4-18-1987

Egyptian Elements in Hermetic Literature

Thomas McAllister Scott
Clark Atlanta University

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/caupubs
Part of the History of Christianity Commons, and the Philosophy Commons

Recommended Citation
Scott, Thomas McAllister, 'Egyptian Elements in Hermetic Literature' (1987). Clark Atlanta University Faculty Publications. 9.
http://digitalcommons.auctr.edu/caupubs/9
Egyptian Elements In Hermetic Literature

A thesis presented by

Thomas McAllister Scott

to

The New Testament Department of
The Faculty of Harvard Divinity School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Theology
in the subject of
New Testament and Christian Origins

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
April 18, 1987
Egyptian Elements In Hermetic Literature

A thesis presented by

Thomas McAllister Scott

to

The New Testament Department of
The Faculty of Harvard Divinity School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Thelogy
in the subject of
New Testament and Christian Origins

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts
April 18, 1987
Doctoral Thesis Abstract for: Thomas M. Scott

Doctoral Thesis Title: "Egyptian Elements in Hermetic Literature"

The Hermetic literature (HL) or the Corpus Hermeticum, as it is more commonly referred to, concerns an extensive body of writings which evolved in the early Christian era around the personage of Hermes Trismegistus; Trismegistus meaning three times great. The name Hermes Trismegistus has been generally accepted as a Greek ascription to the Egyptian god, Thoth; Thoth being the ancient Greek attempt to pronounce Djehty (Dhwty).

While some portions of the HL may have been written prior to the beginning of the Christian era, it is generally believed that most of the HL was produced between 100 and 300 CE (that is, the Christian or Common Era) in Egypt.

While it has been generally accepted that the frame-work of the HL is Egyptian, the content has been construed as an eclectic mix of ideas and concepts derived from the various schools of Greek philosophical thought --- Platonism, Aristotelianism, Neo-Platonism et cetera. The literature is extant in Greek, while one long tractate has come down to us in Latin; namely, the Asclepius tractate which is sometimes also referred to as the Perfect Sermon. Several Hermetic excerpts were found at Nag Hammadi (in Upper Egypt) in late 1945. The Nag Hammadi excerpts have been preserved in Coptic. Curiously enough, Corpus Hermeticum XVI, paragraphs 1 and 2 constitute a very explicit polemic against translating the HL into Greek. See note 48 for my translation of these paragraphs (from chapter four of my thesis) accompanying this abstract.

In a thesis of four chapters, I present evidence with a view toward demonstrating that the Egyptian element in HL is present to a more significant degree than many previous interpreters, particularly in the twentieth century, have argued. However, I am hardly the first to assume such a stance; Pietschmann, Reitzenstein, Stricker, Derchain and Griffiths are some of those who have taken positions quite similar to mine.

In conclusion, my interest in the HL is a two-fold one. On the one hand, this interest has evolved directly out of my identity as a person of African descent. On the other hand, it has also grown out of my interest in the bible in general and the New Testament in particular. Most specifically, my interest in the HL has ultimately stemmed from the realization that there is a seminal relationship between the development of the New Testament and Christian origins and northeastern Africa in general and ancient Egypt in particular.

The above thesis was successfully defended (with honors) at Harvard University Divinity School on Saturday, April 18, 1987. It has also been available since 1991 via University Microfilms International (at 1-800-521-0600 or 734-761-4700 or http://www.umi.com/.
12-5-90

the

original
copyright

from

thesis defense

version

© 1987 by Thomas McAllister Scott
TABLE OF CONTENTS

General Abbreviations ........................................... 1
Abbreviated References ......................................... II
Lexical Suggestions ............................................. VII

Chapter I ............................................................. 1
   I. An Introductory Historical Sketch ....................... 1
   II. The Various Groups of Hermetic Literature ............ 4
   III. The Modern Interpretation Of Hermetic Literature (since 1400 C. E.) .................. 8
       A. Hermetic Interpretation Between
          1400 C. E. And 1900 C. E. .......................... 9
       B. Hermetic Interpretation In
          This Century ......................................... 15
   IV. Hermetic Interpretation In
       This Century: Another View ............................... 23
   V. The Proposed Method or Approach (Adopted
       In This Thesis) ........................................... 29

Chapter II .......................................................... 35
   I. Divine Attributes ........................................... 35
   II. Divine Names ............................................... 58

Chapter III ......................................................... 72
   A. The Kingship In Hermetic Literature ................... 72
   B. Several Aspects of the Role of Hermes
I

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS (SIGLA)

B.C.E. = Before the Christian (or Common) Era
C.E. = Christian (or Common) Era
Ex. = Excerpt
Fr. = Fragment
HL = Hermetic Literature; see ch. I, the beginning of sec. IV (p. 29), for any further explanation.
KK = Kore Kosmu (Excerpts XXIII & XXIV from Stobaeus)
l.(s) = line(s)
n.(s) = note(s)
no.(s) = number(s)
ph.(s) = paragraph(s)
ABBREVIATED REFERENCES

Generally, the title for a given series has either been capitalized or placed in bold face print. Journals, periodicals and book titles have been underlined. Article titles are preceded and followed by quotation marks. The above guidelines have been followed as much as possible in all sections of this thesis.


Amun = Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, Kurt Sethe, (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Nr. 4, 1929), Berlin.


AET = "Ancient Egyptian Theogony", Jan Bergman, Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), in the series, Studies In The History Of Religions (Supplements To Numen), volume XLIII, edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, E. J. Brill Press, Leiden, 1982.

BD = Book of the Dead


BD (Ani) = The Book of the Dead (the so-called Ani version), E.A.W. Budge, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1967. This is a reprint of the 1895 original.

BD (Ani, the Medici edition) = The Book Of The Dead (the so-called Ani version, the Medici edition), E.A.W. Budge, Bell Publishing Company, New York, 1960. This is a reprint of the 1913 Medici edition. For any further explanation regarding the 1960 reprint, see p. III, the "Bibliographical Note", of that reprint.
BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1901-.


CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (for a fuller reference see the large Liddell-Scott, the epigraphical abbreviations section; a reference to the large Liddell-Scott is included in this section below.)


DIO = De Iside et Osiride, J. Gwyn Griffiths, University of Wales Press, 1970.


EPRO = Études Préliminaires aux Religions Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain, E.J. Brill, Leiden.


FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo, 1924-.

GM = Göttinger Miscellen, 1972-.


JEAN = The Journal of Egyptian Archeology, London, 1914-.

JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Voorazitisch-Egyptisch Genootschap
"Ex Oriente Lux", Leiden, 1933--.

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago, 1942--.

Ibrahim = The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu, Mohiy E.A. Ibrahim, (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, no. 16), Brussels, 1975.


LÄ = Lexicon der Ägyptologie, Wiesbaden, 1972--.


LCL = Loeb Classical Library


MDAIK = Mittteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.

MED = Middle Egyptian Dictionary, R.O. Faulkner, Oxford University Press, 1972(reprint).

Mysliwiec = Studien zum Gott Atum (in II volumes), Karol Mysliwiec, (Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, numbers 5 and 8), Gerstenberg Verlag, Hildesheim, 1978 and 1979.

NT Background = The New Testament Background: Selected Documents,

Oikumene = Oikumene (Studia ad historiam antiquam classicam et orientalem spectantia), Budapest, 1976--.


Sacred = Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt (The Term DSR, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX), by James K. Hoffmeier, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, no. 59, Universitätverlag, Freiburg, 1985.

Sethe = Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte (nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums), Bands 1 and 2 (Text, 1908 and 1910, respectively), edited by Kurt Sethe, J.C. Hinrich, Leipzig.

Thoth = Thoth the Hermes of Egypt, by Partrick Boylan, Oxford University Press, 1922.


Zabkar = Louis Zabkar, "Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and Their Theological Significance" (Part I), JEA, 69, 1983, pp. 115-137.
ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig-Berlin, 1863--.
For the Reader: Lexical Suggestions

1) The use of the term "narrative" refers to the text of the thesis itself as opposed to the notes.

2) In this thesis a system of endnotes has been adopted in lieu of a system of footnotes. The notes are numbered sequentially by chapter and begin directly after the end of the narrative portion of chapter IV. In the notes themselves references to other notes pertain to the chapter where the note in question is found unless otherwise specified.

3) Please note the following:
   a) In Egyptian " ' " is printed as " ` ".
   b) In Egyptian " j " is printed as "i". In some instances, all occurrences of "i" have not been replaced by "i".

4) In any instance where a given work (book, article etc.) is referred to only by the author's name, that work may found in the bibliography under the author's name.

5) In general, as far as Egyptian chronology is concerned, Gardiner's Egypt of the Pharaohs has been followed. This is true particularly in connection with the dates of the various pharaohs mentioned. With respect to Graeco-Roman chronology, F.E. Peters' The Harvest of Hellenism has been followed.

6) In the case of a well known body of literature which has been referred to on at least an intermittent basis throughout the thesis, the subsequent method of abbreviation has been adopted as consistently as possible. For example, the Pyramid Texts are abbreviated as PT when referred to in a general fashion. However, when Faulkner's translation of that corpus has been referred to, the following abbreviation has been used: PT. In other instances, when other editions of that same corpus have been referred to, such as Sethe's, the author's last name (Sethe) is used in lieu of an abbreviation. In either case, whether an underlined abbreviation or an author's last name has been used, both should be found in the Abbreviated References section of this thesis. This same approach has been followed in connection with other well known bodies of literature such as the Book of the Dead and the Coffin Texts. Please see the Table of Contents found near the beginning of this thesis in order to ascertain the exact location of the
Abbreviations section.

In some instances, abbreviation rubrics such as CH and DIO will be underlined. In other instances, these rubrics will not be underlined. A case in point is the use of the rubric CH. As indicated in n. 1 of ch. II, CH is a reference to the text of the Festugière-Nock edition of the HL. CH is a reference to a particular locus in the Festugière-Nock edition, but not the text per se. The same general pattern has been adopted in connection with DIO. The system which has been adapted here is hardly without flaws. However, it is hoped that the above comments will facilitate the reader's task.

This thesis has been printed out under the kind direction of Dr. John R. Abercrombie, Assistant Dean of Computing, University of Pennsylvania with the additional assistance of several other individuals including Mr. Todd A. Kraft. However, only I can be held responsible for the final printed form of this thesis.
Chapter I

I An Introductory Historical Sketch

A body of literature is extant today which evolved in the early Christian era around the personage of Hermes "three times great".\(^1\) The name Hermes Trismegistus has been commonly accepted as an ascription to the Egyptian god, Thoth.\(^2\) While some portions of this literature may have been written prior to the beginning of the Christian era, it is generally believed that most of it was written between 100 and 300 C.E. in Egypt.\(^3\)

The history of Hermetic literature is a long and varied one. External witnesses to this literature begin to appear about 200 C.E.\(^4\) Among those writers whose works reflect a knowledge of Hermetic literature are Athenagoras (180 C.E.), Tertullian (207 C.E.), Arnobius (304 C.E.), Lactantius (303 C.E.), Abammon (300 C.E.), Augustine (413 C.E.), Cyrill of Alexandria (435 C.E.), and Psellus (1030 C.E.).\(^5\)

The spread of Hermetic literature over the course of time since it first began to evolve has been extensive. One example of
that spread is the Hermetic tradition in Arabic. The Hermetic influence and development lasted well into the Middle Ages having more than a mean influence upon the development of life and thought in Europe. This influence was perhaps manifested best in the literary realm.

In the year 1462 Cosimo di Medici commissioned MARSILIO FICINO to make a Latin translation of a Greek manuscript of the 'Corpus' which had just come into his possession from the East. It is sufficient to look over the seventeen pages devoted to Hermetic philosophy in the catalogue contained in the work, edited by KRISTELLER, on mediaeval and Renaissance translations and commentaries, in order to realize the great influence Hermetic works must have exercised in this way. Between 1471 and 1641 MARSILIO FICINO's translation went through 25 editions; that of PATRITIUS went through six; the bilingual edition of FR. DE FOIX appeared twice; the 'Asclepius' was edited forty times; the commentary of J. FABER STAPULENSIS on the 'Asclepius' passed through eleven editions etc.

Another example of this influence is the frontispiece to volume I of Walter Scott's edition of the Hermetic literature. The scene depicted is "one of the designs with which the pavement of the cathedral of Siena is decorated". In this scene Hermes Trismegistus is shown with two other personages whose identity is not altogether clear. An even more contemporary example of the Hermetic-literature influence is the English expression "hermetically sealed", which usually means that something is "airtight". "Difficult to open" or "unlock", or "difficult to ascertain the meaning of" are several derivative nuances of the
expression "hermetically sealed".

Throughout its history Hermetic literature has often been associated with magic and alchemy. Among some interpreters of Hermetic literature, particularly in this century, there has been a tendency to divide Hermetic literature into at least two or more branches, particularly in this century, there has been a tendency to divide Hermetic literature into at least two or more branches,12 namely, the religious-philosophical Hermetica and that Hermetic literature more closely associated with magic and alchemy. The opening lines of C.K. Barrett's chapter on "The Hermetic Literature" in his NT Background exemplify, quite well, the distinction usually made:

"There have been transmitted from antiquity, mainly through Christian channels, a considerable number of tractates more or less closely connected with the divine person Hermes Trismegistus. Of these, many are simply astrological or magical, and may be discounted. The rest contain a body of teaching which might with equal justice be called religious or philosophical."

In some ways the above distinction is necessary and legitimate. However, I think Barrett takes the distinction much too far in totally "discounting" the astrological and or magical Hermetica.13 There are other students of the Hermetic literature, certainly I believe Festugière to be one, who are quite in accord with the notion of a "higher" and a "lower" Hermetica. In a general way many of these same scholars tend to also view Hermetic literature as having been little influenced by authentic Egyptian thought and culture.
Chapter I

In this thesis, as far as is possible, no such division will be made, per se. However, since the occasion pertaining to the original conception of writing a thesis related to the Hermetic literature, my intention for this thesis has never been to treat the entirety of Hermetic literature; that is, using the categories specified above, writing a thesis encompassing both "branches". Vis-à-vis prior research and study my focus has been and will be throughout this thesis upon that Hermetic literature more closely associated, in some ways, with the Christian tradition and some of its writers. This literature for the most part corresponds to that Hermetic literature which comes under the "religious-philosophical" category mentioned above.

II The Various Groups Of Hermetic Literature

The extant Hermetic literature can be divided into five groups:

A) The Corpus Hermeticum.
B) The Asclepius Tractate.
C) The Excerpts preserved by Joannes Stobaeus.
D) Various Hermetic fragments preserved by a number of writers. ¹⁴
E) The Hermetic fragments from Nag Hammadi.
A) The Corpus Hermeticum

The term Corpus Hermeticum "is the name given by recent commentators to a collection of about seventeen distinct documents, which first makes its appearance (as a collection) in manuscripts of the fourteenth century". The term is also often used more loosely to refer to the Hermetic literature in general. For instance, it serves as one of the titles to the most recent critical edition and commentary of the Hermetic literature jointly produced by Andre-Jean Marie Festugière and Arthur Darby Nock between 1945 and 1954. The Festugière-Nock edition lists eighteen tractates as belonging to the Corpus Hermeticum proper. Based upon the evidence from the extant manuscripts, apparently one tractate has been lost. Its place in the manuscript tradition would have been between the first and second tractates.

B) The Asclepius Tractate

The Asclepius Tractate, also known as the Logos teleios, is the longest extant Hermetic work or tractate with the possible exception of the two Excerpts known as the Kore Kosmu. It was composed in Greek, but is extant in a complete form only in Latin.
Chapter I

Up to a certain point in the history of its interpretation, the Latin translation of the Asclepius tractate was attributed to Apuleius. While this possibility cannot be completely ruled out, Apuleius as the Latin translator of the Asclepius tractate is not a very likely possibility.19

A.D. Nock in a rather extensive introduction to the Asclepius tractate discusses, among other things, the "Composition et Structure" of the tractate. Within the context of his discussion Nock raises the issue of the unity of the tractate. As might be expected there is no unanimity of opinion on this point.20 Nock sees a basic unity in the work as a whole.21

C) The Stobaeus Hermetic Excerpts

The Hermetic Excerpts preserved by Joannes Stobaeus form a very important portion of the Hermetic tradition. "Joannes Stobaeus, at some date not far from C.E. 500, compiled a large collection of extracts from Pagan Greek writers."22 The extant Hermetic Excerpts are derived from these "Pagan Greek" extracts. Stobaeus preserves forty Hermetic Excerpts according to Festugiére's reckoning.23 Walter Scott, however, comes up with a total of forty-two because, according to Festugiére, "il divise chacun des deux extraits I.41.1 et I.41.6 en deux morceaux (Scott
Of these forty (or forty-two) Excerpts, eleven can be found in the Corpus Hermeticum proper which was discussed in section "A" above. Accepting Festugière's count, the total number of Hermetic Excerpts would then be twenty-nine. In his study of the Hermetic corpus Mead lists twenty-seven Excerpts. Perhaps the best known Hermetic Excerpt is the so-called Kore Kosmu.

D) Various Hermetic Fragments

A rather extensive group of Hermetic fragments has been preserved by a number of writers over an extended period of time. Athenagoras (ca. 180 C.E.) is the first external witness to the Hermetic literature extant today. Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustine and Cyrill of Alexandria also constitute some of the earlier external witnesses to the Hermetic tradition. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is a significant Hermetic tradition which has been preserved in Arabic. Walter Scott's edition of the Hermetica contains much, if not all, of the Hermetic literature preserved in Arabic. Al-Kindi (ca. 850 C.E.) is the first Arabic "Hermeticist" presented by W. Scott. Al-Maqdisi, An-Nadim, Ibn Zulaq, Ibrahim Ben Wassif Shah and Al-Katibi are among those whom Scott also includes. The Hermetic
Fragments presented by Festugière-Nock, for the most part, constitute much, if not all, of the earlier external witnesses to the Hermetic tradition. Mead also confines himself to the earlier external witnesses.

E) The Hermetic Fragments From Nag Hammadi

Three Hermetic fragments were discovered among the finds at Nag Hammadi in late 1945. These fragments constitute the only extant Hermetic literature in Coptic. A fragment of the Asclepius tractate (chapters 21 through 29) has been particularly helpful in ascertaining further information about the theorized Greek original for the Asclepius. A second fragment is a slightly different rendering of the "prayer of thanksgiving" which is found at the end of the Latin Asclepius. The third Hermetic fragment found at Nag Hammadi was hitherto unknown. On account of its contents this fragment has been called "The Discourse On The Eighth And Ninth".26

III The Modern Interpretation (since ca. 1400 C.E.) of Hermetic Literature
A. Hermetic Interpretation Between 1400 C.E. And 1900 C.E.

The Hermetic Fragments briefly discussed in the immediately preceding section are classified by W. Scott as the "Testimonia". These fragments, beginning with Athenagoras (ca. 180 C.E.) and extending through Al-Katibi (fl. circa 1250 C.E.) and Barhebraeus (fl. circa 1250 C.E.) were preserved over a period of approximately 1100 years. In 1471 Marsiglio Ficino (Marsilius Ficinus) published a Latin translation of the first fourteen tractates of what is now generally referred to as the "Corpus Hermeticum". This first, "printed" edition of the Hermetic literature, as W. Scott refers to it, in one sense marks the beginning of the modern era of the transmission and interpretation of this literature. In order to give a fuller sense of the extent to which this literature has been studied since ca. 1400 a listing of some of the various texts and translations is presented here.

Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei (Or The Book of Mercury Trismegist concerning the Power and Wisdom of God), Marsiglio Ficino (Marsilius Ficinus, Treviso (Italy), 1471.

Il Pimandro di Mercurio Trismegisto, Tommaso Benci, Florence, 1548.


Deux Livres de Mercure Trismegiste Hermés tres ancien Theologien, et excellent Philozophe. L'un de la puissance et sapience de Dieu. L'autre de la

Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander sive Poemander, Franciscus Flussas Candalle, Bourdeaux, 1574.


Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti, Hannibal Rossellus, Lazarus(printer), Krakow, 1585-1590.


Hermes Trismegists Poemander, oder von der göttlichen Macht und Weisheit, Dieterich Tiedemann, Berlin and Stettin, 1781.

Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander, Gustav Parthey, Berlin, 1854.

Hermès Trismégiste, Louis Ménard, Paris, 1866.


The above list of texts and translations follows rather closely the listing which Mead presents. However, several editions not listed above warrant some comment in detail.

Franciscus Patricius(Cardinal Francesco Patrizzi) published in 1591 his Nova de Universis Philosophia in Ferrara, Italy. Included
Two separate editions by Candalle (1574) and Rossellus (1585-1590) are listed above. However, in 1630 at Cologne a joint edition of their respective works was reproduced. The Everard edition mentioned above was later re-issued more than once. A second edition was produced in London in 1657. The original 1650 edition was reprinted in 1884 "by Fryar of Bath". That original edition was also produced by P.B. Randolph in Toledo, Ohio in 1889. In 1893 the Theosophical Publishing Society published the original edition in its Collectanea Hermetica. Mead, in commenting upon a portion of the original title, eschews the idea that Everard based his original edition upon his own translation of the Hermetica from the Arabic. Everard's original title also mentions a Dutch translation which Mead was never able to locate. There are, however, two Dutch translations of which Mead is aware. Finally, the German translation mentioned above by Alethophilus "was reprinted at Stuttart in 1855, in a curious collection by J. Schieble, entitled Kleiner Wunder-Schauplatz".

The interpretation of Hermetic literature between ca. 1400 C.E. and ca. 1900 C.E. exhibits a gradual change in the thinking of those who studied this literature. Early on in this period most Hermetic scholars attributed great antiquity to the Hermetic literature and Hermes Trismegistus in particular. Marsilio Ficino's general understanding of the Hermetic literature as
sketched by Walter Scott seems to have characterized the thinking of his day.

Ficino’s theory of the relation between Hermes Trismegistus and the Greek philosophers was based partly on data supplied by early Christian writers, especially Lactantius and Augustine, and partly on the internal evidence of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius of Pseudo-Apuleius. He saw—as indeed no competent scholar who had read Plato and the Hermetica could fail to see—that the resemblance between the Hermetic doctrines and those of Plato was such as necessarily to imply some historical connexion; but accepting it as a known fact that the author of the Hermetica was a man who lived about the time of Moses, he inverted the true relation, and thought that Plato had derived his theology, through Pythagoras, from Trismegistus. And his view was adopted, at least in its main outlines, by all who dealt with the subject down to the end of the sixteenth century.34

However, with the writings of Isaac Casaubon (1614) and J.H. Ursinus (1661) the consensus of thinking begins to shift in another direction. Casaubon, for instance, dates portions of the Hermetic literature towards the latter part of the first century A.D.35 Regarding Hermetic doctrine, he states the following:

Nos igitur . . . affirmamus, in eo libro contineri non Aegyptiacam Mercurii doctrinam, sed partim Graecam e Platonis et Platonicorum libris, et quidem persaepe ipsis eorum verbis, depromptam: partim Christianam e libris sacris petitam.36

J.H. Ursinus, according to Mead, attempted to demonstrate that the Hermetica were "wholesale plagiarisms from Christianity".37 Walter Scott, alluding to the work of Casaubon sums up the
Chapter I

Casaubon's opinion as to the period in which the Hermetica were written gradually prevailed, and came to be adopted by all competent scholars; and, deprived of the prestige which their supposed antiquity had conferred on them, the Hermetic writings lost their hold on men's interest, and sank into comparative neglect. Translations of the Corpus continued to appear from time to time; but from 1630 to 1854, no reprint of the Greek text was issued.

The 19th century marks the beginning of the most modern era of the interpretation of the Hermetic literature. In this century other schools of thought began to develop regarding the HL (Hermetic literature), its origin, background, development et cetera. To be sure, that school of thought represented by scholars such as Casaubon and Ursinus continued to flourish. It was simply joined by other opinions. In Mead's thinking the "Casaubon" school in the 19th century would be most represented by the "theory of Neoplatonic Syncretismus".

But already by this time in Germany the theory of Neoplatonic Syncretismus to prop up sinking Heathendom against rising Christianity had become crystallized, as may be seen from the article on "Hermes, Hermetische Schriften" in Pauly's famous Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Stuttgart, 1844), where this position is assumed from the start.

At about the same time in France another school of opinion began to evolve. Artaud, in an article entitled "Hermès
Trismégiste, sets forth the opinion that the Platonic ideas appearing in the HL were derived by Plato from Egypt. According to Mead, Artaud also believes that the "Trismegistic treatises are translations from the Egyptian". In 1866 Louis Ménard published a rather extensive work on the HL entitled Hermés Trismégiste. Traduction complète, précédée d'une étude sur l'origine des livres Hermétiques. His introductory study on the origin of the Hermetic books, over 100 pages in length, is described by W. Scott as "a sensible and well-written treatise". His "Transduction complete" contains a translation of "Corpus Hermeticum I-XIV, the Latin Asclepius, twenty-six Stobaeus-excerpts, some fragments from Cyril, & c., and Corpus Hermeticum XVI-XVIII". Ménard isolated three main influences upon the development of HL; namely, Greek, Jewish and Egyptian. During this same period a French Egyptologist named Dévéria began a work on the HL in which he had planned to comment upon the entire Hermetic corpus. Apparently he was never able to finish what would have been a significant contribution. In Mead's view Dévéria understood HL as constituting "an almost complete exposition of the esoteric philosophy of ancient Egypt".

For the first time since the "Casaubon era", with the views of Artaud, Ménard and Dévéria, a decidedly different opinion as to the source of Hermetic thought had evolved. Even so, within the context of 19th century, scholarly thinking regarding the origin of
Hermetic thought, the "Casaubon view" tended to prevail. If anything, the force of this view gathered even more momentum. In accordance with Mead's understanding of the evolution of 19th century, scholarly thinking, the voices of Zeller, Richard Pietschmann and A.G. Hoffmann may be added to the prevailing, Casaubon trend of thought. Similar views can also be credited to L. Schmitz, Jowett, and Mozley. In a slightly different vein, Chambers in a work entitled The Theological and Philosophical Works of Hermes Trismegistus understands Hermes to be "the real founder of Neoplatonism".

B. Hermetic Interpretation In This Century

In 1904 Richard Reitzenstein published a major contribution to Hermetic studies entitled Poimandres, Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur. While there had been at least one serious discussion regarding HL in this century prior to that date, Reitzenstein's publication instigated the debate in earnest. While not going as far as Dévéria who, as mentioned above, understood HL as "an almost complete exposition of the esoteric philosophy of ancient Egypt", Reitzenstein did understand HL as having been significantly influenced by ancient Egyptian concepts and ideas. In buttressing
his arguments Reitzenstein discussed a great many texts most of which are in Greek. Many of the texts contain a good number of Egyptian themes and motifs. Reitzenstein was perhaps the first to demonstrate the extent to which he

In 1906 G.R.S. Mead who has already been referred to a number of times in this chapter published a major three volume study of HL entitled *Thrice-Greatest Hermes. Studies in Hellenistic Theosophy and Gnosis. Being a Translation of the Extant Sermons and Fragments of the Trismegistic Literature, with Prolegomena, Commentary, and Notes.* One major drawback with Mead's work is that he does not present a text. On the other hand, Mead translates all of the tractates in the Corpus Hermeticum, the Stobaeus excerpts, and a number of the ancient witnesses (Testimonia) to the Hermetic tradition. Mead's entire first volume which he describes as a "Prolegomena" is quite useful because it discusses a great deal of the literature which bears upon the origins of HL. Mead views HL as being strongly influenced by ancient Egyptian ideas and concepts. Walter Scott quotes the following words from Mead as giving a meaningful insight into Mead's views regarding the significance of Egyptian thought in HL. "Along this ray of the Trismegistic tradition we may allow ourselves to be drawn backwards in time towards the holy
of holies of the Wisdom of Ancient Egypt. The sympathetic study of this material may well prove an initiatory process towards an understanding of that Archaic Gnosis."\(^{53}\)

In 1914 Josef Kroll published a work entitled *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos*. Kroll understood HL as for the most part originating in "the sphere of Hellenistic thought--the general philosophy of the culture-world of that time".\(^{54}\) In addition "among the sources from which the Hermetists drew, special importance is to be assigned to Posidonius; that their thoughts have been little, if at all, affected by Egyptian influence; that their doctrines are in many respects similar to those of Philo, and that here and there are to be found in them distinctively Jewish notions; and that there is in the *Hermetica* no trace of Christianity".\(^{55}\)

In 1915 William Jerome Wilson presented a thesis to the Divinity School Faculty of Harvard University entitled *The Origin And Development Of The Hermetic Religion*. Wilson's understanding of HL may be best summed up in his own words.

"That in all this (HL) we possess only the chance remnants of a once large literature is evident from the Eclogues of John Stobaeus, where numerous fragments under the name of Hermes have been preserved. Of these, ten are from three of the documents in our corpus, while some twenty-seven are from sources other wise unknown. The fragments of the Kore Kosmu(greek) in particular are long enough to be of historical significance, and show a later stage of the Hermetic religion than anything in the corpus. Scattering quotations
from theological works ascribed to Hermes are found in the Christian fathers, especially Cyril of Alexandria; but they are of comparatively slight value. More interesting are the notices and citations in the De Mysteriis, presumably by Iamblichus, in which we see the Hermetic development mingling with the great stream of Neoplatonism; while in Zosimus another branch of Hermetism is found passing off in the direction of alchemy and magic. By the middle of the fourth century the force of the movement was evidently spent.56

Wilson thus understands "the Hermetic religion" as not having been too greatly influenced by Christianity, Neoplatonism or Egypt.

The next significant study done on HL was printed in Leipzig in 1918. It was authored by C.F.G. Heinrici and edited by E. von Dobschütz. The main purpose of the work, Die Hermes-Mystik und das Neue Testament, is reflected in its title. "The purpose of this book is to determine the relation between the teachings of the Hermetica and those of primitive Christianity as presented in the New Testament."57 Heinrici does not examine HL in relationship to Greek philosophy at all.58

In 1924 Walter Scott published the first volume of a critical edition and commentary on HL entitled Hermetica. The Ancient Greek And Latin Writings Which Contain Religious Or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed To Hermes Trismegistus. In 1925 volume II appeared and this was followed by volume III in 1926. The fourth volume to W. Scott's opus magnum was published posthumously for Scott in 1936 by A.S. Ferguson. W. Scott was the first Hermetic scholar in
this century to produce a text with a critical apparatus, a translation
and a commentary for the Corpus Hermeticum proper, the Latin Asclepius,
and the Excerpts of Stobaeus. In addition, included in volume IV,
in varying instances, are texts, translations and commentaries on
many of the earlier external witnesses to HL which witnesses W.
Scott describes as the "Testimonia". One drawback with W. Scott's
dition of the text is the great number of changes that he makes in
the text that he himself establishes from the generally accepted manu-
script tradition. In many instances the great number of
emendations makes W. Scott's text almost unusable. To some extent,
however, Walter Scott's meticulous style of argumentation offsets
his sometimes disadvantageous text.

In W. Scott's opinion, "There was no one system of Hermetic
philosophy or theology, no one body of fixed dogmas; each of these
numerous writers had his own manner of thinking, and looked at
things from his own point of view; and there are wide differences
between the teaching of one libellus and that of another." At
the same time however, Scott did understood HL as originating from a
"common environment". Scott believed that for the most part
Hermetic teaching was derived from Greek philosophy. "So far, I
have spoken only of doctrines derived from Greek philosophy. That
includes nearly all that these documents [HL] contain; but not
quite all." Scott's phrase "not quite all" would refer to
Egyptian and Jewish influences. In his view a "prevailing
Platonism" constituted the main Greek philosophical trend in Hermetic thinking. This Platonism was here and there tinged with Stoic thought, more specifically Posidonian, Stoic thought. With the possible exception of the concept of rebirth in CH XIII Scott sees no Christian influence in HL at all. "Setting that aside (rebirth in CH XIII) I can find nothing in the doctrines taught that is derived from Christianity."61

In 1938 André-Jean Marie Festugière published an article entitled "Les Dieux Ousiarques De L' 'Asclepius'."62 The appearance of this article marked the beginning of Festugière's Hermetic publications. Perhaps, no one has ever written more on HL. Between 1944 and 1954 Festugière published four volumes of a work entitled La Révélation D'Hermès Trismégiste.63 Festugière himself describes it as "la longue analyse que j'en ai donnée".64 Volume I is subtitled "L'Astrologie Et Les Sciences Occultes". Several appendices are included in this volume. Among these is one devoted to "l'Hermetisme Arabe". Volume II is subtitled "Le Dieu Cosmique"; volume III "Les Doctrines De L'Ame" and volume IV "Le Dieu Inconnu Et La Gnose". Volumes II, III and IV in toto consider what Festugière would call "l'hermétisme philosophique".

Between 1945 and 1954 Festugière and Arthur Darby Nock co-operated to produce a critical edition, translation and commentary on the Hermetic corpus entitled Corpus Hermeticum. In that joint edition A.D. Nock was responsible for establishing the text of the Corpus.
Hermeticum, the Latin Asclepius and the "Fragments Divers". Nock also translated those same fragments. On the other hand, Festugière was responsible for establishing the text of the Excerpts of Stobaeus, its translation, as well as the translations of the Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius. While Festugière and Nock would not have agreed on every point, it would appear that their basic views regarding the source(s) of Hermetic thought are, for the most part, quite similar. In the preface of volume I of their joint work A.D. Nock sets forth the following statement. "Sauf le cadre, ils contiennent extremement peu d'elements egyptiens." Nock proceeds to further state that the ideas expressed in HL represent popular Greek philosophical thought "under a very eclectic form" mixing Platonism, Aristotelianism and Stoicism. He also sees traces of Judaism and a few Persian influences. In volume I of his RHT in a chapter on "Hermes-Thoth" Festugière states his view as to the extent of Egyptian influence on HL. "Notons d'abord que, dans l'hermetisme 'philosophique' tout au moins, l'element egyptien est à peine apparent, qu'il ne se decèle que dans l'affabulation, et cela surtout dan les Exc. XXIII-XXVI de Stobée." Although I have not been able to find a summary statement as à-propos as Nock's, regarding Festugière's view of the extent to which Greek philosophy has influenced HL it is very apparent from Festugière's articles 67, RHT and CH that the main source of Hermetic thought are, from his purview, the various Greek philosophical traditions.
In 1949 B. H. Stricker, an Egyptologist, published an article entitled "The Corpus Hermeticum". Stricker begins that article in the following manner:

When presenting to the Literary Faculty of Leyden University my paper on The Division of the History of the Egyptian Language, Friday the 5th of October 1945, I could defend, amongst the six required by the Academic Statute, a thesis on the Hermetic literature, running: 'The Hermetic writings contain, in a presentation comprehensible to the Greek reader, expositions of the system of philosophy and science, developed, or at least professed, by the Egyptian priesthood during the last millennium before the beginning of our era.'

Stricker proceeds to state that, "By the courtesy of the editors of this review I am enabled to publish this thesis here in a somewhat more elaborate form". He continues by presenting the thesis quoted above in a four-fold fashion. Unfortunately, his article is only two pages long. However, for the first time in approximately forty years an Egyptian origin for the HL had been espoused. At the same time, no one since Dévéria (circa 1870) had argued for such a strong Egyptian influence upon the development of the HL.

In one sense, the publication of the final volume of Festugiére-Nock's joint work in 1954 marked the close of an era in Hermetic studies in this century. Since that time no major critical edition or commentary of the HL has appeared. However, prior to 1954 and since then a number of important articles and studies have been done.
In another sense, however, with the appearance of Stricker's article in 1949 another era in Hermetic studies began.

IV. Hermetic Interpretation In This Century: Another View

In the spring of 1975, as a doctoral candidate in the area of "New Testament and Christian Origins", at the urging of my faculty advisor, Prof. Dieter Georgi, I began to peruse an English translation of Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride. This endeavor grew out of my growing interest in ancient Egypt in particular and in ancient northeastern Africa in general. In the fall of 1975 I began a formal study of HL in a seminar focusing solely on that corpus under the tutelage of Prof. Georgi who has been the director of my thesis. At some point during that same general time period I became familiar with Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths' commentary on Plutarch's treatise concerning Isis and Osiris. In turn, I soon also became aware of Prof. Griffiths' comments on the phrase "books of Hermes" mentioned by Plutarch in DIO. Within the context of a rather substantive comment Prof. Griffiths sets forth the general tenor of thought with respect to the main source of ideas in HL.

Of the seventeen treatises included in the Corpus Hermeticum, a number consist of conversations by Hermes to various persons (to Tat,
Asclepius, Ammon, names of the spiritual disciple), and in others Hermes is addressed (by Nous and Agathos Daimon). Other Egyptian gods figure in other treatises. Agathos Daimon talks to Osiris; in the Kore Kosmu (from the Anthologium of Stobaeus, c.A.D. 500) Isis talks to Horus. In spite of this the main ideas are said to be Greek, although the ascription to Hermes is a mark of the veneration felt by the Greeks for the Egyptian religious tradition.  

Proceeding, however, Prof. Griffiths then proffers the following:

B.H. Stricker has argued (in Mnemosyne 2 (1949), 79f.) that the corpus is predominantly Egyptian in origin; Derchain, 'L'authenticite de l'inspiration egyptienne dans le "Corpus Hermeticum"' (Rev. Hist. Rel. 161 (1962), 175-98), while he regards the content as being of heterogeneous origin, shows by specific instances that the Egyptian element is a good deal more prominent than Nock and Festugière have supposed.  

In an article which appeared before his commentary on Plutarch's Dio, Mr. Griffiths indicates that Derchain's "approach to Hermetic literature is an admirable" one and that, among other things, "Derchain has made a promising start" with respect to pointing out Egyptian influences in HL. The main purpose of this thesis is to build upon Derchain's "promising start".

As was mentioned above, at the end of section III, the appearance of Stricker's article in 1949, in one sense, marked the beginning of another era in Hermetic studies in this century. Since that time other studies have appeared which lend substantive support to the thesis that a significant Egyptian stratum exists in the HL.  

24
Derchain's article mentioned just above which appeared in 1962 certainly falls into that category.\textsuperscript{80} In a twenty-three page study Derchain discusses a number of places in HL which he feels reflect an Egyptian influence. Among other things he identifies four "themes principaux" in HL which, in his view, are clearly Egyptian:

1) The theory of royalty (or kingship).
2) The demiurgic function of the sun.
3) The theory of living statues.
4) The general theory pertaining to rites.

The Hermetic tractate which Derchain discusses more than any other is the Asclepius, particularly the apocalyptic section in paragraphs 24 and 25. Here, too, four features in his view are Egyptian.\textsuperscript{81}

Convincing as it is, Derchain's study, by itself, hardly offsets the cumulative effect of the opinions of those scholars such as Walter Scott, A.-J. Festugière and A.D. Nock regarding the significance of the Egyptian impact on the development of the HL. At the same time, however, Derchain's "promising start" is of considerable help and he does a better job of substantiating his view than does Stricker, as attractive as his view is.

In 1969 Martin Krause published an article entitled "Agyptisches Gedankengut in der Apokalypse des Asclepius".\textsuperscript{82}

Among other things, Krause surveys a significant portion of the
"ancient Egyptian Apocalypticism" which he feels is relevant vis-à-vis
the "little apocalypse" in the Asclepius tractate. He also
discusses much of the pertinent secondary literature. Krause sums
up his concise study in the subsequent manner:

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen: die sogenannte kleine
Apokalypse im Asclepius ist eine ursprünglich selbstän-
dige Schrift, die in das hermetische Schrifttum eingear-
gebeitet wurde. Dafür spricht auch das Vorkommen von Thot
und Ammun im koptischen Text neben Asclepius, während in
der lateinischen Version der Text durch die Unterdrückung
der Namen geglättet worden ist. Die koptische Bersetzung
steht der griechischen Original-schrift sehr nahe, während
die lateinische von Text-berarbeitungen zeugt. Der Text
steht inhaltlich in Zusammenhang mit der
Auseinandersetzungs-literatur der ersten Zwischenzeit und
den späteren sogenannten Prophezeiungen bis hin zum
Töpferorakel. Die in ihm enthaltenen Topoi stammen aus
der ägyptischen Kultur. Sie haben auch auf die jüdische
und christliche Apokalyptik eingewirkt. Diese, ihrer
Herkunft nach ägyptischen Gedanken, wurden bei ihrer
Verwendung in einer hermetischen Schrift teilweise umge-
formt.

In a final sentence Krause indicates that he believes that there is
even more Egyptian "Material" in HL. "Es ist damit zu rechnen,
dass ausser dem schon bekannten ägyptischen Material in der
Hermetik noch weiteres als ägyptisch nachgewiesen werden kann."

To my knowledge, perhaps the most important study defending the
thesis of a significant Egyptian stratum in the HL was published
two years ago in 1984. In June of 1982, via personal correspondence,
Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths indicated to me that Dr. Erik Iversen, a
Danish Egyptologist, who wrote The Myth of Egypt and Its
Heiroglyphs had become interested in the HL. Dr. Iversen had
written Prof. Griffiths regarding what he (Dr. Iversen) had hoped to do. In his letter to me Prof. Griffiths indicated that he was not sure as to what Dr. Iversen might be "on to". In November of 1984 I was pleasantly surprised to receive, through the kind offices of Prof. Griffiths, a copy of an already published seventy-one page study by Dr. Iversen entitled *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine*. Iversen begins the preface to his work with the following statements.

As an Egyptological contribution to the debate on the origin of Hermetic doctrine, the present study has been strictly limited to the consideration of certain fundamental concepts of Hermetic and Egyptian cosmology in an attempt to show their basic accordance. Ever since the beginning of the century when the debate was inaugurated by Reitzenstein, the discussion has been conducted almost exclusively by classical scholars and on the premisses of classical philology, with Cumont, Petrie, Stricker and Derchain as notable exceptions.

The fact that most Hermetic doctrines could be traced in the philosophical and religious literature of Greece and other Mediterranean cultures led to the generally accepted assumption that those were the natural sources of a compilation considered a typical product of Hellenistic syncretism, on which the Egyptian influence was at most peripheral or negligible.

The Egyptian setting of the singular treatises as well as the national fervour often displayed in them were considered literary pastiche, and the explicit statement of Jamblichus and other contemporary scholars that they contained genuine Egyptian concepts translated into philosophical terms was disregarded or disbelieved. The demonstration that these statements were in fact basically correct, and that direct parallels to the Hermetic doctrines couched in concrete mythical terms are regularly found in Egyptian cosmological texts ages before there is evidence of them elsewhere is, as already stated, the principal aim of the following comparison.
The great value of Iversen's work is that he points to specific places in Hermetic and Egyptian texts which would seem to involve in many instances the same basic idea or concept. The following is an example of Iversen's style of argumentation.

Turning to the Hermetic attitude towards the problem of being and non-being, considered in its Egyptian aspect above on page 17, we find in treatise V, 9 (p. 64, 1-3) a direct parallel to the epithet calling Egyptian gods and kings 'lords or rulers (h'k3) of what is and what is not,' in the statement that 'The Supreme Being is at the same time that which is (T3 60NTA) and that which is not (UH 60NTA)'. The doctrine is elaborated upon in the following explanation, that he combines the two antitheses, because 'he brings all things which are or exist into being, while containing within himself those which are not brought into being', probably in view of future creation.

Iversen, himself, is fully aware of the limited ramifications of his study. He also seems well attendant to the limits of the results of his investigation. Iversen believes that much of Hermetic thought was "current in the later philosophical and religious tradition". From his point of view this is irrefutable. At the same time, however, he believes that much of this same thought is authentically Egyptian. For further Egyptian elements in the HL as discussed by Iversen and others see the subsequent note. In chapters two and three of this thesis, more of Iversen's evidence will be adduced to support a number of proposed "Egyptian elements".
Chapter I

V The Proposed Method Or Approach

A. Hermetic Literature: A Definition

On page 13 above I began using the abbreviation HL in reference to the body of literature with which this thesis is concerned. In the chapters to follow, strictly speaking, unless otherwise specified, the above abbreviation does not refer to the entire corpus of Hermetic literature, extant or theorized, but to those portions of the Hermetic corpus which are discussed in the subsequent chapters. That includes various passages in the Corpus Hermeticum proper, the Asclepius and the Excerpts from Stobaeus' anthologium.

The rationale for choosing an abbreviation-rubric such as HL is two-fold. On the one hand, it is a very convenient abbreviation. On the other hand, there is an interpretive (or hermeneutical) consideration, ideological in nature. Among Hermetic interpreters, particularly in this century a certain tendency has emerged regarding the use of the term Corpus Hermeticum. As was stated earlier in this chapter (see p. 4 above) the term Corpus Hermeticum properly refers to "the name given by recent commentators to a collection of about seventeen distinct documents, which first makes its appearance in manuscripts of the fourteenth century". As such this would not include the
Asclepius, the Stobaean Excerpts, the Testimonia nor the Hermetic literature related to astrology and magic. Even so there appear to be a number of scholars who prefer to use the term Corpus Hermeticum when referring to the whole of Hermetic literature. Such a use is hardly without merit and to some degree is quite understandable. However, in this thesis I have chosen to use the abbreviation-rubric HL for two specific reasons, both directly connected with the interpretive consideration alluded to above. First, it is more precise as a designation for the Hermetic literature as a whole than is the term Corpus Hermeticum which technically refers to only a portion of Hermetic literature. Secondly, and more importantly, sometimes when the term Corpus Hermeticum is used to refer to the whole of Hermetic literature, implicit in its use is a given interpreter's opinion regarding the relationship between the Corpus Hermeticum proper and some of the other varieties of Hermetic literature presently available to us. More specifically, sometimes the interpreter believes that the Corpus Hermeticum proper is superior to some of the other varieties of the extant Hermetica. This is a pitfall I wish to avoid; thus, my use of the abbreviation-rubric HL. 90

Due to past and present time constraints, the Hermetic literature related to alchemy and magic and the Testimonia will not be discussed in this thesis per se. However, it should not be assumed that the Hermetic literature excluded from any discussion
in this thesis does not contain any Egyptian elements. The results of my study of the Hermetic corpus thus far would not lead me to such a conclusion. In fact, the opposite would appear to be the case, particularly in relationship to that Hermetic literature related to magic and alchemy.  

B. A Comment On Previous Methods

To my knowledge, none of the major critical editions and commentaries on HL in this century have attempted to assess the degree to which HL has been genuinely influenced by Egyptian traditions other than in a somewhat cursory fashion. In this particular connection the studies of both Derchain and Iversen supercede the earlier critical editions and commentaries.

C. The Method Adopted In This Thesis

The method to be used in this thesis is basically a simple one. It will entail a discussion of various Hermetic passages with a view toward demonstrating that they reflect an Egyptian influence or influences. This approach is quite similar to the one adopted by Dr. Iversen in his study mentioned above in section III, C. Dr. Iversen, however, limits his study to certain Hermetic doctrines related, for the most part, to what he calls "cosmology".
Chapter I

This present study will not be limited to cosmology but will consider a somewhat wider spectrum of Hermetic themes. Specifically, elements from the following areas of HL will be discussed:

1) Divine characteristics (attributes or properties)
2) Divine names (or titles)
3) The kingship
4) Several aspects of Hermes Trismegistus in HL
5) Egyptian Elements in the aretalogy of the Kore Kosmu

When the prospectus for this thesis was submitted and accepted, I had planned to not only identify Egyptian elements in the Hermetic corpus, but also to discuss each element's background, and how each element functioned in its respective, Hermetic setting. The basic intention now is to simply identify and authenticate a significant stratum of Egyptian elements in HL.

In the attempt to identify Egyptian elements in the Hermetic corpus the whole spectrum of primary and secondary material related to the Egyptian historical period has been the field of research; from the beginning of that historical period in ca. 3000 B.C.E. down to and including the Egyptian materials of the Graeco-Roman era.
D. My Own Interpretive Orientation

Near the end of his study on *Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine* Eric Iversen makes the following statement:

That corresponding [Hermetic] notions were current in the later philosophical and religious tradition is an acknowledged fact, long ago established on irrefutable authority, and regularly used as the principle argument against a direct Egyptian influence on the corpus as such.  

I certainly understand this to be a reference to the Greek philosophical and religious tradition in the early centuries of the Christian era. In this particular connection I could not agree with Dr. Iversen more. At the same time, however, I believe as I understand Dr. Iversen to also believe that the existence of certain Hermetic ideas and concepts in the Greek philosophical and religious tradition does not preclude, ipso facto, the existence of authentic Egyptian counterparts to these same ideas and concepts. In turn, I further believe, as does Iversen, that these same Egyptian, idea and concept-counterparts served to influence the development of the HL extant today. I believe that what follows in chapters II and III will add further credence to that point. In addition, these same discussions will further augment the earlier efforts of previous scholars such as Dévéria, Pietschmann, Reitzenstein, Stricker, Derchain, Griffiths, Assman, Iversen, and probably others unknown to me, regarding the authentication of a
significant stratum of Egyptian influence in HL. The next chapter will begin with a consideration of a number of divine characteristics (attributes or properties) in the HL.
My study of the Hermetic corpus thus far has enabled me to isolate a number of divine characteristics (attributes or properties) which I believe are of Egyptian origin. The first section of this chapter will involve a discussion of these characteristics or attributes.

I. DIVINE ATTRIBUTES

A. God as Bisexual

There are three references to the bisexuality of God in Hermetic literature. The first reference occurs in CH I, 9:16.¹

ο δὲ Νούς ὁ θεός, ἀρρενόθηλυς ἄν, ζωὴ
kai φῶς ὑπάρχων, . . .
The Mind-God, being male and female, existing as life and light . . .

According to a scheme or general plan of the Poimandres tractate devised by Pestugère-Nock the above lines are found in the revelatory section (paragraphs 4 through 26) of CH I. Paragraph nine consists of a description of the creation of a second demi-
urge mind which in turn then creates seven administrators. Paragraphs ten and eleven end the cosmogonically oriented paragraphs of this over-all revelatory section.² The other two references to the bisexuality of God are found in the Asclepius tractate.

The first of these two references occurs in Asclepius, 20:9-10 (vol. II, p.321).

hic ... utraque sexus fecunditate plenissimus,.... and he (God) being most replete with the fecundity of both sexes. . . .

The general context of paragraphs twenty and twenty-one is that of a discussion taking place between Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius centering on the fecundity of the Creator-God and those beings created by him. The second reference to God's bisexuality is found at the beginning of paragraph 21 (21:18, vol. II, p. 321). It takes the form of a question which seems, in fact, to spur on further statements by Hermes to Asclepuis.

Uttriusque sexus ergo deum dicis, o Trismegiste? You say, Oh Trismegistus that God is of both sexes?

Walter Scott discusses bisexuality in the Corpus Hermeticum in considerable detail.³ At the beginning of that discussion he cites primary and secondary evidence which attests to a divine bisexuality in ancient Egypt.
In ancient Egyptian documents, the progenitor is described as bisexual. Thus, in the cosmogony of Heliopolis (Breasted, Hist. Eg.p. 56) it was told of Tum, the Demiurgus who emerged from the primordial waters, that 'from himself' he begat four children, namely, Shu, (the atmosphere) and Tefnut (the twin-sister and consort of Shu), Qeb or Seb (the earth), and Nut (the sky). Iknaton, 1375-1358 B.C. (Breasted, Hist. Eg.p. 376) called his sun-god Aton 'the father and the mother of all that he has made'. Brugsch ib. p. 197 quotes from ancient Egyptian documents: 'God is father and mother.' -- 'God begets and is not begotten; he bears offspring, and is not born.' -- 'He begets himself (as father) and bears himself (as mother)'.

In a note appended to CH I, 9:16 Festugiére indicates that the notion of a male-female deity is rather widely attested. As evidence he cites a good number of Greek and Latin sources, including Firmicus Maternus, Lactantius, Proclus, Damascius and Hippolytus. J. Gwyn Griffiths indicates that Atum is the Egyptian deity who serves as a bisexual, creator-god par excellence. As evidence he points to a passage in the Coffin Texts, II, 161a: 

\[\text{ms } \text{sw, } \text{pn } \text{tn -- I (Atum) gave birth to Shu, I (am) he-she.}\]

In the cosmogony associated with Heliopolis Atum gives birth to eight deities. The Coffin Text above alludes to that original occasion and the creation of Shu, the god who represents the air. What is so striking about the above text and CH I, 9:16 is that both texts are cosmogonic in their setting; both texts describe a bisexual, creator-god; and in both contexts a second deity is created. In CH I, 9:17 ξερον Νοῦν δημιουργόν is created; and Shu is created in the Egyptian setting. The peculiar-
ly allusive nature of Egyptian religious texts makes the presentation of more texts at this point difficult. In this connection consider the following comments by Griffiths: "The early religious texts of Ancient Egypt do not present long passages of coherent mythology. Allusions to divine happenings are usually brief, and they are often related to ritual. Their validity is all the more commanding in such a context." 7 In concluding, the bisexuality of God as expressed in the above Hermetic passages certainly has a clear Egyptian parallel which might very well have served as a credible antecedent to its Hermetic counterpart.

B. God as Self-Generating

The second divine characteristic or attribute to be considered is that of "self-generation". This particular element is mentioned twice in the HL. The first instance is found in Asclepius, 14:18-19 (vol. II, p. 313). "haec ergo est, quae ex se tota est, natura dei."(This, then, is the nature of God which is subsistent totally from itself) 7a. The second occurrence of God as being self-generative is found in KK, 58: 14-15: "Πάτερ καὶ θαυμαστὲ ποιητὰ πάντων, αὐτόγονο δαίμον... , Father and Marvelous Creator of all things, Self-generating Power ... ". 7b In commenting upon the Kore Kosmu passage Festugière gives a parallel from the Greek

38
Magical Papyri and further indicates that God is often described as being self-generating among the Neo-Platonists. In relationship to the Asclepian passage, W. Scott adduces several Egyptian texts. In the Egyptian sphere this notion is extant throughout the entire historical period. In an extensive, two-volume study of the god Atum, Karol Myśliwiec has collected several texts which bear directly upon the point being discussed.

In one text (Pyramid Text, 1587) Atum, in his form as Khepri("the sun-god at his rising"), is described as "ḥpr ḫs·f", the one who evolved from himself. In another text, Spell 335 from the Coffin Texts, Atum is figured in the subsequent manner: "'3 ḥpr ḫs·f" (Atum) The great, who came from himself. In the Book of the Dead (BD), chapter 15 Atum is described again as the one who created himself ("ḥpr ḫs·f") and the primeval source of all things ("p3wty"). In BD, chapter 24 Atum, again in his form as Khepri, is presented as "ḥpr ḫs·f ḫr ṣd mwt·f", the one who came into being upon his mother's thigh. Myśliwiec also lists, without quoting, five other texts dating from the 19th dynasty (circa 1300 B.C.E.) down to Ptolemaic times. Myśliwiec cites additional expressions of Atum's self-generative abilities. On a statue of Paser from the time of Ramses II the following phrase is ascribed to Atum in his form as Amun-Re'-Harakhty: "ms sw ḫs·f", the one who himself bore himself. In a coffin from the 21st dynasty Atum (as Re'-Harakhty) is the one who "ṣr ṣt·f".
made his womb. \(^ {17} \) In a text from the temple of Denderah which originates in Ptolemaic times Atum is described as "ir sw ds·f", the one who himself made himself. \(^ {18} \)

There is additional evidence beyond those texts collected by Mysliwiec. The god Re', who is often times identified with Atum, is extolled in a hymn which serves as an appendix to one of the versions of chapter 15 of the Book of the Going Forth By Day (i.e., the Book of the Dead). In that hymn the god is praised in these words: R\(^ {i} \) pw Hr 3hty p3 hwn ntrty iw`w nhh wtt sw ms w ds·f . . . Re' who is Horus-of-the-two-Horizons, the divine child, \(^ {18a} \) the heir of eternity, the one who begat himself, the one who gave birth to himself . . . \(^ {19} \). The Legend of Isis and Re' provides yet another example of divine self-generation found in the traditions of ancient Egypt. \(^ {20} \) The very beginning of the legend contains the relevant passage. " r n ntr ntrty hprw ds·f ir pt t3 . . . account of the divine god, who produced himself, the one who made heaven and earth . . . \(^ {21} \). Another myth, the Destruction of Mankind, begins in a similar fashion. However, the very beginning of the text is not extant: "ntr hpr ds·f . . . ", the god, who created himself . . . \(^ {22} \). Toward the middle of the Egyptian historical period Atum and Amun came to be closely identified with one another. In one hymn from a series of "Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus" \(^ {23} \) Amun is figured as a "ntr ntrty hprw ds·f", a divine god who created himself. One version
of a creation myth the text of which is dated in the 4th century B.C.E. not only provides one final piece of evidence bearing upon the self-generating aspect of God in Hermetic literature, but that same text gives considerable insight into how "hpr", to be or become, a verb so important in the evidence presented just above, is introduced and then extrapolated upon in various ways:

\[
\text{š't nt ṛh ḥprw nw R' shr}
\]
\[
\text{ḥḥ pr ḥprw ḥpr·kwī m ḥprw n ḥpri}
\]
\[
\text{ḥpr m sp ṭpy ḥpr·kwī m ḥprw n ḥpri}
\]
\[
\text{ḥpr·i ḥpr ḥprw pw n p3·n·i iw p3wtt,}
\]

The book (document) concerning knowing (knowledge of) the evolutions of Re' (and) overthrowing Apep. The words of the Lord-of-All. He says: I evolved as the creator of all things. I came into existence as the forms of Khepri (the Creator), coming into existence on the first occasion. I came into existence in the form of Khepri. I evolved as the creator of all things, that is, I produced myself from the primeval matter.

Based upon the evidence presented above the concept of divine self-generation as found in HL could have easily been drawn from an Egyptian background.

C. God as ἀφανῆς

CH V, which is entitled "From Hermes To His Son, Tat", is an extended discussion on the subtitle to the tractate "God is
not apparent and is most apparent" (ὅτι ἀφανὴς θεὸς φανερώτατος ἐστιν). Walter Scott is of the opinion that ἀφανὴς and its derivatives used elsewhere in the tractate may reflect an Egyptian source.

"... and it is possible that the author of Corp. V was influenced in his choice of the term (ἀφανὴς) by language used in the Egyptian cults. 'According to the received explanation in the time of the New Kingdom, the name of the God Amen signifies 'The Hidden One' (Wiedemann, Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians, Eng. tr. p.108). Brugsch, Rel. und Myth. p. 97, quotes from Egyptian documents: 'God is hidden, and his form is known to no man. No one has searched out his likeness. He is hidden to gods and men. He is secret for his creatures'." 27

Chapter nine of Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris supports this same meaning for the name Amun. "Plutarch cites from Manetho an explanation of the name Amun which is very probably correct, the form being in that case a passive participle of the verb imn, 'Conceal'; see Wb. I, 83-4 and Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, 88." 28

The series of hymns to Amun mentioned earlier 29 provide further evidence of a connection between Amun and "that which is hidden". In one section of one of the hymns we read: imn·n·tw m Ἰμν ἡὕτη ntrw", Hiding yourself as Amun, foremost of the gods. 30 Another passage reads as follows: w' Ἰμν imn sw r r·sn sḫp sw r ntrw, One is Amun, hiding himself from them, concealing himself from the gods. 31 The subsequent lines of the hymn continue to develop the idea of Amun's hidden or concealed
aspect.

bw rh·tw inm·f w3i sw r hrt... bw rh ntrw nbw
ki·f m3·... b3y imn rn·f mi št3w·f, His hue
is not known. He is far from heaven... None of the
gods know his true form... Powerful one, hiding his
name in as much as he is mysterious.

In concluding the discussion of this particular element it is
of some significance to note that Plutarch in De Iside et
Osiride, chapter 9 uses αφανής in describing how the Egyptians
perceived and understood Amun.

διό τὸν πρῶτον θεόν, <δν> τῷ παντὶ τὸν αὐτὸν
νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἀφανή καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὑπὸ τα
προσκαλούμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐμφανή γενέθαι
καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτοῖς Ἀμοῦν λέγουσιν. 32

Consequently, they name the first god, whom they consider to be one
with the universe, Amun, since they address (προσκαλούμενοι) him
as one being invisible and hidden to them, and exhort him to become
manifest and clear to them.33

The evidence already presented in discussing the use of αφανής as
an attribute of God in the subtitle to CH V lends plausibility to the
position that Amun, as the hidden one, provides a credible
background from which God as αφανής in CH V may have been drawn.34

D. God as Žwē

The opening lines of CH I, 9 attribute several differing
features to the Mind-God: ἄρρενόθηλος ὦν, γνώ καὶ φῶς ὑπάρχων, ἀπεκύρει λόγῳ ἐτερον Νοῦν δημιουργόν...

(The Mind-God) being male-female, existing as life and light, created through an utterance another demiurgic mind.

The connection between ζωή as life and God in Egypt is common and quite ancient. In the Coffin Texts (CT) this connection or relationship manifests itself in the occurrence of the phrase "nb `nh", i.e., lord of life. Although this epithet is used in connection with several deities, it is applied most often to Re', as might be expected. In the CT, Spell 75 the deceased is described as being together with Re', as the lord of life: "wnn·i ḫn` nb `nh", I will be with the Lord of Life.36 In Spell 441 the setting has broader implications: "Ink R` nb `nh ink s3w n ḫt", I am Re', the lord of life, the beam of eternity.37 Spell 534, a relatively short one, describes the deceased in an attitude of moral posturing.

m33·i m3·t m-b3ḥ nb tm s·r·i m3·t n
nb r ḫt wnn·i ḫn` nb `nh ir·i mi ḫt·f
pry·i h3y·i (m) mskt ḫn` imyw šmsw,

I will see truth in the presence of the Lord of All, I will lift up truth to the Lord of All, I will be in the presence of the Lord of Life, I will act in accordance with his command, I will come and go in the evening barge (barge) together with those who are in the retinue...

Towards the end of Spell 647 nb `nh occurs three times.

Again, the context is one in which the deceased through identifying
with a deity seeks protection from the powers of death.

\[
\text{ink nfr hr pw mrrw nb \text{`nh} hk3.t} \\
\text{ntrw 39. ink pw nb \text{`nh} srr m pt sk Sth} \\
\text{mkt.i n ṭh.f sšm n irt.i ink nb `nh,}
\]

I am one who is fair of face whom the Lord of Life and Mistress of the gods love. . . . I am the Lord of Life, a noble in the sky, lo Seth is my protection because he knows my situation, I am the Lord of Life.

Seth appears as the Lord of Life in a subscription to Spell 160.

"I know the souls of the Westerners; They are Re', Sobk Lord [of Bakhu] and Seth The Lord of Life."\(^{41}\)

In three separate spells Horus is figured as the Lord of Life. Toward the end of Spell 54, which contains a number of lacunae, the deceased is described as "having appeared as Horus".

"Lift up your heart, see your beauty, having appeared as Horus [. . . ] the Two Ladies of Pe and Dep [. . . ] western [. . . ] meeting N, who has appeared as Lord of the Oar, the Lord of Life (nb `nh) within <. . . >.\(^{42}\)

In Spell 60, which provides a significant degree of mythological detail, Horus appears in that context with a number of other deities.

\[
\text{Hr nb `nh hd.k hnt.k m `ndty sip.k} \\
\text{sipw imyw Ddypr.k h3y.k m Rst3w wn.k ḫr} \\
\text{n imyw dw3t,}
\]

Horus, Lord of Life, sail downstream, sail upstream from 'Andjety, inspect those who are in Djedu, come and go in Rostau, enable those who are in the Netherworld to see.

In Spell 312, Horus, speaking to Osiris on behalf of the deceased,
extols Osiris. Continuing his statements to Osiris, he then states:

\[ \text{nwd} \cdot \text{k hn} \cdot \text{nwdw mn} \cdot \text{i n i3t} \cdot \text{k mi nb `nh,} \]
\[ \text{You move along with those who move along, while I remain on your mound like the Lord of Life.} \]

In Spell 647 Ptah is characterized, among other things, as the Lord of Life.

\[ \text{ptQw} \cdot \text{tw[t]} \cdot \text{i hpr rn} \cdot \text{i pw Pt} \text{h nfr ḫr wr ph} \]
\[ \text{My likeness (?) is created, and that is how this my name of Ptah came into being; one fair of face, mighty of strength, to whom people appeal (?) within the castle of the Lord of Life . . .} \]

In one final passage from the Coffin Texts Osiris is pictured as the Lord of Life. Spell 340, a relatively short one, is a "Spell for entering into the beautiful West . . . " 47 The deceased, after several initial statements, addresses the Morning Star. The deceased then continues:

\[ \text{ir n} \cdot \text{i w3t `k} \cdot \text{i dw3} \cdot \text{i Wsir nb `nh,} \]
\[ \text{Make a way for me that I may enter and worship Osiris, the Lord of Life.} \]

In BD, chapter 79 Atum, again a deity that is so often identified with Re', is also characterized as the Lord of Life.

\[ \text{ink [I]} \text{tm iri pt km3 wnnwt pri m t3 sḥpr styt nb n ntt ms ntrw ntr `3 hpr ds.f} \]

46
I am Atum who made the heavens, who created those things which exist, who goes forth about the earth, who causes procreation (seed) to come about, the Lord of Everything That Exists, who gave birth to the gods, the Great God who gave birth to himself, the Lord of Life who causes the Ennead of the gods to flourish . . .

One final piece of evidence in this connection comes from the Temple at Edfou dated in the Ptolemaic period. Here, too, Atum is the deity characterized as "nb `nḥ ṣḥrw kkw ", i.e., the Lord of Life who overthrows darkness.

Based upon the evidence presented above `nḥ (life) as a property of deity in ancient Egypt is well substantiated. At the same time, this particular feature of the Egyptian religious view of reality provides a suitable background for ζωή as it is used in CH I, 9:16.

E. God's Multi-Name Aspect

In CH V, 10: 7-10 God's multi-name is presented in the subsequent manner:

\[ \text{πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομα ἔχει ἅπαντα, ὅτι ἐνός ἐστὶ ἡ πατρὸς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὗτος ὄνομα ὃ κ ἔχει, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶ πατὴρ.} \]

For all things exist, as God (οὗτος) exists; and

47
because of this, God subsumes all names because they are of one source (i.e., God); and on account of this God (ὕπο τῶν πολλῶν μυστικῶν κέκληται) does not have one name because God is the source of all things.

The relevant Asclepian passage is as follows:

the source (patrem) and lord of all things to be called by one name however many its' composition; indeed God (hunc) is nameless or, rather, all names are his . . .

Asclepius, 20: 3-6

An Egyptian tradition regarding God's multi-name aspect is not without attestation. Walter Scott, at one point in his comment on "innominem vel potius omninominem", adduces some evidence from Heinrich Brugsch.

Brugsch (Rel. und Myth. der alten Aegypter, p. 97) quotes from Egyptian documents: 'No man knows how to name him'. --- 'His name remains hidden.' --- 'His name is secret for his children.' --- His names are numberless.' --- Many are his names, no one knows their number.'

Scott then adduces De Iside et Osiride (chapter 53) where Isis is described as ὑπο δὲ τῶν πολλῶν μυστικῶν κέκληται and the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL), III, 882 (Dacia) which contains a dedication "Isidi myrionimae". 57a

In Apuleius' Metamorphoses (Book XI) Isis is described in chapter 5 as "nomine multiiugo" and in chapter 22 as "dea
multinominis. It appears however that there is no extant Egyptian evidence which specifically describes Isis as having many names. However, in connection with other deities there is other evidence.

In a comment on Μυρωνυμος as found in Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, chapter 53 Griffiths adduces the phrase, ἈΣΩ rnv (i.e., many names), as being applied to several deities. Griffiths source is the Wb. II,425,17. He further adduces "with many forms and with many names" as being ascribed to the sun-god in a tomb dating from the 19th Dynasty. In the Coffin Texts Atum is figured as "km3 rnv.f", the One who has created his names. In a rather lengthy hymn dating back to the 20th or 21st Dynasty the subsequent phrase is attributed to Amun-Re': "thy names are manifold, and how many they are is unknown". The rubric to chapter 152 of the Saite version of the BD describes Amun-Re', in one of his local forms, as a "god of many names".

While the "multi-name aspect" of God in ancient Egypt is not as prominent a concept as God as "the Lord of Life", enough evidence has been presented above to substantiate an Egyptian background for the Hermetic "multi-name" aspect of God.

F. The Hidden Name Aspect of God
In KK, 55: 18-19 God is addressed in the following manner:

"Ωἴσσετα" δὲ ἔλεγεν "καὶ τοὺς καίνους
tούτους κόσμους τεχνίτας καὶ κρυπτόν ἐν θεοῖς
καὶ σεβαστόν ὀνόμα μέχρι νῦν ἀπασίν
ἀνθρώποις, 65a

'Master', (Fire) said, 'Crafter of this new world,
Name hidden among the gods and revered by all humanity
up to the present . . .

The idea of God's name being hidden is quite pronounced in the
Egyptian sphere. It is, perhaps, best associated with the god
Amun.

In a series of hymns dedicated to Amun the hidden name
motif occurs several times. In hymn XIII, lines 2 and 3 we
read the following: 'Imn imn rn·f r ntrw", Amun hiding his name
from the gods. In hymn XVI, lines 1 and 2 we get:

ḥmt(w)pw ntrw nbw Imn R' Ptḥ nn snw·sn
imn rn·f m'Imn, Three are all (the) gods, Amun, Re'
and Ptah; there is none like them. Concealing his name
like Amun.

Finally from the Amun hymns and quite à propos vis-à-vis KK,
55:19 are several lines from hymn XV. 71

w<'Imn imn sw r·sn sh³p sw r ntrw bw rh·tw
inw·f... bw rh ntrw nbw ki·f m3'... . .
b³y imn rn·f mì št³w·f,
One (is) Amun, hiding himself from them, concealing himself from the gods; His hue is not known . . . None of the gods know his true form . . . Powerful one, hiding his name in as much as he is mysterious . . .

In another text, a hymn to Amun-Re', the subsequent phrases are recorded: " . . . thy name is hidden from his children in his (i.e. thy) name of 'Amen'(i.e. the Hidden One)." 73

The hidden name motif also occurs in the BD literature. In BD, chapter 127 B we read: "Wsir Hnty 'Imntt imyw·f m-b3h 'Imn rn·f m d3d3t ' 3t 74", Osiris 75, Leader of the West is in the presence of the One Whose Name Is Hidden from the Divine Council. In chapter 180 we find the following: "iw-i smn·i d` m n S3h nms n 'Imn rn·f", I have established the sceptre of the god Sah(Orion) and the nemes-crown of the One (god) Whose Name Is Hidden. In Spell 148 from the CT the hidden name motif appears three times. This spell deals with the "emergence" 76 or the birth of Horus. The first use of the hidden name motif occurs in a section wherein Isis is speaking to her unborn son, Horus. It reads:

\[
m(y) \text{ pr hr t3} . . . \text{ ir. i rn.k ph.n.k 3ht sw3t hr snbw imn rn,}
\]
Come and go forth on the earth
. . . so that I may make your name such that you
will have reached the horizon having passed over the
ramparts of The Hidden-of-Name.

The next usage occurs in a section of the spell which O'Connell
calls "Isis' Preparation for the New-born Horus".

bik s3-i ḫrw ḫms r·k... m rn·k pw n bik ḫry
s nbw ḫwt imn rn,

O Falcon, my son Horus, settle down . . .
with this your name of 'Falcon' over the ramparts of the
mansion of The-Hidden-of-Name. 78

The third and final usage occurs in the next section of the spell,
"The Advent of Horus".

ink ḫrw bik ḫry s nbw ḫwt imn rn, I am Horus the
Falcon who is over the ramparts of the mansion of The
Hidden-of-Name. 79

Kurt Sethe 80 records a particular expression from an Amun
hymn quite similar to an expression adduced earlier (see p. 47):
"imn rn·f r msw·f m rn·f n imn", His name is hidden from his
children in his name of 'Imn, or Hidden One.

The hidden name motif is also found in the Legend of Isis
and Re'`. In one sense, the entire legend centers around that
motif. The legend depicts how Isis sets out to attain a rank equal
with that of Re', the supreme deity. She accomplishes her task by
attaining, through magical means, his unknown name. At one point in the story we find the following expression coming from Re': "rn·i imn st m ḫt·i r ms(w)>i", my name, it was hidden in my body by my progenitor. Later on in the story a very unequivocal statement about the hidden aspect of Re' 's name is made: "nn rḥ·n ntrw rn·f", The gods do not know his name.

In concluding, the hidden name motif in the Egyptian sphere is most developed in relationship to Amun. Yet based upon the texts adduced above it was also connected with Osiris, Horus, Isis and Re'. While a word for word parallel for the phrase "Name hidden among the gods" (KK, 55:19) has not been adduced, based upon the evidence presented above, an Egyptian background for KK, 55:19 is not only possible, but quite plausible.

G. God as the One and the All

In CH XVI, 3:1 (p.233) God is described as:

πάντα ὁντα τῶν ἕνα, καὶ ἕνα ὅντα τῶν
πάντα· the One is all things, and the All who is one.

Derchain argues that this is an apt description of Atum, as the supreme god originating from Heliopolis.
Or, il est bien connu que le demiurge en Égypte est Atoum, selon la théologie héliopolitaine, dieu du caractère solaire, dont le nom même signifie 'Tout', sur la solitude et l'unité de qui on insiste souvent.

Beyond this, the phrase πάντα ὁντά, κταλ could be understood as an attempt to define Atum's relationship with the Heliopolitan ennead. According to Heliopolitan theology, originally, there was Atum. From himself he brought forth Shu and Tefnut, his feminine counterpart or syzygy. From these came forth Geb and Nut and thus the other four deities that comprised the Heliopolitan ennead or psdt.

Derchain adduces a spell from the Coffin Texts to lend further support to his statements above. In this spell the deceased is seeking to become identified with Shu and thus utters:

I am life, lord of the years, living until infinity, a lord of eternity; I am he whom Atum, the eldest one created through his power, when he was one and became three.

In commenting on the above spell, J. Gwyn Griffiths makes several significant points.

It is the last clause, used of Atum, that is striking and significant from our point of view: 'when he was
One, and became Three' (m wn·f w·j m hpr·f m ḫmt).
Here is found as Morenz points out (Rel. 153), the rich distinction between being (wnn) and becoming (hpr), and the doctrine emphasizes that Atum remained one after he became Three.

In a study of the god Atum, Mysliwiec discusses in considerable detail the "Deutung des Namens" of this major deity. Mysliwiec lists no less than eight basic meanings. The name Atum or 'Itm is built upon the verb "tm" which means to be complete. To this end Mysliwiec presents six meanings which are related to the basic meaning of tm: "der Vollendete", "der Erfüllte", "der welcher eine Gesamtheit ist", "das All", "das Ganze", and "das Universum".

In Egyptian tm is one of two negative verbs. As a consequence of this, Mysliwiec lists another set of meanings for the name Atum which reflect the negative aspect of the verb tm.

1) "der noch nicht Vorhandene", the one who is not yet present;

2) "der nicht Vollendete, der vollendet geworden ist", the one who is not complete, the one who had become complete;

3) "der noch nicht Vollendete, der sich vollenden wird", the one who is not yet complete, the one who shall complete himself;

4) "das Nichts", that which is not;

At a later point in his discussion, Mysliwiec makes a concise statement about Atum's nature which certainly seems to tie in with
the various meanings of his name.

Die Tatsache, dass Atum in seinem Wesen das Positive mit dem Negativen vereinigt, spricht für eine Vielseitigkeit des Gottes, also für seine 'Vollkommenheit', zu der auch das "Noch-nicht-Vorhandensein", gefolgt vom "Entstehen-aus-Nichts" gehört.

What is expressed in CH XVI, 3:1 regarding the monistic, yet all-encompassing nature of the Supreme Being could easily have arisen out of such a rich conceptual background as that of the one belonging to Atum. However, Atum is not the only deity relevant to this present discussion.

In his discussion of the so-called Memphite theology, Iversen, as would be expected, among other things, comments upon Ptah's function in this text as the creator-god.

In connection with the identification of Ptah with Nun and Naunet it is briefly stated that in his bisexual manifestation of these two deities he was father and mother of Atum, the second god of creation, whose name means the All, the Universe, that is, the created cosmos, called into existence on the divine word or command of Ptah, the creative power of which is constantly referred to in the texts.

That this perceptible cosmos was in fact considered the physical body of the creator is confirmed from a variety of sources. In one text Ptah is directly identified with 'heaven, earth, water and the air between them', and the Shabaka text itself refers to 'trees, stones, clays and all other things growing on him'. The late, acrophonic and enigmatic, writing of Ptah with the hieroglyphs for earth, heaven and infinity is also significant in this respect, and the entire concept is confirmed by classical sources.
Iversen's most cogent point, however, in this connection concerns what he states vis-à-vis Asclepius, 2:1f:

nec inmerito ipse dictus est omnia, cuius membra sunt omnia. It is not without merit that [God] He himself(ipse) is called all things, because all things are his members.

Iversen translates membra as "limbs". For him this "recalls the Egyptian doctrines that 'no limb of the creator is without its god' and that 'the gods are the limbs of the creator' ".98

So either Ptah or Atum could serve as the model for the Supreme Being as that deity is described in CH XVI, 3:1 as "the One who constitutes all things, and the All who is one". In one sense, however, the Heliopolitan Atum is a more fitting deity in that from the Heliopolitan point of view Atum is simultaneously and co-equality the creator-god and the Supreme Being whose very name means "the All".99 On the other hand, Ptah from the Memphite point of view, while being the creator-god and the Supreme Being simultaneously, does not have a name whose meaning is as relevant vis-à-vis the Supreme Being as described in CH XVI, 3:1.
II DIVINE NAMES

In the extant Hermetic literature being considered in this thesis there are a number of names or titles which are attributed to God as Supreme Being. Those titles will be discussed in this section.

A. KK, 9:23-25 - The Lord of All

In KK, 9:23-25 we read the following:

καὶ ἡ φύσις ὁ τέκνον, ἐτύγχανε στεῖρα, εἰς αὐτοὶ οἱ ἡμί περιπολείν τὸν οὐρανὸν κελευθεντες τῷ πάντων θεῷ βασιλείᾳ προσελθόντες τὴν τῶν ὄντων ζωήν ἀπηγγέλλαν,

and Nature, oh child, continued (to be) sterile, until they who had already been commanded to patrol heaven came to τῷ πάντων θεῷ βασιλεῖᾳ, (and) reported the stillness of things.

There would appear to be only two possible translations for ὁ πάντων θεῷ βασιλεῖᾳ, "to God, the king of all things" or "to the God of all things, the king." I think either translation would justify a comparison to the well known Egyptian title, "nb r ḫr", i.e., lord of the universe. nb r ḫr literally means "lord to the end". It is also frequently translated as the Lord of All or the
Chapter II

All-Lord. In many instances it is an epithet proper to the sun-god, Re' or Atum; but it is also attributable to the king.\textsuperscript{103} In some other instances this title is used of Osiris who, over a period of time, came to share Re' 's position as the Supreme Being. "[Let this be] the first bidding of Osiris Neb-r-tcher (nb r dr) who keepeth hidden his body."\textsuperscript{104}

In a rather comprehensive study entitled \textit{Synkretismus in den Sargtexten} Brigitte Altenmüller demonstrates that nb r dr is used in connection with several deities.\textsuperscript{105} Based upon evidence presented by Myśliwiec this title is also used of Re'-Atum.\textsuperscript{106}

Nb tm is another titular phrase relevant to the present discussion. The basic meaning of the verb "tm" is to "to be complete".\textsuperscript{107} Nb tm, then, would also mean Lord of All.\textsuperscript{108} Altenmüller lists a number of examples in which the phrase nb tm appears in the CT.\textsuperscript{109}

Kurt Sethe\textsuperscript{110} has also collected evidence bearing upon the title nb tm. Initially, he adduces four passages which had previously been presented in a collection of religious texts by Lacau.

\begin{quote}
\textit{`Ink `Itm nb tm, (sp sn)}\textsuperscript{111}, I am Atum, the Lord of All.\textsuperscript{112}

\textit{hi šmsrw n nb tm}, It rejoices, the divine following of the Lord of All.\textsuperscript{113}

\textit{mi nb tm}, as the Lord of All.\textsuperscript{114}
\end{quote}
Chapter II

m-b3h nb tm, in the presence of the Lord of All.\textsuperscript{115}

In addition, Sethe presents four other occurrences of nb tm which stem from four different settings.

m s3h pn n NN pn n nb tm, in this, your rank as Lord of All.\textsuperscript{118}

b(i) m nb tm, to appear in glory as the Lord of All.\textsuperscript{117}

irtv-k m nb t3-tmw, your eyes are like the Lord of All [i.e., the Lord of humanity].\textsuperscript{118}

nb tmw km3 m nnw, the Lord of All [i.e., the Lord of humanity], Who was created in the primeval waters.\textsuperscript{119}

The last two texts presented just above seem to reflect a change over the course of time in the usage of the expression nb tm.\textsuperscript{120} Both t3-tmw and tmw are used to express the idea of humanity as whole. In the other six texts which Sethe presents tm retains its earlier, cosmic sense.\textsuperscript{121}

One other expression is relevant regarding the present discussion. The phrase, km3 tm, which means "creator of all" as cited by Faulkner,\textsuperscript{122} is also mentioned by Iversen.\textsuperscript{123}

In connection with the phrase τῷ πάντων θεῷ μασίλιτι which is found in KK, 55:19, four Egyptian expressions have been discussed:
Based upon the evidence presented above from the CT, five deities (Atum, Osiris, Re', Seth and Thoth) receive the epithet nb-r-ar. Thoth is so entitled once and Osiris ten times.\textsuperscript{125} Again from the CT, six deities share the title nb tm. They are: Atum, Hapy, Horus, Osiris, Re', and Shu. In this connection Atum receives the title seven times, which is more than any other deity.\textsuperscript{126} In connection with particular deities, the evidence presented above by Sethe is not as definitive. Of the eight texts adduced, one refers to Atum\textsuperscript{127}, another to Amun\textsuperscript{128} and a third to Ptah.\textsuperscript{129}

Based upon the full evidence presented here nb-r-ar and nb tm are more important than the other two expressions because of the greater frequency of occurrence.

Even though Osiris receives the epithet nb-r-ar ten times in the CT, I understand this as a secondary development consistent with the expansion of the influence of the Osirian cult throughout the course of Egyptian history. The evidence in connection with Re' in the CT represents an earlier, more authentic development. The fact that Atum in the CT receives the epithet nb tm more than any other deity represents, in my opinion, an ancient and authentic development in his cult. Thus far, both Atum and Re' could serve as credible counterparts to the Supreme Being as that figure is
depicted in KK, 9:24-25. Sethe's evidence as adduced above provides two further examples in Amun and Ptah.\textsuperscript{130} Even though the evidence adduced above from Sethe is not overwhelming, it is credible enough to be noted. In conclusion, there is a substantive tradition in the Egyptian sphere regarding the "Lord of All" concept which certainly provides a credible background for that same concept as it appears in HL.\textsuperscript{131} In this connection, the syncretistic deity-figure represented in Atum-Re' would be the most likely candidate after which the deity in KK, 9:24-25 may have been modeled.

B. The Lord of Eternity

In Asclepius, 10: 7-8 God is described as the "the lord of eternity":

\[ \textit{aeternitatis dominus deus primus est, secundus est mundus, homo ist tertius. The first god is the lord of eternity, the second (god) is the world, (and) the third is humankind.} \]

In the ancient Egyptian understanding of reality, God as "the lord of eternity" is a significantly prominent feature.
In a broader sense, there are two phrases, from an Egyptian point of view, which parallel rather neatly dominus aeternitatis: nb nḥḥ and nb ḍt. Neither expression is limited to any one deity. However, at the same time, Osiris and Re' appear to receive the title more often than any other deities. Re' receives the title nb nḥḥ at least eight times in the Coffin Texts. Hapi, the god of the Nile, is attested as receiving the title nb nḥḥ in the CT, IV, 145a. Osiris, Hapi, Shu, the god of the air, and Horus are attested as receiving the title nb ḍt in the CT.

Occasionally, a plural form of nb nḥḥ is attested. In chapter 27 of the BD (the Ani version) the deceased addresses the "nbw nḥḥ" and the "ḥryw ḍt; i.e., the lords of eternity and the possessors of "everlastingness". In a number of places in the BD both nb nḥḥ and nb ḍt, in their respective singular forms, are attested.

In one of the introductory hymns to the BD, Re' is described as "nb nḥḥ" and "ḥkṯ ḍt", the lord of eternity and the leader or prince of eternity. In another introductory hymn, in this instance ascribed to Osiris, Osiris is called "nsw nḥḥ nb ḍt, the king of eternity, the lord of eternity," which is a slightly different phrasing. In yet another Osirian hymn-litany which forms chapter 15 of the BD, Osiris is nb ḍt. In that same chapter Osiris receives the epithets: nb nḥḥ ir(w) ḍt, the
lord of eternity and the maker of eternity. In the introduction to ch. 18 the deceased, in this case Ani, addresses Osiris as nb dt. In ch. 41 the deceased, Nebseni, describes Osiris as "ntr ' 3 ḫḫ3 ī dī, the great god, the leader (or prince) of eternity".

In ch. 85 entitled "the utterance pertaining to the making of transformations (or forms)" Nu, the deceased, describes himself in the following terms:

'Ink smsg pɔwtyw bɔ pw bɔw ntrw nḥḥ ī dt . i
pw dī hprw pw nḥḥ nb rnpwt ḫḥ3 ī dt, I am the eldest god of the primeval gods, that is a divine soul of the souls of the gods of eternity. My body is eternity. My form is everlastingness and the lord of years, the ruler of eternity.

In ch. 42 the deceased is figured as "nb ī dī the lord of eternity". In ch. 141 Osiris is called "ḥḫ3 ī dī, the prince of eternity" and "nb ī dī, the lord of eternity". In ch. 142 he receives the epithets: "ḥḫ3 ī dī m 'Iwnw, the prince of eternity in 'Iwnw (i.e., Heliopolis)"; "nb ī dī, the lord of eternity"; and "nb ḫḥḥ, the lord of eternity". In a series of words (or rubric) which form a part of the end of the Thenna version of ch. 147, the deceased is assured that if he were to follow the instructions contained in that chapter, he would be "like a lord of eternity, one body with Osiris" (m nb n ī dī ḫ w`
In the vignette preceding ch. 148 of the Ani version of the BD Re' (or Osiris) is addressed as "w` w`w nb nh3 ir-t dt, the only One, the lord of eternity, the maker of eternity". In ch. 151 of the Nebseni version the deceased is characterized as "hk3 dt, a leader (or prince) of eternity". Near the beginning of ch. 173 Horus describes his father, Osiris, as "hnty imntiyw ntr `3 nsw nh3 hk3 dt, Foremost of the Westerners, great god, king of eternity, prince of 'everlastingness'. In ch. 183, a hymn to Osiris, Osiris is characterized as "s3 Nwt . . . hk3 dt, son of Nwt . . . prince of eternity". Finally, in ch. 185 Osiris once again is called "nb dt, lord of eternity" and "sr r nh3, a noble unto eternity".

In the evidence presented above from the BD tradition it is quite clear that the epithets nb dt and nb nh3 are reserved almost exclusively for Osiris. Only occasionally does Re' receive one or more of the epithets. This state of affairs tends to buttress the prevailing view regarding the slow and gradual "Osirianization" of Egyptian religion over an extended period of time. More specifically, in the earlier historical period the solar deities tended to predominate with Re' being somewhat paramount in that group. It seems, however, that, as was stated above, gradually Osiris took over a number of characteristics in his rise toward the prevailing position which was his by the advent
of the Greco-Roman era. Among the characteristics which he assumed were some of the earlier solar features belonging to Re. His being described as the lord of eternity is a good example of a property which at one point belonged to Re but which gradually came to be ascribed to Osiris. To some extent the evidence presented above from the BD tradition reflects the process alluded to just above already in progress.

According to some a distinction between the meaning of ṣḥḥ and ḏt exists which the above evidence (i.e., the translations) does not reflect. In his study on Hermetic doctrine Iversen discusses the distinction between these two terms.

... Neheh carries solar and Djet Osirian attributes, identifying the first with solar, and the second with what we, for want of a better term, have called existential time.

Closer defined, Neheh, represents time in its limitless cosmic expanse without end and beginning, corresponding to aion in its philosophical definition, and by the Egyptians apparently conceived as infinite space.

Djet on the other hand represents time in its association with life and existence and other 'created', mundane or temporal phenomena. As such it did not come into existence until creation and will always have a beginning, but under certain circumstances no end. In certain respects it can therefore be compared to chronos. It is significant in this respect that the creator, Ptah, is said to be Lord of Neheh (cosmic time) but to have created Djet (existential time). When used correlative-ly, the two terms are therefore best translated 'eternity and time' a rendering indicating certain characteristics of both.

In what he presents above and elsewhere on ṣḥḥ and ḏt Iversen
depends mostly on a 1911 dissertation by M. Stolk on the god Ptah. Unfortunately Iversen does not present any of Stolk's evidence. Nevertheless, Iversen's argument does coincide, at some points, with the opinions presented above (see note 162). In either case, I agree with Iversen's particular point that "Neheh carries solar and Djet Osirian attributes, . . . ". In the evidence presented above from the BD nb ġt is used more than any other expression and Osiris receives it in the great majority of those instances where that expression appears. In some instances above Osiris is described as having dominance over nhḥ. Thus Osiris as depicted above is lord of nhḥ, i.e., eternity "in its limitless cosmic expanse without end and beginning" and he is also lord of ġt, i.e., eternity which "did not come into existence until creation and will always have a beginning, but under certain circumstances no end".\textsuperscript{164} Re' and Ptah \textsuperscript{165} also receive both epithets. Thus in the Egyptian sphere there are at least three deities who have borne the title "lord (ruler or prince) of eternity". As such either one could serve as a credible model for the Asclepian, Hermetic "dominus aeternitatis".

On the other hand, with respect to their historical development as two distinct deities in the Egyptian sphere, Re' and Ptah assume creator-god status earlier than does Osiris. Nevertheless, later on in his development Osiris comes to assume a more significant creator-god status. This development in
connection with Osiris takes place toward the latter part of the Egyptian historical period. Since Re' and Ptah assume a creator-god status so early in their respective historical developments, thereby they also function in their respective settings as Supreme-Being figures. In this way Re' and Ptah fit more neatly than does Osiris the Hermetic context which speaks of a "deus primus". Based upon the evidence which has been presented here, above, specifically from the BD, Re' is an even more appropriate figure than Ptah.

C. "The Sole Ruler"

In KK, 30: 21-23 Hermes calls upon "τὸν μόναρχον" which I understand as a reference to the Supreme Being.

ἔγὼ δὲ, φησὶν Ἑρμῆς, ἐπεζήτουν ὑλῆν τίνι δὲν ἐστὶ χρῆσαθαι καὶ παρεκάλουν τὸν μόναρχον. 'And I', said Hermes, 'was seeking a material which it was (would be) necessary to use and was calling upon the Sole-Ruler'.

This title is ascribed to the Supreme Being in a number of places throughout the latter half of Excerpt 23. Mead translates μόναρχος into the familiar English, monarch, which is certainly an acceptable translation. However, W. Scott's translation of
μὸναρχὸς as Sole-Ruler points to this term's Egyptian background.

From the point of view of the Egyptian texts, there are two phrases which are relevant in relation to the Hermetic μὸναρχὸς. The first phrase, nb ṳ́, is translated as Sole Lord. The earliest evidence to be adduced here occurs in the Pyramid Texts (PT), ph. 276 (Utterance 254) where we read:

Nekhen, and the fiery blast is against you who are behind the shrine. O great god whose name is unknown meal is (set) in place for the Sole Lord.

In this context, the king's arrival in the sky after his physical death is being announced. Here nb ṳ́ is to be identified with the dead king who in turn, in life and afterwards, is identified with the Supreme Being.

In the CT Re' and Atum receive the epithet nb ṳ́ several times each.

Other examples occur in the BD. In ch. 78 this expression is used twice: "I am one of those worms(?) which the eye of the Lord, the only One (nb ṳ́) hath created. . . . [25] The gods, each and all of them, who are warders of the shrine of the Lord, the only One (nb ṳ́) have fallen before my word." A passage in ch. 97 reads as follows: "I, even I, have spoken(?) with my mouth [which is] the power of the Lord, the Only one, Re' the mighty, who liveth upon right and truth." In this passage
there is an explicit identification of nb w with Re, the sun-god, as the Supreme Being.

The other term to be discussed in relationship to the Hermetic monaxos is ntr w. This expression is usually translated as meaning the "sole god". It also appears in the BD.

There are a number of hymns honoring Re, which usually serve to preface or introduce the differing versions or recensions of the BD. In one of these hymns we read the following: "[Thou art] the God One (ntr w) who came into being (7) in the beginning of time." Much further on, in ch. 173 we find: "I ascribe praise unto thee, O lord of the gods, thou God One (ntr w), who livest (4) upon right and truth, behold, thy son Horus comes unto thee . . .".

In a hymn from the time of Amenhotep IV (or Akhenaten, the so-called heretic king) circa 1360 B.C.E. we have the subsequent lines: "How many are your deeds, though hidden from sight, O Sole God (ntr w) beside whom there is none." Even though there is a slight difference in the way Mr. Budge and Ms. Lichtheim translate ntr w, the basic meaning of each translation is the same.

Both nb w and ntr w could serve as appropriate antecedents for μναρχος as it is used in the Kore Kosmu. However, nb w might be even more appropriate. In this connection, W. Scott's more explicit translation of μναρχος as sole ruler is very appropriate. This more explicit translation heightens the argument that
δ θεός in KK, 30:23 and in the other contexts cited in note 167 refers to the Supreme Being. God understood as the sole ruler of the universe, among other things, has certain political ramifications. Both ἀρχη and nb within their respective indigenous contexts can signify a political personage. This, then, points to the greater appropriateness of nb ἠ as an Egyptian antecedent in relationship to μοναρχος in KK, 30:23 and in the other loci mentioned. 180
In the previous chapter a variety of elements were discussed which in one way or another are related to God, the Supreme Being, as that entity has been depicted in the Hermetic literature. Such discussions were hardly exhaustive. In this chapter, three, new and distinct aspects of the Hermetic literature will be considered. The first aspect to be considered here pertains to the "Kingship in Hermetic Literature". This discussion will be followed by an examination of "Several aspects of the role of Hermes Trismegistus in Hermetic Literature". And a concluding section of this chapter will focus on the "Egyptian Elements in the aretalogy of the Kore Kosmu". A variety of passages will be discussed in connection with each of the aspects as listed above.

I. The Kingship in Hermetic Literature

A. The King as Establisher of Peace

The first passage to be discussed is found in CH XVIII,
These lines pertain to what might be described as an "earthly" aspect of kingship in HL.\textsuperscript{1a} For it is also necessary to render those things due to those (kings) who laid out for us a good season of peace. For indeed (δὲ), the virtue of the king, even his name alone confers peace.

CH XVIII, ph. 16 is a concise summation of the king's role in the establishment of peace.\textsuperscript{4}

In ancient Egypt, one of the king's main functions was the establishment and maintenance of cosmic order, i.e., m\textsuperscript{3}t. Cosmic order, in turn, manifested itself on all earthly levels.\textsuperscript{4a} Derchain has already pointed out a connection here between the image of kingship in CH XVIII, ph. 16 and the image of the kingship in an Egyptian setting.

Dans ce texte [CH XVIII, 16:23f]\textsuperscript{5}, le roi est le maître de la parole qui fait la paix, c'est-à-dire qui établit l'ordre, et cette idée est exactement conforme à la tradition égyptienne, puisque le pharaon est le ritualiste suprême et unique, et que par les rites se maintient l'équilibre.\textsuperscript{6}

A close relationship between the king and m\textsuperscript{3} t is reflected in the subsequent lines from an Old Kingdom instruction addressed to King Merikare.
Chapter III

Do justice whilst thou endurest upon the earth. Quiet the weeper; do not oppress the widow; supplant no man in the property of his father; and impair no officials at their posts. Be on thy guard against punishing wrongfully. Do not slaughter: it is not of advantage to thee.

In one text, Tutankhamun (ca. 1340 B.C.E.), as the reigning pharaoh, is described as:

"the good god, who administers Thebes, who carries out the stipulations (ir hpw), and who enforces M3'tn"

Tutankhamun is also characterized as "Good of laws" (nfr hpw). In a Theban temple from the 18th dynasty (ca. 1500 B.C.E.) the king is exhorted as "Live the Horus, strong bull who appears in Truth (M3't), Two-Ladies, who enforces the laws (smn hpw) and quiets the Two Lands".

In a number of texts, Amenophis III (ca. 1400 B.C.E.) is depicted in his royal capacity as the one who sets laws:

"Horus (Amenophis III): Enduring of Years, Abounding in Festivals; Two-Ladies: Who Establishes Laws and Unites the Two Lands".

"Two Ladies: Who Establishes Laws and Effects Plans".

"Horus: Mighty Bull, . . . Two Ladies: Who Establishes Laws like the Lord of Thebes; Two Ladies: Who Establishes Laws and Pacifies the Two Lands, . . . "

At the Colossi of Memnon Amenophis III is called "Nebmaatre-is-
the-Ruler-of Rulers". In a boundary stela Amennophis IV (Akhenaten, ca. 1360 B.C.E.) is characterized as:

nsw-bit 'nh m m3 `t ... s3 R ` `nh m m3 `t,

the King of Upper and Lower Egypt who lives by Maat ... the Son of Re ' who lives by Maat.

In a text from the 4th dynasty Snefru is entitled nb m3 `t, i.e., the "lord of truth". One cult-practice, perhaps more than any other, reveals the close relationship between the king and m3 `t. This is the so-called offering of m3 `t, an offering usually made to the Supreme Being by the king. Perhaps the best known exposé of this ritual-offering is found in the so-called "rituel du culte divin journalier" which has been studied extensively by Alexandre Moret. This ritual has been preserved in texts from the temple of Seti I (ca. 1300 B.C.E.) at Abydos and a Berlin papyrus. Chapter 42 of the "rituel du culte divin" is entitled r n ḫnk m3 `t. Moret translates this as "Chapitre de donner Māt" (i.e., literally, that which is spoken for giving m3 `t). At one point in the offering an elaborate relationship between the Supreme Being and m3 `t is sketched. Based upon further evidence adduced by Moret the m3 `t offering was as essential in the ancient Egyptian religious setting as baptism has been in a Christian
setting, ancient or contemporary.\textsuperscript{24}

Based upon the evidence presented above the concept of the king which is depicted in CH XVIII, 16:23f is quite consistent with at least one aspect of kingship in ancient Egypt; namely, the pharaoh's responsibility to maintain cosmic order or m3 't, a responsibility which was met by the king's offering of m3 't to the Supreme Being on a periodic basis.\textsuperscript{25}

As indicated in a note\textsuperscript{26} at the beginning of this discussion on the Hermetic kingship, there are several, "divine" aspects. These will be considered here.

B. The King as the Image of God

The first passage pertaining to a "divine" aspect of the Hermetic kingship is found in CH XVIII, 8:22-23. It reads as follows:

\begin{quote}
δευτέρα τάξει πρὸς τοὺς κατ' ἐκόνα ἐκείνου τὴν σκηνοτυχίαν ἔχοντα καταβαίνει,
\end{quote}

next\textsuperscript{27} (δευτέρα τάξει) he (the musician) \textsuperscript{28} "redescends"\textsuperscript{29} to those who have their power (sceptre) after the image of that One, i.e., God\textsuperscript{30}

The antecedent of "those"(τοὺς) is βασιλέας or kings in 8:18.\textsuperscript{31} It is the kings then in CH XVIII who have their power after the image of God. As such the king is the image of God.
This concept is quite consistent with a particular aspect of the Egyptian kingship.

In Egypt from the very beginning of the historical period if not earlier the king was understood as an entity whose person was intimately connected with the Supreme Being. As such the king was often described in divine terms. "Son of the Sun(-god)" \([s3 \text{R}']\) \(^{32}\) is a very common title attributed to the king.

In a more relevant connection the king was frequently referred to as the "living image" of the Supreme Being. In an obelisk inscription of Queen Hatshepsut (ca. 1490 B.C.E.), the queen is referred to three times as the "living image" of the Supreme Being. On the southside of the shaft of the inscription she is referred to as "tit 3ёт nt'Imn, 'shining image of Amun'."\(^{33}\) On the base of the inscription she is also called "tit 3ёт nt Nb-r-dr, 'shining image of the Lord-of-All'."\(^{34}\) A few lines later she is referred to as "hnty·f `nh, 'His living semblance"\(^{34a}\) '."\(^{35}\) In the "poetical"\(^{36}\) Stela of Thutmose III (ca. 1468 B.C.E.) Amun-Re addresses Thutmose in the following manner:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i}·\text{n}·\text{i} \ &\text{d}·\text{i} \ &\text{t}·\text{t}·\text{i}·\text{k} \ &\text{w}·\text{r}·\text{w} \ &\text{D}·\text{h}·\text{y} \ &\text{s}·\text{s}^{36a}·\text{i} \ &\text{h}·\text{r} \\
\text{r}·\text{d}·\text{w}·\text{k} \ &\text{h}·\text{t} \ &\text{h}·\text{s}·\text{w}·\text{t}·\text{.s}·\text{n} \ &\text{d}·\text{i}·\text{i} \ &\text{m}^{33}·\text{s}·\text{n} \ &\text{h}·\text{m}·\text{k} \ &\text{m} \ &\text{n}·\text{b} \ &\text{s}·\text{t}·\text{w}·\text{t} \\
\text{s}·\text{b}·\text{d}·\text{k} \ &\text{m} \ &\text{h}·\text{r}·\text{w}·\text{·s}·\text{n} \ &\text{m} \ &\text{s}·\text{n}·\text{n}·\text{i},
\end{align*}
\]

I came in order to enable you to tread upon the great ones of Djahi; I spread them out under your feet throughout their lands; I caused them to see your majesty as lord of light,\(^{3}\) in order that you might shine before them as my image.

77
In the Kubban Stela (ca. 1250 B.C.E.) the king is described in the following terms:

Thou art the living likeness of thy father Atum of Heliopolis (for) Authoritative Utterance is in thy image as "a physical manifestation or image of (his father) the sun god". Another example pointed out by Dr. Bell concerns the "great stele behind the Colossi of Memnon". In that context Amun-Re addresses Amenophis III (1400 B.C.E.) in the following manner:

"You are my son... who came forth from my limbs, my image (hnty.i) whom I placed upon the earth".

On a stela from the mortuary temple of Amenophis III in west Thebes the subsequent statements directed to the king are found:

\[\text{dd mdw in 'Imn nsw ntrw s3.i n ht.i mr.i nb m3 't R ' twt.i 'nh km3 h'i,}\]

Words spoken by Amun ('-Re'), king of the gods: "My son, of my body, my beloved Neb-maat-re, my living image, creation of my body"...

Another example involving Hatshepsut comes from the temple at Deir el Bahari.

\[\text{dd mdw in 'Imn R ' nb nswt t3wy hnty Dsr dsrw iw n(i) sp sn m htp s3t}\]
Chapter III

Words spoken by Amun-Re', Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Pre-eminent in the Holies: Welcome, Welcome daughter of (my) body, ka of the Truth of Re', (my) living image... 44a

There are other texts in which twt and hnty are used in relationship to the king. However, these texts do not entail any divine associations. 45a The term 'hm, which is usually translated as "divine image," is relevant; but I am not aware of any instances where it is used in relationship to the king. 46a

Perhaps the most obvious example of a connection between a pharaoh and the image of the supreme Creator God concerns the 12th king of the 18th dynasty, i.e., Tutankhamun (ca. 1345 B.C.E.). His name literally means "the living image of Amun".

From the evidence adduced above it is clear that the phrase Κατ' έικόνα έκείνου (meaning "after the image of that One") found in CH XVIII, 8:22-23 reflects a concept that is undeniably Egyptian.

C. The King as Divine

Excerpt 24, a continuation of Excerpt 23 47 (the so-called Kore Kosmu) contains two passages concerning the Hermetic kingship that will be considered in this thesis. The first such passage is found
As Festugière notes⁵⁰, the passage reflects an Egyptian conception of the divine origin of the king or pharaoh. This remains true even though the plural "gods" is employed in the Hermetic text. The use of the plural here in the Hermetic text runs counter to the tendency of the Egyptian texts which, more often than not, depict the king as the offspring of the Supreme Being. In a study published in 1930 A.D. Nock expresses his understanding of the relationship between the king and the divine in Egypt.⁵¹

The divinity of the pharaoh in ancient Egypt is a concept which can be found at least as far back as the Old Kingdom (ca. 2700 B.C.E.). Evidence for this concept is extant in a number of places in the Pyramid Texts (ca. 2400 B.C.E.).

The overall sense of the text makes it very clear in two ways that the king is divine. On the one hand, the king is addressed "in thy
(his) name of God". In a second manner, the king is exhorted to "become the Atum of every god" (i.e., the Supreme Being in relationship to every god). In another PT passage Wenis, the king, is associated with the Supreme Being, i.e. Atum, via several members of his (Wenis) body.

O King, you have not departed dead, you have departed alive . . . Your arm(s) are Atum, your shoulders are Atum, your belly is Atum, your back is Atum, your hinder-parts are Atum, your legs are Atum . . .

(PT 135)

A variant reading of PT 814 describes the king as "King of the gods":

tn.55 t3wy m nsw ntrw,

I (the King) have taken possession of the Two Lands as King of the gods.

PT 170457 very explicitly describes the king as having been heaven-born among the gods:

The Lake of Rushes is filled, the Winding Waterway is flooded, the Nurse-canal is opened for you; you cross thereon to the horizon, to the place where the gods were born, and you (the King) were born there with them (msw·k im hn´·sn).

PT 1316-1318a again underscores the divine nature of the king in ancient Egypt.

I (the King) am the companion of a god, the son of a god; I will ascend and rise up to the sky.
Chapter III

I am the well-beloved son of Re'; I will ascend and rise up to the sky. I was begotten for Re' (wtt-[i] n R'); I will ascend and rise up to the sky. I was conceived for Re' (iwr-[i] n R'); I will ascend and rise up to the sky. I was born for Re' (ms-[i] n R').

Finally from the PT, two texts studied by Anthes show the divine as well as a pre-existent aspect relative to the Egyptian kingship.

The mother of NN (the King) was pregnant with him who was in the Naunet. NN (the King) was given birth by his father Atum before heaven come into being, before earth came into being, before mankind (rmt) came into being, before the gods came into being (n msyt ntrw), before death came into being. PT 1466

NN (the King) was born in the primeval ocean before heaven came into being, before earth came into being, before smti came into being, before that fear came into being which came into being because of the eye of Horus. NN (the King) is the unequaled one who belongs to the great corporation which was born in the beginning in Heliopolis. PT 1040-41

In the obelisk inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut at Karnak her divine nature is explicitly stated in a number of places.

'Iink s3t·f n wn m3 ', I (Hatshepsut) am his daughter in every sense of the word (literally, in reality). On the base of her fallen, southern obelisk she is called s3t R ', Daughter of Re'. On the base of the northern obelisk which is still standing Hatshepsut is depicted as:

... whom Re' begot so as to have beneficient offspring on earth, ...
Following the consecration of the obelisks, Amun commences an expression of his thanks to his daughter, Hatshepsut, in the following manner:

 dd mdw in 'Imn nb gswt t3wy s3·t nt ht, Words spoken by Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands: Daughter of (my) body . . .

In the encomium portion of the sphinx-stela of Amenophis II (ca. 1430 B.C.E.) at Giza, the king is described as:

The Son of Re, Amenhotep (Amenophis II), Divine Ruler of On, Re's heir, [Amun's son], shining seed Divine flesh's holy egg (swht dsrt), of noble mien.

As Hoffmeier remarks: "The significance of this statement, of course, is that the divine parentage of the king is being recognized. A holy issue also produces something divine." The description of the king's death near the very beginning of the story of Sinuhe (ca. 1960 B.C.E.) provides yet another example of the divine nature of the pharaoh in ancient Egypt.

the god ascended to his horizon, the King Sehetepibre flew to his horizon and united with the Sun-disk, the divine body uniting with the One who made him.
Chapter III

The Egyptian understanding of the divinity of the king, which was one of the pivotal concepts in that society throughout the historical period, persisted well into the Graeco-Roman era. It formed the basis upon which the Ptolemies governed. A group of texts, which have now been studied in great detail by Adolphe Gutbub, demonstrates, among other things, the pervasive resilience of the Egyptian tradition regarding the divine nature of its kings. Gutbub's study contains an extensive body of texts and comments pertaining to the Horian and Osirian divine birth traditions at Kom Ombo dating from the Ptolemaic era. These comments appear in various parts of his study. In a more particular connection, Gutbub examines three, different Horus birth-traditions. They pertain to Haroeris, Harpocrates, and Harsiésis. Beyond the scope of Gutbub's study, as is well-known, the myth of Isis and Osiris and their son, Horus, greatly influenced the development of the understanding of the kingship in ancient Egypt. In short, the ruling pharaoh was called the "living Horus". Upon his or her demise, the pharaoh was immediately identified with Osiris.

As Moret has already noted, "Le roman du Pseudo-Callisthène nous montre la persistance de la tradition de la 'nativité royale' à l'époque ptolémaïque et romaine . . .".

One final piece of evidence pertaining to the divinity of the Egyptian kingship comes from the Dedication Inscriptions of Seti I (ca. 1300 B.C.E.) found in the Rock Temple of Wadi Mia. Seti I
addresses those kings who will succeed him, while those who preceded him serve as his witnesses.\textsuperscript{86}

\begin{center}
\texttt{nttn pw mi n\textsuperscript{tr}w hsb\textsuperscript{.}tw nb m h\textsuperscript{t} n\textsuperscript{tr}w,}\textsuperscript{87}
\end{center}

You (Kings) are like divinities, a king is counted among the gods.\textsuperscript{88}

These words by Seti I could not be more explicit regarding the divinity of the king-queen concept in ancient Egypt.\textsuperscript{89}

In the discussion on CH XVIII, 8:22–23 (The King as the Image of God)\textsuperscript{90}, the parental relationship in Egypt between the pharaoh (as king and sometimes as queen) and the Supreme Being was adduced. That parental relationship between royalty and divinity in ancient Egypt further evidences the point being made here; that is, in ancient Egypt the ruler, whether male or female, was the divine offspring of the Supreme Being.\textsuperscript{91} Such an idea sets quite well with what is expressed in Ex. 24, 1: 14–15:

For the gods engender, oh child, kings worthy of (their) terrestrial offspring.

Indeed, the Egyptian concept of divine royalty could very well have served as the context from which Ex. 24, 1: 14–15 was drawn.

D. The King and The Attendant Envoys and Powers
The second passage from Excerpt 24 pertaining to the Hermetic kingship to be considered is Ex. 24, 5: 18-23. It reads as follows:

Now, concerning the character (τὰ ἡθη) of those who rule (i.e., kings), the differentiations which appear are not distinguished by means of a soul-distinction, for all these souls are god-like, but (the differentiation is made) by means of the envoys and powers which attend the condition (or state) of a royal soul. For such souls as these, do not come down without proper escort and safekeeping.

Even though the phrasing of the above passage is attentuated to some degree, the over-all meaning is clear enough. Kingly or royal souls differ not in kind, but in connection with "the envoys and powers" which accompany such souls. A tradition in ancient Egypt connected with the ka of the king is quite relevant here.

In PT 396 a-b Wenis, the king, is described in the subsequent manner:

The powers (i.e., kās) of Wenis (the king) surround him, his helpers are under his feet.

86
This passage from the PT is one of the early references to a particular aspect of the ka concept in ancient Egypt. Based upon the evidence presently available, this particular aspect of the ka tradition was not developed in any systematic way in the early stages of Egyptian history. However, by the time of Hatshepsut (ca. 1490 B.C.E.), this tradition began to expand until it reached its height in the early Graeco-Roman era. Shortly, the development of this aspect of the ka tradition will be discussed in more detail.

At this juncture, some more general comments about the ka seem to be in order.

In his review of Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der gypter des alten Reiches, Raymond O. Faulkner makes the following statement:

"The nature of the ka is one of the most elusive problems with which the student of Ancient Egyptian religion is faced."  

Bearing such a statement in mind, it is nevertheless in order to consider some of the basic meanings attributed to the ka (ka).

Faulkner attributes several basic meanings to the ka. They are: 1) soul; spirit; 2) essence of a being; 3) personality.

In his chapter on the ka in Kingship and the Gods, Frankfort describes the ka in the following manner. "The closest approximation to the Egyptian notion of Ka is 'vital force'."

In general, the ka or, adapting Frankfort's phraseology,
"vital force" was an intrinsic part of creation. In turn, it was a property of the Supreme Being. In the human realm, originally, it was exclusive to the king. Yet, as with a number of other concepts in ancient Egypt, the ka underwent a process of democratization and eventually became understood as the property of every individual. However, throughout the historical period the ka retained a special relationship with the king.

In PT 396 a-b as presented above, the king is pictured as being surrounded by "powers" (kas) and undergirded by "helpers" (ḥemsut). To my knowledge, this is the earliest text which connects kas and Ḫemsut with the king. As such, at least in connection with our present state of knowledge, PT 396 a-b is the earliest textual evidence for a plurality of kas in a direct association with the king. However, Gardiner has pointed out that certain royal names from the Old Kingdom also evidence a plurality of kas in connection with the king. As indicated above, the tradition of a plurality of kas in association with the king did not expand very much until the time of Hatshepsut (ca. 1490 B.C.E.). At Deir el Bahari are inscribed a number of traditions concerned with the reign of Hatshepsut. One of these traditions in particular describes her divine origins. At one point she is addressed by the birth-goddess Meskhenet:

```
dd mdw in Mshnt: di s3 m nsw bi...
wn n `nh n w3w n snb n mnhw n špssw n 3wt-ib
n hw n ḫpt n df3w n ḫt nb·t nfr·t ḫ·t m nsw
```
Words spoken by Meskhenet: The son\textsuperscript{106} is appointed as King of Upper and Lower Egypt. \ldots \ldots \textsuperscript{[I]} (i.e., Meskhenet) have destined thee for life, prosperity, health, excellence, wealth, joy, food, offerings, sustenance, and every good thing. You will appear as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt in very many Sed festivals, while you are living, stable, having dominion, while thy heart is in joy together with thy ka in these your Two Lands upon the throne of Horus forever.

The general context here concerns one of the Hatshepsut birth scenes.\textsuperscript{107} In Kingship and the Gods Frankfort comments at length on the above text.\textsuperscript{108} Among other things, he asserts the following:

\begin{quote}
If we remember the previous derived meanings of Ka, such as mood, good fortune, etc., the phrase 'while thy heart is in joy with thy Ka' seems to aptly summarize the blessings which the goddess bestows.\textsuperscript{109}
\end{quote}

As the text above shows, that list of blessings includes nine distinctly identifiable concepts: 1) life, 2) prosperity, 3) health, 4) excellence, 5) wealth, 6) joy, 7) food, 8) offerings, and 9) sustenance.\textsuperscript{110} The list is concluded and augmented by the phrase "and every good thing". In conjunction with Frankfort's comments above, I would argue that the nine concepts that Meskhenet bestows upon Hatshepsut can be construed as attributes and as such, therefore, as kas.\textsuperscript{111}

Apparently the birth narratives at Deir el Bahari contain even more explicit evidence pertaining to a series of kas connected with
Hatshepsut. In addition, the Hemsut seem to be involved also. Right after his comments just above, Frankfort then continues his discussion:

The tendency toward the concrete, which characterizes mythopoeic thought in general and Egyptian thought most particularly, expresses itself at this point in a curious image: the royal child is placed in the arms of twelve divinities identified as Ka's and Hemsut and is made to absorb from them the vital force, the good fortune, the power, and all the other blessings bestowed upon it.\(^{112}\)

Unfortunately, as I indicate in n. 112, I have not been able to examine either the text or scene that Frankfort comments on just above. Nevertheless, if Frankfort's interpretation of the scene involving the "twelve divinities identified as Ka's and Hemsut" is accurate, this scene, as well as the Meskhenet address (= Urk., 227, 4-14) above, provide two examples to support the point being made here. That is, the tradition involving a plurality of kas in association with the king, while originating at some point in the Old Kingdom, began to expand about the time of Hatshepsut (ca. B.C.E.).

Another example of this expansion is Urk., IV, 230, 15-17, again, as pointed out by Frankfort.\(^{113}\)

\[\text{wd-n[i]}^{114} \text{n mn `hns nh `kws nbw mn `n`h w3s nb dd-t nb snb nb `w-t-ib nb ir-t hhw m rnpw hr st `r n `nhw nbw dt.}\]

I (Amun) have commanded (you) to nurse Her
Majesty together and all her Ka's, with all life and good fortune, all permanence, all health, all joy and the passing of millions of years on the throne of Horus of all the living, forever.

This text attributes a plurality of kas to Hatshepsut without numbering them.

A less elaborate example of a multiplicity of kas in association with the pharaoh is the expression wsrt k3w, powerful of kas. It occurs in the titulary of Hatshepsut 8 times in her obelisk inscriptions at Karnak. In each instance it forms a part of the first component of the royal titulary, the so-called Horus name which is otherwise known, very appropriately here, as the ka-name.

As indicated earlier in this discussion, the ka, as an intrinsic part of creation, was also understood as a property of the Supreme Being. In turn, the king as the incarnation of the Supreme Being was also endowed with the ka. It appears that the earliest reference to a specific number of kas attributed to the Supreme Being is on a stela of Ramses II (ca. 1290 B.C.E., 19th dynasty) at Abu Simbel.

The 14 kas of Re, Thoth has put them in thy every way.

The oldest list of the "14 kas of Re", which is apparently still unpublished, is from a papyrus of Queen Nedjmet from either the 20th or 21st dynasty.
Chapter III

One example of an unlimited number of kas which Re might possess is found in a funerary text dating from the Middle Kingdom.

O ye noble ones who are in the presence of the Lord Re' -Atum, behold, I am come to you; fear me according as ye know that I am he whom the Sole Lord made when no two things had yet come into existence upon this earth; when he sent forth his single eye; when he was alone in that which issued from his mouth; when his million kas were the protection of his subjects . . .

As has been indicated more than once within the context of this present discussion, the tradition pertaining to the multiplicity of kas that a given pharaoh might possess is very ancient in Egypt, but the systemization of this particular aspect of the ka concept begins in the Middle Kingdom period and reaches its zenith in the late period with the advent of the Graeco-Roman era. To my knowledge, Gardiner was the first to discuss this development in detail. In the temples at Edfu, Denderah and Kom Ombo, lists of 14 kas attributed to Re' begin to appear. For the most part, these lists consisted of the following kas.

1) ḫw (Creative Word) 8) ḫn (Sparkle)
2) Df3 (Abundance) 9) Nhḥ (Victory)
3) Šps (Wealth) 10) Wsr (Power)
4) Šms (Service) 11) ḫw (Brightness)
5) ḫri (Making) 12) Psḏ (Brilliance)
6) ḫk3 (Magic) 13) W3š (Honor)

92
Gardiner points out that one practice often associated during this era with the "kas of Re" is an offering presented by the king.

The presentation of the kas of Re to a local god or goddess signifies that the king is exerting on his or her behalf those qualities with which he himself has been endued as heir and living representative of the Sun-god.125

Another apposite tradition for which there appears to be no early evidence concerns the assignation of not only 14 kas to Re', but also 7 b3w or bas.126

There are other aspects of the ka concept which will not be discussed here.127

At this point, based upon the multiplicity-of-kas tradition as was discussed above, several indications emerge. In connection with the Middle Kingdom funerary text that was adduced above, it is very clear in some instances that the ka can be construed as having a limitless number of manifestations. In that text, Re' was described as having a "million kas". The discussion above has also shown that a tradition relative to a specific number of kas directly connected with the king is at least as old as the Middle Kingdom. On the other hand, based upon the available evidence, this royal, multiplicity-of-kas tradition did not reach its zenith until the Graeco-Roman era. In many instances dating from the Graeco-Roman era, the 14 kas of Re' attributed to the king
were also accompanied by 14 ḫemsut or "female counterparts".

Finally, evidence was adduced above that demonstrates that a protective function can be associated with the ka and in the case of PT 396 a-b, kas and ḫemsut.\(^\text{128}\)

There are several aspects of the ka tradition which are pertinent to Ex. 24, 5: 18-23. First, the protective function associated with the ka in its relationship with the king, particularly as it is expressed in PT 396 a-b, is clearly reflected in Ex. 24, 5: 21-23: "For such souls as those which come down for the purpose of such things as these (i.e., to rule), do not come down without proper escort and safekeeping". A second pertinent aspect of the ka tradition relative to Ex. 24, 5: 18-23 concerns a passage from the PT. This PT passage reflects a tradition associated with the king in which the ka itself has escorts or "messengers".

O King, beware of the lake! --recite four times. The messengers of your double (k3) come for you, the messengers of Re' come for you, so go after your sun and cleanse yourself, for your bones are those of the divine falcons who are in the sky. PT 136-137a

In this context the deceased king is informed that the messengers of his ka, which Faulkner translates as double, "have come" for him. Such a development is not apparent in Ex. 24, 5: 18-23. Yet, its presence in the Egyptian setting is a further indication of the very rich conceptual background of the ka concept in ancient Egypt.
Chapter III

Third, the plurality of kas and hemsut or kas and bas associated with the king can certainly be compared with the "envoys and powers" in Ex. 24, 5: 21. In this connection, the "envoys" or messengers, which is certainly an appropriate interpretation for ἄνγγελοι, might be better connected with the ka, and the "powers" with the ba.

In conclusion, it is apposite to consider Ex. 24, ph. 6 in conjunction with what has been discussed here relative to Ex. 24, 5: 18-23 and the ka tradition in ancient Egypt. Ex. 24, ph. 6 reads as follows.

And so, my son Horus, when the angels (άγγελοι) and daemons (δαιμόνες) who bring the kingly soul down from above are warlike, then that soul wages war; when they are peaceful, then it maintains peace; when they are disposed for judicial work, then it sits in judgement; when they are given to music, then it sings; when they are truth-lovers, then it pursues philosophy. For these souls, as of necessity, cling to the temper of the angels and the daemons who bring them down to earth; for when they sink into the condition of man, they forget their own nature, and bethink them only of the disposition of those who have shut them up in the body.

The above passage clearly continues what was being discussed in the previous paragraph relative to royal souls. There is a further explanation of the relationship between the royal souls and their respective "envoys" (άγγελοι) and "powers" (δαιμόνες).

The passage makes it very clear that a royal soul's reign is determined by the nature of the accompanying envoys and powers. Above it was suggested that the kas and hemsut or the kas and bas might
be compared with the envoys and powers of Ex. 24, 5: 21. In line with that suggestion, I believe that the multiplicity-of-kas tradition particularly as exemplified in its later, systematic development\(^{130}\) could very well be reflected in the explanation of the relationship between the royal souls and their respective "envoys" (ἀγγέλοι) and "powers" (δαίμονες) as is found Ex. 24, ph. 6.

In conclusion, the discussion above has shown that the ka concept in ancient Egypt grew out of a very rich and complex conceptual background. A particular aspect of the ka tradition is the multiplicity-of-kas concept associated with Re. The king, as the Supreme Being's heir and earthly representative, was endowed with ka. The multiplicity-of-kas tradition in association with the king and its subsequent development and systemization\(^{131}\), I believe, is reflected in Ex. 24, 5:18-23 and Ex. 24, ph. 6.

II. Several aspects of the role of Hermes Trismegistus in Hermetic Literature

The preeminent personage in Hermetic literature is unequivocally "Hermes three-times great".\(^{132}\) The epithet "three-times great" is one of the basic reasons why the Hermetic Hermes is rightly understood as being the Egyptian god, Thoth.\(^{133}\) The
various roles that Hermes assumes in a multiplicity of Hermetic settings is further evidence vis-à-vis his Egyptian character. In the subsequent discussion several aspects pertaining to the role of Hermes-Thoth will be considered.

A. Thoth as the All-Knowing One

In KK, 5:16 Hermes is described as "the one who knows everything": ὃ πάντα γνω̣ν ἔρμης. This description of Hermes as the All-Knowing One is quite appropriate in view of the way in which Thoth-Hermes was perceived in ancient Egypt. In general, Thoth was understood as the inventor of words and writing, the tools of knowledge. Beyond this Thoth had a knowledge of the heart of each person. "He knows what is in the heart." In one text Dhwty (Thoth) is simply described as "the one who knows" (rḥw). In another text he is described as "skilled in knowledge" (šs3 m ḫ). Sia, a deified personification of reason or understanding, is many times in the Egyptian texts identified with Thoth. This is particularly true of the Egyptian texts of the later period.

Throughout the huge body of texts for the Graeco-Roman period the identification of Thoth with Sia is so frequent that Sia is simply a second name of Thoth. Particularly is this the case in the ritual scenes in which the figure of Maat is presented by the Pharaoh to the deity who is being honored. In nearly all these scenes Thoth is called Sia, and the king, who presents Maat is
styled "son of Sia", or "likeness of Sia"—apparently because he takes the place of Thoth in the ritual action. In the Ptolemaic texts Sia is very frequently determined with the ibis-headed god . . . . Sometimes the identity of Sia with Thoth is expressed as an epithet, as "Sia Lord of Hermopolis" (Mar., Dend., I, 68a).

Thoth is also described as having a prospective knowledge of the future. "‘Ink Dhwty sr dw3 gmḥ n m-ḥt n whn n sp-f", I am Thoth who foretells tomorrow, who looks upon the future. Thus, while a word for word parallel to our Hermetic verse (KK, 5:16) has not been adduced, that same verse would seem to rest on a very firm Egyptian base.

B. Thoth as Theurgist

The last three lines in KK, 7 read as follows:

"ἐπικατευξαμένον δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους τούσδε εἰπόντα εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπελθεῖν",

having prayed with great intensity and having said certain words (he) departed to heaven. The subject of the action here I take to be Hermes. He prays and speaks words over "τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχεῖων σύμβολα, the sacred symbols of the cosmic (or universal) elements (7:8). Scott interprets this as referring to the ἱεραὶ βίβλωι of 8:14. In light of 8:11, which says that Isis feels compelled to
relate to Horus exactly what Hermes said in his όἱ λόγοι όλος (7:9) 140, I would agree with Scott.

The concept of incantations and spells in Egypt is very common. Magic as it has been usually described in the European scholarly tradition is very Egyptian. It forms an essential part of the background for many of those ritualistic actions described in Egyptian works such as the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead.

Thoth is often the ritualist in many of these settings. In Chapter 182 of the BD Thoth aids the deceased by means of these words. "I(Thoth) gave air unto him that was in the hidden place by means of the might of the magical words of my utterance, and Osiris triumpheth over his enemies." 141 Again in Chapter 183 we read the following: "he (Thoth) hath destroyed for thee [all] the evil defects which belong to thy members by the magical power of the words of his utterance." 142

In yet another text from the BD, Thoth's power vis-à-vis words is invoked: "May Thoth, who is filled and furnished with words of power, come and loose the bandages, even the bandages of Set which fetter my mouth . . ." 143.

The significance of the evidence of the three passages from the BD cited just above is heightened by Thoth's intimate connection with writing and books in the Egyptian sphere. Unquestionably, writing constitutes one of Dhwty's (Thoth) most
outstanding characteristics. In the BD, ch. 183, l. 2, Thoth is described as "sš i ḫr (the excellent scribe)". In line 3 of the same passage he is further delineated as "sš m3\t (the scribe of truth)" and as "rdi' mdw drf (he who hath given words and writing)".\textsuperscript{144} According to Boylan, one of Thoth's most common titles is that of nb sš3, i.e.) lord of writing.\textsuperscript{145} In addition to the above epithets Thoth was also known as:

\begin{itemize}
\item hḥ3 md3t, (lord of books);\textsuperscript{146}
\item sš m3\t n psḏt, (scribe of truth for the Great Ennead);\textsuperscript{149}
\item sš m3\t n nb nhh, (scribe of truth for the lord of eternity).\textsuperscript{148}
\end{itemize}

Thoth was also "nb mdw" (lord of words)\textsuperscript{149} and "nb mdw ntr"\textsuperscript{150} (lord of divine words).\textsuperscript{151} As the preceding discussion indicates, the theurgic role assumed by Thoth in KK, 7:8-9 is consistent with his function in that same role in ancient Egypt.

C. Thoth and That Which is Hidden Or Mysterious

In KK, 8:11-13 Isis declares the following to Horus: \textit{"Αλλ' οὐ καθήκων ἀτελὴ τὴν ἀπαγγέλλω, ὃ τέκνοι, ταῦτην με κατα-}\textit{κεῖσαι, εἰπεῖν δ' ὧδα τὰς βίβλους κατατιθέμενος ἔξεῖσαι Ἐρμῆς. But it is not proper, my son, for me to leave this account

100
incomplete but to say those things that Hermes spoke out as he hid away (κατατεθέμενος) the books.\textsuperscript{152}

While I know of no Egyptian parallels per se relative to Thoth hiding away his writings, the idea of Thoth having a connection with and access to secret or hidden things is certainly consonant with the overall understanding of Thoth from an Egyptian point of view. This is even apparent in the KK itself. On the basis of KK, 7:7-8 (πλησιον των Οσιρίδος κρυφών ἀποθέσατι τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων σύμβολα), taking Hermes as the subject of the infinitive, it is clear that Hermes-Thoth has a knowledge of the whereabouts of those secret things connected with Osiris.\textsuperscript{153}

One of the anecdotes contained in the Westcar Papyrus, a collection of ancient Egyptian Märchen (Wonder-Tales), concerns the magician Djedi. Amongst the wonders he is able to perform, "he knows the number of the secret chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth" (iw·f ṭḥ tw i pt nt wnt Dḥwty).\textsuperscript{154} This motif occurs a number of times in the story of Djedi. In this motif we see the "mysterious" connected with Thoth. One passage from the CT also evidences a strong connection between Thoth and that which is mysterious or secret:

\texttt{isk Dḥwty m ḫnw ṣtƎw ir·f w`b,}

Lo, Thoth is inside the secret places that he may perform (i r·f) a priestly function . . . \textsuperscript{155}

In the BD (ch. 16, sec. 7) Thoth is himself described as "ṣtƎ"(the
secret or mysterious one). In another text \(^{156}\) he is described as "nn rḫ·tw·f" (the one who is not known).

Recalling KK, 5:16 and its description of Hermes-Thoth as "the one who knows all things" and the Egyptian designation of Thoth as "the one who knows", \(^{157}\) KK, 8:11-13 (specifically, τὰς βιβλίους καταθημενος) continues what might be called a consistently Egyptian description of Hermes-Thoth.

KK, 8:13 explicitly mentions ἱεραὶ βιβλίων. These same books are alluded to in 5:18 ("καὶ γὰρ ἐνόησεν ἐχάραξε . . .") and in 7:8 ("τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχεῶν σύμβολα . . .").

That these books are attributed to Hermes is yet another reflection of Egyptian tradition existent in the KK, since, as we have seen above, Thoth, among numerous epithets, was known as nb ṣs3 (lord of writing) and more relevantly here as ḫk3 mdʿt, i.e., lord of books. \(^{157a}\)
III. Egyptian Elements in the aretalogy of the Kore Kosmu

KK, 65 through 68 constitutes an aretalogy which delineates those things which Isis and Osiris bestow upon human-kind. KK, 64:2-5, the lines preceding the beginning of the aretalogy, function as an informal proem:

The Monarch-God, the Creator of the World and Architect of the Universe gave up as a favor for a little while the great Osiris, your father, and the great goddess Isis, in order that they might become helpers for all in a world in need.

In 64:29 (CH, vol. IV, p. 20) Isis addresses Horus. In 64:4-5 (vol. IV, p. 21) she speaks of herself in the 3rd person. This prompts W. Scott (Hermetica, vol. II, p. 549) to conjecture that ὁ μοναρχὸς θεός, κτλ. might be from some other source. The 1st person-3rd person discrepancy which W. Scott points out is undeniable. However, such a discrepancy, in and of itself, is not
proof enough that ὁ μόναρχος θεός, κτλ. is from another source.

While Isis and Osiris appear together as such in the Egyptian texts many, many times, I am not aware of an Egyptian aretalogy as such. Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride comes to mind, but it obviously is not an aretalogy. However, there are a number of Egyptian elements in the Kore Kosmu aretalogy.158 The ones to be discussed here concern the role of Isis and Osiris in the founding of temples and the establishment of laws and justice.

A. Isis and Osiris as Founders of Temples

In KK, 65:8 we read the following: τεμένη προγόνως θεοίς οὖν καὶ θυσίας καθίρωσαν, They (Isis and Osiris) consecrated the holy places and sacred rites to the ancestral gods. There is some evidence from the Egyptian sphere which connects Isis and Osiris with the establishment of temple cults and practices.

In one of a series of hymns to Isis, interestingly enough from her temple at Philae, she is described in the following manner:

ntt mwτ nfr n ḫr k3 nḥt smn gsw prw ir nn nb.

You are the divine mother of Horus, The Mighty Bull, who establishes the temples of the Ennead, and fashions every image.158

This text clearly reflects the traditional role of Isis as the
mother of Horus. This is certainly consistent with their Hermetic, 
divine parent-child relationship. However, as the text clearly 
shows, Isis as the mother of Horus is only indirectly connected 
with the establishment of temple cult and practice. In connection 
with Osiris however, the state of affairs is different. The link 
is somewhat stronger.

In one of the hymns to Isis alluded to just above we read the 
following:

\[\text{ntt hmt nsw tpt n Wnnnfr imy r imyw r nbyw m gsw-prw s3 smsw tpy n Gb.}\]

You(Isis)\textsuperscript{159} are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris, 
the supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones in the temples, 
the eldest son, first(born)\textsuperscript{160} of Geb.\textsuperscript{161}

In this text Onnophris (Wnn-nfr) is to be identified with 
Osiris.\textsuperscript{162} As such he is described as the "supreme overseer of 
the Golden-Ones in temples". In this capacity in this text it is 
clear that Osiris has a dominant role in any temple setting.\textsuperscript{163} 
Another text, however, makes a very explicit link between Osiris 
and the founding of temples and cult.

In a hymn to Osiris also studied by Žabkar, Osiris is depicted 
as: (Ntr) špss wp ḫt, the august (god) who inaugurated 
offerings.\textsuperscript{164} This hymn is also from the Isis temple at Philae. 
Žabkar indicates (p.142) that there are other versions of this 
hymn. Some are older, some are later than this particular Philae 
version. At least one of these versions contains the key phrase
This text and the tradition that it is a part of make it quite clear that in at least one particular Egyptian tradition, Osiris functioned as a founder of temple cult and practice.

In another text quoted by Zabkar from Mariette's work on Denderah, this image of Osiris is sketched.

Kingly youth who wears the White Crown, King in heaven, sovereign of earth, august Power, lord of temples, perfect ruler, foremost of the gods, beautiful of face, with long beard.

Additional evidence for Osiris as "nb gsw-prw" (lord of temples) has been adduced from the temple at Edfu. Osiris as "lord of temples" is not as explicit a phraseology as the "wp h't" wording of the Osirian hymn from Philae, but it certainly serves to augment the image of Osiris as a founder of temple and cult practice.

KK, 68:27-2 (see CH, vol. IV, pp. 21-22) states that Isis and Osiris learned what they gave to humanity from Hermes:

These are they who, alone, having learned from Hermes the secret laws of God became pioneers to humanity of the arts, the sciences and...
all the various occupations and law-givers.

At the beginning of ch. 3 of *De Iside et Osiride* Plutarch describes Isis as being the daughter of Hermes and Prometheus. Griffiths comments on this passage are as follows:

In Egyptian tradition the father of Isis is Geb; and Geb is meant by Cronus in 12, 355D. The idea that Hermes was her father seems to occur elsewhere in *PGM* 4, 95ff.; cf. Erman in ZS, 21 (1883), 101 and F. Ll. Griffith in ZS, 38 (1900), 90. D. Müller, *Isis-Aret.* 21 refers to one instance where Isis is called 'the vizier and daughter of Thoth' (Mariette, *Monuments divers recueilllis en Égypte et Nubie*, Paris, 1872ff., 25c, line 1, a text of Ptolemaic era). It probably arose from the association of Isis with wisdom, a quality which was ascribed especially also to Thoth, who was equated with Hermes. From a more general point of view, the role of Hermes in the Hermetic literature is relevant; and as a more precise parallel, one may cite the end of the *Kore Kosmu* (phs. 68ff.) where Hermes is said to have revealed to both Isis and Osiris, almost in loco parentis, the secrets of civilization. Hermes here is coloured somewhat by association with Prometheus. That Isis was the daughter of Prometheus is stated also by *Isis* (III B.C.E.), fr. in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1.21 = HF 77.10

While it may be true that there is some influence from the Prometheus tradition on the image of Hermes in KK 68, in a note concluding his comments on Plutarch's depiction of Isis as the daughter of Hermes (Thoth), Griffiths asserts quite correctly, I believe, that such a depiction is also authentically Egyptian.170 Such a depiction, in turn, lends credence to what is stated in KK, 68:27-28f. Beyond this, as we have seen above, there is some
evidence on the Egyptian side which connects Osiris and Isis with the establishment of temple cult and practice in their own right, the evidence for Osiris being stronger than that for Isis. The evidence for Thoth in this connection is even stronger.

Patrick Boylan, in his study on Thoth, comments on Hermes-Thoth's relationship to the establishment of temple cult and practice. Some of his evidence is as follows:

The Pharaoh boasts thus of the 7th chamber of the Temple of Denderah, which he has built for Hathor: it is like the horizon, duly constructed by the work of the knower of the of the Two Lands (i.e. Thoth), by that which his heart created (i.e. according to Thoth's plan).

Each thing has its place assigned to it in the Temples, by the decree of Thoth. The statues of gods are said to be set up in the shrines in their due places as Thoth hath decreed thereon (Mar., Dend. II, 73b).

In the temple of Rameses II at Abydos the Nine are said to be duly depicted in their shape which Ptah hath fashioned, according to that which Thoth hath written concerning their bodies in the great register(?) which is in the Library (Mariett., Ab. II, 9). There is a clear reference to a set of regulations of a formal kind, in writing, dealing with the arrangement of temple-interiors, and these regulations are ascribed to Thoth as author.

Beyond the evidence adduced just above from Boylan's study there is other evidence.

In ch.80 of the BD, Ani, the deceased, who is identified with Osiris, speaks of having "endowed Thoth [with what is needful] in the temple of the moon-god for the coming of the fifteenth day of the festival." In a hymn to Thoth, that deity is described
as one "who makes way for the gods!". Later in that same
hymn Thoth is similarly described as the one "who makes the place
of the gods, who knows the secrets, expound their words". In another hymn to Thoth published by Turayeff the following is
said about Thoth: "he has given words and script, who makes temples
prosper, who founds shrines and script, who makes the gods to know
what is needful (i.e., sacrifice and ritual)". In the
so-called Mendes stela we find the following: "His majesty (the
king) showed veneration to the gods of ram-form according to
what was found in the writings of Thoth".

The idea that Thoth was responsible for the establishment of
temples and their respective practices is also reflected in
Diodorus' history of Egypt. In I, 16, 1 he writes: "For the honors and sacrifices owed to the gods
were set up (set in order) by this one (i.e. Hermes)".

A similar understanding, interestingly enough, is reflected in
the Stromata, Book VI of Clement of Alexandria. There are ten books pertaining to the honor (paid) by
them to the gods and dealing with Egyptian worship, such as
concerning sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions,
festivals and similar such things."^{184}

In conclusion, the role ascribed to Isis and Osiris in KK, 65:8 as founders of temple cult and practice is supported by evidence from the Egyptian sphere. This is further supported by the statement in KK, 68:27-28f to the effect that Isis and Osiris "learned from Hermes the secret laws of God". Such laws certainly might include regulations pertaining to divine worship. As the evidence above also indicates, the role attributed to Thoth in the establishment of temple cult and practice in the Egyptian sphere is significant. This Egyptian role of Thoth is further buttressed by statements from Diodorus Siculus and Clement of Alexandria.

B. Isis and Osiris as Establishers of Law and Justice

In KK, 67:15 Isis and Osiris are described in the following manner: οὗτοι πρώτοι δείξαντες δικαστήρια εὐνομίας τά σύμπαντα καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιλήψαν. , "These are they who first showed [the way]^{185} with respect to law courts and filled the universe^{185a} with order and justice".^{185b} This statement is, perhaps, the most authentically Egyptian statement in the aretalogy.^{185c}

In his role as king and judge of the dead in the Egyptian sphere Osiris as a co-founder of courts certainly would not be out
Chapter III

of place here. Interestingly enough KK, 62:19-23 describes a divine figure in very vivid terms, as a judge and king.

The divine figure here so characterized as a judge and king is strikingly Osirian and thoroughly Egyptian. Virtually the same judgment motif also occurs in the Asclepius tractate.

Among the various titles attributed to Osiris was _HTny-‘Imntyw (Foremost of the Westerners). This title, above all others, signified his position as king and judge of the dead (i.e., the Westerners). J. Gwyn Griffiths discusses in some detail how Osiris came to assume the title of "Foremost of the Westerners". Among others he cites the following Pyramid Texts:

Stand, O King, saved, equipped as a god, accoutred in the form of Osiris, upon the throne of Khentamenthes.  
(Pyr. 759a-b. PMN.)

The name of Osiris flourishes as Khentamenthes.  
(Pyr. 1666a. N.)

O King, raise thyself, receive thine honour which the two Enneads have done thee, that thou mayest be on the
In the BD, ch. 181, Osiris is addressed in the following salutation in a very direct manner allude to Osiris' sovereignty over the dead. ḫnty ḫmntt which means "sovereign or leader of the West" is actually a variation of an Osirian title discussed just above, i.e., ḫnty ḫmntyw. Nb n t3 ḍsr·t which means "lord of the sacred land (or necropolis)" seems to be simply another way of expressing Osiris' lordship over those who reside in the West.

The following lines are taken from the BD, chapter 125.

Homage to thee, 0 great God, thou lord of Maati,
I have come to thee, 0 my Lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, and I know thy name, and I know the names of the Two and Forty gods who exist with thee in the Hall of Maati, who live as warders of sinners and who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives of men are taken into account in the presence of the god Un-nfer; 193

In the text just cited Osiris is the great god who is being addressed by the deceased. He can also be identified with "the god Un-nfer". 193a The Hall of Maati (literally, wsḥt tn nt mḥty, i.e., the hall of justice or the two truths) is the place where the dead are judged. The last two lines of the text make it quite clear that persons are judged in the presence of Osiris.
However, perhaps the most incontrovertible evidence connecting Osiris with the final judgment in the Egyptian sphere can be found in the painted judgment scene which, among others, accompanies the text of the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead.

As stated above, in his role as king and judge of the dead, Osiris, along with Isis, as a founder of courts in KK, 67:15 certainly is not out of place. With respect to the establishment of order and justice, the appearance of the deceased in the judgment hall before Osiris was always concluded with the announcement of a verdict. If innocent, the deceased was declared as being m3'-ḥrw which is usually translated as meaning "true of voice". As such the deceased was considered as having been justified before the judgment tribunal of Osiris.\textsuperscript{194}

Significant early evidence\textsuperscript{195} has been adduced connecting Osiris with m3't (justice).\textsuperscript{196} In the Instruction of Ptah-hotep the following assertion is made: "Great is Ma'at ... She has not been destroyed since the time of Osiris."\textsuperscript{197} More relevant is a statement in the PT which describes Osiris as the "Lord of Ma'at". "Recitation: Osiris appears with pure sekhem-sceptre. Lofty is the Lord of Ma'at (nb m3't) in the festival of the New Year, the lord of the Year."\textsuperscript{198} In the CT Osiris is entitled lord of truth (nb m3't) four times.\textsuperscript{199}

In his study\textsuperscript{200} of a series of Isis hymns from Philae L.V. Žabkar adduces some evidence which is relevant here. In one piece
of evidence Osiris is described as one "who establishes Ma`at throughout the Two Shores". In a hymn from the tomb of Kheruef he is described as "great in terror, Master of Eternity, Lord of Ma`at . . . ". subdivision the hymn, Osiris is pictured in the following terms:

\[
\text{h₃₢w (m) rnpw w₃s nh₃ phr·n·f t₃w m}
\]
\[
\text{\`wy·f ms m₃'t s₃htm is h₃k₃·n·f nst'ltm,}
\]

(Osiris) the eternally youthful who extolled Eternity, when he encircled the lands with his arms; who fashioned Truth and abolished Falsehood, when he assumed the throne of Atum.

The hymn's depiction of Osiris as the one "who fashioned Truth and abolished Falsehood, when he assumed the throne of Atum" is quite relevant to the KK aretalogy in general and KK, 67:15 in particular. As was pointed out at the beginning of the discussion on the Kore Kosmu, KK, 64: 2-5 prefacing the aretalogy as it does, describes Isis and Osiris as coming into "a world in need" (Ἰὸ. . . δεομένῳ κόσμῳ). In the Egyptian, Osirian hymn from Philae the phrase, "when he (Osiris) assumed the throne of Atum", surely must refer to Osiris' earthly kingship. So both the Egyptian and Hermetic texts depict Osiris in terms of an earthly role. In KK, 67:15 Osiris, as well as Isis, is figured as one who "filled
every place with order and justice". In the Egyptian text this is paralleled rather neatly by the phrase the one "who fashioned Truth and Falsehood" spoken of Osiris. 205

Evidence linking Isis and m3't is also extant. In general, however, M3't was a goddess in her own right who personified justice and order. 206 This divinity was identified with Isis and Hathor. In one text from Denderah Isis is described as "Isis the Great, mother of the god, Ma'at in Denderah". 207 In one of the Isis hymns studied by Zabkar the goddess is one "who issues orders among the divine Ennead, according to whose command one rules", ir(t) mdw m hnw Psdt sšmw·tw hr st r·s. 208 In the preceding text while the word m3't does not occur, a governing aspect is clearly accorded to Isis.

While there is, to my knowledge, no textual evidence linking Isis with the establishment of judicial systems, her identification with m3't (meaning truth, justice et alia) and her well-developed relationship with Osiris throughout the historical period of Egyptian culture justify her dual role with Osiris in what is stated about both deities in KK, 67:15.

There is also a significant link between Thoth and M3't. In ch. 183 of the BD he is described as "sš m3't"; that is, the scribe of truth. 209 This same title is attested in a Theban grave from the time of Ramses II (ca. 1290 B.C.E.). 210 Thoth was also known as: "sš m3't n psdt", scribe of truth for the Great Ennead; 211
"šš m3ʾt n nb nṯḥ, scribe of truth for the lord of eternity.212

In the Metternich Stela he is described as "ḥr-tp m3ʾt", i.e., chief or the one who is over m3ʾt (Budge, Gods . . ., vol. II, p. 222). In a hymn to Reʾ, Thoth and M3ʾt work together in marking out the daily course of the sun-god across the sky.213 Ringgren depicts M3ʾt as "the daughter of Re who is joined with Thoth".214

In KK, 68:27 through 68:2 214a Isis and Osiris are described as having become pioneers and law-givers:

οὗτοι μόνοι τὰς κρυπτὰς νομοθεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ
παρὰ Ἕρμοῦ μαθόντες τεχνῶν καὶ ἐπιστημῶν
καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπάντων εὐθυγρητία τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο καὶ νομοθέται,

These are they who, alone, having learned from Hermes the secret laws of God became pioneers to humanity of the arts, the sciences and all the various occupations and law-givers.

Again, the identification of Isis with m3ʾt is important and critical here. It has been argued, not implausibly, that Isis-Maʾat provides a solid basis for Isis' being understood as Isis-Thesmophoros (law-giving). In his discussion of Rhamnusia,215 a deity and place name which occurs in the so-called Isis-Book of Apuleius, Griffiths makes the subsequent brief argument concerning Isis-Thesmophoros:

In Egyptian tradition Isis-Maʾat was an important concept, and it may be regarded as the theological origin of both Isis-Dikaiosyne and Isis-Nemesis,
since Ma'at as a goddess of justice represented these ideas; Isis-Thesmophoros, too, will derive from Ma'at.

Griffiths then alludes to Bergman's discussion of this same point in *Ich bin Isis* (p. 209). "In Isis Θεομοφόρος glauben wir so Isis als Trägerin der Maat zu erkennen." In view of the basic meanings attributed to m3\(^{t}\) as "truth", righteousness", "justice", and "rightness" or "orderly management", the Griffiths-Bergman argument here is justifiable.

To my knowledge there is no textual evidence from the Egyptian sphere in which Osiris is described as a giver of laws. However, as was discussed earlier in connection with KK, 67:15, there is substantive evidence which connects Osiris not only with m3\(^{t}\) (truth, justice, right order et cetera), but also with the judgment of the dead. From an Egyptian point of view this state of affairs justifies, at least to some extent, Osiris' being described in KK, 68:2 as a νομοθέτης.

KK, 68:27-28 states very explicitly that Isis and Osiris "learned the secret laws of God from Hermes". In this KK context, such an instruction provides the basis for the status that Isis and Osiris assume as lawgivers. On this point the connection between Thoth and hp (law) in ancient Egypt is crucially important. In this same connection the opening section of ch. 182 of the BD makes some very pertinent statements about Thoth and his relationship with hp and m3\(^{t}\):
ink:Dhwty ss... ss m3't...
nb hpw... nb m3't mtr m3't n ntrw,

I am Thoth, the excellent scribe... the scribe of truth... the lord of laws... the lord of m3't who teaches m3't to the gods.

In this particular tradition from the BD it is very clear that Thoth is not only "the scribe of truth", he is also "the lord of laws". In addition, he is "the lord of truth who teaches (or witnesses to the) truth to the gods". In section 8 of that same chapter Thoth is again called nb hpw, i.e., the lord of laws. In the Tutankhamun stela Thoth is characterized as "š3 hpw", the one who ordains laws. In a Theban tomb text from the time of Ramses II Thoth is characterized as "ir hpw", the one who makes laws. At Edfu and in other Ptolemaic texts he is figured as "smn hpw", the one who establishes laws.

Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel has studied a series of epithets attributed to Thoth as they occur in a number of temple, offering scenes from the Greco-Roman era.

Based upon the above discussion, the subsequent comments can be made relative to the role of Isis and Osiris in KK, 67:15 as establishers of law and justice. Evidence was adduced which demonstrates that in ancient Egypt, Osiris, as Hnty-Imntyw (Foremost of the Westerners), was understood as a king and judge of the dead. It was also seen that in ancient Egypt a strong
relationship existed between Osiris and m3\'t, particularly in his
description as one "who fashioned Truth and abolished Falsehood, when
he assumed the throne of Atum". While no Egyptian evidence could
be adduced for Isis as a law-giver per se, her identification with
m3\'t provides a meaningful basis for her role as described in KK,
67:15. Strong evidence was adduced to demonstrate that Thoth can
be linked to both m3\'t (truth, justice) and hp (law). More
pointedly, Egyptian texts describe Thoth as a law-giver par
excellence. This is quite in line with the view of KK, 68:27-28 which
states that Isis and Osiris "learned the secret laws of God from
Hermes".

IV. Excursus To Chapter III: The Ambrosia Theme

In the opening lines of the Kore Kosmu\textsuperscript{223} Isis gives Horus a
kind of divine potion: \textquoteleft Ίσις ἔγχει ποτὸν ὁρφ γλυκὺ τὸ
πρῶτον ἀμβροσίας ὁ αἱ ψυχαὶ λαμβάνειν έθος ἔχουσιν
\textquoteleft ἀπὸ θεῶν\textsuperscript{223a}. A parallel, Egyptian concept can be found in
the word df3 meaning "that which sustains".\textsuperscript{224} It occurs in
the BD as the term for the sustenance (solid or liquid) which is
usually offered to the deceased person.\textsuperscript{224a}

\textquoteleft O all ye gods of the House of the Soul, who weigh
heaven and earth in a balance, and who give cele-
stial food (df3w) [to the dead].\textsuperscript{225}
Chapter III

Grant ye cakes, and ale, and tchefau (df3w) food to the Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth. 226

It shall supply the Khu with celestial food (df3) in Khert-Neter. 227

While the above texts may not clearly demonstrate that df3 can be considered a divine substance, other examples from the BD substantiate this unequivocably.

May I smell the sweet savour of the food (df3w) of the company of the gods, . . . " 228

Now as concerning (53) the Pool of Maaat, it is Abtu (Abydos); or (as others say), It is the boat by which his father (54) Tem travelleth when he goeth forth to Sekhet-Aaru, (55) which bringeth forth the food (df3wt) and nourishment of the gods who are behind [their] shrines. 229

The god there is the lord of right and truth, he is the lord of the tchefau food (df3w) of the gods, and he is most holy. 230

In one instance df3 is directly connected with Horus.

"The governor of those in Amenti (presumably Osiris) 231 cometh to him and bringeth to him the divine food (df3w) and offerings htpw?) of Horus." 232 However, it is difficult to be sure what this apparent connection signifies and to even surmise what the role of Horus is in this context.

In a hymn to Re (the Sun-god), which occurs in at least the Ani version of the BD, we find the following statement:
Chapter III

Thou (Re') are glorious by reason of thy splendours, and thou makest strong thy ka (i.e., Double) with hu and tchefau foods. This text makes it explicitly clear that hw and df3 strengthen the ka of Re', the Sun-God.

In a note to this introductory passage from the Kore Kosmu (CH, vol. IV, p. 23, n.3) Festugière states that as with most editors since Patritius (1591) he has inserted 儆 before θεων, perhaps wrongly ("peut-être à tort"). He goes on to state that since Hermes, Isis and Osiris are, at one point or another in the K.K., considered as souls, it is thus possible to understand Horus in our passage here as a "divine soul". Thus, Festugière implies that 儆 before θεων is not necessary. Without 儆 then, K.K., ph.1 might be rendered in the following manner:

Having said these things, Isis, first of all, poured for Horus a sweet potion of ambrosia which divine souls are accustomed to receiving. And thuswise, she began her holy account.

The phrase "δ αύ ψυχαι λαμβάνειν έτηνος έχουσιν (儆)
θεων " could be understood as reflecting the Egyptian religious practice of df3 being offered to a divine ba or ka or ψυχη θεοῦ.
Chapter IV

The final chapter of this thesis is divided into three sections. Section I will entail a summary of chapters II and III followed by some concluding remarks pertaining to those chapters. Section II will be a consideration of the "future" of Hermetic studies. And Section III will consist of some concluding remarks.

I. A Summary Of Chapters II and III

A. Chapter II: A Summary

The first section of chapter II began with a consideration of certain divine characteristics (attributes or properties) of God in Hermetic literature. Specifically, this section entailed a discussion of the following seven characteristics: A. The "bisexuality of God in Hermetic literature". B. God's self-generative ability. C. God as being ἀφανής, i.e., invisible. D. God as ζωή, i.e., life. E. God's multi-name aspect. F. The hidden name aspect of God. G. God as the One and the All.

Section two consisted of a discussion of "a number of names or
titles which are attributed to God as Supreme Being" in HL. In this section three titles or names were examined: A. God as the Lord of All. B. God as the Lord of Eternity. C. God as the Sole Ruler.

B. Chapter III: A Summary

Chapter III was divided into three sections. Those sections pertained to "The Kingship in HL", "Several aspects of the role of Hermes Trismegistus in HL" and "Egyptian elements in the aretalogy of the Kore Kosmu".

The first section of chapter III began with a consideration of four aspects of the kingship in HL. As discussed, these aspects concerned The King as Establisher of Peace, The King as the Image of God, The King as Divine and The King and the Attendant Envoys and Powers.

The second section of the third chapter examined three aspects of role of Hermes Trismegistus in HL. These aspects considered Thoth in his role as the All-Knowing One, as Theurgist and his relationship to that which is hidden or mysterious.

In a third and final section the role of Isis and Osiris in the aretalogy of the Kore Kosmu was considered in two of its aspects. The first aspect examined Isis and Osiris in their joint role as founders of temples. The second aspect considered Isis and Osiris as establishers of law and justice.
A brief exsursus was appended to chapter III which examined the ambrosia theme found in the opening lines of the Kore Kosmu.

C. Conclusions Relative to Chapters II and III

As was stated earlier in this thesis (p. 31, ch. I), a number of other scholars have put forth efforts to establish that a significant stratum of authentic Egyptian influence can be found in the HL extant today. In connection with my own study of the HL, several conclusions can be drawn. First, I consider the efforts put forth in chapters II and III as an initial study on my part of the Egyptian influence on HL. The areas mentioned in note 92 of ch. I and the additional areas mentioned in section B, 3 (The Future of Hermetic Studies: Conclusions) below would be the next logical areas to be considered in any additional study of HL that I might undertake. Second, based upon the discussions in chapter II, it is clear that the concept of God in HL reflects a significant degree of Egyptian influence. Iversen's discussion as referred to in note 75 of this chapter serves to further buttress the assertion being made here. In connection with chapter III, it is equally clear that the concept of the kingship in HL manifests a marked degree of Egyptian influence. Derchain has also pointed this out.
Relative to chapter III, it is also clear that the role of Thoth is quite varied at least in terms of the contexts discussed. Finally, in connection with chapter III, the examination of the role of Isis and Osiris in the founding of temples and the establishment of law and justice in the Kore Kosmu demonstrates that the role of Egyptian deities in HL, at least that of Isis and Osiris in the contexts considered, is far more than a literary pastiche as Festugière once described that role.

II. The Future of Hermetic Studies

A. HL and Nag Hammadi

With the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts in late 1945, as is well known by now, three Hermetic documents were also unearthed. These were briefly discussed in chapter I.¹ In the future I believe that the documents in toto found at Nag Hammadi will be shown to contain a significant degree of authentic Egyptian influence. At the moment some evidence to this effect is already at hand.

Pahor Labib in an article entitled "Egyptian Survivals in the Nag Hammadi Library"² discusses some of this evidence and also points out the efforts of several others in this same connection.³
Among other things, Labib discusses the title of "the treatise on the resurrection". He points out that a number of texts "mention paradise", a concept which he quite rightly indicates is so prominent in ancient Egyptian religious thinking. In concluding his brief survey Labib lists a series of "Egyptian survivals" found at Nag Hammadi.

Again we can trace how ancient Egyptian deities survived in the Nag Hammadi Library, such as Seth, Thot=Hermes Trismegistos in Codex VI, the two bulls, that is to say the Apis bull of Memphis and the Mnevis bull of Heliopolis, in Codex II. We can trace also typical ancient Egyptian sacred birds like the phoenix or typical Egyptian animals like the crocodile.

Again the idea of the triad (father, mother and son) has its ancient Egyptian roots, also the preference for the number three. God is often called male-female like the Egyptian creator god.

As in old Egyptian texts there is punishment in the Gnostic Texts: to go upside down.

In another article entitled "Gnosticism's Egyptian Connection", Douglas Parrott discusses some Egyptian influences found in the so-called Apocalypse of Adam and another work known as Eugnostos. Both works stem from the finds at Nag Hammadi. From the Apocalypse of Adam Parrott has isolated an ancient and well-known phrase from Egyptian texts.

Presented as a revelation from Adam to Seth, it modifies an earlier literary unit, usually called the "The 13 Kingdoms," which describes the origins of thirteen revealer or savior figures (77,18-83,5). Repeated throughout the unit is the phrase "and thus he came upon the water," the meaning of which heretofore has proven elusive to scholarship. This phrase is now
clarified by Egyptian temple inscriptions from Graeco-Roman times. In both cases "someone" refers to a deity. The Egyptian phrase, then, means obedience or submission to the will of a deity (see Eberhard Otto's *Gott und Mensch*, p. 43).

Parrott identifies two Egyptian influences in *Eugnostos*. One concerns the god-beings responsible for creation. And the other pertains to the motif of "an essential unity-in-diversity in the divine realm".

One of the Hermetic documents found at Nag Hammadi, *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth*, contains a passage in which Hermes Trismegistus instructs "his son", the student or initiate, on the written transmission of that same discourse.

> O my son, write this book for the temple at Diospolis in hieroglyphic characters, entitling it 'The Eighth Reveals the Ninth'. I will do it, O my <father>, as you command now. O my <son>, write the language of the book of steles of turquoise. O my son, it is proper to write the book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters. For Mind has become overseer of these. Therefore I command that this teaching be carved on stone, and that you place it in my sanctuary. Eight guardians guard it with [ . . . ] of the Sun. The males on the right are frog-faces, and the females on the left are cat-faces. And put a square milk-stone at the base of the turquoise tablets and write the name on the azure stone tablet in hieroglyphic characters. O my son, you will do this when I am in Virgo, and the sun is in the first half of the day, and fifteen degrees have passed by me.

To my knowledge, the *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* is the only extant Hermetic document in Coptic with no corresponding Greek or Latin parallel. Such a Hermetic tradition in Coptic is even more
significant in light of the instruction in the passage above to "write the book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters". Thus, it is not unreasonable to construe the Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth as an extant witness to the Hermetic tradition which is itself extant in Egyptian, i.e., Coptic. This lends further credence to any theory which would understand Hermetic literature as having originally been written in hieroglyphics such as Stricker's theory does. Again, the fact that the discourse itself contains a command to "write the book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters", if it can be taken at face value, is an attestation expressis verbis, although it is in Coptic and not hieroglyphics, to a Hermetic tradition in hieroglyphics! This in turn lends further support to the Hermetic theory of someone like E.A.E. Reymond who has recently postulated a theory of a Hermetic, hieroglyphic tradition based upon her study of some extant Demotic documents. Her study is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

B. "Egypt, Hermetic Literature and the Late Period"

1) Introduction

In the earlier stages of modern Egyptological studies (i.e., ca. 1820 onwards well into this century) there was a far greater
concern for attaining the best possible understanding of the earlier periods of Egyptian thought and culture than was the case with respect to the later periods. Such a concern is quite understandable and under the circumstances was certainly appropriate. Recently, however, in the study of ancient Egyptian culture, a greater emphasis has been devoted to the study of the late period (i.e., that period beginning in ca. 1000 B.C.E. \(^{13}\) For instance, Miriam Lichtheim and Jan Quaegebeur are two Egyptologists who have devoted much of their efforts to a study of issues related to the late period. The subsequent works constitute three of Ms. Lichtheim's efforts in this connection:


In 1975 Jan Quaegebeur published Le Dieu Égyptien Shaï(dans la religion et l'onomastique), Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, no. 2, Leuven University Press. In this work Quaegebeur focuses on the Egyptian god, Shaï who, to paraphrase the title to part one of Quaegebeur's inquiry, is the "notion de destin et dieu du destin" in ancient Egypt. Part two of this study is entitled "Shai
dans l'onomastique greco-egyptienne”. The evidence presented in this part demonstrates very well the significant degree to which Egyptian and Greek culture influenced each other during this period in history. Several other studies by Quaegebeur are relevant here.

In 1971 JNES published an article by Quaegebeur entitled "Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis". This article is a follow-up study to a previously published paper by the same author focusing on Arsinoe II, a sister of Ptolemy II. In 1974 Quaegebeur published another article entitled "The Study of Egyptian Proper Names in Greek Transcription".

In 1985 W. Clarysse, Beatrijs Van Maele and Jan Quaegebeur published, co-operatively, in GM, an article entitled "The Memphite Triad in Greek Papyri". The appearance of this article marked the beginning of a project referred to as "Egyptian religion in Greek documents. An annotated repertory". According to the article the purpose of the project is "to bridge the gap between Greek papyrology and the study of Egyptian religion by means of a new reference book . . .". In concluding this rather brief survey of some of the studies by Miriam Lichtheim and Jan Quaegebeur pertaining to the late period, it is appropriate to consider now a work by E.A.E. Reymond mentioned earlier in this thesis.

2) From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings

130
In chapter I of this thesis it was suggested that the appearance of Bruno Stricker's article in 1949 pertaining to HL began another era in Hermetic studies.\textsuperscript{19} One day it may be that the appearance of E.A.E. Reymond's \textit{From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings}, in retrospect, will be seen as having marked the beginning of yet another era in Hermetic studies. As a result of her examination of several demotic documents found in the Fayyum of Egypt, but not necessarily originating in that area,\textsuperscript{20} Dr. Reymond believes that these literary finds form part of an ancient Egyptian, Hermetic tradition. In Ms. Reymond's thinking this newly discovered tradition constitutes the fount of the Greek and Latin HL which has served as the focal point of this thesis. To quote Dr. Reymond:

\begin{quote}
It is possible to suggest that papyri hereinafter published for the first time, were also used for interpretations made by the Egyptians themselves, and in the way as it is demonstrated in P. Carlsberg, then translated into Greek. There are obvious and conclusive points of contact between our papyri and the hermetic literature in general. This inter-relation enables us to reach the conclusion that interpretations of texts as ours are, have given the origin to the Greek and Latin Corpus Hermeticum known from the period of 268-391 C.E.\textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

I believe that the evidence that Dr. Reymond presents to support her thesis regarding the demotic documents that she edits and translates and the later HL is significant. However, I do not believe that there is enough of it to substantiate her thesis
regarding what might be called a Hermetic "missing link". On the other hand, two particulars resulting from her study are relevant enough to be mentioned here.

a) hp n ntr: law of the god

In one of the demotic papyri discussed by Dr. Reymond the phrase "hp n ntr" , literally, the law of (the) god, occurs. This expression does not occur elsewhere, but Dr. Reymond sees a connection between this concept and the "hp" (law) concept found in the Setna romance cycle.

There (i.e., in the Setna romance) the term hp describes a collection of rules governing nature's courses. In brief, this hp, "law" has every appearance of being a set of rules concerned with the moves of stars, sun, moon, and other natural phenomena; it appears though it is placed into a romance, to be a codification of all the knowledge of natural history, and astronomy. The tradition connected this hp, "law" with Thoth, who was believed to have been its author.

Reymond believes that there is a common "hp" tradition which served as a source for the Setna hp concept. She is further convinced that Text C\textsubscript{1}, the text which contains the pertinent phrase, i.e., law of the god, "is an ancient Egyptian codex of natural history". Dr. Reymond concludes her comments on "law of the god" with the subsequent remarks:
We do not think that we have to do with some formalistic magical writings projected into magic and mythology, nor with a romantic narrative. We are convinced that this papyrus gives evidence of a ḥp, a scholarly elaborated, and sophisticated system of natural sciences, a body of rules, or set of principles, which stands in an equal position to the Greek νόμος, but regarded by the Egyptians as a (nature's) law imposed by a divine power, the dynamis. We take the expression ḥp n ntr as the general definition of Egyptian natural sciences, and we disbelieve that it reflects an influence of the Greeks on the Egyptians.

b) mre rḥw: to pursue wisdom

This expression is found in Text C: P. Vindob. D. 6336. This is one of the shorter documents that is discussed. At the same time, it contains some of the more relevant expressions that Ms. Reymond discusses in her work as a whole. This expression as interpreted by Dr. Reymond, together with the "law of the god" concept as discussed above, constitute perhaps the most important concepts regarding her theory of an "ancient Egyptian Hermetic tradition".

We incline to the opinion that the expression mre rḥw retains its early meaning, and has grammatically and syntactically the same function as in Classical Egyptian.

It is suggested to take mre rḥw, to mean: "to pursue wisdom", and to hold it to be the introduction to interpretations of the old Egyptian wisdom, and learned treatises which were employed for instructions delivered in Egyptian temples.

As indicated above I believe that the nature of the evidence
presented by Dr. Reymond is such that it does not sustain her thesis regarding it and the later Hermetic literature which has been the focus of this thesis. Her discussion of one phrase in particular exemplifies the tentative nature of her evidence in general. 30

In concluding this discussion of Dr. Reymonds's study, her translation of, perhaps, the two most important passages in the several documents that she discusses is presented below. This is done with a view towards presenting her argument as fairly as possible, while at the same time giving the reader an opportunity to assay the weaknesses and the potential significance of E.A.E. Reymond's examination of these several demotic papyri from the late period. 31

Text C: P. Vindob. D. 6336

\[(x+1) \text{ .} \text{ He taught [} \]
\[(x+2) \text{ secret recor]ds of the Seat of the [?} \]
\[(x+3) \text{ ]for the apes. Do[} \]
\[(x+4) \text{ ]dead ones. Pursuing Wisdom. He said <the> instruc[tion?} \]
\[(x+5) \text{ ]to reveal the charm of the Primeval Waters} \]
\[(x+6) \text{ } scripts(?)\text{ which are disclosed from the House-of Life: Book of the Divine Agency of the Force}\]
\[(x+7) \text{ ]?[ } -s. \text{ He shall take hold of <the> houses} \]
\[(x+8) \text{ ] . } . \text{ to unite with <the> house} \]
\[(x+9) \text{ a[pes} \]

Text C1: P. Vindob. D. 6343

134
Chapter IV

(1) ]... . him. Do not take thy chest of

(2) ]... . Do not cleave <the> sycamore

(3) ]two animals, they being fashioned (from) wood

(4) ]placed upon thee, indeed

(5) ]..[ ]Book on the Darkness. Thou has been informed

(6) ]..[ ].. Thy teaching in the god's law

(7) ]..[ ].. which .[ ]..[ ]he understands stones

(8) ]thy teaching (is) in the temple about thy likeness of men

(9) ]in respect of them. He taught him about .?.. .... the blue linen

(10) ]pleasant of his utterance; conquering is his speech .?.. [ 

(11) ].. .-.s. Do [not] fail to draw nourishment from sayings [

(12) ].. [ ].. he . [ ]..: His are the beasts of evil, individuals [

(13) ] he [..] his spell. He responded to him by reason of the words of the creative art of the lords of peace. The [ ]-s

(14) ] They made ready [?] He is the wisdom. He is Thoth [ ] who provides for nourishments for them [

3) The Manethonian Tradition and The So-called Books of Hermes

a) The Manethonian Tradition

George the Monk or (Syncellus), who lived ca. 800 C.E., has
preserved a tradition concerning Manetho, an Egyptian priest of the 3rd century B.C.E., which warrants some discussion here. 32 The passage preserved by Syncellus reads as follows:

"Βασιλεῖ Μανεθῶ τοῦ Ξεβεννύτου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ξιλαδέλφον.

'Επιστολὴ Μανεθῶ τοῦ Ξεβεννύτου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Ξιλαδέλφον.

It remains now to make brief extracts concerning the dynasties of Egypt from the works of Manetho of Sebennytus. In the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus he was styled high-priest of the pagan temples of Egypt, and wrote from inscriptions in the Seriadic
land, traced, he says in sacred language and holy characters by Thoth, the first Hermes, and translated after the Flood in . . . hieroglyphic characters. When the work had been arranged in books by Agathadaimon, son of the second Hermes and father of Tat, in the temple-shrines of Egypt, he (Manetho) dedicated it to the above King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his Book of Sothis, using the following words:

Letter of Manetho of Sebennytus to Ptolemy Philadelphus.

"To the great King Ptolemy Philadelphus Augustus. 33 Greeting to my lord Ptolemy from Manetho, high-priest and scribe of the sacred shrines of Egypt, born at Sebennytus and dwelling at Heliopolis. It is necessary, great king, for us to reckon concerning all those things which you might desire us to examine. Consequently, as you are investigating concerning the future of the universe, in accord with your command to me (καθως ἔκλεισεν ὁ Μοῖ), I shall make known to you the sacred books which I have studied written by the forefather, Hermes Trismegistus. Farewell, my lord king."

He (Manetho) relates these things concerning the translation of the books written by the second Hermes. After these things he tells also of five Egyptian tribes which formed thirty dynasties . . .

The text presented above is Waddell's. The translation also closely follows his. He indicates that the phrase ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διωλτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνιδᾶ φωνὴν is probably a later interpolation. For this, however, he gives no argument. Walter Scott, who discusses this text at some length, does not exclude the phrase ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς κτλ. He thinks that it has been "misplaced".

The validity of the letter portion of the above passage has been questioned by Festugière and Waddell. Even if the letter portion of the above passage is spurious, the preceding portion still remains. This remaining portion mentions Thoth as "the first
Hermes". His son "the second Hermes" is also mentioned as the father of "Agathadaimon" who is the "father of Tat". There are, then, at least three prominent personages from the extant Hermetic literature who figure in Manetho's passage: namely Thoth, Agathadaimon, and Tat. In addition this passage clearly attests to a Hermetic tradition which was translated from Egyptian into Greek.

b) Plutarch and The So-called Books of Hermes

In chapter 61 of De Iside et Osiride Plutarch briefly engages in a discussion concerning "sacred names". He bases his discussion upon what is written in the "so-called books of Hermes". The beginning of that passage is as follows:

In the so-called Books of Hermes they relate that it is written concerning the sacred names that the power placed in charge of the sun's course is Horus, and that the Greeks call it Apollo; The passage continues discussing Osiris, Sarapis, and Sothis in a similar manner.

As has been mentioned before, in his commentary on this passage Griffiths comments at some length. However, the relevant portions here are as follows:
Derchain, 'L'authenticité de l'inspiration égyptienne dans le "Corpus Hermeticum"' (Rev. Hist. Rel. 161 (1962), 175-98), while he regards the content as being of heterogeneous origin, shows by specific instances that the Egyptian element is a good deal more prominent than Nock and Festugière have supposed.

But is Plutarch referring to this type of work? His statement appears to be the earliest reference to the 'Books of Hermes' by a classical author, but it need not imply that books comparable in detail to the Hermetica were circulating in the early second century A.D. Perhaps their prototypes were in being \(^45\), although they are now lost. Certainly what Plutarch cites here from the content of the 'Books of Hermes' has little affinity with the Hermetica.

Hopfner, II, 244f. argues, perhaps rightly, that the conception of \(\delta ὑμαλ\) here applied to gods aligns the 'Books of Hermes' with the Hermetica, whereas the 'Books of Hermes' in Clem. Alex. Strom. 6.4.35.3ff. = HF 372 concern rather the sacred books found in Egyptian temples; of such books there were forty-two, according to Clement, divided into six classes. Plutarch's books may have bridged the two types. Parmentier, Recherches, 7 compares the phrase 'Books of Hermes' with 'the Phrygian writings' \(^46\) and 'the sacred hymns of Osiris' (52, 372 B); the three phrases seem to indicate compilations used as sources.

Based upon the above remarks Prof. Griffiths is of the opinion that the "Hermetica" Plutarch uses as a source in this instance is, in most respects, different from the HL extant today. At the same time, he believes that Plutarch's statement about the 'Books of Hermes' should be considered a part of the early testimonia to HL.\(^47\) In my opinion, such a position by Prof. Griffiths is quite tenable.

In concluding this discussion regarding a Hermetic tradition
attributed to Manetho and Plutarch's statement about the 'Books of Hermes', two things can be noted. First, it seems altogether appropriate in a thesis such as this to at least discuss, limited as the discussion has been, an extra-Hermetic tradition (i.e., the Manethonian tradition) which explicitly attests to a Hermetic tradition which was translated from Egyptian into Greek. The existence of this Manethonian tradition can only lend further credence to the polemic in CH, XVI, phs. 1 and 2. This passage explicitly decries any attempt to translate the literature of which it is a part into Greek. Second, Plutarch's 'Books of Hermes', at the very least, give evidence of another Hermetic tradition extant in Plutarch's day. On the other hand, if it could be demonstrated that Plutarch is, in fact, referring to the HL with which this thesis has been concerned, the generally accepted theory regarding the dating of HL would have to be adjusted to fit a somewhat earlier time frame.

4) Evidence For A Multilingual Corpus of Literature

In the late period of Egyptian history there is a group of texts which for all practical purposes constitutes a corpus of multilingual literature. This literature too provides evidence which further undergirds the understanding that Egypt and Greece exerted considerable cultural influence each upon the other
during this period, particularly in the literary realm. The following remarks by P.M. Frazer characterize quite well that literature falling into a bilingual category.

Some("these texts") exist in a Greek version, some in demotic, some in both, and the Greek versions are probably translated or adapted from the demotic.

The following works fall into the bilingual category in one way or another; i.e., as extant in Demotic, extant in Greek, or extant in both:


The literature falling into a trilingual category can be classified as either Demotic, Hieroglyphic or Greek. To some extent this is an arbitrary classification because Demotic and Hieroglyphic represent two, historically distinct stages of the same language, i.e., ancient Egyptian. Nevertheless, my use of the terms bilingual and trilingual simply represents one way of classifying the literature being discussed here.

Several pieces of evidence fall into this category. There are the decrees of Canopus and Memphis (i.e., the Rosetta Stone) and the decree of Raphia.
5) Authentic Egyptian, Ptolemaic influences

One view that has clearly emerged from the recent increase in the study of the late period in Egyptian history pertains to the strikingly resilient nature of many of the ancient Egyptian traditions. These resilient cultural traditions are not confined to any one area of ancient Egyptian life. However, in many instances it is the religious traditions which are so prominent in the late period. In this connection the expansion of the cults of both Isis and Osiris in the late period and the development of the Serapis cult shortly after the advent of the Ptolemaic era come to mind. The subsequent remarks by Dr. Susan Hollis underscore the general point being made here:

Despite the time difference, it is generally recognized that Ptolemaic texts very often reflect the much older (Old Kingdom) stratum of Egyptian culture. In dealing with them, however, it is important to recall that Greek interests and Greek culture often intermingle with and color the Egyptian, and furthermore, many of these late texts contain much of an etiological nature.

Such a study as Louis V. Žabkar's "Adaptation of ancient Egyptian texts to the temple ritual at Philae" is relevant here. In that article Žabkar examines two Ptolemaic hymns concerned with the goddess Isis. In connection with the second hymn, Žabkar clearly demonstrates that it is taken, almost word for word, from Pyramid Text 600 (phs. 1652-3). Directly below is Žabkar's
translation of the Isaic hymn from Philae, followed by Faulkner's translation of Pyramid Text 600 (phs. 1652-3):

O Atum-Khepri, you are exalted as Height. You shine forth as the 'benben'-stone in the House-of-the-Phoenix in Heliopolis. You spat out Shu, you expectorated Tefnut. You placed your arms about them as the arms of a 'ka', that the 'ka' might be in them. O Atum, may you place your arms about Isis, for ever.

O Atum-Khoprer, you became high on the height, you rose up as the 'benben'-stone in the Mansion of the 'Phoenix' in On [Heliopolis], you spat out shu, you expectorated Tefenet, and you set your arms about them as the arms of a ka-symbol, about this construction, and about this pyramid as the arms of a ka-symbol, that the King's essence may be in it, enduring for ever.

A comparison of the above two texts reveals that they are very much alike as Žabkar has certainly duly noted. While the evidence from Žabkar's article is, in and of itself, hardly enough to build a thesis on, nevertheless I believe it does demonstrate that Egyptian traditions from the earlier periods did survive down to and through the later periods. At the same time, there is other evidence which simply has not been presented here. Such prima facie evidence as is provided by Žabkar's study on the Isaic, Philae hymn tends to further undergird the plausibility of the view that a significant Egyptian influence was at work in the evolution of HL. In the future I believe more evidence will be forthcoming relative to what might be described as "authentic Egyptian, Ptolemaic influences" in many areas of the cultural spectrum of Graeco-Roman Egypt.
Chapter IV

6) Two Christian Era Hermetic Witnesses: Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus

At this point, as the discussion on "Egypt, Hermetic Literature and the Late Period" draws to a close, it seems appropriate to consider, at least in passing, two witnesses to the Hermetic tradition from the Christian era.

In Book VI, chapter IV of his Stromata, Clement of Alexandria (ca. 180 C.E.) discusses some of the philosophical tenets of the Egyptians and the Indians. In the context of his comments relative to the Egyptians, he discusses some books attributed to Hermes.65 The following excerpts are the ones relevant to those books:

Toûtôn fasis dúo biblous anállefnavi deîn
èk tôn 'Ermou, òn tháteron mên hymnous
periechêi theôn, eklogismôn ðe basilikou
ðíou tò deúteron. For they say that he (the singer) must learn two of the books of Hermes, the one of which contains the hymns of the gods, the second the regulations for the king's life.

Toûtôn tâ ástrologoumêna tòw 'Ermou biblôn
téssara óṉta tôn aríthmôn òe ðia stómatos
ëxên ñrhê. He (the singer) must have the astro-
logical books of Hermes, which are four in number, always in his mouth.

Dêka ðe èsti tâ eîs tôn timîn ánêkonta tôn
par' autôi theôn tîn Aìgipitían euðfēian
periechonta, òîn peri ñymátôn, ãparxhôn, hymnôn,
ëu̱xhôn, pòmpôn éortôn kai tôn toûtôi ðîmôôn.
"There are ten books pertaining to the honor (paid) by them to the gods and dealing with Egyptian worship, such as concerning sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers,
processions, festivals and similar such things."\textsuperscript{68}

There are, then, 42 books of Hermes indispensably necessary.\textsuperscript{69}

In a work entitled \textit{De Mysteriis}\textsuperscript{70}, Iamblichus (ca. 300 C.E.) alludes to a Hermetic tradition in ch. VIII, section 4.

The above excerpts from Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus have been included here because, as is indicated above, they bear witness to a literary tradition related to Hermes. Just how this tradition relates to the extant HL cannot be discussed here.\textsuperscript{73} It may be concluded, however, that Clement and Iamblichus in the texts cited above allude to either the HL extant today or, to another separate Hermetic tradition or traditions altogether.\textsuperscript{74}

7) Concluding Comments on "Egypt, HL and the Late Period"

The purpose of the preceding discussion which I have entitled
"Egypt, HL and the Late Period" has been a manifold one. First, I wanted to give some sense of the indigenous, literary ethos present in Egypt in the late period. Second, I thought that it was important to give some sense of the Egypto-Graeco literary current which arose in Egypt in the late period even before the Ptolemaic era began. Beyond this, it seemed needful to point to the extent to which Egyptian and Greek literature mutually influenced each other in the last millenium of ancient Egyptian autonomy. In addition, it was important to indicate that there was an authentic Egyptian literary tradition which remained vibrant well beyond the Ptolemaic era and which exerted considerable influence well into the Christian era. Finally, I thought that the extra-Hermetic literary tradition as exemplified by Clement of Alexandria and Iamblichus was important enough to be discussed, however briefly.

III. The Future of Hermetic Studies: Conclusions

Finally, with respect to the future of Hermetic studies, there are several areas in the extant HL an examination of which, I believe, will yield significant, further evidence of an authentic Egyptian stratum in the HL. Into this category would certainly fall all of the areas discussed in note 93, ch. I. In addition, I
believe that an examination of the following areas would also yield very fruitful results:

1) The varying concepts of the Supreme Being (i.e., the godhead) in the HL.

2) The roles pertaining to the various Egyptian deities in HL (such as Horus, Isis, and Osiris).

3) The so-called astrological and magical HL

An examination of any of the three areas listed above could entail an extensive amount of work, particularly "the so-called astrological and magical HL".

IV. Concluding Remarks

In chapter I (p. 24) of this thesis I referred to Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths' comment that "Derchain has made a promising start" with respect to pointing out Egyptian influences in HL. I further indicated that the main purpose of this thesis was to build upon Derchain's "promising start". I trust that the efforts put forth here have accomplished that purpose in some measure. Beyond this, I hope that this thesis has also helped to shed some further light on the incredibly complex world in which early Christianity developed, a world which is very much still alive as is evidenced by the use and study of a remarkably resilient corpus of early
Christian literature, canonical and non-canonical, and as is also evidenced by the mere existence, today, of such a literature as the Hermetic literature, the study of which, in and of itself, gives evidence to a certain Hermetic influence. Finally, it is hoped that this thesis has helped to further clarify the collective perception relative to the origins of Hermetic literature.

"Hermes und die Hermetik I: Das hermetische Corpus", \textit{Archiv für Religionswissenschaften} 8 (1905), pp. 321-372.

"Hermes und die Hermetik II: Der Ursprung der Hermetik", \textit{Archiv für Religionswissenschaft} 9 (1906), pp. 25-60.

See also Wilhelm Boussett:

"Hauptprobleme der Gnosis", \textit{Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur}, Heft 10 (1907).


2. For an in depth consideration of the Egyptian god Thoth, the reader is referred to: Patrick Boylan, \textit{Thoth, The Hermes Of Egypt}, (Oxford:
Notes, Chapter I

Oxford University Press, 1922). The body of literature in which the origin of the epithet Hermes three times great is discussed continues to grow. To my knowledge, the most recent discussion is that of Robert K. Ritner in the Gäöttinger Miszellen, Heft 49 (1981), pp. 73-75 and Heft 50 (1981), pp. 67 and 68. In two relatively short articles Ritner directly discusses or alludes to a significant portion of the primary and secondary literature relevant to the Egyptian origin of the title Hermes Trismegistus. In this same connection see Walter Scott's discussion (Hermetica, volume I, p. 5, n.1). As mentioned above (chapter I, p. 1) the Egyptian origin of this title is not disputed; however some specifics in this particular connection still remain uncertain. Thoth is described as great in varying degrees in both demotic and hieroglyphic traditions. However, the exact relationship between these two traditions has not been completely clarified. The evidence presently available in this connection would seem to allow further clarification. At the same time, the "terminus ante quem" for the custom of describing Thoth as great has not been firmly established.

3. The issue of the dating of Hermetic literature is complicated and any opinion in this connection will be significantly influenced by one’s hermeneutical approach to the literature, particularly in connection with those issues related to provenance and background. For the purposes of this thesis, then, the dating issue will not be discussed in any detail except in those instances in which that issue is directly germane to the discussion at hand. Walter Scott and Flinders Petrie exemplify contrasting views with respect to the dating of the Hermetic literature. See note 71 below. Petrie dates some of the Hermetic documents as early as the 6th century (500) B.C.E. Scott, on the other hand, dates the Hermetica as a whole to "the third century after Christ". (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 10.

4. See Walter Scott, Hermetica, volume I, p. 8. This evidence is referred to as the "Testimonia". It appears in the fourth volume of Walter Scott's edition of the Hermetic literature which was published posthumously for Scott by A.S. Ferguson in 1936, eleven years after Scott's death. In this same connection see the fourth volume of the Festugière-Nock edition of the Hermetic literature, p. 104f.

5. For a full discussion of these writers and others see Walter Scott, Hermetica, volume IV. The date listed for each ancient writer corresponds to the date of that writer's work which refers to the Hermetic literature in some fashion or another.

6. A.S. Ferguson (for Scott) lists no less than twelve Arabic writers who attest, one way or another, to the Hermetic tradition. See Walter Scott, Hermetica, vol. IV, pp. VI-VIII and also pp. 248-273. In
this same connection see G.R.S. Mead, Thrice-Greatest Hermes, volume I, p. 5.

7. See Antonino Gonzalez Blanco, "Hermetism. A Bibliographical Approach", Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Band 17 (1984), p. 2261. Blanco cites several other studies pertaining to "mediaeval Hermetism". According to Blanco the following studies were carried out from the perspective that Hermetism was an integral part of the culture of the medieval period in Europe.


8. Presumably, the Siena referred to is in Italy.


10. Scott (Hermetica, vol. I, p.32, n.1) discusses this scene in considerable detail. He even discusses a passage from Cicero which he feels forms at least a part of the Siena scene's literary background.


12. To quote Walter Scott: The Hermetica dealt with in this book may be described as 'those Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophical teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus'. ... There is, besides these, another class of documents, the contents of which are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; namely, writings concerning astrology, magic, alchemy and kindred forms of
Notes, Chapter I


13. In the subsequent remarks Dieter Georgi expresses a more neutral if not positive attitude toward magic and the Hermetica or at least toward the Hermetica's main exponent, Hermes Trismegistos: "On the more magical end, Hermes Trismegistos proved to be of great influence. His name stands also as example for the connection of other 'sciences' with the supernatural, of the rational with the irrational." See Dieter Georgi, *The Opponents of Paul in Second Corinthians*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p. 408 (Epilogue).

14. The first four categories mentioned here are quite in keeping with those categories devised by the major interpreters of the Hermetic corpus in this century. In this connection see *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 15 and G.R.S. Mead, *Thrice-Greatest Hermes*, vol. I, p. 3. Hereafter, Mead's edition will be referred to as "Mead, volume number, et cetera".


16. Walter Scott and G.R.S. Mead also present eighteen tractates in their respective editions of the Hermetic corpus. The Festugière-Nock edition of the Hermetic literature will serve as the basic text in this thesis, although the texts of other scholars (Walter Scott, Reitzenstein inter alia) will certainly be used and referred to when necessary.


18. This title for the Asclepius tractate can be traced back to Lactantius. See Mead, vol. II, p. 391. "... the Church Father Lactantius, writing at the beginning of the fourth century, and quoting from the Greek original, says twice, categorically (D.iviniae I.institutiones, IV.6 and VII.8): 'Hermes in illo libro qui logos teleios inscribitur'; that is, 'Hermes in the Book entitled the Perfect Sermon or The Sermon of Initiation'; ".


21. "L'unité substantielle de l'ouvrage Asclépius est confirmée, selon moi, par le très grand nombre de cas où l'auteur se répète ou semble faire allusion à autres parties de son oeuvre." (CH, vol. II, p. 292.)
22. *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 82.


24. Ibid., n. 3.


27. I am relying on W. Scott (vol. IV, p. 271 and p.274) for a dating of the lives of Al-Katibi and Barhebraeus.

28. See Mead, vol. I, p. 9 and *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 31. Reitzenstein (Poimandres, p. 320) dates Ficino's work to 1463. Both Mead (vol. I, p. 9, n. 2) and W. Scott (vol. I, p. 31, n. 2) differ from Reitzenstein. Mead indicates that he has "found no trace of this edition". Scott quotes from the earliest printed edition of Ficino's work (presumably the earliest printed edition that W. Scott has access to): "Finitum. M.CCCC.LXXI. Die XVIII Decemb."


30. "Twelve years [i.e., in 1591] later Franciscus Patrizius (Cardinal Francesco Patrizzi) printed an edition of the text of the Sermons of the Corpus, of 'The Asclepius,' and also of most of the Extracts and of some of the Fragments; he, however, has arranged them all in quite arbitrary fashion, and has as arbitrarily altered the text, which generally followed that of Turnebus and Candalle, in innumerable places. To this he emended the versions of Ficino and de Foix, as he tells us, in no less than 1040 places. These were included in his Nova de Universis Philosophia, printed at Ferrara, in folio, 1591, and again in Venice by R. Meiettus, in 1593, as an appendix to his Nov. de Un. Phil., now increased to fifty books." (Mead, vol.I, p. 11.)


32. The first Dutch translation that Mead (vol. I, p. 13) mentions was done at Amsterdam in 1652. He gives a portion of the title as
follows:

Sestien Boecken van den Hermes Trismegistus . . . uytt het Grieck ghebracht . . . met eene . . . Voorede uytt het Latiijn von F. Particius in de welcke hij bewijst dat desen . . Philosoph heeft gebleoeyt voor Moyyses, etc.

Harles, according to Mead, mentions another Dutch edition done in Amsterdam in 1643 by Nicholas van Rauenstein.


36. Ibid.


39. Unless otherwise specified, from now on in this thesis, the abbreviation "HL" will stand for the phrase "Hermetic literature". See the beginning of section IV of this chapter for any further explanation of the use of this abbreviation.


42. Mead, vol. I, p. 27.


44. "Ménard distinguishes three principal groups in the Trismegistic treatises, which he assigns to Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian influences. In them also he finds a link between Philo and the Gnostics." Mead, vol. I, p. 30.


46. " . . . nevertheless it was evidently the conviction of Dévéria, who in a work of which he only succeeded in writing the first two pages, proposed to comment on the entire text of the
Notes, Chapter I


51. Mead, vol. I, p. 35. Mead mentions two other articles originating in Germany which support the Casaubon view. The first article the title of which is not given is found in F.A. Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexikon*, (Leipzig: 1884). The second and "in fact far and away the very best that has yet been done" is Chr. Scherer's "Hermes" which appears in W.H. Roscher's *Aufführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, (Leipzig: 1884).

52. In April of 1904, as cited by Mead (vol. I, p. 36), Frank Granger published an article in *The Journal of Theological Studies* entitled "The Poemanders of Hermes Trismegistus". See vol.V, number 19. According to Mead, Granger understands the most important Hermetic tractates as being Chrsitian in origin.


54. Ibid., p. 46.


58. Ibid., p. 47.
59. Ibid., pp. 8 and 9.
60. Ibid., p. 10.
61. Ibid., p. 12.

62. My source for "Les Dieux Ousiarques De L' 'Asclepius' " (A.-J. M. Festugière, Hermetisme Et Mystique PâTenne, (Paris: Aubier-Montaigne, 1967) gives only an abbreviated form for the title of the periodical in which this article was, presumably, originally published. That is, Rech. Sc. Relig., XXVIII, 1938, p. 211-215. That abbreviated form is found on a "Bibliographie" page which is found just before the title page to section I (L'Hermétisme) in Hermétisme Et Mystique PâTenne. Hereafter, Mystique PâTenne will stand for Hermétisme Et Mystique PâTenne.

63. This work was mentioned above in footnote 1. Hereafter this work will be referred to as RHT.

64. See Mystique PâTenne, the page entitled "Avertissement".

65. The Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius constitute volume I and the "Fragments Divers" form a portion of volume IV.

66. CH, vol. I, p. V. I understand "ils", as Nock uses it, to refer to the Corpus Hermeticum proper, the Latin Asclepius and the Excerpts of Stobaeus. In turn, these three categories of HL would correspond to Festugière's "l'hermetisme philosophique" (see RHT, vol. II, p. IX.) or "l'hermetisme savant" (see Mystique PâTenne, p. 32.).

67. Most if not all of Festugière's articles related to the HL are conveniently collected in Mystique PâTenne.


70. Stricker's four Hermetic theses are as follows:

   I. "The Hermetic literature is of autochthonous Egyptian origin. -- The Hermetic doctrine is the esoteric doctrine of the Egyptian priesthood as it has developed in the course of the Old, the Middle and the New Kingdom. Relationship to Orphism, Pythagorism or any other Greek systems of religion or philosophy, exists
only in so far as these latter are dependent on the Egyptian. On the other hand, the literary methods of Hermetism, its terminology, composition and argumentation by dialogue, have been conscientiously copied from the Greek."

II. "The Hermetic treatises form part of an extensive Corpus dedicated to theology. ... To theology in Egypt belonged not only what we call theology proper, but also philosophy, science and magic."

III. "The Corpus Hermeticum has been composed by the Egyptian priesthood at the command of king Ptolemy I Soter. ... The Egyptian priesthood under Manetho was ordered to have the contents of the treatises prepared by specialists from its midst."

IV. "The commission [i.e., the work of the priests] was intended as a measure for checking the Egyptian nationalism."

71. In 1908 Flinders Petrie, an Egyptologist, had dated some of the Hermetica as early as the 6th century (500) B.C.E. Walter Scott rather strongly criticized Petrie's views on HL.

A strange and quite untenable theory as to the dates of the Hermetica has been forward by Dr. Flinders Petrie, in a paper printed in the Transactions of the Third Interna. Congr. of the History of Religions, 1908, pp. 196 and 224. He puts the date of the Kore Kosmu (which he calls 'the earliest Hermetic document') at 'about 510 B.C., or certainly before 410 B.C.'; that of Corp. XVI at 'about 350 B.C.'; and that of the original of the Latin Asclepius at 'about 340 B.C.'. And he says that 'if the longest Hermetic writings thus belong to the Persian age' (i.e. to a time before 332 B.C.), 'it is probable that the whole group are not far removed from that period'. In a book entitled Personal Religion in Egypt Before Christianity, 1909 (ch. 3, 'The dateable Hermetic writings'), he again expresses the same opinion as to the dates of Kore Kosmu, Corp. XVI, and Ascl. Lat., adding that 'there is nothing incompatible with such a date for Egyptian originals, while the Greek translations may very likely show a later style'. ... 'The Hermetic books as a whole', he says (p. 102), 'seem to hang together, and to belong to one general
period, 500-200 B.C.'

Scott himself then adds, "If these dates were proved to be right, there would necessarily result from them an astounding bouleversement of all commonly accepted views as to the history of Greek thought". See Hermetica, vol. I, pp. 45-46.

72. See note 1 above.

73. See:

Rudolph Anthes, "Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 107 (February 1963), pp. 60-81. In particular, see p. 80.


Jean-Pierre Mahé, Hermès en Haute-Egypte (Les texte hermétiques de Nag Hammadi et leurs parallèles grecs et latins), Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Textes, no. 3, Laval, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université, 1978).


Pier Angelo Carozzi, "Gnose et soteriologie dans la 'Kore Kosme' hermétique", Gnosticisme et Monde Hellénistique (Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 11-14 mars 1980), Publications de l'Institut Orientalist de Louvain, no. 27,
Jean-Pierre Mahé, *Hermès en Haute-gypte* (Le fragment du Discours Parfait et les Definitions hermétiqes arméniennes), Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Textes, no. 7, (Laval, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université, 1982).


The most recent work that I am aware of related to HL is a thesis by a former, fellow student David J. M. Whitehouse. Having already secured an M.D. as a psychiatrist, Dr. Whitehouse successfully defended a Th.D. thesis entitled "The Hymns Of The Corpus Hermeticum: Forms With A Diverse Functional History (hereafter referred to as Whitehouse) on April 19, 1985 at Harvard Divinity School. As the title indicates Dr. Whitehouse, in a study of some 436 pages, examines five hymns which form a part of the Corpus Hermeticum. Dr. Whitehouse has been kind enough to allow me to have access to an unpublished copy of his thesis. His introductory chapter has been of significant help even though the main focus of our respective theses is quite different.

74. Since at least 1969 Prof. Georgi has been responsible for the "Corpus Hermeticum" (HL) as part of the international New Testament project entitled "Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti".

75. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *DIO*, (University of Wales Press, 1970). See p. 214, the last line for the Greek; and the opposite page for the translation.


77. Ibid., pp. 519 and 520.

78. See J. Gwyn Griffiths, "The Tradition Of Allegory In Egypt", 159
Notes, Chapter I


79. See note 73 above.


81. Derchain's original French rendering is be presented here:

1) L'Égypte est la projection du ciel;
2) Le rôle des rites, que l'on peut déduire de la description de ce qui se passe si on cesse de les exécuter;
3) Les relations entre le respect d'une loi morale et l'équilibre cosmique;
4) La description de la fin du monde, où se trouvent des phrases visiblement traduites de l'égyptien, comme nous le verrons.


84. The full reference is as follows: Erik Iversen, Egyptian and Hermetic Doctrine, Opuscula Graecolatina (Supplementa Musei Tusculani), vol. 27, (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1984).

85. Iversen, op.cit., p. 5. Hereafter, this work will be referred to as "Iversen".

86. Iversen, p. 36.

87. Ibid., p. 53.

88. The following listing contains many of the Hermetic elements discussed by Iversen as being of Egyptian origin. The amount of information posited for each element listed will vary from element to element. The purpose here is to simply give the reader a general idea as to the nature and scope of the Hermetic elements discussed by Iversen as being of Egyptian inspiration. All page references are to Iversen's study.
Notes, Chapter I

a) On pp. 29-30 Iversen discusses ὅριος, a suggested textual emendation in the Poimandres tractate; cf. CH I, 4:19.

b) For his discussion of the "creative, water substance" in CH I, 4:1-2, see p. 30, ph. 2.

c) Also on p. 30, ph. 3 are Iversen's comments on an ur-chaos state of existence as described in CH I, 5:5-6.

d) Finally on that same page, ph. 4 Iversen discusses the "holy word" as equivalent to the Egyptian mdw ntr (the divine word or a divine word). See CH I, 6:17-18.

e) The creative demi-urge in CH I, 6:17-18 (cf. also CH I, 9:16-17) is discussed on p. 31, ph. 5.

f) On that same page, ph. 6 Iversen discusses ἀλοθνος and νόηςίς in CH IX, 2:5-6. Cf. CH IX, 2:16.

g) In the last paragraph on p. 31 Atum as being equivalent to the universe is discussed relative to CH II B, 2:15 and CH VIII, 1:9-10.

h) In paragraph one on p. 32 Iversen comments on God as the origin of the universe à propos CH IX, ph. 16. See also his apposite comments on Asclepius 2, phs. 1 and 2 on p. 32, ph. 3.

i) On p. 33, ph. 1 the creation of man in CH I, 12:15-17 is discussed relative to an Egyptian counterpart.

j) In ph. 3 of the same page ἦς καὶ φῶς (life and light) as equivalent to ψυχή καὶ νοῦς (soul and intellect) is discussed in relationship to the Egyptian ἰη (life and soul) and ἲη (light and intelligence).

k) Iversen's remarks on p. 34, ph. 3 are significant enough to be quoted here in full:

"In Egyptian, the King, for example, is said to be 'Lord of cosmic time' (npos) in his capacity of 'King of the two lands', obviously considered a timeless, cosmic position, but 'Lord of the existential time' (dt) as the temporal occupant of the 'Throne of Horus', just as Ptah as creator is said to be 'Lord of cosmic time', but to have made (i rj) 'existential time'. In the corpus identical doctrines are expressed in the statements that 'being ever living' (αἰωνος) is different from 'being eternal' (αἰωνίος, treatise VIII, 2; p. 87, 18-19), and that 'God creates the aion, the aion the world and the world time' (Χρονος, treatise..."
XI, 2; p. 147, 10), clearly indicating the cosmic conception of aion and the existential nature of chronos, which is probably also implied in the doctrine that 'time (χρόνος), place (τόπος) and physical nature (ψυχή) are characteristics of the body' (οὐρά, excerptum XVI, 3; vol. III, p. 72), and in the statement that 'time is fulfilled in the world' (treatise XI, 2; p. 148, 5)."

l) At the top of p. 36, ph. 1 Iversen comments on the Hermetic πνεύμα doctrine in CH X, ph. 13 vis-à-vis an Egyptian background.

m) On p. 37, ph. 4 Iversen discusses the Hermetic concept of "making gods" found in Asclepius, 37:5ff (CH, vol. II, p. 347) as a thoroughly Egyptian motif. At one point in particular Iversen indicates that this Hermetic notion of "making gods" has for a very long time been recognized as an Egyptian concept.

"Owing to their magical and demonological implications the Hermetic references to man's ability 'to create gods', and to the magical powers of cultic statuary were from the time of Augustine and throughout the history of the tradition considered the most dangerous and controversial of Hermetic doctrines, constantly cited by all adversaries and foes as shocking examples of the basically impious and heretic nature of the entire movement, and their direct reference to Egyptian notions and beliefs has long been generally recognized also by modern scholars."

n) In the last paragraph of p. 38 γενεσίς ('coming into being') as found in CH V, 1:12-13 is discussed in relationship to the Egyptian ḫpr. For ḫpr see pp. 38-41 of this thesis and MED, p. 188.

o) On p. 39 Iversen discusses "the problem of the different, and seemingly contradictory, definitions of creator and demiurge in some of the Hermetic treatises" as that issue relates to various, local Egyptian cosmogonies.

p) In the second paragraph on p. 43 the issue of Hermetic theodicy is taken up vis-à-vis an Egyptian background.

q) On p. 44 Iversen begins a discussion of "ten individual 'powers' or dynameis, such as defined in treatise XIII, 8-9 (vol. II, 204)."

r) Finally, on p. 49, ph. 2 πολυσώματος of CH V, 10:6 is linked to the Egyptian expressions ἕξις ἰρω ("of numerous forms") and ἕξις Ἥπρω ("of numerous appearances").

There are several other scholars who have pointed out a

162
variety of other Egyptian elements in HL. In this connection the following three articles are directly relevant.


In particular see Daumas, op.cit., pp. 10-25; Dunand, op.cit. p.57ff; and Labib, op.cit., passim.

Via personal correspondence Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths was kind enough to direct me to particular places in Jan Assman's monograph Zeit und Ewigkeit im alten Ägypten wherein the author discusses some "references to the ideas of eternity and immortality in the Hermetic writings" and, from Assman's point of view, their Egyptian background. All page references in this note below are to Assman's monograph unless otherwise specified. For a full bibliographical reference see the bibliography at the end of this thesis.

a) On p. 17, n. 42 Assman refers to Asclepius, 4:8-10. This passage concerns the immortality of the species in relationship to the transient nature of an individual human life. As evidence on the Egyptian side Assman refers to the Harpers' Songs. See Assman, p. 16.

b) On p. 32f Assman discusses the Uroboros, in Egypt a primeval serpent connected with creation, and certain concepts sometimes symbolically connected with it such as eternity, time and year. Assman sees the Uroboros concept reflected in Asclepius, ph. 30, specifically in the words "circumvallatus" and "contractus". See Asclepius, 30:22-23 (CH, vol. II, p. 337).

See also above p. 33 of this thesis and above n. 73.

89. In effect, those portions constitute what Festugière-Nock present in their edition of the HL excluding the "Fragments Divers".

163
90. It is interesting to note that even though C.K. Barrett "discounts" the astrological and magical HL (see p. 3, above), he entitles his chapter on HL in his *NT Background* as "The Hermetic Literature". Walter Scott is even more critical of the "non-philosophical" Hermetica:

There is, besides these (the religious or philosophical Hermetica), another class of documents, the contents of which are also ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus; namely, writings concerning astrology, magic, alchemy, and kindred forms of pseudo-science.

We therefore are justified in treating the 'religious' or 'philosophic' Hermetica as a class apart, and, for our present purpose, ignoring the masses of rubbish which fall under the other head. (*Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 1)

Stricker, for one, totally rejects such a division: "The Hermetic treatises form part of an extensive Corpus dedicated to theology. The treatises are all equal in rank and were edited simultaneously. There exists no difference between a higher and between a lower Hermetism." (Stricker, op.cit., p. 49)

91. Jan Bergman, a Swedish Egyptologist, is presently engaged in a study of "the Egyptian background of the magical traditions" in the Greek Magical Papyri. This study is a sub-project of a larger project connected with the Papyri Graecae Magicae under the directorship of Hans Dieter Betz, University of Chicago. According to Bergman this project is connected with the "Early Christian Literature Project". See his AET, p. 28. It might prove quite a fruitful endeavor to compare the results of Bergman's study of the Egyptian background relative to the PGM and the results of any similar study that might be done in connection with the magically oriented Hermetica.

92. The works of Mead, W. Scott and Festugière-Nock fall into this category. At various points in their respective works, W. Scott and Festugière-Nock give credence to an Egyptian influence on HL. For instance, see W. Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. II, p. 156, p. 158, p. 289 f.; vol. III, p. 113 f., p. 134, p. 135 f., p. 166 ff., and p. 259 f. See also Festugière-Nock, *CH*, vol. I, p. 43, p. 127, n. 37; vol. II, p. 255, n. 24, p. 395, n. 324; vol. IV, p. 46, n. 224, p. 48, notes 237 and 240. However, their respective, general opinions are that the Egyptian impact on HL is minimal. Mead, the only other scholar to treat the entire Hermetic corpus, gave more credence to an Egyptian influence on HL. Reitzenstein held a similar opinion. However, his study of HL was more limited in
scope than the studies of either W. Scott, Festugière-Nock or Mead and, as many others have pointed out, later in his career Reitzenstein modified his earlier, more radical Egyptian thesis regarding HL.

93. There is a significant number of other areas in the HL which will not be discussed in this thesis. I believe these areas contain authentic Egyptian elements. These same areas and their respective elements have been isolated during the course of my research for this thesis:

1) The image of the sun and God (cf. CH XVI, 5:18).

2) The polemic against translating HL into Greek (cf. CH XVI, paragraphs 1 and 2). See below the notes to ch. IV, n. 48.


4) Creation by means of the divine word (cf. KK, 10:4).

5) The role of Isis in HL (cf. KK, 48:19).

6) The role of Osiris in HL (cf. KK, 7:6-8).

7) The Asclepian apocalypse (cf. Asclepius, paragraphs 24-26).

8) Places of judgment (cf. KK, 38:9-10).

9) Expressions for physical death (cf. KK, 6:21-22).

In the listing above only one passage has been cited for each respective area. With the exception of number 2, at least two additional passages could have been listed for the other eight areas. At an earlier point in the production of this thesis, I had hoped to discuss the nine areas listed above as well as the five areas to be discussed in chapters II and III. However, due to the intricate and time-consuming nature of piecing together a credible discussion for each element, in the end I found it necessary to significantly reduce the number of areas I had at one point hoped to discuss. In connection with isolating a number of the Egyptian elements in the areas listed above, as well as in connection with isolating some of the elements to be discussed below in this thesis, the efforts of other scholars have been quite helpful.

94. The purpose of my statement here is not to imply that I control the whole spectrum of primary and secondary material related to the
Egyptian historical period, for nothing could be further from the truth. I simply wished to indicate to the reader what the parameters of my research in the Egyptian sphere have been. In short, that research has focused on the more "religious" Egyptian materials.

95. Iversen, p. 53.
Notes, Chapter II

1. Unless otherwise stated, the various Hermetic passages to be discussed in this thesis will be referred to as they are presented in the Festugière-Nock edition of the HL, utilizing the tractate, paragraph and line enumeration system of that edition. For example, the passage mentioned in the discussion to which this footnote has been attached is referred to in the thesis narrative itself as CH I, 9:16. CH refers to the Festugière-Nock edition of the HL. The roman numeral "I" refers to the first tractate; "9" refers to the appropriate paragraph and "16", the appropriate line on a given page. When a passage from an Excerpt is being discussed, the abbreviated word "Ex." rather than "CH" will be utilized. In the same manner, "Fr." will stand for Fragment. The paragraph and line enumerations would remain the same. Please note very carefully: In the Festugière-Nock edition of the HL, the lines are numbered according to the lines on a given page as opposed to the lines in a given paragraph! Occasionally, in the case of a rather lengthy paragraph, the style of paragraph and line enumeration adopted by Festugière-Nock will mean that a given paragraph will, for example, have two separate and entirely different lines referred to by the same number. As an example, please see the Asclepius tractate, paragraph 6. This particular paragraph has two, different lines enumerated as line 10. One occurs in vol. II, on page 302 and the other occurs in the same volume on page 303. However, for the purposes of this thesis, when needed, to eliminate any confusion, the appropriate volume and page number will also be given.

2. The cosmogony begins in paragraph four.


6. DIO, p. 464.

6a. CT, II, 161a.

6b. In this connection consider Iversen's comments regarding CH I, 9:16 in his study on Egyptian and Hermetic doctrine. "It is also highly significant that both accounts should consider him bisexual on his performance of it [i.e., creation, or the first act thereof, my brackets], the Hermetist calling him ἀρρενόθηλος (I, 9; p. 9, 16), and the Shabaka text 'the father and mother of Atum' (ll. 50a -
51a)." (Iversen, p. 31.)


8a. The following comment on a passage from DIO, chapter 62 by Griffiths is relevant here: "The notion of self-begetting was conspicuous in Egyptian religious thought; it was often attributed to Amun, and the phrase k3 mwtf (Kamephis), 'bull of his mother', seems to involve the idea." See DIO, p. 521. See also Iversen, p. 48. Cf. also KK, 32:11 and 13 where Kamephis (Καμηφίς) is described as an ancestor of Isis and n. 180, part "f".


10. See MED, p. 189 and *Eg.Gr.*, p. 584, right column. In relationship to its daily circuit across the day time sky, the sun-god appears in three forms. These forms are succinctly expressed in the so-called Legend of Re' and Isis. Among the many statements describing himself, the sun-god also asserts the following: "Ink ḫpri ʿm dwʒw Rʿ m ħw-f Itmw ʿmy mšrw", I am Khepri in the morning, Re' at noon-day and Atum in the evening. The above text and translation is based upon Budge's transcription of the text as it is found in *The Gods Of The Egyptians*, volume I, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969), p. 384. The 1969 edition of that work is a reprint of Budge's 1904 original.

11. The word "from" is not grammatically a part of the phrase; but I have inserted it in my translation for the sake of a fuller meaning. A more literal translation might be either, "the one who became, himself" or "the one who caused himself to come about".

12. CT, IV, 184,b.

13. BD, p. 49 as cited by Mysliwiec.

14. Mysliwiec (Mysliwiec, p. 175), Budge (BD, vol. I, p. 87), and Thomas George Allen (Allen, p. 37) translate "rd" differently. Allen in his 1974 translation of the text presents "rd" as meaning lap. Mysliwiec translates "rd" as Bein or leg. Budge, the oldest translation, presents thigh. Thigh or lap seems more appropriate than leg.

16. Ibid., p. 176.


18a. The expression "ḥwn nṯry" or "divine child" as it is used here is the earliest occurrence of this expression of which I am aware. However, I suspect that there are other usages from this same time period and possibly usages from an even earlier period. Unfortunately, no precise date is available to me regarding the age of the text (or more accurately the papyrus) in which this expression occurs. Even so, as this papyrus is clearly a part of the BD tradition it may certainly antedate the New Kingdom (ca. 1575-1087 B.C.) period and could possibly originate from the time of the Old Kingdom (2700-2340 B.C.). For more specific information regarding the papyrus in question the reader is referred to footnote 19 below.

In a study by Jan Bergman ("Ancient Egyptian Theogony in a Greek Magical Papyrus [PGM VII, lines 516-521]", Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), Studies In The History Of Religions, Supplements to Numen, no. 43, edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, Leiden: E. J. Brill Press, 1982, pp.28-37), that author discusses a portion of a Greek, magical papyrus which had originally been edited by Preisendanz. Bergman describes the passage he discusses in the subsequent manner. "This [the passage] is a very short passage -- only 5 lines of text -- belonging to a section with the title Systasis idiou daimonos which can perhaps be best translated as 'Communicating with your own daemon'(ll. 505-528 of the Papyrus VII in the Preisendanz collection of magical papyri)." Using Preisendanz's phraseology, Bergman further characterizes the passage as belonging to the "Offenbarungspraktik" genre. In his discussion of the passage Bergman isolates, in a very convincing manner, a number of Egyptian elements. In short, Bergman believes that an "ancient Egyptian theogony" has been preserved in the passage he discusses. To buttress his thesis, Bergman discusses a number of words and phrases from the PGM passage. However, it is Bergman's discussion
of νέος that is most relevant here.

The first epithet given to the invoked god is neos, 'the Young One.' This is a proper designation of the newly born sun. (Bergman, Op.cit., p. 34)

In the special Khepri-chapter in the Book of the Dead (Chapter 85) -- and, probably, in the earlier Coffin Text tradition, too -- we find the following passage: "'The Young One' is my name in the city, and 'The Child' in the field." Although this proclamation is rather obscure, there is no doubt that the idea is the same as in the neos of our papyrus. (Bergman, Op.cit., p. 35)

I believe that Bergman has accurately identified an Egyptian concept as it appears in the PGM passage.

As the PGM passage under discussion has come to be influenced by Egyptian concepts and ideas, in the same way, as has already been pointed out by Eduard Norden in Die Geburt des Kindes, such a work as Virgil's Fourth Eclogue may also have been influenced. In particular, I would argue that Eclogue IV, 8-10 contains a concept which may have been influenced by Egyptian religious thought. The passage reads as follows:

`tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum/ desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,/ casta fave Lucina: tuus iam regnat Apollo.`

Only do thou, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall first cease, and a golden race spring up throughout the world!

Thine own Apollo now is king!

The text and translation are that of H. Rushton Fairclough in the edition of Virgil's Eclogues which appears in the Loeb Classical Library (LCL) series. The divine-child concept is found in Egypt at least as early as the Pyramid Texts (ca. 2400 B.C.E.). The three texts adduced here pertain directly to Horus.

The sandal of Horus is what tramples the nhti-snake underfoot, the nhti-snake of Horus the young child with his finger in his mouth (Hr hrd nhn gb f m r.f), and I am Horus the young child with his finger in his mouth. PT 663b-664a (PT, p. 125.)

These are they who . . . make green the Nt-crowns . . . for Isis the Great, who tied on the fillet in Chemmis
when she brought her loin-cloth and burnt incense before her son Horus the young child (ḥr ḫrd nḥn), that he might cross the earth on his white sandals and go to see his father Osiris. PT 1213b-1215a (PT, p. 193.)

I (the King) will ascend and rise up to the sky. Horus the young child (ḥr nḥn ḫrd); I (the King) will ascend and rise up to the sky. PT 1320 b-d (PT, p. 208.)

The Egyptian phrases transcribed above are based upon Sethe's edition of the PT.

Virtually the same concept is also extant in a hymn to Re' found on the door-jamb of the tomb of General Horemheb from the latter part of the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1330 B.C.E.).

\[
i(3)w \text{n·k} \ldots \text{ḥṛy nst·f m msktt·}3 \text{ḥ·w m} \\
m·n̅t \text{hw̄n ntry iw̄w nh̄̄̄, "Praise to thee (Re') \ldots who is on his seat in the Bark of the Dusk, great in (his) appearances in the Bark of the Dawn, divine stripling, heir of eternity, who begot his (own) self and bare his own self.}
\]

The transcription, the text upon which it is based and the translation are those of Gardiner. See Eg.Gr., pp. 291-292.

There is a similar concept connected with Rei related to ch. 15 of the BD which is pertinent here. In his 1974 edition of the BD, T. George Allen has presented a translation of fifteen different versions of ch. 15 of the BD. See Allen, pp. 12-26. The various versions of ch. 15 that are available to us today can be categorized as hymns to Re' in his various forms. Of the fifteen versions of ch. 15 Allen presents, two are relevant here. In ch. (or spell as Allen refers to it) 15A2, Re' is addressed in the subsequent manner:

[Thou risest, having ascended from the Deep, rejuvenated in (thy) position of yesterday, divine youth who came into being of himself, whom my hand cannot [reach] (even) when thou art (just) come at thy dawning. (Allen, pp. 17-18)

In ch. (spell) 15A4 we read the following:

Adoring Re' at his rising from the eastern horizon of the sky. Hail to (thee), child in (the[ same way as yesterday]), rising from the lotus, goodly youth who has ascended from the horizon and illumines [the{Two} Land(s) with] his light, . . . . . (Allen, p. 19)

According to Allen (Allen, p. 17, n. 32), ch. 15A2 is based on text
"La" which he ascribes to the 18th or 19th dynasty. Allen connects ch. 15A4 with text "Ba" which he dates to the 19th dynasty. See Allen, p. 19, n. 34.

Finally, there is late evidence from the Graeco-Roman era connecting the divine child concept with Horus. In a hymn to Isis from Philae dating to the era of Ptolemy II (ca. 285 B.C.E.), we read the following:

Ntt mwt nfr n Hr Hnsw nht nhn nsw n nb ḫt
nb T3 Sti ḫk3 ḫ3swt,

You (Isis) are the divine mother of Horus, Khonsu-the-powerful, the royal child of the Lord of Eternity, Lord of Nubia, ruler of the foreign lands.

(Zabkar, pp. 117-118)

The text and translation are those of Zabkar as cited. For the identification of "Horus . . . the royal child" with "Khonsu-the powerful", see Zabkar, p. 120 and n. 24.

An obelisk inscription set up at Philae by Ptolemy IX, * (see the asterisk below at the end of this note) Euergetes contains three phrases relevant here. The beginning of column one reads as follows:

ẖwn ḫkn·t m `nh·f ḫr nst it·f, The young child rejoicing in his life upon the throne of his father . . .

The context indicates that the young child being referred to is Horus, the reigning king. The beginnings of columns three and four make the identification with Horus very explicit in the phrasing, ḫr ḫwn, Horus, the young child. In column three, the phrase "Horus, the child" is followed by a phrase first stated in a slightly more elaborate form in column one. See the text above. Its less elaborate counterpart in column three reads as follows: ḫkn·t ḫr nst it·f, rejoicing upon the throne of his father.

In column four, "Horus, the young child" is described as s3 Wsir, the son of Osiris. In my opinion, this is only an additional indication that the young child in the three places cited is to be identified with Horus, the reigning king. The above transcriptions and translations are based upon the hieroglyphic text in: E.A.W. Budge, The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus, vol I, pp. 151, 155, and 157. Wh., II, p. 363 attests to the expression: sfy ntrγ, "göttliches Kind (vom König als Sohn einer Gottheit)".* (See the double asterisks at the end of this note.

From the evidence adduced above, the divine-child concept in Egypt can be connected with Re' and Horus, with a larger portion of the evidence concerning on Horus. In the BD passage to which this note has been adjoined Re', in his form as Horus-of-the-two-
Horizons, is "the divine child, the heir of eternity". Such a tradition might very well have influenced the child-concept in the Virgil passage mentioned above, i.e., Eclogue IV, 8-10. In concluding, as has been pointed out by J. Gwyn Griffiths, a connection between Horus and Apollo dates back as early as the time of Herodotus.

His (Horus) identification with Apollo begins with Herodotus (2.144) and may well have arisen from the solar attributes held in common by the two gods. DIO, p. 301.

For some additional connections between Horus and Apollo see DIO, pp. 505, 520 and 545.

* - Above in this note I referred to "Ptolemy IX, Euergetes". My source for that information was Budge, The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus, vol I, p. 151. F.E. Peters (Harvest of Hellenism, Index) does not list a Ptolemy IX. Peters (op.cit., p. 181) indicates that in some instances "a dynastic number is assigned to the ephemeral Ptolemy Neos Philopator, Philometor's (i.e., Ptolemy VI) son, and sometimes not". Such a practice as pointed out by Peters might very well explain the number Budge assigns to the Ptolemy responsible for setting up the obelisk at Philae which was discussed above.

** - Based upon Wb., III, 52 and the accompanying evidence in Die Belegstellen, III, p. 12 (the original portion of that volume as opposed to the appended portion), ḫwn nṯry (the divine child) is attested in the following:

"P Berl 3049, 9, 7 (Hymn); P mag Hart 3, 1-2; Tur 93 (Brugsch Geogr WB Suppl 1055) NR; Theb Temp gr Zeit \(<29b>\); Edfu II 39; II 72; Dent (Thes I 55). Totb Nav 15A III 12 (nach Ag); Berl 7316 dyn.18; Theb Grab Nr 36 (Aba) (Mém Miss V 641) dyn.26; Med Habu 80, 5; Karn \(<1054>\) dyn.21. Festges 1, 10 und 14; Philae \(<1802>\) Phot 180; Dent Mar I 33f; --- vom König: Dent Mar III 73a."

19. My translation is based upon a text that was established by Budge. See BD (Ani, the Medici edition), p. 347. Budge gives the following information regarding the papyrus from which his text was established. "[From the Papyrus of Nekht (British Museum Number 10471, Sheet 21) ]." In this connection, cf. Jac. van Kijk, "The Birth of Horus According to the Ebers Papyrus", Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux 26 (1979-80), pp. 14-15 and n. 36. Cf. the dating of the two texts related to ch. 15 of the BD (Allen's edition)
discussed in the previous note.

20. E. Lefebure (ZÄS 1883, heft 1, p.27.) follows a Mr. Pleyte in dating this legend in the period of the 20th dynasty (i.e., circa 1200 B.C.E.).


24. The text is # 10188 in the British Museum collection. Budge(Gods, vol. I, p. 293) dates the text circa 312 B.C.E., i.e., it "was written for a priest of Panopolis (the modern Akhmin), of high rank and lineage, called Nes-amsu, or Nes-Min, during the thirteenth year of the reign of 'Alexander, the son of Alexander,' i.e., about B.C. 312".

25. I was not able to verify "p3(w)" in its use here; however see Eq.Gr., paragraph 484, p. 395.

26. Even though a text and a translation have been presented, without a knowledge of the underlying grammar it is difficult, if not impossible, to appreciate the intricate and varied uses of hpr. The translation follows very closely that of Budge(Gods, vol. I, pp. 313-14) and is based upon the hieroglyphic text of the legend that he presents. See also Iversen, p. 48.


29. See p. 40 of this thesis and note 23.


32. The text used here is the one presented by J. Gwyn Griffiths in his edition of DIO, p. 130.

33. In the same chapter Plutarch "quotes" Manetho on the meaning of Amun.
34. See also Iversen, p. 49.

35. Ἀρρενόθηλις as a feature was discussed at the very beginning of this chapter. See pages 35-38.

36. CT, I, 393b.

37. Ibid., V, 287c.

38. Ibid., VI, 131, 1. Following the word šmsw (retinue) Faulkner includes the phrase "even I" in parentheses. If Faulkner's translation is based upon De Buck's text, presumably the word following šmsw in the text is the name of the deceased since that in turn is followed by "N", presumably inserted by De Buck. The preceding sentence would hopefully explain Faulkner's use of the phrase "even I" in his translation.

39. I could not verify the reading mkt and accepted Faulkner's translation based upon "mkt".

40. "Sr" means noble, i.e., the noun. The text has "srr"; but not being able to verify that reading, which appears to be a verbal form, particularly as Faulkner translates it, I translated the word as a substantive.

41. The translation is that of Faulkner's. The relevant Egyptian phrase is as follows: R' sbk nb (lacuna) Sth nb 'nḥ, Re' Sobk Lord of (Bakhu) and Seth, Lord of Life.


43. CT, I, 255a.

44. CT, IV, 72g.

45. The translation is Faulkner's, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin
Chapter II, Notes


46. As the question marks in Faulkner's translation indicate, there are some problems in this passage.

47. Faulkner's translation of the opening words of the spell.

48. CT, IV, 342c.

49. The expression "ntr ` 3 hpr ðs.f" (the Great God who created Himself) occurring here as it does can be added to the evidence presented earlier in this chapter (p. 36 ff) where the self-generating aspect of the Supreme Being was discussed.


51a. Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths has been kind enough to indicate that as a rule it is the only gods in Egypt that have been "depicted as carrying the ankh-symbol".

52. In the previous clause, "καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄνομα τὰ ἔχει ἀπάντα", I translated the phrase "all names" as an accusative; whereas in the following clause, "ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔστιν πατρός", I translate it with a nominative force functioning as the subject of ἔστιν.

53. I translated "πατρός" as "source" as opposed to the more usual rendering of "father" because in my mind such a translation illicits a clearer sense of what I believe the author was trying to express in this particular passage.

54. The same translation-rationale is used here as in footnote 53.

54a. To be more explicit, the phrase "πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ υἷος ἐστὶ" means that all the things which exist are predicated upon God's existence. If my translation is acceptable, it makes Flussas'addition of & unnecessary. See CH, vol. I, p. 64 (the Greek text), 1. 7 and the appropriate locus in the textual apparatus; and also Hermetica, vol. I, p. 162, 1. 30 and its appropriate locus in the textual apparatus.

55. "its" refers back to name (i.e., God's name). Beyond this, it should be noted that I found the phrase "quamuis e multis composito" somewhat awkward to translate and my rendering might be construed as being a little too free.

176
55a. I understood "is" in this context as an unexpressed copula. Walter Scott (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 332) inserts "esse". Festugière (CH, vol. II, p. 376, n. 171) refers to CH V, 10:8-9; i.e., ονόματα ἔχει ἀπαντά . . . ονόμα οὐκ ἔχει. His translation (CH, vol. II, p. 321) is as follows: "Dieu n'a pas de nom ouplutôt il les a tous, . . . ."

56. There are several other passages in Hermetic literature which mention God's name. Cf. CH V, 1:4; 8:16; and 10:3; Asclepius, 41:3 (vol. II, p. 353); Ex. VI, 19:7; and Fr. III, 1:7.

57. "Him" refers to God.


58. See J. Gwyn Griffiths, DIO, p. 503 and particularly his Isis-Book, p. 145, the note on nomine multiugo. W. Scott in his comment on CH V, 10:8f (ονόματα ἔχει ἀπαντά . . . ονόμα οὐκ ἔχει: . . . ) quotes from an "Unknown Gnostic Document" found in C. Schmidt's Kopt.-Gnost. Schriften, I, p. 366: "He has no name, all names belong to Him".

58a. Griffiths, DIO, p. 503.


60. See Griffiths, DIO, p. 503. He lists his source as: "Wb., I, 228, 15 (p. 21 of the Belegstellen) ".

61. See Coffin Texts, IV, 190a as listed by Mysliwec, Band II, p. 176.


63. Budge (Gods, p. 19) transcribes the god's name as "PAR".


65. "Τὸ Πὶpci" (KK, 55:17), a personified, primordial element in this passage and the antecedent subject of ἐξῆς is addressing God as ὅπωρότα and this is the reason for the single quotation marks before and after ὅπωρότα and which resume again before καὶ in the same line.

65a. In Wachsmuth's edition of KK, 55:19 in a note found in the
textual apparatus he indicates by way of a question that κρυπτόν and σέβαστόν might be interchangeable. "an κρυπτόν et σέβαστόν inter se mutanda?" See Wachsmuth, volume I, p. 403, his textual apparatus, specifically the note he makes to line 16. For the full bibliographical reference refer to the "Selected Bibliography" at the end of this thesis under "Wachsmuth". It is not clear why Wachsmuth would posit such a transposition. It has not been possible to cull any of the earlier codices with a view toward more clearly ascertaining why Wachsmuth makes such a note about κρυπτόν and σέβαστόν. In the text he presents, however, κρυπτόν is posited first. My translation, taking κρυπτόν first, and following the lead of Mead (vol. III, p.119) and Festugière (vol. IV, p.18) is as indicated in the thesis narrative: Name hidden among the gods and revered by all humanity up to the present, (κρυπτόν εν θεοῖς καὶ σέβαστον ὅνομα μέχρι νῦν ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ...). Scott (vol. I, p. 487), apparently accepting the force of Wachsmuth's question, reverses κρυπτόν and σέβαστόν and translates: "thou whose name is revered among the gods and hidden from men...". In addition, Scott includes the phrase "μέχρι νῦν ἀπασιν" in the Greek text he presents but brackets the phrase and does not include it in his translation. Based upon what he states on p. 24 (vol. I) about his use of brackets, I assume Scott would believe that the phrase "μέχρι νῦν ἀπασιν" is not original to the author of the Kore Kosmu.

66. For the translation of δεσπότης as "lord" see KK, 29:20 (ὁ δεσπότης κόσμου); KK, 48:17 (ὁ τῶν συμπάντων δεσπότης) and the discussion of KK, 9:25 (Τῷ πάντων θεῷ βασιλεί) which comes later in this chapter; see p. 58 ff.

67. Sir Alan Gardiner discusses these hymns in considerable detail in an article found in ΖΑΣ 42 (1905), pp. 12–42. These hymns are dated "to the 52nd year of the reign of Ramses II" (circa 1238 B.C.E.). These same hymns were mentioned earlier in this same chapter in connection with the discussion of ἀφάνης as it appears in the superscription to CH V (see above, p. 42) and the discussion pertaining to God's self-generating power in Asclepius, 14:19 and KK, 58:15 (see above, pp. 38–41.).

68. See Gardiner, op.cit., p. 31. Gardiner begins the hieroglyphic text of each hymn with a roman numeral. My references to the text here and elsewhere are not based upon the column and line system which Gardiner seems to use, but are based simply upon counting, in a consecutive fashion, the lines in a given hymn.

69. Gardiner, op.cit., p. 35.

70. I inserted the article in an attempt to attain a smoother
translation.

71. Virtually the same context was adduced earlier; see pp. 42-43.

72. Gardiner (op.cit., p. 34) translates the pronoun "sn" as meaning "them". Sethe (Amun, p. 88), in his translation, presents "vor ihnen (den Menschen)". My translation agrees with Gardiner. Nothing in the context of the hymn would seem to suggest that "sn" ought to refer to humanity. However, if such a translation were adapted the quoted, hymnic material would, in effect, be a closer parallel to KK, 55:19.

73. E.A.W. Budge, From Fetish to God In Ancient Egypt, (New York: Blom, 1972), p. 411. This is a reprint of the 1934 original.

74. The hieroglyphic transliteration presented here is based upon Budge's hieroglyphic text (BD, vol. I, p. 275, lines 2 and 3).

75. In his translation of this passage (see BD, vol. II, p. 205) before "Osiris" Budge presents the phrase "and the food of" (Osiris). Based upon the hieroglyphic text he presents I assume Budge adds the phrase for the sake of the translation. However, his reason for doing this is not clear at all. In either case, this issue does not affect "'Imn rn·f" which is the key phrase in this passage.


77. Ibid., p. 74. The Coffin Text reference in De Buck is II, 220a.

78. Ibid., p. 75. The Coffin Text reference is II, 221e. Strangely enough Mr. O'Connell does not comment on the phrase, "mansion of the Hidden-of-Name".


82. Ibid., p. 383.

83. The specific phrase in KK, 55:19 reads: κρυπτὸν ἐν θεοῖς καὶ σχεδοτὸν ὄνομα . . . .

84. The same basic idea is expressed in Asclepius 20, 7-8:

179
siquidem is sit unus et omnia, because he(God) is One and All.

See also Asclepius 2, 23-24: "omnia unum esse et unum omnia,". In his note attached to Asclepius 2, 23-23, Festugière (CH, vol. II, p. 358, n. 15) has conveniently collected other Hermetic parallels. He writes:

"Cf. infra, p. 298.3 : unus omnia, ph. 8 : solus omnia aut pater omnium, ph. 20 : unus et omnia, solus ut omnia, ph. 29 ; is qui solus est omnia, ph 30. : in eo sunt omnia et in omnibus ipse est solus . . . "

He also refers to CH XII, 8:6 (ἐν ἑστι τὰ πάντα). In turn, in a note adjoined to his discussion of CH XII, 8:6 he refers to two additional Hermetic passages: CH XIII, 17:18 (τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὸ ἐν.) and CH XIII, 18:3 (τὸ ἐν καὶ τὸ πᾶν).


86. CT, II, 39.


88. See Mysliwec, op. cit., p. 78 ff.

89. Mysliwec presents the primary and secondary literature from which he draws the definitions that he provides.

90. See Gardiner, Eg.Gr., p. 262, ph. 342.

91. Again Mysliwec (op.cit.,p. 78) provides the relevant primary and secondary literature from which he draws the expressions listed.

92. Mysliwiec, op.cit., p. 79.

93. For further discussions regarding the name Atum and its meaning see:


94. In the text itself.

95. Iversen lists the textual reference here as the Pap. Berlin 3056, III, 4-5: ntk (Ptah) pt, ntk t3, ntk nww, ntk t3w imwt(?)[my question mark]-sn, You (Ptah) are the sky, You are the earth, You are the waters, and You are the winds between them.

96. The Memphite Theology, line 60.

97. Iversen, op.cit., p. 9. Iversen, on the very same page, continues a very cogent argument:

Plutarch, for instance, states that 'when the Egyptians name the supreme god, whom they believe to be one with the universe they call him Amun', and the universe is here as in the Egyptian text called The All. In another context the same author tells how the Egyptians identified Horus with the perceptible cosmos (κόσμος, ἀθανάτος), while adding that the elder Horus, explicitly said to have been born in the darkness before the manifestation of the logos, which in Egyptian terms means before sensible creation, was not identified with the universe, but was a pre-conceived, phantasmal vision of it.

98. As evidence Iversen points to:

"Pap. Vaticanus XXXVI, ed. Erman, ZAS 31, 1893, 121, B: 'There is no limb in him without a god, from his head to the sole of his feet'. Erman refers to parallels from the Book of the Dead and the magical Papyrus from Turin." Iversen, op.cit., p. 59, n. 57.

"The hymn to Ptah, ZAS 64, 1929, 39, I, 6 (X.): Praise to Ptah and the gods (Hieroglyphs), 'Who existed or came into being as your body'. For the translation, cf. the parallel passus in the Shabaka text, line 48, ntrw ḫprw m Pṯḥ." Iversen, op.cit., p. 59-60, n. 58.

"Hymn to Amon from Leiden, ZAS 42, 1905, p. 31, XIII, IV.1: 'The Gods are united (ḥmd) with or in your body'." Iversen, op.cit., p. 60, n. 60.

99. A portion of chapter 17 of the BD concisely and explicitly depicts "the gods" as members of the body of Re' with whom Atum is so often identified:

181
Chapter II, Notes

"Ink ntr ` 3 hpr ds.f Nw pw km3 rnswty.f
psdt m ntr pw-tr is rf sw R` pw km3
rnswy h pr nn pw m ntrw imy ht R`.

I am the great god who created himself
as Nw, who created the name[s] (i.e., his names) of the divine
ennead. Who then is this? It is Re' who created the name[s]
of his limbs which came into existence as the gods of his
retinue.

The transliteration is based upon Budge's edition of the BD, see
BD, vol. I, p. 51, line 11. The translation also follows
rather closely Budge's.

100. The words in parentheses have been added to facilitate the
meaning of the translation.

101. See n. 100 above.

102. For parallel expressions see Asclepius, 20: 3-4 ("omniaque rerum
patrem vel domínium"); CH XVI, 3:19 ("τοὺς τῶν δόξων δεσπότην");
ΚΚ, 25:8 ("τοὺς τῶν δόξων κύριον καὶ θεὸν"); ΚΚ, 29:20 ("ὁ
despóti kóym") and ΚΚ, 48:17 ("οἱ τῶν οὐμαντῶν δεσπότης.").
A similar Hermetic expression as pointed by Iversen is δημιουργὸς

103. See Gardiner, Eg.Gr., p. 79, notes 12 and 13.


105. In a 21 page section toward the end of her study, entitled
"Beinamen und Bezeichnungen von Göttern", Ms. Altenmüller lists, in
detail, those places in the Coffin Texts where several deities are
given the title nb r dr. The references are to De Buck's edition
of the Coffin Texts.

Atum: I, 250a, 252b(?), IV, 321f; Thoth: VI, 164h;
Re': I, 251a, IV, 73d, 178k, 300/301b, VI, 131k, 268g, VII,
407a, 465b; Osiris: I, 228c, 232d, 252b, 255e(?), IV, 49i,
72c, 318b, V, 166h, 330d(?), VII, 456b; Seth(?): V,
41i(variant to nbd). (Mysliwec, pp. 272-273.)

106. Mysliwiec (op.cit., p. 182) presents the following evidence:

"nb r dr" "Allherr", Epitheton des R-A [Re'-Atum] im grossen
Papyrus Harris (S. Birch, Facsimile . . . , London, 1876, Taf.
25; W. Erichsen, Transkription, S.29; vgl. ASAE 54, S.354, Nr.
34). Ebenfalls in bezug auf R-A belegt durch die Stele eines
Amenhotep, Sohn des Amenemhat (wohl Neues Reich), Sammlung Menascé (RT 16, S. 60).

See also the discussion of "Allherr" by Wolfhart Westendorf in the Lexicon der Ägyptologie (LÄ band I, columns 136-137.

In KK 6:1-2 προνοία is described as "the queen of all" (Τῆς πάντων βασιλίδος). For a connection between Isis, pronoia and Egypt cf. the subsequent remarks by J. Gwyn Griffiths. These remarks stem from Griffiths' comments on the phrase "Isidis magnae providentia" which is found in ch. 15 of Apuleius' Metamorphoses, XI.

"Isis herself is envisaged as exercising providential care in relation to Lucius, and this very personal interpretation is fully in accord with the Egyptian idea of the gods as kindly arbiters of providence. A part of the idea is that a god has elected a person for favored care and protection."

See Isis-Book, p. 253. An Egyptian equivalent of Τῆς πάντων βασιλίδος is nb·t-r-dr. See Gardiner, Eg.Gr., p. 79, ph. 100, section 1. This expression occurs twice in the story of Sinuhe. For the story of Sinuhe see Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, II (Brussels, 1921, pp. 1-41). The specific textual references are Text B, sections 172 and 274. As nb·t-r-dr can refer to either the king of Egypt or the Supreme Being in that deity's capacity as the Lord of All, nb·t-r-dr, in like manner, can refer to either the queen of Egypt or the Mistress of All. In the Sinuhe context, the Mistress of All is probably Nwt, the sky-goddess. Isis can be identified with the queen of Egypt, if in no other connection certainly as the spouse of Osiris.

107. According to Faulkner (MED, p. 298) "τμ" in the old perfective means complete, entire, or all. He also refers to Gardiner's Grammar, paragraph 317.

108. At least one scholar, Jan Bergman, construes the phrase "Lord of All" as a possible allusion to the meaning of the name Atum ('I-τμ). See his "Ancient Egyptian Theogony" in Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), Studies In The History Of Religions (Supplements to Numen), volume XLIII, edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, (Leiden: E. J. Brill Press, 1982), pp. 32, 33 and 35.

109. Based upon the evidence she collects, six deities in the Coffin Texts receive the title nb τμ: Atum: I, 20c, II, 101b, III, 27b, IV, 382d, 391, VI, 134g, VII, 321b; Re': I, 194g, III, 382b, IV, 61m, VI, 131h, VII, 15n, 271a; Horus: I, 246 l, IV, 841; Osiris: III, 260c, V, 285a; Schu: VII, 181c; Hapi: IV, 146f (Mysliwiec,
Chapter II, Notes

pp. 275-276. Again, the references are to De Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts as will be any further references unless otherwise specified.

110. See Kurt Sethe, "Das Pronomen 1.sing. n-nk", ZÄS 54, p. 44 f.

111. "Sp sn" is an idiomatic expression which occurs frequently in Egyptian texts and which literally means twice. In other words, the phrase "sp sn" follows a word or phrase which is to be read twice, but which is written only once.

112. Lacau, Textes religieux, 4, 14 as cited by Sethe in ZÄS 54, p.44.

113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.


117. According to Sethe this expression is "spoken of Amun" and is found in "Mar. Abyd. I S.37". Presumably the reference is to Mariette, Abydos, volume(?)I, page 37. See Sethe, op.cit., p. 45.

118. See Sethe, ibid. The reference he gives is "Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind, Rs.5, 1".

119. This expression is used of Ptah, whom Sethe describes in this text "as the eldest of all the gods" and "World-Creator". See Sethe, Ibid. The reference he gives is as follows: "Berlin Pap. 3048, 10, 3/4 (Hierat. Pap. II Taf.44)".

120. See Sethe, ibid. p. 45.

121. The transliterations which are presented just above are based upon the hieroglyphic texts which Sethe presents in his article, and the translations follow very closely those of Sethe. Faulkner (MED, p. 299) also attests to the title nb tm.

122. See Faulkner, MED, p. 299, top.

123. See Iversen, p. 49. Iversen also mentions the phrase "irw tm" which ostensibly would mean "the one who made (or created) everything". Unfortunately, he mentions no primary evidence in this connection.
124. See above, n. 123.

125. Among the other deities Atum receives the title three times, Re' eight times and Seth once.

126. Among the remaining gods, nb tm is attributed to Re' six times, to Horus and Osiris twice, to Hapy and Shu once.

127. See above p. 59.

128. See n. 123.

129. See n. 125.

130. Even though the evidence adduced above from Sethe is not overwhelming, it is credible enough to be noted.

131. Prof. Griffiths via personal correspondence relative to an earlier version of my discussion of KK, 9:25, offered the following comments:

"Cf. Rev. 19.6 Παντοκράτωρ. A Coptic text from Nag Hammadi refers to God as the 'father of all'; cf. the Review by Jan Zandee in Bibliotheca Orientalis 35 (1978), 17, where it is suggested that 'all' here = 'the universe'. Zandee also refers to Ὀνόματι in The Teachings of Silvanus 102, 9.10 as a designation of the created world (in a text of A.D. II). This expression clearly derives from ρα'φ (Crum, Copt. Dict. 424)."


132. Altenmüller (op.cit., p. 272.) lists eight references in the CT. See CT: V, 293d, 301c, 312d, 313e; VI, 340i; VII, 465e, 468c, 485b.

133. Altenmüller, op.cit., p. 272.

134. Altenmüller (p. 276) lists the following references:

Osiris: V, 294, 298a, 302c.
Hapi: IV, 143d.
Chapter II, Notes

Shu: II, 39b.
Horus(?): I, 201h.

135. In his hieroglyphic text (vol. I, p. 90, line 11) Budge writes the hieroglyph for "g" instead of the hieroglyph for "h" which is, in this instance, what his translation would necessitate. For a correct writing see BD (Ani), p. 98. Thomas George Allen (The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 37, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974, p. 38) translates: "Hail to you, Lords of Perpetuity (nbw mnh), establishers of eternity (frw dt)."

136. In this context Budge translates dt as "everlastiness". See Budge, BD, vol. II, p. 74.


139. Ibid., p. 37, line 10.

140. Ibid., p. 39, line 1.

141. Ibid., p. 70, line 11.

142. Ibid., p. 111, line 10.


144. Smsw is determined with the seated god-figure.

145. B3 is also determined with the seated god-figure.

146. My translation differs only slightly from that of Budge's. See BD, vol. II, p. 146.


148. Ibid., p. 321, line 15.

149. Ibid., p. 322, line 1.

150. Ibid., p. 324, line 8.

151. Ibid., p. 324, lines 9 and 10.
152. Ibid., p. 324, line 10.

153. Ibid., p. 362, line 12.

154. Ibid., p. 363, line 14.

155. Ibid., p. 386, line 6.

156. I have used Budge's word "everlastingness" here in order to avoid using eternity again. In most of the instances above I have not sought to avoid the repetition.


158. Ibid., p. 484, line 10.

159. Ibid., p. 489, line 10.

160. Ibid., p. 489, line 14.

161. Via personal correspondence Prof. Thomas O. Lambdin kindly reminds me that indications for the "Osirianization" of Egyptian religion are evident even in the PT. "It (the Osirianization of Egyptian religion) is already evident in the redactions of the Pyramid Texts and is certainly well established by the New Kingdom and the Book of the Dead."

162. In a brief communication (JEA 39 (1953), p. 110 f) Abd-El-Moshen Bakir discusses the distinction between nḥḥ and ḏt. He begins by briefly stating Gertrude Thausing's position in an earlier article. "In her article on 'Die Ausdrucke für Ewig im ägyptischen Gertrude Thausing has discussed at length the distinction between nḥḥ and ḏt. She concluded that both mean 'eternity', but that nḥḥ refers to the time aspect and ḏt to the spatial." Bakir himself concludes that nḥḥ refers to a pre-creation infinity while ḏt refers to an eternity "which follows death."

Wolfhart Westendorf (GM 63 (1983), p. 71-76), in a recent article, among other things, summarizes the views of Erik Hornung and Jan Assman:


Assman differenziert Neheh und Djet (1983,198: 'Zwei

Westendorf summarizes his own position in the following manner:

Against Assman and Hornung above all I see in Djet not any time-quality, but space, the Urgrund out of which all of life (also time itself) comes and to which all of life flows back, um - unter Ausschaltung der Zeit - zu einem neuen Anfang verjüngt zu werden (1966, 1-6; 1983 pass.).

163. Iversen, pp. 18-19.

164. From the various texts presented in the previous studies mentioned here on nḫḫ and dṯ it is clear that the meaning of the two respective terms in all instances is not uniform. However, this variety of meaning does not nullify the meaning that Iversen gives the two terms in certain contexts.

165. Based upon Iversen's arguments Ptah also falls into this category.

166. The dative case of τ[ threesome here is somewhat problematic.

167. Excerpts 23 and 24 constitute what is more commonly referred to as the Kore Kosmu. For other references to "μοναρχος" see KK, 30:6; 34:4; 38:9; 50:3; 54:12; 64:2; and 69:14. On KK, 69:14 as that pertains to the hymns in HL see Whitehouse, p. 367.

168. It is also possible to translate nb w' as the Unique Lord. See Eg.Gr., p. 317.


170. The following references are from Altermüller, op.cit., p. 270.

Re': III, 382c; IV, 76b, 79e 109d, 173g; VI, 235i, 236c(Re' or Atum), 254e(?), 390b; VII, 57b; Atum: III, 385b; IV, 32d; VI, 168i; VII, 181b.

171. Budge translates nb w' as meaning "the Lord, the only one".
174. Iversen (op. cit., p. 48) rightly points out that "deus unus" in Asclepius, 3:19 is another Hermetic expression which could be understood as being equivalent to the Egyptian ntr w'. Iversen (ibid.) also adduces w' w'ty ("the sole and only one") as being equivalent to CH, IV, 1:4 (εἷς καὶ μόνος). See also Festugière, CH, vol. I, p. 49, n. 1.


178. James Breasted (ZAS 39 (1901), p. 53) translates ntr w' as meaning "sole god", along with Ms. Lichtheim.

179. In the BD, ch. 148 (as adduced above; see the discussion to which note 154 is adjoined) occurring much more rarely than either nb w' or ntr w' is w' w'w. This is usually translated as "the only one" or "the sole one". In the BD context it is used of Re' or Osiris.

180. There is a group or category of phrases which allude, sometimes implicitly and sometimes explicitly, to several different deities. In my opinion these allusions can, in each instance, be connected with either an Egyptian deity or an Egyptian concept. At one point I had hoped to discuss these passages in a separate section which would have served as a concluding discussion to chapter II. Such a discussion will not be forthcoming here. However, in passing I would like to at least list the pertinent passages and give some sense of the elements involved.

   a) In Ex. 24, 11:28 the earth is described as κεῖται ὄσπερ ἄνθρωπος οὐρανον βλέπουσα (reclining as a man looking up at heaven).

   b) Ex. 25, 8:20 characterizes one figure as, "τις τῶν Ἰουλομών", i.e., "a follower (or child) of Typhon". Cf. Festugière and Nock's remarks in CH, vol. IV, p. 77, n. 23. See also W. Scott, Hermetica, vol. III, p. 591.

   c) In Ex. 26, 3:2 ὁ ψυχοταμίας ("Keeper of souls") and ὁ ψυχοπομπός ("Conductor of souls") are respectively identified as "attendants of the Providence that governs all".
Chapter II, Notes

d) In Ex. 26, 9:21 Harnebschenis (Ἡρνεβσχένης) is pictured as the master or "king of philosophy". See CH, vol. IV, p. 83 (translation).

e) Also in Ex. 26, 9:21-22 Asclepius-Imouthes is understood as "le roi de la création littéraire". See CH, vol. IV, p. 83 (translation). Ex. 26, paragraph 9 appears, without any further examination, to be a kind of "res gestae" of several divine figures.

f) In KK, 32:13 Kamephis (Καμήφης) is described as a very important Hermetic ancestor. Cf. the end of n. 8 above.
Chapter III, NOTES

1. This particular tractate has been characterized by Mead (vol. II, p. 300), W. Scott (Hermetica, vol. II, p. 461) and Festugière (CH, vol. II, p. 244) as the work of a "rhetorician". In addition, all three believe that this tractate may have been appended to the "original" tractates of the Corpus Hermeticum. Neither Hermes nor any of the other familiar Hermetic figures appears in this tractate.

1a. The term "earthly" is used here in juxtaposition to the "divine" aspects of the Hermetic kingship. These "divine" aspects will be considered following upon the completion of this present discussion.

2. τοὺς βασιλέας in 15:23 and the whole context of ph. 16 suggest that τοὺς βασιλέας is the antecedent of τοὺς τούτοις. In this connection, cf. the translation of W. Scott in n. 4 below.

3. Given the range of meanings for ἡμίφοβος Festugière's choice of "confère" here seems quite appropriate.

4. Cf. the rest of W. Scott's translation of CH XVIII, 16:

For the king is so-called for this cause, that with smooth tread he plants his feet upon the topmost heights, and prevails by means of reason; so that this name is in itself a token of peace. Moreover, even the statues of the king serve as havens to men tossed by the fiercest storms; and it has come to pass ere now that the sight of a mere image of the king has given protection from all fears. (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 281.)

4a. Erik Hornung describes maat in the subsequent fashion:

Stated briefly, maat is the order, the just measure of things, that underlies the world; it is the perfect state of things toward which one should strive and which is in harmony with the creator god's intentions.

... So the Egyptians could view maat as a substance, a material element upon which the whole world lives, which is the nourishment of the living and the dead, of gods and of men. From the Coffin Texts on, the gods 'live on maat,' but according to texts of the same periods they also created maat and can dispense it—Amenemope even sees maat as the 'great burden of god,' which he may share out as he wishes.
According to texts of the Graeco-Roman period, maat descended at creation from the sky to earth, and thus came also to be in the hands of mankind. From an early period the king of Egypt was very closely connected with maat, and he too 'lives on maat.'


5. My parentheses.


7. "ir hpw" might also be translated as literally, "who makes laws".

8. See David Lorton, "The King and the Law", *Varia Aegyptiaca* 2, no. 1 (1986) p. 54. See also ibid., p. 60, n. 17 which indicates that the passage under discussion = Urk. IV, 2061, 4.

9. Ibid., p. 54 and n. 18 which = Urk. IV, 2051, 10 and 18.

10. Ibid., p. 55 and n. 23 where the reference is to Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. 12, 1.


12. The royal titulary in ancient Egypt consisted of five parts: 1) "The Horus name"; 2) "The nebty name"; 3) The "golden Horus name"; 4) The "prenomen"; and 5) The "nomen".

"The nebty name . . . displays the king as standing in a special relation to the two principal goddesses of the period immediately preceding Dyn. I, when Egypt was still divided into two kingdoms" (Gardiner, *EG.GR.*, p. 71). In the locus cited (beginning on p. 71) Gardiner discusses the royal titulary is considerable detail. The
Chapter III, Notes

phrase "Two Ladies" precedes the king's (or queen's) nebty name.


14. The texts adduced here are from "the architraves of the Eighteenth Dynasty Portico at Luxor Temple". See Bell, op.cit., p. 287.

15. "Nebmaatre" can be translated as "lord of the maat of Re' ". Translated as such, this meaning simply underscores, again, the intimate relationship between the king and universal order.


17. For the text upon which my translation is based see: Maj Sandman, Texts from the time of Akhenaten, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, no. 8, (Brussels: La Fondation gyptologique Reine lizabeth, 1938), p. 120, l. 11. Several lines later in the same text similar phrases are repeated practically verbatim about the king with some minor changes in orthography and, apparently, an implicit use of the preposition "m" after "nḥḥ in the phrase "nsw-bit 'nh m3't". See Sandman, op. cit., p. 121, l. 16.


19. "There is scarcely an Egyptian temple that does not include among its many representations of cult scenes the 'offering of maat'. The king, who when in the presence of the gods is the representative of the entire world of humanity, holds up and presents a figure of maat, which is shown as a squatting goddess with the hieroglyph of an ostrich feather on her head. As is demonstrated by the daily temple ritual, every material thing that is presented in the cult, such as bread, beer, incense, and so forth, can be identified with maat. The 'offering of maat' therefore summarizes in a highly charged image everything that cult, offering, and response to the gods' actions signify. The officiant's restrained gesture of holding up maat in visible form to the gods constitutes a sign that the world of mankind, and all the constantly endangered and fragile relationships and connections on which it depends, are in order, just as they were at the time of creation." See Erik Hornung, Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt (The One and the Many), translated by John Baines, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), p. 214.

20. Alexandre Moret, Le Rituel Du Culte Divin Journalier en Egypte, Annales du Musée Guimet (Bibliothèque d'etudes, no. 14), Paris,
Chapter III, Notes

1902.

21. The outermost title page of the edition of Moret's study that I consulted refers in a subtitle to more than one Berlin papyrus. It reads: "D'après les Papyrus de Berlin et les textes de Séti". On page 1 of the introduction Moret refers to one "papyrus".


23. Following Moret's translation at this point:

Tu (the Supreme Being) montes avec Mâït, tu vis de Mâït, tu joins tes membres à Mâït, tu donnes que Mâït se pose sur la tète, qu'elle fasse son siège sur ton front. Ta fille Mâït, tu rajeunis à sa vue, tu vis du parfum de sa rosée; Mâït se met comme une amulette à ton cou, elle se pose sur ta poitrine; les dieux te paient leurs tributs avec Mâït, car ils connaissent sa sagesse. Voici (venir) les dieux et les déesses qui sont avec toi en portant (litt. sous) Mâït, ils savent que tu vis d'elle; ton oeil droit est Mâït, ton oeil gauche est Mâït, tes chairs et tes membres sont Mâït, les souffles de ton ventre et de ton coeur (viennent) de Mâït. Tu marches sur les deux régions en portant (litt. sous) Mâït; ta tête est ointe de Mâït, tu marche les deux mains sous Mâït; ta bandelette asnit est Mâït, le vêtement de tes membres est Mâït, ce que tu manges est Mâït, ta boisson est Mâït, tes pains sont Mâït, ta bière est Mâït, les résines que respirent sont Mâït, les souffles pour ton nez sont Mâït.

See Moret, op.cit. (see n. 20 above), pp. 141-142.

24. Moret (op.cit., p. 147f, n. 2) refers to 25 "presentations de Mâït" found in LD. Beyond this, according to Moret, Mariette "has given all the references of the presentations of Maat at Denderah". See Moret, ibid.

25. For further literature on the king and m3 `t see the following:


Rudolph Anthes, "The Legal Aspect of the Instruction of Amenemhe", JNES, 16, no. 3 (1957), pp. 176-190.
Dieter Müller, "I am Isis" (a review of Jan Bergman's Ich bin Isis), Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 67, nos. 3-4, p. 122, and n. 4.


Ramses Moftah, Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im neuen Reich, Deutsches archäologisches Institut (Abteilung Kairo), no. 20, (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern Verlag, 1985), pp. 221-229.

26. See n. 1a above.

27. My word "next" corresponds to W. Scott's (vol. I, p. 279) "thereafter" and Festugière's (vol. II, p. 251) "en second lieu".


32. The fifth component of the royal titulary, the "nomen", is preceded or introduced by s3 R'. See Gardiner, Eg.Gr., p. 74. For two examples of the expression s3 R' see AEL, vol. II, p. 39 (the Great Sphinx Stele of Amenhotep II at Giza, section 1) and p. 43 (the Stele of Amenhotep III, section 1). For the expression s3.i, "my son" (i.e., Thutmose III as the son of Amun-Re'), see Eg.Gr., p. 90.

33. LD, vols. V & VI (plates I-CLXXII = dritte Abtheilung (Blatt I-XC). See in particular (Abtheilung) III, (Blatt) 23, the top, southern side of the inscription. See also Urk., IV, 357, 12.

34. See LD, III, 24, section d, southern portion of the inscripational base. Because of the smallness of the photograph the reading of "dr" is not clear. However, in Urk., IV, 361, 8 dr is transcribed very clearly.

34a. Based upon the Urk. attestations adduced by Faulkner in MED, p. 203, in this context "semblance" is the preferred translation of
Chapter III, Notes

35. See Urk., IV, 362, 6. In Urk., IV, 244, 14 Amun is addressed by the gods in the subsequent manner:

\[ \text{ir·n·k is s m snnt·k, "Thou has made her (Hatshepsut) as thy female counterpart".} \]

The translation is Frankfort's in *Kingship and the Gods*, p. 77.

36. For the use of the term "poetical" regarding this stela see AEL, vol. II, p. 35.

36a. Faulkner (MED, p. 246) is uncertain as to the exact spelling of this verb and presents: "sš(sn-?)

37. See Urk., IV, 614, 15 through 615, 2.


40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. The transcription of the text here is based upon Urk., IV, 1655, 15-17. The translation is mine. It follows very closely that of Lichtheim: AEL, vol. II, p. 46.

43. In this context, "iw" would appear to be an idiomatic use of the 3rd masculine, singular form of the old perfective. See Eg.Gr., p. 239, ph. 313 and p. 289, ph. 289 meaning "welcome". See also MED, p. 10, under the verb "ii" and its idiomatic uses.

44. Here and in the line below I have parenthetically inserted "my". I would have expected the suffix pronoun "i" in the case of both insertions. Cf. Urk., IV, 275, 12 (s3·[t] n ħt·f) where the suffix pronoun "f" is clearly written.

44a. For the text see Urk., IV, 279, 5-7a. For at least five additional examples of Hatshepsut as the image of Amun see Urk., IV, 275.

45. For hnty used in relationship to the king with no divine
associations per se, see Urk., IV, 1748, 8-9; 1750, 5; and 1793, 13-1801, 5. In the case of Urk., IV, 1793, 13-1801, 5 a divine association is possible, but is not definite. Cf. Bell's comments in the following:

In a ka-chapel called "United-with-Ptah" at Memphis, a named statue of Amenophis III, presumably representing the king as Ptah, is designated as a hnty . . .

See Bell, op.cit., p. 288, n. 208. For twt used in relationship to the king with no divine associations, see Urk., IV, 842, 13.

46. See MED, p. 48 and Gr., p. 468, G 11.

46a. In a comprehensive study of the term dsr which means "sacred" or "holy", James K. Hoffmeier has isolated two expressions which are relevant here.

Tit dsrt- "sacred image/form" is a rather common epithet. It is applied to Atum (Urk. IV, 1687.12; KRI V, 109.15), Re (KRI III, 366.7) and also royalty (Mb V, 611, D. el B. VI, CLIV). Similar to this is dsr ḫprw - "of sacred forms".

No doubt it was the epithet dsr ḫprw that was behind the pre-nomen of Horemheb, dsr ḫprw r ḫ (LR II, 381-398) - "Sacred are the forms of Re". This is an appropriate name for the Son of Re since the son is the very image of his father.

See James K. Hoffmeier, Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt (The Term DSR, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX), Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, no. 59, (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1985), pp. 202-203. Hereafter referred to as Sacred.

47. As others have indicated, Excerpt 24 continues the Kore Kosmu. Note the title line (superscription) in Festugière's edition of the text (CH, vol. IV, p. 52.): ΕΙΝ ΤΑΥΤΙ.".

48. "Their", which refers back to "gods", is a part of the translation for the sake of clarity. My translation is quite similar to those of Festugière (CH, vol. III, p. 52) and Mead (vol. III, p. 126). Scott, as in many other instances, has emended the text (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 496). As a result his translation is significantly different:
Chapter III, Notes

γεννώσι γάρ <<κατὰ καίρον>>, ὃς τέκνοιν, [βασιλεὺς]
<ἀνθρώπων> οἱ θειὶ ἐπάξιον τῆς ἐπιγείου
(ἡ) γεννανίας... for the gods, my son cause to
be born at the right time a man that is worthy to govern upon

49. Cf. Ex. 24, 3:1-3a which reads:

καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστίν
ἔσχατος, πρῶτος δὲ ἄνθρωπων; As to the king, on
the one hand, he is last among the gods, but on the
other hand, first among humankind.

My translation follows very closely that of Festugière's. See CH,
vol. IV, p. 53.


Philology 41 (1930), p. 9:

This incorporation of the monarch in temples had Egyptian
precedents. This one might not have expected, since in
Egyptian belief divinity rests in kingship and not in the
individual king...

It seems appropriate to point out that at least since 1960, the
view of the Egyptian kingship among Egyptologists has broadened to
include the understanding that the pharaoh may not have been
considered divine in every Sitz im Leben. In 1960 Georges Posener
published a study entitled De la divinité du Pharaon. Posener
posited a theory of the Egyptian kingship which was significantly
different from the previous general understanding. Posener, by
concentrating on more "secular" documents, came up with a pharaoh
less "absolutely" divine. In this same connection, see the
following works as cited by David Lorton (as cited below, p. 59 and
notes 64-66):

Hans Goedicke, Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich,
gyptologische Abhandlungen 2 (1960).

Anthony Spalinger, The Concept of the Monarchy during

Janet Johnson, "The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement

David Lorton takes Derchain to task for being unduly influenced
by Posener's theory:

At the end of a study of the divine aspect of the king in the Greco-Roman period, Derchain has taken note of Posener's conclusion and remarked: "Posener's pharaoh, very human and little endowed with supernatural powers, and the 'god' in question here thus coexisted. The former resided at times at Thebes or Memphis, at times at Alexandria or at Rome. The latter existed only deep within the sanctuaries." While there might at times have been inconsistencies or contradictions between the ideology and the practice of kingship, Derchain's intimation of an inherent contradiction between the "two pharaohs," that is, between the human and the divine aspects of the king, is essentially unsatisfactory.

See David Lorton, "The King and the Law", Varia Aegyptiaca 2, no. 1 (1986), p. 59. At the end of his article, Lorton posits "a holistic synthesis" relative to the ancient Egyptian kingship. I believe such a view is, at present, the most realistic approach in that it combines the divine and human aspects of the pharaoh in a complementary fashion as opposed to a contradictory one. Such a view validates both aspects.

52. The transcription of the text here is based upon Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts. His edition will also be followed in connection with any other transcriptions from the Pyramid Texts unless otherwise specified. Therefore, "Sethe" followed by the appropriate volume and page number refers to:

Kurt Sethe, Die altägyptische Pyramidentexte (nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums), Bands 1 and 2 (Text, 1908 and 1910, respectively), J.C. Heinrich, Leipzig.

It should be noted that translations of various passages from the Pyramid Texts in this thesis have been previously cited from Faulkner's edition of the Pyramid Texts. Unless otherwise indicated any additional translations will also be cited from Faulkner's edition.

53. The translation is that of Griffiths in:

"Motivation in Early Egyptian Syncretism", Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), Studies In The History Of Religions (Supplements To Numen, no. 43), edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, (Leiden: E. J. Brill Press, 1982), p. 53.

54. See PT, p. 40. See also Griffiths, ibid., p. 49.
55. Presumably, the king's cartouche or name, in this text Pepi, functions as the first person singular suffix pronoun "i". See Sethe, vol. I, p. 451 (814, c, text P). See also Sethe, vol. I, p. XII.


57. I owe this reference to Whitney Davis, "The Ascension Myth in the Pyramid Texts", JNES 36, no. 3 (1977), p. 166. The ascension myth studied by Davis concerns the king's ascent to heaven after physical death.

58. The translation is Faulkner in PT, p. 252. Essentially the same phrasing is found in PT 1706. Cf. Faulkner in PT, p. 252.

59. For the substituted suffix here see note 55 above.

60. See n. 55 above.

61. See n. 55 above.


63. Anthes (op.cit., p. 173, n. 10) describes Naunet as "the upside-down-sky or 'antisky' which appears to be beneath the earth. Faulkner (PT, p. 226) simply translates it as "the Lower Sky".

64. "msyt" is the passive n sqmt-f form which takes the form of the feminine perfective passive participle. See Gr., p. 318.

65. Faulkner (PT, p. 173) translates "smti" as "that which was to be made firm". The whole phrase then reads: "before that which was to be made firm came into being".

66. "The great corporation" here refers to "the great Ennead (group of nine gods) at Heliopolis. See PT, p. 173, n. 3. The two, subsequent Pyramid Texts might also be considered:

O Re 'Atum, this king comes to you; an imperishable spirit, lord of the affairs (?) of the place of the four pillars; your son comes to you, the king comes to you. PT 152 (PT, p. 44.)

O Re 'Atum, your son comes to you, the king comes to
you; raise him up, enclose him in you embrace, for he is the son of your body for ever. PT 160 (PT, p. 45.)

67. Urk., IV, 368, 15.

68. Urk., IV, 369, 13. See also Urk., IV, 275, 3.

69. For this translation see AEL, vol. II, p. 26. My transcription of the text (Urk., IV, 362, 5) is as follows: wtt n R ' r irt n.f prt mtwt ūht tp (?)t3. Note the striking similarity between this text and Ex. 24, 1: 14-15, the Hermetic text cited at the beginning of this discussion.

70. See Urk., IV, 373 (bottom of the page and continuing on the next two pages).

71. An unusual tendency manifests itself in these inscriptions in relationship to the person of Hatshepsut. As Miriam Lichtheim has pointed out: "Masculine and feminine designations of her person alternate in her pronouncements: she is the son and daughter of Amun."(AEL, vol. II, p. 250.) For instance cf. Urk., IV, 357, 9 (s3 R ' son of Re'), or 357, 16 (s3 R ' son of Re') with 358, 14 (it-s 'Imn, her father, Amun) and Urk., IV, 368, 15 (Ink s3t.f n wn m3 'I am his daughter in every sense of the word).

72. Hatshepsut's cartouche (her name) follows directly after "ht" (body). I have supplied "my" here as the context clearly indicates that Amun is addressing Hatshepsut.

73. Urk., IV, 375, 5-6.


75. The bold-print emphasis is mine. See Hoffmeier, Sacred, p. 203.

76. The transcription presented here is based upon A.M. Blackman's edition in Middle Egyptian Stories (Part I), Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, no. 2, (Brussels: 1932), p. 3.

77. See Adolphe Gutbub, Textes fondamentaux de la Théologie de Kom Ombo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Bibliothèque d'Étude), tome 47 (2 parts), 1973.

78. Part two of Gutbub's study is a very extensive index. One entry in that index pertains to what he describes as "Naissance du dieu fils" (Birth of the god-child). Under that entry the author lists approximately seventy themes which are discussed at various
lengths in part one of his study. For the most part, these divine
birth motifs are related to either Osiris or Horus with a variety
of other deities being connected in various ways to these Horian
and Osirian birth traditions.

79. Haroe**ris refers to Horus, the elder; that is ḫr wr. For
references to Haroeris' birth traditions and Gutbub's comments, see
Gutbub, op.cit., part 2 (Index), p. 53 under "naissance d'Haroeris**ris".

80. Harpocrates refers to Horus, the child; that is ḫr pꜣ ḫrd.
For references to his birth traditions and the author's comments,
see Gutbub, op.cit., part 2 (Index), p. 51 under "Harpocrate".
Harpocrates, as is well known, becomes an important figure in
Gnostic circles of the early Christian era, particularly in Egypt.
See A.D. Nock, "Graeco-Egyptian Religious Propaganda" in Essays,
vol. II, pp. 703-711, which is a review of Richard Harder's:

Karpokrates von Chalkis und die memphitische
Isispropaganda, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie
der Wissenschaften (Philosophisch-historische Klasse), no. 14, 1943.

81. Harsiesis refers to Horus, the son Isis (Ḥr sꜣ 3st). See
Gutbub, op.cit., part 2 (Index), p. 53 under "Harsiesis" for
references to the pertinent texts relative to his birth and
Gutbub's comments.

82. In this connection, Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride, among
other things, chronicles the development of this myth. See J. Gwyn
Griffiths' Dio.

83. For `nh ḫr in the case of a Amenophis III, see Urk., IV,
1647, 13. For `nh ḫr in the case of Hatshepsut, see Urk., IV,
361, 4 and 369, 12. In examining some of the instances where "the
living Horus" expression occurs in the Urk., `nh, or in several
instances connected with Hatshepsut `nh-t, is written before ḫr.
This is the reverse word order that might be expected, construing
`nh as an adjective. Professor Thomas Lambdin informs me that the
Wb. (I, p. 193) indicates that "the living Horus" expression is a
formula. He further indicated that the expression might be understood as
an optative (perfective - my parentheses) sḏm-f form; i.e., "may Horus
live". In this connection, see Gr., ph. 450, section 4; in particular,
the last three of the five examples Gardiner presents there. The optative
use of the perfective sḏm-f, however, would not explain the `nh-t ḫr
occurrences related to Hatshepsut. In connection with the exclamatory use
of the old perfective, there are several possible explanations for the
"t" in "the living Horus" expressions pertaining to Hatshepsut. A discussion of these will not be entered into here. See Gr., ph. 313; particularly the observation at the bottom of the page.

84. See Origins, p. 44 ff.

85. Alexandre Moret, Du Caractère religieux de la Royauté pharaonique, Paris, 1902, p. 68. J. Gwyn Griffiths points out a number of Egyptian themes in the so-called Alexander Romance (i.e., the Pseudo-Callisthenes), including Alexander's divine birth "in a much attenuated form" (For this remark, see the article cited just below p. 276.).


87. The transcription here is based upon:


89. Relative to additional evidence in this connection see:


In particular, see p. 17, secs. 8, 10 and 11 (column II); p. 19, sec. 8; p. 21, sec. 2, sec. 3 (plate 3); p. 22, sec. 4 (top of the page), sec. 4 (bottom of the page); p. 24, sec. 6. See also:

Ramses Moftah, Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im neuen Reich, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Abteilung Kairo), Sonderschrift 20, (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

In particular see, "Zweiter Teil, Die Göttlichkeit des Königs" (pp. 198-266).

90. See p. 72 ff and n. 32 above.
91. ΤΙΣΤΗΡΟΜΕΝΟ.

92. I have inserted this parenthetical expression in an attempt to make the meaning of the passage more clear.

93. The phrase "such things as these" refers to the affairs of being king.

94. The translations of Festugière (CH, vol. IV, p. 53) and W. Scott (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 1, pp. 497-498) are essentially the same. However, W. Scott does emend ΚΥΩΔΙ to ΦΟΩΔΙ and ΚΑΤΑΣΔΙΩΝ to ΚΑΤΑΣΑΔΙΩΝ. Such emendations are not major in terms of the overall meaning of the passage. W. Scott's emendation of ΚΑΤΑΣΔΙΩΝ to ΚΑΤΑΣΑΔΙΩΝ makes the context more concrete and thereby more comprehensible; but it is not really an necessary emendation.

95. For the translation of ἡμώστ as "helpers" see Lichtheim, AEL, vol. I, p. 36 and n. 2.

96. My transcription here is based upon Sethe, vol. I, p. 207. Cf. Faulkner's translation in PT, p. 80: "The King's powers are about him, His ἡμώστ are under his feet ... ."

97. See Liselotte Greven, Der Ka in Theologie und Königscult der Ägypter des alten Reiches, Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 17 (Glückstadt-Hamburg and New York: 1952), 51 pp. See also Ursula Schweitzer, Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter, gyptologische Forschungen, Heft 19, 1956.


99. Additional meanings that he lists are: 4) fortune; 5) will (of the king); 6) kingship; 7) goodwill (in the plural). See MED, p. 283.


101. See Kingship, p. 65.

102. PT 1652, as Frankfort (Kingship, p. 66) points out, is very
explicit on this point.

Thou (Atum) didst spit out Shu, thou didst spew out Tefnut; Thou didst put thy arms around them with thy Ka so that thy Ka was in them.

This text is apparently an allusion to the Heliopolitan creation myth. Faulkner's translation (PT, p. 246) is even more explicit.

O Atum-Khopper, . . . you spat out Shu, you expectated Tefenet, and you set your arms about them as the arms of a ka-symbol, that your essence might be in them.

103. "The Ka of the king is the only Ka ever shown on the monuments. It is born with the king as his twin; it accompanies him through life as a protective genius; it acts as his twin and as his protector in death. It retains the character of vital force, as the pyramid texts we have quoted in the preceding section show. But it is personified in a manner never observed with common people, a contrast the more striking, since so many funerary usages and beliefs, originally pertaining to the king alone, were later applied to all men." (Frankfort, op.cit., p. 69)

104. See also Sir Alan Gardiner, "Some Personifications", PSBA 37 (December 1915), p. 259. Generally and in PT 396 a-b and elsewhere the hemsut are understood as female counterparts to the kas. See MED, p. 170.

105. See Gardiner, PSBA 38 (March 1916), p. 83, n. 10: "This is proved by royal names like Menkaure', 'Firm-are-the-kas-of-Re' ', see von Bissing, op.cit., p. 11, n.4". It seems appropriate here to point out that in some instances the ka is understood as being synonymous with the kingship itself. See Faulkner in n. 99 above = MED, p. 283, under "ka", entry #6. See also Gardiner, op.cit., p. 83 and Gardiner in JEA 36 (1950), p. 7, n. 2.

106. Note that Hatshepsut is referred to as "the son". See n. 71 for a similar tendency. However, the subsequent verbal form in this passage with Hatshepsut as subject reflects the appropriate gender; i.e., b' i t (You will appear).

107. See Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 73. My transcription of the text here is based upon Urk., IV, 227, 4-14. My translation follows closely that of Frankfort's, ibid.

108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.

110. That is, 'nb, wd\textsuperscript{3}w, snb, mn\textsuperscript{b}w, \textsuperscript{s}pssw, 3wt-ib
\textit{hw}, htpt, and df\textsuperscript{3}w.

111. For the expression "attribute" as a derived meaning of the ka there is ample evidence. Faulkner [JEA 41 (1955), p. 141] asserts the following:

"A similar notion of the ka as the essential attribute of some being or beings clearly underlies sentences of the type \textit{twt k\textsuperscript{3} n ntrw nb ' thou art the essence of all the gods ' (Pyr. 1609a; 1623a)}, while the plural ' kas ' refers to the varying natures of the individuals concerned (Pyr. 776b; 1626)."

Gardiner [PSBA 37 (December 1915), p. 257] points to an earlier piece of evidence by Brugsch. "The meaning 'attribute' for ka was rightly perceived by Brugsch (\textit{Wörterb. Suppl.} 1230-1) but has since been forgotten; nor do I contend that this represents more that a limited portion of the connotation of that complex and elusive word." See also Gardiner, PSBA 38 (March 1916), p. 83.

112. Frankfort, \textit{Kingship and the Gods}, pp. 73-74. Frankfort does not allude to any particular text here. I assume that he may be describing a scene at Deir el Bahari that is not accompanied by any inscripitional evidence. The Meskhenet birth scene address adduced in the thesis narrative is Urk., IV, 227, 4-14. See pp. 81-82 and n. 107 above. Immediately after the comments of Frankfort adduced above (i.e., in the thesis narrative to which this note has been attached), he then cites Urk., IV, 230, 12-17. Both of the Urkunden passages follow or use as a guide Edouard Naville's \textit{The Temple of Deir el Bahari}, 6 vols., London Exploration Fund, London, [1895]-1908. In his transcription of Urk., IV, 227, 4-14 Sethe refers to "Nav. Deirelb. II 50.51". I understand this to be a reference to vol. II, plates 50 and 51 of Naville's work. Urk., IV, 230, 12-17 refers to the same locus in Naville, but plate 53. Urk., IV, 228-230, 5 is apparently based upon Naville, vol. II, plate 52. Finally, because I have not been able to gain access to Naville's edition of Deir el Bahari, I am forced to conclude that the scene which Frankfort discusses involving "twelve divinities identified as Ka's and Hemsut" is based upon Naville, vol. II, plate 52 or, as I indicated near the beginning of this note, a scene at Deir el Bahari that is not accompanied by any inscripitional evidence.

114. Here and in Urk., IV, 227, 8 the 1st person singular suffix "i" is not written, a frequent feature of the orthography of these texts.

115. The translation is Frankfort's in Kingship and the Gods, p. 74.

116. See Urk., IV, 357, 2, 11; 358, 2, 12; 359, 14; 360, 6; 361, 4; 369, 12.

117. For a discussion of the Horus name, see Gardiner, Eg.Gr., p. 72. See Gardiner, op.cit., pp. 71-76 for a discussion of the titulary in its entirety.

118. Helmer Ringgren has pointed this out. See Helmer Ringgren, Word and Wisdom (Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East), Lund: 1947, p. 43 and n.3 on that page.


120. The translation is Gardiner's in PSBA 37 (December 1915), p. 254. Gardiner comments on the phrase "his million kas". "It has been seen that in the funerary text published by M. Lacau and translated above, ḫike' was described as (Gardiner provides the appropriate hieroglyphs for which I am transcribing nb k3w ), 'Lord-of-kas.' This apparently means that the Sun-god Re 'deputed to him the control of his mystical attributes, 'his million kas,' by means of which he had thitherto himself protected his subjects." Gardiner, op.cit., p. 257. The purpose of this text was to empower the deceased in such a way that he or she could assume the form of the god Heka, the god of magic.


122. See Gardiner, PSBA 38 (March 1916), p. 94-95.


124. A variant of this ka was 'Ir-k3w, i.e., Food-making. See Gardiner, PSBA 38 (March 1916), p. 84.

125. Gardiner, PSBA 37 (December 1915), p. 259. In the locus just cited Gardiner also points out that in the Graeco-Roman era
relative to the 14 kas of Re tradition, more often than not, each ka is accompanied by a female counterpart, i.e., hemsut.

126. Briefly, the b3 or ba is another intangible aspect of the human being from an ancient Egyptian point of view originally conceived as innate in the Supreme Being. It is generally translated as "soul". See MED, p. 77. See also Eg.Gr., p. 173. However, note Louis Ḫabkar's article "Ba" in LA, Band I, column 588 f. See also Louis Ḫabkar, A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, no. 34, (Chicago: University of Press, 1968). In the LA article Ḫabkar indicates that it is very difficult to translate the ba concept, but the term soul clearly seems appropriate in some instances as cited above in MED.

For evidence pertaining to the 14 kas and 7 bas of Re' see the following:

1) Gardiner (PSBA 37 (December 1915), p. 258, n. 4) gives the following reference: "A fairly complete collection of the evidence, which will be supplemented below, is given by Von Bissing, Versuch. einer Erklärung des KA'I der alten Aegypten (Sitzb. d. kön. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., Jhrg. 1911, 5. Abh.), pp. 5-9 with the notes".


3) Ringgren (Word and Wisdom, p. 43, n. 3) adduces "Chassinat, Edfou I p. 441, III p. 355 bottom, Brugsch, Hierogl. Wörterb., suppl. 1230 (Philae)".


In his study of the texts at Kom Ombo Adolphe Gutbub examines a very brief text which is relevant here.

"(Tant que) Ré brillera à l'horizon, les enfants-yeux en sa compagnie, son Ka après lui, son Ba à sa suite, ils donnent vie et force au fils de Ré."

To my knowledge, the plates for Gutbub's monumental study still
have not been published. Therefore, it has not been possible to examine his edition of the text. Nevertheless, while his translation does not speak of a plurality of bas or kas attributed to Re', the two concepts are clearly linked to Re' in their singular form. The expression "au fils de Re" underscores again the idea that the ka is an intrinsic part of everything whether "fils" is understood as a reference to the other deities created by Re' or to the kings of Egypt who are so often referred to as s3 R' (the son of Re'). Other gods or the king could serve as a conduit(s) of the ka of Re'. See Adolphe Gutbub, Textes fondamentaux de la Théologie de Kom Ombo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Bibliotheque d'Etude), tome 47 (part 1), 1973, p. 382 and n. "d ", on p. 384.


128. In the same Middle Kingdom funerary text that has been mentioned several times heretofore the phrase "when his million kas were the protection of his subjects" makes a protective function explicitly clear. See n. 120 above. In PT 396 a-b that function is more implicit: "The powers (i.e., kas) of Wenis (the King) surround him, his helpers are under his feet".

The text that Festugière presents (CH, vol. IV, pp. 53-54) is essentially the same as Walter Scott's. However, there are some relatively minor differences. For the most part, these differences pertain to lines 2 through 6 of the text as presented above (i.e., W. Scott's text). However, the differences in the two texts do not seem as apparent when the two respective translations are compared. See CH, vol. IV, pp. 53-54.

130. Specifically, the tradition pertaining to 14 kas of Re '.

131. I am referring to the development of the tradition concerning the 14 kas of Re '. In this tradition, as was adduced earlier in this present discussion (see n. 125 above), the 14 kas of Re ' were often accompanied by an equal number of hemsut. In addition, with a lesser degree of frequency these 14 kas were sometimes found accompanied by 7 bas (see n. 126 above).


133. See n. 2 (ch. I).


138. See BD, vol. I, p. 481, ch. 182, section 10. The word "future" in the translation is my attempt to translate the phrase "m-ḥt n ḫw n sp.f" which literally means "the afterwards of the overthrow of his season or time". Cf. the translation of Boylan in Thoth, p. 86. Having a knowledge of the future furthermore makes Thoth as "the reckoner of time" quite understandable. See Thoth also, p. 84. Via personal correspondence Prof. Griffiths has brought to my attention that there are other deities in ancient Egypt who exhibit varying degrees of "foreknowledge". In this connection, he adduces a work by Eberhard Otto:

"Cf. Eberhard Otto, Gott und Mensch (Abh. Heidelberg, 1964), 20, on foreknowledge as a facet of omniscience in deities. On p. 149 he gives a collection of sayings illustrating this divine faculty. They relate to Amun, Harsomtus, Hathor, Isis, and Osiris. Oddly enough, Thoth is missing. (His book limits itself to texts of
139. There are a number of difficulties vis-à-vis the translation and interpretation of paragraph 7. One problem is that the paragraph is one whole sentence. There is a shift from 3rd person singular (7:2) to 1st person singular (7:4), yet only one person seems to be satisfactory. The problems of this paragraph notwithstanding, it is difficult if not impossible to see any personage other than Hermes as the active-subject of the particular passage under discussion.

140. KK, 8:13-19 are the explicit words which Hermes is described as having spoken in KK, 7:8-10.


143. Budge, E.A.W., Egyptian Magic, (New York: Dover Publications, 1971 [a reprint of the 1901 original]), p. 126. C.J. Bleeker points to Thoth's protective role vis-à-vis magical pronouncements in the Jumilhac Papyrus: "From the Jumilhac Papyrus it can be ascertained that Thoth repeatedly pronounces magic formulas to defend Horus, and that as a result Seth falls powerless to the ground, senseless and deprived of his manly strength". See Bleeker, Hathor and Thoth (Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion), Studies in the History of Religions, Supplements to Numen, no. XXVI, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), p. 136.

144. See Edourd Naville, Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX Dynastie, (Berlin: A. Scher & Co., 1886).

145. For textual references to this title see Thoth, p. 189, the 3rd entry.

146. See Thoth, p. 99. Griffiths (DIO, p. 521) offers the following evidence for Thoth as a scribe of sacred books:

"The Egyptian Thoth is 'the scribe of sacred books' (P. Salt 825, 7, 3 ed. Derchain, Brussels, 1965; Cf. Gardiner, JEA 24 (1938), 167f.)".  

211
In a footnote (ibid., n. 2) he includes this additional evidence. "Cf. Boylan, *Thoth*, 94, citing BD 68, 9-10 'the writings of the words, the book of Thoth' (ed. Naville, Ca, line 10). On a stela at Abydos Ramesses IV says that he has not neglected any sacred book of Thoth in his search for information on the gods; see Posener, *De la divinite du Pharaon*, 72 with refs. The role of Thoth as the originator of religious texts is elaborated by Morenz, *Rel. 230ff.*"

147. *Thoth*, p. 194, the 12th entry.


149. Op.cit., p. 188.

150. Ibid.

151. "nb mdw ntr literally means "lord of the words of the god". For Thoth as the "author of holy writings" see Seigfried Schott, "Thoth als Verfasser heiliger Schriften", *ZAS* 99 (1972), pp. 20-25. Gardiner (*ZAS* 42 (1905), p. 40) presents a text which connects Thoth and "the writings of the Lord of Hermopolis" (ssw nb Hnmw). Gardiner rightly, it seems, identifies the two deities as one and the same.

152. *KK* 5:19 gives additional impetus for translating *κατατιθέμενος* as "he hid away".

153. There are some difficulties in the translation of this passage. See Mead, vol. III, p. 97 and n. 2; Walter Scott in *Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 461 and n. 2 and Festugière in *CH*, vol. IV, p. 3. My translation of... πλησιόν των θείων κρυφών αποδέχεται τα ιερα των κοσμικών στοιχείων σύμβολα, is "he (Hermes) laid away the sacred symbols of the cosmic elements near the secrets of Osiris". W. Scott (*Hermetica*, vol. I, p. 461, n. 3) understands των κοσμικών στοιχείων as "the books of Hermes, written in hieroglyphs".


155. See *CT*, VII, 393a-b. Faulkner and Lesko translate this text in slightly different ways:

Faulkner: "See, Thoth is within the secret places (st3w), and he will do priestly service (w'b) . . .

Lesko: "Thoth is inside the secrets that he may make
James K. Hoffmeier presents their translations of this text in his *Sacred*, p. 97. I believe the Egyptian syntax in this context would allow my translation as well as that of Faulkner and Lesko. A more in-depth examination of the context might provide some further clues regarding the translation of this passage. In either case, syntax in this instance does not seem to have any bearing upon the connection between Thoth and the štÄw (secrets or secret places).

156. *Thoth*, p. 102. On that page Boylan refers to "Turin Papyrus P. and R. 25, 3-4".

157. See above, p. 97.

157a. "All kinds of texts--books, temple-inscriptions, collections of liturgical documents ('rituals'), inscriptions on stelae and tablets were called ss n Dhwty (a writing of Thoth)." *Thoth*, p. 99. Via personal correspondence Prof. J. Gwyn Griffiths was gracious in sharing the following additional information regarding books attributed to Thoth:

"Cf. too the allusion in the Setna Romance (III B.C.) to the learned books said to have been in Thoth's custody. These dmw are books of wisdom and are said to have caused the death of Naneferkaptah when he took hold of them. Cf. the fragmentary treatises (mre rhw) edited by E.A.E. Reymond in *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings*. (From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum, Part II, Vienna, 1977). On p. 36 she suggests that the books of Thoth included the "hp n ntr", 'Law of God', and *hp,* a set of natural laws, i.e. interpretations of Nature's Law.'

158. Originally, I had planned also to discuss KK, 67: 18-19 ἐνδίδοσιν περιστελλέων, KK, 68: 4-5 (τὰς προσακθέως . . . ἀνέστησαν and KK, 68: 9-10 (φιλοσοφία . . . καὶ μαγικα . . . ηλικική). The first concerns mumification. The second passage pertains to the "sympathy between the things above and the things below". The third involves philosophy, magic and healing. It will not be possible to discuss either of these passages in this thesis.

158a. See L.V. Žabkar, "Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and Their Theological Significance (Part I), JEA 69 (1983), pp. 115-137. In particular see pp. 117 and 118 for the
text and translation presented here.

159. Isis in parentheses is my inclusio.

160. The word "born" is Žabkar's insertion; presumably for the sake of clarity.

161. Ibid., p. 122.

162. Regarding the name Onnophris see Griffiths, DIO, p. 460 and Gardiner, "Ὀννόφρις", Miscellanea Academica Berol., 1950, 44 as cited by Griffiths.

163. "Although in this hymn Osiris himself is not explicitly called 'the Golden-One', or 'the Gold', it would seem that he too, as 'the supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones'--that is, of the gods and goddesses represented as golden images in the temples--is to be thought of as embodied in a golden image; sometimes he seems to be indeed so described. It is well known that the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and especially Hathor, are often referred to as 'the Gold', or 'the Golden-Ones', and Isis too, is at Philae called 'the Golden-One', or 'the Gold'. It is only proper that Osiris, who played the eminent role of the overseer of the deities, should be represented as a golden image, a golden living image, supreme among the golden living images of other deities--this precious metal, out of which the flesh of the gods was believed to have been made, indicating the splendour, perfection, and incorruptibility of their divine nature." See Žabkar, op.cit., pp. 123-124.

164. The transliteration and text are Žabkar's in his "A Hymn to Osiris Pantocrator at Philae", ZAS 108 (1981), p. 141-171. For the relevant passage see pp. 142-143.

165. Ibid., p. 143, n. 18. On p. 142 Žabkar gives some relevant bibliographical information on these other versions.

166. Ibid., p. 145, n. 28.

167. See Sylvie Cauville, La Theologie d'Osiris à Edfou, Bibliothèque d'Étude Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale, (Cairo: 1983), tome 91. In this work the author adduces three instances wherein Osiris is referred to as "nb gsw-prw" (lord of temples). See p. 139, document 85; p. 158, document 103, and p. 160, document 105. All the documents discussed in Cauville's study are presented in translation only. The above transliterated phrase "nb gsw-prw" is listed in one of the indices (p. 200) at the end of Cauville's study. The above page numbers and document numbers are found in that same "nb gsw-prw" index entry. In examining each of
the texts adduced I found that each of the translations was slightly different. They are as follows: 1) "maître des temples" (p. 139, document 85); 2) "le souverain maître des sanctuaires" (p. 158, document 103); 3) "le maître des sanctuaires de l'Égypte" (p. 160, document 105). Without having access to the hieroglyphics or a full transliteration of the texts in question it has not been possible to cross-check Cauville's translations. However, giving Cauville the benefit of the doubt, it is significant enough to note that the third example adduced describes Osiris as being "the lord of" all the sanctuaries in Egypt.

167a. In a relatively recent and important work entitled From The Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings E.A.E. Reymond seems to have established a substantive connection between Thoth and hp n ntr ("the law of the god"). More specifically, in connection with one of the papyri which she discusses in her work, Ms. Reymond makes the subsequent comments: "The Egyptians do not seem to have had one single collection of these mre rhw ("treatises", my inclusio). P. Vindob. D. 6343 (Text C,) gives evidence of another distinctly different codification of these learned discourses. . . . . Of special significance is the reference to the creation by means of the word, and to the teaching in the hp n ntr, 'law of the god' which represents a codification of learned discourses on the natural history. . . . . We incline to the opinion that what is described as Thoth's learned books, including the hp, a set of natural laws, or rules, implies something positive, the actual documents comprising descriptions, and interpretations of Nature's Law, in brief being the introduction into the natural sciences; . . . . " See Reymond, op.cit., pp. 35-36 and in this thesis ch. IV, p. 133f.

168. At this point in a note to his comments thus far Griffiths adduces the subsequent evidence to substantiate his case: "In the Cymaean Aretalogy of Isis, line 31 (= Peek, Isishymnus, 124) the goddess says: 'I arranged languages for Greeks and barbarians' (ταξις: the similar text from Ἰαν, line 27 = Peek, op. cit. 125, has διεταξαμήν). An Egyptian text on an ostracan says a like thing of Thoth: 'Hail to thee, Moon-Thoth, who made different the tongue of one country from another'; see Černy in JEA, 34 (1948), 121-2, where two parallel texts are also quoted. Černy thinks the ascription of the function to the Aten (in Maj Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaten, 95, 1) involves a transference from an original attribution to Thoth. Cf. too Harder, Karpokrates, 34. In the Aretalogies (M 3b-c) Isis states that she was trained by Hermes and discovered writing with him. D. Müller, Isis-Aret. 21ff. shows that Isis may have derived this function from Seshat, the goddess of writing, as well as from an association with Thoth." See Griffiths, DIO, p. 263, n. 1.

170. In his note Griffiths presents his argument in the subsequent manner: "Cf. Ferguson in Scott, *Hermetica*, IV, 459: 'elements from the legend of Prometheus . . . have been transferred to the Egyptian Hermes'. In section 48 of the *Kore Kosmu* Hermes says that the supreme sovereign declares him (Hermes) to be 'steward and supervisor' (ταμιάν καὶ προσωπητὴν). Ferguson notes further that 'Hermes is associated with Prometheus in the Protagorean myth'; see Plato, *Prt.* 320 D ff. Unlike the Greek Hermes, the Egyptian Thoth is from early times the god of writing and the patron of literature, a fact reflected in Plato's description of Thoth in his *Phlb.* 18 B ff. and *Phdr.* 274 C ff. In Graeco-Roman times Isis becomes his helper: see Peek, *Isis hymnus*, 15, 10ff. and 122, 3 a ff.; Diod. Sic. 1. 27. 4. In the *Book of Breathings* (P. Louvre 3284), it is said that Isis made the book for her brother Osiris, but in the same work, 2, 8-9 Thoth is stated to have written it. See further Boylan, *Thoth*, 98ff. and Leipoldt-Morenz, *Heilige Schriften*, 28 ff. Thus although early sources do not make Thoth the father of Isis, their linking in this way rests on the Egyptian conception of Thoth-Hermes." See his *DIO*, p. 263, n. 2.

171. For a full reference to this study see ch. I, n. 2 of this thesis or the "abbreviated references" section.

172. "It is as author of the institutions of temple-worship that we find Thoth engaged so often in the building and furnishing of shrines of all kinds. We see him often with the architect-goddess Seshat measuring the sites of future temples. He did not content himself, however, with marking off sites; the erection, internal arrangement, and decoration of the temples were regarded as designed by him. It was usual for Egyptian shrines to boast of their complete conformity with the plans and prescriptions of Thoth. This is true particularly of the shrines of the later periods. Thus, in Denderah (Dümichen, *Baug.* II) the inscriptions tell how different apartments of the house of ḫr nb.t correspond in structure and arrangement with the plans of 'Istn (=Thoth). We are told that the length and breadth of a temple are 'according to the word of the knower of the Two Lands (i.e. Thoth), according to the arrangement of Sia (i.e. Thoth)' The walls of temples are decorated with the designs and with the script of Thoth." (*Thoth*, pp. 89-90.)


175. "Nine" here refers to the Ennead or group of nine gods understood as having been originated at Heilopolis.

176. Thoth, p. 91.


178. AEL, vol. II, p. 102. In a note to this phrase Miriam Lichtheim indicates that literally it reads who "opens a place for the gods". See ibid., p. 103, n. 7. This hymn is dated to the reign of Tutankhamun, i.e., ca. 1347 B.C.E.

179. Ibid., p. 103.

180. See Turayeff, "Zwei Hymnen an Thoth", ZAS 33 (1895), p. 123. The parenthesized phrase in the translation has been added by Boylan. The Egyptian is as follows: ṛdi mdw drf sw3d prw grg ḫw(w)t ṛdi ṛḥ nṯrw ḫrt·sn ḫmt nbt ıryt·s.

181. The parenthesized expression is mine.

182. Thoth, p. 95.


185. I have inserted the phrase "the way" for the sake of clarity.

185a. Originally I had translated τὰ σύμπαντα as "every place". However, I have adopted here Prof. Georgi's suggestion of "universe".

185b. Cf. also KK, 65: 8-9.

185c. With the exception of what follows in lines 19-20 of the same
Chapter III, Notes

ph., i.e., the reference to mummification. See n. 158 above.

186. τίς... τῆς ἐμῆς ἀπόρροια φύσις is the divine figure I am referring to in this context.

187. In this context πραττομένων would be "human" deeds. The Supreme Being is speaking here.

188. Literally "Τῶν ὑπὸ Γῆς" would mean "those under the earth".

189. The passage (Asclepius, 28: 4-6) reads as follows: "cum fuerit animae e corpore facta discessio, tunc arbitrium examenque meriti eius transiet in summi daemonis potestam,...". When the soul, having made a separation (facta discessio), shall take flight from the body, then in connection with its own merit it shall undergo a judgment and exam in (the sphere of) the power of the highest demon (my translation). In his comments on "summus daemonis" (CH, vol. II, p. 385, n. 238) Festugière, among other things, asserts that Mithras could be the deity in question. Without abrogating the plausibility of Festugière's opinion in this particular connection, "summus daemon" could also be Osiris. In light of the significance of Osiris'judging aspect in the Egyptian sphere, Osiris would serve as an even more appropriate "summus daemon".


192. Apparently, yet another variation of this title, ḤntʾImntyw, is found in the very next chapter of the BD, i.e., ch. 182. See BD, vol. I, p. 482, lines 12-13.


193a. According to Griffiths the identification of Osiris with Un-nfr (Wnn-nfr) dates back to the time of the Middle Kingdom. For a substantive discussion of this identification, see DIO, p. 460f. In that discussion Griffiths presents Gardiner's translation of Wnn-nfr as "he who is in a state of permanent well-being". Griffiths, in an effort to retain the ethical force of the word nfr, translates Wnn-nfr as meaning "he who is consistently beneficent".

194. In Egypt this particular aspect of a judgement after death finds its origins quite early in the historical period. This is true even of the expression m3'-ḥrw. More specifically it is the group of myths surrounding not only Osiris but also Horus that are so important here. In this connection two works in particular are important: J. Gwyn Griffiths, The Conflict of Horus and Seth,
Liverpool Monographs in Archeology and Oriental Studies, (Liverpool University Press: 1960) and Griffiths' *Origins* which has already been referred to several times.

195. This evidence is set forth in Griffiths' (*Origins*, p. 177f) discussion of Osiris' "Judicial Function".

196. M3't has several basic nuances: 1) truth; 2) righteousness; 3) justice; 4) rightness, orderly management. The fourth nuance of m3't parallels particularly well ὑπομονή as it is used in KK, 67:15.

197. *Origins*, p. 177. Ptah-hotep as a literary work dates from the time of the 6th dynasty, i.e., circa 2300 B.C.E.

198. Ibid., p. 177. According to Griffiths "there has been some doubt as to who should bear the designation lord of the Ma'at here" (Pyramid Text 1520a-1523a). From Griffith's point of view the matter is clarified, beyond doubt, in an article by Wolfhart Westendorf entitled "Eine auf die Ma'at anspielende Form des Osirisnamens". There are also other Old Kingdom texts in which Osiris is described as "great god, lord of ma'at" as cited by Westendorf. For his article see *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 2 (1954), pp. 165-182. See also Griffiths, *DIO*, p. 264.

199. See Altenmüller, p. 271. The specific CT references are IV, 170a-c; VI, 162q, 347e; and VII, 133p.


201. "The Two Shores" refers to Egypt. Žabkar (op.cit., p. 126) cites this translated passage as coming from *Hymnes et prières de l'Egypte ancienne* by A. Barucq and F. Daumas, p. 93. He refers also to J. Assman's *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, p. 445.

202. "The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192. Epigraphic Survey (OIP 102) (1980), 37, pl. 19" as cited by Žabkar, op.cit., p. 126, n. 74. In that same note Žabkar cites "Barucq-Daumas, op.cit. 108" as pertaining to another place where the text in question can also be found, i.e., the "tomb of Nebwenenef".


204. Ibid., p. 142-143.
205. The phrase "who extolled eternity" (wts nḥḥ) spoken of Osiris in the Osirian, Philae hymn is also found in one of the Isis hymns studied by Žabkar. See footnote¹ above. In particular see Žabkar, "Six Hymns to Isis . . .", pp. 122, 123, and 126. For Žabkar the occurrence of this phrase in the Osirian hymn "expanded and elaborated with a complementary statement . . ." justifies what he asserts in the subsequent comment. "Osiris' role as one who introduced Ma'at, that is, law, justice, order, and harmony, is expressed in Hymn II by a single phrase: 'who extolled eternity'."


207. Griffiths, DIO, p. 264.

208. Žabkar, "Six Hymns to Isis . . .", p. 130 (translation) and p. 129 (transliteration). In a note Žabkar further comments that "This same phrase, in a slightly different form, occurs in a hymn, or rather encomium, to Isis at Philae (of the time of Ptolemy VI), and at Kalabsha (time of Augustus) . . .". See ibid., p. 130, n. 104.

209. See Edouard Naville, Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie, (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1886). In particular, see chapter 183, line 3.


211. Thoth, p. 194, the 12th entry.

212. Ibid., the 13th entry.


214. See Helmer Ringgren, op.cit., p. 50; in particular, n. 6, the first two entries. See also ftn. 221 below where Thoth is described as "the chief justice" and "the president of the court of thirty". See also DIO, p. 534 for Thoth and the maat-offering tradition.

214a. The reference here is to CH, vol. IV, p. 21, the last two lines and p. 22, the first two lines.

215. Presumably, Rhamnusia is another name for Nemesis, originally in the place of that same name "in Attica, a little north of
Marathon". See J. Gwyn Griffiths' Isis-Book, p. 153. For a fuller bibliographical reference see the "Selected Bibliography" section of this thesis.


219. See Thoth, p. 89. Boylan (ibid.) translates š3' hpw as "the most ancient legislator".

220. Feucht, op.cit., p. 44. Feucht translates ir hpw as "der die Gesetze erlässt".

221. See Thoth, p. 195, entry 13 and p. 89. Boylan (Thoth, p. 89) further adds: "'Establishing laws like the Lord of Ḫsr·t. (=Thoth)', is a constantly recurring epithet of the Pharaohs in the Graeco-Roman period." See also Mohiy E.A. Ibrahim, The Chapel of the Throne of Re of Edfu, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, no. 16, (Brussels: 1975), two examples: 1) plate 6, #33 = text; p. 60, #33 = transliteration [Hr nb... smn hpwt mi Ḫwty ' 3 ' 3]; p. 36, #33 = translation ['Horus of gold ... who establishes laws like Thoth twice great] and 2) plate 14, scene 6, #91 = text; p. 63, #91 = transliteration [ḏḏ mdw in Ḫwty... sḏb 3ỹty ḫry tp m bỹt]; p. 47, #91 = translation [Works spoken by Thoth ... the chief justice, the president of the court of thirty]. See also n. 167a above and ch. IV, p. 133f.

222. In this connection see: Maria-Theresia Derchain-Urtel, Thot. à travers ses épithètes dans les scènes d'offrandes des temples d'époque gréco-romaine, Rites Egyptiens, no. III, (Bruxelles: Fondation gyptologique Reine lisabeth, 1981). Two of the epithets that she studies are relevant here. They are: ḫnty-Ḥsr·t (op.cit., p.69) and sḥn (op.cit., p. 107). Derchain-Urtel (p. 69) asserts that ḫnty-Ḥsr·t, meaning the one who presides at Ḫsr·t, refers to Thoth. Based upon her discussion (p. 70) the identification is a plausible one. In the temple of Denderah, as cited by Derchain-Urtel (p. 196, n. 9) the king is figured as "smn hpw m ḫnty-Ḥsr·t", i.e., the one who establishes laws like the one who presides at Ḫsr·t. If Derchain-Urtel's identification of Thoth as "the one who presides at Ḫsr·t"
be accepted, it is clear then that Thoth serves as a lawgiver par excellence after whom the king would do well to model himself.

The second epithet, shn, is "titre militaire à l'origine", which "désigne un auxiliaire d'état-major pour l'armée, un scribe-organisateur". (p. 107) Occasionally it is found together with another epithet studied by Derchain-Urtel. (p. 107) Again from a text found at Denderah the king is described as "smn hpw mshn" (p. 215, n. 5) which Derchain-Urtel translates as "celui-qui-établit-les-lois-comme-le-commandeur". The author then continues her comments in the following manner: "Les mentions d'Isden ainsi que de ' l'omniscient ' (ipy ib) qui précèdent ne laissent pas subsister de doute quant à l'identité de celui qui est nommé 'commandeur' par la suite, toutes deux étant des désignations courantes du dieu Thot." (p. 107)

223. The exact meaning of the title Kore Kosmu has been difficult to ascertain. See CH, vol. III, Introduction, p. CXXVIII, n. 1; Mead, vol. III, p. 165ff; Hermetica, vol. III, pp. 475-477. Howard Jackson ("Κόρη Κόσμου; Isis, Pupil of the Eye of the World", Chronique d'Egypte 61 (1986), fascicule 121, pp. 116-135), if he has not actually settled the matter, presents a very strong case in his interpretation of "ḥmn·t ḫm·t ir·t ḫr" meaning "the girl who is in the eye of Horus" as a reference to Isis. See op.cit., p. 127ff.


224. See Faulkner, MED, p. 322.

224a. Cf. Griffith's comments regarding "The presentation of honey" as "the offering of sweet sustenance which symbolizes the sweetness of truth for the god" in DIO, p. 534.


226. Ibid., p. 649.

227. Ibid.


229. Ibid., p. 51.

230. Ibid. p. 345.

231. My parenthesis.

232. "Him" in this context appears to be the deceased. See BD,
The present writer, not Budge, has included, parenthetically, ḏfƎw and ḡtpw. These inclusions, however, are based upon Budge's text in BD, vol. I, p. 466.

233. My inclusion.


235. It is interesting to note that in some instances it appears that ḏfƎ becomes hypostasized or quasi-deified. As such it functions as one of the fourteen kas (or attributes) of Re'(the Sun-God). See Alan Gardiner, "Some Personifications, II (Hu, 'Authoritative Utterance', Sia, 'Understanding')", Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology 38 (1916), pp. 84, 94-95.
NOTES, Chapter IV

1. See above p. 8 and n. 26 (ch. I).


3. Labib adduces the following studies:


4. "In Codex Jung, which in my book Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum I called Codex I of the Nag Hammadi Library, we find as a heading or title of one of the treatises Coptic, which has to do with resurrection. . . . We can trace the same belief of the importance of resurrection in the ancient Egyptian religion. The ancient Egyptian texts and the scenes of the private as well as the royal tombs deal on a large scale with this belief." See Labib, op.cit., p. 149. On the "Treatise on the Resurrection" see:


7. That is, the Apocalypse of Adam.


9. "A similar sequential pattern of divine being initiates creation in Eugnostos and Egyptian thought. In Eugnostos an all encompassing divinity (He Who Is) creates by himself a separate, lone divinity (Self-Begetter). The latter begins the creation of
three other divinities, with consorts, who join a fourth pair (in an earlier state of the text) to create other divine beings, leading ultimately to the structures of this world (the pattern appears at III,71,13-III,82,6).

During the New Kingdom (1551-1070 B.C.E.), several streams of religious thought came together in Egyptian Thebes. The principal god of Thebes was Amun, "The Hidden One," deity of wind and breath, and hence of life itself. He came to be thought of as the first deity (chronologically), who brought himself into being (perhaps meaning that he always existed), and then created another single divinity, who, in turn created four male-female pairs of deities, hence, eight primal gods. These last figures created major divinities at important Egyptian cult centers." See Parrott, op.cit., pp. 11-12. The Egyptian "sequential pattern of divine beings" Parrott identifies here is certainly much older than the New Kingdom. Developments similar to the Theban pattern adduced by Parrott take place at Heliopolis and Hermopolis. For the latter cf. Kurt Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Philosophish-Historische Klasse), Nr. 4, (Berlin: 1929).

10. "Another connection can also be seen in Eugnostos. In both Eugnostos and Egyptian thought there is an essential unity-in-diversity in the divine realm. In the Egyptian view, Amun came to be considered as the essence of divinity, and other gods were expressions of him. Also in Eugnostos, the highest divinity is identified as Mind, and other divinities are understood as aspects of Mind." Parrott, op.cit., p. 12.


12. The instruction, then, is very explicit about the intended language of this discourse. It is to be written in hieroglyphic characters.

Another article to be considered relative to Nag Hammadi and HL is "On Investigating the Hermetic Documents contained in Nag Hammadi Codex VI" (The Present State of Research), Karl-Wolfgang Tröger, Nag Hammadi and Gnosis (Papers read at the First International Congress of Coptology, Cairo, December, 1976), Nag Hammadi Studies, vol. 14, editor R. McL. Wilson, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), pp. 117-121.

Presently, the late period is usually understood as having begun at the close of the New Kingdom, i.e., ca. 1000 B.C.E. and extending down to the Christian era. See Ms. Lichtheim, op.cit., p. 3 and Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 447.

14. See Jan Quaegebeur, "Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis", *JNES* 30, no. 4 (1971), pp. 239-270. This article is a follow-up study to a previously published paper by the same author focusing on Arsinoe II, a sister of Ptolemy II. See also Jan Quaegebeur, "Ptolémée II en adoration devant Arsinoé II divinisée", *BIFAO* 69 (1970), pp. 191-217. In a broader connection see Willy Clarysse, Dorothy J. Crawford and Jan Quaegebeur *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica, no. 24, (Louvain: 1980).


17. Ibid., p. 25.


20. For the provenance of these documents see FAEHW, p. 19 f.

21. Ibid., p. 41.


23. For an introduction and translation of the Setna romance cycle see *AEL*, vol. III, p. 125ff.

24. See FAEHW, p. 137.

25. "If we recall the contents of the small fragment P.D. 6336, the reference to the "Book-on-the-Darkness", further references to natural phenomena in the ensuing text, and also the passage from II Kh., V, 12 (the Setna romance), there is little doubt that the hp in the Setna narrative, and in our text, is the same." Ibid.

26. Ibid. Cf. also the discussion of "pr hp" (the House-of-Law); op.cit., p. 153. In this same connection consider also a remark by J. Gwyn Griffiths in his rather substantive comments on "the so-called books of Hermes" in ch. 61 of DIO: "Judging by the all too
brief excerpt provided by Plutarch, one concludes that the 'Books of Hermes' named by him contained comparisons of Greek and Egyptian deities based on their physical interpretation in the manner of the Stoics.\(^\text{(DIO, pp. 520-521.\)}}\) See also ch. IV of this thesis, p. 128-130.

27. See in particular her discussion of phl (p. 121f) and p3 Ḥyk (p. 123f).

28. See FAEHW, p. 120.

29. Ibid., p. 121.

30. See ibid., pp. 123-124 where Dr. Reymond discusses: p3 Ḥyk Nḥt. The phrase is translated (p. 119) as meaning "Book of the Divine Agency of the Force". In her comments (p. 123) she indicates that there is a lacuna at the beginning of the following line. As a result she further indicates that "several interpretations may be offered". She also discusses parallel concepts that occur in the Papyrus Salt 825 and the Setna romance cycle. What she finally proposes regarding p3 Ḥyk Nḥt is plausible, but I believe it needs further substantiation.

31. Dr. Reymond dates Texts A, B, and D in Roman times, while she assigns Text C to "a somewhat earlier date". See FAEHW, pp. 19-20. For the first translation (from Text C) see ibid., p. 119 (column I). For the second translation see ibid., p. 129 (column III).

32. For a general introduction to the works attributed to Manetho and his extant writings see W. G. Waddell, \emph{Manetho}, LCL, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971). Hereafter referred to as Manetho.

33. Waddell (op.cit., p. 210, n. 1) indicates that $\delta\gamma\alpha\omicron\tau\omicron\omega\nu$, i.e., Augustus is a title for the Roman emperor which was not used in Ptolemaic times. Its use in the Roman era as a title for the emperor hardly, in and of itself, precludes its use here with a different shade of meaning.

34. Waddell (op.cit., p. 211) translates "by your forefather" presumably to make for a more comprehensible translation.

35. See note 32 above.

36. See Manetho, p. 208, just below the text, n. 1. In Waddell's edition notes to the text are printed above the commentary notes on the same page. For the text as it has been preserved by Syncellus see Illustration II at the end of this thesis.
37. "The traditional text may be accounted for by assuming that the words ἐρμηνευθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου ἕις τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν were accidentally omitted by a copyist, but were added in the margin, and that a later copyist put them back into the text, but placed them wrongly." See Hermetica, vol. III, p. 491, n. 2. In brief, W. Scott places ἐρμηνευθέντων . . . φωνὴν after τῶν ἱερῶν ἥγεσιον, while adding the phrase ὑστερον δὲ just before ἐρμηνευθέντων. For a fuller view of W. Scott's reconstruction of the text, see Illustration III at the end of this thesis. See also Reitzenstein, Poimandres, p. 139 and n. 2. For W. Scott's entire discussion concerning the Manethonian tradition preserved by Syncellus see Hermetica, vol. III, pp. 489-493.

It is not possible at this point to discuss in any further detail the problems attendant to this passage as they have been pointed out by W. Scott and Waddell. In addition to what has already been discussed in the thesis narrative and the accompanying notes, W. Scott, as Waddell indicates (Manetho, p. 209, n. 3), believes that there are "manifest breaches of continuity" at several points in the passage in question. Suffice it to say that laying aside the issues of "continuity" raised by W. Scott, his suggestion quoted at the beginning of this same note just above regarding the phrase ἐρμηνευθέντων ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου ἕις τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν is quite plausible.

38. Waddell (Manetho, p. XXVIII) describes Manetho's letter to Ptolemy II as "undoubtedly a forgery". Yet the only evidence I have been able to find offered by Waddell pertains to the use of ἀπαλάτω in the letter in question. See note 33 above. Festugière also debunks the validity of the letter. Likewise, Festugière in stating the following seems to offer no substantive proof as to the spuriousness of the letter: "Selon une fable hellénistique qui ne remonte surement pas au pretre Manéthon contemporain de Ptolémée II Philadephe (285-247), car la lettre qu'on lui attribuait est apocryphe, mais qui parait antérieure à Varron, .... ". See RHT, vol. I, p. 75.

39. Asclepius, 37:3f (p. 348) alludes to a Hermes genealogy as Walter Scott (Hermetica, vol. III, p. 491, n. 5) and Festugière (RHT, vol. I, 75) have already pointed out. The relevant portion of that passage is as follows:

Hermes, cuius avitum mihi nomen est, nonne in sibi cognomine patria consistens omnes mortales undique venientes adiuvat atque conservat? Again, there is my grandfather Hermes, whose name I bear. Has he not taken up his abode in his native city, which is named
after him, and does he not help and safeguard all mortal men who come to him after him from every quarter? (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 361)

The text and translation belong to W. Scott. Nock's text and Festugière's translation are essentially the same as Scott’s. See CH, vol. II, p. 348, lines 3-6. See also Poimandres, p. 139, n. 3. It is not possible here to compare or examine the Asclepian-Hermes genealogy with its Manethonian counterpart, however meaningful such an inquiry might prove to be.

40. Waddell believes that the "second Hermes" mentioned in the passage is Hermes Trismegistus. See Manetho, p. 209, n. 3. Presumably he is following Walter Scott (Hermetica, vol. III, p. 491, n. 5) on this point: "Trismegistus the teacher is here called 'the second Hermes', and is distinguished from the Egyptian Thoth, who is called 'the first Hermes'. Cf. Ascl. Lat. III. 37."

41. Dio, pp. 214 and 216 (Greek text) and pp. 215 and 217 (English translation).

42. The translation continues as follows:

"That the power in charge of the wind is called by some Osiris, by others Sarapis; <and that the power in charge of the earth is called Sirius by some>, and by others, in Egyptian, Sothis. It (Sothis) means pregnancy (kyesis) or to be pregnant (kyrein); and so, with a modification of the word, the star which they regard as peculiar to Isis is called dog (kyon) in Greek. We should indulge very little in rivalry, then, with regard to the names; indeed I should prefer to yield that of Sarapis to the Egyptians than that of Osiris, for I believe that the former is foreign and that the latter is Greek, but that both belong to one god and one power." See Dio, p. 217; for the text see op.cit., p. 216.


44. For the subsequent quoted remarks of Griffiths, see Dio, p. 520.

45. In a note to this phrase Griffiths refers to Scott (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 6, n. 1): "It should be remembered that all the extant Hermetica together are probably only a small fraction of the mass of such writings that was once in existence. There were most likely hundreds of Hermetic libelli of like character in circulation about A.D. 300." In Griffiths opinion "Plutarch's statement deserves a place with the early testimonia of Hermetism even though, like the remarks of Athenagoras (Scott and Ferguson, op.cit. IV, p. 2), it involves something rather different from the
Hermetica as later established." (DIO, p. 520, n. 1).

46. Here and in the next such reference (52, 372 B) Griffiths is referring to the text of DIO; i.e., ch. 52, section 372 B.

47. See note 45 above.

48. My translation of that passage is as follows:

Paragraph I: I (Asclepius) have sent to you, O King, a significant discourse (instruction) as a summation and reminder of all the others, which discourse does not subsist according to the common thinking of the many, but which contains much refutation with regards to these same many; For some of my discourses shall seem to you as discordant. For Hermes, my teacher, frequently dialogued with me and sometimes also when he was alone with Tat, used to say that it shall seem to those who read my books that their composition is most simple and clear, but on the contrary when it (the composition) is unclear and the meaning (τὸν νοῦν) of the words is hidden, even yet more unclear, when, later, the Greeks will desire to translate our dialect into their own, so that there shall exist, with respect to those things which have been written, both a great distortion and an obscurity. Paragraph II - Now the discourse when expressed in the indigenous language maintains clarity with respect to the meaning of the words. For even the quality of the sound itself and the intonation of the Egyptian phrases (Ὀνομάτων) have in themselves the energy of the things which are spoken (λεγομενών). Therefore, King, as far as it is possible for you, and all things are possible (for you), keep this discourse untranslated (τὸν λόγον διατηρήσον ἀνερμηνευτον), so that such a mystery might not come to the Greeks and so that the arrogant speech of the Greeks which is loose (ἐκκλησιμένη) and embellished might not induce (нологη) a decline regarding the augustness, strength and active enunciation (πάθος) of the expressions. For the Greeks, O King, have words which while active are empty of proof, and this is Greek philosophy, a noise of words. However, we do not use words, but sounds filled with energy.

This passage makes a number of significant statements. Paragraph 1, lines 13-14 speak of "books of Hermes". This is clearly a reference to other writings by Hermes. Paragraph 2, line 5f asserts that the indigenous language of the discourse is Egyptian. Paragraph 2, lines 13-14 and 17 speak to the efficaciousness of the Egyptian language. Finally, this passage is, quite explicitly, a polemic against translating not only this discourse into Greek, but based upon "μην τοὺς βιβλίους" (ph. 1 lines 13-14) which is a reference to books of Hermes, and "τῶν γεγραμμένων" (those things which have been written) found in
ph. 1, line 4 (vol. II, p. 232), it is a polemic against
translating any of Hermes' writings.

The most obvious anomaly about CH XVI, phs. 1 and 2 is the
fact that it is a polemic against translating an ostensibly
original Egyptian discourse into Greek which has come down to us in
Greek! Even if CH XVI does go back to a body of HL which had origi­
nally been composed in Egyptian (demotic or hieroglyphic), its
being extant today in the corpus of HL which has been examined in
this thesis does not mean that that same corpus was likewise
originally composed in Egyptian. At best, such a set of circumstances
is inconclusive.

In alluding to the overall Egyptian influence upon HL
Festugiare seems to play down the value of CH XVI:

Le passage le plus entaché de chauvinisme serait peut-tre
l'introduction du C.H. XVI, où l'auteur met en contraste la
dialectique épuisée des Grecs et la force efficace, c'est­
à-dire la vertu magique, des mots égyptiens quand on se
garde de les traduire: mais c'est là un lieu commun très
ordinaire, et qui vaut pour toute langue barbare.
(RHT, vol. I, p. 85)

Walter Scott (Hermetica, vol. II, p. 437) in commenting on the
phrase τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ὑστέρων, κτλ., believes that the author is
referring to a tradition which understood the Hermetica as having
been written in Egyptian in earlier times and, in his view, had
recently come to be translated into Greek. His views in that
context (Hermetica, vol. II, p. 437) relative to CH XVI, phs. 1
and 2 dovetail quite well with what he states at one point in his
remarks about the Manethonian passage discussed earlier in this
chapter:

The meaning of the story told in that passage [Manetho's, my
parentheses] appears to be this. The gnosis was inscribed
on tables [tablets?, my parentheses] of stone by the first
Hermes, and in that form escaped destruction in the Flood;
after the Flood, the second Hermes transcribed it from the
stone tables into books (i.e. rolls of papyrus), which were
deposited in certain Egyptian temples; and at some later
time, the contents of these books were translated from the
491-492.)

Mead's opinion (Mead, vol. II, p. 279) of CH XVI, phs. 1 and
2 is quite similar to that of W. Scott:

On the other hand, it is highly probable that our author was
in contact with a living tradition, to the effect that the
Hermes-teaching was originally Egyptian, and that this was 'interpreted' into Greek--that is, into Greek modes of thought, rather than 'translated' in the ordinary sense into Greek.

In further commenting upon the intention of the author in CH XVI, phs. 1 and 2 Mead (ibid.) asserts the following:

All of this seems to indicate that in his introduction he was using for his own purposes some tradition about the ancient- Thoth literature that was current in his time. A form of this tradition was also made use of by Philo of Byblus in the first century, when he makes the Phoenician cosmogony and mystery-teaching in the Books of Taautos, 'whom the Egyptians called Thoyth, the Alexandrians Thoth, and the Greeks changed into Hermes'.

A point quite relevant in this connection is one of the conclusions reached by William F. Albright in an article entitled "Neglected Factors in the Greek Intellectual Revolution". In discussing the Phoenician cosmogony attributed to Sanchuniathon, Albright convincingly argues that it is based upon the Hermopolite cosmogony of Thoth. Some of the germane portions of his argument are as follows:

The earliest references to the cosmogony of Hermopolis appear in the Pyramid texts, by which time (ca. 2300 B.C.) it had already become part of the Egyptian mythological tradition.

... Turning back to the cosmogony of Taauth as described by Sanchuniathon, it begins with chaotic and amorphous 'smog' which was definite in extension and enduring in time. Then the wind blew on the smog and from this embrace the primeval silt came into being.

... There can be little doubt that there is a connection between the supposed emergence of these animals from the silt of the inundation, and the appearance of the eight primordial members of the Ogdoad of Hermopolis, which though themselves quasi-divinities, appear later in the form of frogs and serpents. The four male members of the Ogdoad were represented as frogs, and the four female members as serpents, all of which were supposed to have been generated spontaneously from the Nile mud. Various classical authors refer to this supposed phenomenon. The early Egyptian names of the members mean respectively, 'the inert', 'the one which seeks what is lost', 'the one who hides (otherwise called the one who loses his way)', and probably 'the dark one'--all obvious allusions to
their origin in the blackness of the Nile mud. These are almost certainly the prototypes of the animals lacking perception, in the Taauth cosmogony. Since the Ogdoad was formed by four male and female pairs, it is clear that the form of the myth underlying the Taauth version derived more intelligent beings from the original members of the Ogdoad. According to Egyptian notions, the figures of the Ogdoad then formed the egg laid by the cosmic goose, from which the sun god emerged in all his brilliance. Here we have a more obvious demythologizing on the part of the Taauth cosmogony of Sanchuniathon. The egg remains; it was formed by the bodies of the animals which arose from the Nile mud. Of course, the first light body to burst forth is the sun, to which the Taauth cosmogony adds 'the moon, stars, and large constellations'. It is quite obvious that we have in the cosmogony of Taauth just what we might have expected— the cosmogony of Thoth, the chief god of Hermopolis, in a strangely distorted and demythologized form.


In Iamblichus' De Mysteriis, VIII, 3, which Scott-Ferguson include in the Hermetic Testimonia, there seems to be an allusion to the Hermopolitan Ogdoad.

"Εστι δή οὖν καὶ ἀλλη τις ἡγεμονία παρ' αὐτοῖς
(i.e., among the Egyptians) τῶν περὶ γένεσιν ὄχων
στοιχείων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς δύναμεων, τεταρτῶν
μὲν ἀρρηνικῶν τεταρτῶν ἐν θηλικῷ, ἤτινα ἱππονεμοῦσιν
Ηλώ: I y a encore chez les Egyptiens une autorité
sur les éléments entiers du monde créé et sur leurs quali-
tés, quatre masculines et quatre féminines, dont ils font
hommage au soleil;


Another passage from De Mysteriis is relevant here in that it too concerns the translation from Egyptian into Greek of books which are attributed to Hermes. In this connection see the discussion above on pp. 145 of De Mysteriis, VIII, 4 and n. 70 below. The passage just mentioned, the Manethonian passage considered earlier in this chapter, and CH XVI, phs. 1 and 2, show the strength of a tradition which witnesses to an Egyptian origin
of the HL. How this tradition relates to the extant HL is not an issue which will be considered here. That would entail, at the very least, another thesis.

49. As indicated on p. 1 of this thesis, the HL extant today is usually dated between 100 and 300 C.E.

50. In this same connection some other literature was discussed above in this chapter on p. 130.


Stephanie West (op.cit., p. 183) further exemplify the type of literature being discussed here. Cf. also the following remarks by A.D. Nock in Essays on Religion and the Ancient World [selected and edited posthumously by Zeph Stewart including indices and a bibliography of Nock's writings], vol.I, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 705:

Further, the Tefnut legend in a London papyrus (R. Reitzzenstein, SB Heid. 1923, 2) is a free rendering into Greek of a Demotic text, and Euphantus produced a summary of the negative confession which the dead man was supposed to make (Porph. Abst. 4, 10). We have also Moschion's bilingual dedication to Osiris, with Demotic as well as artistic and elaborate Greek (O. Guéraud, Bull. soc. roy. arch. Alex. 31, 1936); as he says, he wrote for Greeks and for natives.

It is quite possible that further studies on the Hermetic corpus in the future with a view towards ascertaining the extent of the Egyptian influence on that literature may reveal that the Egyptian influence is the predominate one. At the moment, however, the necessary evidence to demonstrate that point, to my knowledge, is not available.

53. For the Decrees of Canopus and Memphis (the Rosetta Stone) see:


For an edition of the text of the two decrees only (i.e., with no accompanying translation), see:


For a discussion of the two decrees in relationship to the pr 'nh (i.e., a temple library) see Alan H. Gardiner, "House of Life", JEA 24 (1938), p. 170-172. In addition, regarding the Canopus decree, see H.-J. Thissen, LA Band III, column 321 and the literature cited there.

54. For the Raphia Decree see:
55. Regarding the cult of Isis in the Graeco-Roman era see:


57. The exact role of Osiris in the development of the cult of Serapis is certainly much debated, but a significant role on his part cannot be denied.


60. Žabkar, op.cit., p. 130.

61. My parentheses.

62. PT, p. 246.

63. Žabkar, op.cit., p. 130.

64. At some point in the future it may be possible for me to compile such evidence in some fashion or another beyond that adduced in the Žabkar's study discussed here. In this same connection, some of the literature cited in n. 52 above surely contains evidence which would further buttress the "mini-thesis" I have proposed in this section.

65. A portion of this locus in Clement's Stromata was discussed earlier in this thesis in another connection. See ch. III, pp. 109-110 and n. 184 (ch. III).


68. For the text, see Staehlin, op.cit., p. 449.


70. In *Hermetica* (vol. IV, pp. 28-102) Ferguson includes *De Mysteriis* in the Hermetic Testimonia under another title, *Abammonis Ad Prophyrium Responsum*. Ferguson only discusses portions of the extant work. See the pages cited above. This work by Iamblichus appears to contain a significant degree of Egyptian influence. In this connection, see J. Gwyn Griffiths review of Edouard Des Places' 1966 edition and commentary of *De Mysteriis* in *Classical Review* 18 (1968), p. 52ff.

71. I understand τοῖς συγγράμμασιν in VIII, 4:12 as the antecedent of τά.


73. Relative to the passages from Clement of Alexandria, I have not been able to locate any discussion by either Reitzenstein, Mead or W. Scott, which is surprising. However, for Festugière see *RHT*, vol. I, p. 75. The Iamblichus text has been discussed by Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, pp. 107, 138), Mead (vol. III, p. 292; see also pp. 285-302), and Festugière as cited just above. Again, surprisingly enough, the long discussion of *Abammonis Ad Prophyrium Responsum* (i.e., *De Mysteriis*) in *Hermetica*, vol. IV, pp. 28-102 excludes the particular passage from *De Mysteriis* presented here.

74. For the views of J. Gwyn Griffiths regarding Clement's "Hermetic statements" in *Stromata*, Book VI, ch. IV, cf. his comments on Plutarch's reference to "the Books of Hermes" which were cited earlier in this chapter on p. 139. It is apposite to point out here that in *De Mysteriis*, VIII, 1 Iamblichus indicates that Manetho attributes a huge body of literature to Hermes.

237
The text and translation are that of Des Places as cited in n. 72 above. See Des Places, op.cit., p. 195. Cf. the above passage from De Mysteriis with the subsequent comments by W. Scott (Hermetica, vol. I, p. 6, n. 1):

"It should be remembered that all the extant Hermetica together are probably only a small fraction of the mass of such writings that was once in existence. There were most likely hundreds of Hermetic libelli of like character in circulation about A.D. 300."

75. Iversen (op.cit., pp. 39-40) aptly sketches some of the problems attendant to an examination of this area of HL. In addition, he points to Egyptian models of the same phenomenon.

76. It seems appropriate here to consider again Stricker's fourth thesis pertaining to the HL as cited in n. 70 of ch. I.

"The Hermetic treatises form part of an extensive Corpus dedicated to theology. . . . To theology in Egypt belonged not only what we call theology proper, but also philosophy, science and magic."

See Stricker, op.cit., p. 79.


Baumgarten, Albert I., The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblus,

Bell, H. Idris, Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Forwood Lectures, 1952), (Liverpool: University Press, 1957).

Benci, Tommaso, Il Pimandro di Mercurio Trismegisto, (Florence, 1548).

Bergman, Jan, "Ancient Egyptian Theogony", Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), in the series, Studies In The History Of Religions (Supplements To Numen), volume XLIII, edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, (Leiden: E. J. Brill Press, 1982), pp. 28-37.


Ich bin Isis (Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisaretalogien), Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum, no. 3, (Uppsala: 1968).


Bibliography


The Book of the Dead (the so-called Ani version), E.A.W. Budge, (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1967). This is a reprint of the 1895 original.

The Book Of The Dead (the so-called Ani version, the Medici edition), E.A.W. Budge, (New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1960). This is a reprint of the 1913 Medici edition. For any further explanation regarding the 1960 reprint, see p. III (the "Bibliographical Note") of that reprint.

From Fetish to God In Ancient Egypt, (New York: Blom, 1972. This is a reprint of the 1934 original.


Mercurii Trismegisti Pimander sive Poemander, (Bourdeaux: 1574).

241


__"The Memphite Triad in Greek Papyri", *GM* 88 (1985), pp. 25-37. See also Beatrijs Van Maele and Jan Quaegebeur.


242
Bibliography


— "L'être et le néant selon la philosophie égyptienne", dialoog (tijdschrift voor wijsbegeerte), 1960, pp. 171-189.


Dieterich, Albrecht, Abraxas (Studien zur Religionsgeschichte des späteren Altertums), (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1891).


243
Bibliography


---


---


---


Ficino, Marsiglio (Marsilius Ficinus, *Mercurii Trismegisti Liber de Potestate et Sapientia Dei* (Or The Book of Mercury Trismegist concerning the Power and Wisdom of God), (Treviso [Italy]: 1471).

Bibliography


__"Some Personifications"* II (Hu, Authoritative Utterance; Sia, Understanding), *PSBA* 38 (1916), pp. 43-54 and 83-95.

__"The Secret Chambers Of The Sanctuary Of Thoth", *JEA* 11, (1925), pp. 2-5.


__"The Baptism Of Pharaoh", *JEA* 36 (1950), pp. 3-12.


__"Who is the true prophet?", Christians among Jews and Gentiles (Essays in honor of Krister Stendahl on his sixty-fifth birthday), edited by George W.E. Nickelsburg with George W. MacRae, S.J., (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986,
Bibliography

pp. 100-126.


Grapow, Hermann, "Die Welt vor der Schöpfung (Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte)", *ZAS* 67 (1931), pp. 34-38.


De *Iside et Osiride*, University of Wales Press, 1970.


246
"Motivation in Early Egyptian Syncretism", Studies In Egyptian Religion (Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee), in the series, Studies In The History Of Religions (Supplements To Numen), volume XLIII, edited by M. Heerma Van Moss, (Leiden: E. J. Brill Press, 1982), pp. 43-55.


Gutbub, Adolphe, Textes fondamentaux de la Théologie de Kom Ombo, Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (Bibliothèque d'Etude), tome 47 (2 parts), 1973.


Hoffmeier, James Karl, Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt (The Term DSIR, with special Reference to Dynasties I-XX), Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, no. 59, (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1985).


__"The Astral Snakes of the Nile", *MDAIK* 37 (1981), pp. 255-260. This issue is a Festschrift for Labib Habachi.

Bibliography


Kroll, Josef, Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters (Texte und Untersuchungen), Band 12, Hefte 2-4, (Münster in Westphalia: 1914).


___ Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts


Lagrange, M.-J., See Whitehouse, p. 417.


__"Zur ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte des mittleren Reiches I" (Das Gespräch zwischen Atum und Osiris), Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte, 3 (1953), pp. 222-231.


Bibliography


*Hermès en Haute-Égypte*(Le fragment du Discours Parfait et les Definitions hermetiques arméniennes), Bibliothèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Textes, no. 7, (Laval, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université, 1982).

Malaise, Michel, "Isisme et gnosticisme", *Gnosticisme et Monde Hellénistique* (Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 11-14 mars 1980), Publications de l'Institut Orientalist de Louvain (no. 27),
Bibliography

(Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982).


Morenz, Siegfried, "Rechts und links im Totengericht", ZÄS 82, (1957), pp. 62-71.


_ Studien zum Gott Atum_ (in II volumes), Hildesheimer
Bibliography

ägyptologische Beiträge, numbers 5 and 8, (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1978 and 1979).


See also Whitehouse, pp. 422-23.


Parthey, Gustav, Hermetis Trismegisti Poemander, (Berlin: 1854).


Pietschmann, Richard, Hermes Trismegistos (nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen berlieferungen), (Wilhelm Engelmann Verlag: 1875).

Quaegebeur, Jan, "Documents concerning a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis", JNES 30 (1971), pp. 239-270.
Bibliography

__"Harnebschenis", LÄ, 2, pp. 998-999.


__Poimandres (Studien zur griechisch-ägyptischen und frühchristlichen Literatur), (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1904).


Rossellus, Hannibal, Pymander Mercurii Trismegisti, Lazarus (printer), (Kracow: 1585-1590).


Sandman, Maj, Texts from the time of Akhenaten, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, no. 8, (Brussels: La Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1938).


Sethe, Kurt, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophish-Historische Klasse, Nr. 4, (Berlin: 1929).

Snowden, Jr., Frank M., Blacks in Antiquity (Ethiopians in the
Bibliography


Strugnell, John, Concordance to the Corpus Hermeticum Tractate One, The Poimandres, (Cambridge, Mass.: 1971). See also Dieter Georgi.


Tiedemann, Dieterich, Hermes Trismegists Poemander, oder von der göttlichen Macht und Weisheit, (Berlin and Stettin: 1781).


Turajeff, Boris von, "Zwei Hymnen an Thoth", ZÄS 33 (1895), pp. 120-125.

Valloggia, Michel, *Recherche sur les "Messagers" (WPWTTYW) dans les Sources egyptiennes profanes*, Hautes tudes Orientales, no. 6), Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie, de la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes, (Geneva-Paris: Library Droz, 1976).


Westendorf, Wolfhart, "Allherr", *LA* 1, p. 137.


Wigtil, David N., "Incorrect Apocalyptic: The Hermetic 'Asclepius' as an Improvement on the Greek Original", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 17 (1984), pp. 2282-2297.


Wilson, John A., "The Oath in Ancient Egypt", *JNES* 7 (July,


__"Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and Their Theological Significance"(Part I), JEA 69 (1983), pp. 115-137.


__"Hermes und die Hermetik II: Der Ursprung der Hermetik", Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 9 (1906), pp. 25-60.


Other Bibliographical Works Cited


Gnosticisme et Monde Hellénistique (Actes du Colloque de Louvain-la-Neuve, 11-14 mars 1980), Publications de l'Institut Orientalist de
Other Bibliographical Works Cited (Continued)

Louvain, no. 27, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1982).

As cited in chapter I of this thesis, David J.M. Whitehouse has written an excellent dissertation on "The Hymns of the Corpus Hermeticum". That dissertation concludes with an extensive bibliography (40 pages). Occasionally, references have been made to Dr. Whitehouse's bibliography.
ANI KNEELING BEFORE OSIRIS.

OSIRIS THRONED WITHIN A SHRINE. BEHIND HIM ARE ISIS AND NEPHTHYS.
AND BEFORE HIM, UPON A LOTUS STAND THE CHILDREN OF HORUS.

Illustration I
Κ rêve καθημερινότητα της Ἡμέρας. Σήμερα, το παιδί αυτό, καθώς και ο άλλοι παιδιά, πρέπει να επιλέγουν και να σχεδιάζουν την ζωή τους με σεβασμό και ανθρώπινη περίπτωση. 

Προς τούτο, και ο Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής, καθώς και ο Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

1. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

2. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

3. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

4. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

5. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής. 

6. Κώστας, ο Πέτρος, ο Μίκης, ο Γιάννης και ο Νίκος, παίζουν με το παιχνίδι της ζωής.
EXCERPT XXIII: 7

The meaning of the story told in that passage appears to be this,

1 Read ἰερογλυφοῦσαν.
2 It would be absurd to say that the writings were translated into Greek after the Flood; how could any one imagine that they were translated into Greek before the Flood, or even shortly after it? The traditional text may be accounted for by assuming that the words ἰερογλυφοῦσας in τὴν ἱερᾶς διαλέκτου τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς were accidentally omitted by a copyist, but were added in the margin, and that a later copyist put them back into the text, but placed them wrongly.
3 A misplaced doublet of ἰερογλυφοῦσαν; see above.
4 ἰερογλυφοῦσας Dindorf: ἰερογλυφοῦσας Reitzenstein. I assume that ἰερογλυφοῦσας was shifted by error, and that its insertion here caused the loss of the participle (probably ἰερογλυφοῦσας) with which the words μετὰ τὸν καταληκτόν were originally connected.
5 The meaning of the story told in that passage appears to be this.

Illustration III