While reading a stimulating discussion about the idiom "Since the time of God," (1) I came across the opening part of Pyramid Spell 467 (2) considered to describe ReC as king (3) by translating it "Hör mich ReC! Was du gesagt hast, ReC! O dass ich doch einen Sohn hätte", als du König warst, ReC," der machtvoll, mächtig, angesehen wäre, mit holenden Armen, mit weitem Schritt." Siehe den NN, ReC, NN. ist dein Sohn, NN. ist machtvol, mächtig, angesehen, die Arme des NN. holen, der Schritt des NN. ist weit. NN. ergänzt im Osten wie ReC, er geht dahin im Westen wie Choprner." U. Luft rightly points out that ḫty cannot be "a predicative adjective 'royal' derived from ḫty 'king'," as R.O. Faulkner had explicitly proposed, because of the lack of any attestation for such a verb, (4) especially in the presumed spelling ḫty without determinative. He proposed instead to read ḫty ḫty as ḫty ḫty by ḫty "mein Vater bist du, ReC." However, the use of the dependent pronoun as subject in a nominal clause is a virtually unknown construction, (5) as in this case the pronoun as the syntactically weaker element is principally placed before the noun, in which case the independent form is used.

In the Pyramid Spell the deceased is introduced to ReC as a potential son, based on a rhetorical question that ReC might have desired to have a son. The text is clearly composed of two juxtaposed sections, one consisting of the alleged wish to ReC to have a son of circumscribed qualities, the other of the presentation of the deceased as


(2) I.e. Pyr. 886 a - 888 b, with the variant Pyr. 2120 b - 2121 a (≈ Neith B19 - B20) and CT III 334 c - h.


(4) The verb ḫty "to be king" attested Nb. I 143, 20 is not an adjectival verb either. It does not denote the "king" in a juridical sense, but a "lord," i.e. an authority acknowledged outside the specific legal structure of kingship as prevailing in the Egyptian society; cf. M. Goedicke, Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich, Äg. Abh. 2, 1960, 49 ff.


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a candidate having the desired qualities. The first is:

![Diagram of hieroglyphs]

The second is:

![Diagram of hieroglyphs]

"Woe, o Re C! Is it, that you have said, o Re C? "Wish for a son..., who is ba, who is powerful, who is honored, who is successful (lit. active of arms) and wide-striding!"

By as particle expressing woe, see, H. Grapow, Anreden, III 53; E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik, § 864; CT II 211 a; VI 267 h; cf. also W. Guglielmi, Reden, Efeu und Lieder auf alträgischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehzucht, des Fisch- und Vogelfangs vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit, ThB I, 1973, 11f. The clause "... should in view of the emphasizing of it contains be recognized as a question; for the construction, cf. A.H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (3), § 252.3; E. Edel, op.cit., §§ 821 bb; 1007. For no summarizing a statement, see Letters to the Dead, I 12; cf. also the similar use of en, E. Edel, op.cit., § 198. That the sentence "... is a question results not only from the particle of, but also from its juxtagosition with the next sentence, representing the appropriate answer. Against taking it as a statement, as considered by Sethe and Faulkner, stands further the fact that it is neither up to mortal man to know Re C's statements nor to remind him thereof. The rhetorical question is a form of communication favored when the directness of a statement would be inappropriate or impolite; cf. H. Grapow, Anreden, IV 61 ff.

It is rhetorically envisaged that Re C might have had a wish for a "son." It has here a wider meaning than bodily offspring, as found also in its use in connection with institutions especially that of kingship; see H. Goedicke, Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich, 29. In answer to this presumed wish the deceased is offered as matching the described qualities of such a "son" (zn). In the alleged wish and in the presentation of the deceased, the qualities mentioned are br, nwm, stw, ḫnswy and ḫn-kmt, i.e. being ba, being empowered, being honored, being successful and being wide-striding.

In addition to these identical series of qualities, the questioned wish of Re C and the presentation of the deceased differ in one point. In the former, it stands at the beginning; in the latter at the end. This is and . As the former is the target of our inquiry, we will commence with the second. It can only be read "this P. will shine in the East like Re C, as he proceeds from the West like Kheprer."
The proposed prospective rendering of *psd* (6) aims to take into consideration that the king can only be envisaged to emanate light in the future, but is not doing it yet. However, *psd* is attested from the Nineteenth Dynasty on in reference to the king; see *Wb.* I 555,14. Any other rendering would require here the use of the *sdm.u.Š*-form to reflect a progression in time. The comparison with *ReC* is based on the sun's progression from its setting in the West to its reappearance in the East.

The counterpart to this comparison has to be recognized in *Because of its context, it is necessary to see in it a verb parallel to *bs*, *sdm* and *wšŠ*. They are clearly imperfective active participles as indicated by the ending *g*; see, E. Edel, *op.cit.*, § 630. In contrast, has the ending *g*, which makes it necessary to take it as a perfective passive participle; see, E. Edel, *op.cit.*, § 639. Needless to say, no verb *štš* or *ššš* is attested; indeed, the association of the consonants *šš* is not found. However, as an Old Kingdom spelling, it seems justified to consider here the possibility of the alteration *k > š*. While this is the usual progression, (7) it appears that *ššš* is akin to the verbal *ššš* "to illuminate, to enlighten" attested since the Eighteenth Dynasty; see *Wb.* V 332, 16 ʃ. Such a meaning is actually needed here in view of the description of the deceased presented to *ReC* as the son he might have wanted. He is described there as *psd P pn m ššš "this P will shine in the East," thus corresponding to the wish for a *ššššš* an "enlightened son."

The proposed explanation of *ššš* as meaning "enlightened" is corroborated by the variant of the passage in *Wb.* 2120 b (=*Wt* 819), where *ššššš* is replaced by *ššššš*, i.e. "a son who was qšwš and appeared." Both qualifiers are connected with the notion of light and shining.

It results that the Pyramid text is no evidence of a kingship held by *ReC*, although his role as supreme governor of the world would seem beyond doubt. For the presumed reference to a "time of *ReC*" in Mošša, inscr.14, (8) the above discussed passage in the Pyramid Texts lends no support. In view of the absence of early anthropomorphous representations of *ReC* (9) the somewhat uncertain hieroglyph depicting a human being supporting something on his head is certainly not to be considered a writing for *ReC*. This is in agreement with the event qualified by the fact that it "never happened since the

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(6) Sethe and Paulkner took it active as "NN. ergänzt im Osten wie *ReC*, er geht dahin im Westen wie Chopter" or "I shine in the East like *ReC*, I travel in the West like Chopter". These translations disregard the funerary setting of the text, as well as the apparent progression between the two sentences.


time of ..." This qualification concerns the claim of Ankhtyfy "I caused that the District of Edfu fight in the South of the Land." (10) The apparent historical military nature of the event excludes here any reference to ReC; such a reference would necessarily be mythological in nature, which would be incompatible with a historical event. As ReC is considered permanent, he could not be combined with τκ which denotes a limited period of time. It seems instead necessary to surmise a reference to a historical figure of the past; it could be a specific king or a ruler in a specific position, such as "king of Upper and Lower Egypt." The ambiguity of the reading bars further clarification.

The final passage of Ankhtyfy's text confirms the proposed interpretation as it states the results of his military exploits in the South. has been rendered by Vandier "(c'est arrivé) grâce à la force des fidèles et vaillants (conscrips)." (11) In order to constitute a sentence, the words have to be recognized as an adverbial clause expressing possession "lo, the water-source is in possession of a strong trustworthy one." M can only be the non-enclitic particle; see A.H. Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar (3) § 234; for the construction expressing possession, cf. A.H. Gardiner, op. cit., § 114.1. Ṣm-Ṭb is clearly specified as denoting a singular by the determinative . (12) It apparently refers to a "strong trusted one" who was in charge. Ṣp, for obscure reasons, Vandier (13) equated with the word Ṣp, listed Ṣb.1.2, 12 with the meaning "strength," attested only in Medinet Habu. Instead of this obscure term with its restricted attestation, (14) there is an

(10) should be read m ḫnt tš, as also assumed by J. Vandier, op. cit., 255. Instead of taking it as the compound preposition m-ḫnt "in front of," which is never written with the hieroglyph , I see here rather a somewhat inaccurate writing for ḫnt "to go south." An alternative would be considering ḫnt as "front (scil. south) of the land," "as also used in the designation ḫnt-ḥm-Ṭb denoting the stretch of land beyond the last established point of control," see H. Goedicke, "The Location of ḫnt-ḥm-Ṭb," KEM 13, 1965, 102 ff. It results that Ankhtyfy claims to have participated in warfare south of Egypt's border. Warring in Nubia during the First Intermediate Period is attested otherwise as well; cf. T. Säve-Söderbergh, Ägypten und Nubien, 1941, 44 ff.

(11) Op. cit., 252; W. Schenkel, ibid. gave for it "mit der Kraft eines starken Lieblings;" similarly A.H. Gardiner, JEA 34, 1948, 17, who combined it with the preceding to "Never had it happened since the time of ReC" through the valour (?) of (my) trusty victorious troops."

(12) J. Vandier, op. cit., 254 emended it to , for which there is no support.

(13) Op. cit., 256; he has been followed by W. Schenkel and A.H. Gardiner, JEA 34, 1948, 17 f.

(14) Despite Gardiner's insistence, it might have to be read Ṣp and is possibly akin with the Ṣp (gushing) water-source, being derived from the notion of strength flowing water has.
attested old word $^3\alpha$ "water-source," (15) i.e. a place where water gushes forth. Egypt has no gushing springs. This does, however, not exclude a metaphorical use of $^3\alpha$ "water-source" as poetical description of the First Cataract, where the Nile enters Egypt proper. The idea that the source of the Nile was there is a recurrent one in Egyptian meta-geographical specifications. (16) As metaphorical reference to the region of the First Cataract its mention is consistent with the preceding claim of $^3\alpha$ Ankhtyf about successful warfare south of Egypt. According to his text, the pressure against Egypt's southern frontier was apparently defused by the fighting in which $^3\alpha$ Ankhtyf participated in the Heracleopolitan Period. In addition, it consolidated the control over this region presumably by the Heracleopolitan kings. How long this control lasted cannot be determined. It was apparently taken over by the Theban ruler after his secession became successful.

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(15) Wb. I 166,15; H. Kees, ZÄS 57,1922,114; E. Drioton, ASAE 41,1942, 28 ff.; idem, ASAE 44,1944,114; K. Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten, V 92 ff., saw in it "Feldbrunnen," which is not very convincing because there is no reason to assume that the Egyptians of the Old Kingdom used mechanical wells comparable to modern day sagiyas.

(16) H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, 1952,525 ff.