA mXnt.j m jnw TAz aqA.j m ddw*
"My ferryboat has been landed in Heliopolis, my tow has been tied in Busiris"

CT III, 95b: *TAz aqAw n ra m pt zmA.f tA r jmnt nfrt*
"Tows have been tied for the Sun in the sky so that he may moor (lit. join the land to) the beautiful west"

In the above examples, we have couples consisting of *TAz* "tie" (tow to the ferryboat) and (as second element) *mjnj* "land, moor" (a ferryboat), *jnj r tA* "land", *zmA*, or *zmA tA*, suggesting that also the latter terms have the meaning "land, moor". In the following passage, *zmA* makes no sense as "unite, join", but it does as "land":

PT 553, §1367b (also §2015b): *zmA.n.f Xrmt.Tn nTrw*
"He has landed (on) (lit. joined) your causeway, gods"

The verb *zmA* is transitive in Egyptian while in English we have to take it as intransitive and add "on" to make sense.

4)
§514c: *nTr jm(j)w-bAH*
Allen "the god of those in (his) presence"
Shmakov "the god of ancestors"

Derived of the compound preposition *m-bAH* "before", we have *jm(j)w-bAH* "those who were before" i. e. "ancestors":

Urk.IV:85:11: *sd jnwt xm.n jmjw-bAH*
"The wadis that the ancestors didn't know have been discovered"
(see also *ibid*:753:15)

CT IV, 61f: *jyw n.f nTrw jmjw-bAH m Haawt*
"the one to whom gods-ancestors (*jmjw bAH*) come in excitement"

CT IV, 101j-102a: *mA m Hr.Tn nTrw smsw xprw tp awj (j)m(jw)-bAH r Ax pn*
"Look by means of your face(s), (you) elder gods who has evolved before, ancestors at this akh"

CT IV, 118c: *jnk jmj-bAH pAtj smsw r nTrw*
"I am an ancestor, an original one, elder than (other) gods"

(see also CT IV, 226-227b)

Urk.IV:111:9: *wa jmj-bAH wr smsw pAtj [jw]tj [snw.f]*
"single ancestor, great one, elder, original one [without equal]"

Urk.IV:340:7: *nj zp xpr mjt(j)t xr nTrw [jmj]w-bAH Dr pAt tA*
"something similar never happened to the gods-ancestors (i. e. previous kings) since the primeval state of the earth"

Also temporal *m-BAH* means "before, formerly, earlier, previously" (§§576b, 623c, 650a, 760b, 1041a):

Urk.IV:942:12-13: *j.nD(j) Hr.k ra...xpr m-BAH*

"Greetings, Sun...originally evolved (lit. who has evolved before)"

Urk.IV:871:6-7 (=873:5-6, also *ibid*:188:2, 204:2, 4, 607:12, 745:17, 746:6, 749:2, 7, 768:9, 769:13, 871:7, 873:6): *Htpw nTr aA wrt jr.n Hm.f m mAwt m HAwt wnt m-BAH*

"very considerable god's offerings which His Incarnation made anew in excess of what was before".

5)

§514d: *jw qd.n wnjs njwt nTr r s.DA s(j)*

Allen "for Unis has built the god's town soundly"

Shmakov "Unis has built the god's village to settle it"

Cf. the Old Kingdom and later term *wDA*, probably "magazine", which too spells with {papyrus scroll} determinative (while *wDA* "become sound" doesn't use it) and which occurs in the O.K. title *(j)r(j) wDA* "attached to a magazine" (see Jones, *Titles*, ## 433, 593, 1150-1154). The word *wDA* then probably has the meaning "a place full of goods", "filled place", thus a causative verb of this root could have the meaning "fill, settle".

6)

§514e: *wnjs pj xmtnw m xa.f*

Allen "Unis is the third in his appearance (with Horus and the sun)"

Shmakov "Unis is the companion (lit. the third one) in his (i. e. Sun's) appearance"

The suffix-pronoun *.f* (of *xa.f*) at the very end of this passage probably refers to the Sun (or the *nTr* "god (i. e. probably the Sun)" of the previous §514d), cf. PT 565, §1423c-24a: *xa.n pppj pn Hna ra m xa.f xmtnw n.j ntj-Hna(.j) n.j* "This Pepi has appeared with the Sun in his appearance. "The companion (lit. the third one) for me, a comrade (lit. who is with me) for me" (said the Sun)".

W 225 (PT 320)

§515a: *Ds(j).n wnjs grH*

Allen "Now that Unis has swept away the night"

Shmakov "Unis has lit up the night"

We do not have any grounds for assigning the meaning "sweep" to the verb *Dsr/Ds(j)*, neither in this passage nor anywhere else (see **T 145**, 7). Examples which we have show that the verb has a number of absolutely different meanings: "shout" (**T 145**, 7), "be(come) holy, sacred, restricted" (*ibid*), "tower" (**P 510**, 1). One of the meanings that fits for the concept of "restricted thing = holy, sacred thing" could be the meaning "light, bright", cf.:

tjt s.b(A)qt (see **W 176**, 2) and *tjt Dsrt* (Wb.V:240:2, 611:16; Urk.IV:341:7) both probably "light image"/"sacred image",

swHt s.b(A)qt (Wb.IV:94:8) and *swHt Dsrt* (Wb.V:611:17; Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 79, col. 7, W) both probably "light egg"/"sacred egg",

Urk.IV:320:1: *st Dsrt [nt s.xmx jb]* "light place [of entertainment]"

The Horus (covered with) Gold name of Thothmes III is *Dsr xaw* "whose shining forth/rising is light" (Urk.IV:196:17, 211:6, 833:13), cf. also:

Urk.IV:161:4: *Dsr.kw m xaw.f jpn*
"I am light in these shinings forth/risings of his"

ibid:275:6: *Dsrt xa m [jpt swt]* "Light of shining forth in [Karnak (lit. (the temple) Counted of the Places)]"

ibid:280:4: *s.mn(.j) xaw.T jpn nfrw Dsrw*
"I am establishing these your beautiful (and) light shinings forth/risings"

ibid:935:3, 5: *jmn m Dsr Axt* "Amon in the lightness of the Behind the Horizon"

2)
§516c: *kA janw anx m xm.f*
Allen "the bull of baboons, in whose absence one lives"
Shmakov "the bull of baboons who lives on the one whom he desecrates"

The verb *xm* in the passage is probably not *xm* "not to learn, know" as that verb has {stretched arms as a gesture of negation}-D35 sign in §515c and in the whole PT corpus of Unis and others. Probably we have here the verb *xmj* "desecrate" (see **W 169**, 5), which is also spelled without determinative in §309c W, and just like in §309c, *xm.f* in the discussed passage is probably a relative form "the one whom he desecrates". Cf. CT VII, 319c (B1C): *anx.j m xm sw* "I live on the one who would desecrate him (or "who desecrates him")", (B2L): *anx m xm sw* "who lives on the one who would desecrate him"; ibid, 515a: *jnk... anx m xm sw* "I am the one... who lives on the one who would desecrate him". Allen's reading is grammatically unclear, one would expect **kA janw anx.t(j) m xm.f* for "the bull of baboons, in whose absence one lives". Moreover, the compound preposition "in the absence of" is attested since the M.K. and is strictly spelled *m xmt* with the sign *mt*-{penis}-D52 (Gardiner, *E. G.*, §178) which is absent in the current passage as well as the expected "negative arms" determinative after *xm*, the required determinative however is present in the previous §515c (*j.xmt*) of the current spell (PT 320). All this questions the reading suggested by James Allen.

Part II: Teti's PT corpus

T 3 (PT 6)

§4a: *nxbt wrt*

Allen "great bud"

Shmakov "great lamp/lighter"

For the meaning of *nxbt*, see **W 170**, 3.

T 5a (PT 1)

§1a: *wp Xt(j)*

Allen "and who parted my belly"

Shmakov "whom my belly delivered"

For the translation, see **M 2**.

T 9 (PT 324)

§521d, 522d: *m pAx.f xpr.f...j(n)D(j) Hr.T m pAx.f xpr.f*

Allen "when he first comes into being...“Greetings as he first comes into being,””

Shmakov "don't let it (i. e. *smA* "scalp") *pAx* (or) evolve...”Greetings, don't let it *pAx* (or) evolve””

James Allen reads *m pA.f* (and so does Wb.I:495:11 (*pA* "Urzustand, Gestalt")), but the {circle} sign employed is not {round bread loaf}-X6 which occurs in *pAt* ("Urzeit"), it is *x*, and thus we have to read *pAx*. The meaning of the verb *pAx* in the current passage is unclear, it may be *pAx* "scratch" that occurs in §440, where Mafdet is scratching eyes, and in the divine name *pAxt* "She-scratcher" (CT V, 399a). The verb *pAx* also occurs in CT VII, 223i-j, again with unclear meaning: *m(j).k.jw.f rhn.f m znf pAx.f m Trw.f* "Look, he has come that he may *rhn* in blood and *pAx* in his gore". The initial *m* is probably an imperative "don't" (cf. its spelling without {negative arms} det. in §§429b W, 429c, 582a,b TPM, 586b PM, 590a PMN, 652a M, 1267b-1272b, 1276a, 1693c, 1855a). James Allen translates §522d: *j(n)D(j) Hr.T m pAx.f xpr.f* as "“Greetings as he first comes into being,” (she says)", but we have *j(n)D(j) Hr.T* in the text with feminine suffix-*T*, thus a feminine being is being addressed, and we cannot treat this passage as feminine direct speech. The suffix *f* in the passage probably refers to *smA* "scalp" of §521a-c: *jj.n.f Xr psg smA r smA.f pw mr jr.f tp Abdw nqm jr tp mDdjwnwt s.qbb.k sw m HkA [///]* "He has come with scalp-spittle (i. e. a remedy) to this scalp of his that becomes ill [at the beginning of] the months (and) bald at the mid-months. “You should cool it with the magic [which is from the gods” they say]" (the restoration in [] is after Allen) (see also PT 684, §§2055a-2056c).

2)

§524a: *j.(n)D(j) Hr.k Xnmw bHn j.qd.f tjt*

Allen "Greetings, Khnum, who is constrained to build Teti!"

Shmakov "Greetings, Khnum, who ends (everything else) when he models Teti"

Or maybe "Greetings, Khnum, who cuts off (everything unnecessary) when he models Teti".

T 10 (PT 325)

§533d-e: *hpAT hnn zmnnw jT tjt zm(j)n sw jm.Tn*

Allen "Hepatj, Heneni, Zemnenu, take Teti, settle him as one of you"

Shmakov "Howler, Ululater, Introducer, take Teti, introduce him to yourselves"

The baboon-divinities *hpAT* "Howler" (also *j.pAT*) and *hnnj* "Ululater" occur in §§991c, 1418a, 1420a. The name of the divinity *zmnnw* derives from the root *zm(j)n* with geminated *n* (cf. **P 525**). For the comments on the meaning of the verb *zm(j)n* "introduce", see **P 501**, 1-2.

T 15 (PT 330)

§539a-b: *pr tjt jr pt Hr SdSd jmj wpt nDr Tbwt.s jn Drt wTzt*

Allen "Teti will go forth to the sky on the cushion in the prow (of standard): its⁴ sandal has been grasped by the elevated hand"

Allen, note 4 (p. 94): "The sky's".

Probably we should rather read *jn Drt wTzt* as "by the elevating hand". The pronoun *.s* "her" of the passage does not likely refer to *pt* but to *jAt* "standard" which is implied in this passage. The *SdSd* is a cushion at the front of a standard's top, and it is the standard that is the means of elevating the King, not some imagined sandal/foot of Nut. The standard has a *wpt* "prow" and apparently that part is attached to another part called *Tbwt* "sandal", which probably stands for a standard's pole –the vertical part of the standard on which the horizontal part carrying a cushion and a god lies. Cf. the hieroglyph for the word *jdmj/dmj* "linen", a variant of G142/143 – {falcon on standard which stands on a sandal} (G7 + horizontal S33) in §816b (see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 13). Cf. also a reference to a crucible's base as *Tb(w)tt.f* "its foot/sole" (Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamhor*, pl.40; Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 219, after p.190). Moreover, there is a word *Tbwt* "gangplank" (Wb.V:362:21). Cf. also the use of the parts of the human body for the parts of inanimate things: §738b: *spt jwn wr* "lip of the great nest", §938c: *sptj mr sHsH* "lips of the stork canal", §1393a: *Hr spt xbt* "on the lip of".

T 17 (PT 332)

§541a-c: *tjt pw nw pr m mHn pr.n tjt m hh.f.j.njn.jj z.n tjt ptj jj.n tjt tAwj*

Allen "Teti is that one who emerged from the Coiled One:⁵ Teti has emerged from his fiery blast, while he is turned away. The two skies have gone to Teti, the two lands have come to Teti"

Shmakov "Teti is the one who emerged as the Coiled Snake; Teti has emerged as its hot breath. He has returned: Teti has gone, Two Skies, Teti has come, Two Lands"

pr m in the passage probably has the meaning "emerge as", not "emerge from" (see **T 263**). *z.n* and *jj.n* are probably *sDm.n.f*'s, as the word order for Allen's reading must be *z ptj n tjt jj tAwj n tjt*, cf. the sense in these passages:

PT 259, §314c-d (=§310c-d): *tjt pn pw nnw Sm tjt pn Hna ra jw tjt pn Hna ra*

"Teti is a returner: this Teti has gone with the Sun, this Teti has come with the Sun".

PT 260, §316b: *wnjs pj zj.j.jj* "It is (the case that) Unis has gone (and) has come"

PT 518, §1193b: *jn nw n pjpj pn pjpj pw z.j pjpj pw jj(.j)*

"get that (ferryboat) for Pepi, It is (the case that) Pepi has gone, it is (the case that) Pepi has come"

The verbs in §§316b, 1193b are probably statives, not participles; a stative sometimes occurs in a *A pw* clause:

CT VI, 222a-b: *j.xrw jmAxy pw jj.w j jn Asjr(t) n jmnt nfrt*

"“Cry, it is (the case that) a honored one has come” – says Osiris to the Beautiful West"

CT VI, 40a: *Xnm pw jw(.w)* "It is (the case that) Khnum has come"; CT VII, 496d: *xrw pw sDm.w* "It is

(the case that) the voice has been heard"

Peas. R 1.1: *zj pw wn.w* "It is (the case that there) was a man"

pWestcar, 8,11: *njsw pw j.jj* "It is (the case that) a summoned one has come"

cf. Neferkare's version of §1193b: *pjppj nfr-kA-ra zj.j pjppj nfr-kA-ra pw jj.j*
"Pepi Neferkare has gone, it is (the case that) Pepi Neferkare has come"

For the reading *hh* as "hot breath" rather than "fiery blast" or "blast" (Allen, P. T., W 165, p. 43), cf. Budge, BD149, III:4-5: *dSrt...s.anxT tAwj tmw m hh n r.s* "the red crown...that animates the whole two lands by the hot breath of its mouth", *ibid*, BD149, XII:2: *jw hh.s m sDt* "its hot breath is fire", *ibid*, BD126:4-5: *s.Htpyw nTrw m hh n rw.sn* "those who please gods by the hot breath of their mouths".

Allen, note 5 (page 95): "This term usually refers to the serpent that tried to inhibit the sun's passage through the Duat. Here, however, it is written with the image of a game board, referring both to the successful conclusion of the game and to escape from the snake, which the game symbolizes."

The serpent *mHn* is actually the one who helped the Sun, and is viewed as a friendly snake, not a hostile one. Moreover, the {*mHn* game board} is the usual determinative for the word (cf. §1866a = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 3, col. 37; Nt 6, 698), so there's nothing special in its occurrence in the current passage. Cf. Teeter, *Treasures*, monument 2, page 13: "The Ancient Egyptian enjoyed a wide variety of board games. One game in the form of a coiled serpent is named Mehen after a serpent deity who was thought to protect the sun god during his passage through the dark hours of the night. Texts indicate that Mehen imprisoned the enemies of the sun god within its coils, while other representations show Mehen protectively encircling the sun god. The objective of the Mehen game was to travel along the coils of the snake's body to reach the area where, symbolically, the sun god dwelled, and hence, to join that god in his cycle of eternal rebirth".

T 19 (PT 333)

§543c: *n tjt js pw zA nTr nTr*

Allen "for Teti is a god, a god's son"

Shmakov "for Teti is a god's son, a god (too)"

The order in the original is *zA nTr nTr* "a god's son, a god (too)".

T 20 (PT 335)

§546a: *nfr.w(j) A mAjw tjt sSd.j m wpt ra*

Allen "How beautiful is the sight of Teti, with headband from the Sun's brow"

Shmakov "How beautiful is the sight of Teti banded with a headband as the Sun's horns"

sSd.j "banded with a headband" is the stative with the *j*-ending written out (cf. P 30, 2).

T 22 (PT 337)

§550b: *rmjj sw jkj sw HA sw*

Allen "bewail him, beat your breast for him, mourn him"

Shmakov "beweep him, cry welcoming him, mourn him"

The verb *jkj* has the same root as the word *kjt/kjtt* "welcoming cry".

T 142 (PT 172)

§101c-d: *Dj n.k Hnkt nbt...xr nTr*

Allen "You have been given every dedicated offering...with the god"

Shmakov "You have been given every gift...by the god"

For *xr* as "by", a variant of *jn* "by", see for example:

CT I, 184a: *dr sDb.k xr Hwt Hrw*

"Your obstacle has been removed by (*xr*) Hathor"

CT II, 389b, 391c-392a, 395b, 397b, 405g: *rdj.n.t(w) n.j nn n TAww 4 xr nn n H(w)nwt*

"Those four winds have been given to me by (*xr*) these girls" (other sarcophagi (BH10x, G1T, A1C) give *jn* instead of *xr*).

CT VI, 125f: *jw wD.n nswt s.mAa xrw N r xft(j)w.f xr Hrw nb pat*

"A king has commanded that N be justified over his opponents by (*xr*) Horus lord of the elite"

literally: "that the verdict (lit voice) for (lit of) N has been made truthful by Horus lord of the elite"

CT VI, 406i-j: *anx.j m xt 7 jn.n.t(w) t.s 4 xr Hrw (t).s 3 xr DHwtj*

"I will live on the seven portions of meal: four bread-portions of it has been brought by Horus, three bread-portions of it has been brought by Thoth" (the column is split in the original).

CT VII, 65u: *Hbsw nfr jny jmj Hwt nTr xr xnt(j) jrtj*

"Beautiful cloth brought from the temple by Eyes-Forward"

Facsimile painting of the Head End of the Sarcophagus of Ashayt (MMA 48.105.29): *prt xrw xr Ast...n jmAxt N*

"Presenting offerings (lit. sending the voice) by Isis...for N"

Facsimile Painting of the Foot End of the Sarcophagus of Ashayt (MMA 48.105.30): *prt xrw xr nbt-Hwt...n jmAxt N*

"Presenting offerings (lit. sending the voice) by Nephthys...for N"

Budge, BD15:2: *rdjt sxm.f xr tm s.aA.f xr Asjr(t) rdjt SfSft.f xr psDt*

"Making him to be in control by Atum, glorifying him by Osiris, giving his respect by the Ennead"

Budge, BD98:11: *jw rdj n.j snt xr jwaw.j*

"I have been given the sixth day meal by (*xr*) my heir"

Urk.IV:490:17: *drp.tw.f xr nTrw Hr xAt ra ra nb*

"He is fed by (*xr*) the gods from the Sun's altar every day"

Sethy I, Abydos IV, pl. 42: *wdn n N m dd Y xr DHwtj*

"Presenting for N from what Y gives by Thoth"

Cf. this construction with *wdn xt...n Njn Y* "Presenting food...for N by (*jn*) Y" (Urk.IV:1010:7-8, 1462:13-18).

T 144 (PT 355)

§573d: *Hrw js nD.n.f jt(j).f Asjr(t)*

Allen "who am Horus who tends his father"

Shmakov "who am (lit. being) Horus who has tended his father Osiris"

James Allen missed *Asjr(t)* "Osiris" and read perfect *nD.n.f* "has tended" as present tense "tends". For the reading of the whole passage, which is pronounced by the deceased's son, see **T 204**, 1.

T 145 (PT 356)

§575c: *jn.n.f n.k sn jwn(.w)*

Allen "he has gotten them corralled for you"

Shmakov "he has brought them altogether (lit. gathered together in a group, crowded) for you"

cf. PT 599, §1647a: *hA nTrw nb mjj jwn(.w)*

"Ho, all you gods! Come altogether (lit. gathered together)"

For the meaning of the verb *jwn* "gather together, to crowd, throng", see **N 404**, 2.

2)

§577d: *jm.sn Hm twr Tw*

Allen "they shall...not reject you"

Shmakov "they shall not beware you"

For the meaning of the verb *twr*, see **W 143**.

3)

§578b: *xft(j).k Hm n.k*

Allen "(Geb has put his sandal on the head of) your opponent so that he is turned away for you"

Shmakov "your opponent who has turned away from you"

Hm in the passage is probably an active participle "who has turned away". *Hm n Y* has the meaning "turn away from Y", cf. CT V, 323d-g (= 326c-f): *Hm n Asjr(t) jw bwt.k jm.f TAz pXr Hm n.j jw bwt.k jm.j TAz pXr* "Turn away from (*n*) Osiris: your abomination is in him (and) vice-versa. Turn away from (*n*) me: your abomination is in me (and) vice-versa"; CT VI, 194l-m: *HA.k Hm n HDt tn* "Back, turn away from (*n*) this white crown".

CT V, 245d-e: *xw aHA.k xr n.j zbn n.j* "Beware lest you fight, fall from me, glide (away) from me"

If we were to translate *xr n.j zbn n.j* in the passage literally as "fall for me, glide (away) for me" it would not make much sense and it would look like a wish of action rather than a wish of withdrawal which is actually meant in the passage.

4)

§579b: *rDj.n Hrw nDr.k xftjw.k jm psDt.f jm.sn xft.k*

Allen "Horus has had you seize your opponents, and there shall be none of them who will turn the back to you"

Shmakov "Horus has made you seize your opponents, so that the one of them who could resist you doesn't do (it)/act"

This is a case of the rare use of the negative verb *jmj* "not do, not act" as semantic/main verb in the

purpose clause (Allen, *Inflection*, §687B, Allen, *M. E.*, 19.8.1). *jmj* in the passage is subjunctive, it is used with the preposition *xft* "against" as intransitive, with *psDt.f jm.sn* "one who will/could resist of them" as its subject, see also PT 544, §1338b: *j.z j.mz.Tn Xr Asjr(t) N pn m Hmwt.f jm.Tn* "Go and come near under this Osiris N. Don't act (lit. Act not), the one of you who can shirk" (*m* is an imperative in this passage, the negatival complement is not needed for the verb *jmj* is used as semantic/main verb), PT 644, §1823a-b: *j.mz.Tn Xr [Asjr(t)] N fA.Tn sw jm Hmwt.f jm.Tn* "Come near (or *j.zA* "go" ?) under [Osiris] N and lift him, may not the one of you who could shirk do (it)/act" (*jm* is subjunctive in this passage); PT 600, §1656a: *jm ps(D)wt.f jm.Tn jr tm nD.f pjpj nfr-kA-ra...m-a nTrw nb m-a m(w)tw nb* "May the one of you who could resist not act against Atum as he helps out this Pepi Neferkare...from all the gods (and) from all the dead".

Note, that we have the collocation *psDj xft/r* "resist (lit. resist against)", with the preposition *xft/r* as a part of it, not of the verb *jmj*: somebody who can resist (*psD xft/r*) another one is asked not to do (it) or not to act (*jmj*). For the participles as being able to have a modal meaning (in this case *psDt.f* "the one who can/could resist", rather than "the one who will resist"), see **W 20**; cf.

PT 412, §728b N: *n jwt(j) mwt.k m r(m)T mstj.s Tw n jwt(j) jt(j).k m r(m)T ms Tw*
 "for there is no your human mother (lit. of people) who could give you birth, for there is no your human father (lit. of people) who could give you birth"

To read in this passage a *sDmtj.f* form as "who will give you birth" would be meaningless, as firstly, the deceased already was born and lives, and secondly, the sense of this passage is to say that the deceased was born by divine, unearthly parents, not to say that he was born. The same applies to the meaning of the perfective participle *ms*.

Cp. also BM 152: *pr xrw st.Tn n(j) mw m t Hnqt wnnt.f m-a.Tn* "offer (lit. send the voice) (and) pour water for me of (*m*, refers to *pr xrw*) bread and beer which *could* be in your arm(s)", Torino 1447: *pr xrw st mw.Tn m t Hnqt wnnt.f m-a.Tn* "offer (and) pour your water for me of bread and beer which *could* be in your arm(s)" – in these two passages *wnnt.f* clearly has the meaning "which *could* be", rather than "which will be" as the speaker is not certain there actually will be something in their arms, for he continues: *jr nfr n wnn m a.Tn Dd.Tn m r.Tn* "if there is nothing in your arm, you should say with your mouth" (both stelae).

James Allen suggests that the verb *psD*, which is read here as "resist", has the same root as the noun *psD* "back" (§517a, hence his reading "turn the back to"). But such a suggestion can hardly be accepted as the verb is being spelled with the O.K. variant of the M.K. sign *psD*-{full moon}-N9/N10, which is much smaller than the M.K./N.K. sign and looks rather like a {pellet} (probably not to be confused with the *x*-{reed basket lid}-Aa1 sign which doesn't have the usual horizontal lines in the PT spelling), whereas that sign is never employed for *psD* "back", which is being spelled with phonetic signs *p-s-D* and {spine and spinal cord issuing from it}-F39 as the determinative.

5)
 §580a: *ba jr.f Hr w jp.f jt(j).f jm.k*
 Allen "So, Horus has become ba, taking account of his father in you"
 Shmakov "So, Horus has become ba, that he may recognize/recall his father in you"

For *jp*, see point 8 just below.

6)
 §580b: *d.n Tw nwt m nTr n stS*

Allen "Nut has put you as a god to Seth"
Shmakov "Nut has appointed (lit. put) you to be a god for Seth"

PT 519, §1220a: *wd.kA.k n.k pjjj m sr*
"Then you should appoint Pepi to be a judge"

Urk.I:3:4: *wd.t(j).f m nxt xrw*
"He has been appointed to be a crier".

7)
§581b-c: *nwr.f Xr.k m nwr tA Dsr.t(j) jr.f m rn.k n tA Dsr*
Allen "that he might... tremble under you in the earth's trembling you have been swept from him in your identity of the Swept Land"
Shmakov "He is trembling under you as the earth's trembling (i. e. as an earthquake), for you have shouted at him in your identity of the Restricted/Sacred Land"

This passage probably follows the word-play rule (**W 53**), i. e. the use of different roots/meanings that sound (and are represented in hieroglyphs) alike: in the passage there is a word-play between *Dsr.t(j)* "you have shouted" and *tA Dsr* "Restricted/Sacred Land". Cf. also:

PT 372, §652b: *hA Dsr.t(j) jr.f Dj jr.k sw(j)t jr.f*
"Ho, you have shouted at him, so give what is his to him (i. e. kick back at him, answer in kind)"

Any other hypothetical or possible meaning of *Dsr* (e.g., "swept", "restricted") but suggested, will not fit the vengeance context of this passage.

For the verb *Dsr* as "shout", cf. Hannig, *MR*, p. 2858 ("rufen"):

CT I, 82-85a: *pr sbH m r n wrw nbw rxyt Dsryt m r nHbt(j)t Hr xrw qrr n nTrw jmjw Axt*
"Emerged have the yell from the mouth of the great ones, lords of the people, (and) the shout (*Dsryt*) from the mouth of she of the "Water-lily bud"-scepter at the thunderous voice of the gods who are in the Behind the Horizon"

CT I, 223a-b: *Dsr pt Ha Axtjw xa ra m sbAtj*
"The sky is shouting, those of the Behind the Horizon are excited as the Sun is shining forth from the Double Gates"

Cf. this with PT 627, §1771b: *pt nhm.s tA nmnm.f* "The sky is yelling, the earth is moving", PT 511, §1150a: *nhm n.f pt sdA {j} n.f tA* "the sky is yelling for him, the earth is trembling for him", PT 337, §549a: *mdw pt sdA tA* "The sky is speaking, the earth is trembling", (Allen's) P 28 = N 68, CT VI, 368d (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 6, col. 709+22): *nhm pt sdA tA* "The sky is yelling, the earth is trembling".

CT II, 49c-e: *xbs.n.j tA sqr.n.j wdnt tp-awj Ast Hna nbt-Hwt d.sn Dsrw tp-awj {nt} sSAt jwrt jm.j*
"I have dug up the ground, gave a signal before Isis and Nephthys that they may emit (lit. "put", var. *dj*, "give") a shout before Seshat pregnant with me"

For *d/wdj* as "emit (sound)", cf. Sin. B 140: *wd.n.j jSnn Hr jAt.f* "I emitted a war cry on his back", *ibid.* B 265: *wd.s sbH aA wrt* "She emitted a very loud cry". For *sqr wdnt* as "give a signal", see **P 357**, 2.

CT III, 53e: *wn n.j aAwj Dsrwj* "Two shouting (door)-leaves have been opened for me"

For the door-leaves as shouting, cf. CT VI, 347q: *wn [n] N tn aAw(j) b(A)gwj* "Two crying (door)-leaves have been opened [for] this N"; CT IV, 364a: *sDm.k xrw bg(A)w aA m r n aA jAbt(j)* "you will hear the voice (and) the loud (*aA*) cry (*bg(A)w*) from the mouth of the left (door)-leaf" (for the meaning of the verb *bAg/bgA* "cry", see Molen, *HDECT*, p. 124-25).

CT III, 143b: *jw xrw Dsrw m pt mHt(j)t*
"The shouting sound (*xrw*) is in the northern sky"

CT V, 375d: *jab r nb Dsrt* "the one who gathers the mouth (and) has a shout"

CT VI, 104f (B10Cb): *Dsr n.k mjnt [wrt]*
"The [Great] Moorer/Mooring Post is shouting to you"
(BqC, Bq3C give *Dsw* "call". A similar passage occurs *ibid*, 106d (B10Ca), while B10Cb mixed up *Dsr* "shout" and original *Dsw* "call")

CT VI, 325o: *sntj.k wrtj aAtj Dsrtj* "your two great, elder and shouting sisters"

CT VI, 403c-d: *jrt Hrw Dsr.s rs.T m Htp [...]*
"Horus's eye is shouting, awake in peace [...]"

CT VII, 391c-392a: *jw Dsrw nTr m StAw awj gbb Hr nhpw*
"The cry of a (newborn ?) god is in the secrecy of Geb's arms in the morning"

CT VIII, 755a (B10Ca): *Dsr n.k nbt Hwt*
"Nephtys is shouting to you"
(the other two (B9C, B10Cb) give *Dsw n.k nbt Hwt* "Nephtys is calling to you").

CT VIII, 1974a (R1X): *Dsr [n.k] bAw p*
"The bas of Pe are shouting [to you]"

Moreover, cf. "he is trembling... for you have shouted at him" of the current passage with the examples of "being seized by tremble (*xr sdA*, lit "fell tremble") at the sound (*xrw*)" (CT I, 215a; CT VI, 335o-r; CT VII, 252a).

James Allen reads *tA Dsr* as "Swept Land", giving the verb *Dsr* the meaning "sweep, clear" because he sees the sign D45/D251 as {forearm with brush} (Allen, *M. E.*, Sign List, p. 427). However, sometimes it is absolutely clear that the sign is actually {arm holding sceptre}. Moreover, he probably compares *tA Dsr* with its another designation as *tA wab* "Clean Land" (§804d) and the meaning "sweep, clear" for *Dsr* becomes as though proved. James Allen tried to connect the concept of sacred things with the concept of clear, pure, swept things, which is of course right, but it is here proposed that this is incorrect in regards to the word *Dsr* and that for the Egyptians the concept of "sacred" had firstly the meaning of "restricted, closed, inaccessible" (cf. Gardiner's "to be private" for *Dsr*, Gardiner, *E. G.*, *Egypt.-Eng. Vocabulary*, p. 604). Cp.:

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 155: *j.n n.sn ra dbA.Tn tA m mnxt.Tn Dsr.Tn m Hbs.Tn dbA.n.Tn Hrw jm m jmn.f jt(j).f m dwAt jmnt nTrw*

"The sun said to them: You shall robe the land in your garment (and) conceal (it) in your clothes in which you have robed Horus when he was hiding his father in the Duat which hides the gods"

The context suggests that *Dsr* indicates an action that belongs in the realm of covering and concealing: *Dsr* ~ *dbA* < *DbA* "robe", cf. *Hbs* "clothe, cover, hide".

For *Dsr* ~ *StA/s.StA* ~ *jmn* "hidden, secret, inaccessible", cf.:

m Xnw Dsrw (CT I, 191f, CT V, 52c, CT VI, 335n, Urk.IV:349:12) ~ *m Dsrw* (CT I, 191f (B10Cb); Budge, BD15:5-6 (pMuthetepet)) ~ *m Xnw s.StA* (CT III, 294g, 297d, 323e) ~ *m Xnw StAw* (CT I, 133b-c (L2Li), CT VII, 393a), CT IV, 1d) ~ *m StAw* (CT VII, 392a) "in(side) secrecy".

Also *jmj Dsrw* (CT IV, 79f) ~ *jmjt StAw* (CT I, 8c, 112a, CT VII, 240j) "that (what) is in secrecy".

Urk.IV:99:15-16: *Dsr st m xprrt m pt HAp st r sxrw dwAt*
"they are hidden like that which happens in the sky, they are more concealed than the nature of the Duat"

ibid:99:12: *s.StAw s.Dsrw Dt.sn* "(gods) who conceal (and) hide themselves (lit. their person(s))"

ibid:975:8: *s.wab [twr]j s.StAw s.Dsr Hwwt.sn* "their enclosures have been cleansed, purified, concealed and restricted"

Budge, BD7:4-5: *jnk s.StA rn Dsr st r HHw*
"I am the one whose name is secreted, whose place is restricted more than Infinite gods"

Budge, BD149, VI:1-2: *jmHt Twy Dsrtr nTrw StAt r Axw qsnt r mwtw*
"this cavern restricted against the gods, secret against akhs, difficult (of access) against the dead"

Budge, BD168: *qrrt mHt 10 m dwAt sbHyt Dsrtr StAw*
"Tenth Hole in Duat crying (and) restricting secrets (or "whose secrets are restricted" ?)"

CT IV, 43d (B2L), 81h (D1C): *r Dsrw StAw* "in (?) mystery and secrecy", CT IV, 43b-d (Sq1C): *jnk nwr-zSnt(j) Dsr StAw* "I am a heron that hides secrets"

CT IV, 81h (B6C): *jw mA.n N pn Dsr sS[tA]* "This N has seen mystery (and) sec[rets]"

CT V, 395i: *mA.n.sn Dsrw StAw* "They have seen mysteries (and) secrets"

Urk.VII:57:1-5: *Sms nTr r st.f maHat.f jmjt r-qrrt tA Dsr Xr jnp(w) s.StA jmn n Asjr(t) jnt Dsrtr nt nb anx bs StA n nb AbDw*

"The one who followed the god to his place, his tomb that is in Raqerret – Restricted Land (*tA Dsr*) where Anubis is (lit. that bears Anubis), Inaccessible Secret of Osiris, Hidden Wadi (*jnt Dsrtr*) of the Lord of Life, Cocealed Initiation of the Lord of Abydos"

Manassa, *Underworld*, p. 101 (the reading is by the present author): *wAt StAt n(t) r-sTAW mtn Dsrw nw jmHt sbAw jmnw nw Hrj-Sa.f*

"The secret roads of Rosetau, the restricted paths of Imhet, the hidden portals of He who is upon his sand"

Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33: *sSm.t(j).f Hr wAwT Dsr(w)t xppt jmAxww Hr.s(n)*

"He will be lead on the restricted paths on which (only) the honored ones go"

Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 58, p. 125: *sSm.t(j).fjn kAw.fHr wAwt Dsr(w)t*
"He will be lead on the restricted paths by his kas"

The same phrase occurs in Mariette, *Mast.*, E12, p. 412-13; *ibid*, F2, p. 433 (*sSm.t(j).fHr wAwt Dsr(w)t nt jmnt xppt jmAxww Hr.sn*); Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.52: *xp.f m Htp m Htp Hr wAwt Dsrt xppt jmAxw(w) Hr.sn* "He will go being very much welcomed on the restricted paths of the West on which (only) the honored ones go" (almost the same in Urk.I:120:17-121:1); Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part III, fig. 9, p. 14: *xp.fHr wAt Dsrt nt jmnt*; Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 108, p. 266: [*sSm.t(j).fjn kAw.fHr ?*] *wAwt Dsrt*.

CT IV, 83f: *wn wAt Dsrt n N pn*
"An restricted road has been opened for this N".

Budge, BD75:4-5: *dj.s wj Hr wAt Twj Dsrt xpt DHwtj Hr.s*
"She will put me on the restricted path on which Thoth went"

Manassa, *Underworld*, p. 101 (the reading is by the present author): *jw Asjr(t) N rx(.w) wAt Dsr(t) n(t) r-sTAW m wnn.fHna ra ra nb jw.frx(.w) Dsrw jmyw wAt tn*
"Osiris N knows the restricted road of Rosetau due to him being with the Sun every day. He knows the mystery/secretcy that are in this road"

From this we may conclude that the common meaning of *Dsr*, "sacred", derives from the meaning "restricted", i.e., for Egyptians, the concept of a "sacred thing" was the concept of a "restricted, inaccessible thing" – the sanctuary of any temple was at the end of the temple and only top priests and kings could enter it. The literal meaning of the causative *s.Dsr* "sanctify" could be "restrict access, conceal". *tA Dsr* would thus mean "Restricted Land", *wAt Dsrt* "restricted road" and the name of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir-El-Bahari *Dsr Dsrw* would then mean "The Most Restricted" ~ "The Most Sacred".

8)
§582a: *rDj.n Hr w jp<.k> sw m Hr jb.f*
Allen "Horus has had you take account of him in his midst"
Shmakov "Horus has had you subordinate him in his midst"

The verb *jp* has at least five different meanings: "count", "recognize", "subordinate (heart (*jb*)), become subordinated", "withdraw", "appoint (*jr* to)".

For the meaning "recognize" see §§580a: *jp.fjt(j).fjm.k*; 587a: *jw.n Hr w jp.f kw*; 589a: *jj Hr w jp.fjt(j).fjm.k*; 612a-b: *jn n.k gbb Hr w jp.f Tw gm.n Tw Hr w*, cf. it with §640b where *jp ~ mA*: *rDj.n gbb mA Hr w jt(j).fjm.k*. Cf. also:

i) passages showing *jp ~ s.xA* "recall, call to mind, remember":

PT 359, §602a: *jp tjt jn nst.fj.s.xA.n sw mawH.f*
"Teti has been recognized (*jp*) by his seat, his oar has recalled him"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari IV*, pl. 115: *jrrw [n.k nTrw m]fkytjw jhhy m Hpwt.sn jp Tw*
"you for whom turquoise gods make jubilation by their oars which recognized you"
(for the reconstruction, see Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 9th hour)

PT 577, §1524b: *jp.n sw rnpt.f s.xA.n sw nww.f*

"His year has recognized him, and his seasons have recalled him"

ii) cp. these two passages:

Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 59: *my [zA (?)] jp Hr wtt sw* "like a [son] who recognizes (*jp Hr*) the one who begot him"

Urk.IV:364:17: *s.xA.n.j qmA w(j)* "I have recalled the one who created me"

(for *jp ~ jp Hr*, cf. *nD ~ nD Hr* (P 4, 4).

iii) cf. these passages from the CT and PT showing the variation *mA...jp ~ mA...sjA* "see...recognize":

CT V, 374g: *mA.n.j jt(j).j jp.n.j mwt.j*

"I have seen my father, I have recognized (*jp*) my mother"

CT VII, 208f-g: *jj.n.j mA.j Tw jp.j nfr.k*

"I have come to see you (and) recognize your beauty"

CT VII, 452f (B1L, B3L): *jp.n.k w(j) Asjr(t) jp.n.j Tw*

"You have recognized me, Osiris, (and) I have recognized you"

PT 262, §336a (T.): *mAn.fDt m msktt sjA.fjart m manDt*

"He has seen the cobra in the Evening bark, he has recognized (*sjA*) the ureaus in the Morning bark"

iv) cf. these passages from the PT:

PT 369, §640b: *rDj.n gbb mA Hrw jt(j).fjm.k*

"Geb has made Horus find (*mA*) (lit. see) his father in you"

PT 357, §589a: *jj Hrw jp.fjt(j).fjm.k*

"Horus has come that he may recognize (*jp*) his father in you"

PT 364 §612a-b: *jn n.k gbb Hrw jp.f Tw gm.n Tw Hrw*

"Geb has brought Horus to you, that he may recognize (*jp*) you: Horus has found (i. e. recognized) you"

v) Cf these two passages which show *s.jp ~ sjA* "recognize, perceive":

a) Urk.IV:269:16: *s.jp.n<f> sdbw kA.n.sn*

"He has recognized obstacles which they have conceived"

b) The destruction of mankind: *wn.jn Hm.f Hr sjA mdwt n{t}kAt jn r(m)T*

"Then His Incarnation recognized a scheme (lit. words) conceived by people"

Urk.IV:115:1, 1219:9: *jp.k Haw.k tm(.w) wDA.w*

"You will recognize (in the sense of "know/feel") your body (to be) complete (and) sound"

(ibid:497:5 gives *s.jp*)

vi) cf. the expressions *jp Dt* "recognize one's person" (§2084a; CT VI, 253l, 358g, i; Urk.IV:160:7) and *rx Dt* "know one's person"

Urk.VII:43:11: *s.xnt st.fjw.f m Xrd nj rxt.f Dt.f*

"who promoted his place while he was a child that didn't know himself (lit. his person)"
(i. e. he was an unconscious child when he got the position)

Urk.IV:1279:8-9: *jst grt xa.n Hm.f m (n)swt Hwn nfr jp.n.f Dt.f km.n.f rnpt 18*

"Now, His Incarnation has appeared as king, (as) a beautiful youth, having recognized himself (lit. his person) (and) completed 18 years (of age)"

PT 688, §2083c-2084a: *nj wrS.n.f.j.xm.f Dt.f m wa trwj n xprj jp.n jmjw dAt Dt.sn*

"He does not spend the day when he forgets himself (lit. his person) in either of the two times of the Beetle. Those in the Duat have recognized themselves (lit. their person(s))..."

CT VI, 2531: *jp.n nb wa Dt.f*

"The sole lord has recognized his person (i. e. collected himself)".

For *jp* as "subordinate", see **W 148**, 3, **T 145**, 9, and **T 146**, 7.

For *jp* as "withdraw", see **T 196**, 1.

For *jp* as "appoint", see PT 468, §895b: *jp.n Tw psDt aAt jmjt jwnw jr st.k wrt*

"The Elder Ennead from Heliopolis has appointed you to your great seat"

9)

§582b: *rDj.n.f nDr.k sw m Drt.k*

Allen "He has had you seize him with your hand"

Shmakov "He has had you hold him in your hand"

The action is likely ongoing in the sense of "keep on holding in the hand", and probably not the new action of "seizing with the hand".

T 146 (PT 357)

§585a: *Ax.n Hrw xr.k m rn.k n Axt*

Allen "Horus has become akh with you in your identity of the Akhet"

Shmakov "Horus has become akh through you in your identity of the Behind the Horizon"

For the preposition *xr* meaning "through, from", see **W 140**, 4.

2)

§585a (also in **M 208**, **N 353**, **Nt 37**): *m rn.k n Axt prrt ra jm.k*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "in your identity of the Behind the Horizon from which the Sun emerges in you(r person)"

Or "in your identity of the Behind the Horizon, from whom the sun emerges"

Literally "in your identity of the Behind the Horizon which the Sun emerges from you"

Absent in Variants, also occurs in §§636a PM[N]Nt, *1886b (= §1887b of Faulkner, *Suppl.*). The Sun emerges from the Behind the Horizon that has just been identified as your person, and hence gets referred to as *jm.k* instead of expected *jm.s* (§585a T: *m rn.k n Axt prrt ra jm* "in your identity of the Behind the Horizon from which the Sun emerges"). So the idea expressed is that you are like the

Behind the Horizon and that is why the Sun emerges from you (hence masculine coreferent (*jm.k*) while antecedent (*Axt*) is feminine). In PT 658A Allen reads same passage "in your identity of the Akhet from whom the Sun emerges" (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 243 (N 22)). In his earlier work James Allen reads this passage: "in your identity of the horizon, you from whom Re comes forth" (Allen, *Inflection*, §54, p. 32).

3)

§587a: *jp.n Hr.w jp.f kw*

Allen "Horus has come to take account of you"

Shmakov "Horus has come that he may recognize you"

Cf. PT 701A, §2191b (restored with Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 47): *jp.n Tw p[j]p[j j]n sntj.k*
"We have recognized you, P[e]p[i,] sa]id your two sisters". For *jp*, see **T 145**, 8 above.

4)

§588a: *nj.k Xr.f wTz.f wr jr.f jm.k*

Allen "You will swim under him,¹⁵ as he bears the one in you who is greater than he"

Shmakov "You will swim under him, (Seth)", "He will bear the one who is greater than he in you(r person, Osiris)"

Allen, *P. T.*, note 15, p. 95: "Other copies have the better version "He will swim under you.""

There is no mistake in Teti's copy: in the first part of this passage Seth is addressed ("You will swim under him", i. e. be under him bearing him), while in the second part Osiris is addressed ("He will bear the one who is greater than he in you(r person)") – similar address to Seth occurs in PT 366, §§627a-b: *fA n.k wr jr.k...Tn wr jr.k* "Lift the one greater than you...Distinguish the one greater than you".

5)

§590b: *jp.f n.k jbw.sn*

Allen "that he may allot their hearts to you"

Shmakov "that he may subordinate their hearts to you"

For the reading see **W 148**, 3.

6)

§590c: *nj j.bjA jm.sn m-a.f*

Allen "and there is none of them who will be away from you"

In the original it is "...who will be away from him (i. e. Horus) (*m-a.f*)" (not "from you").

7)

§591c: *jrt.f jtjn bn(j)t s.xt n.k s(j) jp n.k s(j) H hA nx(j)x(j) xr.k*

Allen "This sweet eye of his, return it to yourself, allot it to yourself: oh, may it endure with you"

Shmakov "This sweet eye of his, turn it to yourself, subordinate it to yourself: oh, (may it) endure with you"

s.xt n.k s(j) is "turn it to yourself" in the sense of "turn towards, direct to" rather than "return it to yourself" as former owner, just like it does not have a meaning "return" in PT 356, §575b: *rDj.n.f s.xt n.k DHwtj (j)m(jw)-xt stS* "He has made Thoth turn Seth's followers (away) from you". For *jp* as "subordinate" see **T 145**, 8. Cf. also CT III, 343b-e: *jnk DHwtj...jj.n.j Dar.j jrt Hr.w jn.n.j s(j) jp.n.j s(j)*

"I am Thoth...I have come seeking Horus's eye: I have brought it, I have subordinated it".

8)

§592b: *xnt jb Hrw xr.k*

Allen "Horus's heart has gone forward with you"

Shmakov "Horus's heart has gone forward to you"

xr.k has the meaning "to" in the passage, exactly like in *jj xr* "come to", *xp xr* "go to" (Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 63: *xp.f m Htp xr nTr aA* "he will go in peace to the Elder god"), *sSm xr* "lead to" (§902d).

T 154 (PT 341)

§555b-d: *rDj.n baHt aw(j).s r tjt...[jrnt nb sxt n zA].s HAb*

Allen "Plenty has given her arms to Teti...[Whatever the Lord of the Marsh might make is for] its [son] Birdcatch"

Shmakov "Plenty has reached out (lit. given) her arms to Teti....[Whatever the Lord of the Marsh makes is for] her [son] Birdcatch"

zA.s "her son" refers back to *baHt* "Plenty" in §555b, that is why the translation needs either two "its" or two "her", whereas James Allen uses "her" and then "its".

T 155 (PT 342)

§557c: *jj.n tjt xn.f mrrt DDt*

Allen "Teti has come carrying what is desired and given"

Shmakov "Teti has come that he may hand out what is desired and should be given"

the sign-determinative of *xn* represents {man carrying a sistrum and basket}.

T 158 (PT 345)

§560a: *j wr kA.f*

Allen "Oh, you of great ka"

Shmakov "Oh, you whose ka is great"

T 159 (PT 346)

§561d: *THnn.t(j) THnn.t(j)*

Allen "glistening, glistening"

Shmakov "Let one laugh, let one laugh"

For the meaning of the verb *THnn*, see **W 206**, 5 (cf. also the determinative of {an excited man} in Neferkare's copy). It is interesting to notice that in his earlier work James Allen reads verb forms in this passage as *sDm.f* with passive *t(j)*-suffix: "let there be rejoicing!" (Allen, *Inflection*, §82).

2)

§562a-c: *jw m.DjDj.T Hnwt mrwt tjt smt tjt jw mDjDj.T Hnwt smt tjt jAmt tjt m Xt nt nTrw nb*

Allen "From your giving, mistress, are love of Teti and help for Teti; [from your giving, mistress, are] help for Teti and kindness for Teti in the belly of all the gods"

Shmakov "Your gift, mistress, –love for Teti (and) help for Teti–; [your gift, mistress], –help for Teti (and) kindness for Teti– (place it) into the belly of all the gods!"

Cf. it with PT 415, §739c: *Dj.T mrwt tjt m Xt nTr nb mAAt.f sw*

"May you put love for Teti (lit. love of Teti) into the belly of every god who will see him"

The word *m.DjDj* is probably a noun made with the word-formative model "prefix *m* plus the word root", cf. for example *m.anDt* "Morning-boat" (from the root *anDt* "dawn"), *m.Xnt* "ferryboat" (from the root *Xnj* "row, transport"), *m.Ajr* "oppressed person, oppression" (from the root *Aj/Ar* "drive back, push aside"), *m.rHt* "ointment" (from the root *wrH* "anoint"), *m.Aqt* "ladder" (from the root *jAq* "climb"), *m.sdmT* "eyepaint" (from the root *sdm* "paint eyes"), *m.nxt* "linen cloth" (from the root *wnx* "dress"), *m.sDr* "ear" (from the root *sDr* "spend a night"), *m.Xaqt/m.Saqt* "razor" (Wb.II:133:8, from the root *Xaqt/Saqt* "shave"), *m.nhz* "guardian" (§816a, from the root *nhzj* "guard"), *m.sjAt* "recognition" (§737d, from the root *sjA* "recognize"), *m.sxn* "resting place" (§1180a) and *m.s.xnt* "birthplace" (from the caus. root *s.xnj* "cause to land"), *m.s.(w)ADtj* "nostrils" (from the root *s.wAD* "freshen"), *m.sqt* (*sHdw*) "beaten path (of stars, Milky Way)" (from the root *sq(j)* "beat"), *m.fx* "sieve (grain)" (from the root *fx* "shed"), *m.HsHs* "shitty one" (Steindorff, *Ti*, pl.112, from the root *Hs* "excrement"), *m.zwr* "drinking place" (§§930c, 937f, from the root *zwr* "drink"), *m.Twn* "bulls' arena" (Wb.II:175:12, from the root *Twn* "gore (with horn)"), *m.ds* "cutter, slicer" (§281a, from the root *ds* "knife"), *m.nhD* "(scribe's) palette" (§954a, from the root *nhD*, the meaning is unknown), *m.Afdt* "*m.Afd*-er" (the name of the genet-goddess, from the root *Afd*, the meaning is unknown).

T 163 (PT 349)

§566c: *Dj n tjt wr [wnm.fr DD.k wrm] jf.f*

Allen "Give greatly to Teti, [for he eats according as you give greatly of] his meat"

Shmakov "Give greatly to Teti, [for he eats according to how (much) you give, (and)] his flesh will grow"

wrm (not *wr m*) is the verb "grow" which also occurs in §524b-c: *ama...jwTj wrm.n.f m sAHw.f* "his *ama*-plant...which cannot grow between his toes", thus *jf* is "flesh", not "meat".

T 166 (PT 353)

§570: *[jw.n m p]*

Allen "[Someone has come from Pe]"

Shmakov "[Someone has come in(to) Pe]"

The passage should probably be read as "in Pe", see the double of this spell – PT 346, §561a-b where *kas* are said to be *m p* "in Pe"; cf. also §1089a: *pr.n pppj m p xr bAw p* "Pepi has gone forth into Pe to the bas of Pe" and §1373a MN: *pr.n pppj m p xr nTrw p(jw)* "Pepi has into Pe to the gods-residents of Pe"; for *jw m* as "come in", cf. Urk.IV:484:8: *nj jw zp.j m stp-zA* "My misdeed didn't come in the palace (lit. (the building) that extends protection)".

In the well known expressions of the O.K. *pr.n(j) m* probably has the same meaning, expressing the habitual action of a deceased when he was alive, rather than the completed action of his after death (so not: "I have emerged from my town, I have descended from my nome"). It means that such expressions were part of the ideal autobiography of many Old-Middle Kingdom officials, showing activities of a deceased in his home town and nome during his life:

Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.52: *pr.n(j) m njwt(j) hA.n(j) m spAt(j) jr.n(j) mAat n nb(j) s.Htp.n(j) sw m mrrt.f*

"I used to go forth into my town, I used to descend (i. e. returned) into my nome, I did maat to my lord, I pleased him with what he loved"

Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33: *pr.n(j) m njwt(j) hA(j).n(j) m spAt(j)*

"I used to go forth into my town, I used to descend into my nome"

Urk.I:46:8: *pr(j) m njwt(j) hA(j).n(j) m spAt(j) Dd.n(j) mAat jm jr.n(j) mAat jm* "I used to go forth

into my town, I used to descend into my nome, I said maat, I did maat"

Urk.I:57:11-12: *jj.n(j) m njwt.j pr.n(j) m spAt.j* "I used to come into my town, I used to go forth into my nome"

Urk.I:80:8: *jj(j) m njwt(j) hA(j).n(j) m spAt(j)* "I used to come into my town, I used to descend into my nome".

Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 69, p. 80: [*pr.n.j*] *m pr(j) hA.n.j m njwt(j)* "[I used to go forth (or come (*jj.n(j)*) ?)] into my home, I used to descend into my nome".

Also in the CT:

CT IV, 41b-c: *pr.n N pn m sw sDr.n.f m ww* "This N has gone forth into Su having spent the night in Uu"

CT V, 248e-f: *pr.n.j m p hA.n.j m dpw* "I have gone forth into Pe, I have descended to Dep"

CT III, 76n-o S10Cb: *hA(j).kw m p DA(j).kw m dpw* "I have descended to Pe, I have ferried to Dep"

CT III, 164-165c-d: *pr.n.j m p sDr.n.j m knmyt* "I have gone forth into Pe having spent the night in Kenmut"

CT III, 205d-e: *pr.n N pn m p sDr.n.f m knmyt* "This N has gone forth into Pe having spent the night in Kenmut"

CT VII, 99a: *jj.n.j m p hA.n.j m dpw* "I have come to Pe, I have descended to Dep"

Also CT IV, 131a: *pr.n.j mjn m wjA ra* "I have gone forth today into the Sun's bark"

T 181 (PT 359)

§594a: *jh jn Hr w n jrt.f jh jn stS n Xrw(j).f*

Allen "Horus wailed for his eye, Seth wailed for his testicles"

Shmakov "“Oh” – said Horus because of his eye; “Oh” – said Seth because of his testicles"

There's no *sDm.n.f* in this passage, *jh* is "Oh", cf. §§214a: *jh jh* "Oh, oh!", 654a: *jh jh Tz Tw* "Oh, oh, raise yourself!"; *jn* is parenthetic (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.17-18).

2)

§595c: *jr mdt xft stS Hr jr(t) tw nt Hr*

Allen "in order to contend against Seth over that eye of Horus"

Shmakov "in order to contest this eye of Horus against Seth"

There are two expressions combined in the passage *mdwj Hr* "deputize for, advocate, speak on behalf of" (see **P 36**, 4) and its antonym *mdwj xsf* "contest against", thus the reading is either "contest the eye against Seth" or "deputize for the eye against Seth". Cf. the same phenomenon in the expression *aHA Hr* "defend, fight for" and its antonym *aHA xsf* "attack, fight against" in CT II, 251a: *aHAt.sn xft.k* "who will attack you" ~ *aHAt.sn Hr.f* "who will defend him". The same note is valid for §596c.

3)

§597b: *rs.k m Htp jmj Xn nwt*

Allen "May you wake in peace, Nut's oarsman"

Shmakov "May you wake in peace, who is inside of Nut"

Xn is undoubtedly "interior", cf. its spelling with {arms and oar attached to a shell}-D33 in §607b T: *jr Xn.T jr tjt* "set your interior to Teti" (for the reading, see **T 185**, 1). The sign D33 hence is used as phonogram *Xn*, cf. the spelling of the words *m.Xnt* "ferryboat", *m.Xntj* "ferryman" and *Xnaa* "Xnaa-beverage" with either *Xn*-{goatskin}-F26 sign or D33 ("ferryboat", "ferryman", **F26**: §§334b W, 946a M, 1183a M, 1188b M, 1193a M, 1222a M, 1223a M; **D33**: 383b, c, 384b, 597b N, 599a, b N, 1183a

N, 1188b N, 1193a N, 1222a P, 1223a P; "*Xnaa*-beverage", **F26**: Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 1, Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 3:4-5, 4:2; **D33**: *ibid.*, pl. 6:3).

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads this passage similarly as *rs=k m Htp imi-Xn(w) nwt* "may you awaken in peace, O you who are in Nut" (Hays, *Structure*, p.245, note 72).

4)

§598a-b: *aH pf Hr n nbw kAw dwAw ra jm m jAwt Hrj(w)t m jAwt stSj(w)t*

Allen "that far palace of the lords of kas in which the Sun dawns from the Horus Mounds and the Seth Mounds"

Shmakov "that far palace of the owners of kas from which the Sun dawns (i. e. rises in the morning) into the Horus Mounds and the Seth Mounds"

The reading of *m*'s in this passage should be probably the other way round: "from...into", rather than "in...from".

5)

§599b-c: *m.Xnt tf...DAAt.f nTrw jm.s*

Allen "that ferryboat...in which the gods cross"

Shmakov "that ferryboat...in which he ferries the gods"

James Allen missed the pronoun *.f* in *DAAt.f*.

6)

§600c: *jw tjt m zxnw jrt Hr w swjt*

Allen "Teti is in search of Horus's endangered eye"

Shmakov "Teti is in search of Horus's eye of his (i. e. Teti's) very own"

swjt is probably not a form of the verb *swj* "be dangerous", but a nisbe of an independent pronoun *swt* "he is" (hence the *j*-ending of a nisbe is spelled out), which also occurs in §§652b (see **T 145**, 7), 2072b: *sw(j)t* "what is his".

PT 686, §2072b: *Htp Hr Hr jrt.f apr Hr m sw(j)t.f* "Horus has become content with his eye, Horus has been equipped with what is his"

Cp. §§613b, 648b: *Twjt* "what is yours", also PT 701B, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 49: *Htm.n(j) Tw pjpj pn m Twt* "I have provided you, this Pepi with what is yours", PT 698C, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 20, col. 1308+69: *Am Twt.k* "grasp what is yours".

The current passage is probably a variant of what occurs in CT VI, 221a: *hA Asjr(t) N pn wnx.k m jrt Hr w nt Dt.k* "Oh, this Osiris N, get dressed in Horus's eye of your own (lit. of your person)" and 221r: *hA Asjr(t) N pn Htm tw m jrt Hr w nt Dt.k* "Oh, this Osiris N, provide yourself with Horus's eye of your own".

Note that in his earlier work James Allen reads this passage "This King NN is in search of his own Horus-Eye" (Allen, *Inflection*, §662, p.462).

7)

§601e: *H Dndrw xnt(j) wADwj.f nbt Hwt xnt(j) n jrtj*

Allen "Djenderu-bark-striker, at the fore of his two papyrus columns, Nephthys, and Eyes-Forward"

Shmakov "Djenderu-bark-striker, The one at the fore of his two Papyrus-Stalk-shape Columns,

Nephthys, and Eyes-Forward"

xntj wADwj.f "The one at the fore of his two Papyrus-Stalk-shape Columns" – is a separate god, not an epithet of Djenderu-bark-striker as we have four gods who washed the right side of Teti (§601c-d) and four gods (including *xntj wADwj.f*) who washed the left side of Teti (§601e-f).

8)

§602a: *jp tjt jn nst.fj.s.xA.n sw mawH.f*

Allen "Teti has been taken account of by his seat, his rudder has recognized him"

Shmakov "Teti has been recognized by his seat, his oar has recalled him"

For *jp*, see **T 145**, 8 above.

T 183 (PT 361)

§604b: *wD.n pgA tjt n Sw*

Allen "Wide-arms has appointed Teti to Shu"

Allen, *P. T.*, Glossary: "Wide-arms (*pgA*). An epithet of Shu, referring to his uplifted arms supporting the sky".

James Allen errs giving this definition, as Shu cannot appoint somebody to himself. The god *pgA* is either unknown or probably Geb, cf. PT 510, §1142d: *sT gbb a.fjr pt a.fjr tA* "Geb, his arm is to the sky, his arm is to the earth".

2)

§604c-d: *Dj.fj.wn.tj aAwj pt jpf n tjt xr rmT nj rn.sn js*

Allen "that he might have opened yonder door of the sky to Teti, now among unidentified people"

Shmakov "that he might have those (door)-leaves of the sky opened to Teti by unidentified people"

For *xr* as "by", see **T 142**.

T 184 (PT 362)

§606b: *mr zAjt nw fdt jpwt nTr(w)t*

Allen "like Nu's guarding of those four serpent-goddesses"

Shmakov "like the guarding of Nu by these four (serpent-)goddesses"

nw is probably an object of *zAjt*, which was placed first because of the long subject (*fdt jpwt nTrt*), for it are serpents who usually guard, cf. §265d: *sSrw zAA jarwt* "linen which uraei guard". In line with this, these serpent-goddesses are said to do the guarding, namely of the throne, in the next line (§606c): *hrw zA.n.sn* "on the day they guarded". The sense of the spell is that the guarding of Atum by Teti is likened to the guarding of Nu by the four protective-goddesses – Isis, Nephthys, Neith and Selket (§606d).

T 185 (PT 363)

§607a-b: *wAt Hrw jr Xn.T jr tjt jr awj.T jr tjt*

Allen "Horus's path, make your tent to Teti, make your arms to Teti!"

Shmakov "Horus's path, make your interior (ready) for Teti, make your arms (ready) for Teti"

Urk.I:130:7,11: *jr r(m)T jqrw* "Make (ready) trustworthy people"

PT 529, §1252a-b: *hA jr(j)-aA pj n pt jr Tw jr wpt(j) pw prr*

"Ho, this doorkeeper of the sky! Make yourself (ready) to this emerging messenger"

Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 20 (= 21): *nr pw anx Hr.k r Sjj pw nt(j) Hr mw jw.f m Sp tp jr Tw r.f wrt*

"This herdsman, be informed (lit. let your face live) about this aquatic who is on the water, (as) he is coming as (the one with) head that blinds, make yourself (ready) to him very (much)"

L.D.II:71b: *jr Tw wrt r jwA pw*

"make yourself very (much) (ready) to this bull"

Mariette, *Mast.*, D15, p.210: *jr Tw wrt wHa pw*

"make yourself (ready) very (much), this catcher"

Mariette, *Mast.*, D39, p.272: *jr Tw wrt*

"make yourself (ready) very (much)"

Xn(w) with the meaning "interior" usually doesn't have a determinative or has the {house plan} determinative (§425d, e W). However, there are exceptions in which *Xn(w)* "interior" has {cloth}-S28, see CT II, 32j: *wat m Xn.j* "one (of them) is inside of me (lit. in my interior)", CT VII, 60r – *d n.k sw m Xn.k* "place him inside of you", CT VIII, 753a: *bA.k n.k m Xn.k* "your ba is for you inside of you", *ibid*, §2098b: *bA.k m Xn.k* "your ba is inside of you", Naville II, BD 64:14 (Aa): *mH sA Hbs Xn.f* "a back has been filled, its interior has been covered" (the copy of Nu (Budge II, BD64:11, long version: *mH sA.j Hbs Xnw.f*) has here *Xnw* with the {house plan} determinative), Naville II, BD 64:17-18: *a.k m Xn.k* "your arm is inside of you" (pOIM 9787 (Papyrus Ryerson), 13: *awj.k m Xnw.k* has here *Xnw* with the {house plan} determinative). The present passage must also be such an exception as well as its Neferkare's variant which also has {cloth}-S28 determinative (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XIII, col. +40, it also occurs after *Xn* *ibid*, pl. VI, col. 709+10 (= Nt 742): *Ax.k n.k m Xn.k* "your akh-magic is for you inside of you"). Note Pepy I's variant of the text spells *Xn* without any determinative which indicates that S28 is the influence (cf **T 203**, 2) from the very rare *Xn(w)* "tent" (attested only in the following passage):

Urk.I:130:11-12: *jr sDr.f m grH jr r(m)T jqrw sDrw HA.f m Xn.f*

"As to his sleeping at night, appoint trusty men who will spend the night around him in his tent"

Oleg Berlev writes about the phenomenon of false {cloth}-S28 determinative which as I state is rather influence of *Xn(w)* "tent, kind of clothes" or the like (Berlev, *Obshestvennie otnosheniya*, p. 114-116, the translation from Russian is not word-for-word):

"In the inscription of Beby (*bbj*) IInd (W. M. Fl. Petrie, Denderah, VII A, Beba II, London 1900) the same word with the {cloth} determinative has the base meaning "interior": *jr.n.j dpt Hrt Sj m Xn(w) rnpt I* "I have made a lake-sailing boat in the course of one year (lit. I have made an on-the-lake boat in the year's interior)"; translating here as "in the year's tent" is meaningless. In the inscription of Hetepu (CM 20506), who was a seal bearer (*xtmtj*) of "the king's unique ornament" *Xkrt njzwt wat(j)t*, the owner says: *jnk jwjw sDm m Xn Tzm n Hnkyt mr.n Hnwt.f* "I am a dog, lying in the interior (*m Xn*), a hound at the bed whom his mistress loves". Here the expression *m Xn* (with {cloth} det.) has the meaning "in (the room's) interior" and not "in the tent". Compare the Kagemni Teachings Pr. I, 1: *wn Xn n grw* "(The timid man is sound, the exact man is praised,) the interior (of every house, *Xn* is with {cloth} det.) is opened for a silent man, (the place of a content man is wide)" with a similar phrasing in "The pleasures of hunting and fishing" (R. A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, 6, 3, 15, Oxford, 1956): *wn.t(w) Xn n wHaw* "the interior (of every house) is opened for a hunter", i. e. in both cases the person is welcomed everywhere.

Xn also does not have the meaning "tent" in the expression *Xn jtj.fl.j* "his/my father's interior" on the stela Berlin 24032 and on Hatnub's graffiti 16:2, both having *Xn* with {cloth} determinative. The owner of the Berlin stela says that "I have made it (i. e. riches) in the interior of my father *jtj*" i. e. when he was still his father's sperm. On Hatnub's graffiti 16:2 nomarch *nHrj* Ist says that he was known to the king when he was *m Xn jtj.f* "in his father's interior". Hatnub, 37, JEA 39, 40, Wb.III:368:5-6: *nDs qn n Xn DAMw* (*Xn* with {cloth} det.) does not have the meaning of "a valiant warrior of the tent of the youths", but "a valiant warrior in the midst of the youths/of the youths' environment", literally "of the interior of the youths".

For "your (i.e. path's) interior (*Xn(w)*)" in the current passage cf. Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col.60: *Dj.t(j) jA tp-awj pjpj m Xnw wAt* [...] "Praise shall be given before Pepi within the path [...]", where "within the path" is literally "in path's interior, inside the path".

2)
 §608a-b: *DD.k a.k jr jmnt DD.k a.k jr tjt DD.k a.k jr jAbt DD.k a.k jr tjt*

Allen "Whenever you give your arm toward the west, you give your arm toward Teti; whenever you give your arm toward the east, you give your arm toward Teti"

Shmakov "Should you give your arm toward the west, give your arm toward Teti (first); should you give your arm toward the east, give your arm toward Teti (first)"

This passage probably urges to show preference to Teti (the author's reading) rather than says of inevitability to meet Teti (Allen's reading).

T 187 (PT 264)

§349a-350a: *jj.n.f n.k jw.n.f n.k wHa.f qAsw s.fxx.f nTTw jw nHm.n.f tjt m-a Xrt(j) nj rDj.n.f sw n Asjr(t)*

Allen "(saying): "He has returned to you. He has come to you that he might loosen ties and release fetters. For he has taken Teti from that which is below and does not give him to Osiris"".

Shmakov ""He has come to you, (Teti). He has come to you, that he may loosen ties and release fetters". He has taken Teti from Kherti and does not give him to Osiris".

This ending of the spell is actually the theme of spells 665 (Nt 664-665) and 665A (Nt 743, 750-751). These words are probably not spoken by the four keepers of the four sky staves (§348a) but are a response of the Sun, who has come after Teti's name has been proclaimed to him. Note also, that *Xrt* stands for the god Kherti (cp. §1905a).

T 189 (= **W 165**, PT 254)

§276b: *ns(j) hh n tjt pn r.Tn HA(j)w kAr*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "the flame of Teti's hot breath will be toward you who are around the ark"

Absent in Variants. For the meaning of *hh*, see **T 17**.

2)
 §288b: *s.sx.sn st n tjt pn...m Ddbt...*

Allen "they are widening his place (*stanza 10*)"

Shmakov "they are making a spacious place (lit. widening place) for this Teti...in the shrine (*Ddbt*)..."

Absent in Variants.

T 194 (PT 259)

§313b: *qmA.n sw xnmt(j) t qmAtj Asjr(t)*

Allen "the two attendants, (Isis and Nephthys), who mourned Osiris have mourned him"

Shmakov "The two bread-cooks who kneaded (i. e. reared) Osiris has kneaded (i. e. reared) him"

The most common meaning of the verb *qmA* is "create, (to) father/mother, produce", but we must propose that there are one more meaning that need to be distinguished from it, seeing the very specific contexts in which it occurs, namely cooking and (derived) child-care.

The first of them undoubtedly refers to the preparation of bread; we cannot be fully certain about what specific act is involved, but let us presume *qmA* "knead", see:

PT 485, §1029b-c: *bHz n nbw msw pt xAD n nbw qmA HzAt*

"the calf of gold whom the sky bore, the dough of gold which Wild-cow kneaded"

CT I, 169i-170a: *jsk jnk js jHbnnt.f tp(j)t tA xnfw qmA*

"Meanwhile I am a scone of his that is on the earth, a kneaded pancake"

The bread which we know from the offering-lists as *qmHw qmA* (Wb.V:40:4) occurs in PT 338, §551d and Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 79, unexpectedly as just *qmHw* "wheat bread" (after Allen), thus *qmA* adds extra meaning to *qmHw* (which could be named by itself), and now we may presume that it is "kneaded wheat bread". Having a generic "produced wheat bread" would make little sense.

In the following passage from CT the verb *qmA* even has {bread} determinative:

CT VI, 98c: *pry.j jTy.j qmA.n jnp* "I will go up that I may take what Anubis has kneaded"

The second (derived) meaning of the *qmA* "knead" must have the meaning "rear (a child)" – the action likened to kneading, shaping dough, for in the following passage from the CT, the verb is used in parallel to the verb *snq* "suckle, nurse":

CT III, 61c-d: *jnk...kA HD snqw HzAt jnk aA qmAw Hqt*

"I am...the white bull whom Wild-cow suckled, I am the elder one whom Heqet reared (lit. kneaded)"

Cp. also Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl. 30: *ab.k ab jnpw qmA Hz(A)t*

"your purity is the purity of the child whom Wild-cow reared (lit. kneaded)"

cp. also CT IV, 350a: *snqw HzAt* "whom Wild-cow suckled", *ibid*, 366a: *bA...snq HzAt* "the ram...whom Wild-cow suckled". These passages show that the main occupation of Hezat was "suckling, rearing", hence the reading of *qmA* of PT 485, §1029c and CT III, 61c-d is "knead, rear" rather than "create".

CT VII, 149g-h: *ms.n wj mst Hr qmA.n wj SS nTr*

"She who gave birth to Horus has given me birth, the god's nest has reared me"

It would be odd to translate *qmA.n wj SS nTr* as "the god's nest has created me" as the subject has already been born in the previous 149g passage. The same sequence we see in the following text:

PT 247, §258b: *qmA.n Tw gbb ms.n Tw psDt*

"When Ennead had given you birth, Geb reared you".

Budge, BD170:11-12: *ntk Hrw zA Asjr(t) wtt ptH qmA nwt*
"You are Horus the son of Osiris whom Ptah begot (and) Nut reared"

and also in PT 485, §1029c quoted above (*qmA + ms*, cf. it with §623a: *msw...snqw* "whom bore...whom suckled"); only the context (*xAD* "dough") suggests we must translate there *qmA* "knead", and not *qmA* "rear" as might be expected (§1029c, CT III, 61c-d, and Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 30, all deal with the Wild-cow). The same case seems to occur in the current passage, §313b, that is, if *xnmt* relates to bread-making, as is argued below.

The noun which Wb.III:294:2, 3 transliterates as *xnmtt* is actually *xnmt t* "bread cook (she-cook of bread)", which is clear from §131d N, the editor of which fortunately wrote *xnmt t*-{bread loaf}. The presence of the word *t* "bread" is also confirmed by the O.K. name *xnmt* "She-Cook" (the name of the mother of Kahif, Junker, *Giza* VI, Abb.32, p. 110, also of a woman in Mariette, *Mast.*, D50, p.313) and the village name *xnmt N* "she-cook of N" (with the word spelled phonetically, see below), which both spell without the second *t*. Much later there was a (surely derived) noun *xnmt* "nurse" (Wb.III:293:11, 14), which also lacks the second *t*. Cf. also the name of the divinity *ftk t* "Fetekte" (§120b) which literally means "He who filters (? , **W 140**, 2) bread(-dough)".

That a *xnmt* was involved in providing food, notably the making of bread (rather than nursing which is expressed with the verbs *ATj* and *mna*, and nouns *ATt*, *mnat*), is shown by numerous passages:

CT I, 252b: *xnmt t bAw jwnw jj.t(j) Xr aqw n nb r Dr*
"The bread cook of the bas of Heliopolis has come with sustenance to the Lord to the Limit"
(B10Cb gives a plain *xnmt* "she-cook" instead).

In the following passage *xnm t* is synonymous to *HTAwt t*, probably "baker of bread", the word *HTAwt* which also occurs as *HTAt* (with {bread} det. after *t*, CT VI, 291n: *HTAt rn n mwt* "Baker is the name of a mother") undoubtedly has the same root as the noun *HT(A)* "HTA-bread" (Wb.III:204:8-9):

CT III, 137c-d: *jn mj r.fjn.f n.k st jn xnm t pr Hrw HTAwt t bAw jwnw jn.s(n) n.j st*
"But who will bring it (i. e. *xt* "food portions") to you? It are he-bread cook of the house of Horus (and) she-baker of bread of the bas of Heliopolis who will bring it to me"

The N.K. descendant of this passage is Naville I, BD 172:35 = Budge, BD172:35:
jr n.k xnmwt t aqw HTAw n bAw jwnw
"bread cooks will make for you the provisions (and) HTA-breads of the bas of Heliopolis"

and Budge, BD189:21: *jn mj jr.fjn.f n.k st jn xnm prw wr HTAtj jwnw*
"But who will bring it to you? It are he-bread cook of the houses of the great one (and) a pair of she-bakers of Heliopolis"

ibid, 348c-d: *jw rx.k(j) rn n xnmt(j) t jptwtj jrnt n.f pjt tw*
"I know the name(s) of these two bread cooks who make for him this *pjt*-bread"

This passage is a part of the spell (CT sp. 251) entitled *r n xnmt nt Asjr(t)* "The spell of the she-cook of Osiris"

ibid, 1731-m: *jn mj jr.fjn.f n. {j}<k> st jn xnmt t jn.s n.j*

"(for I have become a bull of Dual Shrines and is at the fore of the westerners (being) attached to the five portions of food – three portions are (chargeable) to the sky and (exacted) from Horus; two portions are (chargeable) to the land and (exacted) from Min). “Who will bring it (i. e. *xt* "food portions") to you?” (– they ask). “It is a bread cook who will bring (it) to me””

CT IV, 165c: *HAdtj.j mm Htpt jnk xnm t xnmt t nt Asjr(t)*

"My two stands are full of (lit. among) nourishment, for I am a male and female bread cook of Osiris"

CT V, 11g-i: *jw t n.k nwt Hna xnmwt.sn t hA N pn jw jaa.k msw[t].k r Hrw [xr ra (?) m h]rw pn*

"Neiths will come to you with their bread-cooks. Oh, this N, your breakfast (and) your supper are (chargeable) to the above [and (exacted) from the Sun (?) t]oday"

CT VI, 87c-d: *xnmt t pw N pn ra m jmnt(j)t sqrt bnbnt m jAbt*

"This N is the Sun's bread cook in the west, who pounds/flattens a hill in the east"

(cp. the verb *sqr* in *sqr xAdw* "knead dough")

CT VII, 300a (B3C): *N tn pfst xnmt n Asjr(t) mm jrrw Htp*

"This N is the one who cooks (and) bakes for Osiris among those who make nourishment"

(not *pfst xnmt* "who cooks/bakes *xmnt*-bread". *pfst* is the combined spelling, *fsj* + *psj* = *pfsj*.)

ibid, B4Bo: *N tn pfs xnm t n Asjr(t) mm jrrw Htp*

"This N is the one who cooks (*pfs*) (and) bakes (*xnm*) bread (*t*) for Osiris among those who make nourishment"

ibid, 301c: *jnk xnm t n Asjr(t) m-m jr w Htpt*

"I am a cook of bread for Osiris among those who make nourishment".

Due to the determinative of *xnmt* in §131d M (and also CT VI, 87c (B1Bo)), which is D122 {a sitting woman with kerchief on her head holding crossed sticks} we know that the word also occurs in the mastaba of Ptahhetep II, in the village name *xnmt ptH-Htp(.j)* "she-cook of Ptahhetepi" (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 12, second register, № 3 from the right), in the mastaba of Seshemnefer III (Junker, *Giza III*, p. 209, Tf. IV, № 9, 13, 20) in the villages names *xnmt nfr-jr-kA-ra* "she-cook of Neferirkara", *xnmt sAHw-ra* "she-cook of Sahura", *xnmt s.nfr-w(j)* "she-cook of Snefru", in the mastaba of Kaiemnefret (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137, 2, after the p. 122) in the village name *xnmt kA(.j)-m-nfrt* "she-cook of Kaiemnefret", Seshemnefer (Mariette, *Mast.*, E8, p.398) *xnmt sSm(.j)-nfr(.j)* "she-cook of Seshemnefer" and probably *Hwt xnmt t sAHw-ra* "Enclosure "the Bread cook of Sahura"" (L.D.II:47) and *xnmt t ptH-Htp(.j)* "the Bread cook of Ptahhetepi"" (*Ptah-hetep 1898*, pl. 35 top half). The word also occurs phonetically spelled as *x-n-m-t*: Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 28, p. 182: *xnmt xw.f-w(j)* "(the village) she-cook of Khufu", *xnmt kA(.j)-m-nfrt* "(the village) she-cook of Kaiemnefret" (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137). The determinative {nurse with child}-B6 that occurs after *xnmt* in the village name *xnmt zSzSt* (Junker, *Giza III*, p.83, Mereruka B3) rather suggests the reading "Wet-nurse of Zeshzeshet" ("Wärterin der *zSzS.t*" after Junker)..

2)

§314e: *zxjn.f Hwwt.f*

Allen "This Teti will embrace his enclosures"

Shmakov "This Teti will seek his enclosures"

The verb *zxjn* has here the meaning "seek", see **W 41** ("embrace enclosures" is meaningless).

T 196 (PT 364)

§609b: *jj Hrw jp.f Tw m-a nTrw*

Allen "Horus has come, and he will take account of you from the gods"

Shmakov "Horus has come that he may withdraw/exact (lit. subordinate) you from the gods"

The collocation *jp m-a* has the literal meaning "subordinate from" (i. e. put out of smb.'s order), but to translate it into proper English one has to read it as "withdraw/exact from", cf. the following passage:

PT 577, §1523c: *jnpw jp jbw jp.f Asjr(t) pjpj m-a nTrw jr(j)w tA n nTrw jmjw pt*

"Anubis, who subordinates hearts is subordinating Osiris Pepi from the gods attached to the earth to the gods in the sky"

In this passage we have *jp N m-a Y n Z* "subordinate N from Y to Z", i.e. the meaning of §1523c is "to withdraw Pepi from the control of the gods on the earth and to appoint him to the control of the gods in the sky". For the expression *jp jb* "subordinate heart", see **W 148**, 3.

2)

§609b: *j.mr.n Tw Hrw*

Allen "Horus has loved you"

Shmakov "Horus has begun/started to love you"

Or "Horus has come to love you". Cf. also:

PT 592, §1625: *Sms.n kw Hrw j.mr.n.f kw* "Horus has begun to follow (i. e. accompany, attend to), you having come to love you"

Urk.VII:34:1: *HqA.n.f njwt.f m sDt*

"He has begun to rule his town as a boy"

Urk.IV:229:6: *mr.n.f s(j) r xt nb(t)* "He has begun loving her more than anything"

ibid:16:7: *HqA.n.f Snt.n jTn* "He has begun to rule that which the Sun Disc has encircled (i. e. the whole world)" (also ibid:16:14)

ibid:274:1: *HqA.n.f kmt dS[rt]* "He has begun to rule the Black Land and the Red Land"; ibid:274:2: *[sS]m.n.f jdbwj m mAa xrw* "He has [beg]un to lead the Two Banks as justified one"

ibid:140:7: *bAw Hm.f sSm.n.f st* "His Incarnation's impressiveness (or "ba-power") has begun to lead them (i. e. his army)"

James Allen is faced with this phenomenon in his grammar. In the case of the verb *HqA* in *Hq(A).n.f* he reads: "he has begun to rule the sky" (Allen, *M. E.*, 20.4, p. 265), in the case of the verb *mrj* he is trying to explain it differently: "'whom Amun has loved.'" This does not mean that the god has finished "loving" the king. Instead, *mr.n* means something like "wanted" — i. e., "whom Amun wanted (for his son and successor as king)" (Allen, *M. E.*, 24.9, p. 357).

However, sometimes the perfect of the verb *mr(j)* seems to express completed action leading to the present situation, i.e. expresses state, in many respects like stative, cf. the perfect of the verb *rx*: *rx.n.j* "I have learnt", "I have known" that is "I know" and the stative *rx.kw* "I know". In our case this is *mr.n.f* "has begun/started to love/want", that is "he loves/wants", cp. also:

Urk.I:218:1-2: *pr. Tn xrw [m] t H(n)[qt]...Dr wnn mr.n. Tn zb(j) Hr. Tn m Xr(j)-nTr*
"You shall offer (me) [of] bread and be[er], if you want me to patronize you in the necropolis"

Urk.I:217:16, 218:16: *jn jw mrjj.n. Tn Hz Tn nswt*
"Do you want the king to praise you?"

For another instances of perfect of the verb *mr(j)*, see **P 517**, 1.

3)
§609c: *s.dmj.n n.k Hrw jrt.fjr.k*
Allen "Horus has painted his eye on you"
Shmakov "Horus has attached his eye to you"

The verb *s.dmj* "attach, adhere" is the causative of the simplex *dmj* "touch", not *sdm* "pencil, outline (eyes)", which never spells with *mj*-sign. The verb also occurs as simplex in similar passages, cf. PT 453, §844c: *dmj.s r.k dmj.s r jf.k* "that it (i. e. Horus's eye) may adhere to you, that it may adhere to your flesh", CT VI, 221h: *dmj s(j) r jwf.k m rn.s pw jdmj* "Attach it (i. e. Horus's eye) to your flesh in its identity of linen".

4)
§611b: *sDm n Hrw nj sww(j) n.k*
Allen "Listen to Horus: it will not be dangerous for you"
Shmakov "Listen to Horus: he is not dangerous for you"

nj sww(j) is the 3ms stative negated, just like in PT 566, §1429d: *nj Hrw sDr(.j) HA mr nj DHwtj jwj.j* "Horus is not lying outside, Thoth is not wrecked". The dependent pronoun *sw* could be omitted to not get two *sw* in a row, **nj sw sww(j)*, cf. CT VII, 293b-c (B1L): *Ax...sfA.j nj wn(.w)* "the akh...whom I blame doesn't exist" (other versions *Ax...sfA.j nj ntf wn(.w)*).

5)
§614c: *d{n} n.k s(j) m(j)m(j).k*
Allen "it has been set for you that you may become powerful"
Shmakov "set it that you may move"

The verb *d{n}* in Teti's copy (probably originally it was a *sDm.n.f* with Horus as subject "Horus has set...", cf. §614d) and *d* in Merenre's copy is probably an imperative *d{n} n.k* "set for yourself" ("Horus has given you his eye...set it"), not a passive *sDm.f* "has been set". For otherwise there would be no effect of Teti's reviving in §614a, if he cannot even set it for himself. The verb *m(j)m(j)* (§§113a (= Nt 281), 249b) is the simplex of the *n*-prefixed *n.m(j)m(j)* "move" (partly reduplicated, §§621a M, 782b PM, 1610b M, 1831b, Nt 368) and *n.m(j)n.m(j)* (fully reduplicated, §§782b N, 1120b, 1500b, 1610b N, 2147a, Nt 402, Nt 640; also spelled with the space-filling sign *nm*-T35: 393b, 621a T, 721b, 1771b). Note the different spelling of the verb's root/simplex (*m(j)m(j)*) with either two {crossed planks}-Z11 or two {owl}-G17 signs (see especially §782b) just like in the present passage ({owl} in T and {crossed planks} in M). The prefix *n* also occurs in the verb *n.DdDd/n.Ddn.Dd* "endure" (§§1633c/181a, the root is *Dd*), it may be present in the verbs *nhp* "get free of" (spelled *hp* in §39a) and *nDr(j)* "grasp at, grab at, take hold of", the latter probably having the root *Dr* that occurs in the word *Drt* "hand", thus literally probably "that which grasps".

6)
§614d: *mH.n kw <Hrw> tm.tj m jrt.f m rn.s pw n wAHt nTr*

Allen "Horus has filled you complete with his eye, in its identity of the god's deposit"
Shmakov "Horus has filled you complete with his eye, in its identity of the god's laid meal"

wAHt is the same word as in §101c, with as only difference the omitted determinative {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf}.

7)
§617a-b: *jab.n n.k Hrw awt.k nj rDj.n.f zjn.k dmD.n.f kw nj Xnntj jm.k*

Allen "Horus has gathered your limbs for you, for he could not let you suffer; he has joined you and nothing of you can be disturbed"

Shmakov "Horus has gathered your *limbs* for you, for he could not let you suffer; he has joined you: there is nothing disturbed in you (i.e. you have not a single disturbed limb)"

Participles, active or passive, could have a *tj*-ending, cf. §§659d, 728b T: *mstj* "who could give birth" (see **T 145**, 4 for the reading). *Xnntj* "disturbed" is a feminine passive participle (also spelled *Xnnt*, §§635b, 1610b, 1831c) and refers to the feminine noun *at* "limb", as there is a stable expression *at jm.f/jm.k/jm.j* "his/your/my limb, a limb of his/yours/mine (lit. a limb in him/you/me)" (§§371a, 966d, 1450d; CT III, 107c (B1Bo); CT V, 8e; CT VI, 122e, 384i, 385e, 392e; CT VII, 242i, 466a; Budge, BD42:10, BD45:2 (also Naville I, BD 45:2-3), BD125:18, BD163:16). Cp. Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 80, 9: *jw hAb.n w(j) nb.j anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) nswt bjtj nb-tAwj-ra anx(.w) Dt m hAb nTr at jm.f* "My lord, alive, sound and healthy, the Southern and Northern king Nebtauira alive during *Dt*-time, has sent me as the god sends a limb of his (lit. a limb in him)".

The phenomenon of either a *t-* (or *wt-*) or a *tj-* (or *wtj-*) ending is the common feature in the spellings of all the attributive forms to which perfective and imperfective participles belong (Allen, *Inflection*, §600): prospective *sDmtj.fj* participles have the *tj*-ending spelled mostly in plural forms: §§53b, Nt 140: *mAAAtj.sn* and 900e PN, Nt 634: *mAAAt.sn, sDmt.sn*; 963b PM: *DAtj.sn = DAt.sn* N; 963c PM: *xsftj.sn = xsft.sn* N, whereas the *t-* is spelled in singular forms: §§53b, Nt 141: *sDmt.f*, 137d: *mdwt.f*, 161b: *mTnt.f*, 161c: *Hmwt.f* (see Allen, *Inflection*, §604). The relative forms also show either a *t-* or a *tj*-ending, see **T 203**, 3.

8)
§618a: *hA Asjr(t) tjt pw wTz jb.k jr.f aA jb.k wn r.k*

Allen "Ho, Osiris Teti! Bear your heart toward him, let your heart expand (with happiness), open your mouth"

Shmakov "Oh, this Osiris Teti, lift your heart to him, that your hearth may become glad (lit. big) (and) your mouth open"

aA and *wn* are two subjunctives. The expression *aAj jb* has the meaning "become glad", cf. PT 357, §585c-d: *sbx n.k a(wj).k HA.f HA.f...aA jb.f* "Enfold your arm(s) around him, around him...that his heart may become glad"; PT 677, §2024a: *hA N nDm jb.k aA HAt(j).k* "Ho, N! Let your mind be pleasant (lit. sweet) (and) your heart glad"; CT V, 288b: *jn aAA jb.k Hrw nw tp r.k* "Is your heart glad because of what is in (lit. on) your mouth (i. e. your spells)?"; pPrisse 5,8: *m aA jb.k Hrw rx.k* "Do not be glad because of your knowledge".

9)
§618b: *nD.n Tw Hrw nj Dd.n nD.f Tw*

Allen "Horus has tended you and cannot fail to tend you"

Shmakov: "Horus has tended you (and) cannot pause to tend you"

James Allen translates the double of the passage in PT 357, §591a differently, namely as "Horus has tended you, for he could not delay tending you", and he is probably right in the latter case, as *Dd* is used in the expression *Dd mdw zp 4 Dd* "recitation four times with pause(s)" (for example in §497b).

10)

§621c: *n Dt Dt*

Allen: "for the course of eternity"

Shmakov "of (i. e. during) *Dt*-time's nature (lit. person)"

The term *Dt* probably does not have the meaning "eternity" (a meaning also attributed to the term *nHH*). Firstly, as it was supposed to have a limit/period, cf. Sin. B212: *dj.sn n.k nHH nn Drw.f Dt nn Hntj.s* "May they (i. e. the gods) give you *nHH*-time without its limit (and) *Dt*-time without its period", Urk.IV:182:14-15: [*nfr.wj s.nfr.k Hwt nTr*]...*m kAt mAwt Hntj Dt* "[How good that you have improved the temple]...with the new shape (lit. work) of *Dt*-time's period (i. e. which will last for *Dt*-time)", (the same applies to *nHH*-time: Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 58: *jrt n[.f] Hwt aAt Spst m kAt Hntj (n)HH* "constructing (lit. making) for [him] the big noble enclosure in the shape (lit. work) of *nHH*-time's period", cf. also Wb.II:302:8).

Secondly, as it had "person" (*Dt*), in the common expression *n Dt Dt* "of the person of *Dt*-time, of *Dt*-time's own", i. e. during/for the course of *Dt*-time (cf. Wb.V:506:3, 510:1, *n* is probably the genitive, not the preposition "for", as in the N.K. it spells in full *Dt Dt* (Wb.V:506:6) and briefly as *Dt zp 2* "*Dt* twice" (Wb.V:509:8), which is *Dt Dt* with direct genitive (i. e. *n Dt Dt* with indirect genitive ~ *Dt Dt* with direct one) – Urk.VII:48:16: *m-xt Htp(.j) jz.j pn m kAt.f nt Dt Dt* "after I have occupied this my tomb in its shape (lit. work) of *Dt*-time's person (i. e. which will last for *Dt*-time; can be paraphrased as "in its continual shape")", Urk.IV:147:3, 495:13: *nn skt Dt Dt* "without expiring for the course of *Dt*-time (lit. of *Dt*-time's person)" (James Allen in his grammar translates loosely "without the body's expiring forever" (Allen, *M. E.*, 14.15, p. 169)). That *n* in the phrase is a genitive is also clear from passages with other time nouns, e. g. Urk.VII:16:6-7: *nn wn mAr n hAw.j nn Hqr n rk.j* "There was no oppressed person in (lit. of) my time, there was no hungry person in (lit. of) my epoch".

Thirdly, it had "length" (*Awt*), in the expression *m Awt Dt* "in the length of *Dt*-time" (Wb.V:509:15) – something that badly combines with "eternity" (which could not have such measurable parts as "length" and "period", as they imply having a beginning and an end), and there even is an expression *m Awt nbt Dt* "in any (!) length of *Dt*-time" (Mariette, *Mast.*, D38, p.268); *nbt* "any" means that the length of *Dt*-time was indefinite for Egyptians, i.e. we can paraphrase the quoted example as "in any length of *Dt*-time (short or long)" (cf. also *ibid*, D2, p. 176: *Htp Dj nswt pr(t)-xrw m HAbw nb Awt nbt* "A king-given offering: offering (lit. sending the voice) in all the festivals (and in) any length"). The *Dt*-time probably was supposed to be eternal if the king cultivated the natural order "maat" (called *jr mAat* "do maat"; *mAat* "Leading One, Pulling One" (see **N 32**, 2) is feminine just like *Dt*) and suppressed chaos (*dr jzft*). The term *Dt* was probably originally a linear time notion of the Egyptians since this term occurred in the Old Kingdom long before the occurrence and use of the term *nHH* (which is first attested in the pyramid of Unis). Dr. Oleg Berlev supposed that the term *nHH* had a meaning something like "end of days", "beginning of a new era", as it usually occurs in the expression *Dt r nHH* "during *Dt*-time up to *nHH*-time" (Berlev, *Sculpture*, p. 396-397, note ao).

Urk.VII:51:9: *jp.f st n nswt n Dt Dt*

"He counted it for the king (a period) of *Dt*-time's ownership"

Similar to *n Dt Dt* there is another expression which also contains the idea of possessing: *n m-xt nHH* "of that which *nHH*-time owns" (Wb.II:301:10; for the meaning of *m-xt*, see **P 338**):

Belegstellen II, 301:10: *s.xA.tw rn.j Hr r.sn n m-xt nHH*

"my name will be remembered on their mouth(s) during (lit. of) that which *nHH*-time owns"

Sethy I, *Abydos* I, pl. 40, j: *wAH jb.fr jrt n ms s(w) mnw.f nb mnx n m-xt nHH nj thh zp.f n Dt*

"May his heart be disposed to make for the one who gave him birth all his efficient monuments of that which *nHH*-time owns. There is none who can violate his deed during (lit. of) *Dt*-time"

ibid, h: *st [Axt] s.mnx<t> m tA Dsr n m-xt nHH*

"[useful] place improved (?) in the Restricted Land of that which *nHH*-time owns"

ibid, n: *(n)swyt.f s.wAH.w nt ra nb rnpwt.f Dd.w [nt] m-xt nHH tA xw.y n rk.f*

"his reign has been prolonged of every day, his years are firm [of] that which *nHH*-time owns, the land is defended of his epoch"

Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 47, Isis, west: *xws aH n mwt.f [Ast] m kAt nt Dt wnn.f n m-xt Hntj <nHH> mj pt Hr zxnwt.s 4*

"building a shrine for his mother [Isis] in its shape (lit. work) of *Dt*-time, it (i. e. *aH* "shrine") will exist during (lit. of) that which the period of <*nHH*-time> owns like the sky on its four posts"

Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 16: *wnn mnw.k n m-xt nHH Hntj Dt*

"your monument(s) will exist of that which *nHH*-time owns (and) of *Dt*-time's period"

Cf. also the expressions *xr Dt* "(of) that with *Dt*-time", "that which *Dt*-time has" (Wb.V:509:14), and *xr nHH* "(of) that with *nHH*-time", "that which *nHH*-time has" (Wb.II:301:8). Compare this use of *xr* with its use in the very common *dj.n(j) n.kl.T C Y Z xr(j)* "I have given you (man or woman) C Y Z which I have/of my possession" (see Allen, *M. E.*, 18.7, p. 229 (first instance): *dj.n(j) n.T anx Dd wAs nb xrj(j)* "I have given you all life, stability, and dominion that I have"). Also cp. the meaning of *xr* in the expression *n/nt xr nswt* "of that which is with the king, of what the king has, of king's property" (cf. Allen, *M. E.*, Exercise 20, 5th passage):

CM CG 20188: *qrst nfrt nt xr nswt* "good burial of the king's property"

Urk.VII:33:19: *Hzwt nt xr nswt* "the grace of the king's property" (cp. also ibid:28:10, 32:5, 48:6;

Urk.IV:38:13, 461:15, 471:10, 484:12, 997:5, 1160:5)

Urk.VII:52:17: *jdwr.f n(w) xr nswt* "his herds of the king's property (i. e. his official (not personal) herds)"

Sin. B 245: *Awt-a nt xr nswt* "a gift (lit. an extension of the arm) of the king's property"

Urk.VII:30:16: *jw.j m jmAxy n xr nswt* "I am in the honor of the king's property"

Urk.IV:34:12-13: *jw.j m anx n xr nswt jw(j) m Hzwt x[r] Hmw.sn* "I am in the life of the king's property. I am in the grace from Their Incarnations (i. e. the king and the queen)"

Urk.IV:462:5: *[x]t nbt nfrt nt xr jb* "every good thing of what the heart has"

Compare *Hzwt nt xr nswt* "the grace of the king's property", i. e. the grace of living on the king's property, with *Szp.n.s Hzwt nt Dam* "She has received the grace of electrum" (Urk.IV:1160:12, i. e. the grace of being rewarded with electrum), which is very different from *Hzwt nt nb nTrw* "the grace of the lord of the gods" (ibid:440:5).

Summarizing what was said above we can suppose that the term *Dt* (as well as *nHH*) whose meaning is undoubtedly close to our notion of eternity rather express time that could be eternal.

T 197 (PT 365)

§623c: *aHa.k Hr nxt.k*

Allen "When you stand up in your forcefulness"
Shmakov "You shall stand up by (lit. upon) your force"

James Allen translates the same prepositional phrase *Hr nxt* differently in §§2112b, 2116a: *Tz.k Tw Hr nxt.k...Tz Tw Hr nxt.k* "raise yourself by your (own) force...Raise yourself by your (own) force". James Allen is right in the latter case, literally "raise yourself upon your force", cf.

PT 457, §858b: *aHa r.k Hr rdwj.k* "Stand up on your legs"

PT—, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 42; Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +31; Nt 653, (cf. also the descendant, CT VI, 108e) *Tz Tw Hr qsw.k bjAw awt.k nbwt*
"Raise yourself upon your copper bones (and) your golden limbs"

(For this note I am thankful to mr. Rune Nyord, of Cambridge University, who brought to my attention the meaning of the preposition *Hr* in the passage.)

T 198 (PT 366)

§627b: *Tn wr jr.k jn.sn m rn.k n tA Tnw*

Allen "'The one greater than you is distinguished," they said, in your identity of Great Land"

Shmakov "'Distinguish the one greater than you," they said, "in your identity of the Land of Thinis"

We should probably not read R18 in the passage as *tA wr* "Great Land" (the name of the Thinite nome; §§867a, 1716a, 1867a), but as *tA Tnw* "Land of Thinis" (T and M?) or *Tnw* "Thinis" (PN, note that the sign spelled is the {wig with feathers and ram horns on pole}-R17, which may be read *Tnw/Tnj*), as there is a word-play between the verb *Tn* "distinguish" and the name of the place in the nome of Abydos, *Tnw*, that occurs phonetically spelled in CT VI, 332q (*jj.n.j js mjn m Tnw* "I have come today from Thinis" as Allen recognizes, see Allen 25.13 n.20; also Urk.IV:517:1, 519:12: *m Tnj* "in Thinis"; ibid:520:5: *Awt-a nt Tnj* "gift of Thinis", (ibid:969:12) ibid:977:15: *HA(tj)-a n Tnj* "nomarh of Thinis" (probably everywhere there's *Tnj* and not *Tnj tA wr*). That the word-play is between *Tn* and *Tnw*, and not between *wr* and *tA-wr*, is suggested by the similar word-play in the preceding passage, §627a, where the play is between *fA n.k wr jr.k* "Carry the one greater than you" and *jtfA wr* "Great saw shrine" (i. e. in both lines the word-play is between the verb that begins the passage and the noun after *m rn.k*). The verb *Tn* in the passage is probably an imperative.

2)

§630a: *zA.n n.k Ast Hna nbt-Hwt m zAwt*

Allen "Isis and Nephthys have guarded for you in Asyut"

Shmakov "Isis and Nephthys have watched for you in Asyut"

For the collocation *zA(j) n* "watch for", see Allen, *Inflection*, §§725B and 738, p. 572, Wb.III:416:11. James Allen tried to make a sense of the present passage in the passage-double, M 206 (PT 593, §1634a): "Isis and Nephthys have made protection for you in Asyut".

3)

§632b-c: *d.n.k s(j) tp Hms.k pr mtwt.k jm.s spdt m spdt*

Allen "You have put her on your phallus so that your seed might emerge into her, sharp as Sothis"

Shmakov "You have put her on your penis so that your active seed might emerge into her as Sothis"

See **W 152**, 2 for the relevant comments.

T 199a (PT 367)

§635d: *nj xAtb.n.f jm.f*

Allen "there was none of them whom he spared"

Shmakov "there was none whom he spared"

The text is literally "there was none he has taken pity over him (*jm.f*)".

T 200 (PT 369)

§643a: *m rn.s n wpt wAwt*

Allen "in its identity of that which parts paths"

Shmakov "in its identity of Paths Discerner"

It is interesting to notice that the epithet *wpt wAwt* "Paths Discerner", used here for the king's eye (*jrt*), was held by the goddess Neith in the Old Kingdom (see Jones, *Titles*, ## 206, 1974-1984).

2)

§644e: *Hr tp rxt.f*

Allen "at the head of the subjects"

The original text has "at the head of his subjects (*rxt.f*)".

T 201 (PT 370)

§645c: *s.ja kw n Hr j.mz.k jr.f*

Allen "Elevate yourself to Horus, betake yourself to him"

Shmakov "Elevate yourself to Horus that you may come near to him"

We must read *j.mz.k* (i. e. *sDm.f*) in the passage, not imperative, for in *s.ja kw* the dependent pronoun is thoroughly spelled, thus *.k* can only be a suffix-pronoun (not *k(w)*); moreover, see the double of the clause *j.mz.k jr.f* in §82c (**W94**). This is an imperative + subjunctive construction, not imperative + imperative that occurs in PT 357, §586a-b: *s.ja kw n Hr j.mz kw jr.f* (with *kw* being completely spelled).

2)

§646d: *sDm n.f nj sww(.j) n.k*

Allen "Listen to him: it will not be dangerous for you"

Shmakov "Listen to him: he is not dangerous for you"

See **T 196**, 4.

3)

§647b-c: *mr.n sw Hr jr msjtt.f zmA.n.k Hna n(j)w Xt.f mr.n.sn Tw*

Allen "Horus has attached himself to his progeny and is united for you with those of his body, and they have desired you"

Shmakov "(As) Horus has become attached (lit. fastened himself) to his progeny, (so) you have united with his own ones (lit. these of his belly), and they have started to love you"

The passage probably has *zmA.n.k* (perfect) rather than *zmA(.j) n.k* (stative). *nw Xt.f* "his own ones" are his children, cf. *zA(t).f n(t) Xt.f* "his son(daughter) of his belly" = "his own son(daughter)".

T 202 (PT 371)§649c: *nD.n.f Tw m nDD m rr.f*

Allen "he has...tended you as one who was tended in his proper time"

Shmakov "he has tended you as (the grain) that was grinded in its (proper) time"

The passive participle *nDD* is probably of the verb *nDj* "grind" (the verb is 3rd-weak as it occurs spelled *nDt* as infinitive "grinding" in the tomb chapel of Raemkai (*ra-m-kA(j)*, MMA 08.201.1b)), otherwise the present author can see no sense in the passage. There probably is a word-play between *nD* "tend" (see **P 4**, 4, the verb does not actually have the meaning "save, protect") and *nD* "grind" (like there is a word-play in the preceding passage, §649a, be it that that line has an extra *m rn.k* "in your identity"). For the use of *m/Dr/m-Dr rr.f*, and a link to meals/meal preparation, cf. also §113b: *t dwA m-Dr rr.f* "the morning bread in its (proper) time", Nt 759-760: *t.k Dr rr.f t.k dwA Dr rr.f* "your bread in its (proper) time, your morning bread in its (proper) time", §553b: *t dwA jw m rr.f* "morning bread coming in its (proper) time".

2)

§650a: *wtt(.tj) jr.f*

Allen "you are senior to him"

Shmakov "you are firstborn to him"

For the meaning of the verb, see **M 50**.

3)

§650b: *Twt jt(j) n Hr w wtT sw m rn.k n wtT*

Allen "You are the father of Horus, the one who begot him, in your identity of Begetter"

Shmakov "You are the father of Horus, the one who begot him, in your identity of waldrapp"

As is shown by the {waldrapp (Hermit Ibis)}-G25 (Akh-bird) determinative the word is not "begetter", but "waldrapp". There is a play on words in the passage between *wtT* "beget" and *wtT* "waldrapp"²². The {waldrapp} sign that sometimes occurs in the spelling of the verb *wtT* "beget" (§§650b T, 691b, 1834a) is an unnecessary phonetic complement (just like the *SsA* {head of bubalis} sign of *SsA* "bubalis" in *SsAw* "tongue" (§127b MN) and *SsAt* "night" (§§568a P, 1761d). The same phenomenon of "Phonetic Influence" (see **T 228**, 10) occurs in the following words:

Hsq "owl" and {owl} sign in the verb *Hsq* "cut off" (§§227a, 635c MN, 962b, 963a); *Htm* "goose" (§1228c) and {goose} sign in the verbs *Htm* "end, destroy" (§§308c, 843b) and *Htm* "provide, furnish" (§§40b, 901a); *Hp* "goose" and two *Hp*-{goose} signs in the divine names *Hpwj* "Hapi" (son of Horus) and *Hpwj* "Apis-bull" (§279d W, also one {goose} sign in §§286e, 279d T); *Db* "hoopoe" {hoopoe bird}-G22 sign in the noun *Dbt* "mudbrick" (§572e M); *sdA* "egret" (§126c T) and {egret}-G 33 sign in *sdA* "shake, tremble" (the verb also occurs without the {egret} sign, proving that it was an unnecessary phonetic complement, §§281a T, 393b T, 549a T); *dSr* "red flamingo" and *dSr* "red".

Similarly, in Unis's copy of §394b, the sign {horned viper} is not used in the spelling of the noun *jt(j)* "father", whereas Teti's copy does use it (cf. also §§482c, 1225b,d) – it means that the {horned viper} sign is an unnecessary phonetic element in the word and that "horned viper" in Egyptian was *jt* or *jtj*, cp. the block from the Sanctuary in the Temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri (MMA 07.230.2) where *jtjw* "fathers" is spelled without complementary *t* (which means that {horned viper} must

²² Cf. PT 658A, §*1854f-1855a: *sbx n.k [awj.k HA.f zp 2 m rn.k n ...]* "Clasp [your arms all around him in your identity of the dove]" (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 243 (N 22), the source of Allen's restoration "in your identity of the dove" is unknown).

include it): *j*-{horned viper}-{king with white crown and flail}-{plural strokes}. That I9, the sign representing the *jt* "horned viper", has a phonetic value (namely *f*) unrelated to the animal's name is a phenomenon also seen in other instances. E.g., "penis" in Egyptian is *Hnn*, but the {penis} signs (D52, D53) can have three absolutely different phonetic values: *mt* (for instance in *mtwt* "seed, semen"), *TA* (in *TA* "male" and *TA(tj)* "visier" (Jones, *Titles*, # 3708), *BAH* (in *m-BAH* and *Dr BAH*, both "before, formerly"). Another examples are *Hnn* "hoe", with the {hoe}-U6 sign having the phonetic value *mr*, *sXat/sxat* "hare" (Wb.III:268:11) and the {hare}-E34 sign which has the phonetic value *wn*, *Hsq* "owl" and the *m*-{owl}- sign. In some of these cases the phonetic value seems to have been determined by an older or alternative name of the object in question that became obsolete in Classical Egyptian (cp. Akkadian *marru* "hoe", Latin *marra* "hoe" (Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte*, p. 42); Demotic *mt* "penis", Cushitic *mute* "penis" (Takács, *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian*, Vol. I, p. 122)).

T 203 (PT 372)

§653a: *stp.n Hr xpSw xftjw.k*

Allen "Horus has selected your opponents' forelegs"

Shmakov "Horus has cut off your opponents' forelegs"

For the relevant comments, see P 337, 1.

2)

§653b: *jn n.k sn Hrw Sa.w*

Allen "Horus has fetched them to you cut up"

Shmakov "Horus has fetched them to you combined/sheaved (i. e. in a body)"

This passage is undoubtedly parallel to PT 356, §575c: *jn.n.f n.k sn jwn(.w)*

"he has brought them altogether (lit. gathered together in a group) for you" (see T 145, 1)

The verb *Sa* in the passage is different from the verb *Sa* "cut" with {knife} determinative, and has the meaning "combine" as it is determined with (only) the {bundle of papyrus roots}-Y10 sign which is also used to determine the verb *xma* "gather" (3-lit.) that is different from *xma(j)* "grasp, hold in the fist" with {fist} sign as the determinative (*xma(j)* ~ *xfa(j)* "grasp" (*xfa* "fist", see W 81) is probably 4rd weak, cf. *xfaj.s* "whom she grasped" of §*672c P = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 23). However, the verb *Sa* "cut" often had the {bundle of papyrus roots} as secondary determinative through the influence from *Sa* "combine" – the same phenomenon occurs for the verb *xma* "gather" which has {grasping hand}-D49 determinative as secondary determinative from *xma(j)* "grasp" (for ex. §615a T and vice-versa {bundle} sign for *xma* "grasp", §547b PM). Because of such writing influences it has thusfar not been realized that there existed a verb *Sa* "combine" (3rd weak ?) that was different from (2-lit.) *Sa* "cut" and that (at a very early time) was the source of the unlogical determinative in *Sa* "cut". The {bundle of papyrus roots} determinative expresses the idea of "combining" and "gathering", just like the sign {sheaf of barley} (M182) in the verb *mAx* "combine barley into a sheaf, sheaf" and {sheaf of flax} (M38, M178) in the verb *dmA* "combine flax into a sheaf, sheaf". The use of the verb *Sa* "combine" seems to be restricted to the stative form in the PT, to generate the meaning "combined (i.e. altogether, in a body)" Cf. the similar function of other verbs in N 404.

The {knife}-T30 determinative occurs in the paronyms of *Sa* "cut" – *Sat* "veneration" (§940c P, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 10, col. 29 (Allen's P 432)) and *Sat* "knife" (§257b), in *Sa* "cut" (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +54 = §442c), also combined (Y10 + T30) in *Sa* "cut" of §442c, cf. the combined determinative of *smA* "kill" {pole axe}-{bull} in §481b (as the influence of *smA* "wild bull"). The verb *Sa* "combine" had disappeared by the M.K. and the original {bundle of papyrus roots}-Y10 sign was

reinterpreted as {vertebrae}-F41.

In the following passages which have the stative *Sa(j)* it is possible to read it as suggested above:

PT 543, §1337c-d: *Asjr(t) mrjj-ra jn.n(j) n.k smAm kw jr nm.f Asjr(t) pppj pn jn.n(j) n.k smAm kw Sa(j) m zp 3*

"Osiris Meryre, I have brought you the one who killed you, use his knife; This Osiris Pepi, I have brought you the one who killed you combined of three pieces"

For the use of the stative *Sa(j)* "combined", cf. the use of the statives of the verbs *dmA* and *dmD*, which are synonymous to *Sa, jwn*, and *xma* in similar expressions about the treating of enemies or dependent lands:

Urk.IV:284:1: *jn.n(j) n.k xAst nb(t) StAt tAw nb fnxw dmA(.w) Xr Tbwjt.k*

"I have brought for you every inaccessible foreign land (and) all the lands of Fenekhu sheaved under your soles"

Ibid:1277:5: *dmA.n.f tpw pDt 9* "He has sheaved the heads of the Nine bows"

Luxor <298> D18 (Raum S): *dj.n(j) n.k tAw nbw (d)mA(.w) m xfa.k*

"I have given you all lands sheaved into your grasp"

Naville I, BD 173:14: *jj.n.j jn.n.j Smaw dmAm(.w) nnk mHw*

"I have come and brought Nile Valley sheaved, Delta (already) belongs to you"

Urk.IV:184:9: *pDt 9 dmA.w Xr [Tbwjt.f]* "The Nine bows are sheaved under [his soles]"; 282:13: *pDt 9 dmA(.w) Xr Tbwjt.t* "The Nine bows are sheaved under your soles"; 284:1: *pDt 9 dmA(.w) Xr Tbwjt.[s]* "The Nine bows are sheaved under [her] soles"; 559:4: *jdbwj dmA(.w) Xr Tbwjt.k* "Two Banks are sheaved under your soles"; 576:4: *wrw.sn dmA(.w) Xr Tbwjt.k* "their elders are sheaved under your soles"; 809:17: *pDt 9 dmAm.w Xr Tbwjt.f* "The Nine bows are sheaved under his soles", (see Wb.V:451:14-15).

Urk.IV:138:4: *pDt 9 dmD(.w) Xr Tbwjt.f* "The Nine bows are combined under his soles"; 372:4: *xAswt nb(t) dmD(.tj) Xrw Tbwjt.j* "all foreign lands are combined under his soles"; 612:12, 621:2: *wrw xAswt nbt dmD(.w) m xfa.k* "elders of every foreign land are combined in your fist"; Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 14: *tAw nbw xAst nb pDwt 9 dmD(.w) Xr Tbwjt.k* "all the lands, every foreign land and the Nine bows are combined under you soles"; ibid, pl. 15: *Smaw mHw kmt dSrt dmD(.w) Xr.k* "Nile Valley and Delta, Black Land and Red Land are combined under you" (see Wb.V:457:11-12).

Though the use of *Sa* as "combine" is probably restricted to the stative form in the PT, this passage could create doubts about that statement: PT 519, §1212e: *j.Sa pppj tpw.sn jm* "with which (i. e. a harpoon) Pepi will cut off their (i. e. adversaries') heads"

Reading "will combine (i.e. gather) their heads" is an option, as a harpoon is sooner a thrust weapon than a cutting weapon. But in that case the supposition that *Sa* "combine" only occurs as a stative, as a frozen expression, would be invalid.

Egyptian verbs and nouns did influence each other, which could be called "determinative influence" (as opposed to "phonetic influence" (see **T 228**, 10)), as shown by these examples, yet it is not always clear if it is determinative or phonetic influence:

The influence of the verb *hb* "destroy" (CT VI, 174b, c, d, e) on the verb *hb* "plow, dig (into the ground)" (§§285a T, 670c, occurrence of the secondary determinative {falling wall}-O118), *Tnj* "alight" on *Tnj* "distinguish, be distinct" (§283b T, {bird flying}, cf. CT IV, 13e-14a: *Tny Asjr(t) N pn m bjk nTr r-sA wgw.f* "This Osiris N has alight as a divine falcon behind his log (?)"), *zmn* "beat dough" on *zmjn* "introduce" (§§1418b, 1420b, {pestle and mortar}), *aS* "cedar oil" on *aSj* "moan" (§§590a, 634c, 903a N, 2107b, {three *nw*-pots} and/or {piece of wood}-M187 signs), *bA* "cultivate, hoe" (§1880a) on the verb *bA* "be(come) impressive" (§§603d T, 723b T, 833c PM, 1943b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 62, {hoe} sign), *bAbAt* "barley groats (?)" (Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 15:12, 23:18, 87:90, 96:97-98, 104:102-107-108, {hoe} sign), *xrt* "slaughter, slaughtered cattle" (Wb.III:322:6) on the verb *xr* "fall" (§§292a T, 418a,b T, 430a,b, 431a,b T, 671c, 672d T, 679d,e, 680a, 721a T, {bull tied for slaughter}-E176), *H(wj)* "strike" on *HjHj* "search, look for" (§972a N, mutilated {man striking}-A24), *HH* "Infinite god" on *HjHj* "search, look for" (§2145b, mutilated {Infinite god with raised arms bearing the sky (which is implied)}), *jrW* "accounting" (see **P 465**, 3) on the noun *jrW* "form" (§760a N, {papyrus scroll}), *a* "title" on the word *a* "arm" (§275e T, Kanawati-Raziq, *Neferseshemre*, pl.58, {papyrus scroll}), *a* "arm" on the word *a* "title" (§408c T, {stroke}), *Htpt* "contentment" (§1775a) on *Htpt* "nourishment" (§1039, {papyrus scroll}), *swH* "skirt/put on a skirt" (§§533b, 1416a/726a) on *swHt* "egg" (§714b P, {skirt}), *smA* "wild bull" on *smA* "kill" (§§481a, 1462a,b, PM, 1477a M, Nt 22, {bull}, {bull's head and neck}), *smA* "kill" on *smA* "wild bull" and *smAt* "wild cow" (bull: §§201a, 481b, 486c, 625b TPN, 913d, 944c, 998b, 1124c, 1145c, 1308c, 1477c, 1544b, 1977b; cow: §§388c, 389a, 1566a, 2003a the {pole axe} similar to T7), *h(n)jj* "haul" (§303d) on *hnjj* "jubilate" (§307c, {boat} sign), *zxn* "reedfloat" on *zxjn* "seek" (§§38c, 575a, {reedfloat}), *jH/aH* (*jaH* when combined) "net, catch" on *jH/aH* (comb. *jaH*) "moon" (§1001b P, {net}-T24), *SsAw* "knife" (CT III, 250a; CT VII, 159l) on *SsAw* "tongue" (§2154c, {knife}), *zAj* "guard" on *zAj* "wait" (§757a, {shepherd holding rattle}), *wnm* "eat" on *wnmj* "right" (§§601d T, 1002b M, 1047a M, 1194b MN, {two bread halves}, {man with his hand to his mouth}), *HDT* "white crown" on the feminine adjective *HDT* "white" in (§§729a, 910b, {white crown}-S2), *abw* "purity" on *m-ab* "among, together with" (§851b; Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 303, {pot pouring water}), *zxn* "kidney" on the determinative {arms embracing} of *jnq* "collect" (§1728a, {piece of meat}-F51), *xm* "shrine" on *xmj* "desecrate" (the determinative is {man beckoning (?)}, see Nt 744) (§§309c T, 313d, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 62, {shrine}), *xmj* "desecrate" on *xm* "shrine" (the determinative is {shrine}) (§1139b M, {man beckoning (?)}), *mDH* "sceptre (?)" on *mDH* "head-fillet of maturity" (§1214b PM, {sceptre}), *zj* "go" on *zjj* "who, what?" (§494a N, {walking legs}) and on *zjzj* "catch" (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +37, {walking legs}), *mjzt* "liver" (Davies, *Ptahhetep*, pl. 30 = *Ptah-hetep 1898*, pl. 41, {walking legs}), *mjzt* "mjzt-bread" (ibid, also L.D.II:69, {walking legs}), *s.DA* "invite to go" on *s.DA* "make sound" (§§565d P, 628a T, {walking legs}), *mj* "go!" on *mj.k/mj.Tn* "see, look (lit. may you see)" (§1702b/CT IV, 56m (B3L)), *mj* "give!" (§1419b M) and *mj* "take" (§21b) ({walking legs}), *Xn* "tent" (Urk.I:130:12) on *Xn* "interior" (§607b, {cloth}-S28), *nr* "shepherd" on *nrj* "fear, respect" (Nt 154, 155, {shepherd holding rattle}), *xbAt* "(Hathor's) boat" (Urk.I:268:15, 269:13; CT VI, 275f; Jones, *Titles*, # 2671) on the participle *xbAt* "hacking up" (§1735b, {boat}),

bAt "sheep, she-ram" on *bAt* "bush" (§1377a P, {cup with stylized incense smoke}-Aa4/W10a)
bA "ram" on *bA* "become impressive" (§1209a M, {cup with stylized incense smoke}-Aa4/W10a, {falcon on a standard}),
gp "to cloud", *jgp* "cloud" on *gp* "soar, shoot upwards" (§§891b, 1225a, 2179a, {sky with rain}-N4),
jf "flesh" on *j(w).f* "he" (§§301b, 363f, 411b W, 598a P, 959a, c, 1141a, {piece of meat}-F51) and *t zjf*
 "warm bread (?)" (Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 94:95, 102:101-109, 120:122, 128:127, Junker, *Giza*
 VIII, Abb. 56, after p. 116, {piece of meat}-F51),
jn "said" on *jn* "by" (§§926a P, 932a, c P, {stroke}),
jn(j) "bring" on *jn* "said" (§147b, 151a,b,c, {pot with legs}),
jn "messenger" on *jn* "said", *jn* "it is, by" (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.27, 28, Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 226, p.
 205, Mariette, *Mast.*, D10, p.195, {running man}-A27),
mAA "see" on *mAj* "be(come) new", *s.mAj* "renew" and other words that begin with *mA*, see **Nt 216** (Nt
 308, 316, {eye}-D4),
dmA "combine flax into a sheaf, to sheaf" on *dmA* "cut, dismember" (§1722c, {sheaf of flax}-M38,
 M178),
bn(j)t "sweet fruit" on *bnjt* "sweet" (§100a T, {full basket})
nbt "swim" on *nbt* "smelt" (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 219, after the p. 190, *nbt bJA* "smelting of copper",
 {swimming man}-A100A),
Dt "person" on *Dt* "Dt-time" (§2070b, {stroke}),
mDH "hew (ship)" on *mDH* "head-fillet of maturity" (Urk.I:253:18, the {axe}-T7),
Dwjw sSr "two jars" (Wb.IV:295:7-8) on *Dwjw* "badly, maliciously" (Urk.I:204:9, the {sSr-arrow}-
 T11),
Sm(j) "go, walk" on *nnSm/nSm* "spleen" (§83b, {walking legs}),
xnd "step, tread" on *xnd(w)* "chair" (§§736a, 800d P, 805b P, 1016a M, 1906c, {plow}),
mA(j) "lion" on *mA (HD)* "oryx" (? §806c M, {triple foxhide} (= 1/3 of the *ms* sign), cf. the same sign
 after *mA(j)* "lion" in Nt 722),
kAt "vagina" on the noun *mfkAt* "turquoise" (CT VI, 64b (S1C), {piece of meat}-F51),
sw "day, date" on *swHt* "egg" (CT II, 36c (B1P), {sun}-N5),
Sp "become blind" on *Spt* "become angry" (Kaw bowl, {eye with paint}-D5)
hAj "descend" on *hAw* "time, epoch" (CT VI, 1i, *nswt jmj hAw.f* "a king in his epoch" {walking legs})
 and *hA* "Ah!, Oh!" (CT I, 2a; BD (very often), {walking legs}).

3)

§653c-d: *s.Hr.n Hr.w kA.sn jr.sn nzt.k mrtj.jb.k jm.sn m rn.k n nzt mr*

Allen: "Horus has banished their ka from them, you shall ignite the evening meal of your desire from them, in your identity of Him of Zemeru"

Shmakov "Horus has distanced/removed their ka(s) from them (i. e. from opponents), that you may fulfill what your heart desires concerning (lit. in) them in your identity of Desire-Fulfiller (*nzt mr*)"

nzt is subjunctive, and although the precise meaning of the verb is unknown, the context suggests something like "fulfill". We should not treat it as the derivative from the root *nsr/ns(j)* "flame" as *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in the Old Kingdom (see **W 153**). For the preposition *m* as "against", see **W 166**, 2. There is a word-play in the passage between *nzt.k mrtj* "that you may fulfil what is desired" and the god's name *nzt mr* "Desire-Fulfiller" (cf. this name with the divinity *wD mrwt* "Love Commander" (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 7, col. 709+37 (PT 458)) whose name has the same construction: nominalized participle plus noun).

The word in question should undoubtedly be read *mrtj*, not *mSrtj*, for the sign *S*-{pool/canal}-N37 in this word is actually a variant representation of *mr*-{canal}-N36. This can be deduced from the god's name *nzt mr* which also has this sign, showing that the name is to be read *nzt mr* (not **nzt-mS* TM or

**nzr-mrS P*), whose name occurs being spelled *nzj mrw* with *mr*-{hoe}-U7 in Pepi I's copy of PT 667B (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 78), *nz(j) mr* with *mr*-{hoe}-U7 in Neferkare's copy of PT 667B (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. X, col. 741) and *n<z>j.f mrw* with *mr*-{hoe}, *mr*-{canal}-N36 and {quail chick}-G43 in Neith's copy of PT 667B (Nt 786). Secondly, the sign N37 occurs as an alternative form of N36 in the spelling of the verb *mrj* "love" (mostly in Neferkare's PT corpus: §§317c, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +18 (=§454c), 535a-b-c N, 536b N, 565d N, 953c N, 1230b N, 1728a M (canal), 1911, 2192a). Moreover, the word *mSr* "evening" would not fit here as it always has {sun with rays}-N8 sign as determinative (§§403b, 404b, 1048d, 1779c). For some reasons the words *mrtj* and *mr* (in *nzr mr*) were spelled with *mr*-{canal}-N37 and alphabetical signs *m* and *r* as its complements rather than with the usual *mr*-{hoe} sign plus its duplicate *mr*-{canal}. This caused ambiguity which resulted in readings (or a lack of readings) that were far from how the passage actually reads.

mrtj "what desires" is a relative form, cf. the *tj*-ending of the relative forms (discussed in Allen, *M. E.*, 24.2, p. 347, Gardiner, *E. G.*, New paragraphs and other additions, p. 426, Allen, *Inflection*, §71, B, §603, C) in these passages:

§38c: *zxntj.k* "which you sought"; §§204b, 206b: *nj fxtj.n.k nj j(A)btj.n.k* "there is nothing you have lost, there is nothing you have missed"; §243b: *nj mAtj ns* "there is nothing that the tongue saw"; §498a: *mr(.w) Hna qsntj.sn* "who are painful against (lit. with) whom they torture" (see **W 216**, 2); §674a: *abX djtj.n.k jm.f* "Suck out (lit. swallow) what you have placed in him!"; §916b: *nht tf qAt...qrqtj Hmst nTrw tp.s* "that high sycamore...atop which the gods warm up (and) sit" (for the reading, see **P 321**, 1); §970c: *jrtj.n Hr w n Asjr(t) [jr.f n pppj pn mj]* "What Horus has done for Osiris, [he will do for this Pepi likewise]"; §1464b: *nj jrtj nTrw jr pppj pn* "there is nothing that the gods did against this Pepi"; Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 29: *gmmtj.n DD.n n.k* "what we find we give you"; §*2131a N: *jrtj.n(.j) r[npwt.k jm]* "[of] which I have made [your fresh provisions]" (for the restoration see §1950b).

CT I, 286a-d (T2C): *H.n(.j) n.k [jt(j)] Azx.n(.j) n.k bdt(j) [jrtj.n(.j) rnpwt].k jm jrtj.n(.j) Abdw.k jm jrtj.n(.j) mDdjwnt.k jm*
 "I have threshed [barley] for you, I have reaped emmer for you, of [which I have made] your [fresh provisions], of which I have celebrated (lit. made) your monthly festivals, (of which) I have celebrated your half-monthly festivals"
 (see also the readings of T2C, T9C, and Sq3C translated in **T 204**, 4)

M.K. stela BM 1562: *anxtj nTr jm*
 "(provisions) with which a god lives"

The same spelling *anxtj* occurs on stelae Athenai 8, Athenai L155, Augenblicke der Ewigkeit 62, Bologna KS 1903, Calvet A7, A10, Chicago Art Institute 92.35, CM CG 20073, 20092, 20093, 20101, 20110, 20126, 20142, 20151, 20186, 20191, 20196, 20240, 20255, 20282, 20286, 20319, 20321, 20333, 20347, 20349, 20413, 20433, 20434, 20436, 20445, 20460, 471, 20483, 20521, 20711, 20716, Moscow I 1a 1136.

M.K. stela CM CG 20313, 20556, 20605, 20608, 20612, 20613, 20618, 20633:
qmAtj tA "that which the earth created"

The lamenations of Khakheperesenebu, 17 (rt.5): *gmy ky Ddtj.f*
 "that another may find what he will say"

Instr.Amenemh., 1.d/M, 1,2: *sDm n Ddtj.j n.k*

"Listen to what I am going to tell you"

Urk.IV:84:13: *Xr jrtj wa*

"because of what the Unique One did",

ibid:85:1: *jr Hztj bAw jwnw*

"who makes that what bas of Heliopolis praise",

ibid:96:16 (cf. also ibid:351:7): *mrtj kA.k pw xprtj.sn*

"the things which your ka wishes will happen",

ibid:101:11: *r rxtj.Tn*

"according to what you have known",

ibid:162:8: *mrtj kA.f pw jrtj*

"that which loves his ka is that which is done",

ibid:835:11-12: *Dd.n Hm.j nn m mAat r rxtj b(w) nb*

"My Incarnation has said it by truth according to what everybody knows",

ibid:1195:8: *[rdj.n.j] jb.j xnt Ddtj.f*

"I have placed my heart to that which he said",

Naville I, BD 170:5: *r st mrtj kA.k*

"to the place which your ka loves"

Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 34: *ms.n(j) tw r jrt hrtj.j*

"I have given you birth to make (i. e. so that you make) that which I please"

(the *tj*-ending is spelled {bread}-{two strokes}).

The *tj*-ending can also be spelled *wjtj*- in final-weak verbs (3rd-weak (see the example of the relative perfect spelled *jrwtj.n(j)* in **T 204**, 4, below), 4rd-weak), verbs with more than three radicals, and causatives (cf. Allen, *M. E.*, 23.8). We should be aware of the fact that the *tj/wjtj*-ending was not the feature of the relative forms only, but all the attributive forms as well (i. e. participles (including suffixal *sDmtj.fj*) and relative forms), see **T 196**, 7. We also should know that the *-tj* ending doesn't add any special meaning or feature to the verb form and is just a variant spelling (probably a full spelling) of the *t*-ending.

We see here at work the PT editor's preference of how to spell words, in this case the preference about where to place a biliteral sign, as there are four ways: (a) place it before complementary signs, (b) place it between complementary signs, (c) place it after complementary signs, (d) place it after all the signs of the word. It is clear that in our case method (b) was preferred, the same way as in: *zn* "open" in §984a, *z*-{block of stone}-*n* (P) usually spelled *z-n*-{block of stone} (MN); *wa* "alone" in §877c, P gives *w-a*-{harpoon}, while N (*w*)-{harpoon}-*a*; 3-cons. sign *dbn* {bowels}-F46 in *dbn* "go around" in §130d, WMN give *d-b-n*-{bowels}, while T's choice is *d-b*-{bowels}-*n*; *sbH* "scream" in §1004d, *s-b*-{F18}-*H* (N.) usually spelled *s-b-H*-{F18} (PM); *dmD* "unite" in §577b, with biliteral sign S23 {knotted cloth}, *d*-{S23}-*m-D* (N) and as a variant *d-m*-{S23}-*D* (T); *jab* "gather" in §584b, *j-a*-{cup}-*b* (N), usually spelled *j-a-b*-{cup} (TP); *tAjt* "Ta'it" in §737c, *t*-{kiln}-*A* (TM) and as a variant {kiln}-*t-A* (N); *sHd* "star" the sign F18 which is usually between *H* and *d* (i. e. *s-H*-{F18}-*d*) occurs after them *s-H-d*-{F18}; the sign {ingot of copper}, which has a phonetic value of *bn*, occurs in the word *wbn*

"rise" either after the *bn*-bird or *b-n* (§§207d N, 209c WN, 1465d, e) or between the *bn*-bird and *n* (§§207d W, 210c).

It is interesting that Kurt Sethe also suggested the reading *mr-tj* for this group of signs in §653d while translating PT for the Wb. (see <http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>, document DZA 25.275.300).

The unknown god's name "Desire-Fulfiller" (*nzr mr/nz(j) m(j)*) (a bull standing on a sledge or on a standard) (PT 372, §653d, PT 667B) is probably an epithet of the god *TA-zp* or *TA-zp.f*. Teti's and Merenre's copies (§653d) gave us the determinative of this god – {bull standing on sledge} first, and the most crucial {bull standing on a standard} second. The god Tjazepef has the same determinative {bull standing on a standard} in Urk.I:155:13, 15. He also occurs in CT VI, 281u spelled {bull standing on a standard}-*zp.f*. For occurrences of the god Tjazepef, see Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 14, sarcophagus; also p. 21 and note 48; Urk.I:155:13, 15; Jones, *Titles*, p 584-585, № 2141, in the queens' title *Hm(t)-nTr TA-zp/TA-zp <p>f* "priestess of Tjazepef", common for the Old Kingdom. For a discussion on god's name vs. epithet, see **Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 1.

Teti's and Pepi's copies give this god's epithet as *nzr mr*, whereas Merenre's copy gives it as *nz(j) m(j)*. It thus belongs to a group of words in Old Egyptian that shows a variation *r ~ j*, mostly at the end. Scholars used to think that in such cases, the *r* variant was always the original one, followed by *r > j*, but that has rightly been challenged and the accepted theory must be incorrect, for we find words originally written with *j*, which later, in the Middle Kingdom, had *r*, for example *jn(j) > jnr* "stone", *bnj > bnr* "sweet", *dA(j) > dAr* "subdue" etc (see also **W 166**, 2, i).

T 204 (PT 373)

§§654a-55a: *jhj jhj Tz Tw tjt pw Szp(.j) n.k tp.k jnq(.j) n.k qsw.k sAq(.j) n.k awt.k wxA(.j) n.k tA jr jf.k Szp n.k t.k*

Allen "Aha, aha! Raise yourself, Teti, for you have received your head, your bones have been assembled for you, your limbs collected for you, the earth on your flesh cleared away for you, and you have received your...bread"

Shmakov "Aha, aha! Raise yourself, this Teti, for I have taken your head for you, I have assembled your bones for you, I have collected your limbs for you, I have cleared away the earth from your flesh for you, I have taken your bread for you"

The verb forms in this passage are perfective *sDm.f* with 1ms suffix unwritten, not passive *sDm.f* (the same occurs in PT 413, §735b-c; PT 419, §747a-b; PT 536, §1292c; PT 553, §1363a-b; PT 612, §1732a-b; PT 664D, §1887a-b; PT 665B, §1908b (or Nt 729); PT 676, §§2008a-09b; PT 700, §2182c). This spell was pronounced by an attendant in the role of Horus or of the deceased's son or by the deceased's son himself. If one were to follow all the PT-translators, then the most important actions of resurrection (receiving the head, assembling bones, collecting limbs, clearing away the earth) would be performed by an anonymous person (as a reading of passive *sDm.f*'s would imply) or, even more improbable, by the deceased himself (! cf. Allen, *P. T.*, N 37, p. 355: "gather your bones for you, join your limbs for you, and get your heart for you in your body"), but in the PT corpus the action of resurrection always has a definite actor: §§101e, 584b TMN, 617a-b, 635a, 1684b-c, CT VI, 394c (Horus); 584b P, 623b, 631b, 1981b-c (Isis and Nephthys); 592a (Isis); 616a, 1789 (Nephthys); 639b, 830a (Thoth); 616e, 828a-c, 835a-c, 1036c-37b (restore 1036c-37b as *jr [tp.f dmD.T tp.f jr qsw.f]*) (Nut); 840b, 843a (Geb, see **P 45**, 2); 577b, 645a (gods); 739a-b (Tait); 980b (any akh or any god, see **N 418**, 4); 1008b (Selket); *1793c-d, 1801b-c (Horus's eye).

The expression *Szp(.j) n.k tp.k* "I have received your head for you" (also occurs in §§840b, 843a, see **P**

45, 2) is similar to the following expressions: *Szp a.k jn ra* "Your arm has been received by the Sun" (§473c N, also *Szp a.k jn j.xmw sk* "Your arm has been received by the imperishable stars" (§2183b)), [*nDr.T tp.f*] *Tz.T [jf.f]* "[You shall seize his head] (and) raise [his flesh]" (PT 634C, §*1793c), *Szp a.k jn ra Tz tp.k jn psDtj* "Your arm has been received by the Sun, your head has been raised by the Dual Ennead" (§819b, also *Tz tp.f jn ra* "his head has been raised by the Sun" (§721c)), *Szp a.k jn bAw jwnw nDr a.k jn ra Tz [tp.k jn psDtj]* "Your arm has been received by the bas of Heliopolis, your arm has been taken by the Sun. [Your head has been] raised [by the Dual Ennead]" (§1261c-62a), *Szp(.j) n.k awt.k* "I have received your limbs for you" (§1732a).

For example the presence of 1st person suffix *.j* in the following passage was indicated only by the use of a *sDm.n.f* form in the subsequent "farming" passage (cf. also section 3, just below):

(Allen's) P 553, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 75: *Tz Tw jr.k d(.j) tp.k Hr r(m)nwj.k...s.kA.n(.j) jt Azx.n(.j) bdt [jr.n(.j) rnp]w[t.k jm]*

"So, raise yourself! I have placed your head on your shoulders...I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer [of which I have made your fresh provisions]"

In the following passage the presence of 1st person suffix *.j* is also clear by the use of the *sDm.n.f* form:

PT 631, §1789: *jab.n(.j) sn(.j) dmD.n(.j) awt.f*

"I have gathered my brother and joined together his limbs"

The PT spell just below is spoken by the deceased's son:

PT 355, §§572b-74c: *hA nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n ra p T(A)z(.j) n.k tp.k jr qsw.k T(A)z(.j) n.k qsw.k jr tp.k wn(.j) n.k aAwj pt s.nxbxb(.j) n.k zw(j) wrw(j) sTA(.j) n.k Dbt m HAt aAt...jw.k xr(.j) jw.k xr(.j) jw.k A xr(.j) Hrw js nD.n.f jt(j).f Asjr(t) jnk jnpw wt.k Dj.k(j) a.k m tA m.aHA.k m jAt wrt wnwn.k jm.f m-m Axw*

"Ho, this Nemtiemzaf Merenre! I have tied your head to your bones for you, I have tied your bones to your head for you. I have opened the sky's (door)-leaves for you, I have drawn back the two great doorbolts for you, I have pulled the brick for you from the big mastaba... You shall come to me, you shall come to me; you shall indeed come to me, who am (lit. being) Horus who has tended his father Osiris. I am Anubis, your wrapper: I have given (*Dj.k(j)*) your arm in the earth and your fighting arm in the Great mound, that you may move about by means of it among the akhs"

Teti's and Neferkare's editors have misunderstood the original 1st person *jnk jnpw wt.k* "I am Anubis, your wrapper" and it was read as "Teti is Anubis, your wrapper". *Dj.k* actually has 1ms stative suffix *.k(j)*, cf. also its occurrence in **P 41b**, 3.

In the next spell the presence of the 1st person suffix is obvious because of the initial phrase, though, just like in the current passage, not a single suffix was spelled out:

PT 606, §§1683b-85a: *jnk p zA.k jnk Hrw jj.n(.j) jr.k wab(.j) Tw s.wab(.j) Tw s.anx(.j) Tw jnq(.j) n.k qsw.k sAq(.j) n.k nb.k jnq(.j) n.k dmAwt.k n jnk js Hrw nD (j)t(j).f*

"It is I, your son: I am Horus. I have come to you that I might clean you, cleanse you, revive you, assemble for you your bones, collect for you your swimming parts, and assemble for you your dismembered parts, for I am Horus who tends his father"

PT 13, §9b: *d(.j) n.k tp.k smn(.j) n.k tp.k jr qsw*

"I have placed your head for you. I have set your head to (your) bones for you"

The following inscriptions on the façade of the M.K. sarcophagus MMA 15.2.2 also lacks for the first person suffix to be spelled out, but from the initial clause that has a perfect *jj.n(.j)* "I have come" it is clear that it must be present and that the following verb form is a subjunctive rather than a passive *sDm.f*:

Dd mdw jn dwA-mjt.f jj.n(.j) ab(.j) n.k qsw.k n Dt

"Recitation by Duamutef (the One whom his mother worships): I have come that I may gather your bones for you during *Dt*-time"

Dd mdw jn gbb jj.n(.j) jnq(.j) n.k jf.k anx.tj ra nb mj ra Dt

"Recitation by Geb: I have come that I may collect your bones for you alive every day like the Sun during *Dt*-time"

Dd mdw jn jmstj jj.n(.j) dmD(.j) n.k awt.k n Dt

"Recitation by Imseti: I have come that I may join your limbs together during *Dt*-time"

Dd mdw jn Sw jj.n(.j) Tz(.j) n.k tp.k anx.tj ra nb mj ra Dt

"Recitation by Shu: I have come that I may raise your head for you alive every day like the Sun during *Dt*-time"

2)

§655b: *aHa.k jr xsfw xsf rxt*

Allen "When you stand at the doors that bar the subjects"

Shmakov "You shall stand at the (doorleaves-)barriers that bar the subjects"

The three {doorleaf}-O31 signs must probably be read *xsfw* "barriers", not **aAw* "doorleaves", cf. PT 440, §815b: *xm.k w aAwj pt xsf.k w xsfw.s* "(Then) you should not close the sky's (door-)leaves, you should not oppose its barriers (from opening)" (for the reading, see **P 36**, 1).

3)

§655d: *Sd.f Tw jr pt xr jt(j).k gbb*

Allen "that he might take you to the sky away from your father Geb"

Shmakov "that he may take you to the sky, to your father Geb"

For the meaning of "*r* {place} *xr* {person}" as "(move) *to(ward)* the {place} *to* the {person}", see **W 207**, 6. The location of the earth-god in the sky should not confuse us, as Geb is just a god of the earth, the earth's personification, and as a god he could be everywhere. Cf. PT 214, §139b: *jAq jr.k jr bw Xr jt(j).k jr bw Xr gbb* "Ascend to the place where your father is, to the place where Geb is" – this passage has the verb *jAq* "ascend" that suggests that "the place where Geb is" is the sky, to which the deceased should ascend. Thus all instances of *f* "he" in §656a-c refer to Geb, not to Khentimenutef ("Thighs Forward", §655c); this is also proved by §657d: *m wDDt jrt n.k jn jt(j).k gbb* "as what has been commanded by your father Geb to be done for you", and the fact that Khentimenutef cannot take the king to the sky and then "be aroused at meeting" (§656a) the king (as he has just been in touch with the king).

Note James Allen's earlier reading which is identical to the one of the present author: "that he might take you to the sky, to your father Geb. He (Geb) will be excited at meeting you..." (Allen, *Inflection*, §390, p. 263).

4)

§657a-c: *H(j) n.k jt(j) Azx(j) n.k bdt jr(j) n tp(j)w Abdw.k jm jr(j) n tp(j)w mDdjwnt.k jm*

Allen "Barley has been beaten for you, emmer has been reaped for you, and things made from it for your first-of-the-month festivals, and things made from it for your middle-of-the-month festivals"
Shmakov "I have threshed (lit. trodden) barley for you, I have reaped emmer for you, of which I have prepared for the first (days) of your monthly festivals, of which I have prepared for the first (days) of your half-monthly festivals"

All the verb-forms in this passage are perfective *sDm.f*. Cf. the following passages-descendants from the CT which have perfective *sDm.f*, perfect (*sDm.n.f*) and relative perfect forms (*sDmtj.n.f*, for the *tj/wtj*-ending of relative forms, see **T 203**, 3):

CT I, 286a-d (T2C): *H(j) n.k {bdt(j)} <jt(j)> Azx.n(j) n.k bdt(j) jrwtj.n.j rnpwt rnpwt.k jm jrwtj.n(j) Abdw.k jm jrwtj.n(j) mDdjwnt.k jm*

"I have threshed (lit. trodden) <barley> for you, I have reaped emmer for you, of which I have prepared fresh provisions of your years, of which I have prepared your monthly festivals (meal), of which I have prepared your half-monthly festivals (meal)"

H(j) n.k is either perfective *sDm.f* or a mistake for perfect, in which case we should emend *H<n>(j) n.k*. The *bdt(j)* "emmer" which follows in the CT text is probably a mistake for *jt(j)* "barley". *jrwtj.n.j rnpwt rnpwt.k jm* "of which I have made fresh provisions of your years" is a mix up of an original "of which I have made your fresh provisions (*rnpwt*)" and the M.K. misunderstanding or reinterpretation "of which I have made (i. e. celebrated) your years/yearly festivals (*rnpwt*)".

ibid (T9C): *H.n(j) n.k jt(j) Azx.n(j) n.k bdt(j) jr.n(j) rnpwt.k jm jrjtj.n(j) n Abdw.k jr.n(j) mDdjwnt.k*
"I have threshed barley for you, I have reaped emmer for you, of which I have prepared your fresh provisions, of which I have prepared for your monthly festivals, (of which) I have prepared your half-monthly festivals (meal)"

ibid (Sq3C): *jHw(j) n.T jt(j) Azxw(j) nTk bdt(j) jr.w.n(j) rnpwt.T jm jrwtj.n(j) Abdw.T mDdjwnt.T jm*
"I have threshed barley for you, I have reaped emmer for you, of which I have prepared your yearly festivals (meal), of which I have prepared your monthly festivals (meal), of which I have prepared your half-monthly festivals (meal)" (the column is split in the original)

T1C has *jt(j) mH(j)* "northern barley", B10C (read in **T 203**, 3) has relative perfects *jrjtj.n(j)* just like T2C, T9C, and Sq3C.

Compare the PT sources:

PT 461, §873d-74a-b N: *T.k Hjpt r sxt jArw s.kA(j) n.k jt(j) Azx(j) n.k bdt jr(j) rnpwt.k jm mj Hrw za tm*

"You should set course to the Marsh of Reeds, for I have farmed barley for you, I have reaped emmer for you, and prepared your fresh provisions from them like Horus, son of Atum"

§§761 (*s.kA.f jt(j) s.kA.f bdt Hnk.f Tw jm*, the suffix *.f* refers to the deceased's son-successor), §1387b-88a = Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 16: *pXr Tw jwaw.k Hr nst.k s.kA.f m jt(j) xAw xpr(.w) s.kA.f m bdt [...jr].f rnpwt.k jm* "your heir on your throne has served you: he has farmed of barley so that thousands are extant, he has farmed of emmer [...], of which he [has prepared] your fresh provisions", 1748b-c (*s.kA.n(j) jt(j) Azx.n(j) bdt jr.n(j) n HAbw.k jm*), 1880a (*bA.n(j) n.k bdt s.kA.n(j) n.k jt(j)*), 1950a-b = Nt 783 (*H.n(j) jt(j) Azx.n(j) bdt jr.n(j) rnpwt.k jm*), 2070a-b (*jr.n(j) sT(A)wt s.kA.k(j) jt(j) s.kA.k(j)*)

bd t Hnk.t(j) pjpj nfr-kA-ra pn jm, for the reading see **P 41b**, 3), Nt 768 (PT 666, *Azx.n(j) jt(j) n wAg.k bdt n rnpwt.k*), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 29, Allen's P 448 (*Azx.n(j) jt n Hbnnwt.k Azx(j) bdt n rnpwt.k*), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 75, Allen's P 553 (*s.kA.n(j) jt Azx.n(j) bdt [jr.n(j) rnp]w[t.k jm]*, translated in section 1, just above), Nt 829: *s.kA.n(j) jt(j) Azx.n(j) bdt jrt.n(j) n trwt.k* "I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer, of which I have prepared for your seasons", cf. also PT 666, Nt 774-75: *stp zA.k Hr tpjw.k tA jr.sn HAbw.k* "Extend your protection over your descendants and they will celebrate (lit. make) your festivals".

The verb *H* is used especially to express "threshing by (cattle's) hoofs" when a herd of oxen or asses treads on grain. Cf. the inscription above the threshing scene with oxen in the tomb of Paheri of the New Kingdom:

L.D.III:10c: *H.tn n.tn zp 2 jHw H.tn n.tn H.tn n.tn dHAW r wnm jt(j) n nbw.tn m rdj wrd n jb.tn*
 "Thresh for yourselves, two times, oxen. Thresh for yourselves, thresh straw for yourselves to eat (it), (while) barley is for your lords, don't become tired (lit. don't give weariness to your heart)"

The verb was used in the expression *H zpt* "thresh/step on a stack of spikes (on a threshing-floor)" or "thresh (the spikes on) a threshing-floor". Pierre Montet has "pietiner l'aire" and "fouler l'aire" for *H zpwt* (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 196, note 2 and pp. 182, 183). The verb has the {ass} determinative in the mastaba of Ptahsekhemankhi (*ptH-sx(m.j)-m-anx(j)* "Ptah is in control of my life"), Mariette, *Mast.*, D41, p.287, showing that the action was performed by a herd of asses.

For *zpt* as "a stack (of sheaves)" (rather than "threshing floor"), see Junker, *Giza VI*, page 146: *wbs zpt* "aufwerfen der Miete" ("pile up a stack (of sheaves)"), the mastaba of Ti, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 124: *wbs jt r zpt* "tossing barley (sheaves) into a stack", the mastaba of Akhetihotepi (*Axt(j)-Htp(j)* "He of the Behind the Horizon (i. e. the Sun) is content") (Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. 8, (middle register)): *zp(t) nt 330000* "a stack of 330000 (sheaves)", and cf. the synonymous *wbs pHt nt jt bdt* "tossing a stack of barley (and) emmer" (Mariette, *Mast.*, D15, p.212).

Pierre Montet (Montet, *Scènes*) provides the the inscriptions belonging to the cultivation and harvesting scenes in the Old Kingdom tombs on pages 181-182. Because of the discussed passage we are interested in the examples number 3 (*jwH (sic)* "threshing"), 4 (*H* "threshing"), 6 (*H aA zpwt* "threshing a stack by an ass"), 9 (*H zp(wt)* "threshing of stacks"). Although Montet reads the verb in example number 4 from the mastaba of Akhethotep (Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. 7) differently as "pull out (flax)" (*H mHa*), the example should be in the list as there is no scene of "pulling out of flax" on the wall, whereas a threshing scene does occur on the wall (ibid, pl. 8, threshing by asses and bulls (*ng*)), so this is actually "threshing" (*H*). To the instances gathered by Pierre Montet should be added the instance from the tomb chapel of Raemkai (*ra-m-kA(j)*, MMA 08.201.1b): *Hw zpt nt jt(j) bdt* "threshing a stack of barley (and) emmer".

Pierre Montet (Montet, *Scènes*) translates the verb *H* as "fouler", Hannig, *ÄR*, page 781:14 "dreschen (a. durch Tiere)", *H m spt* "dreschen auf der Tenne"

Moreover, see the inscriptions in the mastaba of Ti, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf 131:

mAA swH gnw H jArrt kAt nb(t) nt sxt

"Review of the catching of orioles, the pressing of (lit. treading on) grapes, (and) every marsh-work"

ibid, Tf. 130: *jnt jA(rrt) r H* "bringing the grapes for pressing (lit. treading)"

Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 57: *Hw m zpt* "Threshing on the threshing floor".

El Bersheh I, pl.31 (the inscription above asses threshing): [...] *r H zp 2 H r m H* [...] "[...] thresh, thresh, thresh...thresh [...]"

Note that in his earlier work James Allen reads *H* as "thresh", §657a: "Barley has been threshed for you" (Allen, *Inflection*, §29, p. 17).

T 205 (PT 374)

§659a: *wn n.k aAwj pt pr.k jm.sn*

Allen "The sky's door has been opened to you, that you may emerge from it"

Shmakov "The sky's (door)-leaves have been opened to you, that you may go forth in them"

This is a case of *prj m* "go forth in", not "emerge from", see **P 528**.

T 220 (PT 414)

§737a-c: *hA tjt pw Szp n.k s.Sp.k Szp n.k HAtj.k Hr.k wnx.k m jrt Hr w jmjt tAjt*

Allen "Ho, Teti! Receive your dazzling garment, receive your bleached garment on you, and get dressed in Horus's eye from Ta'it-Town"

Shmakov "Ho, this Teti! Receive your bright tunic, receive your bleached garment upon you, and get dressed in Horus's eye which is a linen fabric"

In this passage Horus's eye is likened to a garment, cf. also:

PT 453, §844a-b: *hA pjpj pw aHa jr.k wnx n.k jrt Hr w Szp n.k s(j) Hr.k*

"Ho, this Pepi! Stand up, put on Horus's eye, receive it upon you"

For the meaning of the word *tAjt*, see **W 54**. For the meaning of the *m*-nisbe, cf. PT 93, §63c: *wnjs Szp n.k t.k pn jm(j) jrt Hr w* "Unis, receive this your bread which is Horus's eye", PT 155, §93a: *mj n.k Hwnt jm(j)t jrt Hr w* "Take a lass (i. e. uraeus) who is Horus's eye"; PT 93, §63c: *wnjs Szp n.k t.k pn jm(j) jrt Hr w* "Unis, accept this your bread which is Horus's eye"; PT 359, §601d: *gs n tjt wnm jmj Hr w* "the right side of Teti which is Horus", §601f: *gs n tjt jAbt(j) jmj stS* "the left side of Teti which is Seth". Compare the current passage with this passage with a similar sense (Horus's eye is again a kind of offering) which has a non-nisbe use of *m*: Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 10: *mj n.k jrt Hr w m mDt* "Take Horus's eye as oil".

2)

§737d-f: *jr.s kjjt.k xr nTrw jr.s m.sjAt.k xr nTrw jT.k wrwt jm.s xr Hr w*

Allen "it will make your acclaim with the gods, it will make your recognition with the gods, and you will acquire the crown through it with Horus"

Shmakov "it will make your (welcoming) cry from the gods, it will make your recognition by the gods, you will acquire the crown through it from Horus"

Merenre's and Neferkare's copies add *jT.k wrwt jm.s xr nTrw* "you will acquire the crown through it from the gods". For the meaning of the preposition *xr* in this passage, see **W 140**, 4 (*xr* "from") and **T 142** (*xr* "by").

There probably is a implied word-play between *m.sjAt* "recognition, cognizance" in §737d and the (unmentioned) word *sjAt* "fringed kilt", which is hinting at the reading "it will function (*jr.s*) as (*m*) your fringed kilt (*sjAt.k*) from the gods", seeing the theme of this present passage which is about putting on a garment. For *sjAt*, cf. PT 675, §2004a: *DbA(j) Tw m sjAt.k tw* "that I may robe you in this

your fringed kilt"; CT VI, 266n: *Hbs.k Tw m sjAt.k* "you shall dress yourself in your fringed kilt".

T 221 (PT 415)

§738b: *tAjt Hr(j)t spt jwn wr sns nTr r sn.f*

Allen "Ta'it on the lip of the great nest! Associate the god to his brother"

Shmakov "Ta'it on the lip of the great nest which makes the god fraternize to his brother"

snsn is a participle which refers to the noun *jwn* "nest" (this interpretation was reached independently from Samuel Mercer who also gives it as a participle). *jwn* "nest" actually has the literal meaning "gathering-place" and derives from the root *jwn* "gather together" (cf. **T 145**); cf. the word *Xnm* "nest" from the root *Xnm* "join" which occurs in the mastabas: Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 5, 74-75: *Hsb [Xnm] Apd, Hsb Xnm Apd* "hunting nest(s) of birds with a throwstick" (the word for bird is written with bird signs, not phonetically; *Xnm* has a {nest with chicks} determinative in Gebrawi, I, 5), Kanawati-Raziq, *Seankhuiptah*, pl. 69: *Hsb Xnm* "hunting nest(s) with a throwstick" which occurs in Deir el Gebrawi, I, 5: *ama(A) Xnm Apd* "hunting nest(s) of birds with a throwstick". Thus we literally have: "gathering-place that makes the god fraternize to his brother (namely because of the physical closeness to each other in the same nest)".

T 222 (PT 416)

§740 (also Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col.1): *DAwt pw nw jr.n Hrw n jt(j).f Asjr(t)*

Allen "This which Horus has made for his father Osiris is a sound garment"

Shmakov "This which Horus has made for his father Osiris is a textile"

We should probably read *DAwt* "textile", rather than *wDAt* "sound garment", in the text; cf. the O.K. title *Hr(j)-tp DA(w)t* "Chief of garments" Jones, *Titles*, # 2378.

T 223 (PT 417)

§741e: *zb.T a.f n ra r Axt*

Allen "may you send his arm to the Sun and away from the Akhet"

Shmakov "may you send his arm to the Sun, to(ward) the Behind the Horizon"

Allen's reading of the preposition *r* "to" as "away" in this passage was dictated by his wish to match this passage with his idea that the texts of the serdab passage (to which §741e belongs) are about leaving the Behind the Horizon (cf. **W 178**, 1), but the actual meaning of the passage is really "to the Behind the Horizon".

T 225 (PT 419)

§743c: *DbA.tj m saH.k pn jmj Axw*

Allen "arrayed in this insignia of yours as one of the akhs"

Shmakov "robed in this dignity's insignia of yours in (charge of) the akhs"

For the use of *jmj*, see **P 31**, 2. Moreover, it would be strange if the king were just one of the akhs, for the PT themselves tell us about the king as governor of the akhs (§§573b, 871d, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 55 = Nt 667, 1163b, 2104).

2)

§743d: *Axbx n.k aw(j) rww n.k rdwj DAm n.k Drwt*

Allen "Arms will be linked for you, feet will drum for you, hands will wave for you"

Shmakov "Arms will move for you, feet will drum for you, hands will wave for you"

There is a possibility that *Abxx* is a case of graphical transposition and is actually a half-reduplicated *Axbx* (the root being *xbj* "move, dance"), which is a variant spelling of *Agbgb* (§§1110a, 1615b, a case of /x/ ~ /g/, see **P 357**, 2, **M 52**), not a geminated *Abxx* for a prospective passive (Allen, *M. E.*, 21.2.2) "will be linked". Cf. transposed *j.xxm* (§§61b, 89c) for *j.xmx* in **W 64**. Cf. PT 29, §20d: *xw.s Tw m-a Agb n a n stS* "it (i. e. Horus's eye) will defend you from the movement of Seth's arm"; cf. also CT III, 294g: T3C, G1T give *Abxt awj.s Hr wrD jb* "she who links her arms over Tired of Heart" while A1C gives *xbt awj nw wrD jb* "she who moves the arms of Tired of Heart". Moreover, it would be strange to use a passive verb and then two active ones (*rww*, *DAm*); sooner one would expect three active verbs in the passage, "arms move, feet drum, hands wave". Compare the text with these passages in which an active verb has *awj* as subject: PT, §1366b P (*sqr n.k rdwj DAm n.k awj*), §2014a N (*rwj n.k awj DAm n.k rdwj*), CT I, 272d: T1C (*DAm awj*).

3)

§744b: *HAj wrSw.k*

Allen "as your watchers mourn you"

There is no "you" in the original, which reads "as your watchers mourn".

4)

§745b-c: *xAw.k m mrHt xAw.k m Ss*

Allen "your thousands of ointment, your thousands of linen"

Shmakov "your thousands of ointment, your thousands of alabaster vases (with unguents)"

Ss is "alabaster vase/vessel", not "linen".

See the mastaba of Rahoptep (Petrie, *Medum*, pl.13):

tjAAAt nmtj(t) aAt, aAt xsbD mAT Ss

"porphyry vessels, white quartzite vessels, stone vessels; stone vessels: lapis-lazuli vessels, granite vessels, alabaster vessels"

Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 21-22, p. 88: *xA tjAAAt xA nmtt xA kAbA xA Ss*

"a thousand lug-handled porphyry vessels, a thousand lug-handled white quartzite vessels, a thousand granite (?) vessels, a thousand alabaster (cylinder) vessels"

For *Ss* as "alabaster vase" and not just "alabaster", cf.

Urk.IV:641:1: *7 Ss mH(.w) m (m)Dt wabt nt xt nTr*

"seven alabaster vases filled with pure ointment of the god's property (i. e. of the temple's property)"

Urk.IV:641:5: *Ss 5* "five alabaster vases"

In the Old Kingdom private tombs the word *Ss* is normally written either without determinative or with {alabaster basin}-W3 determinative. But there are exceptions: Merenre's copy of §745c gives this word with {alabaster vase}-W30 determinative, just like the previous word *mrHt* "ointment"; in the following mastabas and slab stelae the word also has the {alabaster vase} determinative: Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 3-4, 5-6, 7-8; Duell, *Mererukai*, pl. 57, 62, 63(= 64), 113, 207; Kanawati-Raziq, *Watetkhetor*, chamber B5, south and north walls of the alcove; Kanawati-Raziq, *Meryteti*, pl. 15(=49), 50; Ptahshepses II (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 29 (the word is determined with {alabaster vase} sign just like the following *mrHt* "ointment" (after *mnxt*)), 30; Kahufuirui (*kA-xw.f-w(j)-jr-w(j)*) "Khufu's ka is the one who made me", L.D.II:17d), the word occurs here with both determinatives: {alabaster vase}

and {alabaster basin}; probably in Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamhor*, pl. 68; also on the stela BM 832.

These exceptions show that during the Old and Middle Kingdom the word *Ss* does have the meaning "alabaster vase (with unguent)". Moreover, the word *mnxt* already has the meaning "linen cloth", so it would be superfluous for Egyptians to present "linen" twice.

During the New Kingdom the original meaning of *Ss* probably disappeared because since the Middle Kingdom the sign is written in the free space of the *mnxt* sign, and step by step its original meaning disappeared, cf. Urk.IV:195:16: *mnxt Ss(j) nswt* "linen clothes, king's linen" and *ibid:821:2: mnxt nt Ss(j) nswt* "linen clothes of king's linen" (in this passage the word *Ss(j)* (< *sSr* ~ *Ssr*) "linen" is written with a {stone} sign as the determinative probably under the influence of *Ss* "alabaster").

The burial chamber of the tomb of Sennefer (TT96), west side of pillar four:

HAt(j)-a njwt rswt sn nfr mAa xrw rdjt mnxt Ss snt.f mryt

"Mayor of the southern city, Sennefer, vindicated. Giving linen cloth (by) his sister (i. e. wife) Meryt"

Here *Ss* is written inside the *mnxt* sign but only two pieces of linen cloth are presented by Meryt, and no alabaster vases, as is shown by the image below the inscription.

However, the situation is not absolutely clear when the formula *xA t xA H(n)qt xA Ss xA mnxt* "thousand of bread, thousand of beer, thousand of alabaster vases (with ointments), thousand of clothes" sometimes has an additional offering *xA mrHt* "a thousand of ointment" as in the current passage. It would be illogical if *xA Ss* would here still stand for "a thousand of alabaster vases (with unguent)", unless in this case the alabaster vase had a contents that differed from *mrHt* or unless an empty alabaster vase as the package for *mrHt* was meant (Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 33, p. 113, Abb.38a, p. 122: *xA mrHt*; Mariette, *Mast.*, E7, p. 396: *xA mrH(t)*; Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 29, 30; Simpson, *Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*, fig. 31, 32).

It may be interesting to note that hieroglyph V6 for the word "alabaster vase" in the expression *xA Ss* sometimes is written upside down as V7 (which has the phonetic value *Sn*), see Junker, *Giza I*, Abb. 36, p. 186; Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 58; Mastaba of Izi, block in Copengagen (= Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 32); ASAE 38, page 35, fig. 2 (the stela of Inikaf); Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 41; Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.57, 62, 63(=64), 113, 207; Kanawati-Raziq, *Meryteti*, pl. 15(=49), 50; Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 29 (Ptahshepses II); Kanawati-Raziq, *Sankhuiptah*, pl. 67; Mariette, *Mast.*, E12, p. 412; Urk.I:147:12; MMA 64.100 (false door from the tomb of Metjetji).

5)
§746b-c: *dr.n Hrw Dwt jr(j)t tjt m jfdt.f.j.xm.n stS jrt.n.f jr tjt m xmnt.f*

Allen "Horus has repelled the bad that was against Teti on his fourth day, Seth has negated what he had done to Teti on his eighth day"

Shmakov "Horus has repelled the bad stuck to Teti in his four days period, Seth has negated what he had done to (lit. against) Teti in his eight days period"

m jfdt.k...m xmnt.k is "in his four days period...in his eight days period". There is an implied word-play in the passage: the *jfdt.f* "his four days period" hints at (an unmentioned) *fdt.f* "his sweat" (in this case the sign of putrefaction), i. e. the whole passage hints at "Horus has repelled the bad stuck to Teti as his sweat", cf. PT 670, §1978c: *fd.n.f fdt [jrt] pjjj m fdnw.f hrw* "He has pulled up the sweat stuck to Pepi on his fourth day" and the descendant of this passage CT VI, 383k: *fd.n.f fdt jrt jf.f m hrw fdnw.f* "He has pulled up the sweat stuck to his flesh on his fourth day". In the second part of the current passage the explicit word-play is between *j.xm.n* "has negated" and *xmnt* "eight days period" (cf. also PT 670, §1978d; CT VIII, 1978d has similarly *xmn* "eight days period").

6)

§747a: *wn aAw Hr StAw swt*

Allen "The doors have been opened onto those whose places are inaccessible"

Shmakov "The (sarcophagi's) lids which are on/over those whose places are inaccessible have been opened"

aA as "(sarcophagi's) lid" occurs in Urk.I:66:5: *jn[.t(j)] qr[sw] pn Hn[a aA].f* "this sarcophagus and its lid were brought", *ibid*:67:4, 99:16, 106:15, *ibid*:205:5 (and 14): *DD.Tn n(j) aA pn n qrs pn Hr mwt.f* "You shall put for me this lid of this sarcophagus upon its proper place/base (lit. mother)".

The following passages also have *aAwj* "leaves" or "lids" over (*Hr*) a person: CT I, 75c: *zn n.k aAwj Hr.k jn gbb* "leaves have been flung open over you by Geb", CT VII, 174f: *j.wn.f aAwj Hr.j* "He will open the leaves over me".

T 226 (PT 420)

§750b-d: *nfr.w(j) wab.k zm(j)n(j) zm(j)n(j) zm(j)n Tw m-m nTrw zm(j)n(jw) zm(j)n(j) zm(j)n Tw m-m zHjw nTr zm(j)n(jw)*

Allen "How beautiful is your cleanliness, settler. Settle yourself among the gods, settler. Settle yourself among those of the god's booth, settler"

Shmakov "How beautiful is your cleanliness, you of the soda solution. You of the soda solution, introduce yourself among the gods of the soda solution. You of the soda solution, introduce yourself among those of the god's booth of the soda solution"

zm(j)n(j) "you of the soda solution (i. e. perfectly clean)" is a nisbe of the noun *zmjn* "soda solution", see the spell PT 34, especially §26a-b: *zmjn zmjn wpp r.k hA wnjs j.dp.k dpt.f xnt(j) zH(j)w nTr* "Soda solution, soda solution that parts your mouth, ho, Unis! may you taste its taste, you at the fore of those of the god's booth"

Note, that *zH(j)w nTr* "those of the god's booth" are mentioned in both these spells in connection with natron cleansing.

For the spelling *zm(j)n* without *mj*-sign, see PT 455, §849b-c: *mA.Tn wab pn n jt(j) Asjr(t) pppj pn m nTrj m zm(j)n m bd* "that you may see this cleansing of father Osiris, this Pepi, with natron, with soda solution, with soda" (In §849c of the copies of Pepi and Merenre the spelling *bd m zm(j)n m* reflects esthetic space filling, the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position", see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 17)

Omission of the middle *j* in words was normal for hieroglyphic writing, for example *mjwt* ~ *mwt* "mother", *mjAz* (§1999c) ~ *mAz* (§1560c) "stings", *mnt* (§872b M) ~ *mnt* "Moorer" (*ibid* N), *bjk* ~ *bk* "falcon" (§§748b, 1672c), *sjw* ~ *sw* "proclaim" (§597c), *s(j)n* "run" (§769a), *njs* ~ *ns* "call" (§950a M), *mjzt* (Wb.II:44:11) ~ *mzt* (§82d) "liver", *p(j)zn* (> *przn* in the Middle and New Kingdoms) "flat bread", *s(j)A* "recognition" (§§335c W, 737d TN), *H(j)H* "search" (§972a, the verb is 4th-weak *HjHj*).

James Allen probably treats *zm(j)n zm(j)n* as the single verb form *zm(j)nzm(j)n*, formed through full reduplication of the root *zm(j)n*, as he translates it just "Settle yourself", but such a treatment can hardly be accepted. For the meaning of the verb *zmn/zmjn* "introduce", see **P 501**, 1-2.

T 227 (PT 421)

§751b: *Twt jxxw Hrj wart nt pt*

Allen "you are He of the Sunshine, who is on the shin of the sky"
Shmakov "you are the half-light who is on the thigh of the sky"

The word *wart* has the meaning "thigh", not "shin" which is *sbq* (PT 539, §1314a-c: *mntj mrjj-ra...sbqwj mrjj-ra* "Meryre's thighs...Meryre's shins"), cf.:

CT III, 333b-f: *dj mj n.j mnawt nTrw...d.sn w(j) Hr warwt.sn mnDw.sn tp r.j*
"Give me please gods' nurses...that they may put me on their thighs (and put) their breasts upon my mouth"

CT VI, 247i-j: *Sd n.T N tp wart.T jmj n.f mnD.T pw rdj.n.T n.f*
"Take N onto your thigh, give him this your breast you used to give him"

Urk.IV:1409:1-2: *dj.j sDm.tn xprrt xr.j...Dr prt.j m wartj mwt.j*
"I will let you hear what happened to me...since I left (lit. my coming forth from) the thighs of my mother (i. e. since I was no longer a baby suckled by my mother while sitting on her thighs)"

It is also possible to read the latter passage as referring to a birth "since I emerged between (*m*) the thighs of my mother", with the preposition *m* used instead of the usual *jmjw(j)* "between". Anyways, we have *wart ~ mnt* "thigh" as there is a similar expression *pr jmj(w)t(j) mntj* "emerge between the thighs (i. e. be born)" (§262a).

The word *jxxw* (Wb.I:126:2) means "dusk", not "sunshine". The presence of the sign {sun with rays}-N8 as determinative in *jxxw* does not prove the meaning "sunshine", as this sign is also used as determinative for the words *snkw* "dusk" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 7, 10) and *mSrw* "evening" (§§403b, 404b, 1048d, 1779c).

The "who is on the thigh" in the discussed passage could refer to the king as a baby, cf. §§379c, 381a-d and the passage CT VI, 247i-j.

T 228 (PT 412)

§722d: *nj xnd.k Hr HwAt Asjr(t)*

Allen "you will not step on Osiris's decay"

Shmakov "you will not step on Osiris's putrefying (liquid)"

For *HwAt/HwAAAt* as "putrefying liquid", see **P 526**, 3.

2)

§723a: *sAH.k pt mr s(A)H*

Allen "You shall touch the sky like Orion"

Shmakov "You shall reach (lit. touch (with your toes)) the sky like Orion"

James Allen's translation is literal, but the sense of the passage lies in reaching the sky, thus the passage actually means "You shall touch the sky like Orion (by reaching it)", cf.:

Sh.S. 32-33: *Da pr(.w) jw.n m wAD wr tp-a sAH.n tA*

"A storm came up while we were at sea, before we could touch (i. e. reach) land"

Sin. B11: *sAH.n.j r dmj ngAw*

"I have reached (lit. touched) the landing stage of Longhorn-town"

Cf. the collocation *sAH r* in the latter passage and the collocation *spr r* "reach" – both have a governing preposition *r*. There is a word play in the passage between the verb *sAH* and *sAH* "Orion".

3)

§723c-24a: *aHa bA.k m-m nTrw m Hr w Hr(j)-jb jr w xpr Sat.k r jb nTrw mr nt tp(j)t bjt(j) mr mjzwt tp(j)t nswt mr Hnzkt tp(j)t mnTw*

Allen

"Your ba shall come to stand among the gods as Horus in the midst of Iru. Your ferocity shall come to be against the gods' heart like the Red Crown atop the hereditary king, like the Pale Crown atop the current king, like the braid atop the northern beduin"

Shmakov

"That your ba stays among the gods as Horus in the midst of Iru (is because of) the coming about of veneration for you (lit. your veneration) in (lit. to) the gods' heart(s) (which is) like (the occurring of) the Red Crown atop a northern king, is like (the occurring of) the Pale Crown atop a southern king, is like (the occurring of) the braid atop a northern beduin"

The current PT passage tells us about the reason of the king's ba standing among the gods (cp. **P 4**, 7) and the natural process of veneration (for the king) appearing in the gods' hearts which is likened to the natural processes of crowns and braids appearing on kings and beduins. So the veneration in the gods' hearts is as natural and selfevident as a crown on a king and a braid on a beduin.

xpr is probably an infinitive, not *sDm.f*, literally "evolving, arising, coming about, happening". The preposition *r* is used instead of the usual prepositions when the object is heart (*jb*): *m* "in" (cf. Urk.IV:644:13: *sndw Hm.f m [j bw.sn]* "the fear of His Incarnation is in [their hearts]") and *Hr* "on" (cf. Urk.I:41:17: *nr Hr jb.sn* "fearsomeness is on their hearts"), in the latter case probably not to have the expression "on heart", which has the meaning "in the opinion". In spite of the fact that the preposition *r* is rather a part of the prepositional phrase (*r jb*), theoretically it can be the governing preposition of the infinitive (*xpr r* "happening to"):

jr as a part of the prepositional phrase:

PT 422, §763d: *Sat.k pw jr HAt(j)w.sn*

"this is veneration for you in (lit. to) their hearts"

PT 574, §1488a-b: *nrwt.T jr jr(j)w pt snD.T jr jr(j)w tA nd n.T Sat.T jr jb bjtjw jmjw p*

"the fright of you is on those of the sky, the fear of you is on those of the earth, thrust veneration for you into the heart(s) of the Northern kings in Pe"

PT 677, §2025b: *Sat.k r jb [nTrw] mj [Sat Hr w nb pat]*

"veneration for you in (lit. to) [the gods'] heart(s) like [the veneration for Horus, lord of the elite]"

The latter passage is restored with the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 527-528, cf. also CT VIII, 2025b) which has *Sat.k pw r j bw nTrw mj Sat ra Axtj mj Sat Hr w nb pat* "this is (due to) veneration for you in (lit. to) the gods' hearts like the veneration for the Sun of the Behind the Horizon like the veneration for Horus, lord of the elite".

(Allen's) P 549, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 60: *[snD n] pppj pn r jb.[Tn] Sat.f jr HAt(j)w.Tn*

"[Fear of] this Pepi shall be in (lit. to) [your] mind(s) and his veneration in (lit. to) your hearts"

jr as a governing preposition:

PT 510, §1128b(c , 1129a,b): *qd.k pw xp(j) r.k*
"this your shape that happened to you"

PT 600, §1656d: *xw.f xpr xt nb(t) jr.f Dw(t) n Dt Dt*
"He will keep everything bad from happening to him for the course of *Dt*-time"

In the latter passage the negative idea of "accident" is expressed probably through the adding of the adjective *Dw(t)* "bad" (or the adverb *Dw* "badly"?), rather than through the preposition *jr*, which is probably the governing preposition of the verb. So *xpr jr* "happen to", rather than "happen against" (i.e. "happen at the expense/to the detriment of")(cp. the lack of any negative meaning of *xpr jr* in §§1128-29 etc.). A similar expression can be found in CT VI, 63b: *nj xpr xt nbt r.j Dw(t)* "nothing bad will happen to me" (or if it is *Dw* then "nothing will happen to me badly"?), CT VII, 509i: *xt nbt xprt.s r.j xpr mjt(j)t r ra* "Everything that will happen to me – the same will happen to the Sun" (cf. also PT 683, §2048a, c).

4)
§729b: *Awt S(w)tj nxAxAt mnDwj*
Allen " ...with...wide plumage, and dangling breasts"
Shmakov "... (with) two long horns (lit. feathers) and dangling udder (lit. breasts)"

The text deals with "mother" who is "the great wild cow" (§729a), and hence *S(w)tj* "two feathers" is probably a metaphor for "two horns" (otherwise it is unclear why a cow has a pair of feathers, if only as an adornment). That feathers may be employed as the symbol of physical traits can also be seen in PT 317, §507b: *sbk wAD Swt* "Sobek, green of feather(s) (i. e. of skin)". Cp. the current passage with PT 548, where Nut is imaged as a cow, §1344a: *Awt ab nxAxAt mnD* "with long horn(s) (and) dangling udder". *mnD* is used for both animal "udder" and human "breast". See also **M 227, P 524**. Cf. also:

PT 602, §1673c: *s.rd.Tn n.f S(w)tj.f*
"you shall grow for him his two horns (lit. feathers)"²³

PT 669, §1971: *xnjj pjppj nfr-kA-ra Hr Swtj jt(j).f gbb*
"Pepi Neferkare will land on the two horns of his father Geb"²⁴.

Of course usually feathers are just feathers, but in such cases (i.e., to characterize "two feathers" as real feathers) the adjective *qA(j)* seems to be used rather than *Aw(j)*, cf. CT V, 302b: *qA Swtj* "the one with two high feathers (lit. high of feathers)", the same in Urk.IV:16:12 (*qA Swtj*). Also an extra determinative of such high feathers (S9) can be used, cf. Urk.IV:111:8: *nb Swtj wrtj* "who has two great feathers". Or such feathers are explicitly qualified as the feathers that occur as head-dress of gods: CT V, 257i: *Swtj spd w m wpt.f Atf* "the two feathers of Sopdu on the top of his head (are that) of the *Atf*-crown"; CT V 33g: *Swtj.j m tp.j mj mn gbtjw(j)*: "My two feathers on my head are like (those of) Min from Koptos (lit. the Koptosian)". Note that the word for "plumage", *Swwt*, is spelled with three *Sw*-{feather} signs (§§913b, 1560c, Nt 782), and the current PT passage has only two.

²³ Presumably bull's horns (see **W 148, 3**); "nose" (*Srt*) and *msDrwj* "ears" are mentioned in previous §1673a-b.

²⁴ For Geb's horns, cf. §1210a: *wpt gbb* "Geb's brow/horns". James Allen interpreted *Swtj* in this passage as "wings" (Allen, *P. T.*, p.266), and this shows that he also supposes *Swtj* to be used non-literally.

5)

§729c: *snq.s Tw nj wDH.s Tw*

Allen "She will suckle you and not wean you"

Shmakov "She will suckle you (but) won't let you grow adult"

It is interesting that there is no verb "wean" in modern Russian²⁵, instead we say "be deprived of a (mother's) breast", but the verb doesn't actually have the meaning "deprive", the meaning is probably "let grow adult", thus the noun *wDH* is "adult (i. e. child came of age)" (which is almost identical to generally acknowledged "wean, weanling").

6)

§730a: *j.dr Tw Hr gs.k jAbj Hmsj Hr gs.k jmn*

Allen "Remove yourself from off your left side; sit on your right side"

Shmakov "Take yourself away from your left side, sit from off your right side"

See **N 388**, 5 for the relevant comments.

7)

§730b: *j.mn swt.k jmjt nTrw twA ra Hr.k m rmn.f*

Allen "Your places among the gods shall endure"

Shmakov "firm are your places in which the gods are"

In *swt.k jmjt nTrw* "places in which the gods are" *jmjt* is a reverse nisbe.

8)

§731b: *j.mH Drt.k m Ams Hr w xfa xfa.k Hr HD*

Allen "your hand shall take hold of the Horus scepter, your grasp shall grab onto the mace"

Shmakov "that your hand may fill with the Horus' scepter (and) your grasp grab onto the mace"

The suggested translation (first clause) is literal.

9)

§732a: *n(j) Tw nx(j)x(j)w pXrw ra*

Allen "For you belong to the enduring ones who surround the Sun"

Shmakov "For you belong to the enduring ones who conduct the Sun"

For *pSr/pXr* as "conduct", see **T 256**, 3.

10)

§733a-b: *Sms Tw j.xmw sk.j.abA Tw jrjw ra tjt*

Allen "the Imperishable Stars shall follow you. Prepare yourself until the Sun comes, Teti".

Shmakov "The Imperishable stars will follow you, those attached to the Sun will direct you, Teti"

jrjw is a playful spelling of the plural nisbe of the preposition *jr*, with an extra sign {walking legs} having a phonetic value *jw*. Cf. the similar spelling of the relative verb form *baHjw* "with which are satisfied" in §1018b, also with the *jw* sign and the use of it to spell the name of the country *jww* in CT IV, 46j ({walking legs}-w-w-{mountain range}). Similarly the plural ending *rw* can be spelled with the

²⁵ However, it existed in Old Russian: "otdoiti (отдоити)" = "wean, stop breast-feeding".

rw-{lion} sign, *Sw* with the *Sw*-{feather} sign and *mwt/mjw*t with the *mwt*-{vulture} sign (see just below). Cf. also the use of the sign {walking legs} as a phonogram *nmt* (from *nmt* "travel" and *nmtt* "step, tread") to write the god's name *nmtj* "Nemti" in CT VI, 7d, 16g, h (B1C).

One of the features of hieroglyphic writing is the use of signs which are characteristic for one word for the writing of other words, even when these other words are in no way connected with the value of these hieroglyphs (just like in the case of the *rw*-{walking legs} hieroglyph in the current passage). This unexpected use of some hieroglyphs as phonograms for writing a word increases the possibility that that word is misunderstood (if it does not have a determinative). Here are some examples of such a use which could be called "Phonetic Influence" (as opposed to "Determinative Influence", see **T 203**, 2):

rw {lion}, of *rw* "lion", at the end of these words: *zrw* "*zrw*-salt" (§31b W, Nt 97-98), *prwtjw* "emergent" (§1114a,b), *xrw* "voice" (§§23b W, 929a M, 1462d P, 1463b P, Nt 141, Nt 105, Nt 172), *jArw* "reed" (§§289a, 340c, 343b, 374b, 487c W), *jr*w "form" (§296b T), *jr*w "which made" (§§808b M, 1723d), *nHrw* "two ones that elate" (§74a, Nt 199), *nwrw* "which shakes" (§143a), *wsw* "power" (§290a), *nrrw* "fear" (§302c), *Drw* "limits" (§§324c, 1715b), *pSrw* "perimeter (?)" (§707b), *jtrw* "river" (§1212b), *wrw* "marshes" (§1728a M), *jtrw* "seasons" (§1693b), *ptrw* "Looking (waters)" (§468a W), *arw* "writing-reeds" (§1659a M);
xA {columned chamber}-O27, of *xA* "chamber, office", in *xAw* "evening" (§404c; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 71; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 16, 53; Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 22), *s.xA(j)* "shade, darken" (§1151c), *pxA* "*pxA*-beer" (Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part II, pl. 14:14, 78:80, 95:99);
Sw {feather}, of *Sw* "feather", at the end of the plural noun *wrSw* "watchers, ones on duty" (§795d,e);
*mjw*t {vulture}, of *mjw*t "mother", at the end of plural nouns *Smjwwt* "goings" (§§768a,b; 1860b,c), participle *sSmjw*t "who will lead" (§965c MN), *jxmwt* "banks" (§§1130b, 1951a), plural nisbe *jmjw*t "who are" (§§550a, 1416c, 1417a – the latter two refer to the word *mtwt* "semen" which as any liquid is plural in Egyptian);
bA {leopard's head}-F9, of *bA* "leopard", in *bA* "become impressive" (§1027b);
st {vessel pouring water} (like W54, see Urk.I:75:10), of *st mw* "pour water", in *nst* "throne" (§223a);
jH/aH {moon}, of *jH/aH* "moon" (the spelling *jaH* is combined: *jH* + *aH*, showing the variation *j/a* before *H*), in the words *waH* "carob beans" (§99d) and *jH/aH* "net, catch, snare" (§99c);
st {foxhide shot with an arrow}-F29, of the verb *st* "shoot, pour (water)", in *mst* of unknown meaning (§1863a);
At {head of leopard}-F9, of *At* "wrath", in *kAA*t of unknown meaning (§2087a);
qb {tree}, of *qb* "*qb*-tree" (Urk.IV:73:17), in *qbb* "become cool" (§§22b, 151d, 212b, 1204c MN);
wHa {cargo boat}, of *wHa* "cargo boat", in *wHa* "release";
spr {reeb}, of *spr* "rib", in *spr* "reach" (§§375b, 1188e);
bAq {tree}, of *bAq* "tree" (Wb.I:423:9), in *bAq* "become bright" (§§118b, 252c, 457a, 955b);
jAm/jmA {tree}, of *jAm/jmA* "kind of tree" (§808a), in *jAmj/jmAj* "become pleasant" (§§791a PN, 1802b, 1803b);
nt {village plan}, of *nwt/njw*t "village", in *Hnt* "female pelican" (§§278b, 511d), *zbnt* "gliding one (i. e. snake)" (§244b), *nnt* "Lower sky" (§207b), *nTnt* "shroud" (§1363b), *z(j)nz(j)nt* "Ruining one" (§1876d);
jn {pot on legs}, of the verb *jn* "bring", in *jn* "it is" (§§335b,c W, 1129a,b P);
mw {water}, of *mw* "water", in the plural ending of *Smw* "walkways" (§§1049a, 2175a, c), *HAmw* "Mariut wine" (§93d T), *mwmw* "greedily (?)" (§444e T) and in the names *Hmw* "Hemu" (Hassan, *Giza* VI, Part III, fig. 70, p. 89) and *sSmw* "Seshemu (Leader)" (Junker, *Giza* XII, p. 163);
Hr {face}, of *Hr* "face", in the name of the god Horus *Hr* (§§58c W, 59a,c W), the verbs *Hrj* "be(come) distant, far" (§586b), *s.Hrj* "distance" (§§653c, 1622a);
t {tall loaf of bread}-X2, of *t* "bread", in *txn* "ibis" (§425e, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 25, 35), *nht* "shelter" (§320a), *twAt* "*twAt*-oil" (spelled {tall loaf of bread}-*wA-A-t*, the mastaba of Kagemni, room

VIII, north wall);

SsA {head of bubalis}, of *SsA* "bubalis", in *SsAw* "tongue" (§127b MN), *SsAt* "night" (§§568a P, 1761d) and *SsA m* "be(come) aware of" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 64, PT 698B);

Xn {arms and oar attached to a shell}-D33, of the verb *Xnj* "row", in the noun *Xnw/Xnnw* "disturbance" (§§304a, 306c) and "interior" (§§597b, 607b);

ns {tongue}, of *ns* "tongue", in *n-sw* "he belongs" (§132b TM), *.n.s* "she has..." (§§1194a PM, 1321a, 1427a PM, 1428e M), *nsr/ns(j)* "flame" (§§295c T, 302a T, 323d), *nsb* "lick" (§411a) and *nst* "throne" (§301b);

nxAxA {flail}, of *nxAxA* "flail" (§1535a), in *nxAxAt* "dangling" (§2204b);

psD-{full moon}-N9/N10, of *psDtjw* "New Moon Festival" (§§794b, 861a, 1012c, 1260a, 1711b; since the Middle Kingdom *n* occurs in the spelling: *psDntjw*), in *psDj xft/r* "resist" (see **T 145**, 4), *psDj* "shine" (§§373a N, 704b TN, 888a PM, 1739c, 1773c, 2005b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 5, col. 14, Nt 782), *psDt* "the Nine (arcs of the sky)" (§1238c), "nine" (§673b);

xnd {plow}, of *xnd* "step, tread" (§§244b, 663b, 664b, c, 541d; CT II, 164h (Sq4C), CT III, 110c (B1Bo), CT VII, 228f), the plow sign occurs in this verb probably due to its relation to field work, i.e. "trample (seed) down (into the ground by cattle)", in *xndw* "chair" (§§736a, 800d P, 805b P, 1016a M, 1906c).

T 229 (PT 413)

§734b: *mwt*

Allen "your mother"

There is no pronoun *.k* "your" after the noun *mwt* "mother" in the original.

T 248 (PT 378)

§663b, c: *nxj*

Allen "*nxj*-snake"

Shmakov "growing up snake"

See the comments just below.

2)

§663c: *Xrd nxn*

Allen "young boy"

Shmakov "growing up boy"

The verb *nxn* (§§1214c, 1320c, 1701b) doesn't have the meaning "to be young" (that meaning is covered by the verb *rnpj*). *nxn* is the partially reduplicated root *nx(j)* that occurs in *nx(j)/nxx* "endure, last", and thus its meaning is "grow up, mature, evolve". The same root occurs in the verb *s.nx*²⁶ "rear, bring up", literally "make endure, make grow up, add lifetime" (§§465b N, 1111b N, 1966b, has the same {child with hand to mouth} determinative), also in nouns *nxnjw* "child, one growing up" (§548b MN, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col.56) and *nxnw* "childhood" (Wb.II:312:2-3), literally "enduring", i.e. "growing up, maturation".

It is Marina Sokolova (Moscow) who first noticed this — here is the relevant fragment from the article published in Russian in 2009²⁷ on the subject (translated into English by the present author):

²⁶ With variations depending on either the first consonant reduplication (*s.nxn*) or the second (*s.nxx*), cf. *sxsxd* (CT III, 126k (S1C)) and *sxdxd* (ibid, 128j (S1C)) "overturn, become upside down".

²⁷ M. Sokolova, T. Shmakov. Some lexical observations on the Coffin Texts, in: *Peterburgskie Egyptologicheskie Chteniya 2007-2008*. Trudi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaga XLV [St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings 2007–2008. Transactions of the State Hermitage XLV]; Saint Petersburg, 2009, pp. 290–296.

“*nxx/nx(j)x(j)* “last, endure”.

Wb.II:313:2-3: *nxx* — parallel zu *anx* von Personen und vom Namen, vgl. *nxj* (belegt Pyr., Totb.) (Wb.II:306:1: *nxj* — vom andauern des Namens (belegt Pyr.)). Wb. also gives two words *nxx* with the meanings “neu geboren werden” (II:313:4) and “alt werden” (II:313:8). There are reasons to think that the meanings of the word *nxx* “endure” and its derivatives are not sufficiently considered. Giving two roots with the meaning “endure” (*nxj* and *nxx*), Wb. does not consider the causative *s.nxx*: the dictionary gives only the causative from the root *nxx* “to be newborn”, Wb.IV:170:2-4: *s.nxx* — verjungen (trotz (A19)) (besides this causative, Wb. considers only the word *s.nxjt* “das Alter” (Wb.IV:169:8)). In his dictionary, Hannig takes only two meanings of the root *nxx* into consideration: “alt werden, lange leben” and “*erneuern” (Hannig, *MR*, 1324) as well as the same causative *s.nxx* “s. verjungen, verjungen” (ibid, 2263). Faulkner gives only the meaning “be old” for *nxx*, and inconsequently gives “rejuvenate oneself” for *s.nxx* (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 138, 233). The only dictionary that gives two meanings of causative *s.nxx* is the dictionary of R. van der Molen: “rejuvenate oneself” and “let grow old” (Molen, *HDECT*, p. 512).

There are reasons to think that the distinction of the two roots *nxx* with the meaning “endure” and “grow old” is mistaken: it is very likely that we deal with one root with two meanings — an original one and a derivative one; there is also a causative from this root that is considered only in R. van der Molen’s dictionary, but with a not too exact meaning.

Before going into the argumentation of the supposition, a couple of words should be said about the word’s root. In the Pyramid Texts, it occurs in the form *nxj*: the presence of the final *j* could indicate that it is a verb with so-called strong *j*. E. Edel suggested that the word *nx(j)x(j)* was derived from it by partial reduplication; it appeared as *nxx* in the text (Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §§433, 439. James Allen agrees with the opinion of E. Edel and considers the form *s.nxx* as caus. 5-lit. *s.nx(j)x(j)* with the meaning “cause to mature” (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.12)). There is no marked difference in meaning between the forms *nxj* and *nx(j)x(j)* as in the case of their causatives *s.nxj* and *s.nx(j)x(j)*. It is notable that CT prefer *s.nx(j)x(j)* to *s.nxj* used in the Pyramid Texts (for example PT 508, §1111a-b: *Sdjj.n sw mwt.f bAst(j)t j.s.nx.n sw Hr(j)t-jb nxb* “His mother Bastet has brought him up, She who is in the midst of Nekheb (i. e. Nekhebet) has reared him”; the example of using the form *s.nx(j)x(j)* in the Coffin Texts, CT I, 167e-f (= I, 176k), is given below).

Arguments:

1) Taking into account the fact of existence of the root *jAwj* “be/become old” and taking into consideration presumption (5) [*the presumption states: different roots — different meanings: there are no two different roots with absolutely same meanings (the principle “Plurality must never be posited without necessity”* – T. S.], it is quite conceivable that the meaning “become old” of the root *nxx* derived from the basic meaning “endure”.

2) The fact that the verb really had the meaning “endure”, not “grow old”, appears from CT I, 296, a-c: *jnk zA.k jnk Hr.j.n.j jry(j) n.k sw s.Axw pn nxx.k* “I am your son, I am Horus, I have come to perform it for you, this akh-making ritual, that you may endure (*nxx*)”. Since it refers to the afterlife, the meaning “grow old” does not fit evidently, as there is no growing old in the post-existence.

3) The existence of causative *s.nxx* with the meaning “prolong, make old” is proved from CT I, 167e-f (= I, 176k): *nj Sdt.j TAw.j nj s.nxxt.j swHwt.j* “I have not yet brought up my nestlings, I have not yet hatched (lit. “have not prolonged, made old”) my eggs”.

The described meanings of the root *nxx* and its causative *s.nxx* allow to refine the translation of the passage from *Teaching for king Merikara* (P 106): *jw zAw<wt> s.nxx.<s> rnp<w>t* “caution prolongs years” (i.e., caution adds lifetime). This is close to the translation given by M. Lichtheim (*Literature*, p. 104: “Caution prolongs life”), which is obviously based on the general sense of the passage rather than the dictionary meaning of the word *s.nxx*. However, in the published Russian translations by R. I. Rubinshtein and A. E. Demidchik the passage is translated: “A cautious one is the one who rejuvenates years” (Rubinshtein, *Chrestomatia*, p. 34. In the first published translation (VDI. 1950. no. 2) this

phrase was rendered a bit differently: “he who is on his guard rejuvenates years”), and “cautious ones are the ones young of years” (Demidchik, *Piramida*, p. 199). Aforesaid arguments in connection with presumption (1) (= meaningfulness of the text) provide a reasonable ground for conclusion that “caution prolongs years” is much more intelligible than “caution rejuvenates years”. It is quite obvious that caution is not a rejuvenating remedy and it does not provide rejuvenation. Hence there is sufficient basis for, on the one hand, giving preference to the translation of M. Lichtheim, and on the other hand, defining more precisely the sphere of use of the word *nxx*, and its causative which occurs not only in mortuary texts, but in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom as well.”

Such meanings of *nx(j)* as "grow up, mature, evolve" can be taken as secondary. The same phenomenon of secondary meaning occurs in the verb *sAj* "become sated", of which the secondary meaning is "become wise, experienced" (cf. the determinative of *sAA* "experienced" (§854b N) and *sAAt* "experienced" (§1701b N) which is {man with hand to mouth} – the same has *sAj* "become sated" (§551c,e MN)). The meaning of the verbs having the root *nx* with regard to a child is clear from following passages:

CT VI, 247i-k: *Sd n.T N tp wart.T jmj n.f mnD.T pw rdj.n.T n.f s.nxn.T N jm.f*

"Take N onto your thigh, give him this your breast you used to give him, that you may rear N with it"

Sethy I, *Abydos III*, pl. 48: *jnk jt(j).k rdj.n(j) [tw] m jb.j Dr nx.k Hr mnd(j)*

"I am your father, I have put [you] in my heart since you were growing up (lit. lasting) from (lit. on) my breast".

3)

§665a: *n Twt js StA s.fg j.Ddw nTrw*

Allen "For you are the secreted and mysterious one the gods speak of"

Shmakov "For you are the secret of delivery/birth of whom the gods speak"

For the meaning of the word *s.fg* ~ *s.fx*, see **P 376**.

4)

§666a: *fnnwjj fnnwjj Tnnwjj Tnnwjj*

Allen "You two *fnnw*, you two *fnnw*, you two uprising, you two uprising"

Shmakov "You two *fnnw*, you two *fnnw*, you two distinguished, you two distinguished"

Tnnwjj is an imperfective participle from the verb *Tnj* "distinguish". James Allen probably confused it with the verb *Tzj* "raise".

T 255 (PT 382)

§670c: *jr hbw tA*

Allen "make the ground's plowing!"

Shmakov "dig into the ground!"

Shmakov "dig (into) the ground! (lit. make a digging of the ground)"

The word *hbw* is a noun derived from the verb *hbj* "dig into"; cf. §285a: *hb.k m tA* "you shall dig into the ground", §1454a: *m hbw tA* "don't dig (into) the ground", CT IV, 322d (T2Be) (= 330l): *nj hbw dsw.sn jm.j* "their flint knives will not drive into me", CT V, 51b: *hb r.k m tA* "So, dig into the ground", CT VII, 98b: *hb m tA* "dig into the ground". In the current passage, the command is directed at the hostile *nnjj*-snake ("Turning One"), which is told to dig itself a hole (in order to disappear) and of

course not to go plowing.

T 256 (PT 318)

§511a: *tjt pw naw Ssm am sfxt jarwt*

Allen "Teti is the leading Plait-snake, who swallowed his seven uraei"

There is no "his" in this passage, it has *am sfxt jarwt* "who swallowed seven uraei".

2)

§512a-b: *jj.n tjt Szp.f anwt m antjw antjw m anwt*

Allen "Teti has come that he may receive a fingernail of myrrh, myrrh in the fingernail"

Shmakov "Teti has come that he may receive the fingernails as myrrh, myrrh as the fingernails"

an(w)t is written with the sign {three-headed adze}²⁸, an abbreviated form of three normal {adze} signs, to write the plural *anwt* "fingernails" (see §§791c, 1043a, 1212d). There is a word-play in the passage between the words *anwt* "fingernails" and *antjw* "myrrh".

3)

§512d: *pXr tjt*

Allen "surround Teti"

Shmakov "conduct Teti"

For *pSr/pXr* as "conduct", cf.:

PT 407, §711c-d: *jn Hm jr(jw) jz(t) pSrjw ra HA Axt ntsn pSr.sn tjt HA Axt*

"the crew who conduct the Sun around the Behind the Horizon, they are the ones who will conduct Teti around the Behind the Horizon" (after James Allen, but with the addition of the translation "Behind the Horizon" for *Axt*)

CT III, 372a: *pXr.sn n.k kAw.k aAw Hr(jw) jb Axt*

"that they may conduct for you your considerable kas, which are in the midst of the Behind the Horizon"

See also **T 228**.

T 257 (PT 318)

§511c: *psDwt tw jmj(w)t-bAH*

Allen "You Enneads in the presence"

Shmakov "these Enneads—ancestors"

For the meaning of *jmj-bAH*, see **W 224**.

T 260 (PT 385)

§674a: *pXr Tw pna Tw abX djtj.n.k jm.f*

Allen "turn yourself around! Turn yourself over! Spewer, you shall be given some of the same!"

Shmakov "turn yourself around! Turn yourself over! Suck out (lit. swallow) what you have placed in him!"

²⁸ This sign also occurs in the O.K. title *jr anwt* "manicurist", lit. "maker of nails", Jones, *Titles*, ## 1121, 1122.

The verb *aXb* is probably in graphical transposition, and is actually to be read as *abX*, which is a variant spelling of *abS* "swallow" in §692c (for the meaning of the verb, see **W 222**, 1). *djtj.n.k* is probably a relative *sDm.n.f*, see **W 155**, 4; **T 203**, 3.

2)

§675b: *j.tm.k sDm n.f sDm.kA Abt.f jmjt tp.k*

Allen "Should you not listen to him, you will hear his brand on your head"

Shmakov "Should you not listen to him, then his (i. e. Geb's) brand, which is on your head, will listen"

This passage is about the inability of the snake to escape submission to Geb: *Abt.f* is the subject of the *sDm.kA.f* form, hence the actual reading "then his brand... will listen".

3)

§678b-c: *gbgb.n Tw Hr nj anx.k jnjn.n Tw stS nj aHa.k*

Allen "Horus has toppled you and you will not live; Seth has chopped you up and you will not stand up (again)"

In the passage the clauses "you will not live" and "you will not stand up" are intentionally transposed by the spell's author, for according to the implied sense the passage should be "Horus has toppled you and you will not stand up (again); Seth has chopped you up and you will not live". Cf. Urk.IV:244:16-17: *dj.n.k n.s psSt Hr w m anx rnpwt stS m wAs* "You (i. e. Amon) have given her Horus's share in life (and) Seth's years in dominion" – according to the implied sense this passage also should be "You have given her Horus's years in life (and) Seth's share in dominion".

T 261 (PT 386)

§679d: *xr Hr w Hr jrt.f pAz stS Hr Xrw(j).f*

Allen "Horus has fallen because of his eye, Seth has felt pain because of his testicles"

Shmakov "Horus has fallen over (lit. on) his eye, Seth has overturned over (lit. on) his testicles"

The meaning of the preposition *Hr* in the passage is probably the same as in English "He has slipped on a banana peel", as "eye" and "testicles" are round objects (i. e. not "because of"). For the meaning of the verb *pAz*, see **W 78**.

T 263 (PT 388)

§681a-e: *Tn Hr pr m SnT m(j).k tjt tjt pw Hr pr m SnT sjn nj rDj n.f jpt nHm m-a.f xjj.f HfAw H(A)b Hnn Tbb.n Hr r.f m Tbw.f*

Allen

"Where is Horus, who escaped from the shunned snake? Behold Teti: Teti is Horus, who escaped from the shunned snake and ran.

He (the snake) shall be given no messenger; his child has been taken from him. The snake "Penis-Catch," Horus has clubbed his mouth with his foot"

Shmakov

"Where is Horus, who emerged as a Rowing Snake? Here is Teti: Teti is Horus who emerged as a Rowing Snake and ran. He has not been given a messenger and his child has been taken away from him. The snake "Penis-Catch", Horus has mashed his mouth with the sole of his foot"

Cf. the descendant of this PT passage – CT Spell 14:

CT I, 43c-44d: *pr m SnT zp 2 Hr w pw pr m SnT Hr.t(j) r N tn nt(j) Hr(j) r.f m ar n N pn nt(j) ar(j) n.f*
"Someone has emerged as a Rower – Horus is the one who has emerged as a Rower. Be far from this N, you who is far from her! Do not ascend to her, you who have ascended to her!"

Literally "Who is to emerge as a Rower has emerged as a Rower – Horus is the one who has emerged as a Rower... ", for the reading, see **W 20**. Note a word-play between Horus (*Hrw*), "be far" (*Hr.t(j)*) and "who is far" (*nt(j) Hr(j)*).

Cases in which *prj m* means "emerge as":

PT 291, §432a, b: *pr m fnT*
"the one who emerged as a worm"

PT 665, 665A (Nt 606, 667, 753): *DHwtj mds pr m stS*
"Thoth, a butcher, who emerged as Seth"

§709a: *mA Tw tjt pr.k r.k m DHwtj*
"Teti will see you when you emerge as Thoth"

PT 510, §1145c: *pjppj pn smA wr prj m xnt(j) jmntjw*
"Pepi is a great wild bull who has emerged as Foremost of Westerners"

T 264 (PT 389)

§682a-b: *Hr Hr.k jmj TpHt.f pAz Tw nTr jmj.s tp awj tjt*
Allen "On your face, you in his cave! Drag yourself off, you god in it, before Teti!"
Shmakov "On your face, you in his cave! Turn yourself upside-down, you god in it, before Teti!"

For the meaning of the verb *pAz*, see **W 78**. Cf. the use of the of the verb *pAz* along with such verbs as *pna* (§§226b, 227c, 674a, 677c, 678a, 682f), *gAA* (§662b), *xd* (§685a), which all have {overturned boat} determinative and the meaning "overturn, turn upside down, upset" while giving commands to a snake.

2)
§682e: *mAA tjt nj anx.f j.xr Hr n tjt Hr.f nj T(A)z tp.f*
Allen "he who sees Teti will not live; he on whom the face of Teti falls, his head cannot be tied back on"
Shmakov "the one whom Teti sees: he will not live; the one on whom the look/gaze of Teti falls: his head cannot be tied (back)"

mAA and *j.xr* are two relative forms (not only *j.xr* as in James Allen's translation). Cf. §672c which has the same construction (relative *sDm.f* plus negated *sDm.f*) and also two relative forms (*nDr*, *zxjj*). The word *Hr* has the meaning "look, gaze" in the passage, not the literal meaning "face", cf.:

Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 97-98, 3-6: *gm.t(w) Xnmt m Hr-jb jnt...nj mA.n s(j) jrt nb(t) nj xr Hr n r(m)T Hr.s*
"a well was found in the middle of the valley...no eye had seen it, the gaze of men had not fallen upon it"

CT V, 395i-j: *mAn.sn Dsrw StAw xr Hr.sn Hr xm n bzt* "They have seen mysteries (and) secrets (and) their gaze has fallen on the shrine of Bezet"

CT VI, 351e-f: *jw jn.n(j ?) jnp nb qrst xr.n Hr.f Hr N tn*
"I (?) have brought Anubis, lord of burial, and his gaze has fallen on this N"

CT VII, 144j: *xr Hr.j Hr...jmjw qrqrt.sn*
"My gaze has fallen on...those who are in their holes"

Budge, BD125A:4: *xnm.j tkn jm.j Hbs Hr.f xrw Hr xt StA(t)*
"I gladdened the one who approached me, covered was his gaze that had fallen on secret thing"

Cp. James Allen's earlier reading which is similar to the one of the present author: "Whomever King NN sees—he will not live. Whomever King NN notices - his head cannot be tied (back) on" (Allen, *Inflection*, §612, p. 427). It is also noteworthy that Harold Hays in his dissertation reads *Hr* in this passage similarly as "sight" (Hays, *Structure*, p.215, note 95, pp. 333, 339).

T 265 (PT 390)

§683b-d: *wDA Hrw n Dt.f...wDA stS n Dt.f wDA tjt n Dt.f jmjwjtj.Tn*

Allen "Horus is sound because of his body...Seth is sound because of his body. Teti is sound because of his body between you, (Horus and Seth)"

Shmakov "Horus is sound in his (own) person...Seth is sound in his (own) person. Teti is sound in his (own) person who is between you, (Horus and Seth)"

Or "Horus himself is sound...Seth himself is sound. Teti himself is sound who is between you (both)".
n Dt.f"in his (own) person" is literally "of his person, himself": for the meaning of *Dt*, see **W 175**, 3.

2)

§685d: *mAfdt Hr(j)t jb Hwt anx*

Allen "Mafdet in the midst of the House of Life"

James Allen probably mistyped as he normally reads *Hwt* as "Enclosure".

3)

§686b: *j.zA nX.k*

Allen "your venom will go"

Shmakov "beware lest you spit (poison)"

The verb form *j.zA* is actually an imperative of the verb *zAj* "guard" (for the spelling, cf. **W 175**, 5; for the verb's imperative without *w*, cf. §§221b WTN, 253a, 666b, 872d, 885, 1752c). For the verb *nX/nS*, see **W 67-68**.

T 266 (PT 391)

§687b: *m jw m jw*

Allen "Go! Go!"

Shmakov "Do not come, do not come!"

Cf. PT 288, §429c: *m jw* "don't come back" (after Allen), hence the reading.

T 271 (PT 396)

§692a: *Tjrf sT sTA tA*

Allen "Dancer-snake, the scent of dragging the ground (is for you)! "

Shmakov "Spitter-snake, the scent of dragging the ground (is on you)"

The name of the snake in this passage probably has the root *Tjf* (§§248b, 428b, 429c, Nt 722) "sit out,

spit", also probably *Trf* (CT VII, 435c), not *Trf* "dance" (Hannig, *ÄR*, p.1455). The spelling *Tjrf* is combination of *Tjf* and *Trf*, cf. another combined spellings *Drt* (§907d) ~ *D(j)t* (§§802c, 960c P) ~ *Drjt* (combined, CT II, 31f, CT III, 91c, CT V, 238e, CT VI, 164a, CT VII, 95a) "hand", *Drt* (§§1280b, 1484c P) ~ *Drjt* (combined, §1484c MN) "kite".

T 272 (PT 397)

§692c: *abS sw abS sw*

Allen "Spew it, spew it!"

Shmakov "Swallow it, swallow it!"

For the meaning of the verb *abS*, see **W 222**, 1.

T 275 (PT 274)

§413a-b: *Axw.sn xr tjt mHAw.fjxt r nTrw*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "their akh-magic is with Teti, he will exceed the meal more than (lit. against) (that of) the gods"

Absent in Variants. In his earlier work James Allen reads this passage: "King NN has their akh's as his extra element of the meal with respect to (the meal of) the gods" (Allen, *Inflection*, §47).

T 276 (PT 400)

PT 400, §695b: *ndfdf jrt Hrw Hr bAt Dnw Hrwj xnt(j)wj xntw nb DfAw wr m jwnw Dj.k t n tjt Dj.k H(n)qt n tjt s.AD.k tjt*

Allen "Horus's eye has dripped on Horus's *Dnw*-bush. Horus foremost of houses, lord of sustenance, great one in Heliopolis, may you give bread to Teti, may you give beer to Teti; may you freshen Teti"
Shmakov "Horus's eye is shedding saliva/drooling (being) on the *Dnw*-bush. Horus and Seth (lit. a pair of Horuses), two foremost ones of the cookhouses, (and) the owner of the great provisions, may (each one of) you give bread to Teti, may (each one of) you give beer to Teti; may (each one of) you freshen Teti"

For the reading of the first sentence, see **W 145**. The pronoun *.k* "you" in this passage is what can be called a "false singular": though the pronoun is singular, it refers to each one of the preceding number of subjects, which for some reason is not considered as a single group, hence the plural pronoun *.Tn* "you" is not used. It is important to notice that James Allen also recognized this phenomenon (Allen, *P. T.*, **M 227**, p. 220 "May you (each) make Nemtiemzaf Merenre festive"), cf.:

PT 602, §1672a-b: *Dd mdw n tA n gbb n Asjr(t) n jnpw n wr H(A)b Dj.k HAbjj nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m H(A)b n Hrw*

"Recitation to the earth, to Geb, to Osiris, to Anubis, to the Great of Catch: may you (each) make Nemtiemzaf Merenre jubilate at the catch of Horus"

CT I, 278h-279b: *jnpw wp-wAwt xntj-jrtj wDA jb.k r.f wrt d n.k sw Hna nw.k n bHzw*

"Anubis, Paths Discerner, Eyes Forward: may you (each) be well (lit. very) informed about him and place him with these your calves".

2)

§696a: *s.(w)AD.k wdHw n tjt*

Allen "may you freshen the offering table of Teti"

Shmakov "may you freshen the offering ration of Teti"

wdHw is originally "offering ration, food receipt/supply" (from the root *wdH* "pour out"), and *HAt wdHw* in the O.K. offering list is "the best of the offering ration". It's only at the end of the Old Kingdom and during the beginning of the Middle Kingdom that the word begins to refer to "offering table" (in the M.K. *wDHw* < *wdHw*, yet the spelling *wdHw* was also preserved, CT III, 170b) but not yet so in the Old Kingdom. However even in the M.K. *wDHw* still sometimes has the meaning "offering ration" (e.g., El Bersheh I, pl. 32, 34: *s.xpt sTpt HAt wDHw jnnt m njwwt.f m spAwt.f [Smaw] mHw n kA n N* "Fetching (meat) cuts (of ox and fowl) (and) the best offering ration for brought from his towns (and) from his districts of the [Nile Valley] (and) Delta for the ka of N"). Cf. the current passage with CT III, 72d: *s.wAD Sbw n Asjr(t) N* "freshening the meal for Osiris N". Cf. other passages:

PT 510, §1148a-b: *fA Hr w mry-ra s.Tz sw stS jr pjpj wdHw wdH sb(A)*

"Horus will lift Meryre, Seth will elevate him, that Pepi may make an offering ration which a star will outpour"

The mastaba of Ti, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 88-89, 94-95: *[w]dHw jrrw m pr Dt jnnw Hm(w)-kA r prt xrw n smr wat(j) Tjj*

"an offering ration made in the personal farm (lit. house) (and) brought by the ka-servants to offer to the unique companion Ti"

wdHw has {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf, ox's foreleg, plucked goose without head} determinative in these inscriptions in Ti's mastaba, and that is clear proof of the original meaning of the word. On the plates 88-89 only the determinative of *wdHw* has survived.

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 31 (the same Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 52, 53):

s.xpt stp(t) HA(t) wdH(w) n smr wat(j) Tjj

"Fetching (meat) cuts (of ox and fowl) (and) the best offering ration for the unique companion Ti"

The mastaba of Nikainisut (*nj-kA(.j)-(n)swt* "My ka belongs to the king"), Junker, *Giza II*, pp 149 (image) and 169 (translation): *wAH wdHw m xt nb(t) nfrt ra nb*

"laying the offering ration of every good thing every day"

(Junker translates "Hinlegen des Opfers an allen guten Dingen alle Tage")

The mastaba of Mereruikai (Duell, *Mereruikai*), pl.67: *[HAt w]dH(w) rnpt nbt nfrt jnnt n.f...jn Hmw-kA*
 "[the best] offering ration (and) every good vegetable brought to him...by his ka-servants"

Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 52, 53: *s.[xp]t HAt wdHw stpwt r prt xrw*

"Fe[tch]ing the best offering ration (and) (meat)-cuts (of ox and fowl) to offer"

None of the represented men fetches an offering table in these mastabas.

Even though the word has {table with offerings} determinative in Merenre's copy, the offerings themselves are still meant, cf.

Urk.IV:217:8-9: *[s.rwd.s] pAwt.Tn s.wAD.s [wDHww.Tn]*

"[She will establish] your round bread loaves, she will freshen [your offering tables' (meal)]"

T 277 (PT 401)

§697b-c: *jw mA.n tjt wrt jw Szp.n tjt wrt jw xr Hr n tjt Hr wrt*

Allen "Teti has just seen the Great Uraeus, Teti has just received the Great Uraeus, and the face of Teti has just fallen on the Great Uraeus"

Shmakov "Teti has seen the Great Uraeus, Teti has received the Great Uraeus, and the gaze of Teti has fallen on the Great Uraeus"

For *Hr* as "gaze", see **W 196, T 264, 2**.

2)

§697d: *wAH.n Hw smA.f n tjt*

Allen "Nourishment has laid down the side of his head to Teti,⁴⁴"

Allen, note 96 (page): "A gesture of submission, exposing the temple to a lethal blow"

This comment is questionable::it may indeed be a gesture of submission, but in the sense of "has taken Teti's side, come over to Teti's side, sided with Teti" without any reference or emphasis of exposing the temple to a lethal blow.

T 280 (PT 206)

§123f: *j Hr(j)w st*

Allen "O you in charge of bread production"

Shmakov "O you in charge of the bread and beer products"

See **W 140**.

T 281 (PT 404)

§702a: *naw tjt Hna.k nawtj...tpj jAwt wADt*

Allen "Teti will travel with you, Traveler...who is on Wadjet's standards"

Shmakov "Transport Teti with you, Traveler...who is on Wadjet's fetishes"

naw is probably an imperative.

2)

§702b: *aA tjt r Hrw T(m)stj dSrt tp(j)t ra*

Allen "Teti is bigger than Horus of the Gory One, the Red Crown that is on the Sun"

Shmakov "Teti is bigger than Horus of the Purple One, (which is) the Red Crown that is on the Sun"

The same designation of the red crown occurs in §911a: *Tmst dSrt* "purple and red one".

T 282 (PT 405)

§703a: *j ra j.wAx.tj j.wAx.tj j.pnd.tj j.pnd.tj*

Allen "Oh, Sun! Oh, you of repletion! Oh, you of repletion! Oh, you of fertility! Oh, you of fertility!"

Shmakov "Oh, Sun! You are replete, you are replete, you are fertile, you are fertile"

j.wAx.tj and *j.pnd.tj* are statives, not nisbes. The initial *j* with the {stroke}-Z1 or, as in the case of Pepi I's and Neferkare's copies, with the {man beckoning}-A26 sign, is actually *j*-prefix written under the influence of *j* "say" or *j* "Oh", see **W 221, 1**. James Allen treats *pndtj* as nisbe of a doubtful *pndt*, but as *pnd* is a 3-lit verb, there is no reason for *pnd* to be spelled **pndt* when a noun, for compare the verb *Dnd* "to rage" and the noun *Dnd* "rage".

2)

§705b: *jnn.t(j) jnn.t(j) rnpwt Hr tjt*

Allen "which turns fully back the years from Teti"

Shmakov "Turn away, turn away, years from Teti"

jnn.t(j) is the stative, not participle, and it begins a new stanza.

T 283 (PT 406)

§708a-c: *sDm.n aftjw Aw.w m hrww Htp.n (j)m(jw) grHw zmA(.w) r xt Htp.n.sn Hr Htpw.sn*

Allen "Let the brewers listen to him all day long and be content in the nights for him, who partakes of the meal when they have become content with their offerings"

Shmakov "*aftjw* long in days have heard, those in the nights have become content having partaken of the meal – they have become content with their altars (?)"

The passage is obscure. *aftjw* of unknown meaning (with three G7 determinatives) also occurs in §1023b (*aftj*, singular, no determinative, parallel to *antj*) and §2038a (*aftjw*, written exactly like in the current passage with three G7 determinatives, and in a context with gods and spirits). James Allen translates it differently from *aftjw* in the current passage as "the one up there (§1023b)" and "those yonder (§2038a)". For *m* as *(j)m(jw)* cf. *(j)m(jw)-xt* "followers" (§§84c, 575b TPM, 588b TM, 635c M).

2)

§709d: *mA Tw tjt pr.k r.k m DHwtj jr.t(j) m.sSA n wjA ra r sxwt.f jm(jw)t jAsw gwA.k m xnt Hjj.f*

Allen

"Let Teti see you when you emerge as Thoth, when a beaching-place is made for the Sun's boat at its marshes in the bald sky, when you close up as the one at the fore of his Infinities"

Shmakov

"Let Teti see you when you emerge as Thoth, when a landing place is made for the Sun's boat at his marshes in the bald sky and you cast off as the one at the fore of his Infinities"

Here are some observations on the meaning of the verb *gwA* in the Coffin Texts:

Wb.V:159 gives (intr.) "fahren" i. e. "sail" (Pyr.). Hannig, *MR*, p. 2590, gives "festmachen" i. e. "unmoor". Faulkner does not give something that comes close to a navigation theme.

The present author has arrived at the meaning "push/cast off, unmoor", independently from Hannig, as is shown by the examples from CT: III, 97e; IV 13d, 164e; VI 9d, 19a, 24m, 32a, 36f, 269i, 279g, 280d, 282l, 285a; VII 180e. The most striking are:

CT IV, 13c-d: *hAy N pn jr.f gwA N pn r rwd.k*

"This N will board it (i. e. the boat, lit. "will descent to") (and) this N will push off from your mound"

CT IV, 164e-j: *gwA.n Asjr(t) N pn r rwd...sSm Asjr(t) N pn wAt r jdb jzkn*

"This Osiris N has pushed off from the mound...this Osiris N will lay the way to the bank of the (sky's) western horizon (Izeken)"

CT VI, 32a-b: *wart tw gwAt.T r.s wart tw pw mjnjt nTrw r.s*

"The district from which you have pushed off is the district to which the gods moor"

CT VI, 279g-i: *gwA.n.j r rwd...zmA.j tA r pt jmnt(j)t*

"I have pushed off from the mound... I will land at the western sky"

cf. it with CT V 213b: *wD.k r pt rswt Xnj.k r pt mHt(j)t*

"You will push off from the south sky and row to the north sky"

T 284 (PT 407)

§712b-c: *wp.n tjt r.f wbA.n tjt Srt.f zAS.n tjt msDrwj.f wDa tjt mdw wp.f snnw(j)*

Allen "Teti's mouth has been parted for him, Teti's nose has been opened up for him, Teti's ears have been unplugged for him. Teti will decide cases and part the two (assailants, Horus and Seth)"

Shmakov "Teti has opened his mouth, Teti has opened up his nose, Teti has cleared out his ears, that Teti may decide cases (and) part a pair (of litigating ones)"

There are probably three *sDm.n.f*'s in this passage, rather than passive *sDm.f*'s, as it is not a resurrection spell, and Teti should be able to do these actions himself. Though the verbs *zAS* and *snS* are undoubtedly related (*/AS/* ~ */nS/*, a case of */A/* ~ */n/* ~ */l/*, see **W 78**), they are different verbs, not only because *z* and *s* are thoroughly distinguished in Old Egyptian with rare exceptions (see Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §117), but also because of the different determinatives – *zAS* has {Bat emblem} determinative that is {cow's neck, ears and horns with human face}, while *snS* normally has {bull's ear} determinative (§§1673b, 1727a, 2084b (= Nt 29), CT III, 13b, 14a, 74e). Thus the two verbs are here read differently: *zAS* (TPMN) as "clean/clear out" and *snS* (P second) as "unplug", following James Allen's reading.

In his translation James Allen identifies *snnw(j)* "a pair" as referring to Horus and Seth, but a general meaning is preferable because such a self-reference as being a fair judge is quite common, cf. *wp.n(j) snnw(j) r Htp(t).sn* "I parted (i. e. judged) a pair (of litigating ones), so that they were satisfied (lit. to their contentment)" (Urk.I:195:13, 199:1, 200:16, 222:13, 255:7, 269:4, 271:5; Urk.VII:63:11), also *wp.n(j) snnw(j) r Htp.t.sn m sxmt.n(j) jm* "I parted a pair, so that they were satisfied in that which I had control of" (Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 52) and Urk.IV:971:13: *wp zj [2 r Htp(t).s]n* "the one who parts a pair, so that they are satisfied", cp. also Urk.VII:19:18: *Dd mAat wp.f snnwj* "who says maat when he parts a pair". So this heavenly epithet is not about making a decision in one specific case only (namely in the dispute between Horus and Seth), but about deciding the cases of any confrontation between two gods in general (hence the two gods determinative in Neferkare's copy). Moreover, Horus and Seth are usually referred to as *rHwj* "two comrades", cf. Urk.IV:1072:11: *wp rHwj* "who parts the two comrades" (said about a king).

2)

§713a: *wD tjt mdw n wr jr.f*

Allen "Teti will govern for the one who is older than he"

Shmakov "Teti will give command(s) befitting (lit. of) the one older than he"

Cf. §938b,d: *wD pppj mdw n Ax m r.f nb apr* "Pepi will give command(s) of (i. e. just like) any akh equipped with his spell(s)", i. e. he will give commands that are usual for any equipped akh, and the same is valid for the discussed passage: he will give commands that are usual for the one older than he.

However, the reading "Teti will give command(s) to the one older than he" cannot be excluded, cf. Urk.VII:63:3: *sSmw wrw r.f* "Leader of ones older than he".

T 286 (PT 409)

§717a-b: *tjt pw kA psDt nb jStt 5 t 3 r pt t 2 r tA*

Allen "Teti is the bull of light, who has a quintet of meals—a triad for the sky, a pair for the earth"

Shmakov "Teti is the bull of light, who has a quintet of meals —a triad is (chargeable) to the sky, a pair

is (chargeable) to the earth"

See **W 140**, 4.

2)

§717c-d: *jn msktt Hna manDt Xnntj nw n tjt Hr nxn nTr*

Allen "The Nightboat and Dayboat are the ones who row this to Teti from the god's enclave"

Shmakov "The Eveningboat and Morningboat are the ones who row this to Teti from the god's food workshop"

The present author translates *nxn* as "food workshop, kitchen" (not as a generic "enclave, enclosure") as it is a source of bread:

CT I, 296f-h: *N pn m(j) n.k t.k pn pr Hr nxn{m}.k*

"This N, take this your bread that emerged from your food workshops"

In variant T2C the word probably has been influenced by *nmt* "butcher's block", and thus *nxnm* occurs by mistake, whereas variants T9C, Sq3C, B10C have the correct *nxnw*.

CT VI, 287m: *t.j...pr n.j Hr nxn nTrw* "my bread...that emerges from the gods' food workshops"

nxn is a necessary element of the estate (*Hwt*, lit. "enclosure"):

CT VI, 171i: *jw Hfnw m nxnw.sn* "Hundreds of thousands of their food workshops"

nxn is a source of someone's meal (*xt*):

CT III, 152a (B1Bo, B2Be): *jn (m)sktt Hna (m)anDyt jnnt n N pn Hr nxn bAw jwnw*

"The Eveningboat and Morningboat are the ones who bring to this N (a meal) from the food workshop of the bas of Heliopolis"

S1C, S2C, B2Bo give ...*jnnt n.j xt Hr xAt bAw jwnw* "...are the ones who bring to me a meal from the altar of the bas of Heliopolis"

CT VI, 287f: *jn msktt (m)a(n)Dyt jn<t> n.j Hr nxn n Hr*

"The Eveningboat and Morningboat are the ones who bring to me from Horus's food workshop"

CT VI, 288p: *jn (m)sktt Hna manDt Sd.sn xt n.f m nxn nTrw bAw jwnw*

"The Eveningboat and Morningboat take for him a meal from the food workshop of gods (and) bas of Heliopolis"

Compare these texts with the following lines in which in the same context *pr Snaw* "cook house, kitchen" (lit. probably "house of bolting", of the root *Sna* "keep out") is used:

CT III, 197e (S10C): *jn msktt Hna (m)a(n)dyt Sdd<t> n.j m pr Snaw nTr ra nb*

"The Eveningboat and Morningboat are the ones who take for me from the god's cook house every day"

CT VI, 197o: *jn (m)sktt Hna manDjt Sddt n.j srf m pr Sna n nTr nb ra nb*

"The Eveningboat and Morningboat are the ones who take for me a warm (meal) from the cook house

of every god every day"

In the Old Kingdom *nxn* is used as the name for settlements which are usually named after food designations: Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 3: *nxn Tjj* "Ti's food workshop"²⁹, *nxn ws(j)-kA.f* "food workshop of Userkaf" (Junker, *Giza III*, p. 209, Tf. IV, № 29), *nxn kA(.j)-m-nfrt* "food workshop of Kaimnefret" (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137).

It also occurs as the name of the Sun temple of king Userkaf (*wsr-kA.f*) at Abusir and Abu-Gurab: *nxn ra* "the Sun's food workshop".

T 287 (PT 410)

§719c-e: *swnw pw n xAt Hmsw nTrw jm.f nwHw nbw kAw r.f jw r[.f]*

Allen "the tower of the Winding (Canal) in which the gods sit, to which the owners of kas are roped, having come [...]"

Shmakov "the tower of the Curved (Canal) in which the gods sit, to which the owners of kas rope, to [which...] come"

This passage probably has three relative forms: *Hmsw jm.f* "where sit", *nwHw r.f* "to which rope" and *jw r[.f]* "to [which...] come".

²⁹ Along with *H(n)qt Tjj* "Ti's beer", *nbs Tjj* "Ti's sidder-fruit", *jrp Tjj* "Ti's wine", *Hbnnt Tjj* "Ti's scone", *agt Tjj* "Ti's patty", *kAn Tjj* "Ti's vine", *bst Tjj* "Ti's *bst*-bread" etc.

Part III: Pepi Merire's PT corpus

P 4 (PT 422)

§754a-b: *Smsw nTr m-xt.k saHw nTr tp-awj.k jr.sn jj nTr jj nTr*

Allen "The god's followers are after you, the god's privileged ones before you, making (the paean):
"The god has come, the god has come!"

Shmakov "The god's followers are after you, the god's dignity regalia are before you, performing (the ritual): "The god has come, the god has come!"

2)

§755b-c: *jw n.k Axw...m njwwt sjA*

Allen "The akhs will come to you...in Perception's towns"

Shmakov "The akhs will come to you...from Perception's villages"

3)

§758a-b: *hA pppj pw jj n.k jrt Hrw mdw.s Tw jj n.k bA.k jmj nTrw jj n.k sxm.k jmj Axw*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! Horus's eye has come to you and will claim you. Your ba from the gods has come to you, your control of the akhs has come to you"

Shmakov "Ho, this Pepi! Horus's eye has come to you that it may present you – your impression/influence on the gods has come to you, your control of the akhs has come to you"

In English you have control "of" something, in Egyptian you have control "in (*m*)" something, thus *sxm.k jmj Axw* has the meaning "your control that is in the akhs", in English it is "your control (that is) of the akhs". The same is valid for the verb *bA* "impress, affect, make an impression", in English we say make an impression "on" somebody, while in Egyptian it is make an impression "in (*m*)" somebody, thus *bA.k jmj nTrw* "your impression that is in the gods" in Egyptian is "your impression that is on the gods" in English. Cp. what has been said about Horus's eye in §579a: *bA.k jm.s sxm.k jm.s* "You will become impressive through it, you will gain control through it". Cf. also N.K. descendant of PT 223, §215b: *jj.tj n bA.k Asjr(t) m bA jmj Axw m sxm jmj st.f* "Welcome to your ba, Osiris, as impression/influence on akhs (and) control of its place" (Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rē*).

The verb *mdwj* when transitive has the meaning "introduce, present (*n, xr, to*)", cf.:

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 85: *mdw.k ra n Asjr(t)* "You shall present the Sun to Osiris"

CT I, 307h-308a : *wn mdw.n Tw Hrw wn nD.n Tw DHwtj*

"Horus has presented you, Thoth has tended you"

The transitive meaning of *mdwj* is sometimes synonymous to intransitive *mdwj Hr* "deputize for":

CT I, 39b-d (B1P): *nTrw mdw Hr tp Hrw...jnt.sn mdw.sn Asjr(t) N pn*

"Gods who deputize for Horus's head...are the ones who will present this Osiris N"

(B3Bo, B2Bo, B4Bo, B4C, T9C give *mdw Hr tp (n) Hrw* "deputize for the head of Horus (i. e. for Horus)")

CT III, 300c: *mdw.T Dt.T Ds.T* (T3C) ~ *mdw.k Hr Dt.k Ds.k* (G1T)

"You shall present yourself (lit. your person) on your own" (T3C) ~ "You shall deputize for yourself (lit. your person) on your own" (G1T).

In the latter passage, transitive *mdw* ~ intransitive *mdw Hr* (cf. transitive *nD* "tend" and later intransitive *nD Hr* with the same meaning "tend").

CT VII, 241d: *mdw.n.j sxmw* "I have presented power-bearers"

PT 21, §14b-c: [*Sm.f mdw.f Dt.f xr psDt aAt m Hwt sr jmj*] *jwnw*
"[he shall go (and) present himself (lit. his person) to the Elder Ennead in the Judge's Enclosure in] Heliopolis"

PT 684, 2051b: *mdw.n N kA.f jr pt* "Pepi Neferkare has recommended his ka to the sky"

See also §762b just below (P 4, 6).

4)
§758c-d: *nD.n zA jt(j).f nD.n Hr w Asjr(t) nD.n Hr w pjpj pn m-a xft(j)w.f*

Allen "The son has saved his father: Horus has saved Osiris, Horus has saved this Pepi from his opponents"

Shmakov "The son has tended his father: Horus has tended Osiris, Horus has tended (i. e. helped) this Pepi out of the arm of his opponents"

James Allen is absolutely right when he translates the verb *nD* as "tend" in the PT corpus (contrary to his translation in this passage), as "to save, help out" is the secondary meaning of the verb, derived from "tend":

(stela Berlin 1157 = Khartoum museum № 3) *jr grt zA.j nb s.rwdt(j).ff tAS pn jr.n Hm.j zA.j pw ms.t(w).f n Hm.j twt zA nDtj jt(j).f*

"As for any descendant (lit. son) of mine who will strengthen this border which My Incarnation set (lit. made) – this is my descendant (lit. son), he was born for My Incarnation, (for) perfect is the son–tender of his father"

Urk.IV:280:8-9: *tw<t> zAt nDt(j)t jrt n(.j) mnw nfrw*
"Perfect is a caring daughter who made beautiful monuments for me"

Compare *zAt nDt(j)t* with *m jr zAt Axt n (j)t(j)[.s]* "as does a daughter useful for [her] father" (ibid:297:13)

Urk.IV: 194:7: *zA nDtj jr.f Axt n jt(j)w.f wtt sw*
"A caring son does what is useful for the fathers who begot him"

zA nDtj is literally: "son–tender", "caring son".

Sethy I, Abydos, I, pl.8: *zA ra nD Hr wtt s(w)* "Sun's son who tends the one who begot him"; *mj Hr w nD Hr wtt sw* "like Horus who tends the one who begot him"

Urk.IV:864:2: *twt zA nDtj jt(j)w s.mnx pAwt qmAyw sw*
"Perfect is the son–tender of his fathers, who increases bread-loaves of those who created him"

Urk.IV:362:2: *Hrwt nDt(j)t jt(j).s*
"Female Horus–tender of her father"

Urk.IV:560:1: *s.xpr.n.j tw r nD[tj].j*

"I have made you become my tender/caring one" (literally "I have made you evolve to my caring one")

Since the Middle Kingdom the verb *nD* can be used as intransitive with a preposition *Hr* as governing preposition (i. e. we have a collocation *nD Hr* "tend"):

CT I, 223d (B12C): *Aw jb n Hr w nD Hr jt(j).f*

"Glad is the heart of Horus who tends his father"

CT IV, 205c (T2Be): *Hr w pw nD Hr jt(j).f* "This is Horus who tends his father"

(all other sarcophagi (204-205c) give *nD jt(j).f*)

CT IV, 281c (T2Be): *Hr w nD Hr jt(j).f* "Horus who tends his father"

(all other sarcophagi (280-281c) give *nD jt(j).f*)

Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl. 35 (speech of Thoth): *jj.n.f xr.k nD.f Hr.k Dwj.f tw r Sb(w).k nfr anx.k sDb.k*

"He (i. e. Thoth) has come to you that he may tend you: he calls you to your good meal that you may live and revive"

Cp. also M.K. *nD* and its N.K. equivalent *nD Hr*:

CT IV, 280-281c: *Hr w pw nD jt(j).f* "This is Horus who tends his father"

BM EA 10477 (pNu), 58, BD 17: *Hr w pw nD Hr jt(j).f* "This is Horus who tends his father"

Moreover, *nD Hr* "tend" should not be confused with *nD Hr* "tend face, greet" (see N 511), cf.:

MMA 12.183.14a–c (canopic chest of Hapi Ankhtifi, lead inscr.): *jj.n(j) nd.j Hr msw(.j) stp(.j) zA(.j) Hr.s(n)*

"I have come that I may tend my children and extend my protection over them"

Because of the sense of the second clause ("that I may extend my protection over them"), it is clear that *nD Hr* in the first clause has the meaning "tend", not "greet".

5)

§759a-b: *aHa.k pppj pn...Hr nst xnt(j) jmntjw*

Allen "You shall take up your position, Pepi, on Thighs-Forward's throne"

Smakov "You shall take up your position, Pepi, ... on the throne of Foremost of the Westerners"

There is no Khentimenutef ("Thighs Forward") in the original, but Khentiamentiu ("Foremost of the Westerners")..

6)

§762a-c: *hA pppj pw rDj n.k anx wAs nb Dt n.k {j}r.k jn ra mdw.k Dt.k Szp n.k jr w nTr aA.k jm xr nTrw xntjw Sj*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! What pertains to you⁶ has been given to you by the Sun. You shall claim your body, having received a god's form, and become great through them with the gods at the lake's fore"

Shmakov "'Ho, Pepi! Your mouth has been given to you by the Sun, that you may present yourself (lit. your person). Receive a god's shape (also), that you may become elder through (it)!' – say the gods at the fore of the lake"

For the comments on the meaning of the verb *mdwj* when transitive, see **P 4**, 3, just above. An original *rDj n.k r.k jn ra* "Your mouth has been given to you by the Sun, (that you may present yourself)", which is clear from Pepi Neferkare's version of the current passage (for the absence of the {stroke}-Z1 after the *r* "mouth" in Neferkare's copy, cf. the same absence in §644a N) and from CT VIII, 762a (*r* "mouth" is with the sign {stroke}-Z1), was misunderstood and reinterpreted by Pepi I's editor as "You have been given all life (and) authority during *Dt*-time which pertains to you by the Sun". The *xr* of the passage is probably parenthetic (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.17-18), not a preposition.

7)

§763a-d: *hA pjjj pw aHa bA.k mm nTrw mm Axw snD.k pw jr HAt(j)w.sn hA pjjj pw aHa pjjj pn Hr nst.k xnt(j) anxw Sat.k pw jr HAt(j)w.sn*

Allen

"Ho, Pepi! Your *ba* shall take up its position among the gods and among the *akhs*: it is your fearsomeness against their hearts.

Ho, Pepi! Take up your position, oh Pepi, on your throne at the fore of the living: it is your ferocity against their hearts"

Shmakov

"Ho, this Pepi, that your *ba* stays among the gods (and) among the *akhs* is because of respect for you (lit. your respect) on (lit. to) their hearts.

Ho, this Pepi, that <*your son*> stays on your throne at the fore of the living is because of veneration for you (lit. your veneration) on (lit. to) their hearts"

Cf. PT 643B, §*1821b: *aHa kA.k mm [nTrw xpr Sat.f Ds.fr.sn]*

"that your *ka* stays among [the gods is because of coming about of his own veneration in (lit. to) them]"

jr in the passage doesn't have any hostile meaning as "against" (just like in §724a), see **T 228**, 3. Pepi's editor has misunderstood §763c – instead of "that *your son/successor's name* stays on your throne at the fore of the living" (cf. §760a-b: *aHa zA.k Hr nst.k jr.f wnt.k jr.k m bAH xntj anxw* "your son stays on your throne and does what you used to do at the fore of the living") he wrote down a meaningless "that this Pepi stays on your throne at the fore of the living", without even having changed "your throne" to "his throne". Cf. also PT 225, §223a: *Htp Dj nswt zA.k Hr nst.k* "A king-given offering: your son is on your throne", PT 557, §1388a: *jwaw.k Hr nst.k* "your heir on your throne", PT 578, §1538b: *j(w)aw js Hr nst gbb js* "being heir, being the one on Geb's throne", PT 579, §1540b: *zA gbb js Hr nst jmn* "being Geb's son on Amun's throne", CM CG 20119, 20748, BM 805: *aHa Xrdw.Tn Hr nswt.Tn* "so that your children stay on your seat (i. e. office)". Thus Allen's "Take up your position, oh Pepi, on your throne" is a misunderstanding of a misunderstanding by Pepi's editor. These passages are probably a development of §§723c-724a.

P 7 (PT 423)

§765a: *hA Asjr(t) pjjj mj n.k qbH.k jpn qb(j) n.k xr Hrw*

Allen "Ho, Osiris Pepi! Accept, these your cool waters, that it may be cool for you with Horus"

Shmakov "“Ho, Osiris Pepi! Accept this your cool water which I have cooled for you,” said Horus"

xr in this passage is parenthetic, not a preposition – the passage is a part of the Offering Ritual (its double is PT 33, §24a) which is pronounced by an attendant in the role of Horus. The same note is valid for the double of this spell, PT 33 (§24a).

2)

§765b: *mj n.k nTr.k nTr.k*

Allen "Accept your natron-water, that you may become divine"

Shmakov "Accept your natron, that you may become divine"

The latter translation is exactly how James Allen translates this passage in the double of this spell, PT 33 (§25a).

3)

§766d: *rDj.n Hr.w jp n.k msw.f Dr bw mH.k jm*

Allen "Horus has made his children take account of you in the place in which you are immersed"

Shmakov "Horus has made his children be subordinate to you in the place where you may swim"

The same note is valid for the double of this spell, PT 33 (§24d): Allen "Horus has had Horus's children allotted to you where you have become immersed", with only a small difference in the end – *Dr bw mH.n.k jm* "in the place where you have swum".

4)

§767b: *bA jr.f Hr.w jp.f jt(j).f jm.k*

Allen "Horus has become ba, taking account of his father in you"

Shmakov "So, Horus has become impressive, that he may recognize/recall his father in you"

For *jp* as "recognize", see **T 145**.

5)

§767b: *m rn.f n Hr.w bA jt rpt/kAr*

Allen "in his identity of him of the Sovereign's-Ba sedan chair"

Shmakov "in his identity of "Sovereign's-Ba" palanquin (ark ?) of Horus"

The original has *m rn.f n Hr.w* "in his identity of Horus", but Horus's name was probably put in front because of honorific transposition, just like in "Horus's followers" in §§921a N, 1245c M.

P 10 (PT 424)

§769b: *sjw.sn sw n Dsr m jAbt*

Allen "and announce you to him who sweeps in the east"

Shmakov "and they announce him to Him Who Leans on the East"

The original has "announce him (*sw*, i. e. Horus)". For *Dsr m* "lean on", see **W 48**, 1 (v), **P 510**, 1.

2)

§770b-c: *Hms.k jAwt.k Hr(j)t wwn.k jAwt.k stS(j)t j.Hms.k Hr xnd bjA*

Allen "that you occupy the Horus-Mounds and move about the Seth-Mounds; that you sit on your metal chair"

Shmakov "that you occupy your Horus-Mounds and move about your Seth-Mounds; that you sit on the copper chair"

The original has "your Horus-Mounds (*jAwt.k Hr(w(j)t*)...your Seth-Mounds (*jAwt.k stS(j)t*)". The pronoun *.k* "your" in "copper chair" occurs only in the versions of Merenra and Neferkare ("on your copper chair").

It is interesting that the transitive verb *wnwn* "move about, wander, visit" also occurs with the prefix *d*, i. e. *d.(w)nd.(w)n* (the verb is actually 4-lit *d.nd.n*, initial *w* is reduced just like in the case of *s*-prefix, for example *s.ab* "cleanse" of *wab* "become clean"). The prefixed verb occurs in the same expression *dndn jAwt* "visit mounds" in §§1295b, 1364a, 2011b, 2099a and is transitive just like *wnwn* in §770b (intransitive *wnwn* occurs in §698c: *wnwn tjt m sxwt Htp* "Teti will move about in the Marshes of Rest" and in §780b: *wnwn.T m Xt mwt.T* "(when) you moved about in the belly of your mother"). The prefix *d* also occurs in the verbs *d.nx(j)nx(j)* "give endurance/duration, add lifetime" (§1654a,d, see **N 359**, 2), the root being *nx(j)* "endure", and *d.A(j)/d.Ar/d.Ajr* "subdue" (§271a, Urk.I:8:2, 32:17, 54:2, 5, 56:15, 16, 91:12; Wb.V:418:3), the root being *Aj/Ar* "drive back, push aside, keep away" (Wb.I:11:9), also probably in *d.wn* "extend, stretch" (cf. the verb *n.wAwA* "extend, stretch" in §585d with the reduplicated root *wA* (~ *wn* ~ *mA*, see **W 67-68**), the same root in *d.wn*).

In the Middle Kingdom the verb *dndn* (i. e. *d.(w)nd.(w)n*) is also used transitively:

Stela GMII I.1.a.5603 (4071), line 6 from the above:

dndn.f wAwt Xrj-nTr Hna Smsw n(w) Asjr(t)

"he will visit the paths of the necropolis together with the followers of Osiris"

Stela BM 567 (the same Louvre C3, Muenchen Gl WAF 35): *dndn.f wAwt nfirt Hr pgAw Axt jmnt(j)t*

"he will visit the right ways on the spaciousness of the western Behind the Horizon"

Stela Louvre C15: *dndn.f Hpwt nt tA wr* "(when) he is visiting directions of the (district) "Great Land""

3)

§771c: *hA pppj pw zAw Tw ar r Axw*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! The She-Goat will guard you from the akhs"

Shmakov "Ho, Pepi! Beware of the Pebble Pool (that leads) to the akhs"

zAj is an imperative, not *sDm.f*, cf. Nt 761-762 (PT 666): [*zA T*]w *S(j) wr pw jr Axw xns pw jr m(w)tw*

"[Beware] of the Great Lake (that leads) to the akhs and the *xns*-canal (that leads) to the dead"

The latter line shows that the enigmatic word *ar* (followed by N42) in the current passage must refer to a place/body of water; cf. also the descendant of the latter line:

CT I, 284f-h: *zA Tw S(j) wr jr m(w)tw nh.k sw Ab.k wAt r.f*

"Beware of the Great Lake (that leads) to the dead, you should miss it, you should leave the way (that leads) to it"

The sign *bjA* (N42) is used to determine water bodies: in the words *Sj wr* "great lake" (PT 666: Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 67, Nt 761, CT I, 284f), *bjA* "(water) smooth surface" (§1121a), *XAs/SAs* "basin" (PT 625A: Nt 806, CT VII), as a determinative for *nmswt* "water jars" (Nt 662), it also occurs in the expression *bjAw wAD wr* "basins of the Mediterranean Sea" (Sethy I, *Abydos III*, pl. 48). The proposal *ar* "*Tümpel" in Hannig, *ÄR*, p. 280, is therefore sensible.

4)

§774b: *bzn.k n.k jnj.j n.k xr sn.k nxx*

Allen "you have your rock salt, fetched for you from your brother, the Enduring One"

Shmakov "your rock salt is for you, which I brought to you from your brother, the Enduring One"

jnj.j (or *jnj(j)* ?) is probably a relative form with the first-person suffix, not a passive participle. This

passage was likely pronounced by a priest in the role of the deceased's son: the New Kingdom copy of this passage on the astronomical ceiling of Senenmut's tomb (MMA 48.105.52) has relative perfect *jn.n(j)* "which I have brought": *bn.k n.k jn.n(j) n.k xr sn.k nxx* "your rock salt is for you, which I have brought to you from your brother, the Enduring One". The Enduring One is a star, see {star} det. in §332c T and read **N 410**.

P 14 (PT 535)

§1286c: *Sd.k HAt(j)w.sn baba.k m znf.sn*

Allen "take their hearts, and slurp their blood"

Shmakov "that you may extract their hearts and exult at their blood"

For *baba m* "exult at, get excited at", see **Nt 278**.

2)

§1287a: *jp jbw.sn m rn.k pw n jnpw jp jbw*

Allen "Allot their hearts in this your identity of Anubis who allots hearts"

Shmakov "Subordinate their hearts in this your identity of Anubis who subordinates hearts"

For the meaning of *jp* in this passage, see **W 148**, 3.

P 16b (PT 427)

§777b-c: *Xnm sw nwt...s.<A>x.T zA.T...Xnm.T wr pn*

Allen "Join him, Nut...: conceal your son...you should join this great one"

Shmakov "Shield him, Nut...: make your son become akh...you should shield this great one"

For *Snm/Xnm* as "shield", see **W 165**, 7. The verb in Pepi's copy is probably *s.Ax* "akhify", with *A* unwritten, which happens often in the Old Kingdom, and not *s.dx* "conceal", cf. §781b.

P 30 (PT 436)

§788a-b: *mw.k n.k baH.k n.k rDw pr m nTr HwAAAt prt m Asjr(t)*

Allen "You have your water, you have your inundation, the outflow that comes from the god, the decay that comes from Osiris"

Shmakov "Your water—the outflow that comes from the god—is for you, your inundation—the putrefying liquid that comes from Osiris—is for you"

This passage is no doubt split, so it should be read as suggested. For *HwAAAt* as "putrefying liquid", see **P 526**, 3.

2)

§788c-89a: *jaj.j a(w)j.k wbA(j) msDrwj.k s.Ax.j sxm pn n bA.f*

Allen "Your arms have been washed and your ears opened up: this controlling power has been akhified for his ba"

Shmakov "I have washed your arms and opened up your ears: I have akhified this power-bearer for his ba"

jaj.j, *wbA(j)*, *s.Ax.j* are perfective *sDm.f*'s with 1ms suffix spelled out in two cases.

3)

§789b-c: *Hms kA.k wnm.ft Hna.k nj nwr n Dt Dt*

Allen "your ka will sit and eat bread with you without stopping for the course of eternity"

Shmakov "your ka will sit and eat bread with you without being unsettled (?)/invariably for the course of *Dt*-time"

Cf. the double of this passage, §1357b: *Hms kA.k wnm.ft Hna.k nj nwr n Dt Dt*. This expression also occurs in Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col.13: [*aA.f*] *jm Hr jb nTrw nj nwr n Dt Dt* "[that he might become great thereby] in the midst of the gods...", *ibid*, pl. 22, col. 21: *jr.f aA[a]w nj nw[r n Dt Dt]* "that he may make springs...". The verb *nwr* seems to have the basic meaning of "be unsettled (?)", used for trembling (out of fear), shaking (of the earth), and staggering (under a heavy load) (cp. §581b-c). The context of §§789c, 1357b, speaks of sitting and eating bread with one's ka, and it is of course not mean that this will be done incessantly, without stopping (Wb.II:222), but that it is an option or routine that is firmly in place and that can be done whenever desired, without it being stopped by lack of food or other outside forces - so the notion is invariability rather than continuity.

4)

§790b: {*s*}<*H*>*r.k m-bAH.k jAwj.k tp-a.k*

Allen "your sceptre before you and your praise preceding you"

Shmakov "(put) your face in front, (as) your praise is before you"

sr in Pepi's copy is probably the sculptor's mistake for *Hr* "face", cf.

PT 422, §753c: *Hr.k m bAH.k jAw.k tp awj.k* "(put) your face in front, (as) praise of you is before you"

5)

§791a-c: *jAm n Srt.k Hr sT jxt wtt n rdwj.k sq(j).sn H(A)b.k n jbHw.k anwt.k Hsbwt*

Allen "It is pleasant for your nose because of the scent of the Firstborn's Thing, for your feet when they lay down your catch and for your fingers and your fingernails when your stones are broken up"

Shmakov "It is pleasant for your nose because of the scent of the Firstborn's Thing, for your feet because they lay down your (bird) catch for your teeth, your fingernails, (your) bird farms"

One should read *jbHw* "teeth" (3xF18) in §791c, not *Dbaw* "fingers" (3x D51). *Hsbwt* are "bird farms", they occur as an offering in the mastaba of Rahotepi at Medum (Petrie, *Medum*, pl.15), with determinatives which represent three times {plan of a bird farm} and which are also used to determine the word *Hr(j)t mw* "bird farms" (see Montet, *Scènes*, p.116 ff; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 23; Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.56, p.34) – however, in this PT passage *Hsbwt* has the determinative {bird cage} that belongs to the word *Sbtw* (Wb.'s *Stbw*, but see below) "poultry houses". *Hsbt* also occurs in the mastaba of Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 25: *sxt m Hsbt* "snaring (of birds) in a bird farm".

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 4 (much damaged, see *Gem-ni-kai* below): *mAA mDwt n(wt) jwAw awt [zmt Sbtw] Hr(jw)t mw [n(j)w pr Dt]*

"Review of the stalls of the bull(s), of flock (of antelopes) [of the desert, poultry houses], bird farms [of the personal farm (lit. house)]"

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 5: *s.zwr Hr(j)t mw*

"feeding of the bird farm('s birds)"

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 23: [*mAA s.z*] *wr Hr(j)wt mw n(w)t pr Dt jn smr wat(j) Tjj*

"[Review of the feeding of the bird farms(' birds) of the personal farm (lit. house) by the unique companion Ti]"

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 25: [*mAA s.nmt*] *Apdw m Sbtw nw pr Dt*

"[Review of the feeding] of bird in the poultry houses of the personal farm (lit. house)"

(The restoration of *mAA s.nmt* is based on the similar *[m]AA s.nmt z(A)wt* "Review of the feeding of the geese", on the same plate, above, to the right.)

Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 14-16: *[mAA] s[xt] Apd mDwt n(w)t jwA(w) mDwt n(w)t awt zm(jw)t Sbtw Hr(j)wt mw n(j)w pr Dt*

"[Review of] sna[ring] of the birds, stalls of the bull(s), of the (antelopes') flock of the desert, poultry houses, bird farms of the personal farm (lit. house)"

The word *Sbt(w)* "poultry houses" ~ *Sptjw* (~ *Sptw*) (for *tjw* ~ *tw*, cf. *Sbtjwj* (§811d) ~ *Sbtwj* (§865c, CT I, 283g) "two bundles"). The form *Sptjw* occurs in the early Old Kingdom title *wa wr Sptjw* (Jones, *Titles*, # 1356), which is used along with *wa wr HAb* "sole one great of catch", as a couple (Jones, *Titles*, # 1353, for *HAb* as "catch" not "festival", cf. the determinative of the title's *HAb* in B.H. I, pl.VII which is {a bird and a fish}). Thus *wa wr Sptjw* has the meaning "sole one great of poultry houses", which can be compared with the title *xrp jbTtjw* (~ *jbTtw*) "manager of the bird-traps(keepers, i. e. fowlers)".

In the tomb inscriptions above, the word *Sbt(w)* "poultry houses" spells *Stb* or *Stbw*, but this is actually graphical falsification: this is the rule the present author would call "jb is good, bj is bad" or "the leg sign better fits in the second position", cf. the following spellings:

Stb – *bSt* "rebel" (Urk.IV:269:15, 271:16, 648:7)

qHb – *qbH* "become cool" (§§1204c, 1877d)

dHb – *dbH* "ask, beg" (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.7)

nsb – *nbs* "ziziphus fruit"

aHb – *abH* "scoop, fill with water" (§§1293c, 1140b M, 1902c)

wsb – *wbs* "toss, pile up" (in the expression *wbs zp* "tossing (barley (sheaves) into) a stack, pile up a stack", L.D.II:107)

Hbz – *bHz* "calf" (Mariette, *Mast.*, D23, p.243)

qbsw – *bqsw* "vertebra" (§229b)

qb – *b(A)q* "an oil of *bAq*-tree" (Urk.IV:59:10)

hbA – *hAb* "send" (Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 80, 9)

Thus Wb.IV:557:7 wrongly lists the word as *Stb*.

P 31 (PT 437)

§793c-794c: *aHa.k m jnpw Hr mjn sdAw n.k psDt jrw n.k tp(j)w wa[b.k n] psDtjw xaw.k n tp(j) Abd Dsw n.k mjn(j)t wrt*

Allen "and take up your position as Anubis on the shrine. You at whom the Nine shake and for whom the first ones act, [you] will become clean at the new-moon day and appear at the first of the month. The Mooring Post will call out to you"

Shmakov "and stand up as Anubis on the pavilion, and the Nine (arcs of the sky) will tremble at you, (the festival of) the first (days) will be held (lit. made) for you, you will become clean at the new-moon day, appear at the first (day) of the month and the Great Moorer will call out to you"

sdAw and *jrw* are probably not relative forms ("you at whom the Nine shake at you, you for whom the first (days) act for you"), but prospective *sDm.f*'s used in clauses of result (Allen, *M. E.*, 21.6), as well as the following *wab*, *xaw*, and *Dsw*. The clause *jrw n.k tp(j)w* has passive prospective *jrw*, hence the reading is actually "the first (days) will be held (lit. made) for you", cf. PT 483, §1012c which has *sDm.f* with passive *tj*-suffix: *jr.t(j) n.k tp(j)w* "the first (days) will be made for you". The text has

"Great Moorer", not just "Moorer" (James Allen reads this differently, namely as "The Mooring Post", overlooking the *wrt*). The *psDt* "The Nine" do not refer to the Ennead or the Nine Bows, but to the nine arcs of the sky (see **W 151**, 1, **N 359**, 3), which are mentioned in §§393b, 797a, 801b, 805c, 1004b, 1018c, 1443a M, 1486a, 1490b, 1972 as just "arcs"; cf. also:

PT 215, §143a: *nwrw n.f tA sdAw n.f pt*
"at which the earth shakes and the sky trembles"

PT 273, §393b: *nm(j)nm(j) pDwt sdA qsw Akrw*
"the (sky's) arcs have made a movement, the bones of the horizons have trembled"

With *tp(j)w* "the first ones" are meant the first days of weeks/decades (*mD*, L.D.II:5, Mariette, *Mast.*, F2, p. 433), months (*Abd*, §§521b, 657b, 794b, 811b, 2055c, 2056c, Nt 601 (= §2118c)), half-months (*mDdjwnt*, §§521b, 657c, 811b, 2055c, 2056c), seasons (*trw*, see **P 464**, 5), and years (*rnpt*, Wb.V:276:6).

2)
§795d-e: *Dj.f n.f Ax.f jmj wrSw p(j)w saH.f sw m nTr jmj wrSw nxn(j)w*

Allen "giving him his (status as an) akh as one of the watchers of Pe, and privileging him as a god as one of the watchers of Nekhen"

Shmakov "giving him his akh-magic in (charge of) the watchers of Pe, and dignifying him into a god in (charge of) the watchers of Nekhen"

Literally "akh-magic that is in (charge of)...", "god that is in (charge of)..."

Cf. PT 519, §1220a: *wd.kA.k n.k pjpp pn m sr jmj Axw*
"Then you have to appoint this Pepi as judge that is in (charge of) the akhs"

The copies of Merenre and Neferkare give *n* instead of Pepi's *jmj – n Axw jpw*, "as judge of these akhs". For a similar function of the *m*-nisbe, cf. also **P 4**. For *Ax* as "akh-magic" (or "effective power"), cf. PT 301, §455a: *aHa zxn wr...mH.tj m Ax.k* "Stand up, Great Explorer...filled with your akh-magic", PT 553, §1364c: *Ax.k HA.k sxm.k m Xn.k* "your akh-magic is around you, your control is inside of you". For *Ax ~ Axw* "akh-magic", see CT I, 86-87c, 148b, CT V, 157c, CT VI, 321f, and see **P 303**, 2. For the collocation *saH m* "dignify/title/rank into, appoint", cf. PT 320, §515b: *xa sxmw saH.sn wnjs m bAbjj* "The power-bearers have appeared (and) dignified him into baboon".

3)
§§796c-798a: *pr.k Hr xrw jnpw s.Ax.f Tw m DHwtj wp.k nTrw tAS.k pDwt jmjw(j) sxmw(j) m s.Ax.k pn wD.n jnpw j.Sm.k j.Sm Hrw mdw.k mdw stS*

Allen
"You shall emerge at Anubis's voice, and he will akhify you as Thoth, that you may part the gods and set the borders of the (sky's) arcs between the two Controlling Powers by virtue of this akhification that Anubis has commanded. When you go, Horus goes; when you speak, Seth speaks"

Shmakov
"You shall come forth at Anubis's voice, and he will turn (lit. akhify) you into Thoth that you may part the gods and delimit the (sky's) arcs, (you) the mediator of the Two Power-bearers, by virtue of this your turning magic (lit. akh-making magic) which Anubis has handed (lit. commanded). You should go when Horus goes, you should speak when Seth speaks"

The expression *s.Ax Y m Z* (§1013a: *j.s.Ax.f Asjr(t) m nTr* "that he may turn (lit. akhify) Osiris into a

god") is synonymous to *s.xpr Y r Z* (Urk.IV:361:11, 560:1), both meaning "turn/change Y to Z", cf. CT IV, 108g-h: *xpr.n.j m tm Ax.n.j m Hrw* "I have become (lit. evolved into) Atum, I have turned into Horus". *jmjw(j) sxmwj* "the mediator of the Two Power-bearers (i. e. Horus and Seth)", literally "the one who is between the Two Power-bearers", probably refers to Thoth: cf. his signification as *wp nTrwj* "Parter of the Two Gods (i. e. Horus and Seth)" in §273c (for the correct transliteration *jmjw(j)*, see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 17). James Allen overlooked the pronoun *.k* "your" in *s.Ax.k pn*.

As the whole passage refers to the deceased king's role as Thoth, the last two clauses may refer to the passage and express Thoth's mediatory actions or functions – "You (i. e. the king-Thoth) should go when Horus goes, you should speak when Seth speaks", rather than be a part of the next stanza and express the king's nature as both Horus and Seth (see **W 175**, 1).

4)

§799c: *Sd.sn Tw jr pt m bA.k j.bA.tj jm.sn*

Allen "they will take you to the sky in your ba, you having become ba as one of them"

Shmakov "they will take you to the sky due to your ba, (for) you have impressed them"

See **W 134** for the relevant comments.

5)

§801b: *Dsr n.k wAwt psDwt s.jat n Hrw*

Allen "for the paths of the (sky's) arcs that ascend to Horus have been swept for you"

Shmakov "for the paths of the (sky's) arcs that ascend to Horus have been beaten for you"

The expression *Dsr wAt* probably has the meaning "beat/blaze/smooth a path"³⁰, not "sweep a path"³¹. The source of such a reading may be the meaning that is peculiar to *Dsr*, i. e. the meaning of separation: to set apart / to mark a road/path in the wilderness, to separate a road (from the surrounding land). Cf. the expression *wp wAt* "discern a path", lit. "part/separate a path (from the blind alley)" (see **W 155**, 10). Cf. also:

CT I, 223e: *Dsr wAwt nt arrwt*

"the paths of the passages have been beaten"

CT IV, 85b: *Dsr n N pn sxmw wAwt*

"The Power-bearers have beaten roads for this N"

CT IV, 85f-g: *s.mn N pn arrwt Hr nb tm Dsr.n N pn wAwt Hr.f*

"This N has established passages for the sake of the Lord of All; this N has beaten paths for his sake"

CT IV, 68b-d (B2Bo): *j Hrw mj r.k r Ddw Dsr.k n.j wAwt.j mA.k jr.w.j*

"Oh Horus, come pray to Busiris that you may beat my paths for me and see my form"

CT VII, 252a-b: *xr sdA m Axt jAbt(j)t nt pt Hr xrw nwt Dsr.s wAwt n ra tp awj wr dbn.f*

"Trembling has seized (lit. "trembling has fallen into") the eastern Behind the Horizon at (i. e. because of) the voice of Nut as she is beating the paths for the Sun before the Great one as he is going around"

³⁰ This reading was suggested by TLA: *Dsr.tw n=j wA,t* "Man bahnt mir den Weg" (pLondon BM EA 10477 (pNu), Tb 149).

³¹ This expression (using the verb *sk* "sweep, wipe") occurs in BD 15A, pBerlin 3002 (pNacht-Amun), 53: *wn.tw n.k aAwj Axt sk.tw n.k wAt (n)HH* "The (door)-leaves of the Behind the Horizon have been opened for you, the path of *nHH*-time has been swept for you".

Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 83, 11-12: *mSa...Hr Dsr wAwt Xr HAt(.j) Hr s.xrt sbjw Hr nswt*
"army...was beating paths in front of me (and) felling those who rebel against the king"

Stela Berlin 1204, 20: *jw Dsr.n.j wAwt nTr r maHat.f xnt(j)t pqr*
"I have beaten the roads of the god to his tomb at the fore of Peqer"

pTurin Museo Egizio 1791, BD 64: *Dsr n.j wAt nfr(t) Hr sbAw n dAt*
"Beat for me the right way to the gate of Duat"³²

pKairo CG 51189 (pJuja), BD 136B (the descendant of CT VII, 278c-d): *Hr Hr.w.tn HfAw afnw Dsr.tn n.j wAt swA.j*
"(lie down) on your faces (i. e. "fall prone"), you snakes...beat for me a path, that I may pass"

pKairo CG 25095 (pMaiherperi), BD 149, III:290-291: *Hr.w.Tn m Xrw Dsr wAwt.Tn s.wab TAzwt.Tn*
"Let your faces be down! Beat your paths, purify your knots!"

Budge, BD149, X:5-6: *{H}sq(j).tw n.j wdnt Ast tp<-awj>.j nbt-Hwt HA.j Dsr.tw n.j wAt naw*
"The signal will be given (or "a gong will be beaten") for me, (with) Isis before me (and) Nephthys behind me, a path will be beaten for me"

Cp. the expression *Dsr wAt* with the M.K. expression *Dsr Hpwt* "steer" (Wb.III:68:2), literally probably "lay out a course/directions". The *Hpt* is supposedly a nautic instrument (sign Aa 5) used for steering a ship, different from the steering oar *Hmw* (sign P10) (cf. Wb.III:67:13-15). Cp. *jTj Hpt n/r* "sail to (lit. take the course to)" (Wb.III:67:13-15), literally "take hold of the *Hpt* towards", hence "set course to". It is here proposed that notably in plural, *Hpwt* has the derived meaning "course(s), directions":

CT VI, 269b: *jw Dsr.n.j Hpwt m (m)skt(j)t*
"I have steered (lit. laid out directions in) the Evening-boat"

Louvre C 3, CM CG 20024, Guimet E.11324, Boston MFA 72.766, Rio de Janeiro 643:
Dsr.f Hpwt m (m)sktt sqd.f m (m)aDyt
"He will steer (lit. lay out directions in) the Evening-boat (and) sail in the Morning-boat"

GMII I.1.a.5603 (4071): *Dsr.f Hpwt m (m)skt(j)t zmA.f tA m (m)a(n)Dwt*
"He will steer the Evening-boat (and) moor in the Morning-boat"

Cp. *Dsr Hpwt* with *jr Hpwt* "sail" (Wb.III:68:5), literally probably "plot (out) a course, set directions".

The meaning of "course, directions" for *Hpwt* is also suggested by its use in other constructions that seem to make it synonymous to *wAwt* "way, path", cf. *dndn Hpt* and *dndn wAwt*:

Louvre C15: *dndn.f Hpwt nt tA wr*
"(as) he (i. e. *wAwt*, Paths' Discerner) is visiting courses of the Great Land (nome)"

stela BM 567 (idem Louvre C3, Muenchen GI WAF 35):
dndn.f wAwt nfrt Hr pgAw Axt jmnt(j)t

³² A variant of *dj n.j wAt nfrt r sbA dwAt* "Give me the right way to the gate of Duat" (Budge II, BD64:28 (pNu, long version)).

"he will visit the right ways on the spaciousness of the western Behind the Horizon"

GMII I.1.a.5603 (4071): *dndn.f wAwt Xrj-nTr*

"he will visit paths of the necropolis"

Both *wAwt* and *Hpwt* could be governed through the preposition *m*:

BM 567: *Sms.f sw m wAwt.f nbt wabt*

"he will follow him on (lit. in) all his clean paths"

Louvre C3, BM 567: *s.Ax sw kA jmnt Hkn.f Hna.f m Hpwt.f*

"The bull of the West (i. e. Osiris) will make him become akh that he may have the use of his courses with him"

Dsr wAt "beat a path" should not to be confused with *wAt Dsrt* "restricted path", see **T 145**, 7.

Although we cannot fully exclude the possibility that the expression *wAt Dsrt* might mean "beaten path".

6)

§802c-03a: *sq(j) dAt(j) D(j)t.k jr bw Xrj s(A)H rDj.n n.k kA pt a.f*

Allen "The Duat shall lay down your hand toward the place where Orion is, the sky's bull having given you his arm"

Shmakov "He of the Duat shall take your hand to the place where Orion is (lit. under Orion), after the Bull of the sky has given his arm to you"

dAt is probably the nisbe *dAt(j)* "He of the Duat", the short reference to *Hrw dAtj* "Horus the Duatian, Horus of the Duat", i. e. the Sun which goes through the Duat during the night; cf. the spelling without a nisbe *j*-ending in §148a: *Hrw dAt*, and a similar spelling of another reference to the Sun as *Axt(j)* "He of the Behind the Horizon" (mostly in names, for instance *Axt(j) Htp(j)* Akhethetep, "He of the Behind the Horizon is content"). Note also that *kA pt* "the sky's bull" (§803a) follows this passage, i. e. we have two divinities as subjects of the actions, not two localities.

The expression *sq(j) D(j)t jr* "take (lit. clap) the hand to" is probably synonymous to the expressions *nDrj a jr* "take (lit. hold) an arm to (a place)" (§§856e, 1123b, Nt 762, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 69 (= Nt 765): *nDr n.f nHb kAw a.k jr Axt Arw* "Kas-Assigner will take for himself your arm to the reed-marsh"), *nDrj a Dr* "take an arm at/in (a place)" (§1139a-b), and *Szp a jr* "take (lit. receive) an arm to (a place)" (§§1253d, 1327a, Nt 807), all with the general meaning of "take a person by the arm towards (a place)" (cf. Nt 762 *jm.sn nDrw a.k jr pr* "lest they take your arm to the house" and its descendant CT I, 284i: *jm.sn jTj Tw jr pr* "lest they take you to the house"). See also PT 582, §1561a-b: *rDj n.f sAH a.f Szp n.s spdt D(j)t.f* "Orion has given his arm to him (i.e. to the king), Sopdet has taken (lit. received) his hand onto herself"; so a similar pairing: *rdj a / Szp D(j)t* in this text and *rdj a / sqj D(j)t* in the current passage, indicating that the arm is extended towards someone, who is then taken by the hand to be led somewhere. Merenre's and Neferkare's version of the current passage in a similar spell (PT 610) is different: §1717a-b: *sq(j) n.k rdw j<r> dAt jr bw nt(j) sAH jm Szp jH pt a.k* "A stairway has been laid down for you to the Duat, to the place where Orion is, and the Sky's Ox shall receive your arm".

7)

§804a: *zAtj bjt(j) tptj.f nbt(j) wrt(j)*

Allen "The hereditary king's two daughters—the red ones upon him in his two boats, the great ladies"

Shmakov "son (and) daughter of the Northern king, the two upon him, the two great ladies"

Toby Wilkinson writes about these deities (*zAtj bjt(j)*): "The hieroglyphs themselves resemble birds' nests, but instead are probably to be identified as cult boats, perhaps for use in royal ceremonies (Anthes 1957:80, 83 fig 2)" (Wilkinson, *Annals*, p. 97 (Djer's third year)).

Wilkinson's first assessment is absolutely right and his doubts about what the hieroglyphs represent are not needed – as Merenre's copy of §804a shows it are undoubtedly {two nests with two birds in each} (in Pepi's version one bird in each). Fortunately, Merenre's editor has depicted two genets (*Genetta Viverridae*) climbing the two nests; such representations of a genet climbing a papyrus growth to reach bird's nests are very common in the Old Kingdom private tombs; besides a genet, such scenes often include an Egyptian mongoose (which has bigger ears), likewise attacking bird's nests (the mastabas of Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 113; Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 10, 19; Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl. 13; Sankhuptah, pl. 69(=76); Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.54; Kanawati, *Inumin*, pl.39; L.D.II:60, 77, 106a; Meir IV, pl.7).

Allen accepts Anthes's incorrect interpretation of the two complex hieroglyphs that follow *zAtj bjt(j)*, and sees the birds inside those hieroglyphs as flamingos (G27, *dSr*), hence his reading of the two hieroglyphs as <the red ones (*dSr*) in (his) two boats>.

The name of the Mafdet-genet is probably formed by the prefix *m* plus the root *Afd* of which the meaning is unknown, but which probably is related to *Hfdj* "climb" (cf. CT V, 142a, variation between *mAfdt* and *Hddt*, though we do not have a case of /A/ ~ /H/), as genets are often represented climbing papyrus roots; thus the name Mafdet probably has the meaning "Climbing one" (*m-Afd-t*, see **T 159**). On the Palermo Stone she climbs the {crook with package attached}-sign T18 (see **W 5**, 3). For the definition of Mafdet as a genet we are indebted to Hermann Kees (Kees H., *Der Götterglaube im Alten Ägypten*. Berlin (DDR), 1956. pp. 33-34).

8)

§805d-806b: *baHj.k m sxt nTrw wSbt.sn jm.s Ax.k n.k jnw.k n.k*

Allen "Your abundance is from the gods' marsh, from which they feed. You have your akhification, you have your fetchers"

Shmakov "You become sated with the gods' marsh, from which they feed. Your akh-magic is for you, your fetchers are for you"

Kurt Sethe misunderstood *jm.s Ax.k* "from it (i. e. the marsh). Your akh-magic" with the co-referent *jm.s* as *jm s.Ax.k*. For the meaning of the verb *baHj*, see **P 334**.

9)

§808a-b: *Sms Tw jAmAm wDb n.k nbs tp.f m jr w n.k jnpw*

Allen "The *jmA*-tree shall follow you, the sidder shall turn its head to you, as you for whom Anubis acts"

Shmakov "The *jmA/jAm*-tree shall follow you, the sidder shall turn its head to you, as that which Anubis did for you"

Cf. PT 483, §1019a: *Htp rDjw jnpw Sms Tw jAmAm wAH n.k nbs tp.f*

"An offering which Anubis gave: the *jmA/jAm*-tree shall follow you, the sidder shall bow its head to you"

CT VI, 354j-l: *Htp dj jnpw xnt(j) tA Dsr...Sms Tn jmA wDb n.T nbs tp.f*

"An Anubis-given offering, who is at the fore of the necropolis:...the *jmA*-tree shall follow you, the sidder shall turn its head to you"

All these three clauses have relative verb forms – "as what Anubis did for you", "an offering which Anubis gave" and express the same thought, so *jr* refers to the actions caused by Anubis ("what Anubis did for you"), not to the person as Allen suggests in his translation ("you for whom Anubis acts").

Cp. CT I, 81o: *anx.T m-xt nxx m jr n.k Hrw Ds.f*

"You will live after old age as/according to what Horus himself did for you"

and also §§760c, 1458e.

P 32 (PT 438)

§809b-c: *n jwjt jt(j)w.k m r(m)T n jwjt mwt.k m r(m)T jt(j).k smA wr mw(w)t.k Hnwt*

Allen "because you have no human father, because you have no human mother. Your father is the great wild bull; your mother is the lass"

The original has "because you have no human fathers, because you have no human mother. Your father is the great wild bull; your mother(s) are the lasses". Notice the play in the passage: the first sentence has "fathers"/"mother", while the second sentence has "father"/"mother(s)". Pepi Neferkare's version gives: "because you have no human fathers (*jt(j)w*), because you have no human mothers (*mwwt*). Your father is the great wild bull; your mother is the lass".

2)

§810c-811b: *wn n.f TpHt wrt jwnw wrt Hts wr-a nj xnt(j) jmntjw Dj.s n.k mw...jr tp mDdjwnwt*

Allen "he to whom the great cavern has been opened, the Heliopolitan, he of the great baton, the great one of the sedan chair of Foremost of Westerners. She shall give you water...at the middle of the months"

Shmakov "he to whom the great cavern of Heliopolis has been opened, the great one of the baton, the sedan chair-dwarf of Foremost of Westerners. She shall give you water...at the first (day) of the half-monthly festivals"

Neferkare's version gives the classical spelling of the queen's title *wrt Hts* "great one of *Hts*-sceptre" (Jones, *Titles*, # 1481), Pepi's version undoubtedly gives the same title with *t* in *wr(t)* omitted (cf. Urk.I:155:15 *wr(t) Hzt* "great of favor") and *Hts*-sceptre with *t* complement, cf. Jones, *Titles*, # 1476 (and Sabbahy, *Development*, p. 22 and nn. 14-17 (*wrt Hts* not *wrt jmAt*)). Thus the passage §§810c-11a probably deals with the "great cavern", with the two titles (*wrt Hts*, *wr-a*) referring to it, not to Horus foremost of Letopolis (mentioned in §810b, the *f* in the present passage). The original has "at the first (day) (*tp(j)*) of the half-monthly festivals", James Allen meant it by writing "at the first of the months" which comes first, but then he should have written "and the middle of the months" rather than "and at the middle of the months" to avoid misunderstanding by the reader.

4)

§811d: *Sbtjwj n.k Hr nmt xnt(j) (j)mntjw*

Allen "You have ribs from the butcher's block of Foremost of Westerners"

Shmakov "Two bundles (of ribs) are for you from the butcher's block of Foremost of Westerners"

The word *Sbt* has the meaning "bundle", not "ribs" or "rib meat"; it is determined with the sign {rib}-F42 and is a synonym of *spHt*, which has a variant of the same determinative, F43, though F42 also occurs in the spelling. *spHt* means "bundle, knot", not "rib meat" as usually is presumed, for it derives from the root *spH* "tie, lasso" (see **W 165**, 9) and occurs in the expression *spHt sprw* "a bundle (of) ribs"

(lit. "a bundle, ribs"), *spHt nt sprw* "a bundle of ribs" (Wb.IV:105:14, for ex. L.D.II:67, 70), also *spHt nt 4 spr(w)* "a bundle of four ribs" (Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 64; Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 30 (*nt spr(w) 4*), cf. Montet's reading "réunion, quartier de côtes" (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 168)). It often is spelled without *spHt*, just *spr(w) 4* "four ribs" (Junker, *Giza II*, p. 155, Abb. 21). In *Sbt*, the *t* belongs to the root, thus the word is masculine (just like *xt* "wood", *twt* "statue"); it is usually used in PT and CT in the dual form *Sbtwj* "two bundles (of ribs)", which sometimes is spelled *Sbtjwj* (graphic design with the aim to not have to write the ending with the signs X1-G43 {bread}-{quail chick}).

P 35 (PT 439)

§814a: *H(A)b n pppj nbt Htpt*

Allen "The mistress of contentment will be in festival for Pepi"

Shmakov "(Give) a catch (of birds) for Pepi, mistress of nourishment!"

For "non-verbal imperative", see **P 318**, 2. For *HAb* as a "catch", not "festival", even without {bird} determinative, see §§791b, 1358c. For *Htpt* with {papyrus scroll} determinative as "meals", see §133c.

P 36 (PT 440)

§815b: *xsf.k w xsfw.s*

Allen "you should not bar its barriers"

Shmakov "you should not hinder its barriers (doorleaves) (i.e. not block them from opening up)"

The meaning "shut" that has the verb "bar" is due to English, while in Egyptian *xsf* could hardly have such a meaning, hence the reading of *xsf* with its primary meaning as "hinder, impede, oppose" seems more correct.

2)

§815c-d: *Dr Sdt.k kA n pppj r pt tn rx Spsw nTr n mrw nTr*

Allen "before you have taken the ka of Pepi to this sky, to him whom the god's nobles...know, to him whom the god desires"

Shmakov "until you take the ka of Pepi to this sky, the one (i. e. the ka) whom the god's nobles know, to the beloved ones of the god (lit. those whom the god loves)"

rx Spsw nTr is probably a relative form with the antecedent *kA n pppj* "Pepi's ka". Cf. also Pepi Neferkare's version *Dr Sdt.k kA n pppj nfr-kA-ra r pt n rxw nTr n mrw nTr* "until you take the ka of Pepi Neferkare to the sky, to the acquaintances of the god (lit. those whom the god knows), to the beloved ones of the god".

3)

§816a: *m.nhzw tA Smaw*

Allen "the awakeners of the Nile-Valley land"

Shmakov "the awake ones (i. e. watchers) of the Nile-Valley land"

m.nhzw "wakeful ones" does not have a transitive meaning (i. e. not "those who awake", just "wakeful ones"), see *nhz* "guard" (Wb.II:287:7), and cf. also the verb's determinative in §126b T which is {arms with a stick in hands as a gesture of driving away}

CT I, 219d: *nhz(w) aAw Hr nbw.sn*

"who guard (door)-leaves for the sake of their lords"

CT I, 309h-i: *jnk Ast xsf xrw jnk nbt-Hwt nhz*

"I am Isis who bars noise; I am Nephthys who guards"

Compare *nhz Hr* with *rs Hr* "be awake over", i. e. "guard, watch".

4)

§816d: *mdw.f Hr tp pppj xr nTr aA*

Allen "so that he may speak on Pepi's behalf before the great god and elevate Pepi to the great god"
Shmakov "so that he (i. e. Pepi's ka) may deputize for Pepi's head to the Elder god and elevate Pepi to the Elder god"

tp "head" is not a part of the expression *mdwj Hr* "deputize for, speak on behalf of" (§§480a, 595c, 596c, 943d, 960b, 1475b, 1482a, d, 1643c; Urk.I:266:16; CT I 176o; CT II, 158e, 164e, 213a; CT IV, 94j; CT VI, 207j, k, 399b, c; Hannover 2927). Also cf.:

CT I, 39b-d: *nTrw mdw Hr tp n Hr w...nt.sn mdw.sn Hr tp n Asjr(t) N tn*

"Gods who deputize for Horus's head (T9C gives *gs Hr w* "Horus's side")...are the ones who will deputize for the head of this Osiris N"

Note that B3Bo, B4Bo, B15C-MC105 give *tp n Hr w* "head of Horus" (hence *tp* can only be part of the indirect object's body rather than be part of the collocation *mdwj Hr*).

CT VI, 194e-f: *jnk Hr jj.n.j mdw.j Hr tp.k (j)tj.j* "I am Horus, I have come that I may deputize for your head, my father".

For advocating of the king's body parts, cf. PT 307, §484c P: *njs.f r.k Hr Dt.f...Hr fnD.f* "when he calls to you on his person's behalf...on his nose's behalf". Of course, not the king's head is meant, but the whole body, the whole person is meant, hence probably James Allen's avoidance of the literal translation.

Cp.:

PT 641, §1813b: *jw.n(j) mdw.(j) Hr tp.k jnk zA.k*

"I have come that I may deputize for your head, (for) I am your son"

PT 573, §1482a, d: *mdw.f Hr tp pppj pn* "that he may deputize for Pepi's head"

PT 598, §1643c: *nDmt sT mdwt.n [Hrw Hr.s xr gbb]*

"the one pleasant of scent, that [Horus] deputized [for to Geb]"

All the instances of "his" in the spell PT 440 refer to "Pepi's ka": *Hr tp m.anxt nt mAat...rx Spsw nTr...mdw.f...s.ja.f* "on the top of his (i. e. ka's) support of maat...(the ka) whom the god's nobles know...he (i. e. ka) may deputize...he may elevate", as well as in (Allen's) Nt 251 (Nt 692-694)/N 472:

jn mr.k anx.k Hr w Hr tp anwt xtm.k w aAwj pt xsf.k w xsfwj.s Dr prt kA n nt jr pt n rxw nTr mrjw nTr wnmw m dA kApw snTr Hbs jt stpw zA r nTr aA stp kA n nt zA jr nTr aA s.ja.f nt n nTr aA n swt js wa jm.sn

"If you want to live, Horus atop Pebble Mountain, you should not shut the sky's door, you should not bar its barriers, before the ka of Neith has gone forth to the sky to those whom the god knows, to those whom the god desires, who eat of figs, cense incense, wear sovereign's linen, and escort the Elder god. The ka of Neith will escort the Elder god and elevate Neith to the Elder god, for he is one of them"

In the following passages the ka of the deceased is said to "take" him to the Marsh of Peace (*sxt Htp*), i. e. the ka performs important actions just like Pepi's ka in the discussed spell PT 440:

CT III, 61b-m: *jTj.n.j kA.j n Dt.j Hna(.j) jT.fwj r aAaw nw sxt Htp ra*

"I have taken my own (lit. "of my person") ka that he may take me to the springs of the Sun's Marsh of Offering"

CT VI, 259b-j (spell 636): *sbk m mw ddwn m tA st(j) HA m jmnt spd(w) m jAbt jn.sn n.j kA.j n Dt.j wnn.f m mw mm sbk jn n.j sw wnn.f m pt sTp.f zA r nTr aA jn n.j sw s.xA.fwj jr.f anx.j*

"Sobek from water, Dedun from the Land of Bow, Ha from the west, Sopdu from the east are bringing to me my own ka and he will be in the water with (lit. among) Sobek. Bring him to me and he will be in the sky and will escort (lit. extend his protection over) the Elder god. Bring him to me and he will recall me and make my life".

P 37 (PT 441)

§818a: *pSr Tw mA.k pSr pn*

Allen "Turn yourself and see this serving"

Shmakov "Turn yourself and see this food supply"

James Allen supposed that *pSr* in this passage shares the same root with the verb *pSr/pXr* and the collocation *pSr/pXr n* "serve", hence his reading "this serving". It is possible that *pSr/pXr* has the literal meaning "serving", but due to the {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf} determinative its non-literal meaning can only be "food supply" or the like, cf.:

Mariette, *Mast.*, C15, p. 138: *mAA pXr jnn m nwwt n(wt) pr Dt r prt-xrw*

"Review of the food supply brought from villages of the personal farm (lit. house) to feed/offer (from them)"

Mariette, *Mast.*, E6, p. 394: *s.xpt stpwt pXr xr r-pr jn s.HD Hmw-ka*

"Bringing the meat cuts (and) food supply to the (tomb's) chapel by the enlightener of ka-servants"

ibid, C15, p. 139: *zSA m pXr jn DADAt* "recording the food supply by administration"

ibid, C16, p. 144: *[m]AA pXr jnn m nwwt.f n(w)t pr Dt r prt-xrw ra nb*

"Review of the food supply which is brought by his villages of the personal farm (lit. house) to feed/offer (from them) every day"

Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 6: *wAH n.s pXr* "laying a food supply for her"

Hassan, *Giza I*, fig. 136, p. 77, fig. 142, p. 82: *wAH n.f pXr xt nb(t) nfrt* "laying for him a food supply (and) every good thing" (the word *pXr* has the {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf, head of duck (fig. 136)/head of ox (fig. 142)} determinative)

L.D.II:22: *mA zSA pXr* "Review of the list of food supply" (*pXr* has the {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf, head of ox} determinative),

Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig.122 (= L.D.II:35): *wdn xt pXr* "Presenting the meal (and) food supply",

Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 29, p. 183: *mA zSA n pXr* "Review of the list of food supply" (*pXr* has the {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf} determinative),

Junker, *Giza III*, p. 169, Abb.30: *mA zSA n pXr* "Review of the list of food supply" (*pXr* has the {beer

jug}, bread (two kinds) and {ox's head} determinatives),
Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 87, p. 211, 214: *xA pXr* "thousand of food supply",
Hassan, *Giza II*, fig.39, p. 44: *pXr nb* "every food supply".

pXr in the O.K. offering list (Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 16:14, 32:28-36, 40:41-42-44, 48:46-49, 56:55-56-64, 64:65-66, 72:71-76, 80:82-83-84, 88:87-88-89-91, 96:93-94-95-97-98-99-100, 105:5, 113:110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117, 130:130-132-133-134, 141:135-136-138; Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 64)

CT IV, 136e: *jnk jr pXr n Asjr(t) m Agb wr*
"I am the one who makes food supply for Osiris as the Great Flood"
(on the S1Chass. we also have *pXr* with the *t* sign belonging to *pXr* determinative {bread}).

P 38 (PT 442)

§819c: *m(j).k sw j.jj m s(A)H*

Allen "Look, he is come as Orion"

Shmakov "“Look, he has come back as Orion”"

It is rather "Look, he has come back as Orion" as Osiris was dead (i. e. has gone and was behind the horizon line) and now he has come back (from behind the horizon, i. e. has become visible) as Orion.

2)

§820b: *nb jrppj m wAg nfr Dd.n mwt.f*

Allen "the lord wine-colored with supplies, the perfect one of whom his mother has spoken"

Shmakov "owner of the wine-colored (liquid) (i. e. blood from the butchered animals) on the Festival of the Gifts Giving, the Junior one of whom his mother has spoken"

jrppj (N's *jrpw*) "wine-colored liquid" is a nisbe and here possibly a metaphor for "blood". Cf. PT 581, §1552a: *jw n.k Szmw Xr mw jrpw* "Shezmu has come to you with wine-colored water", PT 610, §1723b: *Dj.n.f t wr mw jpw jrpw* "He gave great bread (and) this wine-colored water". *nfr* here actually has the meaning "young one", as in *nTr nfr* "Junior/Young god" and *wnn nfr(.j)* "The one who exists (being) young", as Osiris has just appeared from the horizon, so he is "junior" and not "perfect one".

3)

§820c: *jwr.n pt ms.n dwAt*

Allen "whom the sky has conceived and the morning-star has given birth"

Shmakov "whom the sky has conceived and the morning has given birth"

§820d-e: *jwr Tw pt Hna s(A)H ms Tw dwAt Hna s(A)H*

Allen "The sky shall conceive you with Orion, the morning-star shall give you birth with Orion"

Shmakov "The sky shall conceive you with Orion, the morning shall give you birth with Orion"

dwAt is "morning", not "morning star": the spelling of the word in §820c N (i. e. *d-wA*-{star} {bread}) is exactly like in the Old Kingdom title *Hr(j) sStA pr dwAt* "secretary of the morning house" and in the word-formation *xt dwAt* "morning meal" (note that in the latter term *dwAt* is not a nisbe and does not agree with the preceding feminine *xt* just like in its counterpart *xt xAw* "evening meal", see §404a, c; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 71; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 16, 17, 52, 53; Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 21, bottom register; pl. 22). Moreover, Neferkare's variant of §820d-e gives the word in the prepositional phrase *m dwAt* "in the morning": *jwr.t(j) pjppj nfr-kA ra jn pt Hna s(A)H ms.T pjppj nfr-kA-ra m dwAt Hna s(A)H* "Pepi Neferkare shall be conceived by the sky with Orion: you shall give birth to Pepi

Neferkare in the morning with Orion".

Cf. also the spellings of *dwAt* (*d-wA*-{star}{bread}) in §§1082b, 1083a P, 1527a, 1527c. Moreover, see Nt 696: *m dwAwt* (the word is in plural and is spelled *d-wA*-{bread}{star}{star}{star}) which James Allen himself translates as "in the mornings". Thus, undoubtedly the spelling *d-wA*-{bread}{star} = *d-wA*-{star}{bread}, both meaning "morning".

The sign {star}-N14 in the word *dwAt* "morning" is the phonogram *dwA*, not a determinative – the determinative of the word is the sign {sun with two strokes}-N5a (see §404a). Thus the position of the sign {star} is not important and depends on the editor's preference, just like the position of the sign *qbH*-{water jar in a jar-stand with pouring water}-W16 in the word *qbHw* "Cool Water (i. e. the sky)" in §§465b, 467c: Unis's editor placed it after all the signs of the word: *q-b-H-w*-{W16}, while Neferkare's editor placed it more correctly after *qbH*: *q-b-H*-{W16}-*w*. Moreover, the designation for the morning-star is *nTr dwA* "morning god" (§§132b, 357a, 732a, 805a, 935c) or *sbA dwA* "morning star" (§871b) (i. e. the planet Venus), hence the existence of a second designation would be strange. For another passages with *dwAt* "morning", see **W 173**, 5, **P 458**, 1, **P 519**, 3.

4)

§822b: *stt sSmw(.s) Tn jr wAwt nfr<t> jmjt pt*

Allen "she is the one who will lead you two...to the perfect paths in the sky"

Shmakov "she is the one who will lead you two...to the right/straight paths in the sky"

With *wAt* "way, path, road" the adjective *nfr* rather has the meaning "right, straight" than "beautiful, good", cf. the meaning of *nfr* in O.K. expressions of saying right thing(s) (*Dd nfr*) and carrying out right thing(s) (*wHm nfr*) (see **W 180b**, 8, ii), moreover cf. Urk.I:71:9: *jnk [mr.f nf]rt msD.f<S>Abt* "I am the one who loves straight and hates crookedness", i.e. I love truth and hate falsehood. Cf. also the expression *TAw nfr* "fair wind", not "beautiful wind".

Peas. B1 33-35: *Dd.jn sxtj pn jry.j Hzt.k nfr mjtn.j* "Than this settler said: let it be as you wish (lit. I will do that which you praise), my way is right"

Budge II, BD64:28 (pNu, long version): *dj n.j wAt nfrt r sbA dwAt* "Give me the right way to the gate of Duat".

Similarly, PT 511, §1163a-b: *nmt S jr.s wAwt.f nfrt sSm.s sw jr st wrt* "Lake-strider is making his right paths and leading him to the great seat", PT 684, §2062c: *wAwt nfrt nt pt nt sxt Htp* "right paths of the sky (and) of the Marsh of Rest".

P 39 (PT 443)

§823d-e: *nwt jp n.T ms.T m rn.T n rpt jwnw jp.T pjpj pn n anx*

Allen "Nut, as you have allotted the one you have given birth, in your identity of her in the sedan chair of Heliopolis, may you allot this Pepi to life"

Shmakov "Nut, recognize the one you have given birth, in your identity of the sedan-chair of Heliopolis, may you recognize this Pepi for life('s sake)"

The word-play in §823d is the same as in §580a (see **T 145**, 2) – between *jp* "recognize" and *rpt* "sedan chair" (a case of *j ~ r*). The verb in the passage is probably an imperative *jp n.T*, not *sDm.n.f*. It might be supposed that "she in the sedan-chair" would be *rpt(j)t* (i. e. nisbe), while we have just *rpt*. Cp. §207e: *n rpwt jwn(j)t* "to the Helipolitean sedan-chair", seeing the context a goddess. We need not read *rpyt* as "noble lady" nor "she in the sedan chair" in such cases: apparently "sedan-chair" itself could be

an epithet for a goddess. The last clause of the current passage can be translated "may you appoint this Pepi to life" as well, but that remains uncertain, as the expression *n anx* "for life" is often just an addition/refrain in Pepi's pyramid (just like *anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w)* after *nswt* etc. since the late M.K.) that does not add any sense to a spell itself, however cf. *s.jp n* "appoint/allot to" in §§380a,b, 1191c, 1192b.

P 41b (PT 447)

§826a, b: *zj zj xr kA.f*

Allen "Someone has gone to be with his ka"

Shmakov "Someone has gone to his ka"

There is no "with" in the passage, it has *xr* "to" (just like in *jj/jw xr* "come to"). The same comment applies to PT 450, §832a-b.

2)

§827a,b,c: *nj gAw.k*

Allen "you will not need"

James Allen translates the verb *gAw* in different ways, namely as "groan" (see (Allen's) T 199a (PT 367), p. 82) and as "need" (like in the current passage), but a choice between these two meanings should be made as *gAw* is one and the same verb in all instances. He alternates between these two meanings as the verb can derive from the root *gA* "stork" (i. e. "make a sound like a stork" ~ "groan", the reading which is rather arguable as storks do not groan, cf. his notes for Teti's PT corpus, № 16, p. 95 and Pepi I's PT corpus, № 89-90, p. 204) or from the root *gAw* "need, lack".

3)

§829a-c: *wn.k xnt(j) tp(j)w rdwj.k wD.k mdw n jm(j)w.k s.rwD.k(j) pr.k m-xt.k xw.k(j) msw.k m-a jAkb*

Allen

"You shall be at the fore of those at your feet and govern those in your wake; you shall make firm your house in your wake and defend your children from mourning"

Shmakov

"You shall be at the fore of those before you (lit. upon your feet) and govern those in your wake, for I have strengthened your house after you, I have defended your children from mourning"

A similar passage occurs in PT 450, §836a-c MN. The current passage contains the speech of the deceased's son (or of an attendant in the role of the deceased's son). The *.k* that follows the verbs *s.rwD* and *xw* is actually 1ms stative suffix *k(j)*, cf. the NK descendant of this passage, Budge, BD151, XIII:3: *s.r(w)d.n.j pr.t m-xt.t* "I have strengthened your house after you". The passages about the strengthening of a house (*pr*)/cookhouse (*xntj*)/false-door (*arrwt*) and the consoling (lit. defending/saving from mourning) of a deceased's children, as well as about farming crops for providing a deceased (see **T 204**, 3), was pronounced by the deceased's son-successor. It is not probable that the deceased was supposed to strengthen/make firm his house after himself (i. e. after his death) nor to console (how?) his children, for now he is a spirit: cf. the similar passage that no doubt has 1ms suffix *j* (for its reading, see **W 165**, 14):

(Allen's) N 510, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XIV, col. +75: *s.aHa(j) n.k aA.k s.rwD(j) n.k arrwt.k n<H>m(j) msw.k m-a jAkb* [...]

"I have erected your doorleaf for you, I have strengthen your (false)-door for you, I have saved your children from mourning [...]"

The stative suffix *.k(j)* can be found in the following passages that include the speech of the deceased's son (or attendant):

(Allen's) N 67 (variant of PT 611, 612, 665C, 665D), Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+19:

Ax.k(j) n.k jt(j) pppj nfr-kA-ra nj wzT(j) n.k

"I am useful for you, father Pepi Neferkare, I am not futile for you"

This passage occurs in Neith's pyramid as having *sDm.f* instead of the stative, Nt 758 (PT 665D):

Ax(j) n.k nj wzT(j) n.k

"I have been useful for you, I have not been futile for you"

PT 223, §217b: *hA wnjs wnn.k(j) m wn-a*

"Ho, Unis! I will be (your) attendant",

PT 311, §496b: *j.rx.k(j) zH mjn Hr jb xtjw jzkn*

"I know the booth of the pavilion in the middle of the terrace of Izken",

(cf. Pepi I's version which has *j.rx pppj zH* "Pepi knows the booth..." (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 30))

PT 355, §574a-b: *jnk jnpw wt.k Dj.k(j) a.k m tA m.aHA.k m jAt wrt*

"I am Anubis, your wrapper: I have given your arm in the earth and your fighting arm in the Great mound" (for the reading of this passage, see **T 204**, 1),

PT 461, §874a-b: *s.kA.k(j) jt Azx.k(j) bdt jr.k(j) rnpwt.k jm mj Hrw zA tm*

"I have farmed barley (and) reaped emmer, of which I have made your fresh provisions like Horus, son of Atum, (did)" (for the reading of this passage, see **M 284**, 2),

PT 629, §1787: *jw.n.j j.Ha.k(j) n mrwt.k pppj nfr-kA-ra*

"I have come excited out of love of you, Pepi Neferkare",

PT 685, §2070a-b: *jr.n(j) sT(A)wt s.kA.k(j) jt(j) s.kA.k(j) bdt Hnk.t(j) pppj nfr-kA-ra pn jm n Dt*

"I have made arouras (of field), have farmed barley and farmed emmer so that this Pepi Neferkare may be endowed with them during *Dt*-time".

PT 240, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 32 = Nt 707(= §244c): *xm.kj nj rx.j*

"I was ignorant, I did not know"

The following passages probably also have stative suffix *.k(j)*, rather than 2nd person suffix *.k* "you", due to the essential sense of being tended/helped out (*nD*) by the descendant or son (see **P 4**, 4), rather than by yourself, and due to the presence of the 1st person suffix in the surrounding or following text:

PT 619, §1751b-52c: *Szp.k dpwj.k...DA.k S(j) n pr.k wAD wr j.nD.k(j) Tw m-a jr nn jr.k jh.j zA Tw S(j) wr*

"You shall take your two oars...and cross the lake to your house, the Great Green, for I have helped you out of the one who would do this to you. I proclame: "Beware, (you) the great lake!"

PT 690, 2116a-2118a: *Tz Tw Hr nxt.k...nD.k(j) (Nt.j.nD.k(j)) Tw m-a xft(j).k [hA pppj nfr-kA-ra jw rm.n(j) Tw] jw HA.n(j) Tw nj s.xmw(j) Tw nj wrD jb(j) r prt n.k xrw ra nb*

"Raise yourself by (lit. upon) your force...I have helped you out of your opponent. [Ho, Pepi Neferkare! I have bewailed you], I have mourned you. I will not forget you, my heart will not tire of calling you (lit. sending the voice for you) every day"

Compare these passages with PT 620, §1753a-b: *jnk Hr w Asjr(t) pppj nfr-kA-ra...pr rs jr(j) j.nD(j) kw*
"I am Horus, Osiris Pepi Neferkare...Come forth! Awake to me, that I may tend (*nD*) you".

4)

§829e: *abw.k abw nTrw Smw j.tm.sn nwD*

Allen "Your cleansing is the cleansing of the gods who have gone but not withdrawn"

Shmakov "your purity is the purity of the gods who have gone so that they may stop passing away"

or "that they may not pass away".

P 45 (PT 451)

§839b: *wab sxm.k jmj Axw wab bA.k jmj nTrw*

Allen "your control of the akhs is clean, your ba of the gods is clean"

Shmakov "clean is your control of the akhs, clean is your impression/influence on the gods"

2)

§840a-c: *hA pppj pw jab(j) n.k qsw.k Szp(j) n.k tp.k xr gbb j.dr.f Dwt jr(j)t.k pppj pw xr tm*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! "Your bones have been gathered to you, and you have received your head," says Geb.

"It²⁸ shall remove the bad that is against you, Pepi," says Atum"

Shmakov "Ho, this Pepi! I have gathered your bones for you, I have received your head for you," says Geb.

"It (i. e. soda or soda-solution) has removed the bad that stuck to you, this Pepi," says Atum"

Allen, *M. E.*, p. 202, note 28: "The cleansing".

A similar passage occurs in PT 452, §843a-b: *Szp(j) n.k tp.k jab(j) n.k qsw.k xr gbb Htm Dwt jr(j)t pppj pn j.tm Dwt jr(j)t.f xr tm*

"I have received your head for you, I have gathered your bones for you," says Geb. "The bad that stuck to this Pepi has failed/given out, the bad that stuck to him has ended," says Atum"

jab(j) and *Szp(j)* in Geb's speeches are perfective *sDm.f*'s with 1ms suffixes, not passive *sDm.f*, for the subject of the actions is Geb, not some anonymous person. *j.dr.f*, *Htm* and *j.tm* in Atum's speeches are also perfective *sDm.f*'s with the subject *Dwt* "bad".

P 47 (PT 453)

§844a-b: *hA pppj pw aHa jr.k wnx n.k jrt Hr w Szp n.k s(j) Hr.k*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! Stand up! You have put on Horus's eye and received it on you"

Shmakov "Ho, Pepi! Stand up, put on Horus's eye, receive it upon you"

wnx n.k and *Szp n.k* are probably not *sDm.n.f*'s, they are imperatives.

2)

§845b: *jT.n.k wr rt aAt xr psDt [aAt] jwnw*

Allen "you have acquired the big crown with the [Big] Ennead in Heliopolis"

Shmakov "you have acquired the big crown from the [Elder] Ennead in Heliopolis"

xr is "from" in this passage, not "with" (see **W 140**, 4).

3)

§846a-b: *hA pppj pw anx r.k jn.n(j) n.k jrt Hr w*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! Live, for Horus's eye has been gotten for you"
Shmakov "Ho, this Pepi! Live, for I have brought for you Horus's eye"

The passage has a *sDm.n.f* (or perfective *sDm.f*) with the first-person suffix that refers to an attendant, rather than having an anonymous passive *sDm.f*. Cf. also **P 10**, 4.

P 50 (PT 455)

§851b: *nwt.k nw*

Allen "your hunter's hunt"

Shmakov "your Hostile one"

The divinity called *nwt nw/nwtj nw/jnwtj* (§851b/Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 64/ibid, pl. 22, col. 15), a name which the present author renders as "Hostile one", usually occurs in the Pyramid Texts with the personal pronoun *.k* as *nwt.k nw* "your Hostile one" (cf. *jmj.f rd* "his impediment" (CT VI, 396q)). In Pepi I's pyramid, the name is spelled without determinative (§851b P; also in the pyramid of Merenre, 851b M, 1639c M, and Neith, Nt 415-16), or with the {rope} (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 64) and {net}-T24 (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 15) determinatives. In Neferkare's pyramid, it is spelled with the {mountain range}-N25 determinative (§§851b N, 1639c N), or with the {snake} with {mountain range} determinatives; in the latter case the {snake} is placed after *nwt*, and the {mountain range} stands after *nw*, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+16: [*n*]wt {snake}.*k nw* {mountain range}, the remnants of the snake sign of *nwt.k nw* are also in the following col. 709+17. In Neith's pyramid the name occurs with a {man with a walking stick}³³ (Nt 749, 751) and {mountain range} (Nt 665) determinatives.

The sign {mountain range}-N25 determines the whole word (not only *nw*) for it also occurs as the determinative for dangerous beings in the words *jatj* "Iati(-monster)" (§236c), *hjwt* "monster" (§245b), and three signs after plural *zzw* "catchers" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 34, probably the same beings that occur in §271a). This means that N25 in this word is not the determinative of *nw*, and that the word doesn't have the meaning or connection with "hunter's hunt" (see also **W 169**, 7). This being is inimical and dangerous, "a doorkeeper of the inaccessible desert" as the Coffin Texts call him:

CT III, 206c-207b: *jn andw rdj a.f n.f dr.f wnn.f mm aDtyw Asjr(t) s.jp.n nwt nw jr(j)-aA n z(my)t StAt*
"The dawn is the one who will give his arm to him and stop his being among the Osiris's murders whom the Hostile one (*nwt nw*) has sent (*s.jp.n*, or "subordinated" ?), the doorkeeper of the inaccessible desert"

More examples of the hostile actions and nature of the "Hostile one":

PT 455, §851a-b: *sfx Dwt jrt.f jr tA jm.f jrt.n nwt.k nw jr.k m-ab Axw.k*

"Released to the ground through it (i. e. spittle) has been the evil (curse) stuck to him—that your Hostile one did/inflicted against you (Pepi) in spite of your akh-magic"

The variant of PT 455, §851b in the pyramid of Neith (Nt 415-16) gives *nwt nw* "Hostile one" instead of *nwt.k nw* "your Hostile one".

PT 556, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 15: *nHm.n.f sw m-a jnwtj*

"He has saved himself from the Hostile One"

³³ This sign is {man with a walking stick and a dog on a leash}-A248, the determinative for *nw* "hunter", just without a dog.

PT 665 (Nt 747-751): *Hms.k Hr xndw.k bjA bjAw n.f m(w)tw anwt.k xbA.t(j) Hwt nwt.k nw hA nt pw mj.k nw jr.n(j) n.k nHm.n(j) Tw m-a jr(j)-rd.k nj rdj.n.j Tw n jr(j)-a.k xw.n(j) Tw m-a nwt.k nw*
"Sit on your copper throne at which the dead marvel, your fingernails have hacked the enclosure of your Hostile One. Ho, Neith! Look what I have done for you: I have saved you from your impediment and don't give you to your adversary, I have defended you from your Hostile one"

PT 665A (Nt 665): *nHm.n(j) Tw m-a Xrt(j) anx.f m HAtjw r(m)T nj rdj.n(j) Tw n nwt.k nw*
"I have saved you from Kherti who lives on people's hearts, I don't give you to your Hostile one"

In the following two CT passages the *nwt nw* for some reasons is not considered as a dangerous being:

CT I, 282f-h: *t.k HD jnpw xnfw.k Asjr(t) Hbnnt.k nwt nw*
"Your white bread, Anubis; your pancakes, Osiris; your scone, Hostile one"

CT II, 161e: *jw pH.n.j nw<t> nw* "I have reached the Hostile one" (the variant of Sq35q and Sq4C is *jw pH.n N pn swt nw<t> nw* "This N has reached the Hostile one's places").

P 267 (PT 693)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 37 (= §2140a): *wAH n.k pDwt stS Xr rdwj.k*
Allen "for the Bows of Seth have been laid down for you under your feet"
Shmakov "the (sky's) arcs have laid down Seth for you under your feet"

For *pDwt* "the (sky's) arcs", see **N 359**, 3. For references to the placing of Seth under the deceased's feet, see **M 206**.

P 269 (PT 593)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 40 (= §1632a): *Dj n.k sw ks.j Xr.k*
Allen "—"
Shmakov "Put him (i. e. Seth) bowed down under you"

P 275 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 49: *Tz Tw jr t.k pn j.xm xsD [H(n)qt.k j.xmt awA]*
Allen "raise yourself to this your unmouldering bread [...]"
Shmakov "raise yourself to this your unmouldering bread [and unsouring beer]"

For the restoration, cf. PT 457, §859a-b: *Tz Tw r t.k pn j.xm xsD H(n)qt.k j.xmt awA*, also PT 373, §655a: *Szp n.k t.k j.xm xsD H(n)qt.k j.xmt amA*, and PT 521, §1226a-b: *jn.n(j) n.k t.k pw j.xm xsD H(n)qt.k j.xmt awA*.

2)
Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 49: *Azx(j) bdt [H(j) (?) jt jr]w(j) rnpwt.k jm*

Allen "emmer has been reaped [...], the years shall [take account of] you, rejuvenated therein"
Shmakov "I have reaped emmer [I have threshed barley], of which I have made your fresh provisions"

For the restoration and reading, see **T 204**, 3.

3)
Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 51: *[Hrw js jmj] pr.f.j.mnw(j) jr[t(j) n.k]*

Allen "[about you: "...] his house." How permanent is [that which] has been done [for you]!"
Shmakov "[...being Horus who is in] his house." How permanent is [that which] I have done [for

you]!"

For the restoration, cf. §1294b-c: *Hrw js jmj pr.f...j.mnw(j) jrt(j) n.k*, and Nt 664, 743, 833: *Hrw js jmj pr.f*.

P 281 (PT 537)

§1299b: *j.H.f n.k sDb jr j.Ddt.k*

Allen "he will strike for you (any) obstruction to what you may say to him"

There is no "to him" in the text of the **second copy** from the corridor (to which §1299b belongs), it occurs in the first copy of this spell in the burial chamber.

2)

§1300a: *Xnm.s Tw*

Allen "Nut shall join you"

For the reading of this passage, see **W 165**, 7.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 81: *anx.t(j) m Htp xr jtjw.k*

Allen "Be alive in peace with your fathers"

Shmakov "'Be alive in peace' say your fathers"

Here, *xr* is a parenthetic, not a preposition (Allen, *M. E.*, 22.18).

§1300b (**second copy** from the corridor): *jj.t(j) m Htp xr jt(j)w.k*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "'Welcome in peace' say your fathers"

4)

§1300a: *tp mr.k qbHw*

Allen "atop your canal of cool water"

Shmakov "atop your canal of the Cool Waters"

qbHw is probably a toponym (i. e. the sky), as is usual in such passages, and does not refer to the contents of the canal.

5)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 81(first copy): *anx.t(j) m xpr r Dd.t(j) m Dd*

§1301c (second copy): *anx.t(j) m anx xpr r Dd.t(j) m Dd*

Allen (first copy) "alive as the Beetle and stable"

Allen (second copy) "alive as the Beetle lives and stable as the djed-pillar"

James Allen accidentally switched readings (the first copy translation is for the second copy and vice-versa). The reading of the second copy (James's first) misses "as the djed-pillar".

P 283 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 90: *m sw jj.j m [sw jj.j]*

Allen "Look, he has come [...]"

Shmakov "Look at him having come, look [at him having come]"

This spell is a variant of PT 442, 577 (first part) + (second part) PT 437, §793a-794d, PT 458, PT 483, §1011b-1012d, PT 532, §1259a-1261a, PT 610, §1710a-1711d, hence the proposed restoration.

Cf. also the double of the inscription in the current passage, §1492a-1495a: *m sw jj.j m sw jj.j*

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 90: *jj nb jrp[jj m wAg jwr.n T]w pt ms.n Tw nwt*

Allen "“The lord of wine has come [...]. The sky [has...] you, Nut has given birth to you”"

Shmakov "“The owner of the wine-colored [(liquid) on the Festival of the Gifts Giving] has come. The sky [has conceived] you, Nut has given birth to you”"

It is actually *nb jrp[jj]* "the owner of the wine-colored (liquid)" (i. e. of blood), as the tops of two *j*-{reed panicle}-M17 signs can be seen – a phrase which James Allen himself reads as "the lord wine-colored" in §820a-c, cf. **P 38**, 2.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 91: *[nst Swt]...[jp(?)].n Tw nswt gbb*

Allen "[...] Shu's thrones [...]...Geb's thrones [...] you"

Shmakov "[empty seat...]...Geb's seats [have recognized/recalled (?)] you"

For the reconstruction, compare these texts:

PT 267, §366b-c: *xn.n.f m xpr r m nst Swt* "he has landed as a beetle on the empty seat"

PT 359, §602b: *gm.n tjt nst.f Sw.t(j)* "Teti has found his seat empty"

PT 359, §602a: *jp tjt jn nst.f* "Teti has been recognized by his seat" and Pepi Meryre's variant *jp.n sw st.f* "his seat has recognized him".

4)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 92: *j.rs n Hrw [aHa jr stS Tz Tw Asjr(t)] js Ax js zA gbb sd(A)w n.[f psDtj aHa n.f] mjnj [jrw n.f psDtjw xa.f n Abd Dsw] n.f mjnt wrt mj aHa nj wrD.n.f Hr jb AbDw*

Allen

"Awake for Horus, stand up [for] Seth, [as] Osiris, as [...], as the akh, Geb's son, at [whom the...] shakes [...]. [...] shrine [...]. The great Mooring Post [...] to him like Him Who Stands and Does Not Become Weary in the midst of Elephantine"

Shmakov

"Awake for Horus, stand up [against] Seth, being [Osiris], being the akh, Geb's son, at [whom the Dual Ennead] shakes. [Stand up] you of the shrine [for whom the new-moon festival will be made, who will appear at the monthly festival], to whom the great Mooring Post [will call out] like (to) Him Who Stands and Does Not Become Weary in the midst of Abydos"

For the restoration, see PT 437, §793a-794d, PT 458, PT 483, §1011b-1012d, PT 532, §1259a-1261a, PT 610, §1710a-1711d. James Allen mistyped here, the original has "in the midst of Abydos (*AbDw*)", not Elephantine (*Abw*).

P 284 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 92: *Dt.Tn jm.f nTrw*

Allen "Your body is in him, gods"

Shmakov "Your person is he, gods"

Cf. PT §1406c: *m Dt.Tn m pjj nTrw* "See your person as Pepi, gods", PT 570, §1461b: *Dt.k m pjj ra s.anx Dt.k m pjj ra* "your person is Pepi, Sun, make your person (who) is Pepi live, Sun", also PT 219, §193a: *Dt.k Dt nt wnjs pn* "Your person is the person of this Unis", CT VI, 317r: *N pw Dt.k n Dt* "N is your person during (lit. of) *Dt*-time".

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 93: *wnwn.f m Xnw Htpwt.Tn nTrw*

Allen "he shall move about with your compliance, gods"

Shmakov "he shall move about inside your nourishment, gods"

For *Htpwt*, see **W 145**.

P 285 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 94: *jkw m Xr(j)-nTr nfrw m AbDw*

Allen "quarriers in the necropolis, and perfect ones in Abydos"

Shmakov "those who root up (?) in the necropolis, and young ones in Abydos"

For the meaning of *jkw*, see **N 360**.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 94: *m(j).k HD.k A(m)s.jj m Drt.k*

Allen "Look, your *Ams*-mace is in your hand"

Shmakov "Look, your mace has swung (?) in your hand"

or " Look, your *Ams*-shaped mace is in your hand" ?

James Allen missed *HD.k* and ignored *jj* signs after *A(m)s*. *HD.k A(m)s.jj* does probably not contain a nisbe *A(m)sjj* (*HD.k A(m)sjj* "your *Ams*-shaped mace"), but rather the 3ms stative of a verb *A(m)s* "swing the mace (?)". Cf. a similar expression with the stative of the verb *wAH/mnH* in **P 462** (*abA.k wAH.j m Drt.k* "your baton lies in your hand").

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 94: *wA[x] sxwt*

Allen "The marshes shall flood"

Shmakov "The marshes have been flooded"

Cf. §1102c: *wAx r.s sxt jArw* "so, the Marsh of Reed has been flooded".

P 286 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 96: *jj.n.fx[r].Tn nTrw qsw.fxr.f rDw.f aA mHt*

Allen "He has come to you, gods, with his bones about him and his outflow the great immersion"

Shmakov "He has come to you, gods, his bones are with him, his great outflow (being) the marsh"

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 96: *aHa r.k [m x]nt nTrw*

Allen "Stand up at the lake at the fore of the gods"

This passage is the double of §1538a (see **P 520**, 3), suggesting that what James Allen reads as *S(j)*

"lake" is actually a remnant of the sign for .k (in the imperative construction *aHa r.k*), which means that the text actually must be read: "Stand up at the fore of the gods".

3)
Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 97: [...] *m ksw [w]Tz Tw r bw nb [mrjj.k] jm*

Allen "[the...will come to you] in obeisance and bear you to every place in which [you want to be]"
Shmakov "[...] in obeisance, raise yourself to any place in which [you want (to be)]"

In order to read "and bear you" there should be a pronoun .sn attached: [*jw n.k...*] *m ksw...[w]Tz.sn*
"[the...will come to you] in obeisance and they bear you", but we have just [*w]Tz*, which probably is nothing but an imperative.

P 287 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 98: *hA.k r.k m wjA [...a]bA pw mnH(j) m a.k j.[H].k jm.f m abA xrp.k [jm.f] m jAAAt*

Allen "So, you shall board the boat [...] that papyrus-baton. You shall take your [...] in it by means of the baton and direct [...] with [your] scepter"

Shmakov "So, you shall board the boat [...] this baton lies in your arm, you shall [strike] in it (i. e. the boat) with the baton, you shall manage [in it] with the reed-scepter"

For the baton in the arm (*a*), rather than in the hand (*Drt*), cf. PT 582, §1562c: *abA.f m-a.f bjAj* "his copper sceptre is in his arm".

For the reconstruction *j.[H].k*, cp. PT 511, §1159c: *j.Hjj.f m abA xrp{j}.f m jAAAt* "He will strike with the baton, he will manage with the reed-scepter". For "this baton lies in your arm", see **P 462**.

P 289 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 94: *wab.k m mr nAbtj*

Allen "You shall become clean in the lake of tresses"

Shmakov "You shall become clean in the canal of He with tresses"

P 292 (PT 456)

§852b: *zxz n.k sAw pr wr*

Allen "you to whom the Great House's platform runs"

Shmakov "you to whom the Great House's offering slab runs"

sAw is probably "offering slab", rather than "platform", which is clear from the shape of the sign.

2)
§854a: *j.nD(j) Hr.k bA jmj dSrr.f*

Allen "Greetings, Ba in his gore (lit. redness)"

Shmakov "Greetings, Ram in his gore"

Cf. CT III, 258a: *bA pfjmj dSrw.f* "that ram in his gore" (the sarcophagus S2C gives {ram} sign)

CT V, 318a: *N tn bA jmj dSrw.f* "This N is the Ram in his gore"

The sign *bA* {cup with stylized incense smoke}-Aa4/W10a (or {cup}-W10) with or without *bA*-G29 sign is used in PT for "ram", cf. PT 246, §252a: *mA aHat Wnjs pn m bA abwj.f tp.f* "Seen has been the stance of this Unis as the ram (with) two horns on his head". This sign occurs with {ram}-E10/E11 and *bA*-G29 signs as a way to write the O.K. name *bA.f* "Baf" (Hassan, *Giza VII*, p. 7, Selim Hassan

erroneously read it as *Xnmw bA.f*), probably after the god *bA pflbA.f*, see **W 172**, 2.

On the other hand, cf. CT II, 69b: *jnk bA m Xnw dSrw.f* "I am a ba inside his gore"

CT I, 115a: *jjw m Htp zA.j bA wbn ab* "Welcome in peace, my son, ram (with) rising horn"

In the passage from CT I, the word *bA* "ram" was spelled with Aa4-sign and {sitting god}, i. e. almost just like in the discussed passage: *wbn ab* "whose horn is rising" in the passage does not leave doubts that the word *bA* "ram" is meant. See also **W 172**, 2 and **M 387** where the word for "ram" is also spelled with the {cup}-W10 sign.

Cf. also CT III 254a: *s.DA Tw bA r wdHw.f* "The Ram will invite you to go to his offering ration"

In this passage four sarcophagi give {ram} sign and two spell the word with Aa4-sign and {sitting god}, just like in the passage from CT cited above.

CT V, 264b-c: *jw wnm.n.j bA km rxs.n.j bA HD anx N m wHmt.sn*

"I have eaten black ram, I have slaughtered white ram, N lives on their entrails" (the lines are split in the original)

The ram in the latter passage spells with Aa4-sign and {sitting god}, and the context of slaughtering (*rxs*) and "entrails" (*wHmt*) leaves no doubts about the meaning of *bA*.

3)

§854d-e: *nmt.k pt jr nmtt.k SAs.k mHw Smaw m Xnw SAs.t.k*

Allen "You shall bestride the sky according to your stride and span the Delta and Nile Valley within your span"

Shmakov "You shall bestride the sky according to your (previous) steps and span the Delta and Nile Valley through the interior of your (previous) span"

This passage is probably about facilitated traversing of the sky and earth, i. e. traversing them via a beaten/well trodden track; cf. *nmt.k pt jr nmtt.k* "bestride the sky according to your (previous) steps" with the expression *Sms(j) Y r nmtt.f* "follow Y according to his steps", i. e. "go in his wake".

P 294 (PT 457)

§857b-c: *n mrjj-ra pw m hrw pn rDjj n.f Ax.f jm rDjj n.f sxm.f jm*

Allen "for this Meryre on this day, and he will be given his akh there, and he will be given his control there"

Shmakov "for this Meryre on this day, when he has been given his akh-magic, when he has been given his control"

rDjj is perfective relative with the word *hrw* "day" as antecedent and (unspelled) *jm(.f)* "in (it) (i. e. the day)" as co-referent, hence *jm* is not an adverb "there" in the passage, but a full form of the preposition *m* before the implied suffix-pronoun *.f* "it" that refers to *hrw* "day". The whole passage is a relative construction, literally "for this Meryre on this day he has been given his akh-magic in (it), he has been given his control in (it)". For *Ax* as "akh-magic" (or "effective power") rather than "akh-status" or "akh", see **P 31**, 2, **P 303**, 2.

2)

§858a-59a, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 13: *Tz Tw mrjj-ra pn Szp(.j) n.k mw.k sAq n.k r(.j) qsw.k*

Allen "Raise yourself, Meryre! You have received your water, your joints have been collected for you"
Shmakov "Raise yourself, this Meryre! Receive your water, my spell has collected your bones for you"

Pepi I's text has *sAq n.k r(j) qsw.k* "my spell has collected your bones for you", Neferkare's copy of §858a has *sAq n.k qsw.k* "your bones have been collected for you". It is not very probable to consider *r qsw* of Pepi I's copy as a compound noun (**r-qsw*) as we do not have similar compounds in the PT corpus.

2)

§859a-d: *t.k pn j.xm xsD H(n)qt.k j.xmt awA...rDj.k jm n (j)m(jw)-bAH.k [hA pjpj Ax.t(j) Ax tpj.k tA]*

Allen

"this your bread that does not moulder and that your beer that does not sour, that you may... give from them to the one in your presence. Ho, Pepi! You have become akh, and your survivor has become akh"
Shmakov

"this your bread that does not moulder and that your beer that does not sour,... from which you will give to your predecessors/ancestors. [Ho, Pepi! You have become akh, and your successor has become akh]"

For *jmj-bAH* "ancestor, predecessor", see **W 224**, 3. For *m* as the spelling of the plural nisbe *(j)m(jw)* "those who are in", cf. *(j)m(jw)-xt* "followers" (§§84c, 575b TPM, 588b TM, 635c M).

P 297 (PT 460)

§870b-c: *Szp n.k t.[k pn srf H(n)qt].k jpnt [srft] prt m pr.k DDw(j) n.k*

Allen "receive [this your warm] bread that is given to you and this your [warm beer] that comes from your house"

Shmakov "receive [this your warm] bread that I give to you (and) this your [warm beer] that comes from your house"

As James Allen noted the passage is probably split. *DDw(j) n.k* is probably not a passive participle but a 1ms relative form.

P 303 (PT 603)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 31: *jj jnpw xsfjm.k rDj.n n.k Htp a.f*

Allen "Anubis has come to meet you, the contented one has given you his arm"

Htp "Content one" is probably Geb, cf. PT 512, §1162d-63a: *jj jnpw xsfjm.k rDj.n n.k gbb a.f* "Anubis has come to meet you, Geb has given you his arm".

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 31: *jj Ax m Ax.fjn psDtj...[nj] s.rx.fxr sxm wr*

Allen "'An akh has come in his akh,'" says the Dual Ennead...he [cannot] be denounced before this Controlling Power"

Shmakov "'An akh has come through his akh-magic,'" says the Dual Ennead...he [cannot] be denounced by this Power-bearer"

The {stroke} determinative after the second *Ax* sign should be ignored, cf.:

PT 512, §1167c: *pjpj Tz Tw j.zj m Ax.k*

"Pepi, raise yourself! Go through your akh-magic!"

Nt 778-79: *dm.n.f bjA m Ax.f* "he has penetrated the (water) Smooth surface through his akh-magic"
("he has penetrated the Basin with his akh" after Allen)

Mariette, *Abydos*, T. 1. Pl. 40, a (the N.K. descendant of CT spell 834): *hA N jn-jw.k m pt tA m(j) m Ax.k jn-jw.k m {qnb} <nnt> m(j) m Ax.k jn-jw.k m rsw mHtj m(j) m Ax.k jn-jw.k m jmnt jAbt m(j) m Ax.k*

"Whether you are in heaven or (on) earth, come through your akh-magic! If you are in the {tribunal} <Lower-sky>(?), come through your akh-magic! Whether you are in the south or in the north, come through your akh-magic! Whether you are in the west or the east, come through your akh-magic!"

To read *m(j) m Ax.k* as "come as/in your akh" is rather meaningless, just like in the current passage where the deceased had already been called akh, hence "An akh has come in his akh (form)" is a tautology (for *Ax* as "akh-magic", see **P 31**, 2). For the preposition *xr* meaning "by", see **T 142**.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 32: *Hms.k r.k r smA pw jAb(j) jDH.k jtm(j) s.qbb.k nDm(j) Sms.k ra m wAD.f*

Allen "So, sit at that eastern side, with your sweating ended and your cooling pleasant. You shall follow the Sun in his freshening"

Shmakov "So, sit from this left side (of yours), with your sweating ended and your cooling pleasant. You shall follow the Sun in his Papyrus (boat)"

PT 412, §730a T, PT 666, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 71 = Nt 769:

j.dr Tw Hr gs.k jAb(j) Hms (r.k) Hr gs.k jmn(j)

"Remove yourself from your left side, sit from off your right side"

For such reading, see **N 388**, 5. For "Papyrus (boat)", cf. PT 224, §220a: *Sm.k m wAD an* "you shall go in the Tura Papyrus-Column boat" and PT 666, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 68 = Nt 764: *Xn.k m wjA wAD Hna.sn* "You shall row in the papyrus boat with them".

P 307 (PT 594)

§1638c: *rmn.k nj wrD.n.f*

Allen "you shall associate with Him Who Does Not [Become Weary]"

Shmakov "your biceps and shoulder/whole arm (*rmn*) cannot become weary"

We probably have a topicalized *sDm.n.f* in the passage, with the pronoun *.f* that refers to *rmn.k*.

P 311 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. V, col. 14: *jr w n.k [tpjw]*

Allen "Festival days will be made for you"

Shmakov "First days will be celebrated (lit. made) for you"

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. V, col. 17: *[rmn] nTrw jmt(j) sxmwj*

Allen "[...] with the two gods and between the two controlling powers"

Shmakov "[shoulder] the gods between the two Power-bearers"

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. V, col. 17-18: *dbn.k pt m Dba.k mj zwnT*

Allen "You shall...go around the sky with your finger (on the tiller) like Zewentju"

Compare this line with CT VI, 354k (sp. 724): *dbn.T pt tn m Dba.T Sr mj zwn*
"You will go round this sky through your little finger like Zewen(tjw)"

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. V, col. 18-20: *njss jr.k m jzkn p[t] zAb aD mr psDt Dsr [n.k wAw] psDwt.s [wn n.k] wAt jr dAt jr bw Xrj s(A)H [Sms ?] Tw jAA[]*

Allen "the sky will call for you in her Izken, the Nine's Jackal-Edge. The paths of (the sky's) arcs have been swept for you and a path laid down [for] you away from the Duat and toward the place where Orion is. The vine will [recognize] you"

Shmakov "You will be called for from the Izken of the sk[y], (you), governor (*zAb aD mr*) of the Nine (arcs of the sky). The paths of its (i. e. sky's) arcs have been beaten for you and a path [opened for] you to the Duat toward the place where Orion is. The vine will [follow ?] you"

njss is probably a passive prospective (Allen, *M. E.*, 21.2.2), rather than *njs.s jr* "she will call for you", as there is no feminine subject before this passage. For the O.K. title *zAb aD mr* "governor", see Jones, *Titles*, ## 2947-49. For the expression *Dsr wAt*, see **P 31**, 5. For the meaning of *psDt* "Nine", see **N 359**, 3. The expression *wAt jr dAt jr bw Xrj s(A)H* has the meaning "path to the Duat toward the place where Orion is": James Allen's "away from the Duat and toward the place" was dictated by his wish to connect this passage with his idea that the texts of the serdab passage (to which this passage belongs) are about leaving the Burial chamber-Duat, but it has nothing to do with the actual meaning of the preposition *r* in this passage (cf. the same arguable readings of his in **W 178**, 1, **T 223**). There is no expression **sq(j) wAt* "lay down a path" (according to Allen's reading), hence we must restore *[wn] wAt* "[open] a path" (cf. §§1229a,b,c) in this passage. James Allen hasn't given a reference to the source of restoration "[recognize]" at the end of the passage: Leclant's edition doesn't show any remnants of signs there, and the usual verb for this expression is *Sms(j)* "follow" (§§808a, 1019a, 1723c; CT VI, 354l).

P 312 (PT 674)

§875b-c: *bn jr.k bnw Tz Tw pppj pw*

Allen "Become sweet, sweet one! Raise yourself, Pepi!"

Shmakov "Become erect, erect one! Raise yourself, Pepi!"

bn in the passage is not *bn(j)* "become sweet", for to translate "Become sweet, sweet one" is meaningless. *bn* probably has a meaning "become erect" (the root in *wbn* "rise", *bnbn* "tall/erect stone", *bnw* "*bnw*-bird (later *bnw*-stork)"). The sign {root}-M30 in Pepi's copy proves nothing and is used as a space-filler with actual phonetic value *bn*, that is why Neferkare's copy does not use it; cf. the following passage in which the sign {root}-M30 is probably used in the verb *s.(w)bn* "show, manifest" (see **W 180b**, 8), not *s.bn(j)* "sweeten":

Urk.I:53:13: *s.bn Hmt nb(t) xr nswt*

"who causes every craft to appear to the king"

(cf. also Urk.I:82:13)

PT 690, §2105a: *bjn Asjr(t) bjn pppj nfr-kA-ra pn bjn kA psDtj*

"Osiris has become erect, this Pepi Neferkare has become erect, the Dual Ennead's bull has become erect"

The middle *j* sometimes occurs in 2-lit verbs, cf. *sjn* "smell" (§1027b), *njk* "accuse" (§§1041d, 1042a; spelled *nk* in §1468a, b), *ajn* "adorn" (Urk.I:20:5), *mjz* "bring/come near" (normally *mz*, but with D38-*mj* sign in CT I, 182h (B10Cb, B12C), 259f (B10Cc, B4C)), thus *bjn* (§2105a) ~ *bn* (§875b).

Temple of king Sethy I at Abydos (Mariette, *Abydos*, T. 1. Pl. 37, b):

jnk DHwtj jn.n(j) n.k jrt Hrw...bnbn.k jm.s m rn.s bnbn

"I am Thoth, I have brought Horus's eye to you...that you may become erect through it in its identity of tall stone (benben-stone)"

In Neith's copy a call to raise oneself is even clearer (where *wr wrS* is reinterpreted as *wrS wrS*):

Nt 606-607: *hA nt wrS wrS aA sDr bn jr.k bnw Tz Tw nt pw nj m(w)t.k*

"Ho, Neith, be active (lit. spend the day), be active, you whose lying is considerable, become erect, erect one, raise yourself, this Neith, you have not died"

In CT I, 287c-g, which is a descendant of these lines, no verb can be identified as *bnj/bnr* "become sweet", whereas we can see there the verb *bn* "become erect" also spelled *bA* or *bAn*.

wrS n.k wrS.t(j) wr wrS aA sDr bjn jr.k m rn.k n bnw

"Spend the day (and) be spending the day, you whose spending the day is great, whose lying is considerable, become erect, in your identity of erect one"

Moreover, see the spelling of the verb in CT VI, 103b-c where it is spelled *j.bn* on the sarcophagus BqC which gives {*bn*-bird} sign, not *bA* as given by another.

(BqC) *wrS j.bn(j) r.f wrS HA(tj)-a N pn j.bn(j) r.f Hr gs.f*

"Someone spends the day erect: this high official N spends the day erect from his side"

The {circle}-sign in 103c (BqC) is the {ingot of copper}-*bn* sign (see **W 160**, 2) not *x*, the same in PT 468, §894a, b. An occurrence of the {ingot of copper}-*bn* sign (= {small circle}-sign: for such a treatment of the sign, see **W 160**, 2) in the verb *bAn* in §894a-b proves that the verb is actually *bn*, the spelling *bAn* shows that it is a case of /A/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/ (see **W 78**), i. e. *bn* (§875b, 2105a, Nt 607, CT VI, 103b-c (BqC)) ~ *bA* (CT I, 287e: *m rn.k n bA* (T9C, B10C)) ~ *bAn* (§735a, 894a-b, Nt 737, CT I, 287e; CT VI, 103b-c). In §735a the verb occurs with {bed} determinative, but the same determinative occurs in the word *wrS* "spend the day" in §§875a N, 894a P, thus the determinative does not prove the meaning of Wb.I:62:19 "schlummern, sich schlafen legen"; Allen, *Inflection*, 581,.

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 110, 112 (= ASAE 16, p. 191, this is the N.K. descendant of the CT spell 607): *nj bAn.sn nj dA.sn Xr Dbaw Hrw mAnw*

"They will not become erect, they will not wrench (themselves) free (?)³⁴ from under the fingers of Horus of the Western Horizon"

(on pl. 110 the word *bAn* is spelled in a transposition as *b-n-bA*)

Naville II, BD 39:11 (Ca): *nj bn.k nj dA.k aApp xftj n ra*

"you will not become erect, you will not wrench (yourself) free (?), Apop, opponent of the Sun"

Hornung, *Amduat*, p. 189: *xr.n.Tn m HA{H}Dw.Tn nj bn.Tn nj dA.tn*

"You have fallen into your traps: you will not become erect, you will not wrench (yourself) free (?)"

The meaning of *dA* and *bn* in the following passage is not clear: Naville I, BD 45:2-3: *wrd zp 2 m Asjr(t) wrd at m Asjr(t) nj wrd.s nj HwA.s nj dA.s nj bn.s*

"Something of (lit. in) Osiris has become weary: a limb of (lit. in) Osiris has become weary. It has not

³⁴ These two verbs (*bAn/bn* and *dA*) are usually read "escape/davonmachen, entkommen, abgehen" (Wb.I:456:13, Molen, *HDECT*,121) and "get away, run off/fortmachen, entkommen" (Wb.V:414:8, Molen, *HDECT*,778), respectively.

become weary, it has not decayed, it has not wrenched (itself) free (?), it has not become erect"

PT 413, §735a: *sDr r.f wr pn j.bAn(.j) r.f.j.rs tjt Tz Tw* "As this great one spends the night erect, so awake, Teti, rise yourself!"

PT 665D, Nt 737: *sDr wr pn j.bAn(.j) r.f* "This great one has spent the night erect"

In the following passage the verb is used in parallel to the verbs *wrS* "spend the day" and *rs* "be awake":

PT 468, §894a-c: *wrS wr xr kA.f.j.bAn r.f wr pn xr kA.f wrS pjjj pn xr kA.f.j.bAn r.f pjjj pn xr kA.f rs wr pn rs pjjj pn*

"(As) the great one spends the day with his ka (and) so (*r.f*) is active (lit. erect) with his ka, this Pepi (too) spends the day with his ka (and) so is active (lit. erect) with his ka – (as) this great one is awake, this Pepi (too) is awake"

bn/bA also occurs in the PT of the queen Neith, where it is in opposition to the noun *qdd* "sleep" (i. e. being inactive, dead):

Nt 661-663: *hA nt pw ja.w(j) qdd Hr.w(j) bAn...j.rs Tz Tw jr.k nt pw*

"Ho, this Neith! How elevated (i. e. close) is (the state of) sleep, how far away is (the state of) being active (lit. erect)!...(But) be awake, raise yourself, this Neith!"

Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl.18: *mj n.k jrt Hr.w mdt.n Dt.f.j.bn.f Xr.s*

"Take Horus's eye which his person has anointed/put on (? *md*) that he may become active (lit. erect) wearing it".

Budge, BD172:30-31: *w<n>x.k wabw s.fx.k wmt js<t> bnbn.k Hr Hnkyt*

"You shall put on clean clothes and take off heavy clothes for you are up (lit. erect) from the bed"

2)

§1999c: *DHwtj mds pr m stS*

Allen "Thoth, knife bearer, who emerged from Seth"

Shmakov "Thoth, a butcher, who emerged as Seth"

pr m in the passage is probably "emerge as", not "emerge from".

Note there's also an unclear connection between Thoth and Seth in other texts, for example PT 219 §173a and §175a in which both gods are referred to as "this Osiris here is your brother, who was made to revive and live that he might catch you", and PT 218, §163d: *m(j).k jrt.n stS Hna DHwtj snwj.k j.xmw rm Tw* "See what Seth and Thoth have made, your two brothers, who don't bewep you".

PT 665, 665A (Nt 667, 753): *DHwtj mds.k pr m stS* "Thoth, a butcher, who emerged as Seth".

P 313a (PT 463)

§877a: *TAw.k snTr mHt.k Htj*

Allen "Your air is incense; your northwind, smoke"

Shmakov "Your air is censuring; your northwind is smoke (from the censuring)"

2)

§877c-d: *Twt sb(A) pw watj...jwjtj rDj.n.f Dt.f n Hr dAtj*

Allen "You are the sole star...who does not give his body to Horus of the Duat"
Shmakov "You are the sole star...who does not give itself to Horus of the Duat"

This passage is about the star that does not disappear behind the horizon ("does not give his person to Horus of the Duat"), i. e. is visible in the sky during the whole year.

P 316 (PT 465)

§880b-d: *d.Tn sw m sxt Htp rDj.n.Tn Ax.f mm Axw rDj.n.Tn sxm.f mm nTrw jr.f*

Allen "(You should receive the arm of this Pepi and) put him in the Marsh of Offering. When you have made him become akh among the akhs and in control of the gods, he will make..."

Shmakov "put him in the Marsh of Offering, having put his akh-magic among the akhs and his control among the gods, that he may make/and he makes..."

rDj.n.Tn Ax.f is probably "put akh-magic", rather than "made become akh", cf. §795d (**P 31**, 2) and §857b-c (**P 294**), for *Ax* as "akh-magic" (or "effective power") rather than "akh-status" or "akh", see **P 31**, 2. It is "(put) his control among (*m-m*) the gods", not "(make become) in control of the gods", as the latter would be *m nTrw*.

2)

§881b: *xnz.f pt sSm pjpj jm(j)w grgwt jT pjpj wrt jm*

Allen "He will course the sky: Pepi will lead those in the settlements, Pepi will acquire the crown there"

Shmakov "He will course the sky (and) Pepi will lead those in the settlements, Pepi will acquire the crown through it (i. e. through actions)"

jm in the passage is probably not the adverb "there", but rather a full form of the preposition *m* before an implied (unwritten) suffix-pronoun *.sn*, with the meaning "by means of/through them, thereby", referring to the king's previous control-taking actions in the sky and on the earth. Cf. PT 474, §941a: *j.Sm pjpj pn jm xr mwt.f nwt* "This Pepi will go thereby (i.e., through power (*At*), veneration (*Sat*), and magic (*HkAw*) mentioned earlier in the text) to his mother Nut". Cf. also §634d: *jT.k wrt jm.s xnt nTrw* "through which (i. e. Horus's eye) you will acquire the crown (and will be) at the fore of the gods", §737e-f: *jT.k wrt jm.s xr nTrw jT.k wrt jm.s xr Hrw* "you will acquire the crown through it from the gods, you will acquire the crown through it from Horus", §2075c: *jT.k wrt jm.s mm nTrw* "through which (i. e. Horus's eye) you will acquire the crown among the gods".

P 317 (PT 466)

§884a: *rDj n.k awj*

Allen "Arms will wave for you"

The original has "Arms will give you".

P 318 (PT 467)

§§888d-889c: *wab pjpj pn ra...Xnjj pjpj pn ra m nmt pt*

Allen "This Pepi is clean, Sun...this Pepi will row the Sun in the sky's span"

Shmakov "This Pepi is clean, Sun...this Pepi will row, Sun in the sky's span"

The spell PT 467 consist of several addresses to the Sun (just like its spell-double PT 691), so the 2nd "Sun" in this line is probably a form of address – "this Pepi will row, Sun", just like in the previous §888d: *wab pjpj pn ra* – "This Pepi is clean, Sun". Moreover, this interpretation is supported by the epithets in §889d-e referring to Pepi: "this Pepi will row, Sun, in the sky's span, a star of gold whom

the sunlight's bull has banded with the headband, a spear of gold...".

2)

§891a: *nTr.f njwtj kA n pppj pn jr Dbawj.k*

Allen "You his local god, the ka of this Pepi is at your fingers"

Shmakov "You his local god, (put) the ka of this Pepi next to you (lit. to your two fingers)"

kA n pppj pn jr Dbawj.k is non-verbal imperative, literally "the ka of this Pepi – to your two fingers (i. e. your proximity)!". For non-verbal imperatives, cf. the common *Hr Hr.Tn* "on your face(s) (i. e. prostrate yourselves)!" and *a.k Hr xt.k* "your arm on your meal!" (in the N.K. this phrase was substituted for an imperative *zmA r xt* "join the meal (i. e. begin to eat, help himself!)"):

PT 219, §§188b, 189b, 190b, 191b: *a(wj).k HA jxt zAt.k Htm Tw jm.s*

"(put) your arms around the meal, your daughter, provide yourself with it!"

PT 397, §692c: *Sw awj.k HA tjt* "Shu, (put) your arms around Teti!"

PT 422, §753c: *Hr.k m bAH.k jAw.k tp awj.k*

"(put) your face in front of you, (as) your praise is before you!"

PT 506, §1101a: *rmT nTrw awj.Tn Xr mrjj-ra*

"People (and) gods, (put) your arms under Meryre!"

CT IV, 180v: *Hr Hr.Tn snD sdA n.j*

"(Lie down) on your faces, fear, tremble for me!"

CT II, 111g: *Hr Hr.Tn jmjw knmt*

"(lie down) on your face(s) (i. e. "fall prone") you in the darkness!"

CT VI, 356t: *a.T Hr t.T pn rdj.n.j n.T* "(Put) your arm on this your bread I have given you!"

PT 346, §561d: *jxt n(j) sSmw*

"a meal for me, butchers!"

PT 596, §1641c: *awj.k Hr jSt.k*

"(Put) your arms on your meals!"

PT 662, §1881b: *nb pr a.k Hr jSt.k*

"Owner of the house, (put) your arms on your meals!"

PT 665 (Nt 744): *a.k Hr t.k*

"your arm (will be) on your bread!"

PT 666 (Nt 770) *a.k Hr xAt.k*

"(put) your arm on your offering stand!"

jr Dbawj "to the two fingers" has the meaning "to nearness, to proximity, next to, within reach/grasp", cf.

PT 268, §372a: *Szp sw Hrw r Dbawj.f*

"Horus has taken him next to himself",

PT 303, §465a: *DA.f jr qbHw zA.f Hrw jr Dbawj.f*

"He will cross to the Cool Waters (with) his son Horus next to him".

PT 478, §980c: *sTp r.f pppj nfr-kA-ra jr pt jr Dbawj nTr nb mAqt*

"so that Pepi Neferkare may jump to the sky to the proximity of the god the ladder's owner"

PT 699, §2180b-c: [*anx*] *anx.tj rnp rnp.tj jr Dbawj jt(j).k jr Dbawj s(A)H jr pt*

"[Live] (and) be alive, be young (and) become young at your father's proximity, at Orion's proximity, at the sky"

This is what Edward Brovarski writes about nature of the dual noun *Dbawj*:

"*Dbawj* apparently alludes to the fact that the ancient Egyptians wrote with a reed held between the thumb and index finger of the right hand. Only rarely is the writing implement actually carved in scribe statues, but the right hand is occasionally drilled between the thumb and index finger for the insertion of an implement made from another material (Scott, *Scribe Statue*, pp. 49, 69, 80-81)" (Brovarski, *Senedjemib*, p. 92, note o).

In the mastaba of Khentikai the tomb owner is portrayed while writing, and he holds the writing reed between his thumb and index finger (James, *Khentika*, pl. 10). Moreover these two fingers are used to hold any small object, such as little vases with perfumes, lids of censers, etc.

PT §1208a: *Dj.k n Pppj pn Dbawj.k jpw*

"Give to this Pepi these your two (most used) fingers"

Two fingers are used as the determinative in the words *mtr/mt(j)* "straightforward" (also "testify", §952b P) and *aqA* "exact, precise".

3)

§891b: *gp.n Pppj pn jr pt m aHaw*

Allen "This Pepi has clouded the sky as a heron"

Shmakov "This Pepi has soared to the sky as a heron"

gp "soar, shoot upwards" is used in the passage as an intransitive verb (*gp jr pt*), while James Allen translates it as a transitive one. Moreover, "clouded the sky as a heron" doesn't make sense. The {sky with rain}-N4 sign is probably a secondary determinative as an influence of the verb *gp* "to cloud" (cf. **T 203**, 2). The same note is valid for PT 521, §1225a: *j.gp pppj mj aHaw* "Soar, Pepi, as a heron" and PT 699, §2179a: *j.gp.k mj bjk* "You shall soar as a falcon".

4)

§891d: *pHr.n pppj pn pt m Hrw Axt(j) njj ra*

Allen "This Pepi has run the sky as Horus of the Akhet. You whom the Sun has rejected"

Shmakov "This Pepi has run the sky as Horus of the Behind the Horizon, the one of the Sun"

njj is probably a nisbe "he of". The sign {stretched arms as a gesture of negation}-D35 is used in Pepi's I copy just as a space filler (for the space between *n* and *jj*), Neferkare's copy, which is without the {stretched arms}-*nj*, probably shows that a nisbe was actually meant.

5)

§892c: *nj jr.n Pppj pn jhAbw m wr-a*

Allen "this Pepi does not make uproar in the sedan chair"

Shmakov "This Pepi does not have to perform (lit. make) (any) dancing and singing (i. e. to make a performance) as a sedan chairman (i. e. as a dwarf)"

The word *jhAbw* which James Allen translates here as "uproar" (following Wörterbuch's "unerlaubte Handlung" (Wb.I:118:11)) is probably the same word that appears in Urk.I:300:3, 301:17 and in Wb I:118:12-17 as *jhbj/jhAb* "tanzen": *jAhbw/jAhbjj* (Urk.I:300:3, 301:17) ~ *jhAbw* (§892c) ~ *jh(A)b* (Wb.I:118:12-17). See especially Wb.I:118:15: *jr jhb* "tanzen". Hannig gives *jAhbw* in Urk.I as "Jubelliedsanger und tanzer" (Hannig, *ÄR*, p. 199). See also James, *Titles*, # 1274.

The word *jhAbw* is undoubtedly in graphical transposition: according to the rule "the bird sign better fits in the second position" (see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 17), the *A*-vulture has been placed after *h*, though its proper place is probably before it. Cf. the words with the sign {vulture}-G1 spelled in the second position:

pAd – Apd "bird" (§1484a N); *kHA – kAH* "kind of bread" (§102b, Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 52 fig.38, probably like this as the word-play in §102b is with the word *kA*); *zBA – zAb* "to flute" (for this correct reading (not *zBA*), see Junker, *Giza* VI, Abb.43, after p.136); *HAt – AHt* "field"; *tAjAt – tAjt* (§56a W); *wAxA – wAx* (§1158d N); *dbA – dAb* "figs"; *zBA – zAb* "jackal" (§457b); *MAHA – MAH* "clap" (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 366); *dtA – dAt* "Duat" (§390b W); *sHA – sAH* "touch" (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.32); *bAqA – bAq* "bright" (Urk.IV:896:6); *aApA – aAp* "guilt" (Urk.I:174:6); *bAD – bDA* "mould" (Montet, *Scènes*, p.237); *dgA – dAg* "Dwarf" (man's name, Hassan, *Giza* II, fig.50, p.55); *HbA – HAb* "The one who celebrates" (man's name, Mariette, *Mast.*, E8, p.398, 400).

But we cannot exclude the option that the spelling *jAhbw/jAhbjj* of Urk.I:300:3, 301:17 was actually transposed, as the signs *Ahb* spelled after each other take less space and fill the imaginary rectangle better than when spelled *hAb*.

For the verb's meaning cf. also Urk.IV:83:15: *Xnwtjw m hAbt n Hm.f*

"Those of the Interior (i. e. of the Nile Valley ?) are dancing for His Incarnation"

It is a well known fact that dwarfs were employed in dancing:

Urk.I:128:15: *dng jBAw nTr* "dwarf of the god's dances"

Urk.I:129:17-130:5: *jn n.k dng pn m-a.k...r jBAw nTr r s.xmx jb r s.[n]xAxA jb n nswt bjtj nfr-kA-ra anx(j) Dt*

"bring this dwarf with you...to the god's dances, to entertain the heart, to add lifetime to (lit. prolong) the heart of the Southern and Northern king Neferkare alive during *Dt*-time"

(For *s.[n]xAxA* ~ *s.nx(j)x(j)* "prolong, add lifetime", see **T 248**, 2, and for *nxnx jb*, see **P 357**, 1)

PT 517, §1189a-1189b: *mr.n-ra p(j) dAng jBAw nTr s.xmx jb n nTr m-bAH aw(j) st.f wrt*

"Merenre is a dwarf of the god's dances who entertains the heart of the god before the arms of his great seat"

The title *wr-a* "great one of his arm" was probably held only by dwarfs as is shown by the dwarf Senebi's (*xw.f-w(j)-snb(j)*) "(Khufu) is healthy") mastaba at Giza and it is undoubtedly his main title. In his mastaba the title is determined with the sign {dwarf sitting in the sedan chair} (Junker, *Giza* V, pp. 3-122). The same title is being held by Ankhu (Junker, *Giza* V, p.131, Abb. 34) of whom we unfortunately don't know if he was a dwarf or not. It is noteworthy that the dwarf Seneb also held the

title *xrp Hwwt nt* "Manager of the Watery Area's (see **P 467**, 7) enclosures" (Junker, *Giza V*, p. 27, Abb. 4a), and the same place *Hwwt nt* "the Watery Area's enclosures" (the ancient area of Buto (*p, dp*), (after Allen, see Allen, *Medicine*, p. 65) occurs in PT 81, §56b-c: *jrt Hr w jm(j)t dp m Htp jrt Hr w jm(j)t Hwwt nt m Htp Szpt jr wwt s.Xkrt wr-a* "(Awake,) Horus's eye in Dep in peace, Horus's eye in the Watery Area's enclosures in peace, whom female weavers have received, who adorn the dwarf in the sedan chair".

6)

§893a-c: *jn wn zA ra jr.f st.f jr.f st pppj pn jn wn zA ra wDat.f wDA pppj pn Hqrt.f Hqr pppj pn*

Allen

"Is there a son of the Sun whose place he makes? He will make this Pepi's place.

Is there a son of the Sun who will be sound? This Pepi will be sound. Who will hunger? This Pepi will hunger"

Shmakov

"Is there (another) son of the Sun whose place he makes? He makes (only) this Pepi's place.

Is there (another) son of the Sun who will be sound while he hungers? (Only) this Pepi will be sound while this Pepi hungers".

§893b-c is split, i. e. the order is probably **jn wn zA ra wDat.f Hqrt.f wDA pppj pn Hqr pppj pn*, the second prospective participle *Hqrt.f* is likely used adverbially "(who will be sound) while he hungers". Cf. the same use of the second stative (Allen, *M. E.*, 17.19): PT 439, §812d: *gm.n.f ra aHa(.j) xsf(.j) jm.f* "He has found the Sun standing and meeting him"; ShS. 7-8: *jzwtT.n jj.t(j) ad.t(j)* "Our crew has returned safe" – here the second stative is used in an adverb clause, indicating the state in which the crew returned. To read "Who will hunger? This Pepi will hunger" is meaningless as the PT were designed to ensure a king to be sated and never to be hungry.

P 319a (PT 468)

§896a-c: *hA pppj pn s.StA jr w.f jnpw js Szp.n.k Hr.k m z(A)b aHa n.k mjn(j) xnt(j) jtrt(j) jnpw js xnt(j) zH nTr*

Allen "Ho, Pepi, whose form is concealed as Anubis! You have received your face of a jackal and the shrine at the fore of the Dual Shrines awaits you as Anubis at the fore of the god's booth"

Shmakov "Ho, this Pepi, who secretes his form being Anubis, for you have received your face of a jackal (lit. as a jackal (has)). Stand up, you of the pavilion (to be) at the fore of the Dual Shrines being Anubis at the fore of the god's booth!"

aHa n.k is an imperative, not *sDm.f. mjn(j)* is an address to Pepi and is not "pavilion" (Allen's "shrine") but a nisbe of this noun "he of the pavilion" being a reference to Anubis, cf. PT 659, §1867b: *jnpw js Hr mjn* "being Anubis on the pavilion", PT 556, §1380b: *Tz sw jnpw mjn(j)* "(as) Anubis, the one of the pavilion, raises himself" (note the nisbe *j*-ending spelled out), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 71 (Allen's P 553): *j.rs j.rs jt(j) Asjr(t) [m] jnpw tpj mjn.f* "Awake! Awake, father Osiris, [as] Anubis who is on his pavilion", Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 96 (Allen's P 286): *aHa r.k [m x]nt nTrw jnpw js Hr tp mjn* "Stand up at the fore of the gods being Anubis on top of the pavilion", PT 690, §2094b: *Htm pppj nfr-kA-ra pn m nTr aHa mjn(j) Hms psDtj* "This Pepi Neferkare has been provided as a god, stand up, you of the pavilion, sit down, Dual Ennead!", and PT 437, §793c just below. In Neferkare's spellings the word *mjn* is influenced by the {shepherd holding rattle} sign from *mjn(j)* "shepherd" (see **T 228**).

For the reading of *aHa n.k* as an imperative, compare the passage-variant from Neferkare's pyramid which also has the imperative of *aHa*:

PT 677, §2026a-2027a: *[hA] pppj nfr-kA-ra pw s.StA jr w.f jnpw js Hr Xt.f Szp.n.k Hr.k n z(A)b Tz Tw*

aHa Hms r xA.k m t

"[Ho], this Pepi Neferkare, who secretes his form being Anubis on his belly, for you have received your face of a jackal. Raise yourself, stand up (and) sit down to your thousand of bread!".

and the similar passage that has a subjunctive *aHa*:

PT 437, §793b-c: *Tz Tw m Asjr(t) ...zA gbb tpj.f aHa.k m jnpw Hr mjn*

"Raise yourself as Osiris...Geb's son, his first(born), that you may stand up as Anubis on the pavilion".

In the following passage the call to stand up has the required result:

PT 458, (§§861a-862) Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 15: *aHa n.k mjn(j) ...sdA pt nwr tA tp aw(j) wr aHa.f*

"Stand up, you of the pavilion!...The sky is shaking, the earth is trembling before the great one as he stands up"

2)

§§900b-902b: *HDt tw wtt jmjt nxb...Htm Tw m jr(t) Hrw dSrt...m wtt(tj) jmjtj HAt.k*

Allen "this White Crown, the Begetter from Nekheb...Provide yourself with Horus's eye, the Red Crown...as the two Begetters on your forehead"

Shmakov "this White One, the Firstborn goddess from Nekheb...provide yourself with Horus's red eye...as the two Firstborn goddesses on your forehead"

HDt and *jr(t) Hrw dSrt* are "White One" (Nekhbet's epithet, since the early M.K. *HDt nxn* "White One of/from Nekhen", see MMA 07.230.2, 08.200.5) and "Horus's red eye" respectively, the {white crown} and {red crown} signs are secondary signs (just like in *HDt* "white" of §§729a, 910b) and only hint at the white and red crowns. James Allen confused the verb *wt(j)t(j)/wt(j)wt(j)* "be(come) firstborn" with the verb *wtT* "beget", which is *wtT* in the O.K. and PT and which only in the M.K. became spelled *wtt* (> *wtT*).

3)

§903a: *jm.k gAw jm.k aSjw jm.k n.znznw*

Allen "You shall not groan, you shall not moan, you shall not whimper"

Shmakov "so that you may not groan, not moan, and not expire"

The verb *n.z(j)nzjn* is a *n*-prefixed and full-reduplicated root *z(j)n* "expire, perish" (see **W 165**, 14).

3)

§905a-b: *hA pppj pn jnk DHwtj Htp Dj nswt rDj(.j) n.k t.k H(n)qt.k pADwj.k jpn prw(.j) xr Hrw jmj wsxt*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! I am Thoth. A king-given offering: your bread, your beer, and these your two loaves of bread that have come from Horus in the broadhall have been given to you"

Shmakov "Ho, this Pepi! I am Thoth. A king-given offering: I have given you this your bread, your beer, and your two loaves of bread that have come from Horus (and) were in the broadhall"

As is clear from the introduction (*jnk DHwtj* "I am Thoth") this spell is pronounced by the attendant in the role of Thoth, speaking in the first person. *rDj(.j)* is perfective *sDm.f* with 1ms suffix. *jpn* "these" probably applies to *t.k H(n)qt.k pADwj.k* as a whole, not only to *pADwj.k* as in Allen's translation. Neferkare's and Neith's (Nt 691) version of §905a is slightly different: *hA pppj nfr-kA-ra jnk Hrw Htp Dj nswt n.k t.k* "Ho, Pepi Neferkare! I am Horus. An offering which the king gives to you: your bread..." (James Allen gives only "Ho, Pepi Neferkare! I am Horus (*last stanza*)", N 413, p. 360).

P 319b (PT 469)

§906f: *Xnjj pjjj ra jr jmnt s.mn.f nst pjjj pn tp nbw kAw zS(A).f m pjjj pn tp anxw*

Allen "Pepi shall row the Sun to the west, and he will establish this Pepi's seat at the head of the owners of kas and inscribe this Pepi at the head of the living"

Shmakov "Pepi shall row the Sun to the west, and he will establish this Pepi's seat at the head of the owners of kas and he will record this Pepi at the head of the living"

For the *nbw kAw* "owners of kas" which also occur in §§598a, 719d, 1215d cf.: Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 237, after p. 218: *xp.f Hr wAwt nfrt xppt jmAxw nbw kAw Hr.sn*

"He will walk on the right roads on which honored ones who have kas walk".

2)

§907a-b: *wn.t(j) aAwj bAkA jmj qbHw n pjjj pn s.zn.t(j) aAwj bjA jmj sHdw n pjjj pn*

Allen "The Leopard-Ka door in the Cool Waters shall be opened to this Pepi, the metal door in the starry sky shall be pulled open to this Pepi"

Shmakov "The granite (door)-leaves in the Cool Waters shall be opened for this Pepi, the copper (door)-leaves in the starry sky shall be pulled open for this Pepi"

The *bAkA* in the passage occurs in the variant spelling *kAbA* in Neferkare's copy of PT 469 (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +72), with the *kA*-sign put in the first position probably as a honorific transposition; cf. the N.K. word *bAkAt* "ground", which also occurs spelled as *kAbAt* (Sethy I, *Abydos III*, pl. 58, column 3, e). It is probably a kind of granite, and is described as a stone material for two bowls in the offering list of the III-rd dynasty official Khabausokar (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 1), for a bowl in the mastaba of Nefermaat (partly destroyed *bA[kA]*, together with *tjAAt* "porphyry", Petrie, *Medum*, pl.19), and for a bowl on the slab stela of the official Nikainisut of early IV-rd dynasty (Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, p. 88 = Junker, *Giza I*, p. 230, Abb. 53) – on all of these sources the word is spelled exactly like in the current passage: with the *kA*-{two upward arms embracing}-D28 and the *bA*-{head of leopard}-F9 signs. Cp. also Hannig, *ÄR*, p. 1350: "Gesteinsart (*für Gefäße*)".

Moreover, notice that in the present passage, *aAwj bAkA* is paralleled to *aAwj bjA*, thus *bAkA* and *bjA* both surely refer to the materials of which (door)-leaves are made, namely copper and probably granite.

3)

§907d: *bA.f Hr.f*

Allen "his leopard-skin on me"

The original has "his leopard-skin is on him (*Hr.f*)".

4)

§908a-b: *pjjj pn wDA(.j) Hna jf.f nfr n pjjj pn Hna rn.f anx pjjj pn Hna kA.f*

Allen "This Pepi has become sound with his flesh, it is good for this Pepi with his name, and this Pepi will live with his ka"

Shmakov "This Pepi is sound with (i.e. due to) his flesh, it is fair for this Pepi with (i.e. due to) his reputation (lit. name), this Pepi is alive (lit. lives) with (i.e. due to) his ka"

In this passage adjectives and a verb have close semantic connection with the elements of Pepi's personality physical and non-physical (*jf*, *rn*, *kA*). For *wDA* and *jf*, cp. §1378a: *wDA jf.f* "his flesh is sound". For *nfr* "fair (of name)", see **W 173**, 3. For *anx* and *kA*, cf. *Sms sw kAw anxw* "alive kas will follow him" (Cairo 1808, Junker, *Giza III*, p.118) and the meaning of *kA* itself is "life-force".

5)

§908c-g: *xsr.f Dwt tp(j)t-awj pjjj s.Hr.f Dwt jmjt-xt pjjj mr majAwt xnt(j) xm s.Hrt Dwt tp-awj.f xsrt Dwt jmjt-xt.f*

Allen "He will expel the bad that is before Pepi, and drive away the bad that is behind Pepi likewise, by means of Foremost of Letopolis's throwsticks, which drive away the bad that is before him and expel the bad that is behind him"

Shmakov "He (i. e. Pepi's ka) will expel...like Foremost of Letopolis's throwsticks, which drive..."

Pepi's ka is likened in the passage to the throwsticks of Foremost of Letopolis, translation is actually "(Pepi's ka protects Pepi from the bad just) like Foremost of Letopolis's throwsticks (protect him from the bad)". The idea of protection by the ka is also expressed in PT 93, §63b: *Dwj.k kA.k Asjr(t) js xw.f kw m-a Dnd nb nj m(w)t* "You shall summon your ka being Osiris (and) he shall defend you from any enraged one of the dead"; Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 93: *xw.n sw [kA].f* "his [ka] has defended him", PT 642, §1818b-c (restored after Allen): [*Sn.k awj.k HA pjjj nfr-kA-ra m*] *kA.f xw.k sw m-a* [...] "[May you encircle your arms about Pepi Neferkare as] his ka and defend him from [...]", CT VII, 45i: *kA.k m zA.k* "your ka is your protection", Budge, BD182:13: *nTr pn xw kA.f* "this god whom his ka defends".

P 320 (PT 265)

§356a-b: *rn n pjjj n nfr...rn n pjjj n nfr*

Allen "the nickname of Pepi...the nickname of Pepi"

Shmakov "fair name of Pepi...fair name of Pepi"

rn n pjjj n nfr is literally "the name of Pepi of fairness". For such a reading, see **W 173**, 1, 3.

P 321 (PT 470)

§916b: *nht tf qAt jAbt(j)t pt qrqrtj Hmst nTrw tp.s*

Allen "yonder high sycamore in the east of the sky, the bustling one atop which the gods sit"

Shmakov "that high sycamore in the east of the sky, atop which the gods warm up (and) sit"

qrqrtj and *Hmst* are two relative forms with the common subject *nTrw* "gods" and the only difference is that the feminine *t*-ending that refers to *nht* "sycamore" is spelled in *qrqrtj* in the full form *tj* (see **T 203**, 3): the same phenomenon can be observed, for instance, in the spellings of the 2mfs stative *tj*-ending which can also be spelled abbreviatedly as *.t* and in the full form *.tj* in the same clause: PT 578, §1534b: *pr.k r.sn bA.tj spd.t* "you should go forth toward them, being impressive (and) sharp" (*bA.tj* and *spd.t* are both 2ms statives). The verb *qrqr* seems to be the reduplicated root *qrr* (Wb.V:61:9) ~ *qr(j)* (Montet, *Scènes*, p. 237) ~ *qrj* (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 26a, p. 68) "heat, warm up". This verb also occurs in PT 506, §1095d: *mrjj-ra pj qrqr mrjj-ra pj qrqrw* "Meryre is He Who Warms up, Meryre is Warmer" and PT 579, §1539c: *sjn sjnw.k n.qrqr Hwtjw.k* "your runners have run, your announcers have warmed (themselves by running)".

2)

§917a: *n pjjj js pw anx*

Allen "For Pepi is the living one"

Shmakov "For Pepi is the Living one"

"The Living one" is probably Sothis's son who is mentioned in PT 302, §458a and PT 573, §1482a.

3)
§917b: *n pppj js pw Hmw aA Xn xAtA pt*
Allen "for Pepi is the great oar that rows the sky's two terraces"
Shmakov "for Pepi is the great oar which the two sky's *helmsmen row"

The word in question is *xAtA(wj)*, not *xtjw(wj)* "terrace" (cf. its spelling in §496b), as Pepi's I version which uses the sign *tA* {kiln} U30 proves. *Xn* is not participle, instead it is a relative form "which *xAtA(wj)* row" as an oar can not row itself and through the nature of the *Xn* sign itself {a shell with hands holding an oar}. *xAtA(wj)* are probably helmsmen or ferrymen because of the determinative {piece of meat}-F51 (?) which occurs in the name of the ferryman *nwrw* "The one making tremble, Trembler" (§1183a).

P 322 (PT 471)

§920a: *pppj pw wn nTr*
Allen "Pepi is the god's existence"
Shmakov "Pepi is the god's shape/form"

wn has the meaning "shape, form" in the passage (> *jwn* "shape, color" of M.K and N.K (Wb.I:52:10-13)), cf. §901b: *aSAt wnw* "numerous of shapes".

2)
§921a: *wab Smsw Hrw wp wAwt pDt amaAt pppj pn*
Allen "Horus's followers, Anubis's throwstick and bow, shall cleanse this Pepi"
Shmakov "Horus followers –Paths Discerner, a bow and a throwstick– will clean this Pepi"

It is undoubtedly Paths Discerner's hieroglyph {jackal standing on a standard}, and moreover, in the passage-double §1245c in Merenre's version it is {jackal standing on a standard with a mace attached to the standard's pole} – which is used almost exclusively as a determinative for Paths Discerner (see for example §§126c WM, 455a, 463a).

Anubis's hieroglyph is always a lying jackal or a lying jackal with feather, for example: §§57d, 220c, 135b, 468a, 220c, 745a, 727c, 793c, 796c, 797b, 804d, 807a, 808b, 1282a, 1287a,c, 1335b. But when a jackal is standing on a standard with cushion and uraeus before him it is either Paths Discerner or – seldom– Jackal (*zAb*), for example: *wp wAwt* – §§953c, 1304c, 1374a, 1379 c; *zAb* – §§804d, 1015c, 1380c. Pyramid Texts themselves teach us to read a jackal on a standard correctly: §1287c "for you are Paths Discerner on his standard, Anubis at the fore of god's booth", CT V, 190b: *jAt pw nt wp wAwt* "This is the standard of Paths Discerner"

Smsw Hr "Horus followers" also have the {bow and a throwstick} determinative in Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 31 (PT 603).

P 324 (PT 473)

§927c: *s.hA n(j) zxnw(j) pt*
Allen "the sky's two reedfloats will be set for him"
Shmakov "The two reed-floats of the sky have been launched (lit. lowered) for (me)"

or "...have been launched (lit. lowered) for <him>"

There isn't any written pronoun in the original (hence either "Pepi"/"he" was omitted/missed or we have original 1ms suffix *.j*). The passage has passive *sDm.f* unlike §927a which has *sDm.t(j).f*. Moreover, James Allen does not make a difference between the verbs *wdj* "put, set" (§926a, c) and

s.hAj "launch" (§927a, c, lit. lower, put down) in this spell.

2)

§930a: *gm.n pppj pn Axw m r.sn apr*

Allen "This Pepi has found the akhs with their mouth equipped (with spells)"

Shmakov "This Pepi has found the akhs experienced in/equipped with their spell(s)"

The prepositional phrase *m r.sn* "with their spell(s)" was put before the adjective *apr* "experienced, equipped", though it should be after the adjective, as the preposition *m* is the governing preposition of *apr*, *apr m* being the collocation "experienced in" or "equipped with": **Axw apr*³⁵ *m r.sn*. The same occurs in §930c: *Ax m r.f nb apr* "an akh experienced in his every spell" (for **Ax apr m r.f nb*).

The phenomenon when a prepositional phrase precedes an adjective may be observed in the other passages, cf.: PT 80, §55d: *s.dmj n.k jrt.k r Hr.k wDAi* "attach your eye to your face sound" (your sound eye to your face); PT 518, §1197d N: *stj.jn.sn Tbw.t.sn jr tA HDt* "Then they threw their sandals to the ground white" (their white sandals); PT 582, §1562c: *abA.f m-a.f bjAj* "his sceptre is in his arm copper" (his copper sceptre); Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamahor*, pl. 42 ~ Urk.I:202:2: *nj zp StA HkA nb jr(j) jqr* "never any magic hide from me mighty (lit. did not happen that any magic hide from me mighty)" (any mighty magic hide from me).

Also in case of a genitival adjective (B part in AB indirect genitival construction): Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 64: *s.xpt twt(w) r jz n Xr(j)-nTr nw smr wat(j) ... Tjj* "Bringing the statues to the necropolis' tomb of the unique companion... Ti" (statues of the unique companion... Ti to the tomb, *nw* "of (pl.*)" refers to the plural "statues", not to the singular "tomb"); CT VI, 4h: *rdj.n.f HDt m tp.f nt xsbD* "where he has placed the white crown on his head of lapis-lazuli" (white crown of lapis-lazuli on his head).

The word *r* "spell" is very common, cf: PT 215, §141c: *j.rxxw r.sn* "who know their spell(s)"; Junker, *Giza VIII*, Abb. 62, p. 134: *jnk Ax jqr rx r.f* "I am a mighty akh who knows his spell(s)"; Urk.I:122:13: *jnk Ax jqr apr Xr(j) H(A)b(t) rx r.f* "I am an excellent (and) equipped akh, a lector-priest who knows his spell(s)"; CT IV, 30f-g (Sq3C): *nHm.n.f HkAw.Tn Axw nbw rxw r.sn* "He has taken away your magic, (you) all akhs who know their spell(s)"; CT VII, 18w: *nj jnk js m(w)t xm r.f* "I am not at all a dead who does not know his spell(s)"; Torino 1534: *Ax nTrj saH mnx nTr rnpw rx r.f mm anxw* "divine, dignified, mighty akh, young god who knows his spell(s) among the living" (similar on CM CG 20088); CT IV, 326k: *jr xm nb r pn nj aq.n.f nj pr.n.f* "As to anyone who does not know this spell: he cannot enter, he cannot emerge".

Harold Hays in his dissertation reads *r* in this passage similarly as "utterance" (Hays, *Structure*, p.281).

3)

§930d: *jm(j) rr.k jn sn jr pppj nfr-kA-ra*

Allen "“Who are you?” they say about Nemtiemzaf Merenre" (Merenre's copy)

Shmakov "“Who are you?” – they say to Pepi Neferkare"

James Allen is absolutely right when he reads this strange spelling of *m(j) rr.k* (cf. CT III, 59b: *Twt mj tr*) in the original as "Who are you?", and this reading is clear from the context. The spelling of the interrogative pronoun *mj* was influenced by the spelling of the negative verb *jm(j)* "not do, not act", while the interrogative particle *rr* (~ *tr* ~ *trj*, see Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §§838, 842) was spelled as if it were the word *jrtj* "two eyes". Cf. the following passage in which the preposition *r* "to" was spelled with the {eye} sign: CT VI, 288c: *jj.n.k tr r mj* "What have you come for (lit. to what)?" From the texts we also

³⁵ *Ax apr* occurs in PT 627, §1771a: *pppj nfr-kA-ra pw Ax apr* "Pepi Neferkare is an equipped akh".

know about the opposite case in which the verb *jrj* "do, make" is spelled without the {pupil} carved in the {eye} sign (i. e. spelled like the {mouth} sign): §1752b and Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 20 (= 21, in *jr Tw r.f wrt*).

3)

§§938b, 938d: *wD pppj mdw n Ax m r.f nb apr*

Allen "Pepi will govern every akh with his mouth equipped"

Shmakov "Pepi will give command(s) of (i. e. just like) an akh experienced in his every spell"

Just like in §930b-c: *S(j) sHsH m.zwr n Ax m r.f nb apr* "Stork Lake, the drinking place of an akh experienced in his every spell", and in §937e-f: *mr mna m.zwr n Ax m r.f nb apr* "the Nurse Canal, the drinking place of an akh experienced in his every spell", the *n* in the present passage is not a preposition, but rather a genitive "of" (otherwise it should be **wD pppj mdw n Axw m r.sn apr* "Pepi will govern akhs experienced in their spell(s)"³⁶, i. e. plural, just like in §§930a, e, 931b, not singular). The passage is not about governing the akhs (which would be strange as Pepi has just been questioned by them), it is about ranking him among the experienced akhs – he will sit on the lip of the stork canal just like they do (§§930b, 938c), and he will command just like they do. For "an akh experienced in his every spell", cf. CT V, 304b-305a (S14Ca): *jj.n.j r tA Ax.kj apr.kj m HkA.j* "I have come to the land being an akh (and) experienced in my magic".

4)

§936a: *jw pppj pn Hna.Tn*

Allen "This Pepi will come with you,⁵⁴"

Allen, *P. T.*, 203 note 54: "Sothis and the morning god"

Allen's note that suffix *.Tn* "you" would refer to "Sothis and the morning god" is curious, as it would imply a sharp change in theme. That is, after the akhs question "How has this happened to you, ... that you have come to this place more special than any (other) place?" and its answering (§§932-935c), the theme of the spell would sharply change from a dialog between the akhs and the king to a narration about what the king will do with Sothis and the morning god. Such a sharp change would be even more strange in light of §§937e-38d in which the talk is clearly about the king sharing the life of the akhs. Hence, it is absolutely clear that the *.Tn* "you" refers to the akhs and the whole passage (§§936a-38d) narrates about the king sharing the life of the akhs.

P 325 (PT 474)

§942b, §943c: *n pppj pn tm*

Allen "Everything is for you"

The original has *n pppj pn tm* "Everything is for this Pepi".

P 326a (PT 475)

§948a-c: *Sm.f stp.f zA jr ra m st nTrw [zjw] n kAw.sn anxw m jAwt Hr anxw m jAwt stS*

Allen "He will go and escort the Sun in the place of the gods who have [gone] to their kas, who live in the Horus's mounds, who live in the Seth's mounds"

Shmakov "He will go and escort (lit. extend protection over) the Sun instead of the gods who have [gone] to their kas, who used to live in the mounds of Horus, who used to live in the mounds of Seth"

³⁶ Compare it also with §251c: *wD.f mdw n Axw* and §573b, 871d, 2104, Nt 667: *wD.k mdw n Axw* "(when) he/you give(s) command(s) to the akhs".

The following spell names the Marsh of Rest as the residence of "the gods who have gone to their kas":

PT 512, §1165b: *jr.k mnw.k m sxt Htp mm nTrw zjw n kAw.sn*

"You will make your abode in the Marsh of Rest among the gods who have gone to their kas"

The Egyptians called a deceased *zj n kA.f* or *xp n kA.f* "who has gone to his ka" (Urk.I:34:6, 50:15, 71:4,6, 156:2, 227:7, 264:18, 265:6; CT IV, 50l). The phrasing "the gods who have gone to their kas" could be a reference to the ritual death of the gods and thus their inability to extend protection (*stp zA*) over the Sun, cf.:

PT 447, §829d-e M: *abw.k abw nTrw j.Smwr xr kAw.sn abw.k abw nTrw j.Smwr j.tm.sn nwD*

"Your cleansing is the cleansing of the gods who have gone to their kas, your cleansing is the cleansing of the gods who have gone that they may stop passing away"

For *m st* as "instead", cf.:

PT 249, §265c: *d.n Wnjs mAat jm.f m st jzft*

"Unis has placed maat-order in it instead of chaos"

PT 267, §367a-b: *aHa j.dr Tw...Hms wnjs m st.k*

"Stand up, remove yourself...that this Unis may seat instead of you"

PT 476, §955a, §955c MN: *ra j.dr sw m st.f d N m st.f*

"Sun, remove him from his place, place N instead of him (lit. in his place)"

PT 508, §1107c: *hrw pw pr.n pppj jm m st ra*

"on the day when Pepi has gone up instead of the Sun"

Urk.IV:59:16-17: *zA.f aHa(.w) m st.f m nswt tAwj HqA.n.f Hr nst nt wtt sw*

"His son has stood up instead of him as a king of the Two Lands, he has begun to rule on the throne of the one who begot him".

2)

§949c: *nj xsf pppj pn j.n aH HD wrw jr msqt sHdw*

Allen "this Pepi cannot be barred from the Beaten Path of Stars by the great ones of the White Palace"
Shmakov "“This Pepi cannot be barred,” said the great ones of the White Palace, “from the Beaten Path of the Stars”"

The {stroke} sign in *jn* is probably a determinative of *j.n* "said", rather than an influence of *j.n* "said" on *jn* "by", hence the reading is probably "said the great ones of the White Palace".

P 326b (PT 476)

§§951a-952b: *wab pt n ra wab tA n Hrw nTr nb jmjw(j) s.wab.f pppj pn dwA pppj pn nTr jj mTn pppj pn jr arrwt wrt mtr r.T pppj pn n nTrwj jpw(j) wrw(j) aAw(j)*

Allen

"When the sky becomes clean for the Sun and the earth becomes clean for Horus, every god who is between them will cleanse [this] Pepi, that this Pepi may worship the god. You, this Pepi's pathfinder at the great portal! Bear witness of this Pepi to those two elder and great gods"

Shmakov

"The sky has become clean for the Sun, the earth has become clean for Horus, every god who is between them is cleansing [this] Pepi. "Worship this Pepi, god (and) lead this Pepi to the great portal!" "And you, (great portal), bear witness of this Pepi, to those two great (and) elder gods""

The original imperatives *dwA* "worship!" and *mTn* "lead!" have been reinterpreted or misunderstood by Pepi's successors as subjunctive and a god's epithet respectively, hence Merenre's and Neferkare's copies have *dwA.f nTr jj mTn jr arrwt wrt* "...that he may worship the god. Oh, (you), leader to the great portal"; Neith's copy is similar, Nt 37-38: *dwAt nTr jj mTn jr arrwt wr<T>* "...who is worshipping the god. Oh, (you), leader to the great portal"; *jj* has been reinterpreted in Neferkare's copy as the interjection *j* "O, Oh". *r.T*, lit. "(with respect) to you (fem.)" of *mtr r.T* in Pepi's copy shows that the great portal (*arrwt wrt*, fem.) or its female keeper is being addressed in its turn (cf. PT 272). *jj* in this passage remains unclear, it also occurs in §§986a ("Utterance" after Allen), 1680d ("Oh!" after Allen), 1708c, e ("statement" after Allen).

2)

§952d: *rmn pt...wp nTrw*

Allen "who associates with the sky... and parts the gods"

Shmakov "who shoulders the sky...and parts (i. e. judges) the gods"

3)

§953b-c: *Sms.Tn pppj pn mr wp wAwT*

Allen "lead this Pepi like Paths-Parter"

Shmakov "follow (i. e. serve) this Pepi like (you do for) Paths Discerner"

The original has the verb *Smsj* "follow", which James Allen confused with *sSmj* "lead". The same is valid for Variants M 263, N 424, Nt 14: "follow N like (you do for) Horus".

4)

§954a: *zSA a zSA a*

Allen "Scribe, scribe!"

Shmakov "Scribe of the document(s), scribe of the document(s)"

Cf. PT 510, §1146c: *pppj p(j) zSA a nTr* "Pepi is the god's document scribe". The versions of Merenre and Neferkare give *zSA zSA* "Scribe, scribe!".

P 327 (PT 477)

§962a: *dm ds.k DHwtj nSmm ds*

Allen "Thoth's blade has been sharpened, and the knife...has been honed"

Shmakov "Sharpen your (flint) blade, Thoth. The knife...will be honed"

dm is imperative, *nSmm* is probably a prospective passive "will be honed".

2)

§963b: *DA.tj.sn sn m pppj pn s.DA.f xr.k Asjr(t)*

Allen "those who will cross this Pepi when he goes to you, Osiris"

Shmakov "those who will oppose (lit. extend/transport) themselves against (lit. in) this Pepi when he goes to you, Osiris"

The reflexive expression *DAj m* has the meaning "oppose oneself against, take a hostile stand towards/regarding", literally "extend/transport oneself in", see **W 166**, 3.

PT 311, §498b: *jm.sn DA a.sn mDr wnjs jr.k jw wnjs xr.k*

"They should not extend their arm(s) (when) Unis turned to you (and) Unis comes to you"

PT 478, §978a: *Ax nb nTr nb DAt.f a.f m pppj nfr-kA-ra*

"Any akh or any god who will extend his arm against this Pepi Neferkare"³⁷

PT 524, §1237b: *nj m.DAw DA sw m wAt pppj pn*

"there is no adversary who can oppose himself against (lit. in) the path of this Pepi"

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 44 (Allen's P 544): [*Ax nb nTr*] *nb DAt.f sw jm.f m wAt[.f nj aA.f nj sn.f pAq*
Ax nb nTr] *nb tm[t.f DA sw m wAt nt] pppj pn swt aA.f swt [sn].f pAq*

"[Any akh] or any [god] who will oppose himself against him (and) against [his] path, [he will not become important, he will not smell] a wafer. [Any akh or] any [god] who will not [oppose himself against the path of] this Pepi, he will become important, he [will smell] a wafer"

Note that Neferkare's version of the following §963c has reflexive phrase *xsff*³⁸ *m* "proceed against", lit. "advance oneself in" (see **W 166**, 3) just like the current passage and unlike PM's version of §963c: *xsft.sn sn m pppj nfr-kA-ra jw.f xr.k Asjr(t)* "those who will advance themselves against Pepi Neferkare when he comes to you, Osiris".

3)

§964c: *wab.k(j) n.k*

Allen "having become clean for you"

Pepi's copy preserves an original first person stative suffix: *wab.k(j) n.k* "I have become clean for you".

4)

§965a-b: *jn spdt...jrt rnpw[t.k m] rn.s pw n rnpt*

Allen "Sothis...[who makes] your [fresh vegetables in] her identity of the year"

Shmakov "Sothis...who makes [your] fresh provisions [in] her identity of the year"

The word *rnpwt* has the meaning "fresh provisions, fresh food products" rather than "fresh vegetables", cf.:

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 29: *Azx(j) bdt n rnpwt.k*

"I have reaped emmer for your fresh provisions"

To read this passage as "I have reaped emmer for your fresh vegetables" would be meaningless.

5)

³⁷ pLeiden 371, 2-3 (19th dyn.): *pA jri.n pAj.t dj.t Drt jm.j* "What have I done (or What has been done) that you give (your) hand against (lit. in) me?"

³⁸ This is probably the 4th-weak verb *xsff* "meet, face" (Allen, *Inflection*, §743, p.583), not 3-lit. *xsf* "bar" (Allen, *Inflection*, §736, p.560), cf. the same use of the verb *Hzz* "meet, face" (see **W 166**, 3); yet Allen considers the verb to be *xsf* "bar" and reads the passage below as "those who will make a barrier of themselves to Pepi Neferkare". In spite of the fact that PM version of §963c has *xsf* "bar" (*xsftj.sn N* "those who will bar N"), N's version has a different construction and thus a different verb. The same occurs in CT IV, 127a: *xsft.f wj* "who will bar me" (S1C) VS. *xsftj.f sw jm.j* "who will advance himself against me". (B2L).

§968c-969a: *wab n.k pjpj pn j.n Hr zA.k ms.n.k*

Allen "for this Pepi is clean for you. So says Horus, your son to whom you gave birth"

Shmakov "'Become clean, this Pepi'" said Horus, your son to whom you gave birth"

In James Allen's translation Horus says nothing, for according to him the new stanza starts with "So says Horus, your son to whom you gave birth", but it is much more likely that Horus says something and that his speech is §968c.

P 333 (PT 482)

§1004c: *mSA nTrw pjw*

Allen "The gods of Pe are distraught"

Shmakov "The gods of Pe are worried/excited"

For the meaning of the verb *mSA* (P)/*mXA* (MN, a case of /X/ ~ /S/, see Edell, *Altag. Gr.*, §120; Peust, *Phonology*, 3.8.2), cf. Urk.IV:260:2-5: *mAT.sn mAT.sn rn n Hmt.s m nswt sk Hmt.s m jnp sk nTr aA mXA.fjbw.sn n zAt.f mAat kA ra anx.t(j) Dt*

"They proclaim, they proclaim the name of Her Incarnation as king('s) though Her Incarnation is (still) a prince, for the Elder God is exciting (*mXA*) their hearts for his daughter Maatkara alive during *Dt*-time".

This verb probably also occurs in the reduplicated form *nXAXA* in CT IV, 117a-b (S1P): *jw rw n.j wrw m TpHw.sn nXAXA n.j kAw jmjw jAwt* "The great ones have gone to me from their caverns, bulls who are in mounds are excited at me" (S1C gives causative *s.nXAXA* "were caused to get excited"). The *n* in *nXAXA* and the *m* in *mSA/mXA* are here presumed to be prefixes to a root *SA/XA*, prefixes that do not influence the verb's meaning. But it is also possible that there are no prefixes and that there is one and the same word in both instances, but with a case of /m/ ~ /n/, see **Nt 241b**, 2. The same note applies to PT 670, §1973a.

2)

§1008a: *d.f sw Xr zAt.f wrt jm(j)t qdm*

Allen "putting him under your eldest daughter in Qedem"

There is no personal pronoun *.k* "your" in Pepi's copy (only in Neferkare's copy), the original has "his eldest daughter".

3)

§1009b: *nTrw mdw xft.fjn n.Tn sw*

Allen "Gods, the one who speaks against him—fetch [him] to you"

Shmakov "Gods who contest against him—fetch [him] to you"

The participle *mdw* probably refers to *nTrw*. *.f* probably refers to Seth.

P 334 (PT 483)

§1018a-b: *baHj.k m sm wADw baHjw.n msw gbb jm*

Allen "You shall be inundated in the green marshes in which Geb's offspring has been inundated"

Shmakov "You will be satisfied with the green grassland, with which the children of Geb has become satisfied"

The sign M20 (actually a defectively carved M21, cf. §892b P and N) must be read in Pepi's copy as *sm* "grassland", not *swt* "marshes", for in the latter case there should have been a feminine *t*-ending after *wAD* (as in §1359a: *swt wADt* "green marshes"). Moreover, the versions of Merenre and

Neferkare have the sign *sm*-{reeds with root}-M21. See also the double of this spell – PT 610, §1722a: *baH.k m sm pw baHw nTrw jm.f* "You will be satisfied with the grassland with which the gods are satisfied", and CT III, 89h-90a: *anx.f m sm pw wAD Hr jdbwj ggw.s* "He lives on this green grassland on the two banks of Stare-tree".

For some reasons *sm* is treated as plural, as there is a plural ending *w* after *wAD* in §1018a, though *sm* is actually singular as the coreferent *jm.f* in §1722a shows. For this phenomenon, cf. §471c N: *j.nD(.j) Hr sm jmjw.T sm N jmjw.T* "Greetings, grassland which is in you, grassland of N which is in you", where the plural nisbe *jmjw* reflects the same phenomenon.

Cf. *baHj m sm* "become satisfied with the grassland" with *wnm m sxt* "eat from the marsh":

PT 518, §1200a: *Dj.sn wnm pjppj m sxwt*
"They will let Pepi eat from the marshes"

Of course it are not the marshes themselves that are supposed to be the food for the deceased king, but what was called *kAt sxt* "products of the marsh" on the walls of private Old Kingdom tombs, i. e. birds, fishes etc.

baHj is a 4th-weak verb with *m* as governing preposition, "be/become satisfied with" (just like in the case of other verbs expressing satiety, cf. *sAj m* "be(come) sated with" (§551e), *wAxj m* "become sated with", *Axj m* "become sated with" (CT II, 394a (B1Bo); CT III, 126b (B1Bo), CT VI, 281l), *Aff m/AfAf m* "become satisfied with" (CT II, 394a; CT IV, 23i; CT VI, 196o; CT VII, 227o), *wnm m* "eat of", *zwr m* "drink of" (§816c), *wSb m* "feed on" (§§117a, 394b), *drp m* "feed on/with" (§110), *anx m* "live on" (§816b), *snq m* "suck of/on" (§531c, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col. 21; CT I, 17d), *Hnk m* "present of", *wAgj m* "endow with").

CT III, 81d-f: *anx.j m t m sxt Htp baHy.j m sxt jArw*
"I will live on the bread in the Marsh of Rest, I will be satisfied with the Marsh of Reed"

CT III, 192c (B14): *baH.j m [baHt.Tn nTrw] jm*
"I am being satisfied with what you are satisfied with, gods"

CT VII, 16u: *baH.j m DfA.T* "I am being satisfied with your food"

Naville II, BD 149n, 88-89 (aA): *sxm.j m mw baH.j m nwy*
"I am in control of water, I am being satisfied with waters"

In the papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477) the latter line is reinterpreted as *sxm.j m mw zwrj.j m nwy* "I am in control of water, I am drinking from waters" (Budge, BD149:15-16).

Urk.IV:173:11: *baH.n tAwj m stwt.sn mj sbAw r Xt nwt*
"The Two Lands have become satisfied with their (i. e. obelisks') light like (that of) the stars at the belly of Nut"

Urk.IV:688:1: *mSa Hr baH m xt jrj*
"The army is being satisfied with their (i. e. conquered people's) property"

Urk.IV:430:13: *baH.f m H(n)qt*
"He is being satisfied with beer"

Urk.IV:481:10: *baH tp tA m xt nbt Hr SABw*
"Satisfaction on the earth with any food and meal"

Urk.IV:1061:7-8: *jx <dj> nn nTrw baH{t}.fjm zmA.fjm wnm.fjm zwr jm*
"Then these gods <will give> that with which he will be satisfied, he will partake, he will eat, he will drink" (for <dj>, see *ibid*:1060:14)

Urk.IV:1167:12/1165:14: *baH.k m Htp(t).s/baH.k m Htpt.f*
"You are satisfied with its nourishment"

Urk.IV:347:4: *pt tA baH(.w) m snTr*
"The sky (and) the earth are satisfied with incense"

Urk.IV:220:4-5: *H<a>w.s [baH(.w) m st(j) nTr]*
"her body being satisfied with the god's odour"

Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 46: *baH tm m jrtt* "Atum is being satisfied with milk", *jdwt.k Hna jrtt.sn baH.k jm.sn* "your cows and their milk with which you are being satisfied" (milk as any liquid is plural in Egyptian, hence *jm.sn* "with them")

baHj can also be used transitively "sate, flood, inundate":

CT IV, 145h: *baH.n.j jdbwj* "I have flooded the Two Banks"

Urk.IV:362:14: *baH.n stwt.sn tAwj*
"Their rays have flooded the Two Lands"

Urk.IV:84:8: *As.sn baH.f jnwt.sn*
"their brain(s) flooded their wadis" (said of slaughtered enemies)

P 336 (PT 484)

§1023b: *dm(D).f sw Hna sn.j aftj*
Allen "joining him with his brother up there"

The original has *sn.j* "my brother".

2)
§1024a: *anx rn.f Hr nTrw nTrw*
Allen "His identity lives because of natron, and he is one who is divine"
Shmakov "His identity lives because of divine natron (?)"

The meaning of *nTrw* in this passage is unclear.

P 337 (PT 485)

§1026b: *stpp n.f xpSw*
Allen "forelegs will be selected for him"
Shmakov "forelegs will be cut off for him"

Though the verb *stp* can have both meanings, in such a context it has only the meaning "cut, cut off";

James Allen himself reads *stp xpSw.sn* of §1286a as "sever their forelegs". Cf. also:

PT 372, §653a: *stp.n Hr xpSw xftjw.k*
"Horus has cut off the forelegs of your opponents"

PT 599, §1651c: *jntj.sn stpp n.sn stpwt.sn*
"they are the ones for whom will be cut off their cuts (of beef and fowl)"

Nt 781: *stp.k xpS Hr nmt wrt*
"you shall cut a foreleg on the great butcher's block"

Petrie, *Medum*, pl.11: *st(p)* "Cutting"

Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 6: *stp n.s stpwt* "Cutting the meat (oxen, fowl) cuts for her"

Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 71: *st(p) rn jwA jn sSm* "Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened ox by a butcher"

ibid, Tf. 127: *stp jwA jn sSm* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox by a butcher", *stp rn mA-HD (jn) sSm*
"Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened oryx by a butcher", *stp mA-HD* "Cutting (a carcass of) an oryx"

ibid, Tf. 138: *stp rn mA-HD* "Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened oryx"

Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 11: *stp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox"

Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 29: *stp rn mA-HD* "Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened oryx"

Kanawati, *Inumin*, pl.52 (middle register): *stp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox"

Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 125, after p. 270: *stp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox"

Junker, *Giza X*, Abb. 44, p. 120: *stp* "Cutting"

L.D.II:45, d: *s.xpt jwAt r stp* "Bringing ox(en) for cutting"

L.D.II:92, e: *stp rn jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened ox"

Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 80 fig. 60: *stp m jwA* "Cutting of (a carcass of) an ox"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari IV*, pl. 107: (upper register, left) *sTp gHs* "Cutting (a carcass of) gazelle", *sTp nAw* "Cutting (a carcass of) ibex", *s[T]p rn n mA-HD* "Cutting (a carcass of) a fattened oryx"; (middle register, left) *sTp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox"; (bottom register, left) *sTp xpS.f Sd HAt(j).f* "cut his foreleg, extract his heart", *sTp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox"; (upper register, right) *sTp gHs* "Cutting (a carcass of) gazelle", (middle register, right) *sTp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox", *sTp* "cutting"; (bottom register, right) *sTp jwA* "Cutting (a carcass of) an ox".

Cf. also CT IV, 130a (S1P): *sTp.n.j r(m)T m nTr[w]* "I have parted (lit. cut off) people from god[s]"

In his grammar James Allen mixed two meanings of the verb *stp*, the original meaning "cut" and the derived meaning "select, choose" (because when you cut something off something you select/choose it), thus reading the word *stpwt* "(beef and fowl meat) cuts" as "choice cuts of beef and fowl" (Allen,

M. E., 22.10, p. 307).

2)

§1029c: *xAD n nbw qmA HzAt*

Allen "an undeveloped one of gold whom Hezat created"

Shmakov "dough of gold whom the Wild Cow kneaded"

For the meaning of the verb *qmA*, see **T 194**.

3)

§1030b: *Hrw m jwjw pjpj pn*

Allen "Horus, don't maroon him"

Shmakov "Horus, don't wreck him"

See **P 463**, 2.

P 338 (PT 486)

§1039c: *jbw m-xt snD HAt(j)w m-xt Sat*

Allen "when minds were pervaded with fear and hearts were pervaded with ferocity!"

Shmakov "when hearts were in the grip of fear (and) bulls' hearts were in the grip of veneration"

Literally "when hearts were in fear's wake (and) bulls' hearts were in veneration's wake"

The use of the compound preposition *m-xt* "after, behind" is one of the ways to express relations of ownership, the verb "to have" being absent in Egyptian. The prepositions *Xr* "under" and *xr* "with" can be used for the same purpose; e.g., *bw Xr ra* "the place which has the Sun, the place where the Sun is (lit. the place under the Sun)" (§756b), *Htp xr.f* "an offering he has (lit. with him)" (§897b M), *Htpt nbt xr.n Df(A) nb xr.n* "all nourishment we have (lit. with us)" (Urk.IV:245:3). The notion connected with being "behind, in the wake of" (*m-xt*) someone is that of following someone, i.e. being in the service of someone, hence of belonging to someone, while the notion of being under (*Xr*) something is that of carrying something, i.e. holding it, hence of possessing or containing something.

PT 298, §443b: *fdw jpw rwDw jmjw-xt Tbwt Asjr(t)*

"these four strings which Osiris's sandal has (lit. which are behind Osiris's sandal, i. e. which belong to Osiris's sandal)"

PT 665D, Nt 744: *njst.f jr.k jxt <m>-xt.j nj rn.k js*

"he who will address you (as) "My property (lit. the thing behind me)" – that is not your name"

Urk.I:14:11: *mDdt wDAt m-xt(j)* "the whole share that I have (lit. which is behind me)"

Urk.I:75:12: *pr n(j) xrw m nt(j)t m-xt.Tn* "offer for me of what you have (lit. of what is behind you)",

This latter expression is a variant of *m nt(j)t m a.Tn* "...of what is in your arm" (e.g., *jw.Tn r drp n.j m nt(j)t m a.Tn* "You are to offer me of what is in your arm" (CM CG 20003)), another way to say "of what you have" (see Allen, *M. E.*, 10.7).

CT III, 317r: *nn j{w}zft m-xt.j* "I have no disorder (lit. absent is disorder behind me)"

Urk.IV:96:13: *nn HA A m-xt.k* "You have no need" (lit. absent is "If only I had" behind you).

Sethy I, *Abydos III*, pl. 49: *Szp.j jr.k n m-xt(j)* "I receive what you have made into my ownership (lit. for my behind)"

Cf. also **T 196**, 9. For *HAtj* as "bull's heart", see **W 148**, 3.

P 340 (PT 488)

§1048d: *gnHsw js mA mSr.f*

Allen "as a falcon seen in the evening"

Shmakov "being a falcon that sees his evening"

P 342 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 3: *jm xbn xrw.f.j.wD.sn pppj pn n sr [...]*

Allen "that he might not be found guilty. They shall commend this Pepi to the official [...]"

Shmakov "that he might not be found guilty (lit. that his voice might not become guilty) and that they might not hand this Pepi over to the judge (for judgment) [...]"

jm "that might not" refers to both clauses: *xbn xrw.f* and *j.wD.sn pppj pn n sr*, cf. PT 486, §§1041b-d, 1042b-c. This spell (**P 342**) is a variant of **P 355**.

P 344 (PT 267)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 6: *[jwd] pppj pn m wjA.k ra s[T Tw] pr.k m Axt [sT sw] abA m a.f m sqd wjA.k ra ja.f n pt Hr.f jr tA Hr. {t} (j) jr Hmt [SnDwt]*

Allen

"This Pepi will row in your boat, Sun. When [you] are emerging from the Akhet, he, with his baton in his arm, will be the one sailing your boat, Sun, that he may ascend to the sky and go away from the land, and you may be away from (earthly cares of) wife and kilt"

Shmakov

"This Pepi will [push off] in your boat, Sun. When [you] are emerging from the Behind the Horizon, he, with (his) baton in his arm, will be the one sailing your boat, Sun, that he may ascend to the sky and go away from the land, away from the wife-kilt"

The verb in question is not *Xnj* "row", as the visible remnant of the sign represents {arms holding forked pole} (cf. {forked pole} of §368a), thus the verb is *jwd* "push off". The original (?) 2ms suffix *.k* "you" had been changed to 3ms *.f* "he" by Pepi's editor in *ja.f n pt Hr.f jr tA*, but the 2ms stative suffix *.tj* in the following *Hr.t(j)* has not been changed to 3ms *.j*, probably by mistake. James Allen read it as "and you may be away" despite the fact that the suffix *.tj* had been kept mistakenly, but a stative does not express a purpose. For the reading "wife-kilt", see **W 174**, 3.

P 345 (PT —)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 9: *[jd]tj km[tj mna]tj bAw jwnw xn(m)t(j) t*

Allen "the two black cows, the nurses of the bas of Heliopolis, [whose...] snatch [...]"

Shmakov "the two black cows, the two [nurses] of the bas of Heliopolis, the two bread-cooks [...]"

The sign that follows *xn(m)t t*, namely {kneeling legs with crossed sticks on them}, looks like a mutilated {a sitting woman with kerchief on her head holding crossed sticks}-D122, a reading which also fits the context of nursing. For the reading "bread cook", see **T 194**. For the restoration *[jd]tj km[tj mna]tj*, see §531c and Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col. 21.

P 347 (PT 706)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.8, col. 19: [...] *k Hrw nb wA[D...]*

Allen "Recitation without pause: [...] you as lord of [...]"

This is actually a slightly changed §457c: *Dd mdw Dd [zp 4 bA n.k spd n].k Hrw nb wA[D Hrwj wADwj]*

"Recitation [four times] with pause(s): [You have become impressive, you have become sharp], Horus, lord of malachite. [A pair of green Horuses]"

Thus this passage is a part of **P 346** (= **W 206** = PT 301). For the reading *Dd* as "with pause(s)", see **W 216**, 2. Spell **P 347** (= PT 706) is actually a variant of PT 325, thus its number actually should have been PT 325B.

P 356 (PT —)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 51: [*wab.n n.f psDtj*] *msx[tjw j.xm sk]*

Allen "[...] Meskhenet"

Shmakov "[for whom the Dual Ennead have cleaned the imperishable] Adze (i. e. the Great Bear constellation)"

This spell is similar to PT 302, hence the restoration (see §458b-c).

P 357 (PT 508)

§1107b: *j.Ha r.s nbt dp nxnx jb n Hr(j)t jb nxb*

Allen "[The lady of Dep has become aroused], the heart of her in the midst of Nekheb has become carefree"

Shmakov "The lady of Dep (i. e. Wadjet) has become excited, the heart of her in the midst of Nekheb (i. e. Nekhbet) has become glad (lit. endured, grown up)"

nx(j)nx(j) is derived from the root *nx(j)* "endure, grow up" (see **T 248**, 2). Cf. CT III, 158b: *j.nxn jb.k jm.j* "Let your heart be glad of me (lit. let your heart endure through/due to me)".

2)

§1110a-b: *mdw pt sdA tA Agbgb nTrw jwnw Hr xrw wdnt tp-awj pjpp*

Allen "The sky has spoken, [the earth has shaken, the gods of Heliopolis have quivered, at the sound of] the offering [presented before Pepi]"

Shmakov "The sky has spoken, [the earth has shaken, the gods of Heliopolis have moved/danced, at the sound of] the gong/signal [before Pepi]"

The main question of the passage lies in the expression *Hr xrw wdnt* "at the sound of *wdnt*" – how can an offering make a sound? This expression suggests that *wdnt* is not an offering at all. The word *wdnt* occurs exclusively in the expression *sq(j) wdnt*, the meaning of which will be discussed below.

a) *wdnt* is not a food offering, as all food offerings or meals have a special determinative in the Pyramid Texts and in the private Old Kingdom tombs: it is the {tall bread loaf, beer jug, flat and round bread loaf} determinative, cf. *wAHt* (§101c), *pXr* (§818a), *wdHw* (§696a), *jxt/xt* (§§558b, 559c, 707d), *jStt* (§§121c, 717b), *hmt* (§334b), *Htp nTr* (§772b), *aAbt* (§§130c, 310b, 880d), *baHt* (§555b), *xfAt* (§880d), *snt* (§716a), *Dnjt* (§716b), *jaw* (§716a), *st* (§§120a, 123f), *Htp* (§130b), *Sb(w)* (§290d T), *mswt* (§§291a, 716b), *prr-xrw* (§1649a), moreover, *swH* (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig.137.1; Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 112 (transposed in the original as *sHw*)), *dbHt Htp* (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 109, 135) in the private Old Kingdom Tombs.

We know of *wdnt* and *sq(j) wdnt* only from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, which is unusual, for we know other kind of offerings (meal, furniture or implements) from the offering-lists in the private O.K. and later tombs. For example the expression *sq(j)/sqr t HD* "lay down a white bread" (Wb.IV:307:9) often occurs in temple inscriptions.

b) The Old Kingdom inscriptions usually use different word-formations to express the notion of laying down the offering meal: *wAH xt* "lay down a meal" (Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 22, cf. also **P 37**), e.g. Urk.IV:430:11: *pr.f Hr njs wAH xt m jz.j n Xr(j)-nTr* "he will go forth to a call of the depositor of meal in my tomb of the necropolis".

c) If *wdnt* is somehow a kind of an offering, then we need to see any action with it or an actor, but the discussed passage has none; *wdnt* is used with the verb *sq(j)/sqr* in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, so in our case it could be **Hr xrw sq(j) wdnt* "at the voice of the depositor of the *wdnt*" to make sense, cf. OIP 102, plate 8 and 10A: *dj.f prt m bA anxy Hr xrw n wAH xt n kA n N*
"he gives: emerging as a living ba at the voice of the depositor of meal for the ka of N".

The same verb *sq(j)* is used in the expression *sq(j) bnt* or *sq(j) m bnt* "play on the harp", and *sqr bDwj/Hmwj* "beat a gong":

CT I, 74f-g: *Ast pw Hna nbt-Hwt {j}m sqr n.k bDwj/Hmwj m-bAH nTrw*
"This is Isis with Nephthys as the beaters of the gong for you before the gods"

Cf. *sq(j) wdnt tp-awj N* of the current passage with *sqr bDwj/Hmwj m-bAH nTrw* "beat a gong before the gods".

CT I, 248b: *sDm.f sqr n.f m Hmwj*
"He hears a beating for him on the gong"

Moreover, in §1110a-b the gods are probably "moving, dancing" (*Agbgb ~ Axbxb*, see **T 225**, 2; **M 52**) at the sound of the *wdnt*. This all suggests that *wdnt* could be a kind of musical instrument, such as a gong or a harp.

The expression *sq(j) wdnt* also occurs in the Coffin Texts:

CT V, 292c-d: *j.zj m Htp Asjr(t) N pn j.zj m Htp xbs.t(w) n.k tA sqr.t(w) n.k wdnt jr.t(w) n.k xt xAw m xm*
"Go in peace, this Osiris N! Go in peace! The ground will be dug up for you, the signal will be given to you (or "a gong has been beaten for you"), evening ritual will be performed for you in Letopolis".

CT II, 49b-d: *XA n.j antjw kAp n.j snTr xbs n.j tA sqr n.j wdnt tp-awj Ast Hna nbt-Hwt*
"Myrrh has been pulverized (?) for me, incense censured for me, the ground dug up for me, a signal given (or "a gong beaten") for me before Isis and Nephthys"

CT VI, 158g-j: *hA Asjr(t) N m(j) r.k mA.k Asjt xbs.t(w) n.k tA sqr.t(w) n.k wdnt jr.t(w) n.k zA tA*
"Ho, Osiris N, come and see Osiris, the ground has been dug up for you, the signal has been given to you, homage (lit. guarding the ground) has been done to you"

CT VII, 193n-o: *rdj n.f jA(w) sq(j) n.f wdnt jn jmjw pr wr*
"Praise has been given to him, a gong has been beaten for him by those in the Great house (shrine)"

It is noteworthy that Harold Hays in his dissertation also wonders at a problem of reading *wdnt* (at least in the current passage) and reads *Hr xrw wdnt* in this passage as "at the sound of the litany" (Hays,

Structure, p.287, note 274), giving the reference on the reading of *wdnt* to the work of Siegfried Schott, "*Eine ägyptische Bezeichnung für Litaneien*" in *Ägyptologische Studien (Hermann Grapow zur 70. Geburtstag gewidmet)*, edited by O. Firchow. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, pp.289-295.

3)

§1111a-b: *Sdj.n sw mwt.f bAst(j)t j.s.nx.n sw Hr(j)t-jb nxb*

Allen "His mother Bastet has taken him, she in the midst of Nekheb has nurtured him"

Shmakov "His mother Bastet has brought him up, she in the midst of Nekheb has nurtured (lit. prolonged) him"

The verb *Sdj* means "bring up, rear, suckle" in the passage, see Wb.IV:564:17: "säugen" (yet Allen probably meant by his literal reading "taken him in", i.e., brought him up as her own):

CT I, 48a-c: *jw ms.n sw Ast jw Sd.n sw nxbt jw AT.n sw ATyt Hr w*

"Isis has given him birth, Nekhbet has suckled (*Sd*) him, Horus's nurse has brought him up"

Urk.I:199:7: *Sd.n(j) Xrdw.sn* "I have reared their children"

Urk.IV: 578:6 (also 578:10:14, 580:17, 581:5:9): *Twt zA(.j) Sd.n(j) m jrTt.j jptn jmjt(j)*

"You are my son whom I suckled with this my milk which is in me"

Urk.IV:579:8-10: *s.nxn.j tw...Sd.n(j) tw m jrTt.j*

"I have nurtured you...I have brought you up with my milk"

Urk.IV:241:8: *mnat wrt Sdt nbt tAwj* "elder foster mother who brought up the Lady of the Two Lands"

See also **M 52** (PT 592, §1623b): "that you may rear (*Sdj*) them". For the meaning of the verb *s.nx*, see **T 248**, 2.

The name of the goddess Bastet probably has the meaning "Bast-resident, She of Bast" as the town with this name occurs as the residence of this goddess in Urk.IV:432:9: *bAst(j)t Hr(j)t jb bAst* "Bastet in the midst of (i. e. residing in) Bast". This is another divinity's name formed as a nisbe of a town name, cf. the name of the goddess Nekhbet, *nxb(j)t* "Nekhbite, Nekheb-resident" (see §696d *nxb(j)t* where it is spelled with {village plan} determinative).

4)

§1118b: *jw.n.f xr nrtj.f jptwt(j) nrt(j)*

Allen "[he has come to] those [two mothers of his], the vultures"

Shmakov "he has come to these two shepherding vultures of his"

The first two {vulture} signs are *nrtj* "two vultures", and those signs are a little bit different from those for *mwt* "mother" (the tail of the *nr*-{vulture} is carved more precisely than that of the *mwt*-{vulture}, see also §1229c for *nr*-{vulture}). Moreover, there is no complementary *t* and it would be strange to use the demonstrative pronoun *jptwt(j)* "these" after the word for "mothers". The next *nrtj* is the dual participle of the verb *nr* "shepherd, take care" (cf. §1611b *j.s.nrt* "shepherding one"; Urk.IV:268:16: *nr kmt* "who shepherds Egypt"; ibid:361:17-362:1: *stp(t).n.f r nrw kmt r nryt pat rxyt* "whom he has chosen to (the office of) the shepherd of Egypt, to shepherd the elite and subjects"; ibid:543:11, 545:4: *nrw rxyt* "who shepherds subjects").

P 361 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 12, col. 1-2: *mrHt n Hr w mrHt [n stS mrHt n] Asjr(t) mrHt n (j)t(j).f mrHt n [...]*
Allen "Ointment of Horus, ointment of [...! Ointment of] Osiris, ointment of my father, ointment of [this Pepi]!"

Shmakov "Ointment for Horus, ointment [for Seth! Ointment for] Osiris, ointment for the father, ointment for [...]!"

This passage is similar to PT 686, §2071a: *mrHt n Hr w mrHt n stS* "Ointment for Horus, ointment for Seth!", hence the restoration. The original of the discussed passage also gives *n* "for", not *nt* "of" (as *mrHt* is feminine).

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 12, col. 4: [...] *nj nwr n Dt [Dt]*

Allen "[...] without becoming weary forever"

Shmakov "[...] without being unsettled (?) for the course of [Dt-time]"

Cf. Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col.13: *nj nwr n Dt Dt* "without stopping for the course of Dt-time". For the reading, see **P 30**, 3.

P 363 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col. 2-3: *hA pjpj pw m(j) wnx n.k jrt Hr w xr.k jmjt tAjt*

Allen "Ho, Pepi! Come, get dressed! Horus's eye from Ta'it-town is with you"

Shmakov "Oh, this Pepi, come, put on Horus's eye with you which is a linen fabric"

For the comments, see **W 54**, **T 220**. For *wnx n.k jrt Hr w xr.k* "put on Horus's eye with you", cf. also §§21a: *nxx n.k jrt Hr w wDAt xr.k*, 115b: *Hw nxx jrt Hr w xr.k*, 216c: *hA nxx n.k xr.k*, 591c N: *H(w) hA nxx n.k xr.k*.

P 365 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col. 10-11: *j.(n)D(.j) Hr.k wAD [...] jrt dwA...wADw n dwA*

Allen "Greetings, green eyepaint that endows Ha's eye...green eyepaint of Ha"

Shmakov "Greetings, green eyepaint [...] Duau's eye...green eyepaint of Duau"

The sign for the god's name is R60 {something on a standard} (it also occurs in §§480d, 994b, 1155a P), not *HA* the {desert hill on a standard}, thus the god is Duau (*dwAw*, spelled phonetically in §1155a N), not Ha (*HA*). For the occurrences of this god in the O.K., see Jones, *Titles*, ## 1308 (*wn-a dwAw*), 2142 (*Hm-nTr dwAw*), 2177 (*Hm dwAw*).

P 371 (PT 490)

§1053, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 4: *mry-ra pw n[r] kA jr(j) fdt jStt jr(j) s[fx]t [j]w [fdt] r pt xmtt r tA jw xmtt [r tA] fdt r pt*

Allen "Meryre is a bullherd to whom belongs four meals and seven meals, for [four] are for the sky and three are for the earth, for three are for [the earth] and four are for the sky"

Shmakov "Meryre is a shep[herd] of bull(s) attached to four meals and seven meals, for [four] are (chargeable) to the sky and three are (chargeable) to the earth, for three are (chargeable) to [the earth] and four are (chargeable) to the sky"

See **W 140**, 4.

P 376 (PT 493)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 12: *s.fg jrw Hr jb jAxw*

Allen "Mysterious of Form in the midst of the sunlight"

Shmakov "The One Who Discards/Sheds Form in the midst of the sunlight"

In Egyptian, "Mysterious of Form" would be *StA jrw* "Secret/Hidden of Form" (CT IV, 298-299a, Urk.V:88:9, 92:3), which also occurs in an expression in PT 468, §896a and PT 677, §2026a: *s.StA jrw.f jnpw js* "the one who secretes his form being Anubis". *s.fg* is a variant spelling of the verb *s.fx* "loosen, let loose, shed" (a case of /x/ ~ /g/, see **M 52**). Shaking off/Sheding a form may refer to its changing.

P 378 (PT 495)

§1064a-e, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 14: *j psDt aAt m jwnw nbt psDwt jSt.f m xnt jtrt jw xt 2 nt pppj m Ddw [jw xt 3.f m (?)] Hwt*

Allen "O Big Ennead in Heliopolis, mistress of the Enneads! His meal is at the fore of the shrine: the two meals of Pepi are in Busiris, [his three meals are in] the god's enclosure"

Shmakov "Oh Elder Ennead in Heliopolis, mistress of the Enneads, (put) his meal is at the fore of the shrine! The two meals of Pepi are (chargeable) to Busiris, [his three meals are (chargeable in)to ?] the enclosure"

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 14: *ja sw hdn rDj.f t n jmjw pAwt.s[n]*

Allen "The broom-plant will wash himself and give bread to those from the original time"

Shmakov "The broom-plant will wash him (i. e. Pepi) and he will give bread to those from the original time"

Note that this *h(A)dn*-plant was used for making a broom:

Sethy I, *Abydos II*, pl. 34: *r n jnt rd m hAdn jj.t(j) DHwtj nHm.n.f jrt Hrw m-a xftjw.f nn aq DAYw DAYt r r-pr pn jnt aA jn ptH s.mn aA jn DHwtj jnt aA mn aA m z jn nswt*

"A spell of sweeping away the footprints (lit. leg) with a broom. Welcome, Thoth having saved Horus's eye from his opponents. Adversaries (male and female) will not enter this chapel. The (door)-leaf has been brought by Ptah, the (door)-leaf has been set by Thoth, (another) (door)-leaf has been brought and furnished with door-bolt by the king".

P 395 (PT 501B)

§1072a-b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 29: *nx n.j jStt xmtt wat r pt snt r tA*

Allen "three meals are reserved for me: one [for] the sky and two for the earth"

Shmakov "three meals are secured (?) for me: one is (chargeable) to the sky, two are (chargeable) to the earth"

See **W 140**, 4.

P 396 (PT 501c)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 30: *bnbn Hrw Hr jrt.f nt Dt.f wnm.n.f s(j) am.n.f s(j)*

Allen "Horus groaned because of his eye of his body, when he had eaten it and swallowed it"

Shmakov "Horus has become active because of his own eye, having eaten it and swallowed it"

For the meaning of the verb *bn(bn)*, see **P 312**. James Allen read the verb as "groan" and commented that "The Egyptian word means "make a sound like a heron." (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 204, № 89), but the spelling of the verb has the {bn-bird} sign, which hardly can be identified as a heron, at least not in the

O.K. The verb has the {bnbn-stone} sign as the determinative, which could refer to the meaning "be(come) erect/active".

P 404 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 36: *Sns ds m H[z]p [...]*

Allen "A loaf of *Sns*-bread and a jug (of beer) from the inundation [...]"

Shmakov "A loaf of *Sns*-bread and a jug (of beer) from the garden [...]"

The word in question is *Hzp* "garden" with the {area with irrigation canal system}-N24E sign as the determinative, whereas the word *H(j)p(j)* "Nile-flood" has the {canal} sign as the determinative.

P 407 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 37: *pr spdt sd.t(j) m spdt.s*

Allen "Sothis has come forth, clad in her tailed kilt and her sharp garment"

Shmakov "Sothis has emerged, clad in her sharp garment"

There is no "her tailed kilt" in the original, the stative *sd.t(j)* has *spdt.s* as indirect object, hence the proposed reading.

P 432 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 10, col. 29: *[wab].Tn pjpp [p]n DHwtj Hna xnt(j) [jrtj...]*

Allen "You shall clean this Pepi for Thoth and [Eyes]-Forward [...]"

Shmakov "You shall clean this Pepi, Thoth and [Eyes]-Forward [...]"

There is no *n* "for" in the passage, the *n* which James Allen treats as preposition is a part of the demonstrative pronoun *pn* after Pepi's name.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 10, col. 32: *[s.Hr(?)] pjpp pn m.nbDt [x]sj pjpp [pn] mdst*

Allen "This Pepi [has...] from destructiveness, [this] Pepi [has...] it from violence"

Shmakov "This Pepi [has distanced/removed] destructiveness, [this] Pepi [has expelled] violence"

The verb *[x]sj* is probably a variant spelling of the verb *xsr* "expel, drive away", a case of /r/ ~ /j/, see **W 166**, 1, i. The nouns *m.nbDt* and *mdst* are formed through the formative model "the prefix *m* plus a root", see **T 159**, 2.

P 448 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 28: *mwt.k nwt*

Allen "your mother, the sky"

The text has *mwt.k nwt* "your mother, Nut".

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 28: *jw n.k jmt(j)wt wAH.sn msprw [...]*

Allen "The women of Buto will come to you and put termini at [...]"

Shmakov "The women of Buto will come to you and put sunshades [...]"

The word *mspr* occurs as the name of Ti's village in the mastaba of Ti (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 115): *mspr Tjj* "Ti's sunshade". This word has triple {reed panicle} sign as the determinative (the {reed panicle} has the form as in the O.K. variant of M19 or M57).

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 29: *Azx.n(j) jt n Hbnnwt.k Azx(j) bdt n rnpwt.k*

Allen "grain has been reaped for your *Hbnnwt*-breads, emmer has been reaped for your fresh grain"

Shmakov "I have reaped grain for your scones, I have reaped emmer for your fresh provisions"

This passage has *sDm.n.f* and perfective *sDm.f* (if it is not a mistake for a second *sDm.n.f*) with *lms* suffix, not passive *sDm.f*, see **T 204**, 3. For the reading of *rnpwt*, see **P 327**, 5.

4)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 29: *gmmtj.n DD.n n.k*

Allen "Whatever is found is for us to give you"

Shmakov "Whatever we find we give to you"

gmmtj.n "what we find" is a relative form (see **T 203**, 3).

P 449 (PT 510)

§1140c: *Xr(j) TAw st wrt sT st wrt s.Sw.s Hr js*

Allen "with the breath of Isis when Isis was elevating (him) as Horus"

Shmakov "the one who has the wind of the Great Seat/Place (i. e. the sky) when the Great Seat was elevating (him) being Horus"

The passage has *st wrt* "Great Seat/Place (i. e. the sky)" (§1101d: *jr pt zp 2 jr st wrt* "to the sky, to the sky, to the great place"), not *Ast wrt* "Isis the Great" (§1214b).

2)

§1143b: *AxAx.s*

Allen "its [*i. e. the sky's* – T. S.] stars"

In another section, James Allen translates *AxAx* differently as "flood of stars" (Allen, *P. T.*, Nt 249, p. 327), supposing that the word has the root *Ax* "be(come) full", i. e. is a paronym to such words as *s.AxAx* "flood" (§1214a), *jAxj* "be(come) full-watered", *wAxj* "become sated, become full". The present author agrees and would add the proposition that *jAxw* "sunlight" also derives from this root, so that *jAxw* "sunlight" would literally mean something like "flood of light" or "that which floods" (cf. also the word *stwt* "beams, rays", likely of the root *stj* "pour out", i. e. literally "something poured out").

P 450 (PT 511)

§1152c: *wab.n.fm S(j)w dwAt*

Allen "having become clean in the Duat's lakes"

Shmakov "having become clean in the morning lakes"

See **P 38**, 3 for the meaning of *dwAt*.

2)

§1156a: *Szp.f abA xrp.fr nTrw*

Allen "He will receive the offering slab and manage the "gods-mouth" altar"

Shmakov "He will receive the offering slab, he will manage (the offering chapel) "Mouth of the Gods""

For *r nTrw* "Mouth of the Gods", see **Nt 243**.

3)

§1156b-d: *rmn.n.f pt m anx twA.f tA m Awt jb a.f pw jmn(tj) rmn.f pt m wAs a.f pw jAb(tj) twA.f tA m Awt jb*

Allen "He will shoulder the sky with life and support the earth with happiness: this right arm of his will shoulder the sky with a staff, this left arm of his will support the earth with happiness"

Shmakov "He has shouldered the sky with (a symbol of) life (and) is leaning on the earth with happiness: it (means) that his right arm shoulders the sky with *wAs*-staff, his left arm leans on the earth with happiness"

The picture invoked by the current passage is the deceased who supports the sky while leaning on the earth (cf. James Allen's own reading of the passages §1529a, c: *P. T.*, **P 519**, p. 184). Moreover, it is impossible for the deceased to support the earth even theoretically, as he is on its surface (not under it) and is bearing the sky.

4)

§1158c: *s.sn.n.f TAw baH.f m (m)Hwt*

Allen "he has breathed the air of his abundance, the north wind"

Shmakov "he has breathed the air, he is being satisfied with the north wind"

The initial *m* of the noun *mHwt* "north wind" has probably been omitted so as to avoid having to write two *m*'s in a row, cf. the same phenomenon in §§50b: *mH.n(j) n.k jrt.k m (m)Dt* "I have filled for you your eye with ointment"; 52b W: *dd T(m) m HAt wnjs pn* "put yourself on the brow of this Unis"; 384b: *DA.k sw m (m)Xnt tw* "that you may transport him in this ferryboat"; 541a MN: *pr m (m)Hn* "emerged as coiled snake"; 1479a M: *m (m)sktt...m (m)anDt* "in the evening bark...in the morning bark"; 1800c: *mH Tw m (m)Dt* "fill yourself with ointment"; *sx(m) m* "have control of" (for references see **W 134**); Urk.I:105:13: *xnt m Abw mHt m (m)Dnjt* "south to Elephantine, north to Medenit"; CT VI, 223c (S6P): *Hay m (m)A.f* "get excited at his sight"; Urk.IV:341:13-14: *nn rqw.s mm rsww nn jTnw.s mm (m)Htjw* "there are no rebels of her among the southerners, there are no adversaries of her among the northerners"; Urk.IV:366:6-7: *m (m)sktt m (m)a(n)dt* "in the evening bark...in the morning bark". This phenomenon also occurs with other signs, cf. two *t*'s in a row – §817b: *wAt f(P)* for *wAt tf(MN)* "that way"; §1630a N: *Ast w* for *Ast tw* "this is Isis"; two *w*'s in a row – §877c N: *sbA pw (w)a.tj* for *sbA pw wa.tj* "this lone star"; two *r*'s in a row – Urk.I:123:2, 133:1: *mr.n(j) nfrn(j)* for *nfr rn(j)* "my name to be fair"; §396a T: *Xrdwj.f* for *Xr rdwj.f* "under his feet", §604c N: *x rT* for *xr r(m)T* "by people", §1481b N: *j rd wr* for *jr rd wr* "at the great causeway" and §1734a M: *jrn.k pw* for *jr rn.k pw* "according to this your name".

Moreover "air of his abundance" would probably be **TAw n baH.f* (cf. §1158a: *TAw n anx* "air of life"), rather than the *TAw baH.f* in the text. For the verb *baHj m* "be satisfied with", see **P 334**.

5)

§1160a: *d.f gn(w)t.f xr r(m)T mrwt.f xr nTrw*

Allen "He shall put his annals among people and love of him among the gods"

Shmakov "He shall put his annals to people and love of him to the gods"

Just to give a more literal translation, with *xr* having the meaning "to" (as in *jj/jw xr* "Come to"), cf. also Urk.IV:936:6: *dj[t f]Aw.f xt jdbwj Sfsft.f xr nTrw* "Placing of his influence throughout the Two Banks, respect of him – to the gods".

P 453 (PT 513)

§1172c: *anx.k m anx pw nDm anxw nb Axt jm.f*

Allen "You shall...live in that pleasant life in which the lord of the Akhet lives"

Shmakov "You shall live this pleasant life which the lord of the Behind the Horizon lives"

PT 537, §1301c: *anx.tj m anx xpr*

"Live the life of the beetle"

(Allen's) Nt 252, §Nt 698: *anx nt m anx.k*

"Neith will live your life"

The collocation *anx m anx* "live life" (lit. "live through life", in Russian "git' gizzn'u") is probably an intransitive variant of transitive *anx anx* "live life" (§§821a, 1528d, 1529b,d, see **P 519**).

There are lots of transitive verbs which can also occur in intransitive constructions having the same meaning:

zby "reach" (transitive in the O.K., for instance in the expressions *zb jmAx* "attain honor", *zby Htp* "attain contentment" (L.D.II:43c, d) and *zby r* "attain to", *sn* "kiss" and *sn r* "kiss to" (Urk.IV:243:6), *wnm* "eat" and *wnm m* "eat of", *zwr* "drink" and *zwr m* "drink of", *snq* "suck, suckle" (§§381d, 911c N, 912a, 1109a, b; CT VI, 97d: *snq jr*) and *snq m* "suck, suck on/of" (§§531c, 911c P, 2208b; CT I, 17d: *snq.k m mwt.k*), *Hbs* and *Hbs m* "dress in, put on, wear", *wrH* "anoint" and *wrH m* "anoint with", *zAb* and *zAb m* "play (lit. blow) (*mAt* "transverse flute", *mmt* "double clarinet")", *sq(j)* and *sq(j) m* "play (*bnt* "harp")", *nD* and *nD Hr* (since the M.K.) both "tend", *twr* and *twr Hr* "revere", *Sdj m* (CT I, 167eB12Cb) and *Sdj* (B13Cb, B16C) "bring up, rear, suckle", *zmA xt* (Urk.IV:112:17) and *zmA r/m xt* "partake of (food)" (CT III, 21c; Urk.IV:1011:3, 1165:15, 1167:13), *Htp st* "occupy a seat" (Louvre C 12; CT VII, 2d; Urk.VII 48:16; Urk.IV:66:5, 83:2, 500:10, 559:16, 836:5, 896:9, 1038:2; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 114) and *Htp Hr st* "take a seat", lit. "rest upon a seat" (Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 40).

P 458 (PT 504)

§1082a-b: *jjr pt m jrp s.ms.j.n nwt zAt.s dwAt*

Allen "The sky has become pregnant with wine, Nut has delivered her daughter the morning star"

Shmakov "The sky has become pregnant with wine-colored liquid (i. e. blood), Nut has given birth to her daughter – the morning"

For comments, see **P 38**, 3.

2)

§1083a: *S(j)w dwAt(j)w*

Allen "Duat lakes"

Shmakov "morning lakes"

P 460 (PT 506)

§1094c: *mrjj-ra p zwnT dbn pt*

Allen "Meryre is Zewentju, the sky's coffer"

Shmakov "Meryre is Zewentju who circumnavigates the sky"

Sethy's edition also provides the original (older) version of this passage (*mrjj-ra zwnT dbn n pt*) in which *dbn* has the {stroke}-Z1 sign, which may indicate that we should read it as "coffer", but not per se so. The {coffer} sign after *dbn* is sooner an phonetic influence (see **T 228**, 10) on the verb *dbn* "go around, circumnavigate" as the word for "coffer" was also *dbn*. Linking Zewentju with travel is further

supported by texts as PT 483, §1019b: *dbn.k pt mj zwnTw* "You will circumnavigate the sky like Zewentju", Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 5, col. 17-18: *dbn.k pt m Dba.k mj zwnT* "You shall circumnavigate the sky through your finger like Zewentju", PT 511, §1152a: [*xn*]z{j}.*f pt mr zwnT* "He shall course the sky like Zewentju", PT 528, §1250a: *zwnT xnz pt zp 9 n grH* "Zewentju, who courses the sky nine times a night".

2)

§1098c-d: *mrjj-ra pj bA anx zpA Hr aSm tp.f*

Allen "Meryre is the living Ba with the face of a centipede and the head of a sacred image"

Shmakov "Meryre is the living Ram with the face of a centipede, whose head delights"

aSm in the passage is a verb, and *aSm tp.f* is an unmarked relative clause, lit. "(who) his head delights" (cf. **W 5**, 5, **M 392**). For *bA* as the "Ram", see **P 292**.

P 461 (PT 507)

§1106a-b: *wrjt.f wrjt.f wnn mrjj-ra m wrjt.f*

Allen "His father is great, his father is great, and Meryre will be a great one of his father"

Shmakov "His greatness, his greatness, Meryre will be in his greatness!"

The text probably has *wrjt*, rather than **wr jt(j)*, cf. PT 410, §719b: *wn tjt m wrwt.k wnn tjt m wrwt.k* "Teti is in your greatness, Teti will be in your greatness"

PT 200, §116b: *wrjt(j) pD Tw m rn.k pAD*

"You of the greatness, spread yourself in your identity of the loaf (of incense)"

For *wrwt* ~ *wrjt* (variation *w* ~ *j*), cp. *jwr* ~ *jjr* (§1082a P) "become pregnant", *xAw* (§1196b M) ~ *xAj* (ibid N) "measuring line", *ktjt* (§§403b, 409b W) ~ *ktwt* (ibid T) "slaughtering blocks", *z(j)n* ~ *zwn* (§909d) "perish", *bjAj* (§800d PM) ~ *bjAw* "copper" (ibid N).

P 462 (PT 509)

§§1125b-1126a: *abA{j}.f mnH.j m a.f fA{j.j}<f> a.f jr Hnmmt*

Allen "his papyrus-scepter baton in his arm. My arm will be lifted toward the populace"

Shmakov "his baton lies in his arm. <He> shall lift his arm toward the Sunlight's people"

Compare:

PT 554, §1371b: *abA.k mnH.j m Drt.k*

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 6, col. 709+2: *abA.k wAH.j m Drt.k*

"your baton lies in your hand"

mnH ~ *wAH* "lie" would be a case of the allophones /*A*/ ~ /*n*/ and /*m*/ ~ /*w*/, cf. *wAH* (Wb.I:257:13) ~ *mAH* (Wb.II:31:1) "wreath" (see also **W 166**, 1). Both verb forms are 3ms statives with the *j*-ending spelled out (for other cases of the stative ending being spelled out, see **W 134**, 2). Pepi I's editor has emended an original 1st person suffixes *.j* to 3rd person suffixes *.f* in the whole spell, but forgot to add *.f* to the original *fAj.j* "I shall lift (my arm)". *wAH* spelled *mnH* also occurs in (Allen's) N 510, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.14, col. +74: *Szp n.k abA.k pw mnH Hr wrw xrp.k psDt* "Receive for you this your baton lying over the great ones that you may govern the Nine (Arcs)".

P 463 (PT 515)

§1176a: *smawj Hr w*

Allen "Horus's sounding-poles"

Shmakov "Horus's two pushing poles"

Such poles were used for pushing off the ground: CT I, 267f: *dj(.j) wD.k m sma n mH 40 m srd* "I will cause you to push off with a pole of forty cubits long" and off the marsh's bottom to sail, cf. L.D.II:56: *wd m SA* "Pushing off in the marsh". The verb *wd/wD* "push off" (sometimes prefixed with *j.*) is determined with the sign {man pushing off with a pole} in CT V, 213b; CT VII, 261a.

PT 267, §368a: *j.wd wnjs pn tA m wjA.k ra*
"This Unis will push off the earth in your bark, Sun"

CT V, 213b: *wD.k r pt rswt Xnj.k r pt mHt(j)t*
"You will push off from the south sky and row to the north sky"

CT VI, 264m-n: *jnk Szp wDyt m wjA xrp mAa HAt(j)t m dpt nTr*
"I am the one who receives the pushing pole (*wDyt*) in the leading bark and pulls front rope in the god's boat".

2)
§1176b: *DAjj pppj pn mjj jwjj sw*
Allen "ferry this Pepi; don't maroon him"
Shmakov "ferry this Pepi; don't wreck him (i. e. don't let him be in a shipwreck)"

That the verb *jwj* has the primary meaning "(ship)wreck" can be seen in these texts:

CT II 163f: *gm.n.j m.Xnt jw.t(j) mH.s jn jnk jn s(j) r tA*
"I have found a ferryboat wrecked, it was sunk (lit. flooded) – I am the one who brought it to the land (i. e. moored it)"

CT II, 259b-c (S14C): *nj mh wj nst.fjmt wjA xrp nj jw wj nst.j jmt wjA nTr*
"My seat in the leading bark will not ignore me, my seat in the god's bark will not wreck me"

In imperative on B1C: *m hm w(j) m jw w(j) nst.j jmjt HAt wjA ra aA*
"Don't be an ignorant of me, don't wreck me, my seat in the front of the Sun's bark"

CT VII, 398c (B3C): *nj jwy.s DAt aAt* "She will not wreck a big crossing"

Urk.I:201:2: *zmA(j) tA m jw* "I moored the wrecked one (lit. I joined the ground with the wrecked)"

The meaning "be boatless" is secondary, i. e. actually "be boatless (as a result of a shipwreck)"

The meaning "run aground" also fits for the verb, as the verb in the following passage clearly has the meaning "shallow, become shallow" (these two verbs are paronyms in Russian, "run aground" is "saditsa na **mel**", "shallow" is "**melet**"):

CT III, 28b-c: *jw HwAAAt wSr jtrw*
"putrefying liquid has become shallow, the river has dried up"

James Allen reads the verb as "maroon", probably on the basis of the verb's spelling with the *jw*-{island}-N18 sign. But the use of the {island} sign cannot prove that the verb's meaning is somehow connected with the concept of "island", instead, it is just a phonetic use of the sign (it uses *jw* {newborn

bubalis}-E9 sign as well, §§1176b MN, 1188a MN). Just like the use of the {bank}-wDb sign in the spelling of the verb wDb "turn" (§§115a, 808a, 1908b) doesn't prove that the verb has a meaning somehow connected with wDb "bank, shore".

3)

§1179a-c: *Sm pjjj pn Hr zxnwj nwjj pt tp-ajj ra j{f}.f Xr znbt tn nt qbHw ra s.abt tA Smaw tp awj ra pr.f m Axt.f*

Allen "This Pepi will go on the two reedfloats of the sky before the Sun, for he is carrying that vase of the Sun's cool water that cleanses the Nile-Valley land before the Sun when he emerges from his Akhet"

The compound preposition *tp-awj* has a temporal meaning in this passage, i. e. "before, earlier, preceding the Sun" (cf. the preposition's temporal meaning in the word *tpjw-awj* "ancestors" and in §§132b, 269a).

4)

§1182b: *wnx pjjj pn xr j.xmw sk*

Allen "and this Pepi will dress with the Imperishable Stars"

Shmakov "this Pepi has been dressed by the Imperishable stars"

or "“Get dressed, this Pepi” said the Imperishable stars".

P 464 (PT 516)

§1183a: *mXntj n sxt pAa(j)t*

Allen "ferryman of the *pAat*-Marsh"

Shmakov "ferryman of the Bay-tree marsh"

Cf. "Bay-tree marsh" with *sxt jzr* "Tamarisk marsh" (§1962b). For *pAa(j)t*, see **P 467**, 6.

2)

§1183b: *Hrjj m.s.xnt.k*

Allen "the one in charge of your Meskhenet"

Shmakov "the one in charge of your Causing Birth goddess"

§1185b: *grH n mst.k hrw n m.s.xnt.k*

Allen "on the night of your birth and the day of your Meskhenet"

Shmakov "on the night of your birth and the day of your Causing Birth goddess"

m.s.xnt is nominalized "She who causes/stimulates birth (lit. landing)".

3)

§1185a: *Hwt.k tw qdt.n.f n.k*

Allen "the enclosure he potted for you"

Shmakov "the enclosure he has modelled for you"

For *qd* "model", see **W 206**, 3.

4)

§§1186b-1187a: *jm.fDd Tw n j.xmw Tw j.rx.sn Tw...DA sw*

Allen "Don't let him report you to those who are ignorant of you so that they know you. Ferry him..."

Shmakov "Ferry him...so that he will not report you to those who are ignorant of you so that they know you"

The usual clause order was changed in this passage, resulting in "If you don't want him to report you...ferry him...".

5)

§1187b-c: *sxt...wAxxt nTrw Hr.s m hrw.sn jpw nw tp(j)w trw*

Allen "marsh...on which the gods grow sated on their New-Year's days"

Shmakov "marsh...on which the gods revel in their first days of the seasons"

The preposition *m* before *hrw.sn* probably is not part of a prepositional phrase (*m hrw.sn*), instead it is the governing preposition of the verb *wAxxj* "become sated with (*m*), revel in (*m*)". *hrw.sn jpw nw tpw trw* is "their first days of the seasons" (lit. their days of the first ones of the seasons). For *tp(j)w trw*, cf.:

PT 493, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.14, col. +51: *xa pjjj nfr-kA-ra Hr wAt.f r tp(j)w trw*

"Pepi Neferkare will appear on his path at the first (days) of the seasons"

Mariette, *Mast.*, D28, p.259: *prt xrw n.f m...tp(j)w trw nb(t) nt rnpt*

"offering for him in...the first (days) of the all seasons of a year"

ibid, D38, p.268: [*prt xrw n.f m*]...*tp(j)w trw H(A)b wr*

"[offering for him in]...the first (days) of the seasons, Great festival"

Mariette, *Mast.*, E12, p. 412 (*m tp(j)w trw nbw*), Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33 (*m tp(j)w trw nb*),

Mariette, *Mast.*, F2, p. 433 (*m tp(j)w trw m tp(j)w Abdw m tp(j)w mDw*),

Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part III, fig. 9, p. 14 (*m...tp(j)w trw*),

Urk.IV:1036:3 (also ibid:1034:5): *HA Hr xt m tp trw* "besides the meal in the first (days) of the seasons",

Wb.V:276:8: *tp(j) tr.f* "the first (day) of his season".

The word for "season" may also be spelled *trt*, Nt 695: *trt.f* "his season", it is also indicated by the feminine indirect genitive which occurs in the expression *trt nb(t) nt rnpt* "every season of the year": Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 58b, p.165, Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 49 fig. 36, Urk.I:206:9, Mariette, *Mast.*, C3, p.116: *HAb n trt nb(t)* "festival of every season", L.D.II:27 (*trt nb(t) n(t) rnpt*). However, L.D.II:101, b: *tr nb n rnpt*.

P 465 (PT 517)

§1188a: *j DA jwj mAa*

Allen "O, you who ferry the marooned one who is righteous"

Shmakov "O, you who ferry the wrecked one, pilot (lit. one who leads)"

§1188c-d: *pjjj pw mAa xr pt xr tA pjjj pw mAa xr jw pw n tA*

Allen "Pepi is one righteous before the sky and before [the earth. Pepi is] one righteous before that island of land"

Shmakov "Pepi is the one who leads to the sky (and) to the earth, Pepi is the one who leads to this island of land"

The verb *mAa* in this passages is not "be righteous", it is "lead, guide, direct" with a preposition *xr* "to", just like in *sSm(j) xr* "lead to" (§902d).

2)

§1191a: *DA pjpj pn*

Allen "(the two on the great god's seat...are calling to this Pepi) that this Pepi might be ferried (to the marsh of [the great god's] beautiful seat)"

Shmakov "... (that is why) Pepi will ferry..."

James Allen's translation would be correct if we had *DA.t(j) pjpj*, i. e. passive subjunctive, but we have an active verb form: the two on *the elder god's seat* are calling to this Pepi, so that Pepi is ferrying to the *elder god's seat* – a clause of result, not of purpose.

3)

§1191b: *jrrt.f jr w jm.s m jmAxww*

Allen "in which [he] does what is done with the honored ones"

Shmakov "in which [he] takes (lit. makes) an accounting/census of the honored ones"

For the expression *jr jr w* "carry out a census, take an accounting, take stock", see Junker, *Giza V*, Abb. 18-19, pages 77-80, though Herman Junker reads the expression differently as "Eintreiben (oder Entrichten) der Viehsteuer". The present author follows Oleg Berlev's interpretation as "stock-taking" (Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie*, p. 269, comment on B.H. I, XIII. C. 1. The tomb of the nomarch *jmnjj*) and Montet's interpretation as "faire le recensement" (Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 128-130).

The mastaba of Seneb (Abb. 18-19), page 77 and 89: (first register): *jrt jr w*, (third-fifth registers): *ng TA 10015 jdt 10000 TA 12017 jdt 10200 TA 10205 jdt 10103*

"(first register): taking account, (third-fifth registers): oxen: 10015 male 10000 female; (asses): 12017 male, 10200 female; (sheep): 10205 male, 10103 female"

L.D.II:9: *mA zSA aw(t) n(t) pr Dt jrt jr w*

"Review of the list of flock of the personal farm (lit. house), taking an accounting"

L.D.II:31: *jnt nD(t) Hr jn nrw jmj(w) sxt Hwt Dt r mAA jp nrw m jr w*

"Bringing of a gift by the herdsmen who are in the personal marsh *Hwt* in order to review (inspect) the counting of the herdsmen during a census/stock-taking"

Urk.I:267:15-16 (=Petrie 1908, Pl. 9): *mAA jr w jn HAt(j)-a...mrjj aA m jSt.f Ds.f m wn mAA*

"Review of the stock(-taking) by the high official...Mery the Elder of his own property in a proper way"

Petrie 1908, Pl. 9: *jr w nfr n aAw* "fair stock of asses", *jr w nfr n aw(t)* "fair stock of flock"

Meir IV, Tafel 16: *jrt jr w n jwAw wnwDww n(w) spAwt Hr(j)t-jb mAA jwAw wnwDww*

"Taking an accounting of oxen (and) addaxes of the middle districts, review of oxen (and) addaxes"³⁹

B.H. I, pl. 13: *mAA jrt jr w m mnmnt jn N*

"Review of the cattle's stock-taking by N"

B.H. I, pl. 30: *mAA jrt jr w m mnmnt nbt jnw jn n.f m njwt.f spAwt.f nt mA-HD.f jn N*

³⁹ The numbers of cattle (760000, 7000, 700, 77) are inscribed above the herds and before the scribe (damaged, survived number is 520200).

"Review the stock-taking of every cattle (and) gifts brought to him from his villages and his districts of his Oryx nome by N".

Urk.VII:15:18: *H.z.kw Hr.s m pr nswt r Tnw rnpt nt jrww*

"I was praised for it in the capital every year of stock-taking (of the cattle)"

Deir el Gebrawi, I, 7: *jrt jrww mDwt*

"Stock-taking of stalls"

CT II 151e: *nHm m-a jrww n stX m-a Tnwt nt Ast wrt Hr rnmwj Asjr(t) nb jmnt*

"(my whole family and my relatives) saved from the stock-taking of Seth (and) from the great count of Isis next to (lit. on the arms of) Osiris, lord of the west".

CT II 203b-204b: *jw nHm.n st N pn m-a jrww n Ast m-a Tnw nwt m-a jrww aA n rwtj*

"This N has saved them from the stock-taking of Isis, from the count of Nut, and from the big stock-taking of Lion and Lioness (Ruti)"

CT VI, 291k-l: *jw rsww n jrww aA jw mHtjw n jrww aA n r-stAw*

"Southerners are for the big stock-taking, northerners are for the big stock-taking of Rostau"

CT VI, 291q-r: *dj swA.fjry.fjrww*

"Let him pass that he may take an accounting"

CT VI, 331q: *jw wD.n nTr Sps jmj s(w)Ht.f s.snw N TAw hrw jrww aA*

"The noble god who is in his egg has commanded N to breathe air on the day of the big census"

Naville II, BD 149i:58 (influenced or misread as *jrww* "form"), Budge, BD149, IX:5-7 (the descendant of CT VI, 331q just mentioned): *n mrwt tm tkn jm.s wp-Hr hrw jrww aA*

"so that (lit. because of love for) not to get near it (i. e. the mound (*jAt*)) except for the day of the big census".

Thought *tm tkn* is a negative infinitival construction "not to get near", the meaning is rather passive "so that it is not got near", "so that one doesn't get near it".

Urk.IV:75:14: *mAA jrt jry jn*

"Review of the accounting taking by"

Urk.IV:188:6 *jr.n.j n.fjryt* "I have taken for him (a cattle) accounting".

Urk.IV:743:11-14: *jw jr.n n.fHm.j jryt m mnmnt n(t) Smaw mHw jryt 2 m mnmnt n(t) DAh jryt 1 m mnmnt n(t) kS dmd jryt 4 r sXr jrwt jrjw r mhrw nw Dam m Xrjt hrw nt ra nb r rdjt mAa n jtj.j jmn*

"My Incarnation has taken for him (i. e. for Amon) an accounting of the cattle of the Nile Valley and the Delta, two accountings of the cattle of Djahy, one accounting of the cattle of Kush – four accountings as total, to milk their milk into the jars of electron daily to present a gift to my father Amon"

Urk.IV:1080:15: *Hr spH tp xwnw r [jr]yt*

"Tying the head(s) of newborn calves (*xwnw*) for the [stock-tak]ing of cattle"

In §760a N, the {papyrus scroll} sign occurs in the word *jrww* "form" as secondary determinative under the influence of the word *jrww* "accounting"; cf. the same phenomenon in the spelling of other words in

the list of **T 203**, 2.

Synonyms of the word *jrw* are the words *Tnwt* "count" and *jpt* "reckoning":

El Bersheh I, pl.18 (= Urk.VII:52:16-19):

jw t m Htp spr r zH n jrt Tnwt aAt m jdrw.f n(w) xr nswt Hna jdrw.f Dt m spAwt wnt jn...[DHwtj Htp(.w)]

"Coming in peace, attaining to the booth for making a big count of (lit. in) his official (lit. of that with the king, of the king's property, see **T 196**, 9) herds with his own herds from the districts of the nome of the Hare by...[Tjehutihetepu (Thoth is content)]"

El Bersheh I, pl.19 (= Urk.VII:51:5-7):

mA[A jrt] Tnwt aAt m jdrw[.f n xr(j) nswt Hna jdrw].f n pr Dt jsT [aS]A wrt r xt nbt...jn...[DHwtj Htp(.w)]

"Revi[ew of making] a big count of (lit. in) [his official's (lit. of the one with the king)] herds [with] his [herds] of the personal farm (lit. house) (i. e. his own) and (they are) very much (lit. more than anything) numerous...by...[Thoth]hetep"

Urk.IV:238:13: *s.wr(j) [n.T] Tnwt.k* "that I might increase your total number"

Budge, BD125:6: *bAby anx m bskw smsw hrw pwy n jpt aAt*

"Baboon who lives on entrails of the elders on the day of the big census"

Another synonym is *s.(j)pt* "registration", Davies, *Ptahhetep* I, pl. 28:

mAA s.(j)pt n jwA(w) n mDwt nt Hwwt Hwwt kA nt pr n Dt

"Review of the registration of the ox(en) of the stalls of the enclosures (and) ka-enclosures of the personal farm (lit. house)"

P 466 (PT 518)

§1195b: *m(j).k sw j.jj m wpt nt jt(j).k gbb*

Allen "Look, he has come with a message of your father Geb"

Shmakov "See him having come on the instructions of your father Geb (saying):"

m wpt is "on the instructions (of), on a commission (from), at the request of, on the business of" rather than "with a message". Cf. CT IV, 48j-k: *Sm.n N m wpt jj.n N Xr smj* "N has gone on a commission, N has come with the message/report". Cf. also the following texts:

PT 531, §1254d: *jw mr.n ra m wpt Hrw m xAmm*

"Merenre is on a commission from Horus as a herald"

PT 606, §1686a M: *jj.n(j) r.k m wpt Hrw* "I have come to you on a commission from Horus"

pWestcar 7,20-7,21: *jj.n.j aA r njs r.k m wpwt nt jt(j).j xw.f-w(j)*

"I have come here on a commission from my father Khufu"

2)

§1197d: *st.jn.sn Tbwwt.sn jr tA*

Allen "they threw down their white sandals"

The word "white" occurs only in the copies of Merenre (*Tbwwt.sn HDt jr tA*) and Neferkare (*Tbwwt.sn*

jr tA HDt).

3)

§1198a: *nj wDA.n jb.n jr hAt.k*

Allen "Our heart could not be sound until you descended"

Shmakov "We have not informed ourselves about your descent (i. e. we did not expect you)"

wDA.n is perfective *sDm.f* with pronoun *n* "we", not a *sDm.n.f* with nominal subject *jb.n* "our heart", and *hAt* is an infinitive, not *sDmt.f* form with preposition *jr*, so literally "we have not made our heart become sound with respect to your descent".

Merenre's and Neferkare's version is clearer: *nj wDA jb.n* "We have not been informed about your descent" – the verb form is passive *sDm.f*, so literally "our heart has not been made sound". The sense of this passage is that the gods did not expect the deceased to come, and his coming was a great surprise for them.

For the word combination *wDA jb jr* as "inform about", see §1444b-c M: *sDm...mdw pn j.Ddw n.k N wDA.n.fjb.k jr N* "Listen to this speech N is saying to you. He has informed you about N (i. e. about himself)"

PT 336, §548a-b: *j.(n)D(.j) Hr.k aA jmj nTrw Szp n.k tjt n kw sw wDA jb.k jr XAt tjt nxnw pw*
"Greetings, elder among (lit. who is from) the gods, take Teti to yourself: he belongs to you. Be informed about Teti's corpse – it is (that of) a child"

PT 666, Nt 763: *j.zj r.k xr wDA jb sn n zkr mrjj.f*
"Go to Well-informed, brother of Sokar whom he loves"

Cairo 1557: *nr pw wDA jb wrt*
"This shepherd, be informed very (much)!"

L.D.II:74b: *wDA jb.k wrt*
"be informed (i.e. be ready) very (much)!"

Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl.31: *j jHs wDA jb.k r Sjj*
"Oh shitty one, be informed about an aquatic"

Kanawati-Abder Raziq, *Hesi*, pl. 55: *jw mzH pw gr(.j) Xr s[p]t nt wDb wDA jb.k r.f*
"This crocodile is still under the lip of the bank, be informed about him"

Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 134: *jb.k wDA(.j) r TA(w) nfr n Hwt-Hr*
"You are informed about the fair wind of Hathor"

CT I, 278h-279b: *jnpw wp-wAwt xntj jrtj wDA jb.k r.f wrt d n.k sw Hna nw.k n bHzw*
"Anubis, Paths Discerner, Eyes Forward – be well (lit very) informed (lit. may a heart of (each of) yours be sound) about him and place him with these your calves"

CT I, 288a-b: *wDA jb n.k wab.k m fdt jpwt aAbt*
"here is information (*wDA jb*) for you: you will become clean through these four washing jars"

CT III, 280a-b: *m DHwtj zSAw wDA jb*

"as Thoth, (well)-informed scribe"

Sh.S. 1-2: *wDA jb.k HAt(j)-a*

"Be informed, (O) high official!" or *wDA(j) jb.k HAt(j)-a* "Let me inform you".

pap.Kahun VI.4., 28-30: *s.wDA jb pw n nb anx(.w) (w)DA(.w) s(nb.w) r ntt wj spr.kw r dmj n Hwt wart{s} m Abd 4 Smw sw 5 Hr tr n dWA*

"This is information for the lord, alive, sound, healthy, that I have reached the pier of Avaris in the fourth month of the Harvest season on the fifth day in the morning time"

pap.Kahun II.2., 11-12: *mj.k rdj.n.j wDA jb.f r.s*

"Look, I have informed him about it"

Urk.IV:138:12: *jj.tw r rdjt wDA jb n Hm.f*

"One has come to give dispatch (lit. information) to His Incarnation".

Urk.IV:944:9: *jmj wDA(j) jb.tn nbw (n)HH Axw jmjw Xr(j)-nTr*

"Let me inform you, lords of *nHH*-time, akhs in the cemetery" (see also *ibid*:1079:10, 1083:13)

4)

§1198c-1199b: *wDA jb rn nj sxm pw...Hr(j)w sxm wDA jb*

Allen "'Sound of Heart' is the name of the causeway...those over the causeway 'Sound of Heart'"

Shmakov "'Information/News' is the name of the recreation place... those on the recreation place

'Information/News'"

For *wDA jb* "information, news", literally "soundness of heart", see the comments just above. For *sxm* as probably "recreation place", see the discussion in **W 64**, 1. There is a word-play between the current passage and §1198a: *nj wDA jb.n* "We have not been informed", "We have not received news".

P 467 (PT 519)

§1203b: *zAw sw SAwt Sj wr*

Allen "The destiny of the great lake will guard him"

Shmakov "the Great Lake's machination will be wary of him/will avoid him"

In the PT and the CT the "Great Lake" (*S(j) wr*) or the "Lake" (*Sj*) is a dangerous place that is to be avoided

PT 461, §872d, PT 466, §885, PT 619, §1752c: *zA Tw S(j) wr* "Beware of the great lake"

PT 262, §334a: *swA.n Wnjs Hr pr bA-<p>fnhj.n sw At S(j) wr* "Unis has passed by the house of that Ram, an attack of the Great Lake has missed him"

See also **P 10, 31**.

CT IV, 39c-d: *S(j) wr nj mAA.j sw HT 5 nj xr.j jm.Tn*

"I will not see the Great Lake, I will not fall in you, five traps (?)"

Thus the meaning of the verb *zAj* in the current passage §1203b is probably "beware", rather than "guard".

The verb *SAj* has the meaning "plan, conceive, decide", cf. Urk.IV:96:14-15: *SA xpr(.w) wD jr.tw* "That what was planned has happened, that what was commanded will be done", *ibid*:888:14: *SAt.n Hm.fpw xprrt* "that which His Incarnation has conceived is that which happens". Thus, *SAwt Sj wr* means something like "thing that the Great Lake conceived" = "the Great Lake's machination". Neferkare's variant is probably *zAw pppj nfr-kA-ra SAwt Sj wr* – "Pepi Neferkare will beware of the Great Lake's machination".

2)

§1203c: *znjj aAwj jAt Xrt*

Allen "Pull open, door of the lower peak"

Shmakov "Pull open, (door-)leaves of Kherti's standard lake"

For *jAt* "standard" determined with a {peak} sign, see §288c W, also §1324c: *jAt Hrt HkA* "standard which is under the magic", cf. CT III, 204f: *S(j) jAt* "lake of the standard". For the name of Kherti written *Xrt* without any determinative, cf. §§350a, 445a, 545a, 1308a, 1547b, 1557d. The reading "of the lower standard" can also not be excluded.

3)

§1203d-e: *psDtj s.DA pppj pn Hna.Tn jr sxt Htp jr s.wn n pppj pn n nb jmAx*

Allen "Dual Ennead, let this Pepi proceed with you to the Marsh of Rest, to the new state of this Pepi, of a possessor of honor"

Shmakov "Dual Ennead, invite this Pepi to go with you to the Marsh of Rest, according to the status of this Pepi as (lit. of) a possessor of honor"

For *jr s.wn* as "according to the status" (the noun *s.wn* probably derives from the root *wn* "shape, form", see **P 322**), see §§811e, 1371c, 1741b: *jr swn.k n nbw jmAx*, which James Allen himself reads as "in accordance with your new state (as one) of the possessors of honor".

4)

§1204b: *sSm pppj pSr w ra*

Allen "Pepi will lead the Sun's circuit"

Shmakov "Pepi will lead the Sun's conductors"

For *pSr* as "conduct", see **T 256**, 3, **T 228**.

5)

§1205a: *pppj pw bA*

Allen "Pepi is the Ba"

Shmakov "Pepi is the Ram"

See **P 292**, 2 for comments on the meaning of *bA*.

6)

§1205b: *pAa(j)t*

Allen "The *pAat*-canal"

Shmakov "The Bay-tree canal"

While the copies of Merenre and Neferkare give a {canal} determinative for the word *pAat*, Pepi's copy gives a {piece of wood}-M187 sign (as well as in §1183a: for more references to the sign M187 in the PT corpus, see **N 418**, 2). The sign M187 is the Old Kingdom variant of M41, thus *pAat* is

probably *pAa(j)t ~ pAar* "bay-tree" of §185a ("lauerwood" after James Allen), this being a the case of *j ~ r* (see **W 166**, 1, i), cf. the spelling of *wx(j)t* (Petrie, *Medum*, pl.11) ~ *wxrt* "shipyard", *wa(j)t* (§1867a) ~ *wart* "thigh", *X(j)d* (§1214c P, Urk.I:51:14) ~ *Xrd* "child". As to *pAa(j)t ~ pAar* (i. e. fem. ~ masc.), cf. *SnD ~ SnDt* "acacia".

7)

§1208a-b: *Dj.k n pppj pn Dbawj.k jpw(j) rDw.n.k n nfrt zAt nTr aA m wpt pt jr tA m prt r.f nTrw jr pt*
Allen "May you give this Pepi your two fingers that you gave to the young girl, the great god's daughter, when the sky was parted from the land and the gods went off to the sky"

Shmakov "May you give this Pepi these two fingers of yours (i. e. your proximity) that you have given to the young girl, the Elder god's daughter, when the sky was parted from the land and the gods went off to the sky"

The whole passage means "Take Pepi to the sky (i. e. the gods' residence) beside you (for he is a god too) like you took the Elder god's daughter to the sky beside you when the sky and earth parted and the sky had become the gods' residence". The "two fingers" is an idiom for "proximity", see **P 318**, 2.

8)

§1210a: *Xr smAw jw.s aA.s mHt(j)t prt m wpt gbb*

Allen "under the tresses of She-Increases-as-She-Comes, the northern town that came from Geb's brow"

Shmakov "under the tresses of She-Comes-(and)-She-Increases, the She-northerner, the One came from Geb's brow"

Allen, *P. T.*, Variants, p. 352, spell 359: "[§1210a MN: *mHt(j)t jwnw prt m wpt gbb* – T. S.] the town north of Heliopolis, which came from Geb's brow (*stanza 6*)"

The {village plan}-O49 sign which occurs at the end of the divinity's name is secondary (see **W 54**, 1), and probably is the influence from the same named village (*jw.s aA.s*, Petrie, *Medum*, pl.12, 15), hence must not be read as separate word as Allen did nor be considered as determinative (for such a phenomenon, see **T 203**, 2). *mHt(j)t* (P) "The One North" or *mHt(j)t jwnw* (MN) "The One North of Heliopolis" is the goddess's epithet as well as *prt m wpt gbb* "The One Emerged from Geb's brow". Cf. the former with the epithets of Neith, *mHt(j)t jnb* "The One North of the Wall (of her temple)", and of Ptah, *rsw jnb.f* "The One South of the Wall (of his temple)". This epithet also occurs in CT VI, 283r: *jw.s aA.s mHt(j)t bAw jwnw* "She-Comes-(and)-She-Increases, the She-northerner of the bas of Heliopolis". In the temple of king Sethy at Abydos she is entitled *jw.s aA.s Hnwt jwnw* "She-Comes-(and)-She-Increases, mistress of Heliopolis" (Sethy I, *Abydos* II, pl.18).

9)

§1211c: *hrw pw n znt tpw sAbwt*

Allen "the day of cutting off the heads of the dappled snakes"

This is a reference to an unknown myth, cf.:

CT I, 14c-d: *sdA n.k zSAw Hrjw tmA.sn tp-awj.k TAz.n.k n.k tpw sAbt m jwnw*

"Scribes who are on their mats are quivering before you for you have tied back for yourself heads of dappled snakes in Heliopolis"

10)

§1214a: *s.AxAxjw nwt mrw sxt Htp*

Allen "who make verdant the Red Crowns and the Marsh of Rest's canals"

Shmakov "who flood/make full-watered the springs and the canals of the Marsh of Rest"

The word *nt* has the meaning "spring, watery area, water-way, water-basin" (Wb.II:198:10, this word is probably a singular of plural *nwt* "waters" in §1162c), not "red crown": the {red crown} sign which occurs in the word is phonogram *nt* and is what can be called "Phonetic influence" (see **T 228**, 10). Cf. this passage in which *nt* is used in parallel to *wtnw* "stream":

PT 681, §2037 b: *Hwj nwt wD mdw n wtnw*

"who smites the (inhabitants of) springs and gives commands to those of the stream"

In the following passages the word is used in parallel to the word *jtrw* "river":

CT III, 98n-o (B1L): *pr.n.j tAH.j nt nX.n.j jtrw*

"I have emerged that I may flood a brook. I have poured out a river"

CT III, 226d/227d-228b: *sxm.k m nwt sxm.k m wDbw sxm.k m jtrw*

"you have control of brooks, you have control of banks, you have control of the river"

CT IV, 35n-o: *twr wj xdw jmjw jtrw jnk jTT nb nt*

"Fish in the rivers protect me, for I am Itjetj, lord of the watery area"

CT V, 35k-l: *wn aAwj xns swA TAw wDa nwwt.f aq TAw*

"The two (lock)-leaves of the *xns*-canal have been opened (and) air has passed; its (i. e. canal's) brooks' (lock) has been opened (and) air has entered"

CT V, 217b-c: *jtrw m sgr n nb fAw jd nt wtnw*

"A river is in silence for the one who has influence, a brook of the stream has become quiet"

The word occurs as part of a mound's name in CT VI, 317m and CT VII, 3o: *jAt nt* "the mound of the spring" (direct genitive), which is mistakenly read by some Egyptologists as *jAt nt mw* "the mound of water" in the New Kingdom's Book of the Dead (Budge, BD149, XIII:8, 9). For such a spelling (*n-t*-{three ripples of water}-N35a) to be read as *nt*, see **W 54**, 2.

11)

§1215c: *wp.n mrjj-ra wAt.f m Xrw(j) H(A)b*

Allen "This Meryre has parted his path among those who have a catch of fowl"

Shmakov "This Meryre has discerned his path as the two who have a catch of fowl"

Neferkare's version gives *wp.n nfr-kA-ra wAt.f Hna.f m Xrw(j) H(A)b* "Neferkare has discerned his path with him as the two with a catch of fowl". *m* does not have the meaning "among". For *Xrw(j)* as dual, cf. *Xrw(j)* "two testicles" in §946c PM.

12)

§1217c: *wnmt.k m xAw j.HD.s tA mH.t(j) m Hw*

Allen "[What] you eat in the nighttime shall smite the land with what has been filled from Abundance"

Shmakov "[That which] you eat in the nighttime shall illuminate the land (i. e. cause dawn) being full of Abundance"

j.HD is "illuminate", *mH.t(j)* is a stative.

13)

§1218c-d: *d.k sA n pppj pn jr jwjt jr xnt(j)t snwt.s*

Allen "you shall put (the emblem of) the satiety of this Pepi on the pole, on the foremost one of its flagpoles"

Shmakov "you shall place the back of this Pepi against the pole, against the foremost one of its flagpoles"

The word *sA* of the passage is probably "back", cf. the word's spelling in PT 315, §505b: *art wnjs Hr sA(j) wnjs* "Unis's anus on Unis's back" (odd phonetic spelling with the sign *Aj/Ar* (T12); for the reading, cf. CT V, 258d: *mj.k art.j Hr sA.j* "look, my anus is on my back", the same CT II, 133b: *jw art.j Hr sA.j*).

14)

§1220c: *jAqw Htpwt*

Allen "who rule contentment"

Shmakov "who rule nourishment"

See **W 145** for the relevant comments.

P 468 (PT 520)

§1221e-1222a:

Allen "Fetch me that ferryboat!"

There is no such passage in the original.

P 469 (PT 521)

§1226a-b: *jn.n(.j) n pppj pn t.f.j.xm xsD H(n)qt.f.j.xmt awA wnm pppj pn t.f.pw wat wa nj rDj.n sw pppj pn n Hr sA.f nHm.n(.j) sw m-a knmwt*

Allen "This Pepi will get his unmouldering bread and his unrotting beer. This Pepi will eat his personal bread personally: this Pepi does not have to give it to the one after him once he has taken it from the blackbird"

Shmakov "I have brought for this Pepi his unmouldering bread (and) his unsouring beer. This Pepi will eat his bread all alone: this Pepi does not have to give it to the one after him (once) I have saved it from *knmwt*"

This passage has two *sDm.n.f*s with 1ms suffix that refers to the deceased's son: *jn.n(.j)* "I have brought" (§1226a) and *nHm.n(.j)* "I have saved" (§1226e). The latter had been reinterpreted by the editors of Merenre and Neferkare as the action done by the deceased: *nHm.n.k sw* "(once) you have saved it" and *nHm.n sw pppj nfr-kA-ra* "(once) Pepi Neferkare has saved it" respectively.

P 470 (PT 522)

§1230c: *nj Tn Dwt*

Allen "You have been rejected for him, badness"

Shmakov "(Pepi) has rejected you, badness"

The editor of Pepi has left out Pepi's name in this passage: *nj Tn Dwt* stands for **nj pppj Tn Dwt* "Pepi has rejected you, badness" or *nj.f Tn Dwt* "He has rejected you, badness". The verb form of *nj* "reject" is not a passive *sDm.f* (Allen's translation would imply **nj.T n(.f) Dwt*), because the variant of Pepi Neferkare is *nj Tn pppj nfr-kA-ra Dwt* "Pepi Neferkare has rejected you, badness".

P 472 (PT 524)

§1236a-b: *wDa.n pjpj pn Tn.Tn m(w)tw znb.n pjpj pn jzwt.T<n> jmjw-rd*

Allen "This Pepi has separated your boundary-marker, you dead. This Pepi has scaled your field-markers, you impediments"

Shmakov "This Pepi has removed your boundary-marker, (you) dead. This Pepi has overstepped your field-markers, (you) impediments"

2)

§1238b-c: *ra...kA psDt*

Allen "Sun...bull of the Ennead"

Shmakov "Sun,...bull of the Nine (arcs of the sky)"

For the relevant comments, see **N 359**, 3.

3)

§1240b: *z(j)z(j).n.f xftjw.f jm.s*

Allen "let him...punish his opponents with it"

Shmakov "He has caught his opponents with it (i. e. Horus's eye)"

The spelling *zzn.f* cannot be the spelling of the causative *s.z(w)n.f* "that he may destroy (lit. make perish)" (Allen's "let him...punish"), of the verb *z(j)nj/zwnj* "perish, expire", because *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in Old Egyptian. Hence it can only be the spelling for the *sDm.n.f* of the verb *z(j)z(j)* "catch": *zz.n.f* "he has caught". The sign *zn*-{oval bread}-X4/X4a/X5 must be an unnecessary complement between *z* of the verb and *n*, the perfect suffix, just like an unnecessary *ns*-{tongue}-F20 may occur between the perfect and 3fs suffixes *.n.s* "she has..." (§§1194a PM, 1321a, 1427a PM, 1428e M), cf. also unnecessary *nw*-pot and *mj*-{arm with bread}-D38 signs in the spellings *Tn wj* "you (will...) me" (*Tn-nw-wj*, CT VI, 41c), *nj Amm.j* "I will not be seized" (*Amm-mj-j*, CT II, 112e).

4)

§1242a-b: *pjpj pw xw n(j)nw nTrw m zxnw jrt Hr H(j)H(j).n s(j) pjpj pn m p gm.n s(j) m jwnw*

Allen "Pepi is the one who prevents the gods from turning away from embracing Horus's eye. This Pepi sought it in Pe and found it in Heliopolis"

Shmakov "Pepi is the one who kept the gods from declining to seek Horus's eye. This Pepi looked for it in Pe and found it in Heliopolis"

The verb *zxn* has here the meaning "seek", see **W 41**.

5)

§1242c: *bw pw aHA.n.sn jm*

Allen "the place where he and Seth fought"

The original has "where they (i. e. Horus and Seth) have fought (*aHA.n.sn*)".

P 473 (PT 525)

§1244b-c: *tm.n xArw xs(j) aawj tp-a wn nTr*

Allen "Depression has ended and sleep has been dispelled before the god's extant one"

Shmakov "Criminality has ended, dislike has been dispelled before the god's shape"

The word *xArw* ~ *xnr* "criminality" (a case of the allophones /A/ ~ /n/ ~ /l/, see **W 78**), the root in *xnrj* "criminal" (Wb.III:296:8), *xnrt(j)t* "criminality" (Wb.III:296:9) and *xnr* "imprison, restrain, keep from"

(Wb.III:296:1-), cf.:

Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 81, 4: *qA xrw Hr nD rn n nswt hrw xsf Sat wp xnr*
"loud (lit. high of voice) when greeting (lit. tending the name) of the king on the day of barring
massacre (and) settling down (lit. parting) criminality"

The sense of this passage itself is similar to PT 260, §319a and the passage restored in **P 432**, 2 the following CT passages and CT I, 21a: *tm aHA Htm Hnw* "Fight has failed/given out, disturbance has ended" (all passages are about the termination or removal of two kinds of hostilities). The word *aawj* occurs semantically linked with *xryt* "hostility" in CT IV, 20c (B2Be): *dr.n N pn xryt mnaaw* "This N has removed hostility (and) dislike", with the word *aawj* (probably with a sign transposition according to the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position", see **Supplemental notes**, notes on the signs, 19) in the form of *mnaaw(j)* (*m* and *n* are prefixes, just like in the word *mnqb* "fan" (§1151c), from the root *qb* "be/become cool").

See also CT VI, 153j-k: *tm xrw rw aHA m jwnw* "Hostility has ended, fight has gone from Heliopolis". For *wn* as "shape, form", not "extant one", see **P 322**.

2)

§1245c: *wab.tj pppj pn jn Smsw Hrw wp wAwt pDt amaAt*

Allen "This Pepi shall be cleaned by Horus's followers, Anubis's bow and throwstick"

Shmakov "This Pepi will be cleaned by Horus's followers: Paths Discerner, a bow and a throwstick"

See **P 322**.

P 475 (PT 527)

§1248a-c: *tm pw xpr(.w) m jw s.Aw jr.f m jwnw wd.n.f Hnn.f m xfa.f jr.f nDmmt jm.f*

Allen "Atum is the one who came into being as one who came (with penis) extended in Heliopolis. He put his penis in his fist so that he might make orgasm with it"

Shmakov "This is (how) Atum behaved towards the coming of an erection (lit. "(penis-)extension") to him in Heliopolis: he put his penis in his fist to make an ejaculation with it"

The meaning of the passage is something like "This is how Atum treated his penis' erection in Heliopolis: he masturbated and ejaculated". James Allen's translation is grammatically possible, but he ignores a very important element of the passage – the prepositional phrase *jr.f* "to him"; moreover, the translation "Atum is the one who came into being as one who came (with penis) extended" itself is meaningless. The verb *xpr* here is probably used as transitive *xpr m* "treat, behave towards" (for the transitive use of usually intransitive verbs, see **T 17**).

P 476 (PT 528)

§1250e: *Xnnw Xt psDt jm.f*

Allen "in which the Ennead's body is rowed"

Shmakov "in which the Ennead's assembly (lit. belly) rows"

Xnnw is a relative form "which rows", there is nothing passive in this passage.

P 479 (PT 531)

§1254a-b: *Drt(j) jpwt tptj DnH DHwtj whnnwtj dndnw*

Allen "You two kites atop Thoth's wing, you two on the crown of Wanderer's head"

Shmakov "You screecher and kite atop Thoth's wing, the two ululators of the Wanderer"

James Allen follows Sethe (Komm. V,156) in deriving *whnnwtj* from *whnn* "top of skull" (hence his reading of *whnnwtj* as "you two on the crown of the head"). The participle *whnn* probably has the same root as in the deity's name *hnn/hnnj* "Ululater" of §§533d, 1418a, 1420a. Neferkare's editor reinterpreted *dndnw* as *dndnwtj*, hence his version reads "the two ululaters and wanderers". Note a man's name *dndnw* (*d-n-d-nw-w*, "Wanderer, Visitor", L.D.II:93, c,d,e) is spelled exactly like *dndnw* in §1254b PM. For the translation of *Drt(j)*, cf. **W 5**, 2.

P 480 (PT 532)

§1255a: *Dd manDt...Dd manDt*

Allen "The Nightboat's djed-pillar...the Nightboat's pillar"

The original has "The Morning boat's djed-pillar...the Morning boat's djed-pillar" (not the Eveningboat's).

2)

§1259b-1260a: *Tz Tw jr.k Asjr(t) pppj pn zA gbb tpj.f...aHa n.k mjnjw jr w n.k psDtjw xa.k n Abd*
Allen "So, raise yourself, Osiris Pepi, Geb's first son,...The shrine will await you, the new-moon festival will be made for you, and you will appear at the first-of-the-month festival"

Shmakov "So, raise yourself, Osiris Pepi, Geb's first son,...Stand up, you of the pavilion (i. e. Anubis), and the new-moon festival will be held (lit. made) for you, and you will appear at the monthly festival"

For the reading of *aHa n.k mjnjw* as "Stand up, you of the pavilion" and for "you of the pavilion" as the signification for Anubis, see **P 319a**, 1. The same note is valid for PT 458, §861a, PT 610, §1711a. The text has *Abd* "monthly festival", not *tp(j) Abd* "first (day)-of-the-month festival".

P 481 (PT 266)

§360b-c: *fdw jpw snsnw swAtjw Hnzktjw*

Allen "you four bypassers with braids"

The original text has *snsnw swAtjw* "brotherly (*snsnw*) bypassers".

2)

§361c: *mAa xrw kA n pppj pn xr nTr*

Allen "the ka of this Pepi is justified before the Sun"

The original text has *mAa xrw...xr nTr* "justified regarding the god".

3)

§363f: *j(w).fr xmtnw.Tn m jwnw*

Allen "he is to be your third in Heliopolis"

Shmakov "he is to be your third (companion) in Heliopolis"

P 483 (PT 534)

§1264b-1265c: *j.Hm Hr.t(j) twr w(j) Hrw mkj w(j) stS*

Allen "Go back, be far away! Let Horus respect me and Seth protect me"

Shmakov "Go back, keep away, (for/as) Horus guards me (and) Seth protects me"

j.Hm Hr.t(j) is literally "Go back farther". For the meaning of the verb *twr*, see **W 143**.

2)
§1266c: *xm.f m jrtj Dwt(j)*
Allen "and its seal is of two evil eyes"
Shmakov "and it has been closed (lit. sealed) to (lit. from) the evil eyes"

Cf. these examples in which *m Dwt* has the meaning "from evil":

Sin. B 272-273: *s.Hr n.k twAw m Dwt*
"Distance those under wardship from evil"

Eb. 1:12: *wHa Hr w jn Ast m Dwt*
"Horus has been released from evil by Isis"

In these examples the preposition *m ~ m-a* "from":

PT 106, §70d: *nD.sn pjpj pn m xft(j)w.f nb*
"that they may save this Pepi from all his opponents"

PT 256, §301c: *jw mk.t(j).f m jrjt r.f*
"He has been protected from what could be done against him"

PT 506, §§1098d-1099a: *nHm Dt.f jT Dt.f m Xnnw*
"who helped his person out (and) took his person from the disturbers"

PT 587, §1595c N.: *swt nHm Tm m mrt nb(t) jrt.n stS jr.T*
"he is the one who saved you from everything painful that Seth had done against you"

PT 686, §2071b: *nHm.n.f s(j) m xftjw.f*
"He has taken it (i. e. his eye) away from his opponents"

CT III, 162c (B1BOa): *twr.f sw m wzSt*
"He guards himself from urine"

CT III, 347d-e (T1L): *hA.n N pn xw N pn Asjr(t) m xbDD pw*
"This N has descended that this N may defend Osiris from this Detested one"

CT VII, 14r: *nDD rn.f m anxw*
"his name will be saved (lit. helped out) from the living (?)"

CT VII, 49h: *wp wAwt wp.f wAwt m xft(j)w.k*
"Paths Discerner discerns paths away from your opponents"

This note on the meaning of preposition *m* in PT 534, §1266c is due to A. S. Chetveruhin (Chetveruhin, *Teksti Piramid*, note 18, p. 280).

3)
§1270b: *j.Dd n.f rn.f pw n nS*
Allen "say to him his identity of Displaced"
Shmakov "say to him this his identity of the One who spits"

According to the determinative {mouth plus saliva}-D154, the verb is *nX/nS* "spit" (Wb.II:318:14; §§686b, 1965a), not *nS* "dispel", and it is not needed to presume "Determinative Influence" (see **T 203**, 2) on the verb *nS* "dispel" here.

4)

§1273c: *j.zj r.T jr Hwwt srqt r bw pw Hjj.T jm ann mnt(j).T*

Allen "'Go off to Selket's enclosures, to where you will be beaten on your haunches!'"

Shmakov "'Go off to Selket's enclosures, to where you will be beaten (and) your thighs tied!'"

The passage has *ann mnt(j).T* (not **anntj*), with the verb *ann* "tie, bind round" (Wb.I:192:9; §425b). The word *mnt(j)* "thighs" is spelled with two ideograms that represent {crocodile's hindlegs} (see **Supplemental notes**, Phonetic notes and notes on signs, 9).

5)

§1275a-1276b: *jw jwt ppj Hna kA.f wn r nTrw.f...wn n.k awj.k n.f wn r nTrw.f*

Allen "Should Pepi and his ka try to come, open the door of his gods...open your arms to him, open the door of his gods"

Shmakov "Should Pepi come with his ka, open his (chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"...hold out your arms to him, open his (chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"

For *r nTrw* "(chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"", see **Nt 243**. For the expression *wn a* "hold out hand/arm, offer hand/arm (to)", see **N 428**, 4.

P 484 (PT 536)

§1296a: *sq(j) wASt(jw) awj.sn r rdw st.k*

Allen "those of estimation will lay down their arms for the stairway to your seat"

Shmakov "those of estimation will lay down their arms before (lit. at the legs of) your throne"

r-rdw is the expression "at the feet of, before".

2)

§1297b-c: *hrw pw...n jpt qsw n s.mnt Tbwwt*

Allen "on the day...of allotting bones and fastening sandals"

Shmakov "on the day...of looking for bones and planting feet (lit. making the soles effective)"

The verbs in this passage are infinitives, which is clear from the form of *s.mnt* (of caus. 2-lit. verb *s.mn*). This means that the infinitive *jpt* is of the 3-rd weak verb *ppj* "search, scour", not of the 2-lit *jp* "subordinate", of which the infinitive doesn't have a *t*-ending. The verb *ppj* occurs geminated in PT 485, §1033a: *j.H.f Tn jpp.f xAswt m zxn Asjr(t)* "He was tramping the mountain range and scouring the desert hills in search of Osiris", Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 22 (Allen's P 535): [...].*k Dww jpp.k xAswt* "you [...] the mountains and scour the desert hills". For the reading of *s.mnt Tbwwt*, cf. **N 411**. The image in the text is that of the revived dead: the restoration of his skeleton and of putting him on his feet again.

P 487 (PT 540)

§1329b: *SsA xnt(j) Snat*

Allen "Experienced, foremost of the supply-house"

Shmakov "Experienced, foremost of Shnat town"

James Allen probably confused *Snat*, which has {village plan} determinative in the text, with *Snaw*

(with {house} determinative) "food workshop, kitchen". The village named like this occurs on the image in the mastaba of Rahotep and Nofret at Medum (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 12, 15).

2)

§1329d: *wtt(w)j*

Allen "the two reconciled gods"¹⁴¹

Allen, note 141: "Horus and Seth"

It is not probable that "the two reconciled gods" in the passage can be identified as Horus and Seth. Moreover, it is not certain that we have *twt(w)j* "the two reconciled ones" in the passage, for the spelling also allows us to treat it as being *wt(j)t(j)(w)j* "a pair of firstborn ones".

3)

§1331b: *pjppj pj zA mr.fjt(j).f m rn.fpw n zA mr.f*

Allen "Pepi is a son who loves his father, in his identity of the Loving Son"

Shmakov "Pepi is a son whom he, his father, loves in his identity (lit. name) of the Beloved Son (lit. the Son whom he loves)"

We probably have two relative forms in the passage: *zA mr.fjt(j).f* "a son whom he, (namely) his father, loves" and *zA mr.f* "the Son whom he loves".

P 488 (PT 541)

§1333a-34a: *msjj Hrw Hjp dwA mwt.fjmst(j) qbH snw.fstp zA[.Tn] Hr jt(j).Tn Asjr(t) mrjj-ra Dr nw Dj[.t(j).f] sDb.fxr nTrw j.H stS j.nDj Asjr(t) pjppj pn m-a.fDr HDt tA*

Allen "You progeny of Horus—Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, Qebehsenuf—escort your father, Osiris Meryre, and against that one who will give an obstacle to him with the gods. Strike Seth, save this Osiris Pepi from him from dawn onward"

Shmakov "'You, progeny of Horus—Hapi, Duamutef, Imseti, Qebehsenuf—escort your father Osiris Meryre before this (time) when he will be given his resurrection,'" say the gods "Strike Seth (and) tend this Osiris Pepi from him before the earth dawns"

The Pyramid Texts do not use the expression *rDj sDb* "give obstruction" (though it existed in the O.K.), but instead used *d sDb* "set obstruction" (§311b). The expression *rDj sDb* is used for "make revive/resurrect" (cf. **W 152**, 1 and §1872a: *rDj.n.k sDb {k}.f anx.f* "whom you have made revive and live").

P 490 (PT 543)

§1337c-d: *Asjr(t) mrjj-ra jn.n(j) n.k smAm kw jr(j) nm.f Asjr(t) pjppj pn jn.n(j) n.k smAm kw Sa(.j) m zp 3*

Allen "Osiris Meryre, I have gotten for you the one who killed you, with a knife used against him. Osiris Pepi, I have gotten for you the one who killed you cut up in three pieces"

Shmakov "Osiris Meryre, I have brought you the one who killed you, having used his knife; This Osiris Pepi, I have brought you the one who killed you combined of three pieces"

jr(j) is probably perfective *sDm.f* with 1st person pronoun unwritten (*jr(j) nm.f* "I have used (lit. made) his knife"), not passive *sDm.f (jr nm.f* "his knife was used"). There is no *jr.f* "against him" in the original. For the meaning of the verb *Sa*, see **T 203**.

P 492 (PT 545)

§1339a: *Asjr(t) pjjj pn jn.n(j) n.k smAm kw Sa(j) jr(j) nm.f*

Allen "Osiris Pepi, I have gotten for you the one who killed you, cut up, with a knife used against him"
Shmakov "This Osiris Pepi, I have brought you the one who killed you combined (i.e., as a bundle of dismembered parts), having used his knife"

See **P 490** above.

P 495 (PT 548)

§1343b: *wr pjjj pn mr nswt s.wtj.j mr ra*

Allen "You are great like the Sun, his own like the Sun"

Shmakov "This Pepi is great like the king, he has been made a firstborn/senior like the Sun"

The original has *pjjj pn* instead of "you" and *nswt* instead of "the Sun".

It is here suggested following Allen that the uncertain *swtjj* is a stative of *s.wtj* "make into a firstborn/senior", a causative of the verb *wtj* "be, become firstborn/senior". The parallel text §2169a N also has a stative of this verb: *s.wt.t(j) mj ra* "you have been made firstborn like the Sun" (the reading by Allen himself, *P. T.*, N 564, p. 298).

2)

§1344a: *n.xAxAt mnD*

Allen "dangling breast"

Shmakov "dangling udder"

The line follows the cow-goddess's epithet *Awt ab* "the one long of horn".

3)

§1348a: *d.n sw qbHt tp smA.s*

Allen "When Qebehut has put him on her temple"

Shmakov "When Qebehut has put him near her (lit. on her temple)"

P 497 (PT 548)

§1350a-b: *HA.k km wr zbn m Xr(j)-aHA m bw pw zbn.n.sn jm*

Allen "Back, great black one! Crawl into Battlefield, into the place in which they crawled!"

Shmakov "Back, great black bull! Crawl into Battlefield, into the place in which they (i. e. Horus and Seth) crawled!"

km wr "great black one" is probably a reference to a bull (see also a god determinative after *km wr* in §628b). The verb *zbn* "crawl" is applied to a bull in §§418a W.

P 498 (PT 551)

§1351a-c: *wnDr wnSt mksks tAS.s HA.k rw HAt Hmj pHwj swA.k swAt nTr*

Allen "'You *wnDr* of the she-jackal, caperer of her border! Back, lion's forepart! Go back, you two hindparts of a lion, and let the god's passing pass!'"

Shmakov "'You, *wnDr* of the she-jackal, who carps at her border! Back, lion's forepart! Go back, lion's hind parts, and pass the god's passing!'"

The text has *swA.k swAt nTr* which can not be translated as "let the god's passing pass" as that would be *Dj.k swA swAt nTr* or *...swA swAt nTr*; we have a suffix attached to *swA*, and the translation is actually "Go back...and pass the god's passing" – subjunctive after imperative: "Go back ... so that

you may pass the god's passing".

P 501 (PT 563)

§1416b-c: *prp pppj pn jr pt zmjn tA TApr Xt.T nwt Xr mtwt nTr*

Allen "this Pepi shall go to the sky and be settled like the earth. Your belly, Nut, will swell with the god's seed"

Shmakov "this Pepi shall go to the sky. The earth introduces (Pepi, saying): "Your belly, Nut, has swollen with the god's seed...""

The verb is *zmjn* "introduce", and the *mj*-sign is a part of that verb, not the preposition "like", just like in the spellings of §§1418b, 1420b. *zmjn tA* begins a new stanza with direct speech, just like in §§796a, 1014a: *mdw tA* "The earth speaks: "..."; §1713a: *mdw n.k [tA]* "[The earth] has spoken to you: "..."
– which is the earth's answer to the preceding stanzas which address the earth (*tA sDm nn Dd.n nTrw* "Earth, listen this which the gods have said", see Allen's note 21 for Pepi's I corpus, page 201). For the meaning of verb *zmjn*, see the comment just below.

2)

§§1418b, 1420b: *s.DA pppj pn Hna.Tn zmjn pppj pn jm.Tn*

Allen "Ferry this Pepi with you, that this Pepi may settle among you"

Shmakov "Invite this Pepi to go with you, introduce this Pepi to you"

s.(w)DA is literally "make proceed, make come/go", hence "invite to go". *zmjn* is probably not a subjunctive, but rather an imperative, "(Invite this Pepi to go with you), introduce this Pepi to you". The verb is *zmjn*, not *zmn*, as is shown by the *mj*-sign after *zmn*; moreover, see the word-play between the verb and the word *zmjn* "soda solution" in the spell **T 226** (PT 420). The verb is spelled *z-mn-mj* = *zmjn* because of the graphic rule to spell words in a square or rectangle without free space, thus the spelling of §26a *zmjn* is not graphically correct and is usually avoided. The spelling of the verb also involves the secondary determinative {pestle and mortar} as influence from the verb *zmn*, probably "beat dough" (Hannig, *ÄR*, differently "prüfen", *zmn t* "das Brot prüfen", p. 1126 (follows Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 64, p. 162)); in the N.K. a verb *s.mn* "establish" in its turn is spelled with this secondary determinative. The collocation *zmjn m* probably has a meaning synonymous to the collocation *bz Hr* "introduce to". We should not confuse this verb with the verb *s.mn* "establish, set, fix", which is the causative of the 2-lit. *mn* "be firm, remain". For *s* and *z* are thoroughly distinguished in the Old Kingdom, meaning that *zmjn* and *s.mn* are clearly distinct verbs with nothing in common. *jm.Tn* does not have the meaning "among you" in the passage, it is just the verb's governing preposition written in the full form before the suffix-pronoun, just like *sxm.k jm.sn* does not have the meaning "you have control among them", but rather "you have control of them", cf. **W 134**, 2.

3)

§1419a: *Hft nt Snwt*

Allen "Granary"

Shmakov "*Hft* of the Granary (?)"

**Hftnt* (with O 51 as supposed determinative) would be an unknown word (a hapax), so it could alternatively be presumed that the text must actually be read as *Hft nt Snwt*, i. e. *Snwt* being written with the ideogram O51.

4)

§1419c: *Sd wj jr pt*

Allen "take him to the sky"

The original of P has "take me to the sky".

P 502 (PT 564)

§1422c: *hpA.f hpA.f hnn hnn hnn hpA.f hpA.f*

Allen "He will fly up, he will fly up. Ululate, ululate, ululate! He will fly up, he will fly up"

Shmakov "He is howling, he is howling. Ululate, ululate, ululate! He is howling, he is howling"

The verb *hpA* probably has the meaning "howl", for this root occurs in the baboon name *hpAT* "Howler", along with *hnnj* "Ululater" in §§1418a, 1420a.

P 505 (PT 566)

§1429d: *nj Hr w sDr(j) HA mr*

Allen "Horus is not lying behind the canal"

Shmakov "Horus is not lying outside"

Though Allen's translation is correct, there is one more possible understanding of the phrase *HA mr* "behind the canal". The present author supposes that there is a connection of *HA mr* with the term *HAw mrw*, and the meaning of the latter term becomes understandable from the following passages in which it is used as synonym to the phrase *ntjw m rwt* "those who are outside, strangers": Budge, BD161, rubric, 4-5: *nn rx ntjw m rwt sStA.f pw nn rx HAw mrw* "without knowing of those who are outside, as this is his secret, without knowing of strangers" (hence *ntj m rwt* ~ *HA mr*), Budge, BD190:9: *nj mAA HAw mrw m bw nb r nHH* "outsiders will not see (it) anywhere up to *nHH*-time", Urk.IV:1081:10: *j[w dj.n.j H]ryt m HAw mrw* "I [inspired] fear in strangers", Petosiris (ASAE 21, 234; Ptolemy I) "I protect the big garden so that strangers (*HAw mrw*) may not trample it". The passage in Urk.IV:120:3: *nj Dd.j mdt nt Haw-mrw* seems to mean "I did not say an inappropriate/excess word(s)" (for all of these, see Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie*, p.138).

P 506 (PT 567)

§1430d: *Sw.f jm.f pj pj pn nwt Dj n.f a.T*

Allen "Shu is lifting this Pepi: Nut, give him your arm!"

Shmakov "He, this Pepi, will ascend thereby (through it). Nut, give him your arm!"

Pepi's editor has misunderstood an original *Sw fA pj pj pn nwt Dj n.f a.T* "Shu, lift this Pepi; Nut, give him your arm!" (cf. §§275e-f, 519c, 1090b+e, 1247d, 1422a-b).

P 507 (PT 568)

§1431c: *sq(j) n.f m.Aqt*

Allen "A ladder has been laid down for him"

Shmakov "A ladder(-mound) has been pounded for him"

The usual verb employed in relation to ladders is *T(A)z* "tie (a ladder)", but the verb *sq(j)* is always used in the expression *sq(j) r(w)dw* "pound/flat a mound/stairway" or "erect/construct a mound/stairway", see **W 174**.

2)

§1432a: *DA n.f mSnt {s}<j>n Damw j.xmw sk*

Allen "A ferryboat has been ferried to him by the Imperishable Stars with staves"

Shmakov "A ferryboat has been ferried to him by the Imperishable staves"

The original has *Damw j.xmw sk* "Imperishable staves". James Allen's reading "the Imperishable Stars with staves" is unclear.

P 508 (PT 569)

§1436a: *xsf w jdbw(j) jr Hr*

Allen "As the two shores should not be barred to Horus"

Shmakov "As the two banks (i. e. Egypt) should not be barred from (being given to) Horus"

The text has the collocation *xsf jr* "bar from, prohibit from" (Allen, *Inflection*, §662).

P 509 (PT 570A)

§§1444b-c, 1445a-b, 1446a-b, 1448b-c: *sDm sw mdw pn j.Dd(j) n.k wDA.n(j) jb.k jr pjpp pn*

Allen "Hear it, this speech said to you. Become informed by it about this Pepi"

Shmakov "Hear it, this speech which I am saying to you! I have informed you about this Pepi"

Literally: "I have made you heart become sound about this Pepi"

In Merenre's copy of this spell the suffix-pronoun *.j* "I" that referred originally to the priest who pronounced the spell has been changed for the king's name, thus the pronoun *.f* "he" in *wDA.n.f.jb.k jr N* probably refers to the king rather than to the speech *mdw*, i. e. an original *j.Dd(j) n.k wDA.n(j) jb.k* "(this speech) which I say to you, I have informed you (about the king)" has become *Ddw n.k nmtj-m-za.f mr.n ra wDA.n.f.jb.k* "(this speech) which Nemptiemzaf Merenre is saying to you, he has informed you (about himself)". Cf. the same phenomenon in PT 570, §1461a-b: [*sDm*] *sw mdw pn ra Ddw(j) n.k Dt.k m pjpp ra s.anx Dt.k m pjpp ra* "[Hear] it, Sun, this speech which I am saying to you! Your person is Pepi, Sun, keep your person (who) is Pepi alive, Sun" – a part originally spoken by a priest but reinterpreted as the deceased's speech (P (2nd), M): [*sDm*] *sw mdw pn ra Ddw n.k mrjj-ra* "Hear it, Sun, this speech which Merira is saying to you!".

James Allen doesn't give Merenre's version of the current passages in Allen, *P. T.*, Variants, Spell 389, p. 353. However, he gives Neferkare's version of the first sentence which is alike, *ibid*, Variants, Spell 598, p. 367: (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 22, col. 1309+10–+14: [*sDm*] *sw mdw pn j.Ddw n.k pjpp nfr-kA-ra*) "hear it, this speech Pepi Neferkare says to you! (*stanzas 2–6*)".

Merenre's version reads:

sDm sw mdw pn j.Ddw n.k N wDA.n.f.jb.k jr N

"Hear it, this speech which N is saying to you! He/It (i. e. N or the speech) has informed you about N"

In the passage we have an example of transitive use of the verb *wDA* (as a part of the word-formation *wDA jb*). The same transitive use occurs in Urk.IV:944:9: *jmj wDA(j) jb.tn nbw (n)HH Axw jmjw Xr(j)-nTr* "Let me inform you (lit. give that I make your heart(s) sound), lords of *nHH*-time, akhs in the cemetery" (see also *ibid*:1079:10, 1083:13). It is improper to treat *jmj wDA jb.tn* as a "causative imperative" (as it comes to be known in the later stages of the language) for then we would have a meaningless "inform yourselves", lit. "cause your heart(s) to become sound". Moreover, the suffix *.j* is also omitted *ibid*:944:5: *nj jr(j) zp Xzj m sxrw.f nb* "I did not do a vile deed against any of his plans".

In §1448b Merenre's editor either has erred or the text indeed has *sDm sw mdw.n(j) j.Ddw n.k N* "Hear it, that which I have spoken (and) which N is saying to you!".

2)

§1447b: *sDm sw mdw pn Ddw(j) n.k wDA(j) n.k jb.k jr pjpp*

Allen "Hear it, this speech said to you. Become informed by it about this Pepi"

Shmakov "Hear it, this speech which I say to you, that I may inform you for you about this Pepi"

3)

§1450b-e: *nj am.n pjjj pn jrt Hr.w j.Dd r(m)T m(w)t.f Hr.s nj am.n mrjj-ra pn at m Asjr(t) j.Dd nTrw m(w)t.f Hr.s*

Allen "This Pepi does not eat Horus's eye so that people would say he should die because of it. This Meryre does not eat a limb of Osiris [so that the gods would say he should die because of it]"

Shmakov "This Pepi does not swallow Horus's eye (therefore / in spite of the fact that) people say that he may die because of it. This Meryre does not swallow a limb from Osiris('s body) (therefore / in spite of the fact that) the gods say he may die because of it"

This passage means that in the opinion of people and gods, the king will die if he does not eat Horus's eye/Osiris's limb, and in spite of this opinion the king is said not to eat the eye/limb. It can also be read as "This Pepi does not have to swallow Horus's eye (in spite of the fact that) people... This Meryre does not have to swallow a limb from Osiris('s body) (in spite of the fact that) the gods..." (see **W 221**, 1). Pepi's version has *am* "swallow", not Merenre's *wnm* "eat" (occurs once in §1450d).

P 510 (PT 570B)

§1456b-d: *nTrw ntjw...Dsrw [Hr] Damw.sn Dsr pjjj pn Hna.Tn Hr wAs Hna Dam*

Allen "gods of the undersky...[who]...sweep away [with] their electrum staves. This Pepi will sweep away with you with a staff of authority and an electrum staff"

Shmakov "gods of the Lowersky...[who]...lean [on] their electrum staves. This Pepi will lean with you on a staff of authority and an electrum staff"

The meaning of *Dsr* is "raise, lift" (see below), so the collocation *Dsr Hr* probably means "tower / be elevated upon", "tower due to / straighten oneself with the help of / be elevated by means of" or similar, with *Hr* «(up)on» having the sense of "by means of, because of, due to". The picture invoked by the *Dsr Hr Dam* is person standing straight up with the help of the staff. For the meaning of *Dsr Hr*, cf. PT 64, Nt 309: *Asjr(t) N Dsr.k Hr.f.../ Dsr* "Osiris N, tower upon it.../ *Dsr*-staff"; CT IV, 68b-d (T1C): *j Hr.w mj r.k r Ddw Dsr.k Hr.j mAn.k jrw.j* "Oh Horus, come pray to Busiris that you may tower upon me and see my form".

Compare this with other expressions: §§816a, 1483c: *twA(j)w Hr Damw.sn* "those who lean on their staves"; 360d: *Hmsw Hr Damw.sn* "those who sit on (i. e. are in charge of) their staves"; 1708b: *Hmsw Hr Dab.sn* "those who sit on their staff" (for *Dab* ~ *Dam*, see **M 365**); 348b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 3, col. 28: *aHaw Hr Damw pt* "those who stand on the sky's staves"; 355c, 1510c: *aHajw Hr Damw.sn* "those who stand on their staves".

From §348a-b, *fdw jpw nTrw aHaw Hr Damw pt* "these four gods who stand on the sky's electrum staves", it is clear that the staves are the four staves supporting the sky, and the four gods who *Dsr/aHa/Hms/twA* on these staves are keepers of the sky's staves.

The passages about staves cited above suggested that the collocations *aHa Hr* ~ *Hmsj Hr*, lit. "stand up on" and "sit upon", have the meaning "be in charge of, wield", for to "sit on" or to "stand (up) on" a staff would be meaningless and odd.

For the meaning of *Hmsj Hr*, cf. CT VII, 338c, 518n: *jnk Hms Hr jrt Hr.w* "I am the one who is in charge of Horus's eye" ("who sits on Horus's eye" doesn't make sense at all).

For the meaning of *aHa Hr*, cf. CT IV, 59q: *npr aHa(.w) Hr tp N pn* "Grain is in charge of this N's head" ("Grain has stood on this N's head" doesn't make sense at all); Leb. 51-54: *wAH jb.k bA.j sn.j r*

xprt jwaw.j drp.tj.fj, aHa.tj.fj Hr HAt hrw qrs, sAy.f Hnkyt nt Xrt nTr "Be favorable (lit. let your heart last), my ba, my brother, until my heir has come into being, who will feed, who will be in charge of the mastaba on the day of burial"; Manassa, *Underworld*, p. 125 (the reading is by the present author): *nmtyw iryw nmt aHayw Hr qn mwtw* "O slaughterers, who are attached to the slaughtering places, who are in charge of the punishment of the dead". Hence the expression *aHa Hr nst* "stand up on the seat/throne (of the father)" probably has the meaning "be in charge of (the father's) seat", CM CG 20119, 20748, BM 805: *aHa Xrdw.Tn Hr nswt.Tn* "so that your children be in charge (lit. stand on) your seat (i. e. office)".

For the meaning "rely on, lean on" for *twA Hr*, cf. CT VI, 412d: *nfr.wj tw twA.k Hr wAs* "How beautiful are you as you lean on the sceptre".

For the meaning of the verb *Dsr*, cf.:

CT I, 309j: *rs Dsr Tw Hr gs.k pw*
 "Wake up, raise yourself (*Dsr Tw*) from this side of yours"

Cf. PT 596, §1641c *j.rs Tz Tw* "Wake up, raise yourself" (and lots of *Tz Tw Hr gs* "raise yourself from the side"). *s.rw(j)* "remove (from the side)" (§§1878c, 2182b) has {arm holding sceptre} determinative, just like *Dsr*.

PT 571, §1471b: *j.s.(j)p.f pppj pn n Sw Dsr ajj Xrjw nwt*
 "that he might appoint this Pepi to Shu, who raises arms which are under Nut"

Ds(j) tp (§401b): "(snake) Who Lifts the Head"

An epithet of the Sun is *Dsr rmn m jAbt* (§1862a) ~ *Dsr rmn Hr jAbt(j)t* (§253d = Nt 726) "Who Raises the Arm in the East", also *Dsr m jAbt* "Who Raises in the East" (§769b), a reference to the Sun's rising in the eastern horizon, using the horizon as means (*Hr*) to lift himself into the sky.

Hornung, *Amduat* I, pp. 80-81: *Dd mdw jn Hm n nTr pn aA j dsr dsr n.j rmn.k wn n.j qAb.k dsr n.j rmn.k wn n.j qAb.k Hr Hr.k m tA*

"Recitation by the Incarnation of this Elder God: Oh Raising (Hiding ?) snake, raise (hide ?) your arm (*rmn*) for me, open your coil for me! raise (hide ?) your arm (*rmn*) for me, open your coil for me! On your face, into the earth!"

CT III, 49e: *mdw Dsr pt Dsr tA*
 "the staff that props up (lit. lifts) the sky, that props up the earth"

("the staff that touches the sky (and) touches the earth (?)", "the staff that lifts the sky (and) leans on the earth (?)"

CT VI, 310l: *jt xr(j)t ntjw jm n Dsr pt r tA*
 "who takes that which those who are there have to the One who parts (lit. lifts) the sky from the earth"

PT 676, 2013a: *rmn.n.<.k> pt Ds(j).n.k tA*
 "<You> have shouldered the sky, you have leaned on the earth (?)"

PT 627, §1778b: *Dsr pt r tA* "who parts (lit. lifts) the sky from the earth"

As said, *Dsr Hr* "be elevated by means of (lit. upon)" may be compared with expressions like *aHa Hr*

"stand up by (lit. upon)" and *Tz Tw Hr* "raise yourself by / due to (lit. upon)", for which see also **T 197**, with examples.

2)

§1461a-b: *sDm sw mdw pn ra Ddw(.j) n.k Dt.k m pppj ra s.anx Dt.k m pppj ra*

Allen "Hear it, Sun, this speech said to you. Your self is in Pepi, Sun: make your self live in Pepi, Sun"
Shmakov "[Hear] it, this speech, Sun, that I am saying to you! Your person is Pepi, Sun, keep your person (who) is Pepi alive, Sun"

For the reading, see **P 509**, 1.

3)

§1462a-b: *smA janjw jn knmwt smA knmwt jn janjw*

Allen «The baboons have been killed by the blackbird, the blackbird has been killed by the baboons»

The word *knmwt* (P) or *knjw* (M) is the same that occurs in the O.K. title *jwn knmwt* "support of *knmwt*", see Jones, *Titles*, ## 22, 23. Both words are spelled same and have the sign {foxhide}-F27/28 that occurs in the second copy of this passage in Pepi's pyramid. This title is usually written in a pair with the title *mdw rxt* "the walking-stick (i.e. patron) of *rxt*-people" (Jones, *Titles*, # 1698). On this ground it has been suggested that *knmwt* in the title is a class of people just like *rxt*-people. For the reason of the {bird} sign that occurs after *knmwt* in §1226e PM it has been suggested to read this word as "blackbird". It is notable that the same {bird} sign occurs after the name of a snake in §429a W: *hkrt*-{bird}-{snake}. *knmwt* with the {bird} sign also occurs with uncertain meaning in CT VII, 53r: *jj.n N pn xr.k wab(.w) m knmwt* "This N has come to you having become clean in *knmwt*".

4)

§1464a: *ppj pw jns pr m Ast dSr pr m nbt-Hwt*

Allen "Pepi is the red linen that came and the redness that came from Nephthys"

Shmakov "Pepi is the pink-colour that came from Isis (and) the redness that came from Nephthys"

jns is just "the pink stuff", evidently having the root of *jnsj* "pink cloth", hence the {fringed cloth}-S28 determinative in §1464a P_b, but the following line ("Pepi is the redness which issued from Nephthys") suggests it refers to menstruation blood (cf. the {pouring liquid} determinative after *dSr* of §1464a M) and/or the sun's color at dawn rather than linen. Thus the passage is probably about the Sun's birth/rise, considering previous lines and the following §1464c: "Pepi is the Sun's replacement" and §1465d-e: "This Pepi will rise in the eastern side of the sky like the Sun who rises in the eastern side of the sky".

5)

§1463e: *nj qnjt jrt Hrw*

Allen "when Horus's eye had not yet been gouged out"

Shmakov "when Horus's eye had not yet been cut by half"

The verb has the {halfmoon} sign as the determinative, and Kurt Sethe also noticed this while translating PT for the Wb. (see <http://aaew2.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>, document DZA 30.390.410 "Halbmond"). Thus we probably have a metaphor "reduced, cut by half" that refers to the gouging out of Horus's eye, like "untied" (*sAd*) is used to refer to the pulling off of Seth's testicles. Cf. CT IV, 232a-236a: *jw mH.n.j jrt m-xt Xqs.s hrw pw n aHA rHwj...m-xt wdt.f sTA m Hr.f* "I have filled the eye after it was reduced on the day of the fighting of the two Comrades, after he did harm to (lit. against) his face". The same verb occurs in CT IV, 325c: *jrt pw qn(j)t hjw* "this is the eye that the monster cut

by half".

P 511 (PT 571)

§§1467b-1468b: *nTrw ntjw j.xmw nk n xftjw.sn nj nk pjj pn n xftjw.f*

Allen "you gods of the undersky, who cannot be mated to their opponents, and this Pepi cannot be mated to his opponents"

Shmakov "you gods of the lowersky, who do not know accusation because of their opponents, and this Pepi will not be accused because of his opponents"

nk is a variant spelling of *njk* with the meaning "to accuse" (not "to copulate") – this is Allen's own translation of the verb in PT 486, §§1041d, 1042a. Note the determinative {half-bent downward directed arm with pointing index finger} (bit like an empty D248) that occurs in the words having the meaning of accusation: *xbn* "accuse, charge", *xbnt* "accusation" (§§462b, 1041d, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. VIII, col. 3), *n(j)k* "charge" (Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 24, col. +83).

P 513 (PT 573)

§1478c: *rs.k m Htp bA jAbt(j) Htp*

Allen "May you awake in peace, eastern Ba—in peace!"

Shmakov "May you awake in peace, eastern Ram—in peace!"

For the reading of *bA* as "ram" see **P 292**, 2.

2)

§1481a-b: *ra wD n m.s.xAAt tw jr(j)t gs.k Dj.s wxA.t(j) st n pjj pn jr rd wr*

Allen "Sun, command that clearing goddess at your side to have a place cleared for this Pepi at the causeway"

Shmakov "Sun, command that preparing goddess at your side to have a seat prepared for this Pepi at the great causeway"

The original has *rd wr* "great causeway/mound". In the mastaba of Tepiemankh (*tp(.j)-m-anx*) the scene of the preparation of a seat by two servants is inscribed *wxA st* "preparing a seat" (Junker, *Giza IV*, Abb.10, p. 40); near it there is a scene inscribed *wDt ATt* "making a bed", showing servants making a bed (the same scene is in the mastaba of Mereruikai (Duell, *Mereruikai*), pl. 93).

P 516 (PT 574)

§1485a: *j.nD(.j) Hr.T nht Xnmt nTr*

Allen "Greetings, sycamore that incorporates the god"

Shmakov "Greetings, sycamore that shields the god"

For the meaning of the verb *Xnm*, see **W 165**, 7. Cf. also the name of the twelfth hour in the N. K. Book of Night (Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 12th hour) and the name of the cow from Naville II, BD 148:8 (Ba) (also in the copy of the tomb of Nefertari) – *Xnmt anx* "She who shields life (or "She who shields the one who is alive")" (in BD 148 it is a variant of *Xnmt m anx* "She who endows with life").

P 517 (PT 575)

§§1492b, 1493b, 1494b, 1495b: *m zA ra jj.j mrjj.n ra jj(.j)*

Allen ""Here is the Sun's son come: the one the Sun has desired has come.""

Shmakov ""See the Sun's son has come, the one whom the Sun has begun/started to love has come.""

Cf. Budge, BD82:8-9: *aHa.j Hms.j r b(w) mrjj.n.j jm*

«I stand and sit wherever I wish to (lit. with respect to a place I have desired (to stand and sit) in (it)/there)»

James Allen is probably right in reading the phrase as a relative *sDm.n.f.* "the one the Sun has desired has come" (unlike Allen, *M. E.*, 24.9, where he joins the traditional treatment of such a construction as perfective passive participle with a following indirect genitive, a treatment that was not revised even in the second, revised, edition of his grammar released in 2010)⁴⁰.

The Pyramid Texts have examples of perfect with final double reed-panicle spelled out in case of 3rd-weak verbs. The seven examples attested in the Pyramid Texts are: §§302c T (*djj.n*), 334a T (*nhjj.n.f*), Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.7, col. 709+33 = §334a (*nhjj.n*), 1111a P (*Sdjj.n*), Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.11, col.1013 (*H(w)jj.n.f*), 1248b N (*wdjj.n.f*) and Nt 833 (*Hnjj.n(j)*) (see also Allen, *Inflection*, §§65B and 450 (Allen gives here only four examples of final double reed-panicle in perfect); Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §§533, 540). Moreover, such a spelling occurs outside the PT: Urk.I:217:16, 218:16: *jn jw mrjj.n. Tn Hz Tn nswt* "Do you want the king to praise you?" (cf. *ibid*:205:2, 205:12, 218:8 with *sDm.f. jn jw mrjj. Tn Hz Tn nswt*), *ibid*:232:10: *mrjj.n Hm(j) wDA.f wrt* "My Incarnation has wanted him to be very sound".

The same double reed-panicle may be present in perfect relative forms as the BD passage above shows, thus the common O.K. expression *mrjj n Y Hzjj n Z* may actually be *mrjj.n Y Hzjj.n Z*, e.g. in the most common *mrjj.n jt(j).f Hzjj.n mwt.f* "the one whom his father loves (and) his mother praises" or, if to follow Allen, "the one whom his father desired (and) his mother blessed" (*ibid*:76:15-16, 79:4, 6, 109:17, 122:3-4, 143:4-5, 145:17-146:1, 197:6, 255:8, 263:7). We also should take into account the fact that sometimes this expression is spelled with relative perfective, *jnk mrjj (j)t(j).f Hzjj mwt(.f)* (*ibid*:216:6), and is followed with relative phrase *mrr snw.f (snwt.f)* "whom his brothers (and sisters) love" (*ibid*:122:3-5, 197:6, 255:8 and 145:17-146:2). Other variants of this expression are:

Urk.I:152:2-3: *jnk mrjj.n nb.f Hzjj.n HqAw.f*
"I am the one whom his lord loved (and) his rulers praised"

Kanawati-Raziq, *Geref*, pl.53: *Hzzj.n nswt mrjj.n r(m)T nb*
"the one whom the king praised (and) all people loved"

Against the treating of *mrjj* in this construction as perfective passive participle is the spelling with only one reed-panicle: *mrj.n-kA.f* "the one whom his ka loves"⁴¹ (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl.113).

However, such writings as *Hzzjt nt Hwt-Hr* "Hathor's favourite" (Jones, *Titles*, #2407) contradict Allen's and the present author's reading and suggest that we need to read *mrjj n ra* "Sun's beloved".

P 518 (PT 576)

§1517a: *nw Sw a n pjpp jr pt twA.f tA Dj.n.f n.k*

Allen "Nu, the arm of Pepi has ascended to the sky as he leans on the earth that he has given you"
Shmakov "Nu, lift the arm of Pepi to the sky for now it supports the earth that he has given you"

The verb *Sw* in the passage is probably transitive even without *s*-prefix (see **W 178**), as it is meaningless to just inform Nu that the arm of Pepi has ascended to the sky. Moreover, such a construction (god's name plus following verb) normally contains an imperative (cf. §§275e-f, 519c,

⁴⁰ James Allen also reads PT 684, §2059b as having relative perfect: *pjpp nfr-kA-ra wa jm.sn Hzjj.n kA pt* "Pepi Neferkare is one of them, whom the sky's bull has blessed" (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 291).

⁴¹ The full version of Mereruikai's name *mrj*. Compare it with his other name *mrr-w(j)-kA(j)* "my ka loves me".

1090b+e, 1247d, 1422a-b). For the meaning of the verb *twA*, see **P 519**, 4 below.

P 519 (PT 577)

§1523c: *jnpw jp jbw jp.f Asjr(t) pppj m-a nTrw jr(j)w tA n nTrw [jnj]w pt*

Allen "Anubis, who allots hearts, is allotting Osiris Pepi from the gods who belong to the earth to the gods in the sky"

Shmakov "Anubis, who subordinates hearts, is withdrawing Osiris Pepi from the gods who belong to the earth to the gods[in] the sky"

For *jp* as "subordinate", see **W 148**, 3. For the collocation *jp m-a* "withdraw from" (lit. "subordinate out of the hand of"), see **T 196**, 1.

2)

§1524b-d: *jp.n sw tr.f s.xA.n sw nww.fjp pppj jn tr.f Hna.f s.xA.n sw nww.f Hna.f*

Allen "his year has taken account of him, and his times have remembered him: this Pepi has been taken account of by his year with him and his times have remembered him with him"

Shmakov "his season has recognized him, and his periods have recalled him. This Pepi (too) has been recognized by his season with him and his periods have recalled him with him"

For *jp* as "recognize", see **T 145**. This passage probably has *tr* (*trt* ?) "season", not *rnpt* "year". In the passage the phrase *Hna.f* "with him" occurs twice (also twice in §1527b-c below), which Allen leaves without any comment, but the pronoun "he" in it probably refers to Osiris-Orion (§1525, cf. the similar spell PT 442).

3)

§1527a-c: *jwr.n wj pt ms.n sw dwAt jwr pppj pn Hna.f jn pt msjw pppj pn Hna.f jn dwAt*

Allen "As the sky conceived him and the morning star gave him birth, this Pepi has been conceived with him by the sky and this Pepi will be given birth with him by the morning star"

Shmakov "The sky has conceived him and the morning has given him birth, and this Pepi (also) has been conceived with him by the sky and has been given birth with him by the morning"

1st person dependent pronoun occurs in this passage probably by mistake: *jwr.n wj pt* "the sky has conceived me" (§1527a). For *dwAt* as "morning", not "morning star", see **P 38**, 3.

4)

§1528a: *rmn.k pt m gs.k jmnt(j) Xr(j) anx anx.k n Hn nTrw anx.k*

Allen "As you shoulder the sky, (Osiris), on your western side bearing life and you live because the gods arrange that you live"

Shmakov "You shall shoulder the sky with your right side that bears a life(-symbol), that you may live as/because the gods resolved/enacted that you live"

§1529a-b: *twA.k tA m gs.k jAb(tj) Xr(j) wAs anx.k anx.k n Hn nTrw anx.k*

Allen "As you lean on the earth on your eastern side bearing authority as you live and you live because the gods arrange that you live"

Shmakov "You shall lean on the earth with your left side that bears a *wAs*-staff, that you may live your life as/because the gods resolved/enacted that you live"

§1529c: *twA pppj {pt} <tA> m gs.f jAb(tj) Xr(j) {anx} <wAs>*

Allen "Pepi will lean on the sky on his eastern side bearing life"

Shmakov "So, Pepi is leaning on <the earth> with his left side that bears <a *wAs*-staff>"

This passage probably contains two mistakes (*pt* is to be corrected into *tA*, and *anx* into *wAs*): seeing that in §1528a, c: *pt...Xr anx* occurs twice, it surely was intended that *tA...Xr wAs* would also occur twice in §1529a, c.

This group of passages (§§1528a-1529c) is split in the original, when restored it reads:

"You shall shoulder the sky with your right side that bears a life(-symbol) (and) lean on the earth with your left side that bears a *wAs*-staff. So, Pepi is shouldering the sky with his right side that bears a life(-symbol) (and) leaning on the earth with his left side that bears a *wAs*-staff"

Cf. also:

PT 511, §1156b-d: *rmn.n.f pt m anx twA.f tA m Awt jb a.f pw jmn(tj) rmn.f pt m wAs a.f pw jAb(tj) twA.f tA m Awt jb*

"He has shouldered the sky with a life(-symbol) (and) is leaning on the earth with happiness: it (means) that his right arm shoulders the sky with a *wAs*-staff, his left arm leans on the earth with happiness"

PT 685, 2067a: *fA.k pt m Drt.k wAH.k tA m Tb(w)t.k*

"You shall lift the sky with your hand (and) lower (lit. lay down) the earth with your foot (lit. sole)"

CT III, 55g-h: *r(m)n.j pt m abwj.j sAH.j tA m Tb(w)tj.j*

"I shoulder the sky with (lit. through) my horns, I touch the land with my soles"

In this context, *anx* and *wAs* are both tangible objects, not abstract concepts; so "life-symbol" (not "life") next to *wAs*-staff (an authority symbol, not "authority"), cp.:

PT 477, §967d: *s.mn pppj pn a.k Hr anx fAjj pppj pn a.k Xr wAs*

"this Pepi will establish your arm upon a life(-symbol), this Pepi will lift your arm having a *wAs*-staff"

PT 670, §1980a-b: *mAw Hrw dj.f anx n jt(j).f [Aw.f wAs] n Asjr(t)*

"The sight of Horus giving a life(-symbol) to his father [and extending a *wAs*-staff] to Osiris"

CT VI, 323cc: *s.wD.Tnn-wj n anx jmj a.Tn wAs jmj xfa.Tn*

"You should appoint me to a life(-symbol) which is in your arm (and) a *wAs*-staff which is in your grasp"

CT VII, 38h: *fA a.k Xr anx s.mn a.k Hr wAs*

"Lift your arm bearing a life(-symbol), set your arm on a *wAs*-staff"

The verb *Hn* in the current passage is probably a synonym of the verb *wD* "command, decree", cf:

PT 442, §821a: *anx anx m wD.n nTrw anx.k*

"Live a life, for the gods have commanded that you live"

P 520 (PT 578)

§1534b: *pr.k r.sn bA.tj spd.t(j) mst.t(j) mst.t(j)*

Allen "you should go forth toward them, ba as one fully born, sharp as one fully born"

Shmakov "you should go forth toward them, being impressive (and) *mst*, being sharp (and) *mst*"

This passage is probably split. *mst.t(j)* is the stative (just like *bA.tj* and *spd.t(j)*) of an unknown 3-lit. verb *mst* (ends in *t* just like *m(w)t* "die", *twt* "befit"), which also occurs in PT 659, §1863a: *sDm.k(j) mdw ra nTr js Hrw js mst* "I have heard the Sun's speech being a god, being Horus *mst*". This verb

probably has nothing to do with the 3rd-weak verb *msj* "give birth" and uses the *ms*-{fox hides bundled}-F31 sign as phonetic.

2)
§§1536b-37a: *m(j) r.k Hr.sn m rn.k pw n mHjtt jp.sn Tw m rn.k pw n jnp*

Allen "you should take hold of them, in your identity of the north wind; they will take account of you, in your identity of Anubis"

Shmakov "come upon them, in your identity of the north wind that they may recognize you in your identity of Anubis"

m(j) is probably the imperative "come", not the imperative "take", as the verb *jTj* is not used with the governing preposition *Hr* (unlike the verbs *xma* (~ *xfa*) "grasp", *nDrj* "hold", *Amm* "grasp"). Moreover, if we were to follow James Allen's interpretation we would get a strange phrase in which the wind is taking hold of somebody, whereas the coming of the wind does make more sense. For *jj Hr* "come upon", cf. Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl.3, col.39 (Allen's P 308): *jj.n.j Hr.k* "I have come upon you", CT VII, 148i, 149d: *jj.kj Hr.Tn* "I have come upon you" (also *jw Hr* in §§440a-b, 660c; CT IV, 346c; CT VI, 262f *jj Hr*). For *jp* as "recognize", see **T 145**, 8.

3)
§1537b: *nj hAw nTrw r.k m rn.k pw n jgAw*

Allen "the gods will not go down against you, in your identity of the Milk-Goddess"

Shmakov "the gods will not descend to you in your identity of Igau"

The godhead is *jgAj* "Igai" (see §662b), not *jAt* "Iat", firstly, because this and the following §1538a occur slightly changed on the south wall of the burial chamber (east end), and the name of the god in question is there spelled phonetically *j-gA(w)* (the sign is *gA*, {wicker satchel}-V96), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 96: [...*n*].*k m rn.k pw n jgA* "to you, in your identity of Igau". Secondly, because there is a word-play in the passage between (*n*)*j hAw* and *jgAw* (i. e., we have an unique case of /h/ ~ /g/, instead of the usual /x/ ~ /g/, see **M 52**). Cf. CT VII, 40l-m, which is the descendant of this and the following §1538a PT passages, 40l: *gAjw n.k nTrw gAjw n.k nTrw m rn.k pw n jgAw* "Gods will overturn for you, gods will overturn for you, in your identity of Igau".

P 522 (PT 580)

§1545a: *ngA.n(j) n.k ngA Tw m ng wnw.k Hr sA.f m Hr sA pD Tw m pDt Ssr Tw m Ssr*

Allen "I have broken down for you as a longhorned bull the one who broke you down. The one on whose back you were is a bull on his back, the one who stretched you is a bull on the rack, the one who milked you is a milked bull"

Shmakov "I have butted for you as a longhorned bull the one who butted you, the one on whose back you were – (I have butted) as a bull on his back, the one who severed you – as a bull on the rack, the one who carved you – as a milked bull"

The verb *pD* is probably not "stretch", but the root of *n.pD* "sever" (§746a). The verb *sSr* is probably not "milk", but "carve" (it occurs in Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 62, *sSr n qrst(j)t* "carving for burial equipment", *sS(j) TAzt ns* "carving a belt (and) a leg", *sSr mks (?) n qrst(j)t* "carving a sceptre for burial equipment"), so there is really a word-play between two words of different meanings, *sSr* "carve" and *sSr* "milked bull", although both verbs use the {arrow}-T11 sign in their spellings.

P 523 (PT 581)

§1551b: *s.AqH.s mHwt*

Allen "is what will bring the northwind"

Shmakov "it (i. e. the cavern) will enhance the northwind"

The verb *s.AqH/s.qAH* has the meaning "improve, ennoble, enhance", cf. PT 403, §701b: *s.wAD tjt s.qAH tjt* "Freshen Teti, ennoble Teti". The copies of Teti and Merenre give *s.AqH*, Neferkare's copy gives *s.qAH*. Cf. also CT VI 372b: [*qd.s Hwwt nTr*].*sn s.qAH.s rwdw.sn s.rwd.s arrwt.sn* "[She builds] their [temples], she improves their stairways, she makes firm their passages".

2)

§1555b: *nHm.k pppj pn m-a TAz...m r n zjw r.sn jr hrw pw nfr n zxz*

Allen "'May you save this Pepi from the phrase"...in the mouth of those who have gone away at that final day of running"

Shmakov "'May you save this Pepi from the utterance"...in the mouth of those who have gone away to them to this festive day of running"

3)

§1557c: *Sm.k m-xt Ax.k {jr}<jr>.k {n}<tA> m jwnw*

Allen "You will go after your akh to cloak the winds"

Shmakov "You shall go after you have become an akh (and) visit the land as gusts"

The passage has *jr knm jwnw*, but it should actually be read *jr.k tA m jwnw* (see P 557, 3), that is, *jr knm* is probably a scribal mistake for *jr.k tA m*. The verb *jr* was misunderstood as preposition *jr*, and writing the sign *n* instead of a correct *tA* "land" is a frequent mistake from the hieratic⁴² (§§221c N, 227c, 308b W, 372d W, 1645c N, 1648b N, 1649e N, 1713a; Urk.I:25:2, 136:17, 255:1, 3; Hassan, Giza II, fig. 63, p. 67 (*sm xrp SnDwt smr watj ra wr(.j) Hm-ka Dt* "Personal ka-servant of am-priest, manager of kilt, unique companion Raweri"); Junker, Giza VI, Abb. 91, p. 226; Davies, Ptahhetep I, pl. 26 (*sn Dt*); Jones, Titles, # 3747; Sethy I, Abydos II, pl. 36; CT VIII, 227c (M7C, Sq1Sq)). *Ax.k* in *m-xt Ax.k* is not a noun "akh", it is either an infinitive ("after your becoming an akh/after your akhification") or a non-attributive relative *sDm.f* ("after you have become an akh"), hence the reading. Cf.:

PT 690, CT VIII, §2097a-b (B11C): *jj Asjr(t) N pn Htm(.j) m nTr T(A)z qsw.f m Asjr(t) zj m-xt Ax.f*
"This Osiris N has come provided as a god, for his bones have been tied together as (those of) Osiris, who has gone after he has become an akh"

Leclant, Pepi I, pl. II B, col. 83: *anx pppj pn Htm(.j) m nTr T(A)z qsw.f m Asjr(t) zj m[-xt Ax.f]*
"This Pepi shall live provided as a god, for his bones have been tied together as (those of) Osiris, who has gone af[ter he has become an akh]"

PT 93, §62a: *fA Hr.k Asjr(t) fA Hr.k hA wnjs pw zj Ax.f*
"Lift your face, Osiris, lift your face, this Unis, who has gone to become an akh"

PT 422, §752a-b: *hA pppj pw Sm.n.k Ax.k*
"Ho, this Pepi! You have gone that you may become an akh"

PT 450, §833b: *Sm.n.k j.Ax.k xnt(j) Axw*
"You have gone that you might become an akh at the fore of the akhs"

⁴² See Hays, *Structure*, p.40, note 22.

P 524 (PT 582)

§1566a: *smAt wrt Awt S(w)t*

Allen "great wild cow with long plumage"

Shmakov "great wild cow with long horn"

Neferkare's version gives *Awt S(w)tj* "with two long horns". For *Swt* "feather" as a probable metaphor for "horn", see **T 228**.

P 525 (PT 583)

§1568b: *dSrrt*

Allen "little red one"

Shmakov "red one"

The reduplication of the final radical in the word *dSrrt* "red one" does not add something special to the meaning, so we must not consider *dSrrt* as a combination of *dSrt* "red one" and *Srrt* "little one". Cf. other nouns with reduplicated root radical: *dSrr* "redness" (§854a P; CT I, 378c (S1C), as a variant of *dSr/dSrw*); *qd* (§§308c, 312c) ~ *qdd* (§§260b, 721d, 1500c) "sleep"; *HwAt* (§722d) ~ *HwAAAt* (§§788b, 1257b, 1360b) "putrefying liquid"; *Tmst* (§1147a) ~ *Tmsst* (§1460a) "redness"; *THnnt* "glisten" (§561d); *s.ASrt* "roast (meat)" (§124c) ~ *s.(A)Srrt* "roast (pies)" (CT III, 124b); *bAg* (CT III, 311c) ~ *bAgg* (CT III, 311c (A1C), CT II, 162i) "feebleness"; *Hwr* (Wb.III:55:5) ~ *Hwrr* "youth" (CT III, 78b); *Xnw* (§§229b, 289c W, 304a W, 306c W, 1463d M) ~ *Xnnw* (§§289c T, 304a T, 306c T, 1099a, 1040c, 1463d P) "disturbance"; *Hbnt* (§§76d N, 94d N) ~ *Hbnnt* (§§76d W, 94d WT) "scones".

Also there are words normally spelled with reduplicated radical: *Smmwt* (§1189d) "walkways", *xpr* (§§561c, 570, 888b, 1210a) "beetle", *Hnmmt* "Sunlight people (i. e. Egyptians)", *arrwt* (§392a) "gate, portal" (yet there is a spelling without gemination, *arwt* in §1740b), *wrrt* "crown" (yet there is a spelling without gemination, *wrt* in Urk.IV:244:8), *nnSm* "spleen" (§83b W, however *nSm* in §83b N; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 77:82), *zSSn* "water-lily" (*zSn* since the M.K.).

P 526 (PT 553)

§1358b-c: *rdwj.k sq(j).sn n.k a.sn jn.sn n.k H(A)bw.k*

Allen "your feet laying down for you and their arms getting for you your catch"

There seems to be a mistake in this passage which is a variant of §791b: *n rdwj.k sq(j).sn H(A)b.k* "for your feet because they lay down your (bird) catch", for it is unclear who are *.sn* in *a(wj).sn* "their arm(s)". The correct version may be *rdwj.k sq(j).sn n.k a. {sn}<.k> jn.sn n.k H(A)bw.k* "your feet are laying down for (and) <your> arm(s) are bringing for you your catches". Mercer also emended *.sn* "thy feet hit thine arms" (Mercer, *P. T.*, p.220).

2)

§1358d: *n jbHw.k HDw anwt.k Atft(jjw)t*

Allen "for your white teeth and your nails of Him of Atfet"

Shmakov "for your white teeth (and) your talons (lit. fingernails of Him of Atfet)"

Atft(j) "He of Atfet" is probably the god Nemti (see **Supplemental notes**, Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names, 2), so *anwt Atft(jjw)t* "fingernails of Him of Atfet" undoubtedly means "talons, claws". Cf. PT 302, §461d: *anwt.fm wxAw Atft(j)* "His fingernails are the talons of Him of Atfet", CT IV, 347d-e: *jbHw.j m ds nHDwt.j m Atft(j)* "my teeth are (as sharp as) a knife, my canine teeth are (as sharp as the claws) of Him of Atfet".

3)
§1360b: *rDw.k n.k pr m HwAAAt Asjr(t)*
Allen "you have your outflow that comes from Osiris's decay"
Shmakov "your outflow that came as Osiris's putrefying liquid is for you"

The collocation *pr m* in this passage probably has the meaning "emerge as", rather than "emerge from". For *HwAAAt* as "putrefying liquid", cf.:

CT III, 28b-c: *jw HwAAAt wSr jtrw*
"putrefying liquid has shallowed, the river has dried up"

CT III, 297a-b: *jj.n.j...pnq.j HwAAAt* (and also CT VI, 265b-d: *jj.n.j...pnq.j [Hw]AA*)
"I have come...that I may bail the [putre]fying liquid"

PT 532, §1257b: *xw.sn zAb HwAAAt.k jr tA*
"They will keep your putrefying liquid from oozing to the ground"

CT IV, 183b-d: *HwAAAt.j pw antjw...rDw.j pw Hknw*
"My putrefying liquid is myrrh, my outflow is "Jubilation" ointment"

CT VI, 386e: *m zAb HwAAAt.k...m rn.k pw [n] z[Ab]*
"Don't shed your putrefying liquid...in your identity [of] ja[ckal]"

Budge, BD94:4: *mj.k wj m zSA jn n.j HwAt Asjr(t) zSA.j jm*
"Look, I am a scribe, bring me Osiris's putrefying liquid with which I will write"

Moreover, see the determinative of the word *HwAAAt* in §788b – that is {pouring liquid}, just like in the word *rDw* "outflow" in the same paragraph.

4)
§1368b-c: *hrw pw...n DAt r(w)dw*
Allen "on the day...of the legs' crossing the sky"
Shmakov "on the day...of crossing the causeway"

Cf. PT 676, §2016b: *n DAt r(w)d wr* "of crossing the great causeway". For such a spelling of *r(w)dw* "causeway", cf. §1090c.

P 528 (PT 555)
§1373a: *pr.n pjppj m p*
Allen "Pepi has come from Pe"
Shmakov "Pepi has emerged into Pe"

The reading "into Pe" is suggested by the variants of Merenre and Neferkare, which have *m p xr nTrw p(jw)* "into Pe, to the gods-residents of Pe". As in *jj xr* "come to (somebody)". *prj m* can also have the meaning "emerge into" (see §§632c, 1636a: *pr mtwt.k jm.s* "your semen has emerged in her"; §700b: *pr tjt m qdwt.Tn* "Teti will emerge into your shapes"; §§1624b,c, 1832b: *pr.n jr(t) m tp.k* "an eye has emerged into your head"; §§525c-528c (also §529c): *pr.f m sxt jArw wab.f m sxt jArw* "that he might emerge into the Marsh of Reeds and become clean in the Marsh of Reeds").

Cf. also PT 452, §842b-c: *abw.k abw fdw Axw prw hnjn.sn m p*

"your cleansing is the cleansing of the four akhs who come forth genuflecting in Pe" (after Allen).

2)

§1377b-c: *d pppj tp(j) anD DnH.k m pf gs mHt n mr nxA*

Allen "put Pepi on your wingtip in yonder northern side of the Winding Canal"

Shmakov "place Pepi who is upon your wingtip (in)to that northern side of the Curved Canal"

The sense of this passage seems not to be "put him on your wing" but "bring him to the other side, upon your wing" (if *tp* stands for *tp(j)*, then the reading is exactly like that which has been suggested just above). It is said in the spell that Pepi is "hungry and thirsty, thirsty and hungry, *on this southern side of the Curved Canal*", thus Thoth is asked to "put Pepi *upon* your wingtip *to that northern side of the Curved Canal*", i. e. to bring him to the other side where Pepi will hunger and thirst no more. For *d m*, cf. PT 505, §1092a: *d sw m sxt jArw* "place him (in)to the Marsh of Reeds".

P 529 (PT 556)

§1382b-c: *j.njs r.fjt(j) Asjr(t) pppj jr Hm jr smt*

Allen "So, father Osiris Pepi will call for the helmsman and for the one who listens (to commands)"

Shmakov "So, father Osiris Pepi will call for the Turner and for the Overhearer"

In PT 678, §2029a: *j.Hmtj smtj*, James Allen reads the names of these ferrymen differently: "O Away-turner, Interrogator" (see **N 418**).

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 15: *nHm.n.f sw m-a jnwtj*

Allen "He has saved himself from the hobbler"

Shmakov "He has saved himself from the Hostile One"

jnwtj is a variant spelling of the dangerous being known as *nwtj.k nw*, see **P 50**.

P 532-534 (PT 558, 559, 560)

Allen: "(See Merenre's Spells 372–374)"

The correct reference should be "(See Merenre's Spells 366–368)".

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 19: *wTz pppj anx m-xt.k anx.tj*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "Pepi shall bear life in your wake, being alive"

P 535 (PT 561A)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 20: [...] *rn.T j.wD Tn Hrw*

Allen "[...] Horus shall commend you"

A *rn.T* "your name" has survived before *j.wD Tn Hrw* "Horus shall appoint you".

P 538 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 33: *wn n.k TpHt pt(j) s.sx n.k nmt.k jAxw*

Allen "The Looking (Waters') cavern has been opened to you, your striding the sunlight has been broadened for you"

Shmakov "The Looking (Waters') cavern has been opened to you; Sunlight, your expanse has been

broadened for you"

This spell is a variant of PT 456, 503 and 604.

P 540 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 36-37: *wSbt...jr n.f wAt wab.f m kA[w]*

Allen "the fighting cow... Make him a path, that he may become clean with their kas"

Shmakov "feeding cow... Make him a path, that he may become clean as ka[s...]"

wSbt "feeding cow" probably has the root *wSb* "feed".

P 549 (PT 698A)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 56: *[wn r(m)n n Axt n Hrw swA.f] jm...wn r(m)n n Dwt [n Hrw] swA.f jm*

Allen

"[The Akhet's shoulder has been opened to Horus, that he might pass] in it... The mountain's shoulder has been opened [to Horus], that he might pass in it"

Shmakov

"[The Behind the Horizon's arm has been held out to Horus, that he might pass] by means of (lit. through) it... The mountain's arm has been held out [to Horus], that he might pass by means of it"

For the expression *wn rmn* "hold out hand/arm, offer hand/arm (to)" see **N 428**, 4. For the meaning of *jm* in the passage, see **P 316**, 2.

P 551 (PT 613)

§1739c: *nj psD Hm n ra*

Allen "and the Sun will [not] shine forth"

The text has "the Incarnation (*Hm*) of the Sun will not shine forth".

P 552 (PT 694A)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 70: *xpr rr.k jr.t(j) rnp[wt.k]*

Allen "Your season shall happen and [your] year shall be made"

Shmakov "Your season shall happen and [your] fresh provisions be made"

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 71, §2148b: *[jrw] rnpwt.k Hna.f r [nw.f]*

Allen "your year [will be made] with him at his time"

Shmakov "your fresh provisions [will be prepared] with him at [his time]"

The word *rnpt* "year" usually is spelled without complements, but in col. 71 (= §2148b) we have *rnpwt* (not *rnpt*) which is the usual spelling for "fresh provisions" (cf. §874b). Moreover, the expression *jr rnpwt* "prepare fresh provisions" itself proves the reading (otherwise we would have a meaningless "your year will be spend (*jr*)" in col. 71 and "your year is spent (*jr*)" in col. 70, for what could be the sense of the expression "make/prepare a year"?).

P 553 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 71: *[m] jnpw tpj mjnj.f jr Hb[...]*

Allen "as Anubis, first of his shrine— to [your] catch"

Shmakov "[as] Anubis who is on his pavilion— to [your] sco[nes]"

tpj is a nisbe "who is on", rather than *tpj* "first", see **P 319a**, 1. The word *Hb[...]* is arguable, as what

can be seen is the upper part of *H* and *b* which could be either *H(A)b* "catch" or *Hb[nnwt]* "sco[nes]", and the latter seems to be more probable.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 72: [s]nS.j msDrwj.k wn(j) r.k sfx(x)(j) qAsw[k]

Allen "Your ears have been unplugged, [your] mouth has been opened, the bonds [on you] have been loosened"

Shmakov "I have unplugged your ears. I have opened [your] mouth, I have loosened your bonds"

The text has .j spelled out after [s]nS.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 72: a(w)j.k [sq(j)].sn H(A)b

Allen "your arms, they shall net catchers of birds"

Shmakov "your arms, they shall [lay down] a catch of birds"

The part of the handle of the sign {tilted mace}-T2 is visible, which is the usual determinative of the verb *sqj*, thus the verb in [] is probably *sqj* "lay down". For the expression *sq(j) H(A)b* "lay down a (bird) catch", see §791b.

4)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 72-73: [sT] jr.k jAj [jr.k...jAmA n Srt sT jxt w]tt jr.k

Allen "[Praise] to you! [Great] praise [to you!...], the Firstborn's [Thing] is at you"

Shmakov "[Scent] to you! Praise [to you!...Pleasant for the nose is the scent of] the Firstborn [Thing] on you"

For this restoration, cp. PT 665 (Nt 737-738): jA wr jr.k sT wr jr.k jAmA n Srt sT jxt wtt

"Great praise to you! Great scent to you! Pleasant for the nose is the scent of the Firstborn Thing"

5)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 73-74: jn.sn n.k sw [ngA(j) m ng pD(j)] m pDt Ssr(j) [m Ssr] tp.f n Hj p xp[S].f n dwA mwt.f Sb[tjw].f n qbH snw.f

Allen

"They will bring him to you [broken down as a longhorned bull and spread out] as a bull on the rack, his head having been milked for Hapi, his foreleg for Duamutef, his ribs for Qebehsenuf"

Shmakov

"They will bring him to you [butted as a longhorned bull, spread out] as a bull on the rack, carved as a milked bull, his head is for Hapi, his foreleg for Duamutef, his bundle (of ribs) for Qebehsenuf"

ngA(j), *pD(j)*, *Ssr(j)* are three statives (thus Allen's "his head having been milked for Hapi" is wrong). For the restoration, cf. **P 522**.

6)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 75: zwr.k mw baHw jmjw mr Snw

Allen "that you may drink the waters of the inundation that are in the circular canal"

Shmakov "that you may drink abundant water that is in the circular canal"

This is *mw baHw* "abundant water", not "the waters of the inundation", cf. CT I, 298b (T9C): *mw.k n.k baH.k n.k baH* "you water is for you, your inundation is for you, (both) abundant".

7)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 75: *s.kA.n(j) jt Azx.n(j) bdt [jr.n(j) rnp]w[t.k jm...]*

Allen "Barley has been farmed for it, emmer has been reaped for it, and [your] yearly supplies [have been made for it from them...]"

Shmakov "I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer [of which I have made your fresh provisions...]"

There are three *sDm.n.f*'s, not passive *sDm.f*'s with a meaningless *n* "for" (for what?). For the restoration, cf. Nt 783 and **T 204**, 3.

P 554 (PT 611)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 76 = §1724a: *m rn.k pw xr nTrw*

Allen "in your identity that is with the gods"

Shmakov "in your identity that is from the gods"

For the meaning of *xr* as «from», see **W 140**, 4.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 76 = §1724b: *bA xntj anxw*

Allen "the Ba at the fore of the living"

Shmakov "the Ram at the fore of the living"

For the reading of *bA* as "ram", see **P 292**, 2.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 77 = §1727b: *j.[aq r.k jr pr] xwt*

Allen "[you] shall enter into the house of] defence"

Shmakov "[Enter into the house of] defence"

Merenre's copy gives an imperative *j.aq r.k* "Enter...!", so it is not clear why Allen translates the phrase with a subjunctive "[you] shall enter...".

P 555 (PT 612)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 78-79: *[jw s(j) Smt.k tn jt(j)] pjpj mj [Sm Hrw] n jt(j).f Asjr(t) j.Axt.f jm j.[bAt.f jm wASt.f jm sxmt.f jm]*

Allen

"[Behold, this going of yours, father] Pepi, is like [Horus going] to his father Osiris, that he might become akh through it, that [he] might become ba [through it, that he might become esteemed through it, that he might take control through it]"

Shmakov

"[See it, this going of yours, father] Pepi, like [Horus's going] to his father Osiris, through which he became akh, [through which he became impressive, through which he became esteemed, through which he took control]"

For the restoration, see **P 555**, 1 (PT 612). *j.Axt.f, j.[bAt.f], [wASt.f], [sxmt.f]* are relative forms (the *t* of *j.Axt.f* has survived), though the copies of Merenre and Neferkare do not give relative forms, but are using perfectives instead. The clauses are made relative due to the use of *jm(.s)* "through it (i. e. *Smt* going)", §1730b: *j.Ax.f jm bA.f jm wAS.f jm sxm.f jm* "through which he became akh, through which he became impressive, through which he became esteemed, through which he took control", so Allen's translation with subjunctives is puzzling.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 80: *Swj.k r.k jr jrt ra jr rn.k pw jr.n nTrw n Hrw dAtj*

Allen "So, you will ascend to the Sun's eye, to the identity that the gods have made for you: (that) of Horus of the Duat"

Shmakov "So, you will ascend to the Sun's eye according to your identity that the gods have made, (namely that) of Horus of the Duat"

jr in the passage is rather "according to" than "to", cf. **P 467**, 3. There is no *n.k* "for you" after "that the gods have made" (a *.k* is not visible, and cf. §1734a-b), it is "your name of Horus (*n Hrw*) of the Duat that the gods have made".

P 557 (PT—)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 84-85: *wD.n [Tw n]nt wD.n Tw nw[w]*

Allen "He of the undersky commended you, [he of] Nu commended you"

Shmakov "The lo[wer sky] has appointed [you], Nu has appointed you"

There is no evidence for the idea that the remnants of *nww* and *nnt* should be nisbes.

2)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 86: *s[S]m.f Tw jr sxt gbb Htpwt nwt*

Allen "he will lead you to Geb's marsh and Nut's contentment"

Shmakov "he will lead you to Geb's marsh (and) Nut's nourishment"

For *Htpwt* as "nourishment", see **W 145**.

3)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 87: *Sm.k m[-xt Ax].k jr.k tA m jwnw aHa.k zp.t(j) a js nfr Htw*

Allen "You shall walk in your akh's marsh and make land with the wind for your stand, as the arm's remainder, beautiful of throat"

Shmakov "You shall walk in the wake of your akh (and) visit the land as gusts. You shall stand up having survived, being an assistant (lit. arm) of the One beautiful of throat"

This passage is a double of §1557c-d (see **P 523**, 4), hence the restoration of *Sm.k m[-xt Ax].k*. What James Allen saw as *n* ("for (your stand)") are the plural strokes after *jwnw*. *zp.t* after *aHa.k* is probably a stative *zp.t(j)*. For the correct reading *a js nfr Htw*, cf. PT 581, §1557d: *a js Xrt(j) xnt(j) nzAt* "being an assistant (lit. arm) of Kherti, foremost of Nezat"; Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 97: *wp.s n[k] wAt a js wp wAw* "it will discern a path for [you], being an assistant (lit. arm) of Paths-Discerner"; CT II, 394a: *wNm N pn jm.s a js Hjpw(j) Af N pn jm.s a js stX* "This N will eat of it (or "in it", i. e. *sxt* marsh) being an assistant (lit. arm) of Apis, this N will become satisfied with it (or "in it") being an assistant of Seth" (this column is split in the original). For the title *a* "assistant" (which perhaps could be a variant of *wn-a* "assistant"), see two attested examples: *a jnpw* "assistant of Anubis" and *a nmtj* "assistant of Nemti" (Jones, *Titles*, ## 1294, 1295).

P 575a (PT 353)

§697a: *jw.n mrjj-ra m p*

Allen "Meryre has returned from Pe"

Shmakov "Meryre has come to (lit. in) Pe"

For the relevant comments, see **T 166**.

P 576 (= T 278, PT 402)

§698c: *wnwn mry ra pn m sxwt Htpt*

Allen "Teti will move about in the Marshes of Rest"

The version of Pepi Meryre gives *sxwt Htpt* "Marshes of Nourishment".

P 584 (PT 691E)

*§2135a-b: [*H tA wDa rd(w)*]...[*wDa n.k r(w)tj*]

Allen "The earth has been struck and the causeway separated]...[The two portals] have been separated for you"

Shmakov "[The earth has been stepped on and the causeway opened (lit. separated)]...[The two portals] have been opened for you"

For the meaning of *H(w)*, see **T 204**, 4. For the meaning of *wDa* "separate", cf. CT II, 75a: *jw wDa.n n.j gbb sbA* "Geb has opened for me the gate" (B1L has *wn* "opened"), *ibid.* 113c: *jw wDa.n.j sbAw jzw* "I have opened the gates of the tombs".

Part IV: Merenre's PT corpus

M 2 (PT 10)

§8f: *zA nwt wp Xt.s*

Allen "Nut's son, who (first) parted her belly"

Shmakov "Nut's son, whom her belly delivered"

wp in the passage is actually a relative form "whom delivered", not a participle "who parts", which is made clear by the fact that the New Kingdom inscriptions give this expression in a relative perfect (*sDm.n.f*) form. The meaning of the verb *wp(j)* in this expression is "deliver, discharge, disgorge" rather than "part"⁴³, cf. its meaning in the word combination *wpt bDA* "discharging bread-mould(s)" (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 23, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 83-84, B.H. II, pl. 6) and *wpt aprt* of the same meaning (James, *Khentika*, pl.9, № 43, 44).

Urk.IV:566:17: *zA.f pn wp.n Xt.f*

"This son of his whom his belly⁴⁴ has delivered"

ibid:303:9: *jj.w n(j) zp sn m Htp zAt nt <Xt.j> mAat-kA-ra wp.n Xt(j)*

"Welcome to me, welcome to me in peace, my bodily daughter Maatkara, whom my belly has delivered"

ibid:238:9-10: *jj.n(j) xw.j zA<t> mrt(j) wtt(j) wp<t>.n Xt(j)*

"I have come to defend my beloved daughter whom I begot, whom my belly has delivered"

pWestcar 5,9-5,11: *jm(j) jn.tw n.j st Hjmt 20...nj wpt.sn m mst*

"Have twenty women brought to me...who have not yet delivered (babies) at birth-giving (i. e. who have not yet given birth)"

Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 34: *zA(j) smsw wp.n Xt.j* "My elder son whom my belly has delivered"

The notion of "to impregnate someone" is rendered by the expression "to put offspring into someone's belly" – *zAt pn d(t).n.j m Xt[T]* "this (my) daughter I have put in [your] belly" (Urk.IV:221:7). The notion of "to give birth to someone" is rendered by the expression "the belly is delivering someone", and is said both of the father (see passages above and cf. expression *zA.f n Xt.f* "his son of his belly") and the mother (the current text, PT 10, §8f). The notion of "to be born" can be rendered in several ways in Egyptian, among which "to come forth from the parent's belly/body", so as an action done by a born man himself (just like in Russian, where we say "Ya rodilsya (Я родился)" with reflexive, literally "I gave myself a birth", instead of "I was born" which would be weird for Russian):

Urk.IV:811:16: *pr m Xt* "the one who emerged from the (mother's) belly"; ibid:1198:16: *Hzy Dr prt m Xt* "praised since leaving the (mother's) belly (lit. since coming out from the belly)"; Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl.13: *jnk zA.k pr.n(j) m Haw.k* "I am your son, I have emerged from your body"; ibid, pl.20: *ntk zA(j) pr.n.k jm(j)* "You are my son, you have emerged from me".

(The present author is thankful to Dr. David New with whom the contents of this passage have been

⁴³ The expression *N wp Xt.s* could be read as "N whom her (i.e. mother's) womb separated/detached (from itself at birth)", but that would only make sense with the addition (from itself).

⁴⁴ On the role of the male *Xt* in procreation, cf. *zA nswt n Xt.f* "king's son of his belly"; *n(j)w Xt.f* (§647b) "these of his belly" = "his children"; a woman's name *wat(j)t-Xt-Hrw* "Sole one of Horus's (i.e. the king's) belly" (Mereruikai's wife; see Duell, *Mereruikai*). Taking into account the fact that Egyptians were aware of the function of the testicles, the role of the male *Xt* might consist in the transfer of one's ka from father to child.

discussed and who gave valuable notes).

M 3 (PT 422)

§753c: *Hr.k m bAH.k jA(j) kw tp-awj.k*

Allen "Face forward, for praise of you is before you"

Shmakov "(Put) your face in front, that I may praise you before you"

James Allen hasn't noticed *jA(j) kw* "that I may praise you" in Merenre's copy (versus *jAw.k* in P and N).

M 32b (PT 590)

§1611a: *grg n.k jr(j) jt(j) s.z(j)n(.j) n.k jt(j)*

Allen "(Your tomb) has thus been established for you, father; (its doors) have been pulled open for you, father"

Shmakov "he who is against (you) has been snared for you, father; he has been destroyed for you, father"

The verb *s.z(j)n* in the passage is probably the verb occurring in §1240b, "destroy, cause to perish", and is probably a stative. That option is more likely than reading here a causative *s.zn* "open", which does occur in PT, but is a rare variant of *zn* "open", and it always has a {block of stone} phonetic complement (which some authors loosely interpret as N34), that is missing in the present passage. Moreover, the previous section uses *jr* "against", suggesting that the sense of the passage is about destroying an opponent. Finally, the start of the whole phrase, §1610b, has *nj Xnnt(j) jm.k* "there is nothing disturbed (in regards to limbs) in you" (for the reading, see **T 196**, 7), and can be compared with a sentence from PT 367 that has that same opening and deals with the destruction of opponents:

PT 367, §635b-c: *nj Xnnt(j) jm.k nDr.n n.k DHwtj xftj.k Hsq(.j) Hna jmjw-xt.f*

"There is nothing disturbed (in regards to limbs) in you. Thoht has grasped for you your opponent, he has been beheaded with his followers"

As for nisbe *jr(j)* "he who is against" as the object, cf. §462c: *sk.n wnjs jr(j) ja n pt* "Unis has destroyed the one against (his) ascending to the sky" (after Allen). It can also occur as the subject: §639b: *j.tm jr(j)t.k* "that what is against you might end", literally "that your opposite (=what is against) might end".

M 50 (PT 591)

§1612a, b, 1613a,b, 1614a: *DbA.n sw Hr m Sz(m)tt.f...m wtjtj*

Allen "Horus has arrayed himself with his malachite sporran...in full"

Shmakov "Horus has robed himself in his malachite sporran...as firstborn"

The text has *tjwjtj*, but that is a writing with graphical transposition (according to the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position") and should actually be read as *wtjtj* "firstborn", of the root *wt(j)* "be(come) firstborn". There are three forms – *wt(j)t(j)* (§§593a N, 650a, 902b, Nt 358 and in *jxt wtt(t)* "Firstborn Thing"), *wt(j)w* (§§2b, 593a P, 1615c), and *wt(j)wt(j)/wt(j)wtj* (§§497c, 1289a, 1526a, 1690c, 1698c, 1814b, 1870b). Cf. *jxt twt* for *jxt wt(j)t(jt)* "Firstborn Thing" (not "Firstborn's Thing") in §198b W, *twt(.tj)* (M) for *wtt(.tj)* (TPN) "you are firstborn" in §650a, and *ttw(tj)* (N) for *wtt(tj)* (P) "two firstborn goddesses" in §902b; *tww.f* for *wtw.f* "his firstborn" in §1615c; *twtw.f* for *wt(j)wt(j).f* "his firstborn" in §1870b.

2)

§1614b-c: *Hrw mj n.k jrt.k sjAt.n.k m Hwt sr jmjt jwnw hA nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra sjA.n Tw kA.k r*

xft(j)w.k

Allen "Horus, accept your eye that you recognized in the Official's Enclosure in Heliopolis. Ho, Nemtiemzaf Merenre! Your ka has recognized you rather than your opponents"

Shmakov "Horus, accept your eye that you have acknowledged in the Judge's Enclosure in Heliopolis. Ho, Nemtiemzaf Merenre! Your ka has acknowledged you above (lit. against) your opponents"

The meaning of the expression *sjA r xftjw* in the passage is close to the meaning of the expression *mAa/s.mAa xrw r xftjw* "justify over/above (lit. against) opponents" and *xwj r xftjw* "defend against opponents" (§1619c).

M 52 (PT 592)

§1615b: *Agbgb jb n mwt.k Hr.k m rn.k n gbb*

Allen "The heart of your mother flooded up (with joy) over you, in your identity of Geb"

Shmakov "The heart of your mother dances/moves (with joy) because of you, in your identity of Geb"

James Allen suggests the root *Agbj* "flood" for the verb *Agbgb*, but there are grounds to think that the root is *xbj* "dance", being a case of /g/ ~ /x/, cf.:

- i) CT VIII, 777b,c, 825b: *s.dx* (Sq4C, Sq5C, L-PW1A etc.) ~ *s.dg* (Sq3C, Sq6C) "hide, conceal"; *dx* (§459a, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 63 = Nt 746 (*j.dx*)), *s.dx* (§§777b, c (MN), 825b; Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 98) ~ *dg* and *s.dg* since the Middle Kingdom,
- ii) *n.xAxA* (§§729b, 1344a) ~ *n.gAgA* (§1566b) "dangling",
- iii) *nxbxb* (§194a) ~ *ngbgb* (CT VII, 35o) "draw back",
- iv) *psg* (§142a) ~ *psx* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 3) "spit",
- v) *ag(w)t* (§97b, d) ~ *axwt* (Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 142, p. 128) "roasted patties" (see **W 125**, 1),
- vi) *fg* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 11) ~ *j.fx* "defecate" (Nt 704, and *s.fx* in the M.K. variant of this PT spell (CT III, 74a) and in CT V, 271f. Cf. also M.K. variant of the verbs *fg* (CT VI, 277b) and *fgn* (CT III, 60h, 118c, 121d)); *s.fg jr w* "The One Who Discards Form" with the participle *s.fx* "loosen" spelled *s.fg* (see **P 376**),
- vii) *s.Hm n.k s(j) xr.k* ~ *Hms j.gr* (i. e. 'Hm''s(j) xr' ~ *Hms j.gr*, the word-play in PT 86, §59d), *zxz* ~ *zt agt* (i. e. *zx* ~ *z'g*', the word-play in PT 163, §97a-b),
- viii) The reduplicated verb *n.xbxb* "flood" in §205b derives from the simplex *Agbj* "flood", *Axfxf* (CT IV, 154e, also §§295d, 298c: *xfxj/xfxft*) ~ *Agb* (§120a) "flood" (see **W 166**, 1),
- ix) §820b: *nb jr pjj m wAg* in its variant in the variant-spell §1524a: *nb jr p m wAx*. An unknown verb *Ag* "cultivate" (after Allen, §513d) may be related to or be a variant of the root *Ax* in the verbs *jAxj* "become full-watered", *s.AxAx* "flood", *wAxj* "become satisfied". The term *jAgt* occurs very regularly in names for villages in the Old Kingdom mastabas (for example Ti (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 3, 115): *Agt Tjj*, *jAgt Tjj*; Ptahhetepi II (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.10): *jAgt ptH Htp(j)*; L.D.II:80b (= Junker, *Giza XI*, Abb. 76, p.197): *jAgt z[j]zj*), but thusfar it had not been translated. It probably derives from the verb *Ag/Ax* "water, flood", so probably it has the meaning "flooded/watered place", hence *jAgt N* probably means something like "fertile-soiled place of N" or the like; cf. *grgt* "settlement", a derivative from *grg* "found", literally "foundation", and *s.mnt* "settlement", from *s.mn* "settle" (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 10),
- x) in the M.K. and N.K. spellings of the words that have exclusively /x/ or /g/ after initial /j/, an unexpected /w/ occurs after this /j/: *jwxmw sk* instead of *j.xmw sk* "imperishable", *jwxxw* (CT II, 30f) instead of *jxxw* "twilight", *jwgr* (CT VIII, 163c (T1L)) "be silent, still", *jwgrt* instead of *jgrt* "cemetery (lit. the place of silence)".

See also Edel, *Altag. Gr.*, §119.

Moreover, *Agbgb* occurs in another context which does not let us suppose the meaning "flooding":

PT 508, §1110a-b: *Agbgb nTrw jwnw Hr xrw wdnt tp-awj pjjj*

"The gods of Heliopolis are dancing at the sound of the gong/signal before Pepi"

2)

§1622b: *jm.k Dj wHm.s jwt r.f*

Allen "and not let it come against him again"

Shmakov "and not let it come against him (lit. "you shall not let it carry out a coming to/against him")"

For *wHm* as "carry out", see **W 180b**, 8.

3)

§1623a-c: *Twt kA n nTrw nb jn n.k sn Sd.k sn s.anx.k sn s.anx.k Asjr(t) nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra*

Allen "You are the ka of all the gods. As you have gotten them that you might take them and give them life, may you give life to [Osiris] Nemtiemzaf Merenre"

Shmakov "You are the ka of all the gods: you have brought them (into existence), that you may rear them (and) feed them, so you should feed [Osiris] Nemtiemzaf Merenre"

For *Sdj* as "suckle, rear, bring up", see **P 357**, 3. *s.anx* is literally "make live" and is an idiom for "feed".

M 206 (PT 593)

§1628b: *Hnk.f Xr.k*

Allen "so that he is endowed with you"

Shmakov "he has been presented under you"

Hnk is probably a passive, not a subjunctive, and *Xr* probably has its literal meaning "under", expressing the notion of being dominated or controlled, cf.:

CT VII, 66f-g: *zA.f xft(j).k nj bt.f Xr.k Dt*

"He will guard your opponent, so he (i. e. your opponent) will not run away from under you during *Dt*-time"

See also *rDj Xr.k* "place/set (opponents) under you" and *pD Xr.k* "stretch out (opponents) under you", in §581a: *nDr.n Hrw stS d.n.f sw Xr.k*, §626d: *Dj.n.sn n.k xft(j).k Xr.k*, §637a: *d.n n.k Hrw xftj.k Xr rdwj.k*, §642a: *d.n n.k Hrw xftj.k Xr.k*, §650a: *pD.n n.k Hrw xftj.k Xr.k*, §1632a: *Dj.n.f sw ksj Xr.k*, Nt 358: *rDj.n n.k psDt xft(j).k Xr.k*.

M 211 (PT 595)

§1639b-c: *jw.n(j) xr.k hrw pn Dr xAw rDj.n n.k nwt.k nw*

Allen "I have come to you at this your day on the night's edge and given you your hunter's hunt"

Shmakov "I have come to you at this your day after the night which your Hunter has given you"

rDj.n n.k nwt.k nw is probably a relative form "which your Hunter has given you", not a *sDm.n.f* with the subject *j* unwritten ("I have given you"). For the text seems to include a standard formula "I have come and I have brought":

§§1639b-1640a: *jw.n(j) xr.k...jn.n(j) n.k jb.k* "I have come...and brought you your heart"

A standard formula that is well attested elsewhere:

PT 32, §22b: *jw.n(j) jn.n(j) n.k jrt Hrw* "I have come and brought you Horus's eye"

PT 106, §69b: *jw.n(.j) jn.n(.j) n.k jrtj Hr w* "I have come and brought you both Horus's eyes"
PT 605, §1681a: *jj.n(.j) jn.n(.j) n.k wADw* "I have come and brought you green eyepaint"
PT 685, §2066a: *jw.n.sn jn.n.sn n.k mw wabw* "They have come and brought you clean water"
PT 687, §2074a: *jw.n(.j) jn.n(.j) n.k jrt Hr w jmjt tA.s* "I have come and brought you Horus's eye in which there is its heat"

Whereas if we were to take *rDj.n n.k* as a *sDm.n.f*, the standard formula would be ruined: "I have come...I have given...I have brought".

M 214 (PT 459)

§866b: *xw.k m abA xrp.k m jAA t*

Allen "[You shall] strike [with] the baton, direct with the sceptre"

The original has "You shall defend (*xw*) with the baton, direct with the sceptre".

M 215 (PT 597)

§1642: *m(j) wnx.k n.k jr(t) Hr w (w)DA t jmjt tAjt*

Allen "Come and get dressed in Horus's eye from Ta'it-town"

Shmakov "Come and get dressed in Horus's sound eye which is a linen fabric"

The text has *jr(t) Hr w (w)DA t* "Horus's sound eye". For the reading, see **W 54**, 1.

M 227 (PT 602)

§1672a-b: *Dd mdw n tA n gbb n Asjr(t) n jnpw n wr H(A)b Dj.k HAbjj nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m H(A)b n Hr w*

Allen "Recitation to the earth, to Geb, to Osiris, to Anubis, to the one of many festivals: May you (each) make Nemtiemzaf Merenre festive in the festival of Horus"

Shmakov "Recitation to the earth, to Geb, to Osiris, to Anubis, to the Great of Catch: May you (each) make Nemtiemzaf Merenre jubilate at Horus's catch"

The latter *H(A)b* in this passage also has the meaning "catch", not "festival".

2)

§1673c: *s.(j)d.Tn n.f Swtj.f*

Allen "grow for him his plumes"

Shmakov "grow for him his two horns"

For *Swtj* "two feathers" as a metaphor for "two horns", see **T 228**. Moreover *Srt* "nose" and *msDrwj* "ears" in §1673a-b refer to that of an animal as opposed to *fnD* and *anxwj* of a human (see **W 165**, 13), thus the deceased is represented in the passage as a bull, rather than as a bird or a human with headdress.

3)

§1674a-b: *Dj.Tn swA nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra Hr nTr mH(.j) m saHw TAww*

Allen "let Nemtiemzaf Merenre pass by the god who seizes the winds' insignia"

Shmakov "let Nemtiemzaf Merenre pass by the god who is full of the insignia (and) the winds"

mH m "be full of", and *saHw TAww* "insignia (and) winds", because "winds' insignia" sounds odd; probably the being filled with winds refers to the opening of the king's nose (for breathing) in §1673a.

M 230 (PT 210)§127b: *wn r n nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra*

Allen "Nemtiemzaf Merenre's name shall exist"

Shmakov "Nemtiemzaf Merenre's mouth is open"

wn is probably the verb "open" (it occurs also without determinative in §§756c PM, 1480a MN). *r n* is probably "mouth of" (*r* "mouth" without determinative is also attested in §§39a, 60a, 63a, 938b N). The *jmj* in W and T (*SsAw pn jmj r.f / r tjj*, "this tongue which is in his/Teti's mouth") has been reinterpreted in M and N as *wn*, probably because the signs *jmj*-Z11 and *wn*-M42 are similar in hieratic.

M 239 (PT 346)§561d (also in N 374): *xt n(j) Hmw*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "a meal for me, servants!"

Absent in Allen's Variants.

M 284 (PT 461)§873c: *j.zn aAwj qbHw*

Allen "the Cool Waters' door has been pulled open for you"

There is no "for you" (*n.k*) in the original, it occurs only in Neferkare's copy.

2)

§873c-74b: *wn(j) n.k aAwj pt j.zn(j) aAwj qbHw T.k Hjpt r sxt jArw s.kA.k(j) jt Azx.k(j) bdt jr.k(j) rnpwt.k jm mj Hrw zA tm*

Allen "The sky's door has been opened to you, the Cool Waters' door has been pulled open for you. You shall set course to the Marsh of Reeds, (where you will) farm emmer, reap barley, and make your yearly supplies from them like Horus, Atum's son"

Shmakov "I have opened the sky's (door)-leaves for you, I have pulled open the Cool Waters' (door)-leaves so that you may set course to the Marsh of Reeds, (while) I have farmed barley (and) reaped emmer, of which I have made your fresh provisions like (did) Horus, son of Atum"

This passage probably has perfective *sDm.f*'s (not passive *sDm.f*'s) and 1ms stative suffixes *.k(j)* (cf. P 41b, 3), firstly because "farming" passages normally have the deceased's son as the subject (see T 204, 3), secondly, because Neferkare's copy of this passage has perfective *sDm.f* with 1ms suffix (see *ibid.*). The original has "(while) I have farmed barley (*jt*) (and) reaped emmer (*bdt*)" (James Allen mixed up barley and emmer, also in N 435, p. 361). For the word *rnpwt* "fresh provisions, fresh food products", see P 327, 4 (the word also occurs in Nt 783). There probably was no word *rnpwt* "yearly supplies", as all the offering-lists of the private Old Kingdom tombs use the word *rnpwt* "fresh provisions" of the root *rnpj* "fresh"⁴⁵. Cf. PT 477, 965a-b: *jn spdt...jrt rnpwt.k m rn.s pw n rnpt* "Sothis...who makes your fresh provisions in her identity of the year", in this passage the word-play rule is valid, the rule asserts that a word-play is usually made up of two semantically different words that sound alike (see W 53).

M 336 (PT 606)§1687b: *wjA pw n ra...Xnnw ra jm.f jr Axt*

Allen "the boat of the sun...in which the Sun is rowed to the Akhet"

⁴⁵ In Meir IV, pl.9 *rnp(t)* has {bull's head}-F1 determinative.

Shmakov "the boat of the sun...in which the Sun rows to the Behind the Horizon"

This is an active relative construction, there is nothing passive here. James Allen offers the same reading (*Xnnw Xt psDt jm.f* "in which the body of the Ennead is rowed") in **P 476** (PT 528, §1250e), probably suggesting that the Sun or the Ennead are too important to be engaged in the action of rowing themselves and would have rowers for this. However, "in which the Sun is rowed" would be **Xn.t(j) ra jm.f*, but we have *Xnnw ra jm.f* "in which the Sun rows (himself)". Cf. also CT VII, 44e-f: *D{d}<n>jt tw nt ra wppt mjt r msktt Xnnt ra jm.s* "This dam of the Sun which parts the evening bark from the morning bark in (both of) which the Sun rows" (*Xnnt* is probably a relative form, rather than a passive *sDm.f-Xnn.t(j)*): *ibid*, 44h-i: *hA.k r.k m ma(n)Dt ra Axtj...Xn.f Tw* "Board the morning bark (and) the Sun of the Behind the Horizon will row you" (in this passage the Sun clearly takes the job of a rower).

2)

§1689a: *m bAH X(t) psDt m jwnw*

Allen "in the presence of the Ennead in Heliopolis"

The original text has *X(t) psDt* "the Ennead's body (i. e. company)".

3)

§1696c: *jj n.n sn.n nn*

Allen "'The brother here has come to us'"

Shmakov "'It is (the case that) our brother has come to us'"

We must read *sn.n* "our brother", for *n* is probably not a complement of *sn*, but a suffix.

M 365 (PT 609)

§1703e: *Ax [...].k m-xt mHt*

Allen "and become verdant in the wake of the north wind"

Shmakov "your [...] will become full-watered in the wake of (lit. after) the north wind"

2)

§1708b: *Hmsw Hr Dab.sn*

Allen "who sit at their charcoal-burning"

Shmakov "who are in charge of (lit. sit on) their staves"

For the expression *Hmsw Hr Damw.sn*, see **P 510**. So this is a case of /b/ ~ /m/, i. e. *Dab* ~ *Dam* "stave", cf.:

wnm ~ *wnb* (Nt 699) "eat",

xAm (Wb.III:231:3) ~ *xAb* (pPrisse 13, 12 (448) = Wb.III:229:9, 12) "bend (arm)" (the root is probably *SAb/XAb/xAb* "become crooked", i. e. in this case "make an arm crooked"),

Hnmmt "Sunlight people (i. e. Egyptians)" and *Hnbw* "sun's rays" (the root is *Hnm/Hnb*),

mnzA ~ *bzA* (the word-play in §32b),

Dam ~ *Dba* (the word-play in §48b = Nt 317),

am ~ *abS* (the word-play in §92c-d, as well as *bSt* ~ *abS*),

m.sn ~ *nbs* (the word-play in §99a-b),

j.mz kw jr ~ *bzn* (i. e. 'mz''r ~ *bzn*, the word-play in §101g),

rDw jm.k ~ *wrD jb.k* (the word-play in §23a),

xnt jb n ~ *xnt jmntjw* (i. e. *xntjb* ~ *xntjm*''''', the word-play in §592b),

wp.n...mA.k ~ *wpt wAwt* (i. e. *wp*''''''''''''''*mA*'''' ~ *wp*'*wA*'', the word-play in §643a),

mnD (> *mnD*) ~ *bndt* "breast",

bAgsW (Wb.I:432:4) ~ *mAgsW* "dagger" (ibid),

Ddm (Wb.V:634:19) ~ *Ddb* "sting" (ibid:632:7),

gmgm ~ *gbgb* "break up" (CT VII, 20u),

Hwt mn-mAat-ra "Enclosure of the Firm one of the Sun's maat (Menmaatra)" and *Hwt bnbn mAat ra* "Enclosure of the *bnbn*-stone of the Sun's maat" (two names of Sethy's I temple at Abydos), here *mn* and *bnbn* sound similar. See also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §124.

M 375 (PT 610)

§1717a: *sq(j) n.k rdw j<r> dAt jr bw nt(j) sAH jm*

Allen "A stairway has been laid down for you away from the Duat and toward the place where Orion is"

Shmakov "A stairway has been laid down for you to the Duat, to the place where Orion is"

In the passage *dAt* is *bw nt(j) sAH jm* "the place where Orion is", thus we cannot read "away from the Duat and toward the place" (for the reasons of such a reading by James Allen, see **W 178**, 2).

2)

§1722a: *baH.k m sm pw baHw nTrw jm.f*

Allen "with your abundance from the grassland in which the gods have abundance"

Shmakov "You will be satisfied with the grassland with which the gods are satisfied"

For *baH m* "be satisfied with, become sated with", see **P 334**.

3)

§1723d: *m jrW n.k jnpw*

Allen "as you for whom Anubis acts"

Shmakov "as what Anubis did for you"

M 387 (PT 614)

§1740b: *[zj].k r.k jr arwt tw nt Hwt bA*

Allen "So, you [...] at that portal of the Ba's enclosure"

Shmakov "So, you shall [go] to this portal of the Ram's enclosure"

Cf. CT I, 273c: *j.zj r.k r sn Hwt bA pf* "Go to the gate of that Ram's enclosure".

In this PT passage *bA pf* "that Ram" is meant (see **W 172**, 2); for the reading of *bA* as "ram", see **P 292**, 2.

M 392 (PT 555)

§1374c: *HD n nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m a.f Ams n nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m Drt.f*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "A mace is for Nemtiemzaf Merenre (to be) in his arm, an *Ams*-staff is for Nemtiemzaf Merenre (to be) in his hand"

James Allen missed this version of M and N of §1374c, which he would probably read as "Nemtiemzaf Merenre has a mace in his arm, Nemtiemzaf Merenre has an *Ams*-staff in his hand" (while Pepi I's version has *HD.f m a.f Ams.f m Drt.[f]* "his mace is in his arm, his *Ams*-staff is in [his] hand").

2)

§1378b-c: *pr.n nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra jr pt m mnT hA.n nmtj-m-zA.f mr.n-ra m bA jbT.f m bA aSm.f*
Allen "Nemtiemzaf Merenre has gone up to the sky as Montu, Nemtiemzaf Merenre has gone down as the ba he has netted, as his sacred image's ba"

Shmakov "Nemtiemzaf Merenre has gone up to the sky as Montu, Nemtiemzaf Merenre has gone down as the Ram that nets, as the Ram that delights"

jbT.f and *aSm.f* are two unmarked relative clauses, lit. "(who) he nets...(who) he delights/invokes reverence" (the god determinative after *aSm* is probably an influence of *aSm* "delight icon", cf. §1098d). For the meaning of the verb *aSm*, see **W 180b**, 2, **P 460**. Also cf. CT VII, 182n-o: *jnk bA jw jj.n.j aSm.j* "I am the Ram: I have come that I may delight". For *bA* as the "Ram", see **P 292**.

M 399 (PT 619)

§1752b: *j.nD.k Tw m-a (j)r nn jr.k*

Allen "You shall...save yourself from the one who did this to you"

Shmakov "You shall help yourself out from the one who would do this against you"

For the reading of the verb *nD* "tend, help out", see **P 4**, 4.

Part V: Pepi Neferkare's PT corpus

N 15

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. I, line 577: *gspw pppj nfr-kA-ra gspw Hnw Smwt[.f Smwt] jnpw*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare's plumes are the Sokar-boat's plumes, [his] goings are Anubis's [goings]"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare's meeting are the Sokar-boat's meeting, [his] goings are Anubis's [goings]"

gspw with three {baton} signs (look like the {tree}-M1 sign) is probably a variant spelling of *xsfw* "meeting", with the two allophones being cases of /x/ ~ /g/ (see **M 52**) and /p/ ~ /f/ (see **W 81**): cf. the similar spelling of the word *xsfw* "meeting" in §1720b M (*x-s-f* plus three {spindle}-U34 signs). In Pepi I's pyramid the word *gspw* was spelled with three {feather}-H6 signs (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 98) instead of Neferkare's three {baton} signs, hence Allen's reading "plumes". But for "plumes, plumage" we already have the word *Swwt*, plus "Sokar-boat's plumes" makes little sense. Note also the parallelism to *Smwt* "goings", which fits "meetings" better.

N 22 (PT 658)

§1854b (Faulkner, *Suppl.*): *s.bn Tw nTrw n Hrw*

Allen "The gods have desired you for Horus"

Shmakov "The gods have shown you to Horus"

For the verb *s.bn* "show, manifest", see **W 180b**, 8.

N 25 (= W 175, PT 268)

§371c: *[AT] pppj nfr-kA-ra jn Ast snqw sw nbt Hwt*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare [will be nurtured] by Isis, Nephthys will suckle him"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare [has been nurtured] by Isis, the one whom Nephthys has suckled"

Literally "whom Nephthys has suckled him", for *snqw* is probably a relative form (which is clear from the *w*-ending; cf. §623a: *Ax...snqw nbt Hwt* "an akh...whom Nephthys suckled") as 3-lit verbs do not have a *w*-ending in the prospective *sDm.f*.

N 32 (PT 627)

§1777b: *xnz pppj nfr-kA-ra pt Hr fdw srw*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare will course the sky on its four parts"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare will course the sky on the four boards"

The passage does not refer to the four directions or quarters of the sky, but to the four tools to sail to those directions; cf. §464b which likewise has four sailing tools (reedfloats) made available for north, east, south, and west. The word *srw* has the determinative of {board}-P92 – this determinative occurs after ship parts in the mastaba of Ti: Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 119-120: *msH Hr-jb* "fitting of the middle board", *msH saA* "fitting of the board", *mnx sb* "chiseling of *sb*-board", in which *Hr-jb*, *saA*, and *sb* have {board} determinative (the verb *msH* "adjust, fit", written *s-m-H* in the original, is probably in graphical transposition according to the rule "a bird sign better fits in the second position").

2)

§1785b: *sSm pppj nfr-kA-ra ra m mAattj.f*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare will lead the Sun in his two Maat-boats"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare will lead the Sun in his two leading boats"

mAat is a nominalized participle "leading", from the verb *mAa* "lead, pull", cf.:

CT VII, 379c-d: *Ast nw nt(j)t m HAt.f m mAat sSm.s n.fwAwt m DAt pt*

"This is Isis who is in front of him as a pilot (lit. leader), she will make for him the paths at the sky's crossing".

CT VII, 137q: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hrw snTryt jmjt mAat.f*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye which cense (and) which is his leader"

CT VII, 138a: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hrw s.nTr Hr.k s.nTr jrtj.k jm.s wnn.s m mAat.k*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye with which your face and eyes will be censed, it will be your leader".

CT VII, 138g (also 134g): *mrHt zp 2 jmjt mAat Hr wnn.T m HAt N pn*

"Ointment, Ointment which is Horus's leader, you will be in front of this N!"

CT VII, 139i: *Asjr(t) N pn mj n.k jrt Hrw...wnn.s m mAat.k xft Hr.k*

"This Osiris N, take Horus's eye...which will be your leader before your face"

CT VII, 140l: *Asjr(t) N [pn] mj n.k jrt Hrw...jmjt mAat Hrw*

"[This] Osiris N, take Horus's eye...which is Horus's leader"

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 100: *mAat Hrw mAat Tw*

"She who guides Horus is she who guides you" (Allen reads this the same, *P. T.*, P 290, p. 118).

(and a variant in the pyramid of Neferkare, PT 672, 1988a: *jn mAat Hrw mAat pjppj nfr-kA-ra pn*)

The name of the goddess *mAat* is also a nominalized active participle, literally "Leading one" or "Pulling one" (see **W 165**, 3), or if paraphrased "She who moves in the right direction".

This note also applies to PT 566, §1429c: *zkr js xnt(j) mAat* "being Sokar at the fore of the leading boat"; PT 539, §1306c: *ns n pjppj pn m mAaj jr mAat* "The tongue of this Pepi is (that of) the guide to the leading boat".

N 42 (= **T 199b**, PT 368)

§638a-b: *pSS.n s(j) mwt.k nwt Hr.k m rn.s n Stpt rDj.n.s wn.k m nTr nj xft(j).k m rn.k n nTrj*

Allen "Your mother Nut has spread herself over you, in her identity of Shetpet. She has made you be a god without an opponent of yours, in your identity of god"

Shmakov "Your mother Nut has spread herself over you, in her identity of Shetpet. She has made you be a god without an opponent of yours, in your identity of natron"

In Neferkare's copy of the spell there's a *nTrj* (R9) "natron" sign instead of the *nTr*-sign (R8) that occurs in the other versions, and it thus makes a word-play between *nTr* "god" and *nTrj* "natron". This word-play we also find in CT VIII, 580b (Sq3C): *d.n Tw nwt m nTr n stS m rn.k n nTrj* "Nut has appointed (lit. put) you to be a god for Seth in your identity of natron (R9)". That the Neferkare version maintains the original thought is further indicated by the fact that there's a link between natron and the toponym Shetpet which is mentioned in the preceding passage: "in her identity of Shetpet...in your identity of natron", cf. PT 35, §27e N.: *Stpt nTrj TA 5 mHw* "Delta natron of Shetpet, five pellets".

N 59 (PT 356)

§577c: *snsn.sn sn*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "They have fraternized with themselves"

N 67 (PT—)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+17-18: *wn n.k aAwj pt s.nxbxbw n.k [aAwj qbHw njs n.k s.]mnt(j)t Ast js Dsw n.k mjnt nbt-Hwt js*

Allen "The sky's door has been opened to you, [the Cool Waters' door] has been pulled open to you. [You shall call to] the Moorer as Isis, the Mooring-Post shall call to you as Nephthys"

Shmakov "The sky's (door)-leaves have been opened for you, [the Cool Waters' (door)-leaves] have been drawn back for you. The Westernizer [shall call to you] being Isis, the Moorer shall call to you being Nephthys"

The original text has *s.nxbxbw* "have been drawn back". For the restoration [the Cool Waters' (door)-leaves], cf. §§1361b, 2009a (= Nt 615). For the reading *s.mnt(j)t* as "Westernizer" and *mjnt* as "Moorer", see **N 70**, 3, below.

2)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VII, col. 709+20: *jw t.k xr(j) ra nb*

Allen "Your bread is present every day"

Shmakov "Your bread is from me every day"

For the meaning of the preposition *xr*, see **W 140**, 4. Harold Hays in his dissertation reads this passage same as "your bread is from me every day" (Hays, *Structure*, p.380).

3)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VII, col. 709+20-21, §1882d (Faulkner, *Suppl.*): *jwA.k [n.k...m pr (?)] dSr*

Allen "[You have] your ox, [your fowl, your thousand of] red"

Shmakov "your ox [is for you...from the] red [house] (?)"

It's uncertain whether we may restore the passage as "[thousand of] red [foods]", as we do not know "red" meals in the Old Kingdom. But we do know a place *pr dSr* "red house" that occurs in the PT corpus as a source of supplies, cf. Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 79: *abS.k m pr dSr* "your wine jar is from the red house".

4)

§1883a = Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VII, col. 709+20-21 (restored with the copy of Aba): *rnn.k [mw rnn.k rDw pr m Asjr(t)]*

Allen "[Water] shall provide nurture for you, [the outflow that comes from Osiris shall provide nurture for you]"

Shmakov "You shall welcome [water, you shall welcome the outflow that came from Osiris]"

The text has *rnn.k*, not *rn n.k*. The verb *rnn* has the meaning "nurture" as well as "meet, welcome", cf.:

PT 373, §656a-b: *Haw.f m xsf.k [Dj].f aw(j).k jr.k j.sn.f Tw rnn.f Tw*

"He will be aroused meeting you, he shall reach out (lit. give) his arms toward you, kiss you, and welcome you"

CT I, 141c-d: *rnn sw mAT sw dj n.T sw m Xnw awj.T*

"Welcome him, eulogize him, embrace him (lit. give him inside of your arms)"

CT III, 318a-b: *rdj.n n.j Hap(j) a.f rnnw.j wp wAwT*

"The Nile Flood has given me his arm (and) I am welcoming Paths Discerner"

(Allen's) N 466 (~ CT 516) Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 13, col. +29: *rnn Tw mtj.k HDtj.j.sn Tw mwtj.k HDt[j]*
"your two mothers, the two white ones, are welcoming you; your two mothers, the two white ones, are kissing you"

N 70 (PT 458)

§861c, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 15: *jr w n.k snt xpr n.k Dnjt*

Allen "the sixth-day meal will be made for you and [the festival calendar] will occur [for] you"

Shmakov "the sixth-day meal will be made for you (and) the seventh-day meal will occur for you"

For some reason the sign *Dn* of the word *Dnjt* "the seventh-day meal" has been spelled with {alabaster basin}-W3 sign; it is spelled the same way ({alabaster basin}-*j-t*-{alabaster basin}) in Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 5 (the second copy of PT 408 in Pepi's pyramid). Cf. also PT 408, §716a-b: *sk snt n jaw tjt Dnjt n mswt tjt* "for the sixth-day meal is for Teti's breakfast and the seventh-day meal is for Teti's supper".

2)

§863a, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 16: *rDj n.k aw(j)*

Allen "Arms will be given (in jubilation) for you"

Shmakov "Arms will give to you"

3)

§863b, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. III, col. 16: *mdw n.k mjnnt wrt Ast js Dsw n.k jmnt(j)t nbt-Hwt js*

Allen "The great Mooring-Post will speak to you as Isis, the West will call out to you [as] Nephthys"

Shmakov "The great Moorer will speak to you as Isis, the Western goddess will call out to you as Nephthys"

The meaning of the name of the divinity *mnt/mnt wrt* is probably not "Great Mooring Post" as Allen has suggested, but rather "Moorer", as her name occurs geminated as *mjnnt wrt* "Great Moorer" in this passage, as well as in §§884b PM, 1366a⁴⁶.

The *jmnt(j)t* of this passage is the nisbe of the word *jmnt* "West", hence it must be read as "She of the West, Western one". This divine name is probably a variant of the usual *smntt* (cf. §§1997, 2013b), and if that is the case then *smntt* probably does not have the meaning "Moorer" as was suggested by James Allen, for the variant *jmnt(j)t* shows that the root of her name is (*j*)*mnt* "west", not *mjn* "moor" (cf. the spelling of (*j*)*mnt* "west" without initial *j* in §§592b PM, 650c P, 811a P, 811d P, Nt 769 *xnt(j) (j)mntjw*). Note also that *smntt* (or *jmnt(j)t* ?) has {mountain range}-N25 determinative, which surely indicates the presence of *jmnt* "west" in the name, in Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+18 and Nt 666. Just like in the spelling of *jmntt* in the discussed passage, the name *smntt* has two *t*'s, and it is clear that the first *t* belongs to the root of the noun (*j*)*mnt* "west", while the second *t* is that of the (nominalized) participle, and the initial *s* should be a causative prefix. Thus we probably have something like *s. (j)mnt.t* "Westernizer", "She who makes to become a westerner"; compare it with *s.xAj* "darken" (§1151c) (from the root *xAw* "evening"), *s.dwA*, and *s.mSr* (CT III, 96k-97a (BqC)) – causatives with uncertain meaning from the roots *dwA* "morning" and *mSr* "evening".

N 72 (PT 628)

§1786b: *jw.n(j)...Dj(j) n.k jb.k n Dt.k*

Allen "I have come that I may...give you your heart for your body"

⁴⁶ However, according to what is asserted in **P 525**, this may be a variant spelling of non-geminated *mjnt* "mooring post".

Shmakov "I have come that I may...give you your own heart (lit. your heart of your person)"

Cf. PT 41, §32a: *tp n mn{n}D n Hrw n Dt.f* "the tip of Horus's own breast"

Nt 742-743: *jb.k n.k n Dt.k* "your own heart (lit. your heart of your person) is yours"

Nt 739: *Szp n.k jb.k n Dt* "receive your own heart"

CT I, 56c: *rdjw n.T jb.T n mwt.T HAt(j).T n Dt[.T]*

"You have been given your heart/mind of your mother, your front organ of your [person] (i. e. your own)"

BH5C gives *jb.k n Xt.k* "your heart of your belly (i. e. your own)"

See also **W 175**, 3.

N 74 (PT 630)

§1788a-b: *Asjr(t) pppj nfr-kA-ra nn aAa jm.k jw XAp.jj jw nSfSf(.jj)*

Allen "Osiris Pepi Neferkare, I have deflected the expectoration (of Seth) from you: I am streaming, I am dripping"

Shmakov "Osiris Pepi Neferkare, here is that which issued from you: it has flowed out, it has been shed"

The variant of this spell occurs in CT VIII, 455(Sq3C): *nn aAa jm.k jw XAp.w jw nSfSf bA.k n Dt.k n Dt* "here is that which issued from you: it has run out, that which your own ba has shed during *Dt*-time"

N 78 (PT 327)

§536b-c: *jnw pppj nfr-kA-ra r Htpj jnt.sn pppj nfr-kA-ra jr Htpj*

Allen "and fetch Pepi Neferkare to peace, and they shall fetch Pepi Neferkare to peace".

Whereas T has *Htp* "peace", Neferkare's version actually has *Htpj* "nourishment" (cf. **W 145**).

N 100 (PT 21)

§13c: *nwA wp wAwt*

Allen "with Anubis's adze"

Shmakov "with Paths Parter's adze"

The godhead is indicated with a E18 sign.

2)

§§13c, 14a: *msxtjw bJA*

Allen "the metal Striker"

Shmakov "the copper *msxtjw*-adze"

3)

§14b-d: *Sm.f mdw.f Dt.f xr psDt aAt m Hwt sr jmjt jwnw jT.f wrrt xr Hr*

Allen "[he shall go and claim his body with the Big Ennead in the Official's Enclosure in] Heliopolis and acquire the crown with Horus"

Shmakov "he shall go (and) present himself (lit. his person) to the Elder Ennead in the Judge's

Enclosure in] Heliopolis and take the crown from Horus"

For *mdwj* as "introduce, present (*n, xr* to)", see **P 4**, 3.

N 121 (PT 29)

§20d: *xw.s Tw m-a Agb n a n stS*

Allen "and defend you from the inundation of the hand of Seth"

Shmakov "and it will defend you from the movement of the arm of Seth"

Agb ~ Axb has the meaning "move, dance", see **T 225**, 2. The {drops of liquid} sign which occurs after *Agb* in the first copy of Neferkare is probably due to the influence of *Agb* "flood".

N 125 (PT 33)

§25b-c: *Dj.n nwt wn.k m nTr...jp Tw Hrw rnpt rnpt rnpw.t(j)*

Allen "Nut has made you a god.... Horus shall take account of you year by year, rejuvenated"

Shmakov "Nut has made you to be a god...(and) Horus to recognize/recall you year by year, rejuvenated"

For the meaning of the verb *jp* "recognize, recall", see **T 145**, 9.

N 239 (PT 173)

§101e-f: *jj.n Hr jab.f kw Twt jt(j).f abt jt(j)*

Allen "Horus has come to you that he might gather you: you are his father / *abt*-grain"

Shmakov "Horus has come that he might gather you: you are his father / gathering barley"

The passage has *abt jt* "gathering barley", not "*abt*-grain" (such grain is unknown), as there is a word-play between these words and the preceding line "Horus has come that he might gather (*jab*) you: you are his father (*jt(j)*)". Cf. CT III, 1a (M22C): [...] *m jab t r Hwt nTr* "[...] as the one who gathers bread to the temple", *ibid*, 60a: *ab t.j m jnw* "My bread (loaves) have been gathered in Heliopolis". Cf. also Montet, *Scènes*, p. 227-28: *jab aHa n jt(j)* "gathering a pile of barley". There is no "to you" in this passage.

N 246-247 (PT 180-181)

§104a-b: *m(j) nxbt jrt Hrw*

Allen "Here is the bud of Horus's eye"

Shmakov "See the lamp, the eye of Horus"

For the reading of *nxbt*, see **W 170**, 3.

N 263 (PT 197)

§113a: *d n.k s(j) m(j) { .k } m(j) .k*

Allen "let me give it to you, that you may become powerful"

Shmakov "set it that you may move"

See **T 196**, 5 for the relevant comments.

N 265 (PT 635)

§1794a: *Asjr(t) pjpj jn.n(j) n.k jr(t) Hr jmjt tAjt*

Allen "Osiris Pepi, I have gotten for you Horus's eye that was in Ta'it-town"

Shmakov "Osiris Pepi, I have brought you Horus's eye which is a linen fabric"

See **T 220**.

N 288c (PT 99)

§66b: *hATr*

Allen "Let the [...] descend"

Shmakov "making of Hatjer-ritual"

hATr is probably a variant spelling of what is known later as *hAkr* "Haker-festival", for /k/ ~ /T/, see **W 48**.

N 291 (PT 636)

§1796: *wrS wr pn r.f...jw.n(j) zxn(j) Tw jw.n(j) xw(j) Tw*

Allen "Be watchful, great one, against him...I have come that I might embrace you, I have come that I might defend you"

Shmakov "Be active/Awake (lit. spend the day), great one!...I have come looking for you, I have come that I might defend you"

r.f is an enclitic particle, the same occurs in §735a and Nt 737 *sDr r.f wr pn j.bAn r.f*. The verb *zxn* is probably an imperfective *sDm.f* ("while I was looking for"), not a subjunctive ("that I may look for you"): the first sentence expresses how the "I" has come while the second sentence expresses the purpose of coming. For the meaning of the verb *zxn*, see **W 41**.

N 295a (PT 106)

§69b: *jrtj Hr nt Dt.f*

Allen "Horus's two eye of his body"

Shmakov "Horus's own two eyes (lit. of his person)"

See **W 175**, 3 for the relevant comments.

2)

§70c: *sSm.sn pjpp pn jr qbHw xr Hr [jr pt xr] nTr aA*

Allen "that they may lead this Pepi to the Cool Waters with Horus, [to the sky with] the great god"

Shmakov "that they may lead this Pepi to the Cool Waters to Horus, [to the sky to] the elder god"

N 309 (PT 225)

§222c: *j.Dd.k mdw n jAwt Asjr(t)*

Allen "that you may...speak governance of Osiris's mounds"

Shmakov "that you may (formally) address (lit. say the speech to) Osiris's mounds"

j.Dd.k mdw n "that you may say the speech to" is paralleled to the previous *wD.k mdw n* "that you may give command(s) (lit. order speech) to" of §222b.

N 347 (PT 669)

§1961b: *mA.n.f sjS H(A)bt jrt axwt*

Allen "He...has seen the arrangement of the festival calendar and the making of braziers"

Shmakov "He has seen the arrangement of the festival calendar and the making of burnings"

axwt means "burnings" or "burnt offerings", the word for "brazier" is invariably *ax* (Hannig, *ÄR*, 288).

2)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.10, col.757 (= *1966c-d): *m(j).k r.k sw msj.j m(j).k sw TAz(.j) m(j).k sw xpr(.j)*

Allen "“Look, he is tied together; look, he has developed”"

Shmakov "“May you see him born, may you see him sprung up/formed, may you see him evolved”"

James Allen missed *m(j).k r.k sw msj.j*. The verbs "tie, knot" and "set, spring up" (~ "to form") are most likely paronyms in Egyptian, both spelled *TAz*, exactly like in Russian "zavjazivat" (tie, knot) and reflexive "zavjazivatsja (завязаться)" (set, spring up). Cf. CT II, 3f: *nj qd.j m Xt nj TAz.j m swHt* "I was not modelled in a womb, I did not spring up/form in an egg"; CT I, 316a (B1C, B2L, B1P): *xpr.n.j TAz.n.j m Haw nTr* "I have evolved and sprung up/formed in the god's body" (the original has *xpr TAz.n.j*, cf. *ibid*, 336a (B3C)).

3)

§1971: *xnjj pppj nfr-kA-ra Hr Swtj jt(j).f gbb*

Allen "Pepi will land on the wings of his father Geb"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare will land on the horns of his father Geb"

For the reading, see **T 228**, 4.

N 348 (PT 670)

§1979b-c: *j.sSm Tw zA.k Hr w rDj.n.f n.k nTrw xftjw.k jn n.k sn DHwtj*

Allen "your son Horus shall lead you, having given you the gods who are your opponents, Thoth having gotten them for you"

Shmakov "your son Horus shall lead you, having given you the gods, while your opponents have been brought to you by Thoth"

Literally – "your opponents, Thoth has brought them to you" (the object is topicalized).

2)

§1983a-c: *Tz.n Tw msw msw.k twt(.w)...jrw.n.k rnw.sn m twt*

Allen "Your firstborn child's children have raised you...[whose] identities [as firstborn] you made"

Shmakov "The progeny whom you gave birth has raised you jointly/being assembled...[whose] identities you made [as (it) befits/in concord]"

or "[whose] identities you made [as Concerted Ones]"

The stative verb form in the current passage must be of the verb *twt* "fit, reconcile, assemble"⁴⁷, not *wtt* "be firstborn" (see also CT VIII, 1983a-c: B10Cb, T1Cb, and T1L give *twt*, *t(w)t.y* (with stative ending written out), and *t(w)tw* (with {mummy standing}-A53 determinative) respectively). *msw.k* is probably a relative perfective (*msw* occurs also in §§252c, 623a, 1029b, 1145a, 2057), note the presence of the relative perfect *jrw.n.k* in the following §1983c⁴⁸. The reading "child (i.e. Horus)'s children" has been suggested to fit the sense of this passage where four Horus's children are mentioned (§1983b) who are Osiris's grandsons. However, it was ignored that *msw* "child" (singular after Mercer, Allen) and *msw* "children" (plural) have no difference in spelling, and that there is no expected indirect genitive **msw n msw.k*; these discrepancies suggest that *msw.k* must be a relative form. Cf. also: *msw msw.k twt(.w) m*

⁴⁷ In the current passage it is spelled with transposition as *ttw*, exactly like the transposed spelling of *twt* "statue" (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 134) and *t wt* "emmer bread" (§§60b, 73b).

⁴⁸ T9C in CT VIII, 1983b gives relative perfective *jrw.k*.

gd wa rmm.sn m jb mrr "The progeny whom you gave birth are assembled as one and cry with loving heart(s)" (Hermann, *Die Stelen*, 32*).

3)

§1984a: *r wsxt aH nTr tm*

Allen "to Atum's broadhall"

Shmakov "to the god's palace's broadhall of Atum"

After *wsxt* follows a composite sign that consists out of an O13-sign (for *wsxt*) that contains an O11-sign (for *aH*) that in its turn contains a R8-sign (for *nTr*), i. e. it is actually *wsxt aH nTr* "god's palace's broadhall", as opposed to the *wsxt* of the pyramid from which offerings are brought.

N 356 (PT 456)

§855a-c: *rx sw rrj rn pn n ra...wnn.f m rxj n ra*

Allen "Shall not he who knows it, this spell of the Sun...be familiar to the Sun?"

Neferkare's version of the passage gives "Shall not he who knows it, this name (*rn*) of the Sun...be a familiar of the Sun?". Allen's translation matches versions P and M that have *rx sw rr(j) r pn n ra*, and note that also N has a resumptive *r pn n ra* in §856a.

N 357 (PT 659)

§§1862b-1864b: *aHa pppj nfr-ka-ra r.f m jtrt(j) Axt sDm.k(j) mdw ra nTr js Hrw js mst jnk sn.k spd w js m sw jj(.j) m sw jj(.j) m sn.k jj(.j) m mxnt(j) jrtj jj(.j)*

Allen "So, let Pepi Neferkare stand up in the Akhet's dual shrines, and you shall hear the Sun's speech as a god, as Horus in the shooting (of his rays): "I am your brother," (says the Sun), "as Sopdu."

Look, (Sun), he has come; look, he has come. Look, your brother has come; look, Eyes-Forward has come"

Shmakov "So, Pepi Neferkare stood up in the Behind the Horizon's dual shrines (saying): "I have heard the Sun's speech being a god, being Horus *mst*, I am your brother (O Sun), being Sopdu". Look, (Sun), he has come; look, he has come. Look, your brother has come; look, Eyes-Forward has come"

The first speech probably belongs to Pepi, not to the Sun, hence *sDm.k(j)* is probably a stative, not *sDm.f*. The meaning of *mst* is unknown (see **P 520**, 1); seeing the writing with a F29 sign, it usually is thought to derive from *stj* "shoot", with *m*-prefix, but this is probably a case of a spelling with "Phonetic Influence" (see **T 228**, 10).

2)

§1865a-b: *jr xm.k sw sDr.k r.k m Xnw a(w)j.f jr Drw rDw.k*

Allen "Though you do not know him, you will lie within his arms to the limits of your outflow"

Shmakov "Though you do not know him, you should spend the night within his arms to stop your outflow"

jr Drw is not a prepositional phrase with the plural noun *Drw* "limits", but a verbal phrase with *Drw* as a non-attributive relative form of the verb *Dr* "stop" (§162a) as object of the preposition *jr*, literally "to the stop of your outflow".

N 359 (PT 600)

§1652c: *jSS.n.k m Sw tfn.k m tfnt*

Allen "You sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut"

Shmakov "You have spat as Shu and sneezed as Tefnut"

The text has *m Sw* "as Shu" and *m tfnt* "as Tefnut" and before it (§1652a-b) *m qAA* "as a hill" and *m bnbm* "as a tall stone", hence the reading "You sneezed Shu and spat Tefnut" is ruled out. Cf. §1871a: *jSS.n Tw tm m r.f m rn.k n Sw* "Atum has spat you out with his mouth in your identity of Shu".

2)

§1654a-d: *hA tm d.nx(j)nx(j).k Hr pjjp nfr-kA-ra pn Hr mr.f pn kAt tn nt pjjp nfr-kA-ra...mr d.nx(j)nx(j).k Hr Sw tfnwt*

Allen "Ho, Atum! May you extend protection over this Pepi Neferkare, over this his pyramid...like you extend protection over Shu and Tefnut"

Shmakov "Ho, Atum! May you give endurance/add lifetime to (lit. upon) this Pepi Neferkare, to (lit. upon) this his pyramid...like you gave endurance/added lifetime to (lit. upon) Shu and Tefnut"

The verb *d.nx(j)nx(j)* "give endurance, add lifetime" derives from the full-reduplicated root *nx(j)* "endure" (see **T 248**, 2) plus the prefix *d*, so actually "endurance, duration" is provided, not "protection". For the word-formative model "d plus the root", see **P 10**. Cf. also Nt 48: [*As*]jr(t) *nt d.nx(j)nx(j).sn Hr.k wnn.sn n.k Hna.k* "[Os]iris Neith, they will give endurance to (lit. upon) you. They will be with you for you". The PT use *stp zA jr/Hr* to express "extend protection over, escort", literally probably "cut protection to/upon".

3)

§1655c: *m rn.Tn n pDwt 9*

Allen "in your identity of the Nine Bows"

Shmakov "in your identity of the Nine Arcs (of the sky)"

James Allen in Glossary (Allen, *P. T.*, p. 438) gives the following definition for the term Nine (Bows) (*psDt pDwt*): "A collective term for all lands outside Egypt". This definition roots in the idea that the *pDwt 9* in this and other passages of the Pyramid Texts would be the same as the traditional term for the neighbors–enemies of Egypt, but the term *psDt pDwt* in the current passage (and in others) probably refers to the sky's arcs which are often referred to as just *psDt* "Nine" (§§161a, 163a, 164c,e, 165b, 165d, 166b,d, 794a, 1238c, 2158c, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl.14, col. +74) or *pDwt* "arcs" (see **W 151**, **P 31**, 1). The Nine Arcs (of the sky) is a reference to the whole world just like the New Kingdom expression *Snnt jtn* "that which the Sun-Disc surrounds". Cf. also the following passages:

CT VI, 355m: *wab.n.T m psDt pDwt wab.T m S(j) pw qbHy*

"You have become clean in the nine (sky's) arcs, you will become clean in this Cool Waters' lake"

Cf.

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. V, col. 18 (a variant of PT 437, §804d): *zAb aD mr psDt*

"governor⁴⁹ of the Nine (arcs of the sky)"

PT 437, §804d: *z(A)b aD mr pDwt* "governor of the (the sky's) arcs"

PT 524, §1238b-c: *ra...kA psDt*

"Sun,...bull of the Nine (arcs of the sky)"

Nt 736: *xrp.k psDwt 9*

⁴⁹ For the O.K. title *zAb aD mr* "governor", see Jones, *Titles*, ## 2947-49; compare it with another tripartite title *tAjt(j) zAb TA(tj)* "vizier" (see Jones, *Titles*, ## 3706-08). The literal meaning of *zAb aD mr* seems to be "the jackal canal-digger" in the PT and "the official canal-digger" outside the PT.

"you will manage the Nine Arcs (of the sky)"

Seven of the nine arcs are mentioned in PT 318, §511c T: *wD mdw n sfxt pDwt* "who gives command(s) to the seven arcs"

CT VII, 239t: *pXr n.k pDwt nTrw*

"the Arcs (of the sky) (and) gods are serving you"

Urk.IV:533:15: *tx pw n psDwt 9*

"This is a plummet of the Nine Arcs"

Urk.IV:943:3: *gmHsw bnn psDwt 9*

"The falcon that begot the Nine Arcs"

Urk.IV:1013:10-11: *j.nD(j) Hr.k nswt n kmt ra n psDwt 9*

"Greetings, king of Egypt, the Sun for the Nine Arcs"

Urk.IV:1652:8: *mj rd.n.f w(j) m ra n pDwt 9*

"like he put me to be the Sun for the Nine Arcs"

Urk.IV:579:1: *rn.n.(j) tw mj mrr(j) tw r HqA pDwt 9 mj ra Dt*

"I have reared you in much as I love you (lit. "according to how much I love you") to rule the Nine Arcs like the Sun during *Dt*-time"

"Nine bows" as a weapon against a snake occurs in PT 385, §673b: *dwn Hrw psDt.f pD(w)t r Ax pn pr m tA* "Horus has stretched his nine bows against this Akh that emerged from the ground".

4)

§1659a-b: *s.ja.n.f n.k sn m arw s.HD.sn Hr.k m aHw HDw*

Allen "he has elevated them to you as reeds so that they may brighten your face in the White Palaces"
Shmakov "he has held them out (or "presented them") to you as (writing) reeds, that they may brighten your face as the White Palaces"

s.ja as "hold out" occurs in the expression *s.ja zSA* "hold out a list" in the mastaba of Kaigemni (Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 12: *s.ja zSA n awt* "holding out a list of flock"), see also CT VII, 204k: *s.ja.j mDAwt* "I will hold out scrolls". Exactly like the verb *fAj*, the verb *s.ja* (> *s. ar*) has the literal meaning "lift, elevate", but in some contexts rather means "present" (cf. Urk.IV:1165:12): Urk.I:269:9: [*Dd.n(j)*] *mAa n mrwt s.jat mAat n [nb.s]* "I spoke properly (lit. maat-like) in order to present maat to its lord"; Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl.111: (middle register) *s.art gHs* "presenting of a gazelle", *s.art [mA-HD]* "presenting of a [oryx]", *s.art nAw* "presenting of a ibex"; Urk.IV:302:6: *sbA mn-mAat-ra s.art Df(A) m pr Hwt-Hrw* "the gate "Menmaatra who presents provision in the house of Hathor"" (cf. also *ibid*:753:1, 1085:12). There is a word-play in the passage – "hold out as (writing) reeds" (*s.ja* and *arw*), "brighten as the White Palaces" (*s.HD* and *HDw*).

N 360 (PT 601)

§1663a: *rwD rn n gb jr bA jkw tA*

Allen "As the name of Geb at the earth's ba is firm"

Shmakov "As the name of Geb "He at the ba that roots up (?) the earth" is firm"

Note there's a sign {man with hands raised}-A4 (mutilated) just after the *bA* sign, which must be read

as the ideogram for *jkw* "chop up, root up (? the earth)" (cf. §959a); *jkw tA* occurs in §959b and *jkw.k tA* in §806b.

N 361 (PT 599)

§1647a: *hA nTrw nb mjj jwn(.w) mjj jab(.w)*

Allen "Ho, all you gods! Come, combine; come, gather"

Shmakov "Ho, all you gods! Come altogether (lit. come crowded together), come assembled (lit. come gathered)"

For the meaning of the verb *jwn* "to crowd together", see T 145, 1, N 404, 2. *jwn(.w)* and *jab(.w)* are statives, not imperatives. A stative as a continuation of an imperative with adverbial meaning is common in PT, for example:

PT 301, §455a: *aHa zxn wr...mH.tj m Ax.k pr.tj m Axt* "Stand up, Great Explorer..., filled with your akh-magic, emergent from the Behind the Horizon";

PT 457, §858b: *aHa r.k Hr rdwj.k Ax.t(j)* "Stand up on your legs being an akh";

PT 534, §1264b: *j.Hm Hr.t(j)* "Go back (and) stay away (lit. Go back farther)";

PT 611, §1724a: *anx anx.tj jt(j)* "Live being vital (lit. being alive), father"; CT I, 190c (B10Cc): *aHa anx.t(j)* "Stand up alive (lit. being alive)";

PT 667B, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 77 (= Nt 784): *sxm xm.tj skjw* "Take control being imperishable"

PT 699, §2180b: [*anx*] *anx.tj rnp rnp.tj* "[Live] being vital, be young rejuvenated (lit. Live being alive, be young having become young)";

CT I, 181g-182a: *s.Ax m sTt mj ra xa.t(j) m sbA watj* "Akhify with luminescence like the Sun having appeared as a sole star";

CT III, 248c-d (T1L): *dj Tw Hms.t(j)* "Place yourself in sitting position (lit. let yourself being seated)".

2)

§1648a-b: *Dw(j).f Tn jwT jr.Tn xt nb(t) nfrt jm n pppj nfr-kA-ra*

Allen "He is calling you to come and do everything good for Pepi Neferkare"

Shmakov "He is calling you to come and do everything good through it (i.e. through the action of coming) for Pepi Neferkare"

James Allem overlooked or ignored *jm* in this passage. For its meaning, see P 316, 2.

3)

§1649e: *mj qd mrrw.f jm n Dt Dt*

Allen "(who will make this pyramid of Pepi Neferkare be firm, who will make this work of Pepi Neferkare be firm,) like the state in which he likes to be for the course of eternity"

Shmakov "according to the state in which he wishes (them to be) for the course of *Dt*-time (lit. of the person of *Dt*, of *Dt*'s personality)"

The clause is probably *mj qd mrrw.f <wnn.sn> jm*, lit. "like the character he wishes (them to be) in", with *wnn.sn* being left out, not just *wnn*. For the leaving out of *wn*, cf. PT 365, §625d: *bw nb mrjj.k jm*, PT 587 §1592e (and §1602d): *bw nb mr jb.f jm (bw mr jb n N jm)*, Nt 733: *bw nb mrj.k jm*. The passage is about the firmness of the pyramid (*mr*) and its complex (*kAt* "work"), not about the state of the king himself.

4)

§1651c: *jntj.sn stpp n.sn stpwt.sn*

Allen "they are the ones for whom will be selected their select cuts of beef and fowl"

Shmakov "they are the ones for whom will be cut off their cuts of beef and fowl"

For the relevant comments, see **P 337**.

N 365 (PT 210 = **W 143**)

§130a: *zH pppj nfr-kA-ra sxt(.j) m sxt jArw*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "The (dining-)booth of Pepi Neferkare is plaited in the Marsh of Reeds"

N 386 (PT 402)

§698d: *pppj nfr-kA-ra pw jrt tw nt Hr*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare is this eye of Horus"

N 388 (PT 662)

§1875a: *j wAD pr m wADt*

Allen "O you of the papyrus plant"

The text has "O papyrus plant that emerged from Wadjet".

2)

§1876c-d: *nj sxm hddwt m anx pppj nfr-kA-ra z(j)nz(j)nt Hr.tj r pppj nfr-kA-ra*

Allen "famine will not have control of Pepi Neferkare's life, and conflagration is far from Pepi Neferkare"

Shmakov "The Broom-plant Goddess does not have control of Pepi Neferkare's life, the Ruining one is far from Pepi Neferkare"

There is no need to presume a hypothetical meaning "(weakness due to) famine" for *hddwt*, for *hddwt* occurs in §696e N (likewise without god determinative) where T has *hdnwt*, the Broom-plant Goddess, so a writing variant may be presumed.

The {village} sign at the end of *z(j)nz(j)nt* doubles the *nt*-ending (see **T 228**, 10). Seeing the parallel with *hddwt*, here taken to be Hedenut, *z(j)nz(j)nt* must also be a goddess; for the meaning of her name derived from the root *z(j)nj*, see **W 165**, 14.

3)

§1877b: *baH pppj nfr-kA-ra m baHt.k ra ra nb*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare's surfeit is your meal's surfeit, Sun, every day".

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare is satisfied with your abundant meal, Sun, every day"

For *baHj m* "become satisfied with", see **P 334**.

4)

§1877d: *Szp n.k qbH.k jpn tpjw*

Allen "receive these your first cool waters"

Shmakov "receive this your first(-class) cool water"

Cf. this passage with Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 4:9, 44:51-52 (= Mariette, *Mast.*, p. 215, 216): *tpj xpS* "first(-class) foreleg" (a rare variant of just *xpS* "foreleg" in the O.K. offering list); CT IV, 375f-g: *saH.n Tw jnpw wt m wt.f tpj* "Anubis-embalmer has robed you in his first(-class) wrappings", *ibid*, 377c: *Hbs Tw jnpw m wt.f tpj* "Anubis will dress you in his first(-class) wrappings" (*wt* is a masculine noun as *t* is a part of the root, hence *tpj*).

5)

§1877c-79a: *jt pppj nfr-kA-ra aHa...Tz Tw Hr gs.k jAbj srw(j) Tw Hr gs.k wnmj fA Hr.k mA.k jr.n(j) n.k*

Allen "Father Pepi Neferkare, stand up...Raise yourself from off your left side, elevate yourself on your right side"

Shmakov "Father Pepi Neferkare, stand up...raise yourself from off your left side (to your right one), (then) remove yourself from your right side, lift your face (standing) that you may see what I have done for you"

Or just: "Raise yourself from your left side, remove yourself from your right side".

The expression in the current passage is not to be confused with another, more common one: *Asjr(t) N pn/jA N Tz Tw Hr gs.k jAb(j) dj Tw Hr gs.k jmnt(j)* "This Osiris N/Oh N, raise yourself *from* (*Hr*) your left side, place yourself *on* (*Hr*) your right side" (with slight variations §1747b, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +75; CT I, 6–7b-c; 83i, 190c, 234a). In the current passage, turning from one side to the other is not the goal, both sides are merely intermediate stages on which the deceased must not remain: the goal of this summon was that the deceased would be standing up.

The following examples will show that the right side, on which a deceased is supposed to place himself, is a fulcrum, which lets the deceased at first sit, then stand up, finally eat and drink, i. e. to be a dead no more:

Budge, BD68:14-15: *s.Tz(j) wj Hr jAbj.j dj(j) wj Hr wnm(j).j s.Tz(j) wj Hr wnmj.j dj(j) wj Hms(j).kw aHa.j wxA.j xmw.j* "I will raise myself from my left (side) and place myself on my right (side), (then) I will raise myself from my right (side) and make myself seat (lit. "place myself seated"), (finally) I will stand up and clear away my putrefaction". The same passage occurs in imperative form in CT III, 246d-248e (T1L): *Tz Tw jr.k Hr jAb.k...dj Tw Hr jmn.k Tz Tw Hr jmn.k dj Tw Hms.t(j) aHa wxA.k xmy.k r.k* "Raise yourself from your left, place yourself on your right, raise yourself from your right, place yourself in sitting position (lit. let yourself being seated), stand up and clear away your putrefaction from off yourself". The opposite variant *Tz Tw Hr gs.k jmn dj Tw Hr gs.k jAb* – "Raise yourself from your right side, place yourself on your left side" occurs in one spell (CT III 225, 247d, 249c) and is probably a misunderstanding or a local variant, as it occurs on two coffins from El-Bersha and one coffin from Thebes (B1L, B2L, B1C, T1Be, T2Be).

CT III 199 b-c: *Tz(j) wj Hr gs.j jAb(j) dj(j) wj Hr gs.j jmn(j) wnm.j t zwr.j H(n)kt* – "I will raise myself from my left side, I will place myself on my right side, that I may eat bread and drink beer";

PT 482 (§1002a-1007b): *jA jt(j) N Tz Tw Hr gs.k jAb(j) d Tw Hr gs.k jmn(j) jr mw jpn rnpw rDjw.n(j) n.k...jr t pn srf.j.jr.n.j n.k...aHa mA.k nn aHa sDm.k nn jr.n n.k zA.k jr.n n.k Hr w*

"Oh, father N, raise yourself from your left side, place yourself on your right side to this fresh water I have given you...to this warm bread I have made for you. Stand up that you may see, stand up that you may hear that what your son has done for you, that what Horus has done for you".

PT 412, §730a-31b: *j.dr Tw Hr gs.k jAbj Hms Hr gs.k jmn j.xa.k N m xt-HAt.j.mH Drt.k m Hr Ams xfa xfa.k Hr HD*

"Take yourself away from your left side, sit from off your right side, that you, N, may appear in royal wig, your hand may fill with the Horus' *Ams*-sceptre, your grasp may grab onto the mace"

The same note is valid for PT 700, §2182b.

6)

§1879b-81a: *jnk zA.k jnk jwa(w).k...Hnk(.j) n.k jrt Hrw*

Allen "I am your son, I am your heir... You have been endowed with Horus's eye"

Shmakov "I am your son, I am your heir... I have presented to you Horus's eye"

Hnk(.j) is a perfective *sDm.f* with 1ms suffix which refers to the deceased's son (§1879b), it is not a passive *sDm.f*.

N 404 (PT 587)

§1588a: *j.nD(.j) Hr.T jrt Hr DbAt.n.f m awj.f tm.wjj*

Allen "Greetings, Horus's eye, which he has replaced by means of both his arms!"

Shmakov "Greetings, Horus's eye, which he has robed by means of both his arms!"

§1597a: *DbA Tn pjppj nfr-kA-ra DbAt*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare will replace you, O replacement (of his)"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare will robe you, robing (room of his)"

The passages probably do not contain the verb *DbA* "replace" (why would the Eye need to be replaced? §1597ff. suggests it does obey the King and does everything he wants), but rather the verb *DbA* "robe, clothe, adorn". Note that in both §1588a and §1597a-c (and §1599a-b), *DbA* is paralleled by *qd* "build" and *grg* "found, settle", suggesting a constructive action also for *DbA*, and *DbAt* is paralleled in §1597b-c by *grgwt* "settlements" and *njwt* "town", suggesting a location or building for *DbAt*. For the importance of the action of "robing", cf. PT 252, §272c-273a: *j.bz wnjs m sDA DbA wnjs m {k}<nb>.Tn r Dr.Tn* "Introduce Unis feeling fear (lit. in shaking), robe Unis as the lord of you all".

2)

§1590b-c: *fA.T n.f mw jwn(.w) jmj(w).T fA.T n.f mw jwn(.w) xpirt.sn jm.T*

Allen "You shall lift to him the water of the marshes that are in you and lift to him the water of the marshes that will come into being in you"

Shmakov "You shall present (lit. carry) to him all the water that is in you (and) present to him all the water that will come into being (lit. evolve) in you"

For the meaning of *fAj*, see **N 359**, 4. *mw jwn(.w)* "all water together" – is the subject-stative construction using the stative of the verb *jwn* "crowd (together), throng" as an epithet, literally "the water altogether, the water crowded together". Cf. the same use of the verbs *jab*, *Sa*, *tm*, *dmD*, *zMA*, *t(w)t* and *km* to express the meaning "all, whole, entire" (see Allen, *M. E.*, 17.20; for the stative ending *w* written out after *jwn*, see §1600b: *mw jwn.w*):

PT 592, §1617a: *Dj.n.f n.k psDt jab.tj*

"He has given you the entire Ennead (lit. the Ennead gathered)"

PT 649, §1831a: *Asjr(t) pjppj nfr-kA-ra jp.n n.k sn Hrw zMA(.w)*

"Osiris Pepi Neferkare, Horus has subordinated to you them all (lit. them united)"

CT VI, 363e-f: *jj.n.j r{k} xft(j) pfj(w).f km(.w) Xr.j m DADAt*

"I have come to this opponent of mine: he is completely under me in the tribunal"

(cf also ibid, 86h: *jw.f rdj(.w) n.j km(.w) Xr.j m DADAt*;)

N 410 (PT 675)

§2005b: *n Tw nxxw psD ra m-xt nTr dWA*

Allen "You belong to the enduring ones who shine by day after the morning god"
Shmakov "You belong to the Enduring Ones whom the Sun outshines after the Morning god"

The {sun} sign after *psD* is not this verb's determinative nor the ideogram *hrw* "day", but the ideogram *ra* "Sun". *psD* must be a relative form. *nxxw* "Enduring ones" is the signification for stars, hence they cannot outshine the Sun (which would be the case if we were to treat *psD* as a participle), nor shine after the morning god (which would be the case if we were to treat {sun} as det. of *psD*), nor shine by day (which would be the case if we were to treat {sun} as the ideogram *hrw*) – for the PT invariably call *nxxw* "precursors, ancestors" of the Morning god.

Moreover, the following passages also have *ra* "Sun" (not *hrw* "day") and *nTr dwA* "Morning god":

PT 211, §132b: *n Tw jmjw-xt ra tpjw-aw(j) nTr dwA*
"you belong to descendants of the Sun (and) precursors of the Morning god"

PT 412, §732a: *n Tw nxxw pSrw ra tpjw-aw(j) nTr dwA*
"you belong to the Enduring Ones who conduct the Sun (and are) precursors of the Morning god"

PT 554, §1372a: *jn Tw pXrw ra HA(j)w nTr dwA*
"you belong to the Sun's conductors (and are) the Morning god (lit. those behind the Morning god)"

Cf. the comment by James Allen to §132b about the *nxxw*-stars (Allen, *P. T.*, note 31, p.62): "the stars, which appear after sunset and disappear at sunrise".

N 411 (PT 676)

§2016a-b: *hrw pw n jp qsw n s.mnx Tbwwt*

Allen "on the day of accounting bones, of making functional the feet"

Shmakov "on the day of subordinating bones, of reviving (lit. making functional) the soles"

The verb *jp* has in the passage its usual meaning "subordinate" (see **T 145**, 9), in the sense of "make obey", cf. it with a variant expression PT 553, §1368b-c: *hrw pw n TAz qsw n s.mnx Tb(w)wt* "on the day of tying the bones together, of reviving (lit. making functional) the soles" (cf. also **P 484**, 2).

N 412 (PT 677)

§2023b: *Sms Tw Axw [nbw m rn.sn pw n StAw swt]*

Allen "[All] the akhs will follow you [in their identity of the dead]"

Shmakov "[All] the akhs will follow you [in their identity of the ones inaccessible of places]"

This passage is restored by the current author with the copy of Senusert-ankhu (Hayes, *The Texts*, col. 525-526), which has *StAw swt* "ones inaccessible of places", and which seems to have what was lost in the pyramid of Neferkare. Allen's restoration with *mwtw* "the dead" comes from the version in CT VIII, 2023b which may be the M.K. interpretation.

2)

§2024b: *n Tw tm Hr.k jm zp.f*

Allen "for you belong to him from whose event you will not be far"

Shmakov "for you belong to..."

The passage is obscure. The governing preposition of the verb *Hrj* is *r* (another variant is *Hr*, which occurs in the adverb *Hrw r ~ Hrw Hr* "apart from"), not *m*, hence the reading "from whose event you will not be far" is ruled out for *tm Hr.k jm zp.f*. Moreover it is not clear why the preposition *m* has a full

form *jm* though it does not stand before a suffix-pronoun.

N 418 (PT 678)

§2029a: *j.Hmtj smtj jm.k Hm m pppj nfr-kA-ra jm.k smtj pppj nfr-kA-ra*

Allen "O Away-turner, Interrogator! You should not turn away from Pepi Neferkare, you should not interrogate Pepi Neferkare"

Shmakov "Turner, Overhearer! You (Turner) should not turn for Pepi Neferkare, you (Overhearer) should not overhear Pepi Neferkare"

j.Hmtj smtj are two ferrymen, not one, the two "you"'s are addressing them in turn. For *Hmj m* "turn for", cf. the verbs with *m* as governing preposition (**W 166** above).

2)

§2030b: *jm pppj nfr-kA-ra...gmgm.f wDat.k*

Allen "lest Pepi Neferkare...smash your ink-shell"

The sign used as the determinative of the word *wDat* is undoubtedly the {piece of wood}-M187 sign (see §§185a, 590a, 634c, 1183a P, 1205b P, 1906c, Nt 134-141), the Old Kingdom variant of the sign M41. This means that the reading *wDat* as "ink-shell" is erroneous, unless one would presume that the sign {shell}-L6 was confused with the sign M187.

N 428 (PT 478)

§976d: *Dr rd.s Dr bw nb ntj.s jm*

Allen "whose limit is the limit of any place in which it happens to be"

In the original it is "whose leg's limit (*Dr rd.s*) is the limit of any place in which it happens to be"

2)

§978a: *Ax nb nTr nb DAt.f a.f m pppj nfr-kA-ra Hr mAqt*

Allen "Any akh or any god who will cross his arm against Pepi Neferkare...on the god's ladder"

Shmakov "Any akh or any god who will extend his arm before (i. e. as a barrier against) this Pepi Neferkare on the god's ladder"

For the meaning of this passage, see **P 327**, 2.

3)

§979a-b: *zAA sw Hw n(j) sw mAAt.f sDmt.f prt.f jr pt*

Allen "He who will see or hear his going up to the sky...—will guard him, having announced him"

Shmakov "He who will see or hear his going up to the sky...—guard him! Announced him to me"

zAA and *Hw* are two imperatives. For *Hw n* "announce to (somebody)", see §§153a, 155a, 157a, 159a, 253d. Literally this passage reads "guard him, announced him to me, (you) the one who will see or hear his going up to the sky".

4)

§980a: *Ax nb nTr nb wnt.f a.f n pppj nfr-kA-ra Hr mAqt nTr dmD qsw pppj nfr-kA-ra n.f sAq n.f awt.f sTp r.f pppj nfr-kA-ra jr pt jr Dbawj nTr nb mAqt*

Allen

"any akh or any god who will be (there with) his arm for Pepi Neferkare on the god's ladder...Pepi Neferkare's bones have been joined together for him, and his limbs have been collected for him. So,

Pepi Neferkare will jump to the sky beside the god who owns the ladder"

Shmakov

"Any akh or any god who will hold out (lit. open) his arm for Pepi Neferkare on the god's ladder, join Pepi Neferkare's bones for him, collect his limbs for him, so that Pepi Neferkare may jump to the sky to the two fingers (i.e. to the proximity) of the god, the ladder's owner"

The verb is *wn* "open", not *wnn* "exist, be". The expression *wn a* "open arm" is equal to *wn rmn* "open arm (from shoulder to fingertips)", both with the meaning "hold out hand/arm, offer hand/arm (to)"; *wn a* occurs in PT 534, §§1267b-1272b, 1276a (without {doorleaf}-determinative, just like in the passage).

So here the akhs/gods help Pepi ascend, contrary to those in §978a who obstruct him (*wn a n* versus *DAj a m*).

PT 261, §326a: *wn n.fjmjw wnwnjt rmnw.sn*

"those in motion will hold out their arms to him"

PT — (Allen's P 356), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 62: *wn [...] r(m)n.f n pjpp pn*

"[...] will hold out his arm to this Pepi"

GMII I.1.a.5603 (4071) (Berlev, *Stelae*, 26, p. 66): *wn n.fz(my)t r(m)n.s dj jmnt awj.s r.f*

"the desert will hold out her arm to him, the west will give her arms to him"

CT II, 99c: *jw wn n.k Sw rmn.f* "Shu has held out his arm for you"

CT II, 110e: *wn n.fjtm rmn.f.s.qA sw mrt <t>m* "May Atum hold out his arm for him and Atum's love elevate him"

Budge, BD124:9: *wn n.j jAxw rmn.f* "Sunlight has held out its arm for me"

dmD and *sAq* are imperatives, not passive *sDm.f*, and *sTp* is subjunctive. Pepi's version of this passage is not much different: *Ax nb nTr nb wnt.f a.f n pjpp Hr mAqt dmD n pjpp qsw sAq n.f awt.f sTp.n r.f pjpp pn jr pt j[r Dbawj nTr nb mAqt]* "Any akh or any god who will hold out (lit. open) his arm for Pepi on the ladder, join the bones for Pepi, collect his limbs for him! So, this Pepi has jumped to the sky to [the two fingers of the god, the ladder's owner]".

N 430 (PT 480)

§995d: *jj pAqt*

Allen "Come, slender one!"

The meaning of the adjective-verb *pAq* is still unknown, cf. Mariette, *Abydos*, T. 1. Pl. 37, b (col. 32 from the left): *p(A)q jb.k r.s m rn.s n p(A)q* "Your heart shall be(come) *pAq* to it (i. e. Horus's eye) in its identity of thin bread". It hardly could have the meaning "slender, thin" as James Allen presumes: the word-play with the *pAq* "thin bread" does not prove this meaning, as a word-play is usually made up of two semantically different words that sound alike (see **W 53**).

N 432 (PT 481)

§1000e: *jsdw Hr jAb.sn*

Allen "with tailed kilt on their right"

The original has "on their left" (*Hr jAb.sn*).

N 457 (PT 694)

§2156b-c: *pjppj nfr-kA-ra pw kA [...] xmt(j)t r pt snt jr tA*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare is the Bull [of offerings, owner of a quintet of meals in Heliopolis]: a triad for the sky and a pair for the earth"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare is the Bull [of food portions, owner of a quintet of meals in Heliopolis]: a triad is (chargeable) to the sky, a pair is (chargeable) to the earth"

For the relevant comments, see **W 140**, 4.

N 466 (PT—)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. XIII, col. +30 (restored with CT VI, [516] 105b-c):

[*nHm.n(j) msw.k m-a jA*] *kb s.rwD.n(j) xnt(jw).k tp(j)w tA n Dt Dt*

Allen "save your children [from] mourning. Your offering stand shall make firm those on earth for the course of eternity"

Shmakov "[I have saved your children from mou]rning; I have strengthen your cookhouse(s) on the earth for the course of *Dt*-time (lit. of *Dt*-time's ownership)"

This part was pronounced by the king's son. The second sentence of the text has *sDm.n.f* with 1ms suffix (*s.rwD.n(j)*), hence the first sentence must be restored in the same way (*nHm.n(j)*). *xnt(jw).k tp(j)w tA* is "your cookhouse(s) that are on the earth"; the noun *xnt* is masculine with *t* as part of the root, not a feminine ending (for the meaning, see **W 145**, 1), cf. PT 573, §1482e N: *s.rwD.f n pjppj nfr-kA-ra xnt(jw).f jr(j)w tA* "that he may strengthen for Pepi Neferkare his earthly cookhouse(s)", where we have *xnt(jw).f jr(j)w tA* "his cookhouse(s) belonging to the earth". For *Dt Dt*, see **T 196**, 10.

N 511 (PT 681)

§2035b: *j.nD pjppj nfr-kA-ra Hr n jt(j).f ra*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare will greet his father, the Sun"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare has tended the face of his father, the Sun (i. e. greeted him)"

In his grammar James Allen comments on the expression *j.nD Hr*: "Although it is used (in this form) (*j.nD Hr.k* – T. S.) only as an interjection, it may derive from an original verbal expression *j.nD.j Hr.k* (etc.), meaning something like "May I inquire about you," with the first-person suffix unwritten" (Allen, *M. E.*, 16.8, p. 195). Allen is absolutely right about the verbal nature of the expression (cf. PT 672, §1989b: *nD.j Hr.k pjppj nfr-kA-ra* "I greet you, Pepi Neferkare"), but he is incorrect on the verb's meaning and the meaning of *Hr*. *Hr* is not a preposition as in a collocation *nD Hr* "inquire about". We can find examples in the texts which show that *Hr* was actually the noun "face", like in the discussed passage, in which we have *Hr n* "face of" (for we cannot have *Hr* "on" and genitive or preposition "to, for" in a row). The verb *nD* probably has its basic meaning "tend" in the expression. Thus *j.nD(j) Hr.k N* was an idiom for "Greetings, Hail to" with the probable literal meaning "I have tended⁵⁰ your face, N" (probably a perfective *sDm.f*, not a subjunctive ("May I...") as James Allen suggested). As to the idiomatic meaning of the literal reading ("tend someone's face"), compare the expression *wDa-mdw* "judge", which literally is probably "separate/cut the words". Cf. the full spelling of the word face in §186b (*Hr-r-k*) instead of that with a {stroke}, cf. also

PT 677, §2019c: *nD.t(j) Hr.fjn Hr w m Axt*

"his face is tended by Horus in the Behind the Horizon"

⁵⁰ However, the literal meaning "I have inquired after your face (i.e. after your mood?)" cannot be ruled out taking into account the meaning of *nD* in such word-combinations as *nD sxr* "inquire after the condition" and *nD xrt* "greet, inquire after the state".

Hr in the passage is written with the {stroke} sign for ideograms, not in full form (when *r* is written out) which is the case when preposition *Hr* comes with a suffix.

PT 519, §1207b: *j(n)D(j) Hr.k m fdw.k jpw Hrw Htpw*
"Greetings (lit. I have tended your face) in these four content faces of yours"
(The literal meaning is clear: I have tended your *face* in these your *faces*)

CT III, 188b-c: *nD.n.k Hr n ra s.Htp.n.k Hr n psDtj*
"You have tended the face of the Sun, you have pleased the face of the Dual Ennead"

CT VII, 21f: *jj.n.j xr.Tn nD(j) Hr(w).Tn jpw jrwn nw*
"I have come that I may tend these your face(s), which Nu has made"

Naville, *Deir el Bahari* IV, pl. 114: *j.nD(j) Hr n jarwt.k [jp]w*
"I have tended the face(s) of these your uraei" (cf. *ibid jw s.Htp.n.s Hr n jarrwt.k* "She has pleased the face(s) of your uraei")

Graefe, *Stundenritual*, 4th hour, P: *j.nD(j) Hr.k ra m wnw.k tw sxm.k jm.s m [x]ft(j)w.k j.nD(j) Hr n Asbwt.k s. {m}<A>mm(w)<t> n.k xft(j)w.k s.xrywt sbjw Hr.k*
"Greetings (lit. I have tended your face), Sun in this your hour in which you are in control of your opponents, I have (also) greeted (lit. tended the face(s) of) your uraei (lit. scorching ones) who are burning your opponents down for you (and) are overthrowing those who rebel against you"

Sethy I, *Abydos* I pl. 4, 18: *nD Hr n gbb jt(j) nTrw m Dd n.f nTrw mn(.w) Hr st.sn*
"the face of Geb, father of gods, has been tended by saying to him that gods are firm on their place(s)"

Budge, BD114:9: *j.nD(j) Hrw.Tn bAw xmnnw*
"Greetings (lit. I have tended your faces), bas of Hermopolis"

Cp. also PT 682, §2042a-b: *nD Hr.k jn zkr pjpp nfr-kA-ra ja Hr.k jn dwA wr*
"Your face has been tended (i.e., you have been greeted) by Sokar, Pepi Neferkare, and your face has been washed by Great Beard"

From this passage (as well as the passages listed just above), which has actions done to the face of the king, it is clear that *Hr* in *j.nD(j) Hr.k* is no doubt "face".

CT VI, 123b: *nD(j) Hr.k nfr Hr nb mAAwtj*
"Greetings (lit. I have tended your face), beautiful of face, owner of two looking eyes"

This word combination probably also occurs in the form of a noun *nDt Hr* "gift" (Wb.II:373:1), literally probably "face-tending".

Alan Gardiner too read *Hr* in this expression as "face": "*jnD Hr.t*...a formula which perhaps originally meant 'I salute thy face'" (Gardiner, *E. G.*, §272, p. 209).

2)
§2037b: *H nwt wD mdw n wtnw(j)w*
Allen "the Red Crown's smiter and governor of those of the stream"
Shmakov "brooks' smiter (and) the one who gives commands to the ones of the stream"

For the meaning of the word *nt*, see **P 467**, 7. Note the parallel "brooks"/"stream".

3)

§2040b: *mTn pjjj nfr-kA-ra swt*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare will show the way to places"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare will hand over (?) places"

In the expression *mTn swt* the verb *mTn* "explore, scout; surrender (? see **W 151**, 2)" is transitive. Seeing the context, that deals with creating order via giving commands and bestowing dignities, it cannot be excluded that the places might here be stations (functions, offices) that get created and assigned, rather than dealing with creating living space (exploring and developing geographical places).

4)

§2040c: *Dj pjjj nfr-kA-ra Htpwt sSm pjjj nfr-kA-ra a(A)bwt*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare shall give offerings, and Pepi Neferkare will lead feasts"

Shmakov "Pepi Neferkare shall give nourishment, Pepi Neferkare will distribute feasts"

For the verb *sSm(j)* "lead, guide, conduct", having the derived meaning "distribute", cf.:

PT 493, Nt 704 (= Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 14, col. +50): *Dj nt Htpwt sSm nt Df(A)w*

"Neith will give nourishment, Neith will distribute provision"

Bissing, *Gem-ni-kai*, pl. 20-21: *sSmt mHtjw n rmT n pr n Dt*

"Distribution of the fish to the people of the personal farm (lit. house)"

CT II, 41b: *xpr Htpwt sSmt jm.j n nTr*

"nourishment, distributed to a god, spring from me" (lit. "distributed meals occur from me for a god")

CT III, 9c-10a: *j jmj Htp.f sSm Awt m jwnw Hr xAwt ra ra nb*

"Oh, you who is in his peace, who distributes ration to Heliopolis to the Sun's altar"

CT III, 324d-f: *jj.n.j sSm.j Htpwt jnk nb Awwt*

"I have come that I may distribute nourishment, for I am an owner of rations"

CT I, 125b: *sSm.f Htpwt n jmAxww*

"when he is distributing nourishment to the honored ones"

CT IV, 122e (B2L): *sSm.j pAqw n nTrw Htpwt n tpj(w) tA prt-xrw n Axw*

"I distribute wafers to the gods, nourishment to those on earth, invocation-offerings to the akhs"

CT I, 51b-c: *jw.f sSm.f anx n nTrw prt-xrw n ra m mAat*

"He distributes life to the gods, invocation-offerings to the Sun as maat/in reality(?)"

CT IV, 86n: *sSm.n n.f nTrw Awt*

"Gods have distributed ration to him"

CT II, 162f (Sq3Sq): *sSm N pn xrwt n jmjw jwnw*

"This N distributes (cattle's) carcasses to those in Heliopolis"

CT V, 55c (B1C, B2L): *sSmw Htpw nTr*
"who distributes god's offerings"

CT VI, 171a: *Szmw skr xnt(j) pDw S(j) Hr sSmt aAbt*
"Shezmu and Sokar at the fore of Saqqara are distributing feast"

CT VI, 269r: *dj.j anx sSm.j Awt n nTrw nbw Htp*
"I give life and distribute ration to the gods-owners of nourishment"

CT VI, 307x: *sSm.f Awt*
"that he may distribute ration"

CT VII, 16f: *sSm.j Awt n nTrw*
"I distribute ration to the gods"

Budge, BD169:23: *jw sSm.n.k Sbn n smsww mHwt n Hrw*
"You have distributed viand to the elders, cups to those who are above"

Compare the verb *sSmj* in the expression about *aAbt* with the verb *s.mAa* (from the simplex *mAa* "lead, direct") in *wn.jn Hm.f...Hr s.mAa n.f aAbt aAt* "Then His Incarnation...presented him a big feast" (Urk.IV:158:4-5).

N 514 (PT 684)

§2055b-c (also 2056b-c): *nj rDj.f mr.f nj rDj pppj nfr-kA-ra nqm.f r r n pppj nfr-kA-ra ra nb*

Allen "he will not let it become painful and Pepi Neferkare will not let it become bald by virtue of the mouth of Pepi Neferkare every day"

Shmakov "he will not let it become painful and Pepi Neferkare will not let it become bald next to Pepi Neferkare every day"

The expression *r r n N* "at the mouth of N" has actually a compound preposition that has the meaning "near, next to" (see **W 207**, 3). It only hints at the fact that the recovery will be due to the mouth (i. e. due to spittle, cf. §2055a, 2056a: *psg pppj nfr-kA-ra smA.k* "Pepi Neferkare will spit on your temple", and cf. §521 for spittle as magical cure for hair), it does not actually have the meaning "by virtue of the mouth of Pepi Neferkare".

N 515 (PT 305)

§473c: *Szp a.k jn ra*

Allen "—"

Shmakov "your arm has been taken by the Sun"

Cf. PT 442, §819b: *Szp a.k jn ra* "your arm has been taken by the Sun".

N 519 (PT 685)

§2069b-2070a: *wDA pppj nfr-kA-ra p aHa mjn(j) ms Abd anx spA jr.n(j) sT(A)wt s.kA.k(j) jt(j) s.kA.k(j) bdt Hnk.t(j) pppj nfr-kA-ra pn jm n Dt*

Allen "Become sound, Pepi Neferkare! The shrine shall await when the month has been born. The countryside shall live and arouras shall be made for them, that you may farm barley and farm emmer. This Pepi Neferkare will be endowed with them for the body"

Shmakov "Become sound, this Pepi Neferkare, stand up, you of the pavilion (i. e. Anubis), the month

has been born, Sepa-town lives: I have made arouras (of field) having farmed barley (and) having farmed emmer so that this Pepi Neferkare may be endowed with them during *Dt*-time"

For the reading of *aHa mjn(j)*, see **P 319a**, 1, **P 480**, 2. *spA* is spelled in the passage just like in Anubis's epithet *xnt(j) spA* "he at the fore of Sepa-town" (Jones, *Titles*, # 1894). *jr.n(j) sT(A)wt* "I have made arouras" has *sDm.n.f* with 1s suffix omitted (cf. §§1748b-c, 1879a-80a), so James Allen's reading "arouras shall be made for them" is incorrect. For the *.k* as actually 1ms stative suffix, see **P 41b**, 3 and **T 204**, 3. *Dt* "*Dt*-time" was spelled with the {stroke}-Z1 sign under the influence of the word *Dt* "person", see **T 203**, 2.

N 522 (PT 688)

§§2084c-2085b: *hA.f m-m.sn Dd.n n.sn wdn sxm.f wnt pjjj nfr-kA-ra m wa jm.sn*

Allen "when he descends among them. They have told Him Whose Control is Weighty that this Pepi Neferkare is one of them"

Shmakov "He will descend among them for He Whose Control is Weighty has told them that this Pepi Neferkare is one of them"

The passage has *Dd.n n.sn* "has told to them". Cf. the reading by Mercer "'Heavy-is-his-sceptre" has said to them that N. is one of them" (Mercer, *P. T.*, p.307).

N 524 (PT 690)

§2103a-b: *wab.n Tw snt.k qbHt Hr rd wr mr*

Allen "Your sister Qebhut has cleaned you on the causeway at the lake's mouth"

Shmakov "Your sister Qebhut has cleaned you on the canal's great causeway"

The text has *r(w)d wr* "the great causeway/mound". *mr* plus {canal} sign is "canal" spelled with alphabetic signs *m-r*-{canal}, not "at the lake's mouth" (**m r mr*; note *r mr* "mouth of the canal" occurs in §279d where *r* has the ideogram stroke that is missing in the present text).

2)

§2105a: *bjn Asjr(t) bjn pjjj nfr-kA-ra pn bjn kA psDtj*

Allen "Should Osiris vanish, this Pepi Neferkare will vanish, and the Dual Ennead's bull will vanish"

Shmakov "Active is Osiris, active is this Pepi Neferkare, active is the Dual Ennead's bull"

In this passage Osiris = Pepi Neferkare = Dual Ennead's bull. For the meaning of the verb *bjn*, see **P 312**.

3)

§2109: *tp rdwj nTr tp rdwj pjjj nfr-kA-ra [pn]*

Allen "before the god's feet, before [this] Pepi Neferkare's feet"

Shmakov "before the god, before [this] Pepi Neferkare"

tp rdwj "on the legs" is a variant of *tp awj* "on the arms", both meaning "before" (cp. **W 207**, 3).

4)

§2110c: *bA.k m hrw sdA.k m grH nTr js nb Sat*

Allen "Your ba is (prevalent) by day and the shaking you cause by night, as the god who is lord of ferocity"

Shmakov "You become impressive by day (and) cause to tremble by night being the god (for whom) there is veneration (lit. owner of veneration)"

bA and *sdA* are verbs, not nouns; for the meaning of the verb *bA*, see **W 134**, and *sdA* is here causative ("cause to tremble" rather than "tremble, shake").

5)

§§2111: *jj Axt(j) zb a HAj gbb*

Allen "Come, you of the flood with provisioning arm, who is around Geb!"

Shmakov "Has come the Inundation season, which sent the arm, that is around Geb"

§2113-14a: *jj Axt(j) zb a HAj gbb j.wAg rDw nTr jmj.k*

Allen "[Come, you of the flood with provisioning arm, who is around] Geb! Supply the god's outflow that is in you"

Shmakov "[Has come the Inundation season, which sent the arm, that is around] Geb, which presented the outflow of the god who is you (lit. of the god in you(r person))"

zb and *j.wAg* are probably two relative forms (prefixed relative forms occur, for instance, in 2-lit. class verb *Dd: j.Ddw*, §§868c M). *Axt(j)* "Inundation season" is probably a nisbe, hence masculine (cf. *xnt(j)* "cookhouse" that occurs spelled *xntj* only once, see **W 145**), cf. PT 667A, Nt 777: *jj Axt(j) j.wAg rDw pr m Asjr(t)* "Has come the Inundation season, which presented the outflow that came from Osiris".

6)

§2114b: *wHa Ssmw.k*

Allen "release your sinews"

Shmakov "your *Ssmw* have been released"

The meaning of the word *Ssm* is uncertain.

N 583 (PT 698C)

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 20, col. 1308+70-1309: *mH.k jr tA twr pjjj nfr-kA-ra*

Allen "your arm to the ground and respect Pepi Neferkare"

Shmakov "your *mH* to the ground (and) be wary of Pepi Neferkare"

There is no *a* "arm" in the text. The verb *twr* has the determinative {man striking with a stick} – the determinative of the verb *twr* "be wary" (for the meaning see **W 143**, 2).

N 594 (PT 700)

§2185a-d: *wAg.k m t mr wAg Hrw jrt.f m rn pw n wAg Hnk.k [m t mr Hnk Hrw jrt.f m rn pw n Hnkt]*

Allen "You shall be supplied with bread like Horus being supplied with his eye, in the identity of the supplied offering. You shall be endowed [with bread like Horus being endowed with his eye, in the identity] of the endowed offering"

Shmakov "You have been presented with bread like Horus presented his eye, in (its) identity of the present/gift. You have been endowed [like Horus endowed his eye, in (its) identity] of the endowment"

This passage has been restored based on Nt 744-745. *wAg.k* and *Hnk.k* are two passive *sDm.f*s, whereas *wAg Hrw* and [*Hnk Hrw*] are two non-attributive relative forms as objects of the preposition *mr* (Allen, *M. E.*, 25.3.1) and are active forms; why James Allen is reading them as passives is puzzling, also as the preposition *m* needed for such a reading (*wAg m* "supply with") is lacking (i. e. we do not have in the text **wAg Hrw m jrt.f...Hnk Hrw m jrt.f*).

N 614 (PT 702)

§2200a-c: *jw.n pppj nfr-kA-ra xr.Tnj rHt(j) wrtj aAtj nt(j)tj m gs jAbtj n pt fA.Tnj pppj nfr kA d.Tn sw m gs jAbtj n pt*

Allen "Pepi Neferkare has come to you two elder and great companions who are in the eastern side of the sky so that you may lift Pepi Neferkare and put him in the eastern side of the sky"

This spell probably refers to the *nhtj* "two sycamores" that occur in PT 568, §1433b-c: "This Meryre will seize the two sycamores that are between (here and) the other side of the sky. They will ferry him and put him in yonder eastern side of the sky.". Cf. also CT II, (367a-368b), 388p-r: *jw N rx(.w) nhtj jptw ntj mfkAt prr ra jm.snj Smtj...r sbA jAbt(j) pt r bw wbn ra jm* "N knows these two turquoise sycamores from which the Sun emerges (and) that go...to the eastern gate of the sky, to the place from which the Sun rises".

N 615 (PT 703)

§2204a: *mwt.k tw Hwrt wrt*

Allen "Your mother is the great Impoverishing Uraeus"

Shmakov "Your mother is the great Lass"

This is a case of /r/ ~ /n/ (see **W 106**), *Hwrt* ~ *Hwnt* "lass, girl".

Part VI: Neith's PT corpus

Nt 6 (PT 655)

Nt 8: *m HAt wjA n jmj(w) nw*

Allen "in the prow of the boat that is in Nu"

Shmakov "in the prow of the boat of those in Nu"

jmjw nw "those in Nu" (§§319c, 871c, 1166b, 1486a) are probably mentioned in this passage.

Nt 7 (PT 585 and §§1582-83a of PT 586)

Nt 9: *Axw j.wn znw*

Allen "akhs in the opened door"

Shmakov "akhs who open doors"

The text actually has *j.wn znw* "who open doors", not *jmj(w) znw* "who are in the (door) opening(s)". For it is a common mistake in Neith's Pyramid Texts to write *jmj*-{crossed planks}-Z11 instead of *wn*-{rosette}-M42, because the two signs are indistinguishable in hieratic. The proposed reading is also supported by the descendant of this passage, CT II, 144d, which has *wnw znw*. Note James Allen himself reads *j.wn* in his earlier work, *Inflection*, p. 679.

Nt 10: *jn nt m.Hfdt r pr Hr*

Allen "Neith has come climbing to the [upper] house"

Shmakov "Neith is the Climber to the [upper] house"

We probably should not emend *jn* "it is" in Neith's copy to *jj.n* "has come" which occurs in the descendant of this passage, CT II, 145c. *m+Hfdt* is probably not a pseudo-verbal construction *m Hfdt*, but a *m*-prefixed nominalized participle *m.Hfdt* "Climber".

2)

Nt 12-13, restored with the help of CT II, 147e-f: *j.xmw sk jr w gnwt n [xpr wnw Hr n StAw swt]*

Allen "Imperishable Stars who make [the Beetle's] annals"

Shmakov "Imperishable Stars who make annals for [the Evolved One (and) open the face(s) of the ones inaccessible of the places]"

The text has *gnwt n [xpr]* "annals for [the Evolved One]", not "[the Beetle's] annals", for *gnwt* is feminine, hence *n* is not a genitive, but a preposition. James Allen missed the rest of the passage: *wnw Hr n StA swt* "[who open the face(s) of the ones inaccessible of the places]", though he himself restores it in *Inflection*, p. 679.

Nt 9 (PT 586B)

Nt 16: *hj Dj.k a jr nt sk s(j) jw.s*

Allen "Suckling, you should give a document concerning Neith, for she is coming"

Shmakov "Suckling, you should reach out (lit. give) (your) arm to Neith, for she is coming"

The passage seems to have the expression *Dj awj r* "reach out (lit. give) arms to", cf. §§608a-b (T 185, 2), 1090e, and Stela GMII I.1.a.5603 (4071): *dj jmnt awj.s r.f* "the west will give her arms to him".

Nt 11 (PT 474)

Nt 19: *SfSft.f jr gswj.f*

Allen "his ferocity at his sides"
Shmakov "his respect at his sides"

The text has *SfSft* "respect", not *Sat* "veneration" ("ferocity" after Allen).

Nt 49 (PT —)

Nt 48: [As]jr(t) Nt d(.j) n.k Hwntj Hm jmjt jrtj Hrw

Allen "Osiris Neith, the pupils in Horus's eyes have also been set for you"

Shmakov "[Os]iris Neith, I have put for you two lassies (i. e. uraei) who are the two eyes of Horus"

Hwntj "two lassies" seems to be a reference to uraei.

Nt 203 (PT 653A)

Nt 298: jrt Hrw j.zAt m gbb

Allen "Horus's eye, which went into Geb"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which guards as Geb"

The verb in the passage is *zAj* "guard", for it is spelled with the sign V16 with which that verb is normally spelled.

Nt 210 (PT 62)

Nt 308: jrt Hrw mAt.n DHwtj mw jm(j)w.s

Allen "Horus's eye, the waters in which Thoth saw"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, the waters in which Thoth renewed"

mAt is the relative form of the verb *mAj/mAw* "new, become new", for in Neith's copy there is no {eye} sign to suggest *mAA* "see". See also CT VIII, 43b (= CT VII, 62j), Sq1Sq, which gives *mAt* without {eye} sign, "which renewed"; CT VII, 465b: B3C gives *mA* without the {eye} sign (*mA.t(j) ra nb* "new every day"), whereas all other sarcophagi give *mA* with the {eye} sign; the same we see in CT VIII, 195c (pp. 198-199): *mA.tj* "new" without {eye} sign occurs in B6Bo, L-A1, Sq2Be, TT24O, but all other sarcophagi write it with the {eye} sign. See also the comments just below.

Nt 211 (PT 64)

Nt 309: Asjr(t) nt Dsr.k Hr.f Dd mdw m kw Sp.n.k sw

Allen "Osiris Neith, you have been swept from him. Recitation. Look, you have blinded him"

Shmakov "Osiris Neith, you have been elevated by means of him; recitation: (for) look, you have blinded him"

Horus's blinding refers to Osiris's acceptance of Horus's eye as a way to revive. For the collocation *Dsr Hr* "tower upon, be elevated by means of", cf. **P 510**, 1.

Nt 216 (PT 69)

Nt 316: Dba stS s.mAA jrt Hrw HDt

Allen "Seth's finger, which causes Horus's white eye to see"

Shmakov "Seth's finger, which renewed Horus's white eye"

s.mAA is a geminated causative of the 3rd-weak verb *mAj* "new, become new", not of *mAA* "see" (see §306b where it occurs in a stative form spelled *mA(.j)* (W), *mA.jj* (T) "anew", §195c: stative *mA.tj*, §344b: stative *mA(.j)*, §883b: stative *mA.t(j)*; also Urk.IV:182:17: *mA.tj*, ibid:238:4: *mA.tj*: thus the verb's root is *mA*, not *mAw*, cf. Wb.II:26:5-).

The {eye} sign that occurs in the verb is used as a space-filler under the sign {sickle} (which is an influence of the verb *mAA* "see"), cf. the same phenomenon in the word *mA(j)* "lion" (§§428b, 573a TM, 1124b, 1939a, without {eye} sign – 573a N), *mAfdt* "Mafdet-genet" (§§440c, 442c, 1212d MN, without {eye} sign in §§230c, 1212d P), *mA/mA-HD* "oryx" (§806c PM, without {eye} sign – ibid N), *MAH* "clap" (Wb.II:30:14), *MAnw* "Manu" (§1272c), *MAr* "oppression" (CT I, 233d (B10Cb, B12Cb)), *MAr* "oppressed person" (Urk.I:255:6, 269:7; CT VII, 466e). See also the influenced spellings of the verb in the next texts:

CT I, 200g: *Hw Tw mA.t(j) ra nb* "Announce yourself being new every day!" (*mA.t(j)*, also geminated as *mAA.t(j)* (B16C), is a stative; all the sarcophagi but B10Cc give the confusing {eye} sign),

CT I, 142c: *jw.f r.f mj jSst Ax pn mA.w.tj* "How (lit. like who) should this new akh come?" (B3Bo, B4L and L2Li give the {eye} sign; L2Li gives the verb geminated as *mAA.tj*),

CT I, 206f (B10Cb): *nfr.T(j) mA.T(j)* "being young and new like the Sun" (the sarcophagus B10Cc gives the {eye} sign),

CT I, 240g: *mA.tj ra nb* "new every day" (all the sarcophagi but B10Cc give the {eye} sign),

CT IV, 58f: *sDr.j mA.kw rnp.kw* "I spend the night being new and young" (with the {eye} sign),

CT IV, 162a: *psD.j mA.k(j)* "I shine being new" (S1Ca and S1Chass give the {eye} sign; S1Cb gives {papyrus scroll}),

CT VII, 45k: *jw.k mA.tj* "You are new" (with the {eye} sign),

CT VII, 105c: *mAt(j) mAt(j)* "being new, new" (with the {eye} sign),

CT VII, 101j: *jj.n.j wr.k(j) zx[n].j mA.k(j)* "I have come being great, being new" (with the {eye} sign),

CT VII, 255d: *jwy.k mA.t(j) ra nb* "You will come new every day" (B4Bo, B1C give the {eye} sign, all others do not).

Nt 218 (PT 71A)

Nt 322: *jrt Hr.w n.xAt m-a msw.f*

Allen "Horus's eye, which dangled from his children's arm"

Shmakov "Horus's eye, which fell out of his children's arm"

The verb *n.xA/n.xAx/n.gAgA* is used in the expression *nxAt mnDwj* "she whose breasts are dangling (lit. dangling of two breasts)" (§2003b) – hence James Allen's translation of the verb in the current passage. But the same expression about breasts occurs with the verb *s.xd* "overturn, become upside down, hang, dangle": *s.xdxdt mnDwj* (§2171a). The latter verb occurs also in CT VII, 226f(=227c): *Hnzkt.j s.xdxdt.t(j)* "my braid is hanging down". Thus *nxAt mnDwj* "she whose breasts are dangling" could mean "she whose breasts are hanging down" as well, and *n.xA* is probably the derivative of the root *xr* "fall", if it is a case of /r/ ~ /A/:

gAH jArrt ~ grH jArrt "picking (?) of grape" (the name of a children's game)"

drp ~ dAp (§§91c, 110) "feed, present, offer",

dAb ~ drb (Hassan, Giza I, fig. 185, p. 113) "fig-drink",

xAsr (combined spelling of *xAs/xsr* (i. e. *xls ~ xsl*), §1150b P, Nt 788, §2158a,b,c) ~ *xrsr* (CT V, 388i

(B2L, B1P)) ~ *xrs* (CT VII, 393c (B9C); 441c (B1C)) ~ *xsr* "drive away, dispell",
Drt ~ *DAt* (§§124d, g, 1703d; stela BM 574:18) "hand",
qArt (Wb.V:12:2; CT III, 214c (41C)) ~ *qAAAt* (CT II, 209a; CT III, 214c) ~ *qrt* (Wb.V:12:2) ~ *qAt* (CT II, 166f) "door-bolt"
jAAAt (§866b) ~ *jArt* (Budge, BD131:8) "reed sceptre"
Xr ~ *xAt* (the word-play in §58b)
qrs ~ *qAs* (Wb.V:14) "bury"
sAj ~ *sArj* (Wb.IV:18:11) "be(come) sated, experienced" (also *sAAAt* (§1701b) ~ *sArt* (Wb.V:18:13) "experience, wise")
s.wArx ~ *s.wAx* ~ *s.wrx* "satisfy, make to flourish" (L. E. caus. of O.K.-M.K. *wAxj* "become sated", Wb.IV:63:16)

For the liquid nature of the phoneme /A/, see Edell, *Alta. Gr.*, §129, 130, Peust, *Egyptian Phonology*, pp. 127-132, and Ancient Egyptian Language (AEL) Email List (<http://www.rostau.org.uk/AEgyptian-L/archives/index.html>), the posts by J. P. Allen (Forwarded by Geoffrey Graham) of 27 Jun 1998 and 30 Jun 1998.

Nt 241b (PT 665 D)

Nt 735-36: *wn n.k zmzrw(j) xsfw(j) THnw*

Allen "The ram-bolted gates that bar Libya have been opened to you"

Shmakov "The double blocking(?) -gates (*zmzr*) that bar Libya have been opened for you"

James Allen probably reads the *zmzrw(j)* of this passage as **z m zrw(j)* "the (gates') bolt as two rams", hence "the ram-bolted gates". But such a suggestion is very arguable: the two {ram's head} signs (i. e. mutilated {ram} signs) that occur in the spelling of this word in §1726b M are probably merely the phonetical influence of *zr* "ram", just like the {head of bubalis} sign of *SsA* "bubalis" appears in *SsAw* "tongue" (§127b MN), *SsAt* "night" (§§568a P, 1761d) and *SsA m* "be(come) aware of" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 64, PT 698B) (see **T 228**, 10).

2)

Nt 737-738: *wDa(j) n.k zArw.k Hrw js jmj pr.f s.fxx(j) n.k mDwt.k stS js jmj tAxbt*

Allen "Your shackles have been severed as Horus in his (royal) house, your hobbles loosened as Seth in Takhbit"

Shmakov "I have removed your shackles for you being Horus in his house, I have loosened your hobbles for you being Seth in Takhbit"

Neferkare's first copy of this passage and spell has *sDm.n.f* with the 1st person suffix, showing that Neith's copy probably also has an (unwritten) 1st person suffix:

Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+10-11: *wDa.n(j) zArw.k Hrw [js jmj pr.f s.fxx.n(j) n.k jt(j) pppj nfr-kA-ra mDwt].k stS js jmj tAx[bt]*

"I have severed your shackles [being] Horus [in his house, I have loosened for you, father Pepi Neferkare], your [hobbles] being Seth in Takh[bit]"

PT 665A, Nt 664-665: *wHa(j) n.k zArw.k Hrw js jmj pr.f s.Sm n.k mD(w)t.k stS js anx tAxbt*

"I have untied your shackles for you being Horus in his house, I have dispelled(?) your hobbles for you being Seth in Takhbit"

The unknown verb *s.Sm* in the latter passage must have a meaning similar to *sfx* "loosen" and *xAa* "throw away, cast off" (see below) and is probably a variant of *s.Sn* "topple, destroy" of §1121b (cf. also *s.Sm* (CT I, 289a (T9C)) ~ *s.Sn* (ibid, Sq3C)), being a rare case of /m/ ~ /n/:

gmHsw (§250c) ~ *gnHsw* (§1048d) "hawk",
Tm ~ *Tn* "you" (feminine dependent pronoun),
DAnw (§1206a) ~ *DAmw* (M.K., Wb.V:523:4-5) "youngsters, young men",
kAn (Wb.V:107:6) > *kAm* (Wb.V:106:3) "vineyard", *kAnw* (O.K., Wb.V:107:8) > *kAmw* (N.K.,
Wb.V:106) "wine-grower",
dng ~ (?) *dmg* "dwarf" (Junker, *Giza V*, p.186, Abb.58).
See also Edel, *Alta. Gr.*, §123).

PT 703, §2202a: *jj n.k Hrw wDa.f zArw.k xAa.f mD(w)t.k*
"Horus has come to you that he may remove your shackles and throw away your hobbles".

3)
Nt 738: *jAmA n Srt*
Allen "Pleasant to your nose"

There is no pronoun *.k* "your" in the text.

4)
Nt 741: *Hm Dd.T*
Allen "Come too"
Shmakov "Turn too"

The verb is *Hmj* "turn", not *jj* or *jw* "come".

5)
Nt 745: *rn.Tn pw pnn n Hnkt...rn.Tn pw pnn n wAg{k}*
Allen "this here is (it, in) the distinguished identity of the endowed offering...this here is (it, in) the distinguished identity of the supplied offering"
Shmakov "this here is your identity of the gift...this here is your identity of the present"

Tn after *rn* "name, identity" is probably not a participle of the verb *Tnj* "distinguish" (Allen), but sooner the plural suffix *.Tn* "your", referring to both Horus and the deceased, for *rn* "name, identity" cannot be indefinite in the PT, usually it has some suffix-pronoun. Cf. also Neferkare's copy, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. VI, col. 709+13: *rn.Tn pw n Hnkt* "this is your identity of the gift".

6)
Nt 746-747: *rn.k pw...n Hrw dAtj n Hw sn n abS sn n skj sn Hw.k sn abS.k sn sk.k sn*
Allen "this your identity of Horus of the Duat...of the one who strikes them, of the one who spews them out, of the one who wipes them out, and you will strike them, spew them out, and wipe them out"
Shmakov "this your identity of Horus of the Duat...of the one who strikes them, of the one who swallows them, of the one who destroys them, and you will strike them, swallow them, and destroy them"

For the meaning of the verb *abS*, see **W 222**, 1. This passage is about stars that disappear behind the horizon (the place where the Duat is) once a year, an occasion that is depicted here as them being destroyed by Horus of the Duat (see also **P 313a**, 2). The same note (including the meaning of the verb *abS*) is valid for PT 700, §2186b.

7)

Nt 747-748: *Hms.k Hr xnd.k bjA bjAw n.f m(w)tw*

Allen "sit on your metal throne from which the dead are far away"

Shmakov "sit on your copper throne at which the dead marvel"

bjA n is not *bjA r* "be away from"/"be away to", it is probably "marvel at", cf. Urk.IV:612:6: *b(jA)y.j n.k* "I marvel at you". Moreover, James Allen himself recognizes this reading in PT 673, §1992b-c: *j.Hms.tj...Hr xndw pw n bjA bjAw n.f nTrw*, which he translates as "Sit on the chair of metal at which the gods marvel".

8)

Nt 751: *m SsAt jr(j)t Hr.Tn sDrw*

Allen "Behold the she-centipede that is on your face, sleepers!"

Shmakov "Behold the ointment that is on your face, lying ones!"

In Neith's pyramid the word is *SsAt* "ointment", not *spAt* "she-centipede" that occurs in Pepi's I pyramid.

9)

Nt 752: *wn n.k aAwj pt j.zn n.k aAwj qbHw pr.k m.sn m wpjw*

Allen "The sky's door has been opened to you, the Cool Waters' door has been pulled open to you, that you may emerge from it as Parter"

Shmakov "The sky's door has been opened to you, the Cool Waters' door has been pulled open to you, that you may emerge in it as Parter"

The pronoun *.sn* in *jm.sn* probably refers to *qbHw* "Cool Waters", which as any water must be plural in Egyptian. For *prj m* as "emerge in", see **P 528**.

10)

Nt 761: *hA nt pw j.rx.k(j) jr nw nj xm jz jmj Dr Hr Tnj rn*

Allen "Ho, Neith! I know this; I have not ignored the tomb which is the limit of the vision of him whose identity is distinguished"

Shmakov "Ho, Neith! I know about this: the tomb which is the limit of the vision of him whose identity is distinguished cannot be desecrated"

The verb *xm* "not to know, loose knowledge of" usually has the {stretched arms as a gesture of negation}-D35 sign after the *m*-{owl} sign or between *x* and *m*, but as neither is the case in this passage, the verb used here is actually *xmj* "desecrate" (see **W 169**, 5).

Nt 242 (PT 666)

Nt 763: *sw sw mr sw*

Allen "It is dangerous, it is painful"

Shmakov "He (i. e. that ram) is dangerous, he is painful"

The dependent pronoun *sw* refers to *bA pf* "That Ram", not to the noun *pr* "house".

2)

Nt 769-770: *Hms r.k Hr gs.k wnmj...wab wp sA.k jr jnb a.k Hr xAt.k*

Allen "sit on your right side..., clean, with your back to the wall and your arm on your offering stand"

Shmakov "sit (pushed) from off your right side...Become clean, part your back from the wall, (put)

your arm on your offering stand"

There is a *wp* sign at the very bottom of the col. 769 after *wab* plus {horn pouring water} determinative (see also Faulkner, *Suppl.*, §1938d). Pepi Meryre's version (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 71) gives: *Hms r.k Hr gs.k jmnt(j) Hms.k Hr swt ra wab.tj sA.k jr jnb a.k Hr xAt.k* "sit (pushed) from off your right side. You shall sit on the Sun's seat, clean, your back from the wall, your arm on your offering stand!", i. e. we have two non-verbal imperatives (see **P 318**, 2): *sA.k jr jnb* "your back from the wall!" and *a.k Hr xAt.k* "your arm on your offering stand!". For the reading "sit (pushed) from off your right side", see **T 228**, 6.

3)

Nt 770: *xr Hr w Hr jb wsxt*

Allen "with Horus in the midst of the broadhall"

Shmakov "from Horus from the midst of the broadhall"

4)

Nt 771: *xnp.k Sbtjw Hr nmt*

Allen "snatch ribs from Horus's slaughterhouse"

There is no *Hrw* "Horus" in the original: "snatch bundles (of ribs) from the butcher's block". For *Sbtjw*, see **P 32**, 4.

5)

Nt 774: *jr n(j) stj(j) xr nswt*

Allen "as I have made my place with the king"

Shmakov "my replacement (i.e. my duty) has been done for me by the (current) king"

For the preposition *xr* meaning "by", see **T 142**. Neferkare's copy has in §1942b: *jr n pjjj nfr-ka-ra stj.f xr nswt* "Pepi Neferkare's replacement has been done for him by the king" ("as Pepi Neferkare has made his replacement with the king" after Allen (*P. T.*, N 339, p. 358)).

Nt 243 (PT 667A)

Nt 484, 775: *nfr.w(j) n mAw...aHa Asjr(t) m r nTrw.k nt pw*

Allen ""How beautiful to the sight...is Osiris's stance" is in the mouth of your tomb's gods, Neith"

Shmakov "How beautiful to the sight...is Osiris's standing in your (offering) chapel "Mouth of the Gods," Neith"

The fact that Osiris is standing (i. e. is not lying on his side) is probably emphasized, rather than Osiris's pose in a generic sense. For the chapel "Mouth of the Gods", see PT 511, §1156a: *Szp.f abA xrp.f r nTrw* "He will receive an offering slab, he will govern (the offering chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"", PT 534, §1275a-b: *jw jwt pjjj Hna kA.f wn r nTrw.f* "Should Pepi come with his ka, open his (chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"", §1276a-b: *jw jwt pjjj Hna kA.f wn n.k awj.k n.f wn r nTrw.f* "Should Pepi come with his ka, extend (lit. open) your arms to him, open his (chapel) "Mouth of the Gods"". Compare it with the names of the buildings on the Palermo Stone which have the model *Y nTrw* "Y of the gods": *smr nTrw* "Companion of the gods" (Wilkinson, *Annals*, p. 98-9, 246), *q(A)w (?) nTrw* "Hills (?) of the gods" (ibid, 114), *swt nTrw* "Places of the gods" (ibid, 111-12, 114-15), *qbH nTrw* "Coolness of the gods" (ibid, 139).

2)

Nt 778: *n Hr w zxn.f jt(j).f Asjr(t)*

Allen "for Horus when he embraces his father Osiris"
Shmakov "for Horus who seeks his father Osiris"

For the meaning of the verb *zxn*, see **W 41**.

3)

Nt 782: *Swwt.k tp rmnwj*

Allen "your plumage on your upper arms"

James Allen is absolutely right here, the sign in question is {sceptre} with phonetic value *rmn* "shoulder, upper arm", and is used in an Old Kingdom title that was unintelligible till now: *rmnwtj jnpw* "Anubis' companion" (Jones, *Titles*, # 2501; also occurs in CT IV, 352a). Moreover, the expression occurs in PT 582, §1560c: *Swwt tp(jw)t r(m)nwj.f* "the plumage that is on his upper arms". But in Pepi Meryre's version of the passage (burial chamber, south wall, col. 76) the signs are two *qaH*-signs and represent {cup with smoke and stylized fire} (sometimes looks like M66) – it is written out phonetically in Nt 491. Thus Pepi's and Neith's (Nt 491) versions have *Swwt.k tp qaHwj.k* "your plumage on your elbows". The sign {cup with smoke and stylized fire} is used in the verb *qaH* in §§470c, 914a, 1432b. Pepi's version of the sign in §914a and burial chamber, south wall, col. 76 undoubtedly represents {cup with smoke} (cf. its determinative in Urk.I:124:14, 126:1; CT V, 103c (Sq2Sq) which is {smoke}-Q7b).

Nt 244 (PT 667B)

Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 80, Jéquier, *Pepi II*, pl. 10, col. 743: *xA.k m xt nb(t) bn(j)t Htm Tw m nTr*

Allen "your thousand of everything sweet that provides you as a god"

Shmakov "your thousand of everything sweet. Provide yourself as a god"

This passage has been omitted in Neith's pyramid, the reading is from the copies of Pepi I and Neferkare. *Htm Tw* is imperative "provide yourself!", not participle: the spelling *H*-{*Htm*-goose}-*t* which looks like having a *t* ending that agrees with the preceding feminine *xt*, actually has the middle radical *t* spelled at the end, although correctly it must be placed right after the initial *H*, cf. the same spelling in §§29a,b, 40b, 188b, 189b N, 190b N, 191b, 843b MN, 901a N, 2094b, 2097a, 2101a.

Nt 250 (PT 665A)

Nt 660: *abA.k m a.k...Tnw.k xAww jT.k a.k jr j.xm(w) sk*

Allen "Your baton is in your hand... You shall number those of the night and use your arm to (direct) Imperishable Stars"

Shmakov "Your baton is in your hand... You shall subordinate those of the night and use your arm against Imperishable Stars"

We probably have two aggressive actions in the passage, not friendly ones, cf.:

PT §676b: *j.TT tjt a.fjr.k mwt.k* "When Teti uses his arm against you, you will die"

CT I, 290h-291f: *xr n.k xAtjw Hr Hr.sn ksy n.k j.xmw sk jA N pn aHa.k r.k r.sn mks.k Hr r(m)n.k Hwj.k a.k r.sn xr.sn n.k m S(j) wr*

"*xAtjw* have fallen for you on their face(s) (in homage), Imperishable Stars have bowed down for you, oh N, (anyways) you should stand up against them (with) your sceptre on your arm and use (lit. strike) your arm against them, that they fall for you into the Great Lake".

As can be seen, the deceased is asked to be aggressive, though none of the beings is aggressive to him,

instead all beings pay homage to him. The Imperishable Stars, who are always friendly, suffer from the deceased's aggression as well as the *xAtjw* who are sometimes supposed to be dangerous for him.

PT 219, §179c: *Tnw awtt.fjn nTrw*

"his limbs have been subordinated (?) by the gods"

The verb *Tnw* "count" probably does not have its literal meaning in the passage, for the passage is not about finding out the number of the deceased's limbs (six, seven, etc.), but about subordinating, making them obey, i. e. be functional; cf. the same meaning of the verb *jp* "subordinate", which has the meaning "count" as well, in **N 411**.

Besides, the act of numbering may indicate that somebody is or will be the property of the person who performs that act, hence it is a good thing if one can avoid getting counted:

CT II, 151e: *nHm m-a jrww n stX m-a Tnwt nt Ast wrt Hr rmnwj Asjr(t) nb jmnt*

"(my whole my family and my relatives) saved from the stock-taking of Seth, from the great count of Isis, next to (lit. on the arms of) Osiris, Lord of the West".

CT II, 203b-204b: *jw nHm.n st N pn m-a jrww n Ast m-a Tnw nwt m-a jrww aA n rwtj*

"N has saved them from the stock-taking of Isis, from the count of Nut, from the big stock-taking of Lion and Lioness"

The terms *jrww* and *Tnwt* used here are usually employed for cattle stock-taking, see **P 465**, 3.

2)

Nt 661-663: *hA nt pw ja.w(j) qdd Hr.w(j) bAn...j.rs Tz Tw jr.k nt pw*

Allen "Ho, Neith! How elevated is the sleeper, how far off the one abed!"

Shmakov "Ho, this Neith! How close (lit. how ascended) is (the state of) sleep, how far away is (the state of) activity!...(But) be awake, raise yourself, this Neith!"

qdd "sleep" and *bAn* "erection" are probably nouns, not nominalized participles: the passage is about the present state of the deceased ("sleep", i. e. death) and the wished for state ("activity"). For the meaning of *bAn*, see **W 169**.

3)

Nt 665: *stSjs anx tAx-bjt(j)*

Allen "as Seth in Takhbit"

Shmakov "being Seth, the living one of Takhbit"

4)

Nt 667-668: *wD.k mdw n Axw j.mz.n(j) n.k tpw.sn jn.n(j) n.k sjnw.sn anx.k m HAtjw.sn*

Allen "You shall govern the akhs, for their heads have been brought to you and their running legs fetched for you, and you shall live on their hearts"

Shmakov "You shall give command(s) to the akhs, for I have brought their heads to you and fetched their heralds (lit. runners) to you, and you shall live on their (i.e. runners') hearts"

Pepi I's remnant of this passage (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 55) has *sDm.n.f. j.mz.n(j) n.k tpw.sn* "I have brought their heads to you", which means that the following clause also must have this verb form (*jn.n(j)*). We should read *sjnw* (§§1499, 1532a, 1539c, 2174a) as "runners", not as "running legs".

Nt 252 (PT—)Nt 698: *sDr nt m qA.k Hms nt m mHn.k*

Allen "Neith has spent the night in your bond. Neith will sit in your coils"

Shmakov "Neith will spend the night(s) in your (snake's) winding, Neith will dwell (lit. sit) in your (snake's) coil"

The word should probably be restored as *qA.k* "your (snake's) winding", not *qA<s>.k* "your bond" which is meaningless. The word *qAb* "coil, winding" is determined with the {coil of rope} sign in §2061c, the sign that also occurs after *qA* in the present passage. Moreover, see CT VI, 3451-m: *jnk nw n nxnw sDr jw(.w) m qAb mwt.f* "I am this child (lit. one growing up) who spends the night being helpless (lit. wrecked, stranded) in the (snake's) winding of his mother"; CT VII, 217j: *Hmsjw Hr qAb.sn* "who dwell (lit. sit) in (lit. on) their (snake's) coil(s)" (also CT IV, 180r).

2)

Nt 700: *hrw s.(w)AD*

Allen "on the day of the Making-Sound offering"

Shmakov "on the day of the (month of) the Making-to-Flourish festival"

s.(w)AD is the well known Sadj-festival, "Making-to-Flourish festival" (also *Abd n s.AD/Abd s.AD* "the month of Making-to-Flourish festival", Simpson, *Mersyankh III*, fig. 10; Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 217, p. 189; Hassan, *Giza III*, fig. 221, p. 249; Hassan, *Giza V*, fig. 141, 142, after p. 281; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part III, fig. 36, p. 48, fig. 46, p. 64, fig.—, p. 86, fig. 70, p. 89, fig. 79 (= pl. 38A), p. 98, fig. 192 (= pl. 83), p. 192, pl. 84, p. 194; Hassan, *Giza VII*, fig. 20, p. 26; Junker, *Giza II*, Abb. 7, p. 115; Junker, *Giza VI*, Abb. 8, p. 41, Abb. 97, p. 235; Hassan, *Giza IX*, pl. 8, p. 24; Junker, *Giza VII*, Abb. 46, p. 123, Abb. 47b, p. 127, Abb. 95, p. 231; Junker, *Giza IX*, Abb. 44, p. 103; Junker, *Giza XI*, fig. 83, p. 215; Mariette, *Mast.*, C3, p. 116, D23, p.249, D48, p.311; Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Abb. 4, Tf. 3; Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 49 fig. 36; BM 1272 (false-door fo Khenu, 4th dynasty); L.D.II:37 (= Hassan, *Giza IV*, fig. 114, p. 163); L.D.II:58b; Kees, *Re-Heiligtum*, p. 51 (*hrw n Abd sAD* "a day of the month of the Making-to-Flourish festival"); Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef* (*Abd mDdjwnt n sAD* "the month and half-month of the Making-to-Flourish festival"). The quoted words in the latter text form a single group that is introduced with *m* like the other elements of the text's list (*m wp rnpt m DHwt(j)t m tpj rnpt m wAg m HAb wr m rkH m Abd mDdjwnt n s.AD m H(A)b nb ra nb*).

s.(w)AD is a causative derived from the root *wAD* "become fresh, green", not from *wDA* "become sound". This is suggested by the word's spelling: *s.AD* spelled with *sA-Aa17* occurs in Urk.I:253:15, Block of Izi (I.1.b.322 (4050) = Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 29 (1:E), Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 48 fig. 35, Mariette, *Mast.*, C3, p. 116, E12, p. 413, F2, p. 433, Simpson, *Qar and Idu*, fig. 33, Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part III, fig. 9, p. 14, fig. 70, p. 89, pl. 84, p. 194; cf. it with the spelling of §565c: *s-{Aa17}-A-D*. Indirect evidence is provided by the facade lintel of the mastaba of Merefnebef (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*), where the festival is determined with {reed tied to a club}-M19 which occurs as a determinative for *wAD* "green" in §699a N: *wAD aAb.f* "green of his vegetation".

Nt 253 (PT 493)Nt 705: *wzSt n Hnn.f*

Allen "his penis has semen"

Shmakov "urine is for his penis"

The word *wzSt* "urine" is in Neith's copy, *mtwt* "semen" occurs in the copy of Pepi I.

Nt 278 (PT 691C)

Nt 831-832: *jn j.rSrS.f jm.k jn baba<f> jm.k jn baba stS jm.k*

Allen "Has he exulted over you? Has he slurped (blood) from you? Has Seth slurped (blood) from you?"

Shmakov "Has he triumphed over you? Has <he> exulted over you? Has Seth exulted over you?"

The verb *baba* is probably a transposed spelling (as it takes less space) of the collocation *abab m* "exult at, get excited at, boast of/to be proud of" (Wb.I:177:16-17; Sethy I, *Abydos* IV, pl. 65, w; Faulkner mistakenly treats it as two different verbs referring to Urk.IV:1546:16 (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 41: *abab* "become excited (?)"), but it is clear that this is one and the same verb). This case could be added to such strange transpositions as *wH – Hw* "announce" (§§214a, 218c WT, see **W 135**, 1), *dnD – Dnd* "be(come) mad" (§§319c, 631b N). In the current passage the verb is used in parallel to the verb *rSrS* (from the simplex *rSj* "rejoice"), both with *m* as governing preposition, exactly like other verbs/collocations of joy:

Haj m "get excited at" (in the N.K. sometimes *Haj n* "get excited at"),

s.xmx jb m "entertain with" (Mariette, *Mast.*, C22, p. 154, *s.xmx jb nb.f m Hs(t) nfrt* "the one who entertains his lord with beautiful clapping"; Urk.IV:109:9: *s.xmx jb m xt nbt* "entertainment with everything"),

HAbj m "jubilate at" (§1672b),

s.H(A)b m "cause to celebrate because of, gladden with" (Urk.IV:347:10: *s.Hbt Snbt.j m wsxt* "gladdening my breast with a necklace"; *ibid*:943:1: *s.Hb tAwj m jAxw.f* "who gladdens the Two Lands with his light"; Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 58, column 1, e: *Hwt nTr...s.Hb.T(j) m bw nfr* "a temple... gladden with good"),

nHnj m "welcome, get excited at" (CT I, 309a (B10C)),

xntS m "marvel at" (Urk.IV:114:17),

nDm jb m "become happy at" (Urk.IV:539:7),

nHrHr m "rejoice at",

Hkn m "exult over" (Urk.IV:14:15, 566:3),

Awj jb m "become joyful at (lit. heart becomes long through)" (§715c; Urk.IV:585:14, 612:2, 620:9),

nxn jb m "be(come) glad of (lit. heart lasts through)" (CT III, 158b),

zbT m "laught at" (Sh.S. 149)

THn m "giggle at" (see **W 206**, 5)

PT 535, §1286c: *baba.k m znf.sn* "you will exult at their blood"

CT I, 5e (T9C): *jrrw hy jrrw hnw jrrw baba*

"making a (joyful) shout (*hy*), making jubilation (*hnw*), making exultation (*baba*)"

Cf. the determinative of the word *baba* on MC105b that is {excited man}-A30, exactly like for the word [*h*]y "(joyful) shout" in the same line. This passage comes from PT 260, §316c, that later became CT Spell 575 (CT VI 185h), the original *ababt* "washing, cleaning" from the root *wab* "clean" has been reinterpreted as *baba* "exultation". The {water} determinative on T9C is probably a secondary one from the verb *baba* "drink, slurp" or from *baba* "outpourings" on BH5C.

Urk.IV:114:9: *baba.k m xr(j)t jb.k* "you will exult (*baba*) at (*m*) the state of your heart", followed by

Urk.IV:114:17: *xntS.k m a(w)t.k nbt* "you will marvel (*xntS*) at (*m*) (the state) of all your limbs"

There is a transitive verb *baba* which does have the meaning "drink, slurp", but we should not confuse it with the intransitive verb used in the discussed passage:

(Naville I, BD 134:11; Naville II, BD 134:11, Aa)

wab.f m snf.tn baba.f dSrw.tn "He will become clean in your blood, he will slurp your gore"

This BD spell alters between *abab* "become purified" and *baba* "slurp" as is shown by another version of the spell (ASAE 63, pp. 51-78):

wab.f m snf.tn abab.f m dSrw.tn

"He will become clean in your blood, he will become purified (*abab*) in your gore"

2)

Nt 833-35: *Hnjj.n(j) Tw jm.k nznznw wDa(j) sAj.k Hrw <js> jmj pr.f...s.kA.n(j) jt(j) Azx.n(j) bdt*
Allen "they will service you, so that you will not pass away. Separate your needy one, Horus in his house...I have plowed barley and reaped emmer"

Shmakov "I have attended you, so that you will not perish. I have removed (*wDa*) your need <being> Horus in his house...I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer"

There is no need to emend the *Hnjj.n(j) Tw* of the original into *Hnj.<s>n Tw* as suggested by James Allen, for it is clear from "I have farmed barley, I have reaped emmer" that this passage and spell has the 1st person speech of the deceased's son. It is noteworthy that Harold Hays in his dissertation also transliterates the beginning of this passage *Hnii.n(=i) Tw* (Hays, *Structure*, p.384).

Supplemental notes

Notes on gods' names & epithets and on place names

1)

It may be less well known that among the epithets of Neith are *wpt wAwt* "Paths Discerner" (female counterpart of the epithet of a male god, *wp wAwt* "Paths Discerner", see below) and *mHt(j)t jnb* "The One North of the Wall (of her temple)" (similar to the epithet of Ptah, *rsw jnb.f* "The One South of the Wall (of his temple)"). If the Egyptians would not have written these epithets after Neith's name (and would only have written them separately), many would be tempted to think that we have here two different deities evidently distinct from Neith. But fortunately, the Egyptians combined name and epithets in some instances, so that if we ever find these epithets written separately, we will know that Neith is meant and not an unknown god.

Likewise written together is the combination *jnpw xnt(j) jmntjw* "Anubis, Foremost of the Westerners", occurring six times in the PT corpus (§§57d, 220c, 745a, 1833c, 2198b (= Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 22, col. 49), Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 52) and once *xnt(j) jmntjw* has a {Anubis-jackal} determinative (§592b MN, Nt 442). Moreover, the combination occurs in the mastaba of Iidjefa (*jj-DfA* "Provision has come", L.D.II:101, a): *Htp Dj nswt jnpw xnt(j) (j)mntjw* "A royal offering of Anubis, at the fore of the Westerners", the mastaba of Duahip(ui) (*dwA-Hjp(wj)* "The one who adores the Apis-bull", Mariette, *Mast.*, D59, p.336): *Htp Dj jnpw xnt(j) (j)mntjw* "An offering which gives Anubis, at the fore of the Westerners", and the mastaba of Akhetihotepi (Davies, *Ptahhetep I*, pl. 21): *jmAxw...xr jnpw xnt(j) jmntjw* "Honored regarding...Anubis at the fore of the Westerners". See also references in Jones, *Titles*, ## 66, 67, and cf. Dümichen, *Resultate*, pl. 14: *wnn jmAx.f xr jnpw xnt(j) jmntjw* "his honor will be regarding Anubis at the fore of the Westerners". Based on these instances it is suggested here that there was no separate deity hiding behind that epithet (a deity that originally would have been worshipped at Abydos in Dynasty I, and later transformed into an epithet of Osiris), as usually is presumed, but that Anubis always was Foremost of the Westerners, and that he is the deity on the famous Abydos cylinder seal. There is a rare Anubis' epithet that supports this suggestion: Neferseshemre refers to himself in his mastaba as *mAa Hr jb jnpw nb jmnt* "rightful in the opinion (lit. on the heart) of Anubis, lord of the West" (pl. 44), and the same epithet occurs in the mastaba of Mererurkai, pl. 204, B: *jmAxw xr jnpw nb jmnt* "Honored regarding Anubis, lord of the West" and in Jéquier, *Tomb. part.*, p. 106. Compare also PT 665B, Nt 730: *xftjw rDjw.n n.k jnpw xnt(j) zH nTr m wdt.f Tw nt pw xnt(j) jmntjw* "your opponents that Anubis at the fore of the god's booth gave you when he put you, Neith, at the fore of the Westerners" – only Anubis who himself is at the fore of the Westerners could put the queen at their fore.

Likewise, Sed (*sd*) and Path Discerner (*wpt wAwt*) are supposed to be one and the same god, *wpt wAwt* being an epithet and not the name of an independent god. In fact, this is a case in which the epithet (*wpt wAwt*) was used more widely than the name (cf. Brovarski E. J. (1984) "Sed", LÄ V: 779-80; *Hm-nTr sd*, *Hm-nTr*-priest of Sed – Jones, *Titles*, no. 2133, page 581).

The reason why Anubis had the epithet *xnt(j) jmntjw* should be clear: Anubis was the original god of the dead while Osiris received this epithet only when he got worshipped at the same level as Anubis. It is important to notice that Osiris got the original epithet of Anubis as equal divinity, rather than by forcing Anubis out and hence appropriating his epithet. Andrey Bolshakov writes in his book (quote translated into English by the present author): "Early monuments do not mention the name *Js.t-jr.t* at all, it occurs only in the texts of the pyramid of *Wnjs*. In tombs of Giza its mention occurs only on the boundary of dynasties V and VI (see Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 18), in Saqqare slightly earlier, possibly at

Jzzj, but, anyway, later than *N(j)-wsr-ra(w)* (cp. [Bolshakov, 1992]). Before that point in time, the domination of the primordial god of the dead *Jnp(w)* is absolute, but then *Js.t-jr.t* gradually gains importance at the expense of *Jnp(w)*, until at the end of the Old Kingdom *Js.t-jr.t* is mentioned approximately as often as *Jnp(w)*" (Bolshakov, *A man and his ka*, p. 104).

2)

The god "He of the Atfet district (12th U.E. nome)" (*Atftj*) (§§461d, 1358d) is probably the god Nemti (*nmtj*, "He of the (sky's) span (?)"), see the stela of the M.K. – Bruxelles E.2161: *Hr wDHw n nmtj nb Atft* "from the offering table of Nemti, lord of the Atfet-district". The name of Nemti is written with the sign G7b {falcon in a boat} on the stela. It is also notable that Henku, who was a nomarch of the Atfet-district, was "honored regarding Nemti" *jmAxw xr...nmtj* (Urk.I:76:10-11). The present author came to this conclusion independently from Dylwin Jones, who writes "*Nemty* (the god of U.E. 12)" (Jones, *Titles*, ## 1295, 1381), unfortunately without any reference on how this conclusion was arrived at.

3)

The name of the goddess *nxbt* that occurs in §§1229c, 1451a, b and Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 9, col. 8, and that is a participle, is evidently distinct from the nisbe-name *nxb(j)t* "Nekheb-resident", see Wb.II:308:14-15. The name of "Nekheb-resident" is spelled in the Old Kingdom exactly like in §696d (see also Jones, *Titles*, ## 1969, 1970, *Hm-nTr nxb(j)t*) – with the *nxb*-{rush}-M22 sign that always comes first, *b* complement and {village} sign after it, whereas *nxbt* is spelled with the phonetic *nxb*-{brazier with smoke rising}-Q7 sign or a {smoke}-Q7b sign (cf. Junker, *Giza III*, p. 129, Abb.14, the determinative of *rkH* "lighting (festival)"; Junker, *Giza V*, p. 97, Abb.26, second register, the determinative of the word *ax* "braizer"; Block of Izi (I.1.b.322 (4050) = Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 29 (1:E)): the determinative of *rkH* "lighting (festival)" and the word *ax* "braizer"; Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 4:3, ideogram (?) in *t (A)S(r)* "roasted bread", the determinative in *ASrt* "roasted meat), with *n-x-b* complements spelled before it. (Of course, the fire sign Q7 resembles the plant sign M22). Moreover, "Nekheb-resident" is determined in the Old Kingdom texts with {vulture on basket}-G14a sign, whereas *nxbt* in §1229c is just determined with {vulture} sign. Finally, "Nekheb-resident" does not occur with the epithet given to Nekhbet in §1451b: *Hr(j)t jb Hwt sr jmjt jwnw* "she who (is) in the midst of the Judge's Enclosure in Heliopolis". The meaning of the name *nxbt* is "Lighter, Illuminating one", cf. the name *nxbw* with *nxb*-{brazier with the smoke rising} sign (Urk.I:215), which also has the meaning "Lighter" (for this see **W 170**, 3).

4)

Allen "Firstborn's Thing (*jxt wtt*).

jxt/xt wtt is probably actually *jxt wtt(t)* "Firstborn Thing", with the third genitive *t* being left out to avoid three *t*'s in a row; cf. *wtt(tj)* "two firstborn goddesses" in §902b (cf. Allen, *M. E.*, 17.2, 2S, 3FS, omitted suffixes in *nxt.(tj)* and *m(w)t.(tj)*); also Urk.IV:362:4: *wtt(t).n ra* "she whom the Sun begot". Cf. also CT where the goddess is also designated as *wtt* "Firstborn one" (CT I, 186e) and the designation for another goddess as *jxt wrt* "Great thing" (§198b, c), which shows that *wtt(t)* of *jxt wtt(t)* describes *jxt* and is not a separate "firstborn one".

5)

The name of the god Andjety (*anDtj*) has the meaning "He of the Land of Dawn": *anD(j)t* is feminine nisbe of the noun *anD* "dawn", thus "locality of dawn", and *anDtj* is the masculine nisbe of this nisbe.

6)

Allen "god's two countrysides (*spAtj nTr*, §§1120b, 1394c, 1561d, 1770c).

The term "God's Two Districts" seems to be the designation for the sky or Nut, cf. PT 509, §1120a-b: *mdw pt sDA tA nmnm gbb nhmhm spAtj nTr* "The sky has spoken, the earth has trembled, Geb has quaked, the God's Two Districts have yelled" (the latter combination also occurs in §§1394c: *nhmhm spAtj nTr* and 1561d: *nhmhmw n.f.spAtj <nTr>*). The four lines of this passage clearly form two pairs of parallels: one about the trembling earth/quaking Geb, the other about the speaking sky/yelling *spAtj nTr*. Note that the action performed by the "God's Two Districts", namely "yelling", is often performed by the sky in the PT (see T 145). Moreover, cf. §1770c: *rDj n.f.spAtj nTr* "the God's Two Districts have been given to him" with §§479b: *rDj pt n wnjs* "the sky has been given to Unis", 961a: *rDj n.k pt* and 1010b: *Dj n.k pt* "the sky has been given to you". Neferkare's version of §1561d also makes sense: *hAw spAtj nTr n pjpy nfr-kA-ra* "the God's Two Districts have descended for Pepi Neferkare", i.e. the sky has lowered for Pepi that he may easily ascend it.

7)

The god whose name James Allen translates as "Thighs-Forward" probably has a name with another meaning. The spellings of §§285a, 1015a N, 1719c cast doubt on the correctness of Allen's interpretation, for these spellings are *xnt(j) mjnt.f*, and whereas the *j* is a mark of *mjnj* "moor", it does not occur in the word for "thigh", *mnt*. Admittedly, the name occurs in the PT with {thighs} determinative, but this probably is nothing but a graphical (or phonetical?) influence of the word *mnt* "thigh", and we probably should understand this determinative as a secondary one. Thus the name of the god probably has the meaning *xnt(j) mjnwt.f* "Foremost of His Mooring Posts".

8)

The epithet *nTr nfr* "Young God" or "Junior/Younger God" used for Kings is the opposite of the epithet *nTr aA* "Senior God" or "Elder God" that is employed for the Sun and Osiris (and other gods). A King is the Young Sun on the earth, son of the Senior Sun in the sky. Oleg Berlev was the first who showed this in his article "Dva Caria, Dva Solnca" ["Two Kings, Two Suns"], Stephen Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin, 2003. pp. 1–18; in Russian at <http://www.egyptology.ru/berlev/2-2.pdf>. See also Berlev, *Stelae*, p.37, note b, Berlev (together with Svetlana I. Hodjash), *Several Middle Kingdom Stelae of the Moscow Fine Arts Museum*, p. 11-12, note 47 (http://static.egyptology.ru/sharing/berlev/Berlev_Several%20Middle%20Kingdom%20Stelae.pdf). To the evidence produced by Berlev the present author can add the O.K. title *xrp apr nfr(w)* "manager of a crew of young recruit(s)", in which *nfr* has the {child}-A17 sign as the determinative (Jones, *Titles*, # 2575) and CT I, 12d: *nTr pn rnpw nfr jmj* "this young (and) the most (*jmj*) junior god" (Th.T.319 has *nTr pn nfr jmj* "this youngest god"). Moreover, in the mastaba of Merefnebef (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*) the owner has four names and he enumerates all of them in four horizontal lines of his facade lintel: *rn.f wr mr.f-nb.f* "his great name is Merefnebef (He loves his lord)", *rn.f nfr fff* "his junior name is Fefi", *rn.f nDs wnjs-anx(j)* "his younger (or little) name is Unisankhi ((the king) Unis is alive)", *rn.f aA mr.f-nb.f* "his elder name is Merefnebef (He loves his lord)". Here *rn nDs*⁵¹ "little (or junior) name" is opposed to *rn wr* "great name"; *rn nfr* "junior name" probably refers to how man was called since he was young (*nfr*), while *rn aA* "elder name" refers to how he was called when he has become adult (*aA*) and is normally solemn and includes a king's name. Hence we have two pairs of antonyms: *nDs / wr* and *nfr / aA*, where *nDs ~ nfr*, *wr ~ aA*⁵².

⁵¹ The sign is *nDs* (G37, the tail is rounded), not *wr* (G36, the tail is forked), *nDs* in Merefnebef's tomb is also clear on account of the lack of the *r* phonetic complement below it.

⁵² In his work Berlev refers to antonymous pairs *rn aA* and *rn nfr* (James, *Khentika*, p.12, 67. pl.28; Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamor*; p.2, 29. pl.36; Kanawati-Raziq, *Neferseshemre*, p.11. pl.58; Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl.26 (upper register); Mariette, *Mast.*, D43, p.297; Hassan, *Giza* II, fig.208, p.175; Hassan, *Giza* III, fig.107, p.122; Junker, *Giza* VIII, p.61, Abb.18, p. 69 and p. 79, Abb.34, Abb.51, Abb.89), *rn aA* and *rn nDs* (Hassan, *Giza* V, fig.141., p.281; Mariette, *Mast.*, D.11., p.201, E.8., p.399-400; Davies, *Ptahhetep* II, pl. 24 (upper register)) and comes to the conclusion *nfr ~ nDs*.

Cf. also nautical terms: *jmj-nfrt*, *nfrt* is probably a variant of *jmj-nDst*, *nDst* "stern" (*jmj-wrt* "starboard", *tA-wr* "larboard", *wADt* "prow").

9)

The name Tefnut (*tfnt/tnwt*) probably has the meaning "Sneezed one" (or "Sneezer"?) as it has the root *tn* "sneeze" (cf. the determinative of *tfnt* in CT VI, 126d (T2L)). The *w* that occurs in the spelling *tnwt* must be the ending of a perfective passive (Allen, *M. E.*, 23.5) (of a noun of agent? cf. P 479, Allen, *ibid*).

10)

The name Nefertum, *nfr-tm(.j)* (since the M.K. *nfr-tm(.w)*), has the meaning "The beautiful/young one is complete" (subject-stative construction). Compare it with Osiris's epithet *wnn nfr(.w)* "He who exists (in a state of being) young".

11)

Axt "Behind the Horizon, the Transhorizontal (realm/area)"

Axt is literally "effective place" – it was an area behind the visible line of the horizon from which the Sun rose (see Allen, *M. E.*, Essay 2, p. 21; Allen "The Egyptian Concept of the World" (in *Mysterious Lands*, edited by David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke), p. 27: "The Akhet, often loosely translated "horizon", was a liminal zone between the Duat and the visible horizon. It represents the Egyptian explanation for the fact that light remains for some time after the sun has set and appears before the sun has risen"). In the Old Kingdom there is a notion of only one *Axt* in the east of the sky, in the Middle Kingdom occurs a notion of a western (*jmnt(j)t*, Berlin 24031, BM 159, Louvre C 3) and thus an eastern "Behind the Horizon". Foreigners from Wadi Hammamat (i. e. from the south-east of Egypt) were called *Axtjw* "those of the Behind the Horizon" (Urk.I:128:16, 130:1; Couyat-Montet, *Hammamat*, p. 98), i. e. dwellers of a distant region (= "behind the horizon", i. e. invisible for human), while Wadi Hammamat itself was called *tA Axtjw* "the land of those of the Behind the Horizon" (*ibid*). The present author is thankful to Marina Sokolova who invented the term "Behind the Horizon" ("Zagorizont'e (Загоризонтъе)" in Russian).

12)

Allen, Glossary (p. 426) "Bakhu (*bAXw*). Mounting region in which the sun sets"

In the New Kingdom Bakhu is doubtless the eastern horizon from which the sun rises (Wb.I:422:9). Probably we have the same concept of Bakhu in PT.

13)

Allen, Glossary (p. 429): "Dual Crown (*sxmtj*). The Red Crown and White Crown united"

James Allen doesn't give a literal reading of *sxmtj*, which is "Dual (female) Power-bearers".

14)

Allen, The Pyramid Texts of Unis (p. 16): "the so-called "Cannibal Hymn" (Spell 180), through which the spirit absorbed the essence and power of all the forces of the universe"

Allen's explanation of the meaning of the "Cannibal Hymn" is accurate. There is a work by Olga Zubova which shares almost the same idea (the original is in Russian): "Utterance 273/274 of The Pyramid Texts (the so-called "Cannibal Hymn"): An attempt of Exegesis", published in *Trudi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaga XLV. Peterburgskie Egyptologicheskie Chteniya 2007-2008*, St

Petersburg, 2009, p. 95-102 [Transactions of the State Hermitage XLV. St. Petersburg Egyptology readings 2007-2008]. The author concludes in this work: "So, the world of the created beings comes back into the Creator himself. We can observe a similar notion in the Chapter XI of Bhagavad Gita (XI, 20-30), in the well known apparition of Arjuna". In chapter eleven Krishna is beseeched by Arjuna to reveal his universal form showing all of existence. Thus this chapter is entitled: The Vision of the Universal Form:

[20] "Verily the space between the heavens and the earth and all directions are pervaded by You alone; O greatest of all, by seeing this wonderful and terrible form of Yours, the three worlds tremble with fear

[21] Verily all these groups of demigods are entering into You, some of them out of fear are offering prayers with folded hands saying all glory...

[23] O mighty armed one, seeing your magnificent form of manifold faces and eyes, manifold arms, legs and feet, manifold stomachs and manifold terrifying teeth...

[27]...are rushing forward into You entering into Your terrifying mouths with their dreadful teeth; some can be seen with smashed heads sticking between the teeth

[29] As moths with great speed enter into a blazing fire to perish; similarly all these armies with great speed are entering into Your mouths only to perish

[30] O Vishnu, pervader of the universe, You are lapping up and devouring all these people from all directions; with your fiery mouths covered by Your radiant effulgence fearsome rays all the universes are scorched".

15)

Allen, Glossary (p. 429-430): "Ennead (*psDt*). Originally, the nine gods incorporating the physical creation of the world: Atum; Shu and Tefnut; Geb and Nut; Osiris and Isis, Seth and Nephthys, known as the Big Ennead (*psDt aAt*); also a term for any number of gods conceived as a group, and for all the gods as a whole. The Big Ennead also represented the gods of Lower Egypt, in contrast to the Elder Ennead (*psDt wrt*), also known as the Little Ennead (*psDt nDst*), which consisted of the gods of Upper Egypt. Together, these two Ennead were known as the Dual Ennead (*psDtj*)."

The Elder Ennead (*psDt aAt*) was first of all considered as Heliopolis's Ennead (cf. §§14c, 770d, 845b, 895b, 1655a, 1660a; CT V, 208b; Meir II, pl. 6; Budge, BD151:11 (first version), BD151:8-9 (second version)) or as Atum's Ennead (cf. CT II, 18f: *psDt aAt zAt jtm*, 22b: *psDt aAt tm*, 52i: *psDt aAt n(t) tm*) rather than as the Ennead that represented the gods of Lower Egypt. The Great Ennead (*psDt wrt*) was also located in Heliopolis, §1689c: *jn psDtj wrt aAt xnt(j)t(j) bAw jwnw* "say the Great and Elder Enneads that are at the fore of the bas of Heliopolis", and probably was headed by Geb.

16)

Allen, Glossary (p. 426): "Apis (*Hpw*). Sacred bull, tended and worshipped at Memphis."

The name of this sacred bull must be transliterated *Hpwj*, cf. its spelling with the two *Hp*-{goose} signs in §279d W and the full spelling *Hpwj* in CT III, 140e and CT VI, 231r (B1L).

17)

Allen, Glossary (p. 427): "Bowland (*tA-stj*)."

This toponym must be transliterated *tA-ztj* (§1867a).

Phonetic notes and notes on signs

1)

The sign Aa1 has two main colors in the Old Kingdom inscriptions: green (most often) and yellow – exactly the two possible colors of {reed panicle}-M17, {reed basket}-V30 and {reed mat}-Q3. For example, in the mastaba of Merib (IV dynasty, L.D.II.19, 21) both Aa1 and V30 are yellow with red traces, and for a yellow {reed panicle}-M17 (the color of dry reed), see Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*. Moreover, {reed basket}-V30 has the same horizontal traces which we can see in Aa1. Color and pattern, together with a sometimes visible wattled ornament (cf. Abu-Bakr, Giza, page 34, fig. 28), all speak in favor of the idea that Aa1 would be a {reed basket lid}, as was suggested in Hannig's dictionary (Hannig, *Wb*, p.1101) and in Borghouts' Ancient Egyptian grammar (vol. II, p. 62, note 296).

2)

The sign V97 is used in the Old Kingdom as a determinative for "First (day) of the year and New Year festivals" (*tpj rnpt wp rnpt*), "Thoth festival" (*DHwtjt*), "Supplying festival" (*wAg*, §§820a, 1880b, 2185b), "Flourishing festival" (*s.(w)AD*), "Great festival" (*HAb wr*), *rkH* "Burning festival" (Mariette, *Mast.*, C3, p.116), "gift" (*Hnkt*, §101c, Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 64:67, 72:71, 105:104), "god's offering" (*Htp nTr*, §115c M), "(first day of) monthly festival" (*(tp) Abd*, Mariette, *Mast.*, C3, p. 116, D40, p. 284), "(first day of) half-monthly festival" (*(tp) mDdjwnt*, *ibid*), "everything sweet" (*xt nb(t) bn(j)t*, Hassan, *Giza VI*, Part II, pl. 32:29), and "every fresh provisions" (*rnpt nb(t)*, *ibid*). This sign is an image of a {wickerwork box} or {hamper}. It is this box that is carried full of gifts by servants on the relief L.D.II:25 (= Junker, *Giza II*, p. 181, Abb.27), it is carried by one servant on the left thickness of the mastaba of Sekhemkai (L.D.II:89), it is used as a container (as it is written in the square for containers) for *xt nb(t) bnjt rnpt nb(t) Hknw* "every sweet thing, every (kind of) vegetable, gifts: one box" in the offering-list on the image L.D.II:70, it is carried full of gifts by women-servants in the mastaba of Niankhnum and Khnumhotepi (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 66, 67; the women are labeled as follows: Tf. 66: the woman with the box full of rolls *Hbnnwt n Xnm-Htp(.j)* "rolls for Hnumhetepi"; Tf. 67: the woman with the box full of bread *pDw n Xnm-Htp(.j)* "bread halves for Hnumhetepi", the woman with the box full of birds *Apd nb n Xnm-Htp(.j)* "all (kinds of) bird for Khnumhetepi"), it is carried by a woman in the mastaba of Raweri (Hassan, *Giza I*, pl. 6B) and the tomb chapel of Raemkai (MMA 08.201.1b), by men and women in the mastaba of Neferi (Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 52 fig. 38), and a kneeling priest is shown placing his hand palms down on the box-V97 in the mastaba of Sankhuiptah (pl. 67(or 71)) and others, (Duell, *Mereruikai* (pl. 61c (partly destroyed), 67); Kanawati-Raziq, *Watetkhetor*, (chamber B5, north and south reliefs of the west wall); Meritety (pl. 19, register 4, pl.49-50); Kaiemankh (hands of the priest are in the box, Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 23, Abb.7); Duauvashi (hands of the priest are in the box, Hassan, *Giza IX*, fig. 23, p. 54)). To judge by its appearances the sign is a variant of the signs Aa17 and Aa18, which are explained in Gardiner's grammar as "back of something" and in Allen's grammar closer to the truth as "lid". The closest correspondence of the sign is to the sign Aa18, with as only difference a {handle} (?) being attached to the lid of the box in the sign Aa18 (a handle that also appears in {harpoon} sign T21). Gustave Jéquier was probably the first who reached the same conclusion about what the sign represents (Jéquier, *Note*). Hermann Junker also writes about the sign's representation: Junker, *Giza IV*, p. 24 – "V97-Kasten". Finally Edward Brovarski mentions it in Brovarski, *Boxes*, p. 32, notes 9 and 10. On the facade lintel of the mastaba of Merefnebef (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*) the sign determines "Thoth festival" (*DHwtjt*) and "Supplying festival" (*wAg*) and is carved in its variant form – Q6A {box}. In the mastaba of Nisedjerkai (*n-sDr-ka(.j)*) the sign has three pots on the lid (which in Egyptian graphic conventions means that the pots are inside of the chest).

3)

The sign {knotted cloth}-S23 actually has the phonetic value of *dm*, not *dmD* as grammars teach us (Allen, *M. E.*, Sign List, p. 441; Gardiner, *E.G.*, Sign List, p. 506). This is shown by the fact that the sign is used in the verb *dm* "penetrate, pierce" (§§392a, 603a T, 962a), "sharpen" (§962a), "pronounce (name)" (Urk.IV:257:16, 260:15-16) and for the writing of the name Dem (*dm*, spelled *d-S23-m*, *d-m-S23*, one of the sons of Ti, Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 17-19). It is also indicated by the regular spelling of the final *D* (later *d*) hieroglyph in the verb *dmD* during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, to make a distinction between the verbs *dm* and *dmD* "unite" (exceptional cases of *dmD* being written without *D* are §§279a W, 577b M, 835b P, 1023b P, 1475a P). The sign *dm* enclosed in *d* and *m*, i. e. *d-S23-m*, occurs in §§123b, 279a T, 318a, 577b N, 617b T, 623b TPM, 635a TPM, 645a TPM, 577b N, 835b PM, 961c P, 1801b; S23 after *dm* and before *D*, i. e. *dm-S23-D*, occurs in §§623b N, 961c M.

4)

In the Old Kingdom the verb *mnx* "to chisel, carve" sometimes is determined with the {tubular drill} U27 sign (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 119-120; the tomb of Iymery, Weeks, *Cemetery G 6000*, p. 34 {2.28}, fig. 30, pl. 13). From this we may deduce that the sign U27 probably did not represent a {tubular drill} in the Old Kingdom, but rather a {chisel carving a chink}. For in the mentioned relief in the mastaba of Ti (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 119-120), the verb *mnx* is four times determined with a {chisel}-U23 sign, without a chink under it, and twice with the {chisel carving a chink} sign (looks like U27).

5)

The sign {rope}-V12 that is used in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms as a determinative for the word *dAb* "figs" (§§91d, 1511b; Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 5-6; Petrie, *Medum*, pl.20) is written in the Old Kingdom more precisely as {a rope with figs threaded on it} (see Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 3, in the village name *dAb Tjj* "Ti's figs"; Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 3-4, 11-12; Mariette, *Mast.*, D41, p. 286). Selim Hassan writes about it: "Dried figs, pierced by a central hole for threading on a string, were found by Petrie in the Tomb of King *Dn* at Abydos... Such figs, threaded on a string, are undoubtedly represented by the sign... which frequently determines the entry of figs in the offering list" (S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, Cairo, 1934-1935, Volume 6.2).

6)

The sign {throw-stick} T14 has a phonetic value *THn* and is not "Ideogram for *THnw* "Libya"" as James Allen (Allen, *M. E.*, Sign List, p. 443) labels it, for it is used in the word *THnnt* and *THn* "glisten" (§§561d, 699c MN) where the sign is enclosed in *THn* (*TH-T14-nnt*). When it is used with *nw*-{pot} to write *THnw* "Libya" the model is the same as with the word *rmnwjtj* "companion" where the {arm with shoulder}-*rmn* sign is written with half-complementary *nw* sign as well (*rmn-nw-tj* "companion", *THn-nw* "Libya"). Moreover, in Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.64, *HAt(j)t nt THnw* "The best of Libyan oil" is spelled without *nw* sign, i. e. just *TH-T14*-{three pellets}, which can be explained if the sign T14 has a phonetic value *THn* and the *nw* complement is thus unnecessary.

7)

The sign R9 is usually explained as a composition of the signs R8 and V33, i. e. {cloth wound on pole with one end loose} and {bag}, because of the word *sTj* "scent" in which V33 is the determinative. However, in the Old Kingdom, the sign R9 can undoubtedly represent a composition of the signs R8 and {incense pellet with stylized fire or smoke} as well, see Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl. 3; Junker, *Giza II*, p. 155, Abb. 21 (top reg.: *snTr*, *sD(t) snTr*; fifth reg from the top: *bd*); Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 1-2 (note that the color of the {incense pellet} on which the sign R8 rests is the same black as is found with the {four little pellets} on the {cup} sign which is the determinative of *snTr* "incense"), pl. 5-6 (*bd*), pl. 7-8 (*snTr*, *bd*), pl. 23-24 (*snTr*); Petrie, *Medum*, pl.16, 20; L.D.II:3, 5 (*snTr*); Abu-Bakr, *Giza*, 52 fig. 38, 61 fig. 40, and detailed image on pl.38, sign 35 (Murray, *Saq. Mas.*). In the latter source, the sign

R9 occurs in the title of Kaiemhzut *xnt(j) Hwt snTr* "who is at the fore of the Incense' Enclosure", and what was interpreted as a bag is clearly a pellet, and the three lines which were interpreted as the ends of a bag are rather stylized fire or smoke (moreover, it is very strange to image the ends of a bag with three lines). The same lines represent stylized fire or smoke from the censers full of incense pellets on Plates 21 (third register, № 2 from the left) and 23 (first register, № 6 from the right (not clear), fifth register, № 2) from the mastaba of User Netjer. Moreover, sign R9 sometimes is carved without such lines (§§26f W, 27a, b, c, e W, 28b, c, 29a; Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.1), i. e., the hieroglyph represents R8 + {natron pellet}. But it needs to be emphasized that we just have three different ways in which the sign R9 is represented, so the above observations on the sign do not reject the accepted interpretation. The same lines were drawn on the three "petals" of the sign Q7 {brazier with smoke rising} in the mastaba of Seneb (Junker, *Giza V*, p. 97, Abb.26, first register, determinative for the word *ax* "braizer"), which means that this sign on this wall actually represents {burning and smoking incense pellet} – the incense pellet is clearly drawn in the middle of the sign, it is undoubtedly not a {brazier} as the brazier is drawn in the second register (where also the word *ax* "braizer" occurs) in its archaic {rectangle} form (a variant of Q7F). As the brazier did have "petals" as is shown by §558a, it is almost impossible to say where Q7 is a {brazier with smoke rising} and where it is {burning and smoking incense pellet}, only when "petals" were drawn with lines one can tell the difference.

8)

The sign which is used as the determinative of the word *wdr* (~ *jdr* ~ *dr*) "herd" in §1467b (for *w* ~ *j*, cf. *wpwtj* ~ *jpwtj* "messenger" §1440c M) represents a {ox's heart with vessels}. The latter sign occurs as the determinative of the same word *jd(j)* "herd" (a case of *j* ~ *r*) in the mastaba of Nisutnefer (actually Nineferisut *n(j)-nfr(j)-(n)swt* "My fairness belongs to the king", Junker, *Giza III*, p. 181, Abb.27, Tf. VI). Cf. the same sign (only without blood vessels) as the determinative of the word *HAt* "heart" in the mastabas of Ti (Steindorff, *Ti*, Tf. 13, 127); Murray, *Saq. Mas.*, pl.7 (bottom, left), pl.11; Kanawati-Hassan, *Ankhamhor*, pl. 49 (middle register, *Dj HA(t) pn wn* "Give this heart, hurry up"); Kanawati, *Inumin*, pl.52 (middle and bottom registers, *r Sdt HA(t) pn* "to extract this heart", *Dj m(j) HAt(j) jf HA(t)* "give please the heart (and) fillet"); Kanawati-Raziq, *Nikauisesi*, pl. 60 (*Sd HAt pw* "Extract this heart!"); L.D.II:67. Hearts of this form are depicted as being placed on the carcasses of oxen and oryxes in the mastaba of Mereruikai (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 208 A, B; Mariette, *Mast.*, D39, p.277 *Sdt HA(t)*).

9)

The two signs which determine the word *mntj* "thighs" represent {crocodile's hindlegs}, as is shown by the form and the long paws (see for example §§262a, 804c N, 1087c P, 1273c), cf. crocodile's hindlegs in the mastaba of Mereruikai (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 10-11).

10)

In PT 422, §756c and PT 573, §1480a N occurs the verb *s.nzn* "pull open" – a causative from the prefixed root *n.zn/zn* "open". The authors of Wb. and James Allen do not recognize this, giving the verb form as *s. zn* (Wb.IV:274.5) and *s. nz* (Allen, *Inflection*, p. 591), but it is written *s.nz(n)* (not *s.nz* or (transposed) *s.zn*), with a {large block of stone} sign that is not the determinative (because the determinative for *zn* "open" is the {door-leaf} sign, cf. §796b), that looks very similar to N37, and that has a phonetic value *zn* (see §§739a-b (*z(n)w*), 984a P where it is enclosed in *z*-{block of stone}-*n*, also CT VI, 130f (M12C), Urk.IV:520:7). Because of the latter, the last *n* in *s.nz(n)* is not spelled; cf. the spelling of the beer-bread *p(j)zn* as *pz(n)*, as the sign {oval bread}-X4 has the phonetic value *zn*.

11)

In PT 440, §816b the word *jdmj/dmj* "linen" is written with a very rare sign, a variant of G142/143 – {falcon on standard which stands on a sandal} (G7 + horizontal S33). See the temple of king Sethy at

Abydos (I: pl. 20, 28; II: pl. 8, 12, 16, 19), where it is written *jdmj* + the sign, with {sandal} sign carved much clearer than in §816b in the spells entitled *r n Hbs m mnxt aAt* "spell of clothing in significant cloth" and *r n DbA mnxt HDt* "spell of dressing in white cloth".

12)

The sign {seat}-Q1 is used as a phonogram *s* in the verb *Hms(j)* "seat" (§§57c, 129b WN, 134b, 214b, 391c N, 473b N, 573b N, 873a N, 1680a N; Urk.IV:257:9) as the sign {vulva}-D280a has only phonetic value *Hm*, not as the verb's determinative (the det. of the verb is {upper part of kneeling man}, {lower part of kneeling man (i.e., knees)} (cf. §§800d, 805b) or {portable seat} (cf. §§1093d, 1154b, 873a P).

13)

Sometimes the Egyptian scribe just did not use signs that were seen as dangerous or impure. For example, PT do not use the {fish} sign, probably because of its impurity, i. e. its ability to rot and cause a bad smell (rather than being a danger). In such cases, the PT scribes used the {plant growing from a spring} sign (N22 + M2) as the determinative of the word *bwt* "abomination" (§§127c, d, 128a), instead of the more standard {fish}-K2 sign, as well as the *aD* {spool}-W25 sign in the title *aD-mr* "governor" (§804d), instead of the {mullet fish}-K3 sign that was employed in the O.K. mastabas.

14)

The word which we know as *jtn* "Sun Disc" from the M.K. originally was spelled *jTn* (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 8, col. 58). We thus have a development *T > t* in this word by the M.K., which means that the N.K. spelling *jTn* was a hypercorrect spelling. The toponym *mdnjt* "Medenit nome" was originally spelled *mDnjt*, for the sign {hoe} used in the spelling of this toponym (e.g., Urk.I:101:11, 105:13) has the phonetic value *Dnj* (the {hoe} sign comes from *Dnj* "to dam", cf. §278c T), as is shown by its occurrence in the spelling of the word *Dnjt* "seventh-day meal" (§716b T; CT III, 23b, c, 26a, 62d, 101c, 115d, k, 159a; also in Naville, *Deir el Bahari IV*, pl. 114 (*dnjt < Dnjt*)), so we may know that this toponym experienced a *D > d* transition.

15)

Note that the god Dedun has the sign {bee-eater} (*wADAD*, §1017a) as determinative (cf. §§803c, 994d, 1476b M, 1718a M).

16)

The toponym *nxb* "Nekheb" and the goddess name *nxbt* "Nekhbet" are sometimes spelled in the M.K. with the sign {water-lily}-M12 (*nxb*: Urk.VII:11:7, 20:11; Meir II, pl. 6; CT I, 281e (TIC, B10C), CT V, 202a, CT VI, 106g, 211d; *nxbt*: CT I, 48b, CT IV, 5a, CT V, 149b CT VII, 168g-p, 170l, 172a-f-o, 173g-m, 174l, 175b-e, 176a). This means that we must either admit that M12 has the phonetic value *nxb* (besides the usual value *xA*) or admit that *nxb*-sign M22 doesn't represent {rush} but actually is {water-lily} without above-water leaf and without a hillock under the stalk.

17)

Graphical transpositions of bird signs and other signs for optical reasons.

In the PT, bird signs are regularly written in second position, when in reality they occur at the start of a word or in third position:

Words with the sign {owl} in the second position:

smdt – msd(mt)/msd(m)t "black eyepaint" (§54d), *smd – msd* "paint eyes" (§283a W), *Hm – mH* "fill" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. 11, col.19), *Hmj – mHj* "flood, swim" (§388a W), *Hma – mHa* "flax", *Asm – Ams*

"sceptre" (§§274a, 1166a), *xnsm* – *xnms* beer name, probably "Friend" (§61b), *DAmt/DAmDt* – *mDA*t "chisel" (Junker, *Giza* IV, TAF. IX; mastaba of Izi, block in Copenhagen (= Berlev, *Stelae*, p. 30), *smktt* – *msktt* "evening bark" (§150a), *anDmanDt* – *manDt* "morning bark" (§335c, §336a, §661c), *smD(j)* – *msD(j)* "hate" (§16a W); *smk* – *skm* "black-haired (baboon)" (§1390d, Leclant, *Pepi* I, pl. 22, col. 48); *smt* – *(j)mst(j)* "Imseti" (§149b W, §1483b M), *Hmn* – *mHn* "game board" (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. 13), *s.mx* – *s.xm* "forget, cause to loose knowledge of" (§2118a); *Hmz* – *mzH* "crocodile" (Urk.I:23:12, :226:13; CT V, 265b, 266a,e (B1Bo)); *tm* – *m(w)t* "die" (§775c N); *jm* – *mj* "come" (Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 219, after the p. 190, bottom reg.); *smT* – *msTt* "quarry/transport (?) workers" (Jones, *Titles*, # 550); *smx* – *sxm* "to be in control" (in the name *sx(m)-ptH-m-anx(j)* "Ptah is in control of my life", Hassan, *Giza* II, fig. 32, 34); *nTr m* – *m nTr* "as a god" (§580b T); *bd m zm(j)n m* – *m bd m zm(j)n* "(cleanse) with natron, with soda solution" (§849c PM), *dmw* – *mdw(j)* "speak" (§289c T). A complementary *m* when spelled in *mj/mr* "like" is normally placed after the *mj/mr* sign (cf. §§732b, 742c M, 874b N, 881b, 888a, 901c). The word *mdwj* "speak" normally is spelled with *m* (if spelled) in the second position just after the {walking stick} sign (exceptions are rare: §§195b N, 480a M, 573b M, 866c N, 1009b M, 1475b M). When a word starts with *xm*, the sign *x* could be placed in the free space behind the {owl}'s head, i. e. after *m*: *mx* – *xm* "shrine" (Sethy I, *Abydos* III, pl. 49).

Words with the sign {quail chick} in the second position:

Hwa – *waH* "carob beans" (§99d), *Hwa* – *wHa* "cargo boat" (see **W 141**); *Hwa* – *wHa* "release" (§1363b), *Hwt* – *wH(A)t* "cauldron", *Tzw* – *wTz* "raise, support" (§260a), *DAw* – *wDA* "be sound" (§§123k N, 513b, 893b, 900a P), *wDw* – *wD* "command" (§§120b,c, 123g,h), *bwn* – *wbn* "rise" (§§207d W, 209c W, 210c, 283a T), *maHw* – *mawH* "oar" (§602a), *ttw* – *tw* "statue", *xwrt* – *wxrt* "dockyard" (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 149 (= 150), Jones, *Titles*, # 2771), *bwjn* – *wbjn* "coccyx" (§547b), *Hwd/Hwdw* – *wdHw* "offering ration" (MMA 08.201.1b (the name of the settlement),), *jw* – *wj* "me" (§1527a), *waHw* – *wAH* "wreath" (§1213d, e N), *t tw* – *tw* "emmer bread" (§60b), *wH* – *Hw* "proclaim" (§§214a, 218c WT), *wsrwr* – *wsr* (§129c W), *Ttw* – *Twt* "you are" (§§198d, 251c, 587c M, 619a M, 877b,c N, 882b P), *jtw* – *jwt(j)* "who is not" (§§483c, 877d), *jtw* – *jwt* "coming" (§624c MN); *SnDtw* – *SnDwt* "kilt" (§§369 W, 546b T); *rnntwt* – *rnnwt(j)t* "Nurturer" (§302b W); *twT* – *wtT* "beget" (§447b); *swx* – *wsx* "become wide" (§887c), *xAwxtj* – *wxAtj* "a pair of reed sandals" (§219c); *jnw* – *jnw* "brought" (L.D.II:67, 69); *xAw* – *wxA* "clear away, shake off" (§1837c); *dwAw* – *dwA* "morning" (in *nTr dwA* "morning god", *w* is a complement of *wA*, thus it is not *dwAw*, as is also shown by the spellings without complementary *w*, §§132b T, 357a, 805a PM, 820a, 871b M, 929b PM, 935c PM, 1001b P, 1207a), *dwAwt* – *dwAt* "morning" (§1434c, see §1152c P for the correct place of *w* before *wA* in *dwAt*); *jmsw* – *jm(j)w.s* "(water) which is in it" (§88a W); *zwnwnT* – *zwnT* "Zunetj" (§1094c P); *rjw* – *rwj* "drum, dance" (§§1005a, 2014a).

The preposition *jmjwt(j)* "between" (Wb.I:76:3: *imj-wtj*) is sometimes spelled *jmjtw* (§§797b P, 1211a P), and all the grammars transliterate it the same way, but as is clear from PT spellings it is nothing but a graphical transposition of *jmjwt(j)* (with dual *tj*-ending as one is usually between two persons): *jmjwt* (§§472d, 797b M, 951b P, 1093d, 1188f PM, 1205a, 1211a, 1249a PM, 1253c, 1707b, 1750a) in full form *jmjwjtj* (§§683d, 960c N, 1087c MN, 1125a P, 1249a N, Nt 830).

Words with the sign {jabiru}-G29 in the second position:

sbAst(j)t (lit. *s-bA-bAs-tt*, §892b P) – *bAst(j)t* (N) "Bastet", *j.snbAsbA* – *j.snbAbA s(j)* "j.snbAbA it" (§98a W).

Words with the sign {guinea-fowl}-G21 in the second position:

DnH "wing" usually is spelled with *nH*-bird in the second position, though sometimes against the rule (§§387b M, 461c N, 976a); *HnHbw kAw* – *nHbw kAw* "Nehebkau" (§229b).

Words with the sign {vulture}-G14 in the second position:
tmwt – mwt "mother" (§§303c T, 394c W).

Words with the sign {crested ibis} (G25) in the second position:
xA – Ax "akh" (§§636c N, 648c N, 833b M); *tAx – Axt* "Behind the Horizon" (§368b).

Words with the sign {goose}-G38 in the second position:
bgbb – gbb "Geb" (§§7b, 8e, 9d, 80a, 101b N, 139b, 144b, 308b T, 655d M, 657d M, 783a P, 793b N, 1538b, 1540b).

Words with the sign {cormorant}-G35 in the second position:
qaq – aq "enter" (§308b T).

We could term the above phenomenon the "A bird sign better fits in the second position" rule. Graphical transpositions also happen for optical reasons, to create sign patterns that are pleasant to the eye:

Words with graphical transpositions because of a horizontal sign in the middle (i. e. to avoid an unbalanced pattern I-I), with the wish to spell a word into an imagined rectangle:
sHa – saH "dignity's regalia" (§§220a M, 224a, 297a W, 297b, 407d T, 411c T, 743c, 754a MN, 800b), *mwd – mdw(j)* "speak" (§§218d-f W, 277c W, 278c W, 816d P), *Hwa – waH(w)* "carob beans" (§99d), *bHat – baHt* "abundance" (Jones, *Titles*, ## 448, 449), *xtf – xft* "before, against", *Hba – Hab* "play (a game)" (Wb.III:62), *zj – jz* "tomb, mastaba" (Duell, *Mereruikai*, pl. 26 (= 27)); *TnHw – THnw* "Libya" (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*);

Words with graphical transpositions because of a vertical sign in the middle, with the wish to spell a word into an imagined rectangle:
aS(b)/aSb – abS "wine bowl" (§92d W, L.D.II:28, L.D.II:35, Hassan, *Giza II*, fig. 137.1), *sDrt – Dsrt* "restricted" (Kanawati-Raziq, *Hesi*, pl.52), *mrHrt – mrHt* "oil" (L.D.II:44c; Jones, *Titles*, ## 545-547), *TptH – TpHt* "cavern" (§§245a W, 682a, 852d M), *sptH – spHt* "bundle" (Myśliwiec, *Merefnebef*), *pxs – psx* (~ *psg*) "spit" (Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 3), *jtzf – t zjf* "zjf-bread" (Mariette, *Mast.*, D6, p. 186), *sAms – Ams* "Ams-scepter" (§731b, *s* is the complement that was put before the *Ams*-sign, though correctly it should be put after it).

Graphical transpositions because of the wish to have a V or ^ pattern in the text:
gn – ng(A) "longhorned bull" (makes ^, §§286e T, 386b W, 1302a; Davies, *Ptahhetep II*, pl.22; Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 17-18), *(n)sw rxt – rx (n)swt* "king's acquaintance" (a man's title spelling in III-IV dynasties that looks exactly like the one for women *(rxt (n)swt)*, makes V of *r-x-t*), *jpr – jrp* "wine" (makes ^, Manuelian, *Slab Stelae*, pl. 1), *xpr – xrp* "manage" (makes ^, Leclant, *Pepi I*, pl. II B, col. 98), *xtn – xnt* "go forward" (...), *rx – xr* "regarding, to" (Mariette, *Mast.*, D6, p. 186, in *zb jmAx xr nTr.f* "who reached honor regarding his god (i. e. king)").

Graphical transpositions in the case of the *xA* sign (M12):
m.s.xAxt – m.s.xAt "She who remembers" (§150c), *s.xAx – s.xA* "remember" (§150c), *xAwxtj – wxAtj* "a pair of reed sandals" (§§219c, 223b), *nxAxt – nxAt* "fall" (Nt 322), *xAsxt – xAst* "desert hills" (Moussa-Altenmüller, *Niankhnum*, Tf. 46, 47; CT VII, 176h).

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Hiring labour, villiges-*njwwt* (<http://www.egyptology.ru/perepelkin/Manor/112-164.pdf>)

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