


Two Curious Orthographies for Khepri

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THE MONUMENTAL, bookshelf-bending *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* edited by Christian Leitz, *et al.* (hereafter *LGG*) has contributed enormously to the study of Egyptian religion and lexicography. Nonetheless, while perusing temple publications, one occasionally encounters problematic epithets not recorded by the *LGG*, either because the precise reading was uncertain, a phrase was not considered an epithet, or variants of the same name were not recognized.¹ In comparison to the host of creative orthographies for divine names in the Graeco-Roman period,² it would appear that scribes were less inspired by the important god Khepri, since his name is almost always written with the scarab.³ However, context and parallels suggest that the following epithets are surprisingly odd orthographies of Khepri.

In one of the hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple, a seemingly unique orthography of the name Khepri () occurs in the sequence “Amun-Re-Horakhty-Atum-Khepri” (example 1).⁴ Although the translation is confirmed by at least thirteen parallels,⁵ the exact reasons for this reading remain mysterious. Over the years, additional variants have come to light, none of which appear to have been discussed previously.

(2) Edfou IV, 377, 12-13:

In a scene of offering the *wesekh*-collar,⁶ the king describes the object as follows: “it is called Khepri () together with his children (*k3.tw=f Hpri m-‘b t3.w=f*.” One might initially

¹ For one example, see recently Chr. THIERS, “Le ciel septentrional *ghr.t* et le ciel méridional *gb.t*,” *ENiM* 2, 2009, p. 53-58.

² E.g. S. SAUNERON, *L'Écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, *Esna* VIII, 1982; M.-Th. DERCHAIN-URTEL, “Die Namen der Götter,” in W. Clarysse, *et al.* (ed.), *Egyptian Religion: the Last Thousand Years* I, *OLA* 84, 1998, p. 569-587.

³ M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Chepri: Untersuchungen zu Schriftzeugnissen und ikonographischen Quellen vom Alten Reich bis in griechisch-römische Zeit*, *OLA* 154, 2006; *LGG* V, 713 (s. v. *Hpri*).

⁴ N. de G. DAVIES, *The Temple of Hibis in el-Khargeh Oasis* III. *The Decoration*, *MMAEE* 17, 1953, pl. 30, reg. II, col. 3; D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*, *YES* 6, 2006, p. 172, n. A.

⁵ D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, pl. 26.

⁶ For a recent discussion of these types of scenes, see F. COPPENS, *The Wabet. Tradition and Innovation in Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Period*, 2007, p. 110-113.

suggest reading the divine name as “Atum,” deriving *’Itm* from *it* (< *iw.t*) + *m* (< *mꜣꜣ*),⁷ since many texts identify the nine leaves of the collar with the Ennead.⁸

Nonetheless, this epithet is not restricted to Atum,⁹ and another *wesekh*-collar scene mentions “Re between his children (*Rꜥ imytw ms.wꜣf*),” while elsewhere Montu-Re-Harakhty of Armant is further qualified as “Khepri in the midst of his children (*Hꜣpri hr-ib iw.wꜣf*).”¹⁰ As M. Minas-Nerpel has noted, Khepri occasionally replaces Atum in these scenes,¹¹ and one text even invokes Khepri as father of the Ennead instead of Atum.¹² Thus in this example, the group could potentially write either Atum or Khepri.


(3) *Mam. Edfou* 55, 8-9:

The following passage likens Horus of Edfu to the rising sun:

mꜣꜣꜣn sw iwꜣb-šw.ty pr m ih.t

’Itm Hꜣpri m d.tꜣf h.tꜣf.

May we see him, the one dappled of plumage, who emerges from the Akhet,

Atum and *Khepri* () in the morning and the evening.¹³

Unlike in the previous example, this group cannot represent Atum, since he is mentioned immediately beforehand. Rather, this passage identifies Horus as the solar deity *par excellence*, manifesting himself as both Atum and Khepri. Other cosmographic texts employ similar terminology to specify that Re-Harakhty is “Khepri in the morning (*m d.tꜣf*), and

⁷ While perfectly reasonable, no examples of this orthography for Atum are recorded in K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II: *Name-Epitheta-Ikonographie*, *HAB* 8, 1979, *LGG* VII, p. 411-422 (s.v. *Tm*), or M.-Th. DERCHAIN-URTEL, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen zur griechisch-römischen Zeit in Ägypten*, *ÄAT* 43, 1999, p. 72-79; however the *iw.t*-standard is comparable to the use of the old man (*iw*) to write the first consonant of his name in the Roman Period (K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, II, p. 58-59). For the wakeful-eye alone writing *mꜣꜣ*, see O. PERDU, “L’Osiris de Ptahirdis reconstitué,” *SAK* 27, 1999, p. 288, n. a.

⁸ For Atum “together with his children,” in other *wesekh*-collar scenes, cf. E. GRAEFE, “Über die Verarbeitung von Pyramidentexten in den späten Tempeln (Nochmals zu Spruch 600 (§1652a-§1652d: Umhängen des Halskragens),” in U. Verhoeven, E. Graefe (ed.), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991*, *OLA* 39, p. 138-139, no. 29 (Graefe noted the present example as a variant of the phrase “Atum together with his children” [his example Nr. 24], but he did not translate or comment on the unusual group); the closest parallels are *Edfou* I, 97, 14-15; 243, 7; *Mam. Edfou* 158, 12-13 (for that particular spelling of Atum, cf. *Val. Phon.* II, p. 400, 119); *Dendara* II, 47, 3-4; IV, 245, 10.

⁹ For similar epithets applied to various divinities, cf. D. KURTH, *Dekoration der Säulen*, p. 65, n. 17, 153, 154-155, n. 26); also *Edfou* VII, 14, 1 (*Rꜥ hry-ib iw.wꜣf*); 23, 5-6 (*Rꜥ hnꜥ iw.wꜣf*); 27, 7-8 (*Rꜥ pw hnꜥ ms.wꜣf*).

¹⁰ *Urk.* VIII, 9b; cf. S.H. AUFRÈRE, *Le propylône d’Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*, *MIFAO* 117, 2000, p. 182, 185, n. g.

¹¹ M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Chepri*, p. 370-374 (discussing the Graeco-Roman *wesekh*-collar scenes mentioning Khepri, to which the present example can be added).

¹² *Edfou* IV, 265, 10-14.

¹³ Fr. Daumas offered a significantly different translation, and interpreted the signs following Atum as a quotation: “Atoum: « La fonction je l’exerce (?) de jour et de nuit. »” (*Les mammisis des temples égyptiens*, 1958, p. 296). E. LOUANT, meanwhile, read: “l’Avenant qui exerce la fonction d’Atoum jour et nuit” (“Les fêtes au Mammisi,” *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 32, 2003, p. 33).

Atum in the evening (*m-h.tz̄f*).¹⁴ One inscription from Edfu even employs similar word order as the present example:¹⁵


skt.t m dwꜣ m'nd.t m mšrw

hr Hpri 'Itm m d.tz̄f h.tz̄f.

The *skt.t*-bark in the morning, the *m'nd.t*-bark in the evening,¹⁶ carrying Khepri and Atum in the morning and the evening.

However, one occasionally finds an opposition between “Atum in the evening (*'Itm m-h.tz̄f*)” and “the sundisk in the morning (*itn m d.tz̄f*),”¹⁷ suggesting the present text could potentially write “Atum and the Aten (*itn*)”¹⁸ in the evening and the morning.

(4) Edfou IV, 57, 5:

This text describes Horus of Edfu as a solar deity “who rises as Re, who transforms into *Khepri* () , great god who came into existence by himself” (*wbn m R', hpr m Hpri, ntr ꜥ hpr dz̄f*).¹⁹ The solar context and the possible phonetic wordplay (*hpr m Hpri (...)* *hpr dz̄f*) both support reading this example as Khepri.

(5-6) Edfou VI, 303, 3-4:

In this passage from the book “Schutz des Leibes,” Horus is identified with a host of divinities to ensure his protection.

'nhz̄f mi 'Itm

nì mw.tz̄f n iꜥd.t-rnp.t


ntf Hpri hpr dz̄f (...)

hprz̄f mi hpr Hpri.

He will live like Atum,

he will not perish from the annual pestilence,

he is *Khepri* () who came into being by himself (...),

he comes into being like *Khepri* () comes into being.

¹⁴ E.g. *Esna* III, 219, 5; VI, 475, 13; for these terms designating morning and evening, see recently D. KURTH, “Philologenrätsel,” in G. Moers, et al. (ed.), *jn.t dr.w. Festschrift für Friedrich Junge II*, 2006, p. 405-406, No. 9.

¹⁵ *Edfou* VII, 15, 3-4.

¹⁶ Although the (*m*)*skt.t* and (*m*)*'nd.t* were traditionally the “night-bark” and “day-bark” respectively, texts of the Late Period usually reverse the order; cf. M. SMITH, *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*, CDPBM 3, 1987, p. 85, note to IV, 11; P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 467.







¹⁷ *Deir Chelouit* III, 154, 3.

¹⁸ Hypothetically reading: *it < iꜥ.t + n < nw*, “to see,” frequently written with the wakeful eye alone (cf. *Val. Phon.* I, p. 149; *Dendara* XII, p. xxi).


¹⁹ *LGG* V, 692b-c, recorded this passage as the only example for an unusual epithet: *hpr m rs-iꜥw.t*, “Der zu dem wird, der das Amt bewacht.”

According to the *Lexikon*, the first epithet is *ir-ỉw.t*, “he who carries out the office” (*LGG* I, 441b), while the second is *‘n-ỉw.wt*, “lovely of offices” (*LGG* II, 119a). While both of these readings are possible, neither of them are attested elsewhere.²⁰ Once again, the paronomasia with *hpr* in both examples would support reading Khepri.

In sum, the following epithets appear to be variants of the same divine name, none of which would immediately suggest the name Khepri:

- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 
- (4) 
- (5) 
- (6) 

Despite the perturbation of the signs, the examples are almost identical. The only major difference is the presence of the throat sign (𓂏) in example 1. However, scribes occasionally confused this hieroglyph with the Min-standard,²¹ especially in other texts from Hibis temple.²² Furthermore, the earliest example begins with the *h*-sign, a hieroglyph which all later groups omit. Context and parallels dictate that examples 1-3 write the name Khepri, while 4-6 very likely have the same meaning.

Although the reading may be established, finding a rational derivation remains problematic. A clue comes from the sarcophagus of Panehemise, which contains a similar orthography for *Khepri*: .²³ This group is simple enough to explain (*h* < *h*, *p* < *p.t*, *ry*), but the

²⁰ The phrase *ir-ỉw.t*, “perform the office,” appears often in non-royal autobiographies (R. EL-SAYED, “Quelques précisions sur l’histoire de la province d’Edfou à la II^e Période Intermédiaire [étude des stèles JE 38917 et 46988 du musée du Caire],” *BIFAO* 79, 1979, p. 177, n. ab), but not for deities. The *LGG* cites only one parallel for *‘n-ỉw.t*, namely *Mam. Dendara* 165, 16-17, where the child god Ihy is: “the living child, lovely of offices, lord of kindness, sweet of love.” However, this could be a graphic error, as one would expect an epithet like *‘n-h’w* or *‘n-hpr.w* for Ihy (S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara V-VI. Index phraséologique*, *OLA* 132, 2004, p. 79-80), possibly even *‘nh-msh’w* (S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara IV*, p. 529-30; *Dendara V-VI. Index phraséologique*, p. 80). Nonetheless, one might compare the unusual personal name *‘n-hr-ỉw.t(=f)*, H. RANKE, *PN* I, 61, 29; II, 346.

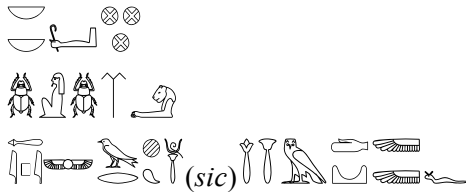
²¹ *Esna* II, 51, 17; *Tôd* II, 230, 5; D. KLOTZ, “The Statue of the *dioikêtês* Harkhebi/Archibios: Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 47-12,” *BIFAO* 109 (2009), p. 299, n. ah. Jan-Peter Graeff of the Hamburg Edfu-Project (<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/Edfu-Projekt/Edfu.html>) kindly checked all the Edfu examples, and confirmed that the first sign is always O44.

²² N. de G. DAVIES, *Hibis* III, pl. 24, West Wall (left) col. 10; pl. 33, col. 43 (D. KLOTZ, *Adoration of the Ram*, pl. 42).

²³ Cited by *LGG* V, 713c.

wakeful-eye hieroglyph only makes sense as a determinative for *pr* < *ptr*, “to look,” so that the name reads *h(.t) + p(t)ry*, “Khepri.”²⁴ In the Late Period, the latter word is usually spelled *pr*, reflecting its current pronunciation (e.g. Coptic: πωρε),²⁵ corresponding to attested Greek vocalizations of Khepri: Χφουρις or <X>φωρει.²⁶

If the eye-sign always writes *pr* in our examples, then the other element (Gard. O44) should read either *h*, *hp*, or some variant thereof (e.g. *h*, *hp*, *hb*). Unfortunately, the only recorded phonetic value for this particular hieroglyph is *hw.t*.²⁷ Nonetheless, there is at least one example where Gard. O44 has the value *hw* (*Mam. Edfou* 147, 1):



nbnb niw.wt

Hpri hpr m h3.t

‘py wr hw t3.wy m dm(3.t)y=fy.

He who protects the cities,

Khepri who came about in the beginning,

Great winged sun-disk who protects the two lands with his wings.

The reading *hw*, “to protect,” is confirmed by the context and many parallel examples.²⁸ As with example **1**, the scribe likely confused the Min-standard (𓄀) with the expected flabellum (𓄁) or shade (𓄂), or intentionally replaced it due to similarity of shape. Both signs essentially consist of a papyriiform base with a vertical projection on top, and it is conceivable that such confusion arose from similar hieratic shapes,²⁹ especially since the flabellum rarely if ever appears in Late Period hieratic papyri.³⁰ The shade is closely associated with the Min-

²⁴ *Val. Phon.* I, p. 149; for this specific eye as an ideogram for *ptr*, cf. *Wb.* I, 564, 20; *AnLex* 77.1515; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Le fonds hiéroglyphique*, p. 63.

²⁵ P. WILSON, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*, p. 380; S. CAUVILLE, *Les chapelles osiriennes*, III, p. 188; S. SAUNERON, “Remarques de philologie et d’étymologie (en marge des textes d’Esna), §12. Le verbe 𓄀 𓄂,” in *Mélanges Mariette, BiEtud* 32, 1961, p. 240-241; D. MEEKS, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou, BiEtud* 59, 1972, p. 66, n. 57.



²⁶ See H.-J. THISEN, “Zum Hieroglyphen-Buch des Chairemon,” in G. Moers, *et al.* (ed.), *jn.t-Dr.w - Festschrift für Friedrich Junge*, II, 2006, p. 630-631, n. 12.










²⁷ *Val. Phon.* III, p. 610-611; for the object itself, the horned standard which stands in front of the archaic Min temple, see I. MUNRO, *Das Zelt-Heiligtum des Min, MÄS* 41, 1983, p. 29-30; and cf. R. FRIEDMAN, “The Ceremonial Centre at Hierakonpolis Locality HK29A,” in A.J. Spencer (ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, 1996, p. 16-35. Note in passing the interesting use of this sign to indicate vocalic *ε* and *η* in J. OSING, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis, CNIP* 17, 1998, I, p. 48-49.




²⁸ *LGG* V, 656c (*hw itr.ty m dm3.ty=fy*), 664a (*hw t3.wy m dm3.ty=fy*); neither entry recorded the present example.



²⁹ The Min-standard seems to have been generally problematic for scribes, cf. H.G. FISCHER, *Varia Nova*, 1996, p. 190.




³⁰ At least no examples are recorded in G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Päléographie* III, or U. VERHOEVEN, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift, OLA* 99, 2001.

emblem, as both appear behind statues of Min (particularly in the forms:  or )³¹ sometimes side by side in the same relief (e.g. *Hibis* III, pl. 51).

In terms of deliberate or unintentional substitution of similar shapes, one could posit similar confusion between  and multiple tall, roughly pitchfork-shaped signs, including:  (*h*),  (*wh*),  or  (*hw.t*),³²  (*h.t*), or  (*hy*).³³ Scribes might have even mixed up  with , as L. Borchardt did in his original publication of CG 682.³⁴ Unfortunately, speculation along these lines could continue *ad infinitum*.

Perhaps the simplest solution is to reconcile the two variants,  (1) and  (2-6), and assume that both represent the word *hh*, “throat,” as in a similar orthography from Edfu ().³⁵ The value *h* would result from the “coalescence of two identical consonants.”³⁶

The existence of at least one cryptographic writing for Khepri calls to mind the pair of enigmatic trigrams which represent alternate names of “the great corpse who dwells in Heliopolis”:  and .

A number of texts demonstrate the first group writes the name Atum,³⁸ although the exact derivation is unclear. Previous scholars have suggested acrophonic explanations, such as *i* (< *ih*, “light”) + *t* (< *tj*) and *m* (< *ms*, “Libyan chief”).³⁹ However, a simple non-acrophonic solution would involve reading the name backwards ()⁴⁰ namely:  = *i* (< *iw*),⁴¹ 

³¹ H. GAUTHIER, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, RAPH 2, 1931, p. 151-155; THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple I. The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*, OIP 112, 1994, p. 6-7.

³² Compare the remarkable forms of this sign to write *hwi* in *Esna* III, 195, 1; IV, 469, S.

³³ All of these signs can write *h* or *h*; cf. S. SAUNERON, *L'écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 193.

³⁴ R. EL-SAYED, “Un document relatif au culte dans Kher-Aha (statue Caire CG 682),” BIFAO 82, 1982, p. 192-193, n. g; the two signs have vaguely similar shapes, especially at the top (horns vs. legs).

³⁵ Signaled by H.W. FAIRMAN, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions at Edfu,” ASAE 43, 1943, p. 223; for the throat as an ideogram for *hh*, cf. *Val. Phon.* III, p. 611; conversely, the throat alone writes *h* in the name Khnum at Esna (S. SAUNERON, *L'Écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 193; one example is *Esna* III, 277, 25, §11).


³⁶ H.W. FAIRMAN, “An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values,” BIFAO 43, 1945, p. 64.

³⁷ M.-L. RYHINER, “A propos de trigrammes panthéistes,” RdE 29, 1977, p. 125-137; Y. KOENIG, “Les patèques inscrits du Louvre,” RdE 43, 1992, p. 124-132.

³⁸ M.-L. RYHINER, RdE 29, 1977, p. 131-133; LGG VII, 411c.





³⁹ P. BARGUET, *Le livre des Morts des Anciens Égyptiens*, LAPO 1, Paris, 1967, p. 229, n. 9; M.-L. Ryhiner alternatively suggested reading *i* (< *Imn?*) + *t* (< *tj*) + *m* (< *n?*), but the derivations are questionable (RdE 29, 1977, p. 133). Y. Koenig argued that this hypothetical use of acrophony would reflect Late Period theological hermeneutics (RdE 43, 1992, p. 129), and J.C. Darnell admitted that acrophony would be acceptable in this particular name, only because it appears in a recognized trigram, just like the enigmatic litanies at Esna (*The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*, p. 16, n. 10). C. Manassa recently stated that “only a tortuous cryptographic process would allow the signs to be read phonetically as the name *’Im*,” but nonetheless presented a reasonable, non-acrophonic explanation: *it* < *itm* (pronounced “iati”), *t* < *tj*, and *m* < *mwt/mnw* (*The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, ÄAT 72, 2007, p. 189, with n. 553).







⁴⁰ For the idea that a divine name could be disguised through such reversal, see primarily G. POSENER, “Le mot égyptien pour désigner « le nom magique »,” RdE 16, 1964, p. 214; while perturbation is generally uncommon in Egyptian cryptography, several examples occur in the enigmatic trigrams at Esna: S. SAUNERON, *L'Écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna*, p. 87-89.

= *t* (< *tʒ*),  = *m* (< *mʒi.w*, “solar rays”), with each sign derived via the Consonantal Principle.⁴² In its original order, the trigram presents a retrograde variation of the solar cycle (e.g. sun > scarab > old man), while many texts specify that Re manifests himself as a scarab in the morning, the sun in the day, and an old man at night.⁴³ A basic understanding of solar theology would have prompted the initiated reader to read the signs in reverse order and recognize a phonetic orthography of Atum. One might compare a relief in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 66.99.73) on which two baboons praise the following images:⁴⁴



If the top sign alludes to the aged, netherworldly aspect of Re-Atum, then this group could allude to the first trigram with the elements in the correct order, namely: Old Man, Newborn Scarab, Midday Sun.

Book of the Dead 162 mentions the two trigrams together as alternate names of the same solar deity. It is not difficult to imagine that the second name somehow represents Khepri, especially since Atum and Khepri often appear in pairs. The first sign () very frequently writes *h* and *hʒ* (< ) and even occurs in the name Khepri, as in another lotus-offering scene from Edfu where the king is “the child of Khepri (  = *hbr*),⁴⁵ spat out by Shu and Tefnut who greets Atum together with his children.”⁴⁶

It is therefore tempting to read   phonetically as  = *h*,  = *p* (< *b* < *bʒ*, “ram”),⁴⁷  (or )⁴⁸ = *r*, assuming metathesis of the last two consonants. Such drastic metathesis is attested in the etymologically related substantive *hprw*, “form,” which itself transformed into

⁴¹ Note that at least one example writes this trigram with the hieroglyph of the reposing cow (Gard. E100) substituted for the old man (M.-L. RYHINER, *RdE* 29, 1977, 129, ex. 20), most likely with the value *i* < *iʒ*, “cattle” (*Val. Phon.* II, p. 220), and thus further supporting the proposed reading.

⁴² All these phonetic values are attested in the Graeco-Roman Period, and the first two signs appear frequently in other orthographies of the name “Atum,” cf. K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Studien zum Gott Atum* II, p. 46-48, 58-59.

⁴³ E.g. M.-L. RYHINER, *RdE* 29, 1977, p. 131-132.

⁴⁴ J.D. COONEY, “Egyptian Art in the Collection of Albert Gallatin,” *JNES* 12, 1953, p. 17 and pl. LV (81); cf. J.C. DARNELL, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books*, p. 328, n. 244.

⁴⁵ Reading: *h* + *hb*, “to collect (tribute)” (*Val. Phon.* III, p. 446; Fr. COLIN, “Domitien, Julie et Isis au pays des Hirpins (*CIL* IX 1153 et l’obélisque de Bénévent),” *CdE* 68, 1993, p. 254) + *r* (< *rʒ*, “goose”); this orthography for Khepri is not recorded by M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Khepri*, or *LGG* V, 713.

⁴⁶ *Mam. Edfou*, 158, 12.

⁴⁷ For the shift between *b/p* in derivatives of *hpr*, see generally H. BUCHBERGER, *Transformation und Transformations, ÄgAbh* 52, 1993, p. 264-270.

⁴⁸ Although Ryhiner recorded this trigram primarily with the walking lion (most often = *mʒi*), some examples actually employ the recumbent lion (usually = *rw*); cf. M.-L. RYHINER, *RdE* 29, 1977, p. 126 (top), 129 (bottom).

hrb (Late Egyptian),⁴⁹ *hrb/hbr* (Demotic), and ⲭⲓⲃ (Coptic).⁵⁰ The same might be attested for the name Khepri already in P. Turin B, vs. 4,4 (ⲕⲓⲣⲓ), which one could hypothetically interpret as *hpr-r-pw-y* for *hrpy*.⁵¹ A possible parallel orthography may occur in Brooklyn Magical Papyrus (47.218.156), where the protected person is identified with a certain divinity:⁵²

<i>iwf=f iwf=k tz-phr</i>	His flesh is your flesh, and vice-versa,
<i>qs=f qs=k tz-phr</i>	His bones are your bones, and vice-versa,
<i>h[‘=f h‘=k tz-phr]</i>	his bo[dy is your body, and vice-versa,]
<i>ntf hrb h[rb ntk]</i>	he is <i>hrb</i> (ⲕⲓⲣⲓ),
	and <i>h[rb</i> is you(?)].

Previous editors have noted that *hrb*, like the second trigram also spelled *h3-rw-b3*, closely resembles the Demotic orthography of *hrb/hbr*, “form.”⁵³ However, the context suggests that the subject, perhaps the king,⁵⁴ wished to identify himself with a powerful god such as Khepri (cf. *supra*, ex. 5-6),⁵⁵ not an obscure deity *hprw*, “die Gestalt” (so J.Fr. Quack) or *hprw.ī*, “Transformationseigner o.ä.”⁵⁶ or an evil demon like Apep.⁵⁷ Whatever its exact derivation, the second trigram could present a recognizable orthography for Khepri, especially when it occurs in conjunction with the first trigram writing Atum.

J.Fr. Quack has recently objected to the traditional phonetic reading of the first trigram as Atum, since some texts render the second trigram literally as “lotus-lion-ram (Egyptian: *srp.t-m3i-sr*; Greek/Old Coptic: Ⲡⲓⲣⲓⲟⲩ-ⲙⲟⲩⲓ-ⲥⲣⲱ).”⁵⁸ However, these alternate versions could

⁴⁹ *Wb.* III, 396, 8.

⁵⁰ M. SMITH, “A Demotic Version of a Well-Known Hymn,” *Enchoria* 7, 1977, p. 129, n. f; H. BUCHBERGER, *Transformation und Transformat*, p. 264-270; Ph. DERCHAIN, “Portrait d’un divin crocodile ou l’originalité d’un écrivain du temps de Domitien,” in Fr. Labrique (ed.), *Religions méditerranéennes et orientales de l’antiquité*, *BdE* 135, 2002, p. 92, n. 163; Y. KOENIG, “Le papyrus de Moutemheb,” *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 297, n. m

⁵¹ *LEM* 127, 16; R. CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 1954, p. 474, read this name as *Hpr(r)y*, “Khepri,” apparently taking the *r* as an otiose phonetic complement derived from the hieratic group.

⁵² See most recently J.-Fr. QUACK, “Ein neuer Zeuge für den Text zum Neunköpfigen Bes (P. Carlsberg 475),” in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection (The Carlsberg Papyri 7)*, *CNIP* 30, 2006, p. 55, 64.

⁵³ S. SAUNERON, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn*, *WilbMon* 3, 1970, p. 19, translated: “il est l’image du gé[nie exterminateur (?)]”; J.-Fr. QUACK, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection (The Carlsberg Papyri 7)*, *CNIP* 30, 2006, p. 55, restored: “Er ist die Gestalt und die Ge[stalt ist er(?)].”


⁵⁴ So J.-Fr. QUACK, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, p. 53-64; *idem*, “The So-Called Pantheos on Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion,” in H. GYÖRY (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3, 2006, p. 179-182.

⁵⁵ For the assimilation of the King and Khepri, cf. M. MINAS-NERPEL, *Der Gott Chepri*, p. 397-405, 417-419.

⁵⁶ H. BUCHBERGER, *Transformation und Transformat*, p. 267-268.

⁵⁷ D. MEEKS, “Les emprunts Égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme,” *BiOr* 54, 1997, p. 47, compared this name to an epithet of Apep in P. Bremner-Rhind, *h3rb-d(w)*, “le mauvais *h3rb*” (followed by Y. KOENIG, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, p. 297, n. m); however, except for the similar orthography, it is unclear how such an epithet would fit the context of the Brooklyn Magical Papyrus.

⁵⁸ J.-Fr. QUACK, in K. Ryholt (ed.), *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, p. 61, n. 24; *idem*, “The So-Called Pantheos on Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion,” in H. Györy (ed.), *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3, 2006, p. 182, n. 45.

reflect misunderstanding or reinterpretation of an intentionally enigmatic writing for Khepri. One might compare the obscure epithet of Nekhbet .⁵⁹ Although certain examples indicate this should be read *iwḥ.t-rd.wy*, “soaked of legs,”⁶⁰ a bilingual scribe at Medinet Madi interpreted the group as *‘n.t-w’r.ty*, “beautiful of legs,” and transliterated it as ΛΥΟΝΟΥΛΗΤ.⁶¹ Since both trigrams can be understood on numerous levels,⁶² the simple phonetic interpretations presented here only enhance the sportive aspect of these popular enigmatic orthographies. As with the cryptographic litanies from Esna, Egyptian scribes worked within the self-imposed constraint of consonantal structures to formulate complex, meaningful, and allusive permutations of divine names which might have otherwise become banal or commonplace through excessive repetition.⁶³

⁵⁹ For examples, see *LGG* I, 204a; S. CAUVILLE, *Dendara. Le temple d’Isis* II, *OLA* 179, 2009, p. 136, n. 237; to which one can add Stela BM 1052, line 5 (E.A.W. BUDGE, *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, 1909, p. 277, pl. 51); for discussions, see primarily D. BUDDE, D. KURTH, “Zum Vokabular der Bände Edfou V – VIII,” in D. Kurth (ed.), *Edfu: Studien zu Vokabular, Ikonographie und Grammatik, Edfu Begleitheft* 4, 1994, p. 4, n. 10; D. MEEKS, “Dictionnaire et lexicographie de l’Égyptien ancien. Méthodes et résultats,” *BiOr* 56, 1999, p. 575.

⁶⁰ *Opet* I, 49; *Edfou* V, 177, 7; cited by D. MEEKS, *BiOr* 56, 1999, p. 575, who opted for the reading *iwḥy.t*.

⁶¹ P. GALLO, *Ostraca demotici e ieratici dall’archivio bilingue di Narmouthis* II: nn. 34-99, *Quaderni di Medinet Madi* 3, 1997, p. 17-18, No. 41.

⁶² Argued already by M.-L. RYHINER, *RdE* 29, 1977, p. 133-136.

⁶³ For the subtle visual-theological allusions at Esna, see S. SAUNERON, *L’Écriture figurative dans les textes d’Esna*, p. 59-79; Chr. LEITZ, “Les trente premiers versets de la litanie d’Osiris à Esna (*Esna* 217),” *RdE* 59, 2008, p. 231-266.