

# The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth

by Joshua Aaron Roberson

Wilbour Studies



Brown University

Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies

LOCKWOOD PRESS

# THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BOOKS OF THE EARTH



## Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia

*Series Editors*

James P. Allen  
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VOLUME 1  
THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN BOOKS OF THE EARTH

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia is a series of the Department of Egyptology & Ancient Western Asian Studies at Brown University, Box 1899, Wilbour Hall, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

PUBLISHED ON BEHALF OF BROWN UNIVERSITY BY  
LOCKWOOD PRESS  
PO Box 133289  
Atlanta, GA 30333  
[www.lockwoodpress.com](http://www.lockwoodpress.com)

© 2012 by Brown University  
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Printed in the United States of America

21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 1 2 3 4 5

ISBN: 978-1-937-04000-0 (hardcover)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2012930584

♾ This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (Permanence of Paper).

Die Finsternis vertrieben  
durch verzehrende Glut.  
Durch Gefahr führt unser Weg  
und Bilder von Bestien.  
Überall reißt die Erde auf  
Selbst in die Unterwelt dringt durch Spalten Licht,  
versetzt die Herrscher in Angst und Schrecken.

—Einstürzende Neubauten, *Sonnenbarke*

So dark and deep and nebulous it was,  
Try as I might to force my sight below,  
I could not see the shape of anything.  
“Let us descend into the sightless world,”  
began the poet (his face was deathly pale):  
“I will go first, and you will follow me.”

—Dante, *Inferno*, Canto IV.13–15



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Dr. James P. Allen for his generous invitation to publish the present work as the inaugural volume of the Wilbour Egyptology monograph series, through Brown University and Lockwood Press. This study represents a thoroughly revised, updated, and expanded version of my doctoral dissertation, submitted originally in 2007 to the University of Pennsylvania. For the completion of that work, I again offer my most sincere thanks and appreciation to my dissertation advisor, Dr. David P. Silverman, and to readers Dr. Josef Wegner (Penn) and Dr. Robert K. Ritner (Chicago), for countless invaluable comments and suggestions as well as helpful questions and criticisms, which surely saved me from many errors and omissions, both major and minor.

My treatment of the previously unpublished Book of the Earth scenes and texts from the Valley of the Kings and el-Asasif necropolis, as well as research conducted at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was made possible through a fellowship from the American Research Center in Egypt, with funding from the United States Department of State (2008). For material from the Theban tomb of Pedamenopet (TT33), I also extend my thanks to Professor Claude Traunecker (Strasbourg, CNRS), whose clearance of that monument since 2006 made possible my own brief survey, and to Dr. Isabelle Régen (Montpellier III) for providing many additional photographs from TT33 for collation. The line drawings of Pedamenopet's Book of the Earth in the second Appendix to the present volume (pls. 23–26) would not have been possible without the assistance of Prof. Traunecker and Dr. Régen. In addition, I offer my appreciation and thanks to P.D. Dr. Alexandra von Lieven (Freie Universität Berlin), for kind permission to cite her forthcoming article "Canon vs. Chaos. An In-depth Look at (Real and Supposed) Mortuary texts from Ancient Egypt." I also wish to extend my sincere thanks to the following scholars and publishers who have granted permissions to reproduce a number of images in the present volume: Prof. Jan Assmann, Dr. Josef Wegner, Prof. Philippe Brissaud and the Mission Française des Fouilles de Tanis, the Theban Mapping Project, the Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Princeton University Press, The Griffith Institute, and the Egypt Exploration Society.

The present work has benefited greatly from discussions with several current and former graduate students in the department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Penn. Regrettably, I cannot name everyone in this short space, but special thanks must go first to Antonio J. Morales, to whose thorough reading of the original dissertation manuscript and extensive comments I owe a great many references, which would surely otherwise have gone unnoticed. In addition, I extend my thanks to Rachel Rodabaugh, Nicholas Picardo, and Dr. Jeremie Peterson for a number of useful suggestions and insights.

I cannot fail to mention the support and guidance of my parents, David Roberson and Terri Hammack. They shaped my earliest interests, encouraged my academic pursuits with singular enthusiasm, and kept the barque sailing when jagged rocks loomed. None of this could have happened without them. Finally, to my

wife Suzie Roberson I offer my most profound thanks—through late nights, early mornings, and countless discussions of what must surely have seemed the most excruciating of academic minutiae, she was always there. Thank you.

# ABBREVIATIONS

## GENERAL

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| BD      | Naville, Édouard, ed. <i>Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin: A. Asher, 1886). |
| BE      | Book of the Earth   |
| BM      | British Museum (accession number).  |
| CG      | Catalogue Générale du Musée du Caire, Cairo.  |
| CT      | De Buck, Adriaan, ed. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> (8 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, 1935–61).                          |
| EA      | British Museum reference number prefix  |
| KV      | Valley of the Kings (tomb number)   |
| LE      | Late Egyptian   |
| ME      | Middle Egyptian   |
| MMA     | Metropolitan Museum of Art (accession number)   |
| OE      | Old Egyptian  |
| PT      | Sethe, Kurt, ed. <i>Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den papierabdrücke und photographie des Berliner Museums</i> (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–1922).             |
| Sin.    | Sinuhe; Blackman, A. M., ed. <i>Middle-Egyptian Stories</i> (Bruxelles: Édition de la fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1972), 1–41.                         |
| TT      | Theban tomb (tomb number)   |
| Urk. IV | Sethe, Kurt. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–9).  |

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| AäG   | Edel, Elmar. <i>Altägyptische Grammatik</i> , 2 vols (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955–64)                                  |
| AEPT  | Faulkner, Raymond O. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969)   |
| AEPTS | Faulkner, Raymond. O. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts, Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).           |
| ARg   | <i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>  |
| AME   | Allen, James P. <i>Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs</i> (Cambridge: University Press, 2000) |

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>ASAE</i>            | <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>   |
| <i>BÉ</i>              | <i>Bibliothèque Égyptologique</i>   |
| <i>Belegstellen</i>    | Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptische Sprache: Die Belegstellen</i> , 5 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1940–55)       |
| <i>BIFAO</i>           | <i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale au Caire</i>   |
| <i>BiOr</i>            | <i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>   |
| <i>BSFE</i>            | <i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>   |
| <i>CAJ</i>             | <i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>   |
| <i>CCD</i>             | Crum, W. E. <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929–39)   |
| <i>CdÉ</i>             | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>   |
| <i>CDME</i>            | Faulkner, Raymond O. <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1996)  |
| <i>CRAIBL</i>          | Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres   |
| <i>DE</i>              | <i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>  |
| <i>Expedition</i>      | <i>Expedition: The Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania</i>  |
| <i>GEG<sup>3</sup></i> | Gardiner, Alan H. <i>Egyptian Grammar. Being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs</i> (3rd rev. ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957). |
| <i>GEL</i>             | Liddel, H. G. and R. Scott. <i>A Greek-English Lexikon</i> (9th rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996)  |
| <i>GM</i>              | <i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>  |
| <i>HGHwb</i>           | Hannig, Rainer. <i>Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr.)</i> (Mainz: von Zabern, 1995)   |
| <i>HÄWb</i>            | Hannig, Rainer. <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit</i> (Mainz: von Zabern, 2003)                                       |
| <i>HDECT</i>           | Van der Molen, Rami. <i>A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> (Leiden: Brill, 2000)  |
| <i>HMEG</i>            | Hoch, James. <i>Middle Egyptian Grammar</i> (Mississauga: Benben, 1997)   |
| <i>IOS</i>             | Israel Oriental Studies   |
| <i>JARCE</i>           | <i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>   |
| <i>JEOL</i>            | <i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"</i>  |
| <i>JESHO</i>           | <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>   |
| <i>JLEG</i>            | Junge, Friedrich. <i>Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction</i> (translated from the German by David Warburton; Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2001)   |
| <i>JNES</i>            | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>  |
| <i>JSSEA</i>           | <i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>   |
| <i>JWAG</i>            | <i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>   |
| <i>KRI</i>             | Kitchen, Kenneth A. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical.</i> 8 vols. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968–99)                                |
| <i>LÄ</i>              | Helck, Wolfgang, Eberhard Otto, and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–92).          |
| <i>LÄGG</i>            | Leitz, Christian, ed. <i>Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> , 7 vols. (Leuven: Peeters, 2002)                               |
| <i>LEG</i>             | Černý, Jaroslav and Sarah Israelit Groll. <i>A Late Egyptian Grammar</i> (4th ed.; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1993)                        |
| <i>LingAeg</i>         | <i>Lingua Aegyptia</i>  |
| <i>MÄS</i>             | Münchner Ägyptologische Studien   |
| <i>MDAIK</i>           | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>  |
| <i>MIO</i>             | <i>Mitteilungen des Institut für Orientforschung</i>  |

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| <i>MMA Bulletin</i> | <i>The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>  |
| <i>MMAF</i>         | <i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i>   |
| <i>MMJ</i>          | <i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>   |
| <i>NAWG</i>         | <i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i>  |
| <i>OBO</i>          | <i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>  |
| <i>OIC</i>          | <i>Oriental Institute Communications</i>   |
| <i>OLA</i>          | <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>   |
| <i>OLP</i>          | <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>  |
| <i>OMRO</i>         | <i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>  |
| <i>PM</i>           | <i>Porter, Bertha and Rosalind Moss. Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts</i> , 8 vols. (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1960–2000)   |
| <i>PMLA</i>         | <i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America</i>   |
| <i>RAIN</i>         | <i>Royal Anthropological Institute Newsletter</i>  |
| <i>RdE</i>          | <i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>   |
| <i>RdSO</i>         | <i>Rivisti degli Studi Orientali</i>   |
| <i>SAK</i>          | <i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>   |
| <i>SAOC</i>         | <i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>  |
| <i>SPAW</i>         | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>   |
| <i>TGABD</i>        | Allen, Thomas George. <i>The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms</i> (SAOC 37; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974) |
| <i>VA</i>           | <i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>  |
| <i>VO</i>           | <i>Vincino Oriente</i>   |
| <i>WAW</i>          | <i>Writings from the Ancient World</i>   |
| <i>Wb</i>           | Erman, Adolf and Hermann Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955)  |
| <i>WO</i>           | <i>Die Welt des Orients</i>  |
| <i>WZKM</i>         | <i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>   |
| <i>YES</i>          | <i>Yale Egyptological Studies</i>  |
| <i>ZÄS</i>          | <i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache and Altertumskunde</i>   |
| <i>ZDMG</i>         | <i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>   |

# INDICES

## INDEX OF EGYPTIAN WORDS (SELECT TERMS AND EPITHETS)



*ȝw*, “to stretch” (verb, plus derivatives). 286–87.

*ȝmy.t*, *Amyt*, a body part of Osiris. 172.

*ȝh*, “brilliance.” 220, 387.

*ȝh.t*, “horizon” (also see General Index, “Re-Hor-Akhti”). 18, 23, 56, 58, 123, 134, 138, 149, 152, 186, 198–99, 266, 314, 318, 320–21, 354–55, 365, 372, 375, 384, 440–41, 443–44, 446, 461.



*jȝ.t*, “(burial) Mound.” 99, 102–3, 110, 112, 121, 159, 171–72, 175, 177, 235–36, 239–43, 246–47, 285, 287, 331, 333–34, 349, 373, 379–80, 385, 389, 450.

*jȝw*, “to praise” (verb, plus derivatives). 141, 244, 248, 260, 387, 392, 404, 409.

*jȝw hr*, “Old of face.” 180–81.

*jȝb(t)*, “east” (also see General Index, “Direction, east”). 24, 33, 71, 134, 149, 152, 172, 186, 193, 207, 253–54, 294, 298, 375, 409, 414, 436, 440, 443–44.

*jȝr.t*, “uraeus.” 123, 318, 334, 448.

*jwf*, “flesh.” 136, 244, 356, 361, 405, 416.

*jwty*, “rotting, to rot.” 285, 380, 403, 452.

*jb*, “heart.” 179, 180, 270, 282, 317, 319, 324, 328, 404–5, 407.

*jby.t*, “She of the heart.” 216.

*jmn*, “to hide” (verb, plus derivatives; also see below, ‘.t’ *jmn.t*, and General Index, “Amaunet,” “Amun,” and “Amun-Re”). 6, 65, 74, 77–8, 87, 108, 118, 123, 125–

27, 154, 157–59, 170, 183–85, 191, 198, 200, 202, 227, 242–43, 289, 313–14, 318, 320–22, 324, 336, 339, 344–45, 349, 356, 360, 367, 372–73, 379, 392, 396, 402, 405, 411, 413, 420, 442, 450.

*jmn.tj*, “The Westerner.” 82, 170, 191, 358, 401.

*jmn(t).t*, “the West” (also see General Index, “Direction,

west”). 84, 177, 179, 206–7, 211, 240, 250, 254, 266, 281, 336–37, 339–40, 346, 349, 358, 361, 363, 370, 374, 375, 381, 396, 401–2, 405, 407, 416, 436, 438, 442, 446.

*jm(i)y*, “Formed one.” 160, 201, 203.

*jrw*, “(visible) form.” 171, 202–3, 328, 336, 339–40, 342, 356–58, 363, 367, 384, 389, 442–43.

*jtn*, “solar disc.” 6, 72, 87, 118, 120, 123, 129, 165–67, 198, 200, 248, 260, 271, 273, 310, 313, 320, 330, 333, 346, 355, 359, 361, 365, 368, 371, 382, 383, 385, 387–88, 394, 401, 416, 422, 427, 438, 444, 446.

*jtn(y).t*, “female disc.” 200, 313, 320.

*jdb*, “shore.” 114–15, 156, 207, 347, 356, 362, 374, 377, 402, 409–11, 414, 417–19, 422, 425, 436, 442.



*ȝwj*, “two arms” 70, 89, 109, 123, 138, 143–45, 148–49, 155, 165, 168, 170, 176, 183, 191, 204, 206, 208, 216–17, 260, 268, 281, 284, 310–11, 313, 320–21, 325, 333–34, 346, 348–50, 358, 371, 376, 381–84, 386–87, 389–92, 394, 399, 410, 419, 433, 440–41, 444, 449.

*ȝ.t jmn.t*, “Hidden Chamber.” 5, 18, 21, 118, 282, 284, 317, 319, 324, 327, 448.

*ȝȝ*, “to spew, expel” (verb, plus derivatives). 126, 127, 212, 216, 383, 394, 452.

*ȝpp*, see General Index, “Apep.”

*ȝby*, “Horned one.” 262.

*ȝbw.tj*, “He of the double horns.” 249, 251.

*ȝfd.t*, “chest, box.” 281, 283.

*ȝm*, “to swallow” (verb, plus derivatives). 172, 212, 279, 281, 318, 342.

*ȝmȝm*, “shrewmouse.” 177, 249.

*ȝȝ hr*, “Warlike of Face.” 201, 203, 204, 244, 363, 370, 431.

 *šš hr.w*, “Numerous of faces.” 221.  
*q pw*, “This one who enters.” 135.  
*q nfr*, “Perfect entrance.” 38, 135.

 *wʒwʒy*, “He of flame.” 142, 145.  
*wʒ hr*, “Distant of face.” 181.  
*wʒmny.t*, “She who roasts.” 215.  
*wʒsy*, “He who venerates.” 260.  
*wjʒ*, “barque.” 102, 115, 162, 355, 374, 402, 404, 407, 409, 413–14, 416, 420–21, 428, 436, 444, 446.  
*wp.ty*, “He of the horn.” 262.  
*wps.t*, “She who burns.” 142, 144.  
*wny*, “He who hastens.” 270.  
*wnw.t*, “hour.” 87, 120, 183–85, 187, 201, 203, 224, 271, 318, 354–56, 365, 367, 371, 396, 440, 442, 445–46, 448.  
*wnmy.t*, “She who devours.” 268–69.  
*wnny.t*, “She who shall exist.” 231–32.  
*wntj*, Wenti (demon). 209, 383, 394. Also see *p(ʒ)-n-Wntj*.  
*wrš*, “to awaken, spend the day” (plus derivatives). 263–65, 347, 348, 401, 438.  
*whʒy*, “He who escapes.” 160.  
*wsr.t Jtm*, “Neck of Atum.” 208.  
*wsr.t Rc*, “Neck of Re.” 228, 261.  
*wdby.t*, “She who burns.” 214.  
*wd'y.t*, “She who judges.” 139–42.

 *bʒ*, *ba*-soul (also see below, *bʒ.wj*, and *bʒy*). 28, 82, 104, 107, 109, 113–16, 121, 123, 125, 127, 145–46, 149, 157–59, 161, 183, 185, 190, 238, 249, 250, 260, 275–76, 279, 281, 284, 286, 288, 304, 307, 313, 317–19, 321, 324, 326, 328–31, 333–34, 336–37, 340, 342–43, 345, 347–50, 353–56, 359, 361–66, 368, 371–72, 374, 380, 382, 384–85, 387–90, 396–97, 401–3, 405, 409, 411–12, 414, 417–19, 421–23, 425, 427, 433, 436–38, 440, 442, 448, 450–52.  
*bʒ.wj*, “Double *ba*.” 159, 160, 268, 321, 348, 383, 395.  
*bʒ.w-Rc*, “Manifestations of Re.” 5.  
*bʒy*, “He of the *ba*.” 175, 334.  
*bnwy*, “He of the heron.” 209.  
*bhy.t*, “She who gives birth.” 210.  
*bgsy*, Begsy (minor god). 142.

 *p(ʒ)-n-Wntj*, Penwenti (demon; also see below, *Wntj*). 102,

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*p(ʒ)-n-štʒy*, Penshetay (locality). 113, 183–84, 187.  
*prry*, “One who emerges.” 135.  
*pr(t) nfr(t)*, “Perfect emergence.” 38, 135.  
*pn̄*, “He who is inverted.” 249.  
*psd*, “to shine, illuminate” (verb, plus derivatives). 185, 249, 254, 276, 305, 314, 354, 375, 397, 409, 433, 446.  
*psd.t*, “Ennead.” 276, 313, 336, 372, 429.

 *m̄nd.t*, “morning barque.” 150, 382, 409, 418, 440, 444.  
*mwjw Nnw*, “Watery one of Nun.” 146, 150.  
*mmj tʒ*, “He who is earth bound.” 181.  
*mhn*, See General Index, “Mehen.”  
*msw.tj*, “He of the birth.” 197–98.  
*mskt.t*, “evening barque.” 150, 382, 409, 418, 444.

 *nʒny*, “He of the serpent.” 175–76.  
*njnj.t*, “She of the *njnj*-gesture.” 214.  
*n̄wjtj*, “Traveler.” 201.  
*nbj*, “flame.” 123, 320–21.  
*nfry.t*, “rudder.” 141.  
*nmy*, “He of the knife.” 216, 217, 344.  
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*nr.ty*, “He of the vulture.” 86, 209–10.  
*nḥʒ hr*, “Terrible of face.” 102, 113, 254, 322, 323.  
*nsw.t*, “She of the flame.” 215.  
*nsr*, “flame” (noun, plus derivatives; also see *š nsrsr*). 142, 144, 216, 220, 254, 268, 269, 284, 322, 325, 404, 407.  
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*ndry*, “He who seizes.” 268.

 *rw*, “flood land.” 253.  
*rwd*, “bond, restraint.” 218.  
*rhsy*, “He of the slaughter fish.” 256.  
*rs(y)*, “He who awakens, is awake.” 160, 263.  
*rkh*, “flame; to burn” (noun and verb, plus derivatives). 84, 85, 213, 220, 221, 254, 322, 336, 340, 342, 387.



*hmhmy*, "Roarer." 267.



*hʒy.t*, "She who hails." 142, 144.  
*hʒy.t*, "She of lament." 143.  
*hʒy.tj*, "He of lament." 143.  
*hʒy tp*, "Shining of head." 241, 242, 243.  
*hʒdy*, "fiery pit." 281.  
*hwʒʒ(i)*, "putrefaction." 225, 285, 380, 399, 403.  
*hbs*, "to clothe." 450.  
*hbsj*, "He of the shroud." 237.  
*hr*, "face" (also see below, *hʒ hr*, *ʒʒ hr.w*, and *nhʒ hr*).  
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*hry.t*, "oven." 161, 217, 412, 420, 421, 428.  
*h's*, "Ferocious One." 174, 176.  
*hsq*, "to decapitate" (verb, plus derivatives). 212, 213, 221,  
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*hkn(w)*, "to praise" (verb, plus derivatives). 117–18, 123,  
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*hrj tʒ*, "He who is beneath the earth." 180.



*s'hy.t*, "August lady." 235–36.  
*sby.t*, "She who goes." 231.  
*sny*, "The Bloody One." 181, 184–85, 392, 398.  
*sntw*, "He who weeps." 143–44.  
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*š nsrsr*, "Lake of Fire." 103, 140.  
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*š'pj*, "He of the slaughter." 213.  
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*qdy*, "He of (fish-like) form." 256.



*kȝ jmn.t*, “Bull of the West.” 174, 176.

*km.t*, “pupil (of the eye).” 383, 394, 458.

*kkw(j)*, “darkness.” 114, 120, 125, 131, 183, 201, 205–6, 208, 221, 241–43, 275, 284, 307, 315, 327, 332–33, 336, 338, 340–42, 347–48, 351, 353–54, 356, 359, 361–62, 365, 366, 368, 378, 381, 385–86, 388–89, 392, 396–97, 401, 403, 411, 413, 417, 421–22, 432, 438, 443, 446, 448.

*kkw.t*, “darkness.” 94, 354.

*kty.t*, “cauldron.” 279, 283.



*gmhy.t*, “She who sees.” 68, 210.



*twȝ*, “to raise, support” (verb, plus derivatives). 92, 101, 122, 134, 244, 316, 409, 452.

*tpy*, “He of the head; (human)-headed one.” 207–8, 321, 381.

*tp Rȝ*, “Head of Re.” 208–10, 228, 381.

*tmy.t*, “She who grows old.” 231.



*tȝ.t*, “She of the vessel.” 232–33.



*dȝ.t*, *Dat*, “Underworld.” 18, 73–74, 138, 204, 284, 306, 422, 436, 438.

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*dmd*, “to unite, assemble.” 205, 247, 268, 389, 444–45.

*dsy*, “He of the knife.” 216.



*dbȝ.t*, “sarcophagus.” 171, 172, 177, 196, 220, 223, 231, 235–36, 240, 246, 264, 179, 289, 307, 377, 381, 384, 387, 389, 391, 402–3, 410, 412, 419, 424.

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