



THE SLAUGHTERERS: A STUDY OF THE $h^3.tyw$ AS LIMINAL BEINGS IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN THOUGHT

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ABSTRACT

The $h^3.tyw$, otherwise known as the Slaughterers, Knife-bearers, and Plague-bringers within academic literature, are a group of liminal deities attested in the written record from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period. They posed a significant danger in both the terrestrial and secular realms, to the living and the dead, to the gods and mankind alike. This paper presents a preliminary discussion of the etymology and orthography of the designation $h^3.tyw$, the group's form and appearance, and their position within the hierarchy of the Egyptian pantheon.

INTRODUCTION¹

The $h^3.tyw$ were conceptualised in ancient Egyptian thought as liminal deities. This category of liminal beings has aptly been termed as “religiösen Grenzgänger” by Gregor Ahn in an attempt to facilitate in scholarly discourse a differentiated description and evaluation of intermediary figures in polytheistic religions.² The boundaries between the secular and divine spheres were considered by the ancient Egyptians as permeable. The $h^3.tyw$ and other liminal deities were able to cross these boundaries, acting in a sense as “Zaungänger” occupying a transitional point between two states,³ as their actions are documented in the textual record as affecting both humankind and the gods, the living and the dead. The power that the $h^3.tyw$ possessed should be considered as ambivalent on account of the dualistic nature of this group that encompasses components of both *ma'at* and *isfet*. While attestations of the $h^3.tyw$

in the historical record span from the Old Kingdom to the Greco-Roman Period, there is a substantial proliferation of source material from the New Kingdom onwards, which most likely resulted from a change in religious decorum that stipulated what was allowed to be expressed in image and writing in specific contexts.⁴ Unfortunately this concentration of sources places a limitation on our ability to determine the extent of the role performed by the $h^3.tyw$ in earlier religious contexts and whether this role was static or subject to developments within this period of time. Despite these difficulties, this paper aims to undertake a preliminary examination of the etymology and orthography of the designation, the group's form and appearance, and their position within the hierarchy of the Egyptian pantheon. A discussion of these topics, focusing upon both philological and iconographic evidence, is intended to facilitate a greater understanding of liminal groups

and encourage further research into this fascinating area of Egyptian religion.

ETYMOLOGY

Establishing the etymological origin of the term *h³.tyw* is a vital step in understanding how the nature and role of this liminal group were initially conceptualised by the ancient Egyptians. As the orthography of the denomination exhibits similar characteristics to a number of different words, its etymology has become highly contested within Egyptological literature. Hannig and Eschweiler have both proposed a connection between *h³.tyw* and the term *h³wy* (𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣) for night or evening; however, as this concept appears to be based primarily on the groups connection with the imperishable stars in the Pyramid Texts, it is somewhat unconvincing.⁵ Other scholars, such as Edwards and Breasted, have suggested instead that the term *h³.tyw* is a derivative of the word *h³y.t* (𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩠) “disease.”⁶ This etymological connection is founded principally on the association of the *h³.tyw* with the *i³d.t nnp.t* in the invocations of Papyrus Edwin Smith and the petitions of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees. However, as the role of the *h³.tyw* as disease bringers is not attested securely in the written record until the Second Intermediate Period, it is doubtful that the designation *h³.tyw* was originally derived from this term. This development in the role performed by the *h³.tyw* is more likely to have resulted from the phonetic similarities exhibited between the two terms. Instead, the term *h³.yt* (𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩠; 𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩠; 𐩣𐩢𐩠𐩣𐩢𐩠) “slaughter or massacre” appears to be the most plausible etymological origin for the designation *h³.tyw*. Faulkner has convincingly suggested that a connection between these two terms can be demonstrated through the use of specific determinatives depicting weaponry and armed figures in conjunction with the context of Papyrus Bremner Rhind, in which the role of the *h³.tyw* is to viciously slay Apophis by cutting up his intestines, filling their mouths with his flesh, and swallowing his blood in rage.⁷ The earliest role of the *h³.tyw* attested in the Pyramid Texts, in which they appear to act as armed celestial gatekeepers, provides further confirmation of this etymological relationship.

As previously noted within scholarship, the terms used to denote such liminal groups as the *h³.tyw* did not necessarily define “persons,” but instead specified their “functions.” The name of this group is formed by the nominal usage of the imperfective plural participle indicating actions that are in progress, repeated, or that occur regularly.⁸ The most accurate rendering

of their name would then be: “Those who slaughter.”

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography of the designation exhibits numerous variations, and, while the singular does occur on a number of occasions, the plural form is more common. TABLE 1 has been compiled using the *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* as a reference point, and it contains the primary writings that are attested in the textual record.⁹ For citations to the source material, please refer to the list provided in the APPENDIX.

As is evident from the table, an ideographic writing is used for the designation in the temple texts of the Greco-Roman Period. This involves the use of a single hieroglyphic sign, usually 𐩣 (A199A) or a similar variant of an armed figure qualified by plural strokes, to represent the *h³.tyw* without expressing the phonetic values normally used to form their name. As these particular hieroglyphic signs are utilised to determine a number of other similar groups of liminal deities, it has proved extremely problematic to establish a secure reading in instances where an ideogram has been employed instead of a full rendition of the deities’ names. These groups include the messengers (*wpw.tyw*),¹⁰ the butcher(s) (*mnh.wy*),¹¹ the watchmen (*rs.w*),¹² the emissaries (*hb.yw*),¹³ the carvers (*hnt.tyw*),¹⁴ the watchers (*s³w.tyw*),¹⁵ the ones who drive away (*shr.w*),¹⁶ the wanderers (*šm³.yw*),¹⁷ the reapers (*kdf.tyw*),¹⁸ and the cutters (*ds.w*).¹⁹ It has been suggested by a number of scholars that the value of ideographic writings can be determined through the stylistic device of alliteration.²⁰ As demonstrated by Barbara Watterson in her assessment of the texts inscribed on the exterior of the naos of the temple of Horus at Edfu, there is an extensive use of alliterative phrases in Ptolemaic texts that utilise nearly every sign of the Egyptian alphabet.²¹ There does not appear to be a fixed set of rules regarding whether or not a combination of words constitutes alliteration, i.e., the number of words that alliterate and their spacing within a phrase. Each case must be assessed individually, taking into consideration both the initial and non-initial phonetic values expressed by the words.²² Of the forty-one possible examples of the *h³.tyw* that have so far been identified at the temple of Edfu, a total of thirty-three designations exhibit an ideographic writing that is comprised of 𐩣 (A199A), 𐩣 (A199B), 𐩣 (A192), 𐩣 (A290A) or 𐩣 (C87A).

However, a further assessment of these textual sources, with the aim of identifying the presence of

TABLE 1: Orthography of the designation *h³.tyw* (continued on next page).

DATE	ORTHOGRAPHY	SIGN CODE	SOURCE (SEE APPENDIX)
Old Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4	3
Old Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-T31A:N33A	2
Old Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-T31:N33A	1
Old Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-N33:N33*N33	4
Old Kingdom		M12-G1-G43-G39-D94-D94-D94	5
Old Kingdom		M12-G1-G43-D94-D94-D94	6
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-X1-G4-A56:Z2	7
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G1-Aa2-A40-Z2	15; 16
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G1-A40:Z2	17
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-A40-Z2	11; 12
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-A56-Z2	10
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-T30A-A56-Z2	8
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-M17-M17-G4-T30A-A40-Z2	20
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G1-X1-A40-Z2	13; 14
Middle Kingdom		Aa1-M12-G4-T30A-A40:Z2	18; 19
Middle Kingdom		M12-G1-G43-G4-A25-Z2	9
Middle Kingdom		M12-G4	21
Second Intermediate Period		Aa1-M12-G1-G4-T31-G7-Z3	25
Second Intermediate Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-G4-A24-G7-Z3	26
Second Intermediate Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1-A24-G7	22
Second Intermediate Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1-A24-G7	23; 24
New Kingdom		Aa1-M12-M17-M7-Z7-A40-Z2	27
New Kingdom		Aa1-M12B-G4A-A40-Z3	34
New Kingdom		Aa1-M12B-G4A:Z2	35
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-G4A-A24-T31:D40-A1:Z2	41
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Y4-A24-G7C-Z3A	44
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Y4-A24-G7C-Z3A	29
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A199A-G4-Z3A	30

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Orthography of the designation *h³.tyw* (continued on next page).

DATE	ORTHOGRAPHY	SIGN CODE	SOURCE (SEE APPENDIX)
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Y1-A24	43
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Y1-A24-A1:Z4-G7C	45
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-Y1-A24-G7C-Z3A	42
New Kingdom		M12-G1-M17-M17-Z7:X1-//	47
New Kingdom		M12-G1-U33-M17-M17-A24	31
New Kingdom		M12-G1-X1-G4-T30-D40:Z2	32
New Kingdom		M12-G1-Z7:X1-G4A-A24-T31:D40	40
New Kingdom		M12-G1-Z7:X1-M17-M17-G4A-T31:D40	46
New Kingdom		M12-G4-A40-Z3	38
New Kingdom		M12B-Aa1-G4-A40-Z3	37
New Kingdom		M12B-Aa1:Z2-G4	36
New Kingdom		M12B-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A199C-Z3	28
New Kingdom		M12B-G4-M17-X1:Z4-M17-A40-A40-Z3	39
New Kingdom		//-G4A-A40:N33A	33
Third Intermediate Period		M12-Ff1-Ff1-Z6	53
Third Intermediate Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-Z6-Z3A	52
Third Intermediate Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1-Z6-Z3A	52
Third Intermediate Period		M12-G1-//-/	51
Third Intermediate Period		M12-G4-M17-M17-X1:Z4-//	49
Third Intermediate Period		M12-G4-M17-M17-X1:Z4A-E56-//	48
Third Intermediate Period		M12-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A14	55
Third Intermediate Period		M12-Z5-M17-M17-X1-Z6	50
Third Intermediate Period		M12-Z5-Z7:X1-Z1-G37-F37-Z6:Z2	54
Late Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Y1-G7C-Z3A	56; 57
Late Period		M12B-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A199A-A40-Z3A	58
Late Period		A199A-G7-Z3A	63
Late Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-Z3-C27	60
Late Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A199A	61

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Orthography of the designation *h³.tyw* (continued on next page).


























DATE	ORTHOGRAPHY	SIGN CODE	SOURCE (SEE APPENDIX)
Late Period		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-G7-Z3	62
Late Period		M12-G4-M17-M17-A199A-Z3A	59
Greco-Roman		A25A-Z2B	149
Greco-Roman		A25A-Z3	119
Greco-Roman		A78-Z2B	106
Greco-Roman		A192-Z2A	138
Greco-Roman		A192-Z3	120
Greco-Roman		A199-Z3	164; 165
Greco-Roman		A199A-Z2	101; 131; 145; 146
Greco-Roman		A199A-Z2A	65; 108; 118; 129
Greco-Roman		A199A-Z2B	88; 105; 132
Greco-Roman		A199A-Z3	66; 76; 77; 80; 89; 99; 100; 109; 111; 116; 121; 122; 126; 127; 128; 130; 134; 135; 148; 160; 161; 166; 167; 168; 169; 171
Greco-Roman		A199A-G7-G7-Z3A	158
Greco-Roman		A199A-M17-G7-Z3A	157
Greco-Roman		A199A-R8-Z3	70; 79
Greco-Roman		A199A-X1:Z4-Z3	117
Greco-Roman		A199A-X1:Z4-Z2A-R8	107
Greco-Roman		A199B-Z2	103; 104; 143
Greco-Roman		A199B-Z2A	68; 69; 81; 82; 83; 84; 96; 97; 98; 123; 133; 144
Greco-Roman		A199B-Z2B	151
Greco-Roman		A199B-Z3	125; 170
Greco-Roman		A199B-A199B-A199B	102
Greco-Roman		A199B-X1:Z4-R8-R8-Z2A	95
Greco-Roman		Aa1:D46-U30-G1-M17-M17-Z2A-Z9-D40	150
Greco-Roman		C26-X1:Z4-Z2	71

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Orthography of the designation *h³.tyw* (continued on next page).













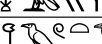













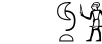






DATE	ORTHOGRAPHY	SIGN CODE	SOURCE (SEE APPENDIX)
Greco-Roman		C26D-Z3	74
Greco-Roman		C27E-Z2A	67
Greco-Roman		C87-Z2	73
Greco-Roman		C87-Z3	72; 78
Greco-Roman		C87A-Z2A	136
Greco-Roman		C87A-Z3	75
Greco-Roman		E13B-Z2A	64
Greco-Roman		M3:T30A-C27B-Z2	163
Greco-Roman		M12-G1-M17-M17-X1:Z4-A199B-Z2A	92
Greco-Roman		M12-G1-X1:Z4-Aa2-A199A-Z2A	87
Greco-Roman		M12-G1-X1:Z4-M17-M17-A40-A40	162
Greco-Roman		M12-G1-X1:Z4-M17-M17-A40-A40:Z2	162
Greco-Roman		M12-G1&Z7-X1:Z4-G14-R8-Z3	85
Greco-Roman		M12-G4-D46:Z4-A199A-G7	156
Greco-Roman		M12-G4-M17-M17-D46:Z4-G7-Z3A	155
Greco-Roman		M12B-G1-X1:Z4-M17-M17-A199A-Z3	112
Greco-Roman		M12-M17-M17-X1-A199A:Z2	153
Greco-Roman		M12-X1:Z4-M17*M17:Z2	152
Greco-Roman		M12-X1:Z4-A199B-Z2A	86
Greco-Roman		M12B-M17-X1:Z4-A199A-Z3	93
Greco-Roman		M12B-X1-A199B-Z2A	94
Greco-Roman		M12B-X1:Z4-R8-R8-Z2B	91
Greco-Roman		M12B-X1:Z4-R8-R8-R8-Z3	90
Greco-Roman		M12B-Z7:X1:Z4-G4-A40A-Z2A	115
Greco-Roman		M111:X1-A199A-Z3	110; 113; 114
Greco-Roman		M111-X1-A199B-Z3	124
Greco-Roman		R8-Z9:D40-U33-M17-A199A-A1:Z2	154
Greco-Roman		T30A:N18-A40A-Z2B	147
Greco-Roman		T95-T95-T95	140; 141; 142

TABLE 1: (continued from previous page) Orthography of the designation *h³.tyw*.

DATE	ORTHOGRAPHY	SIGN CODE	SOURCE (SEE APPENDIX)
Greco-Roman		T95-T95-T95-R8-Z1-Z3A	159
Greco-Roman		T95A:X1	137
Greco-Roman		T95:Z2	145
Greco-Roman		//-X1:Z4-M17-M17-A199A-Z3	139

alliterative sequences that may be used to ascertain a secure reading of the liminal group present, has revealed that this technique is not as helpful as previously suggested. There are in fact very few examples (see below) from the Edfu corpus that display alliteration of the value *h* in contexts where ideographic writings are present. However, the value of *h³.tyw* for the ideogram A199A/B appears to be confirmed by the repetition of this sound value in the following sequences:

III, 32, 5:



ht=i h³.tyw r hft-hr=k

I engrave the *h³.tyw* before you

III, 33, 12:



h³.tyw n.y ³h.ty hbbh hft.yw=f

The *h³.tyw* of Akhty who slay his enemies

VI, 9, 6:



hwi n h³.tyw m-ht=f

whom the *h³.tyw* in his following have protected

A number of texts also contain the repetition of the value *h* in a more extended sense, where the corresponding sounds occur in a string of words that do not form a sequence of direct apposition:

V, 11, 4:



<hw.w> shm.w s³ R^c.w hnt.yw P n.y R^c.w h³.tyw nht.w

who protect the statues, who protect Re, the foremost of the throne of Re, the strong *h³.tyw*

V, 302, 11



mn=t h³.w n.w hft.yw hr ht shb=i Msn m kn=sn hnt³ h³.tyw nn hr hm.t=t

Take for yourself flesh portions of the enemies upon the flame. I make Mesen festive with their smoke, these *h³.tyw* rejoice before your majesty.

While the alliteration in these examples is less pronounced, it may still be sufficient to confirm the identity of the *h³.tyw* in these contexts. Unfortunately, many discrepancies remain in the various translations of the temple texts where scholars encounter ideographic sign usage. When distinguishing the *h³.tyw* from other liminal groups in these texts, the most difficulty seems to be encountered with the *hb.yw* and *hnt.yw*,²³ while both the *šm³.yw* and *wpw.tyw* have also been proposed as alternative readings on a number of occasions.²⁴ In circumstances where the value of an ideographic writing cannot be deter-

mined from either alliteration or the context in which the group occurs, it may be that no secure reading can be obtained.

THE FORM AND APPEARANCE OF THE $h^3.tyw$

The characteristic that most aptly defines the physical appearance of the $h^3.tyw$ is their weaponry. If the determinatives and ideograms used in the orthography of the term can be taken as an indicator of appearance, the $h^3.tyw$ may possibly have been conceptualised in a number of different forms ranging from anthropoid to anthropomorphic deities with the heads of canids or lions and even in some cases in the purely animal form of baboons. The feature that remains constant across these varied depictions are the knives that each figure holds in either one or both hands. As indicated by the name of the $h^3.tyw$ itself, the primary function of this liminal group was to slaughter, a role that was clearly facilitated by the use of implements such as knives. This is exemplified in section XVIII, 7 of Papyrus Jumilhac where the $h^3.tyw$ and $sm^3.yw$ are described as circulating everywhere on the order of Anubis with their *ds*-knives (𓂏).²⁵ They also feature in the Book of Worshipping Re in the West found in a number of royal funerary contexts, in which an appeal is made to Re to save the king from the $h^3.tyw$ and their sharp *nm*-knives (𓂏).²⁶ In a similar context, Hathor as the lady Iounet is prevailed upon to save the king from the *mtn*(?)-knives (𓂏 ?) of the $h^3.tyw$.²⁷ A particularly interesting text found on the internal western face of Edfu's enclosure wall even provides an instance where the knives of the $h^3.tyw$ are used by another deity against the *One without arms and without legs*: "the divine butcher will pursue you, the one with the numerous knives of the southern $h^3.tyw$, who cuts off for him your head on account of your evil in the presence of Horus of Behdet,"²⁸ *Mnh.yw*, the butcher, is in fact designated as the lord or chief of the $h^3.tyw$ in a number of texts where he is also assigned the epithets $\text{𓂏} dm.wt$ and $\text{𓂏} ds.w$.²⁹ Unfortunately, the text of Edfu VI, 159, 4 is damaged, and while Kurth has reconstructed 𓂏 as [*ds.w*],³⁰ it is not possible to definitively determine the knife type that is here referred to. Of the two secure readings, the *ds* and *nm* knives wielded by the $h^3.tyw$ can be categorised as instruments of butchery,³¹ with the material of the former confirmed as flint by the use of the stone determinative.³² Not only were the knives of the $h^3.tyw$ directed against the enemies (*hft.yw*), the rebels (*sbi.w*), the adversaries (*rk.yw*), and

the disaffected of heart ($h^3k.w ib.w$), they could also pose a serious threat to the wellbeing of the king: "(O Sekhmet) do not cause his flesh to be cut up (*ths*) by the $h^3.tyw$."³³

Further physical attributes of the $h^3.tyw$ can be discerned from the adjectives used to qualify their name in the written record: for example, the physical might of the $h^3.tyw$ is illustrated in contexts where descriptors such as *kn* "strong" and *nht* "strong; victorious" are assigned to this group when they bind the enemies, protect the flesh of the king, safeguard the temple, and protect the *Lord of the strong warrior who is foremost of the Mansion of Valour*.³⁴ The verbs used to denote the actions of the $h^3.tyw$ also reveal characteristics of their physical nature. Not only did the $h^3.tyw$ have the ability to move with great momentum, as illustrated by the use of the terms h^3h "to come in haste; be fast; speed"³⁵ and *m-sin* "to run quickly,"³⁶ they were also equipped with keen eyesight and able to see their enemies from a distance (*gmh w^3.w*).³⁷ Both of these qualities would have been integral to the successful execution of their tasks throughout the cities and the nomes of the entire land.

A final note should be made concerning the ability of the $h^3.tyw$ to shoot arrows from their mouths, which has been interpreted by scholars such as Pascal Vernus as the emission of harmful breath or possibly words, since to speak is, basically, to emit a breath from the mouth.³⁸ That diseases associated with the $h^3.tyw$ stem from the introduction of a pathogen into the body by a breath or wind is confirmed in number of textual sources,³⁹ for example the *Tagewöhleri* records on I *pr.t* 19 that "[t]he wind is in the sky that day, being mixed with the plague of the year, and many diseases are in him,"⁴⁰ while in the seventh incantation for exorcising plague in Papyrus Edwin Smith it is stated: "O Sekhmet, may your $h^3.tyw$ retreat, O Bastet, the year does not pass by to work disaster against me, your breath (*nfw.t*) does not reach me."⁴¹ The $h^3.tyw$ are not the only liminal group to be attributed with lethal breaths; in Dendera X, 113, 4 the *One whose hearing is perfect* directs the burning of his eyes against the one who attacks "like the heat of the scorching breath of the *wpw.tyw*."

In terms of the iconographic repertoire there are very few representations that can be identified definitively as depicting the $h^3.tyw$ beings. The most secure pictorial representation of this liminal group can be found within Papyrus Hannover 1976.60a2,

which records two spells on the recto and verso that formed an amulet belonging to an individual named *T3-šr.t-n.t-Nm.ty*.⁴² The first spell is of particular note as it is a direct invocation to the *h3.tyw*: “Greetings to you, the seven, these *h3.tyw* of Sekhmet.”⁴³ They are described as “coming forth from [the eye of Re]” and as “those who [go round] the two lands” before the threat of their arrows is negated.⁴⁴ Above this section of hieratic text, in the upper right-hand corner of the document, is a vignette illustrating seven seated figures who are each armed with a single knife.⁴⁵ Due to the explicit nature of the invocation, these figures are undoubtedly the seven *h3.tyw* beings, and while the first line of the verso is unreadable it is likely that the second spell was also related to these liminal deities. On account of the prevalent role of the *h3.tyw* as slaughterers; illustrated for example in *Edfu* VI, 264, 9 “may you save him (the living image) from the slaughter of your *h3.tyw*”; in *Dendera* X, 124, 13, where the *One with great strength* “sends the *h3.tyw* to make slaughter”; and in *Dendera* IX, 218, 17 that refers to the *h3.tyw* as those “who make slaughter among the adversaries,” it is not unreasonable to suggest that the plural epithet *wd.w šc.t* could be a further reference to the *h3.tyw* group.⁴⁶ The following epithet *km3.w dhr.t* “those who create bitterness” may also confirm the *h3.tyw* as the subject of the second invocation, for *dhr.t* is a term that often appears in conjunction with these deities in their role as disease-bringers: “may you protect him from the *h3.tyw* who are behind you and before you, do not let any evil wind (*t3w*) come against him, do not let any fever (*šmm*) or <sickness> (*dhr.t*) of the year destroy him.”⁴⁷

A further notable representation can be found in the second tableau of the Book of Caverns. Featured in the lower right-hand corner of the fifth register is a group of four deities who each hold a singular butcher’s knife outstretched before them.⁴⁸ Small variations in the appearance of these deities are encountered throughout different tombs, primarily in regard to their facial features, such as the addition of bull’s horns in the tomb of Ramses IX.⁴⁹ Christian Leitz has recognised these four figures as the *h3.tyw*, probably on the basis of their inclusion in the corresponding text as “those who are in the slaughterhouse of Osiris who make your mutilation.”⁵⁰ The text outlines that this mutilation is to be carried out against the enemies of the *Lord of the Duat* who include the *decapitated*, the *slaughtered*, the *inverted ones who are bound*, and the *inverted ones whose hearts are torn out*.⁵¹ As all of these enemies are

depicted in succession before the four knife-wielding deities, it is highly probable that these knife-holders are in fact the *h3.tyw*.

In an inscription located on the eastern pillar of the pronaos of Edfu (first register, western face), the goddess Seshat makes the pronouncement “I engrave the *h3.tyw* before you”.⁵² Accordingly, one might expect to find a depiction of this liminal group in the vicinity of this text. This appears to be confirmed by the representation of the third protective company of the temple of Edfu in a tableau located two registers above the text.⁵³ In this scene the commander of this cohort, the *One of great fear*,⁵⁴ is depicted with ophidian characteristics, while his subordinates assume the guise of bearded male figures wearing *wsh*-collars and loincloths adorned with a ceremonial tail.⁵⁵ Each deity is armed with two different types of knives which are distinguished by either a straight handle or rounded pommel.⁵⁶ It is significant that in the corresponding text (III, 32, 12), which contains an account of the roles executed by this company, they are described foremost as the *h3.tyw* of Akhty. A second representation of the third protective company can also be found on the southern face of the eastern pylon.⁵⁷ In this context all are depicted as serpent-headed deities equipped with two straight-handled butcher’s knives except for the *One with strong muscles* who holds both a knife and *schlangenstab*.⁵⁸

While there are numerous attestations of the *h3.tyw* in the written record, it is striking that there appears in the iconographic repertoire very few securely identifiable examples of these beings. The absence of pictorial representations, particularly in contexts where the *h3.tyw* are performing roles that are malevolent in nature, is explicable in terms of the Egyptian concept of empowered images.⁵⁹ Images of the *h3.tyw* could pose a danger to the living, as the image acted as a point of contact with the beings represented and also ensured their continued existence.⁶⁰ The potency of this danger is illustrated clearly through iconoclastic practices where images or characters that represent potentially dangerous animals are incomplete or have been mutilated.⁶¹ The idea of empowered images also relates to orthographical conventions due to the pictorial nature of the hieroglyphic writing system, the name itself containing “for the Egyptians an image in which a spirit might reside;”⁶² this may account for the use of ideographic spelling variations for the *h3.tyw* and a number of other similar beings in the Greco-Roman temple

inscriptions. In this respect, it is significant that the aforementioned representations of the *h³.tyw* are only related to contexts in which the group can be considered to perform a positive role: in Papyrus Hannover 1976.60a2 they are invoked to save the petitioner (albeit from the danger they themselves pose); in the Book of Caverns they mutilate the enemies of Osiris and in *Edfu* III, 32, 12 they protect the child from the serpent, defy the adversary in heaven, do not sleep while protecting the Mansion of the Falcon, and drive back the enemies from the fighting-*bas* as the third protective company of the temple.

THE POSITION OF THE *H³.TYW* IN THE HIERARCHY OF THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON

Within the hierarchy of the Egyptian pantheon the *h³.tyw* can be considered to occupy a subordinate position in instances where they are sent by a deity of an elevated status, act in accordance with their words or command,⁶³ bow down before their divine power,⁶⁴ or form their entourage.⁶⁵ In these contexts, the power which the *h³.tyw* possess can be considered as limited to the tasks they were directed to execute, as Dimitri Meeks states

Les génies émissaires étaient la forme que revêtait cette Puissance pour intervenir dans le monde des humains. Ils étaient par conséquent complètement assujettis au dieu qui les envoyait, n'agissant que sur son ordre, exécutant sa volonté docilement et sans pitié.⁶⁶

While Sekhmet appears to be the primary leader of this cohort, the numerous variations attested are likely the result of both local adaptations⁶⁷ and the universal applicability of the *h³.tyw* who were able to perform a diverse number of roles in different contexts. The direct subordination of the *h³.tyw* is expressed by a range of epithets that designate Iounet Raettawy,⁶⁸ Isis,⁶⁹ Hathor,⁷⁰ Horus of Behdet,⁷¹ Menet,⁷² Mut,⁷³ Neith,⁷⁴ Satis,⁷⁵ Sekhmet-Sothis,⁷⁶ Tefnut,⁷⁷ the Eye of Re,⁷⁸ Tutu,⁷⁹ and Wadjet⁸⁰ as their lady, mistress, lord, or master. Genitive constructions and suffix pronouns also express the fact that the *h³.tyw* group were in the possession of greater deities; for example, the *h³.tyw* of the mistress of Iounet are given to Horus of Behdet by Harsomtous;⁸¹ the *One-who-is-Secret* and her *h³.tyw* are given to the king by Horus of Behdet;⁸² an annual require-

ment is created by Mut for her *h³.tyw*,⁸³ while Re was required to save the king from the impurity of the majesty of Sekhmet and from the evil of her *h³.tyw*.⁸⁴ The fact that the danger posed by the *h³.tyw* group could be averted or counteracted through the power possessed by other deities further illustrates the subsidiary nature of their position within the pantheon. Deities such as the great *sndm*-snakes of the great winged sun disk were capable of protecting the son of Re from the *h³.tyw* when positioned upon his brow,⁸⁵ whereas Khonsu was able to dispel the *h³.tyw*, drive away the *šm³.yw*, and repel the blessed dead and the condemned dead while protecting his majesty in the *duat*.⁸⁶

There are a number of instances in the textual record where the *h³.tyw* are not expressly denoted as being under the command of another deity. The majority of these cases occur in situations where the actions of the *h³.tyw* can be considered to be defined topographically and circumscribed to a particular location.⁸⁷ While this group is associated with a number of earthly localities, such as the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos,⁸⁸ the abattoir of overthrowing (the enemies) at Kom Ombo,⁸⁹ and the cities of Iyt and Letopolis when the seven *h³.tyw* of the field seek the *h³.t* eye,⁹⁰ it is within the celestial realm that the *h³.tyw* are most frequently cited as acting without direction. The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts are the earliest sources in which the celestial role of the *h³.tyw* is attested. In these contexts, they are mentioned in direct apposition with a number of celestial beings, such as the imperishable stars (*iḥm.w-sk*) and the *old ones* (*imi.w-i³w*), and perform the duties of gatekeepers armed with knives.⁹¹ In *Pyramid Texts* §1726 (utterance 611), §2223 (utterance 716),⁹² and *Coffin Texts* I 290 (spell 68)⁹³ the *h³.tyw* were likely assigned to the *Double Ram Gate*, which is cited immediately before them. As demonstrated in the later papyrus of Nefer-renpet (28th Dynasty), this gate was conceptualised as a bolted celestial portal that was positioned on the horizon and surmounted by the hieroglyph *p.t* for sky.⁹⁴ Further confirmation of the *h³.tyw*'s celestial location can be found in a number of other texts from this corpus that express the practice of numbering the *h³.tyw*, for as *Coffin Texts* VI 107e indicates, the deceased could only call upon the *h³.tyw* and rule the imperishable stars after ascending to sky.⁹⁵

Further instances in which the actions of the *h³.tyw* were restricted to a particular celestial environment

can be found within the temple texts. The temple precinct itself could be considered as a reflection or even as a manifestation of the cosmos. This notion is clearly depicted in a number of texts from Esna which describe *The Place of the Two Rams* “as in accordance with the plans of heaven” and *The House of Khnum* “as illuminated every day like the celestial vault with the sun and the moon, like heaven with the two disks.”⁹⁶ It is on this basis that a Litany of Sekhmet could be considered to confirm the continued role of the *h³.tyw* as celestial gatekeepers: “you open for him the doors of your sanctuary, (you) open and close the temple before him, you protect him at the door of the *h³.tyw*.”⁹⁷ It is significant, moreover, that the northeastern lake of the *Gate of Heaven* (*i³.t nbs*) is described as the *duat* of the *Mansion of the h³.tyw* on a naos from Saft el Henna dating to the reign of Nectanebo I.⁹⁸ This gate is outlined within the text as being the portal through which the gods go forth to heaven when they come forth from the necropolis of the *duat*.⁹⁹ The *h³.tyw* are further described in *Edfu* VII, 12, 5 as carrying out their tasks alongside the gods of the sky who are at their posts in heaven. Mention should also be made of section XVII, 11–12 of Papyrus Jumilhac, which specifies the *h³.tyw* as guardians of the northern sky: “After he (Horus) cut off his (Seth’s) foreleg, he raised it to the middle of the sky, the *h³.tyw* being there to guard it, the foreleg of the northern sky, the Great Hippopotamus holds it so it cannot travel among the gods.”¹⁰⁰

It should be noted that during the Ptolemaic period the *h³.tyw* appear to have been promoted to a higher hierarchical status within the Egyptian pantheon. The attestation of the title “Prophet of the *h⁴.w* who are guests in Thebes” in a demotic graffito at Medinet Habu¹⁰¹ provides evidence for their cult worship on a state religious level. A number of temple texts provide affirmation of this; for example, in *Dendera* VIII, 49, 9 the *h³.tyw* are the subject of a direct invocation spoken by the king: “I come before you, the great *h³.tyw*, who watch over the mighty ones,” while in *Edfu* VI, 61, 1 and VI 76, 8 the king makes their acclamation: “I praise your name (Horus of Behdet) and the *h³.tyw* in your following” and “praise to your *h³.tyw*, your followers, your messengers and your watchmen who watch over your temple.” Of particular significance is the equation of the *h³.tyw* with the dead-gods of Dendera and Edfu; the two texts in which this equation occurs have been cited in full below and should be

considered as a primary indicator of this rise in prominence:

The great gods, the living *kas*, the children of Re who came forth from his body, who were born in Hermopolis, who were nursed in *Naret*, the ones with great terror in the land to its limit, the *h³.tyw* in the necropolis of Dendera, who hide their bodies in the earth, they enduring in the land of Atum, who bury their bodies in *Iatdinetjeret* (?) on the north and east of Iat-di, the blessed dead who rest in their temples for eternity, their *bas* are in the sky with the Two Lights. Come! Come! That you may receive an invocation offering from Re-Somtous upon the 10th day, that they may present offerings to the living *bas*, set down offerings of Horus, the lord of the temple, that you may eat bread (and) drink beer, the water of the inundation not being distant from you, that the fragrance of the south may come to you from Hierakonpolis, that you may inhale the fragrance of upper Egyptian incense, that you may live from that which will rejuvenate you, from that which comes to them as offerings that they may be pleased, they are joyful with all the good things, namely good gifts of the lady of Iounet, who remains in the *duat* of the Weary-hearted, unceasingly and unremittingly, in the horizon of eternity forever, forever, eternally, eternally.¹⁰²
















These gods, these great *bas*, foremost of the mounds of the land (necropolis), who were born [... 8 cadrats ...] in the primordial mound, born of the prince, who came into being by Khepri, engendered by the ancestors [... ...] by the one of the horizon, foremost of the horizon of eternity, the temple guardians in the two rows of shrines, the strong and mighty of arm, foremost of the *Dazzling-eye*, the breath in the *Two-palaces*. They come in darkness, they walk in the light at dawn, they join with the living, they protect those who are, they save those who are not, like those who give a hand upon the roads [... ...] your *bas* are in the sky with Re, your mummies are in the *duat* with Osiris, the *ba* of the east, he shows himself in lower heaven, you join with the rays of the sun disk, you eat bread, you drink beer, make cool your hearts with water, may you live for eternity,

may you be young for eternity, your names not perishing upon earth. The great gods, foremost of the Throne of Re, the divine children of Horakhty, these *h³.tyw*, foremost of the mounds of the land.¹⁰³

CONCLUSION

The term *h³.yt* translated as “massacre” or “slaughter” is the most plausible etymological origin of the designation *h³.tyw* and denoted the primary function of this group in both the secular and divine spheres. The orthography of the term, which occurs most frequently in the plural, exhibits numerous variations; however, in circumstances where ideographic writings are encountered it may be impossible to obtain a secure reading unless the liminal group is able to be identified through the presence of an alliterative sequence or the context in which they occur. To date, comprehensive research on alliteration has only been completed in relation to the Pyramid Texts; an in-depth study of its occurrence within the temple texts of the Greco-Roman period would certainly aid attempts to ascertain a definite reading of the various ideograms used to denote these groups of deities and further our understanding of distinctions that existed between them. The most defining characteristic of the physical appearance of the *h³.tyw* are the instruments of butchery which they wielded in one or both hands. They were also attributed with pronounced physical might, great momentum, keen eyesight, and lethal breath. The few instances in which the *h³.tyw* are depicted pictorially relate to situations in which their actions are positive, and their absence in the iconographic record is primarily explicable in terms of the Egyptian concept of empowered images. Conceptually, any pictorial representation of the *h³.tyw* would have acted as a point of contact and ensured their continued existence, amplifying the danger they posed to the individual. In most cases the power that the *h³.tyw* possessed was mostly limited to the tasks they were directed to execute under the command of greater deities, but in a number of circumstances their actions were instead defined topographically and circumscribed to a particular location, namely, the celestial realm.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SOURCES

- Pyramid Text §1256c (Sethe 1910, 215).
- Pyramid Text §1274a (Sethe 1910, 217).
- Pyramid Text §1535b (Sethe 1910, 327).
- Pyramid Text §1726c (Sethe 1910, 411).
- Pyramid Text §1915b (Faulkner 1969b, 31).
- Pyramid Text §2223 (Faulkner 1969b, 63).
- Coffin Texts* I, 290h, coffin of  (Cairo 2804) (de Buck and Gardiner 1935).
- Coffin Texts* I, 290h, coffin of  (Cairo 20823) (de Buck and Gardiner 1935).
- Coffin Texts* I, 290h, coffin of  (Cairo 28027) (de Buck and Gardiner 1935).
- Coffin Texts* I, 290h, coffin of  (Cairo J 39014) (de Buck and Gardiner 1935).
- Coffin Texts* I, 290h, outer coffin of  (Cairo 28092) (de Buck and Gardiner 1935).
- Coffin Texts* III, 366a, inner coffin of  (Cairo 28118) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* III, 366a, outer coffin of  (Cairo 28119) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* III, 366a, inner coffin of  (Cairo 28118) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* III, 366a, inner coffin of  (Cairo 28118) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* III, 366a, coffin of  (Cairo J 36320) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* III, 368a, inner coffin of  (Cairo 28118) (de Buck 1947).
- Coffin Texts* VI, 77a, inner coffin of  (Boston 21.964-65) (de Buck 1956).
- Coffin Texts* VI, 107e, outer coffin of  (Cairo 28092) (de Buck 1991).
- Coffin Texts* VI, 107e, outer coffin of  (Cairo 28092) (de Buck 1991).
- Coffin Texts* VI, 107e, inner coffin of  (Cairo 28091) (de Buck 1991).
- Papyrus Edwin Smith, XVIII, 6 (Breasted 1930, 474).
- Papyrus Edwin Smith, XVIII, 12-13 (Breasted 1930, 474).
- Papyrus Edwin Smith, XIX, 8 (Breasted 1930, 474).
- Papyrus Edwin Smith, XIX, 19 (Breasted 1930, 474).
- Papyrus Edwin Smith, XX, 7 (Breasted 1930, 474).
- The Book of Caverns (Piankoff 1946, pl.XXV, line)2.
- Inscription from Year 5 (Epigraphic Survey 1930, pls. 28, 43).
- Papyrus Anastasi, 3, 1 (C-G CXII, 2) (Fischer-Elfert 1986).
- Papyrus Anastasi, 3, 1 (Dem. 1616) (Fischer-Elfert 1986).
- Papyrus DeM I, vso. 7, 2 (Černý 1976, pl. 15).

32. Papyrus Leiden I 346, I, 4 (Stricker 1948).
33. Sun litany, Shroud of Thutmosis III (Cairo CG 40001) (Hornung 1975, 46).
34. Sun litany, Tomb of Seti I (Hornung 1975, 46).
35. Sun litany, Tomb of Ramses II (Hornung 1975, 46).
36. Sun litany, Tomb of Merenptah (Hornung 1975, 46).
37. Sun litany, Tomb of Seti II (Hornung 1975, 46).
38. Sun litany, Tomb of Ramses III (Hornung 1975, 46).
39. Sun litany, Tomb of Ramses IV (Hornung 1975, 46).
40. Papyrus Cairo JE 86667, XVII, 9 (Leitz 1994, 157).
41. Papyrus Sallier X, 8 (Leitz 1994, 157).
42. Papyrus Cairo JE 86667, XXIV, 4 (Leitz 1994, 238).
43. Papyrus Sallier, XVII, 1 (Leitz 1994, 238).
44. Papyrus Cairo JE 866637, XXIV, 10 (Leitz 1994, 243).
45. Papyrus Sallier, XVII, 6 (Leitz 1994, 243).
46. Papyrus Cairo JE 866637, vso. III, 5 (Leitz 1994, 356).
47. Tomb of Simut (Negm 1997, pl. 50).
48. Graffito from Passage, no.2, Cenotaph of Seti I (Frankfort et al. 1933, pl. LXXXVIII).
49. Graffito from Passage, no.3, Cenotaph of Seti I (Frankfort et al. 1933, pl. LXXXVIII).
50. Amuletic Decree, L. I, rto. 48 (Edwards 1960, pl. 1A).
51. Amuletic Decree, B22 (Edwards 1960, pl. XLVA).
52. Amuletic Decree, T. 2 rto. 43, 49, 77 (Edwards 1960, pls. XXIIA, XXIIIA).
53. Amuletic Decree, NY, rto. 28, 33 (Edwards 1960, pl. XLIA).
54. Papyrus Cleveland 14.723, 12 (Bohleke 1997, fig. 1).
55. Sarcophagus, Berlin 1075 (Königliche Museen 1913, 485).
56. Papyrus Bremner Rhind, 29, 22 (Faulkner 1938a, 42).
57. Papyrus Bremner Rhind, 29, 27 (Faulkner 1938a, 43).
58. *Urkunden* VI, 13, 14 (Schott 1939).
59. Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50, II, 4 (Goyon 1974).
60. Crypt, Elkab (Capart 1940, 22).
61. Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.156, III, 4 (Sauneron 1970, pl. IIIA).
62. Book of the Dead of *T^h*, Chapter 145 (Verhoeven 1993, 114).
63. Book of the Dead of *T^h*, Chapter 149 (Verhoven 1993, 125, 14).
64. Relief no. 3211, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum (Kaper 2003, 260–262).
65. *Deir el Medina*, 98, 5 (Du Bourguet and Gabolde 2008, 86).
66. *Deir el Medina*, 192, 10 (Du Bourguet and Gabolde 2008, 182).
67. *Dendera* II, 166, 3 (Chassinat 1934).
68. *Dendera* III, 165 (Chassinat 1935a).
69. *Dendera* III, 191, 17 (Chassinat 1935a).
70. *Dendera* IV, 222, 9 (Chassinat 1935b).
71. *Dendera* VI, 39, 4 (Chassinat and Daumas 1965).
72. *Dendera* VII, 196, 6 (Chassinat and Daumas 1972).
73. *Dendera* VIII, 33, 14 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
74. *Dendera* VIII, 40, 9 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
75. *Dendera* VIII, 41, 16 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
76. *Dendera* VIII, 66, 7 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
77. *Dendera* VIII, 93, 9 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
78. *Dendera* VIII, 111, 4 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
79. *Dendera* IX, 167, 13 (Daumas 1987).
80. *Dendera* IX, 218, 17 (Daumas 1987).
81. *Dendera* X, 124, 13, in Cauville 1997.
82. *Dendera* X, 357, 3 (Cauville 1997).
83. *Dendera* X, 357, 16 (Cauville 1997).
84. *Dendera* XI, 31, 12 (Cauville 2001).
85. *Dendera* XII, 206, 14 (Cauville 2007a).
86. *Dendera* XIII, 27, 10, 7 (Cauville 2007b).
87. *Dendera* XIII, 47, 12 (Cauville 2007b).
88. *Dendera* XIII, 47, 14 (Cauville 2007b).
89. *Dendera* XIII, 48, 11 (Cauville 2007b).
90. *Dendera* XIV, 89, 1 (Cauville 2007c).
91. *Dendera* XIV, 206, 8–9 (Cauville 2007c).
92. *Dendera* XIV, 212, 9 (Cauville 2007c).
93. *Dendera* XV, 20, 12–13 (Cauville 2008).
94. *Dendera* XV, 37, 6 (Cauville 2008).
95. *Dendera* XV, 187, 7 (Cauville 2008).
96. *Dendera* XV, 210, 11 (Cauville 2008).
97. *Dendera* XV, 230, 7 (Cauville 2008).
98. Gate of Isis, Dendera, 6, 7 (Cauville 1999).
99. Naos of Dendera (Duemichen 1877, pls. 16, 24).

100. *Edfu* I, 184, 10 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
101. *Edfu* I, 272, 9 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
102. *Edfu* I, 301, 11–12 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
103. *Edfu* I, 309, 1 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
104. *Edfu* I, 464, 12 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
105. *Edfu* I, 473, 13 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
106. *Edfu* I, 510, 7 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
107. *Edfu* I 575, 6 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
108. *Edfu* III, 32, 5 (Chassinat 2009a).
109. *Edfu* III, 33, 12 (Chassinat 2009a).
110. *Edfu* III, 293 (Chassinat 2009a).
111. *Edfu* III, 297, 28 (Chassinat 2009a).
112. *Edfu* III, 300, 18 (Chassinat 2009a).
113. *Edfu* III, 303, 13 (Chassinat 2009a).
114. *Edfu* III, 322, 11–12 (Chassinat 2009a).
115. *Edfu* IV, 50, 7 (Chassinat 2009b).
116. *Edfu* IV, 76, 2 (Chassinat 2009b).
117. *Edfu* IV, 273, 16 (Chassinat 2009b).
118. *Edfu* IV, 308, 7 (Chassinat 2009b).
119. *Edfu* IV, 337, 3 (Chassinat 2009b).
120. *Edfu* V, 11, 4 (Chassinat 2009c).
121. *Edfu* V, 104, 6 (Chassinat 2009c).
122. *Edfu* V, 146, 9 (Chassinat 2009c).
123. *Edfu* VI, 9, 6 (Chassinat 2009d).
124. *Edfu* VI, 14, 6 (Chassinat 2009d).
125. *Edfu* VI, 17, 1 (Chassinat 2009d).
126. *Edfu* VI, 61, 1 (Chassinat 2009d).
127. *Edfu* VI, 76, 8 (Chassinat 2009d).
128. *Edfu* VI, 159, 4 (Chassinat 2009d).
129. *Edfu* VI, 179, 10 (Chassinat 2009d).
130. *Edfu* VI, 233, 9 (Chassinat 2009d).
131. *Edfu* VI, 264, 9 (Chassinat 2009d).
132. *Edfu* VI, 265, 4 (Chassinat 2009d).
133. *Edfu* VII, 12, 5 (Chassinat 2009e).
134. *Edfu* VII, 284, 2 (Chassinat 2009e).
135. *Edfu* VIII, 109, 1–2 (Chassinat 2009f).
136. *Edfu* Mammisi, 108, 1 (Chassinat 1939).
137. *Esna* II, 14, 10 (Sauneron 1963).
138. *Esna* II, 107 (Sauneron 1963).
139. *Esna* II, 163, 14 (Sauneron 1963).
140. *Esna* IV, 436 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1969).
141. *Esna* IV, 441, 3 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1969).
142. *Esna* IV, 442, 3 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1969).
143. *Esna* VI, 486, 12 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1975).
144. *Esna* VI, 490, 11–12 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1975).
145. Gate of Mut, Karnak (Sauneron 1983, pl. 12, nr. 13, 1–2).
146. Gate of Mut, Karnak (Sauneron 1983, pl. 12, nr. 14, 10; 14).
147. *Kom Ombo*, 72 (de Morgan 1895).
148. *Kom Ombo*, 630 E,1 (de Morgan 1909).
149. *Kom Ombo*, 666, lower, 1 (de Morgan 1909).
150. *Kom Ombo*, 700, 6 (de Morgan 1909).
151. Naos, Cairo TR 2/2/21/14 (Rondot 1991, fig. 8).
152. Papyrus Jumilhac, XVII, 11 (Vandier 1961).
153. Papyrus Jumilhac, XVIII, 7–8 (Vandier 1961).
154. Papyrus Louvre N 2420c (Chauveau 1990, pl. 1).
155. Papyrus Tebt. H, IV, C2, 16 (Osing 1998, pl. 29).
156. Papyrus Tebt H, IV, C3, 1 (Osing 1998, pl. 29).
157. PSI inv. I 73, frag. A, 13 (Osing and Rosati 1998, pl. 22B).
158. Parcourir L'Éternité, IV, 5 (Herbin 1994, 443).
159. Parcourir L'Éternité, VII (Herbin 1994, 471).
160. *Philae* I, 13, 11 (Junker 1985).
161. *Philae* I, 68, 13 (Junker 1985).
162. Book of the Dead, Chapter 145 (Lepsius 1842, pl. LXV).
163. *Tôd* I, 144 (Drioton et al. 1980).
164. *Tôd* II, 280, 7 (Thiers 2003).
165. *Tôd* II, 286, 2 (Thiers 2003).
166. Door lintel in Cairo (Daressy 1921, pl. I).
167. *Urkunden* VIII, 76c (Firchow 1957, 63).
168. *Urkunden* VIII 86b (Firchow 1957, 72).
169. *Urkunden* VIII, 86g (Firchow 1957, 72).
170. *Urkunden* VIII, 100f (Firchow 1957, 85).
171. *Urkunden* VIII, 116 (Firchow 1957, 94).






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- 11 Leitz 2002c, 304a–305b.
- 12 Leitz 2002d, 718a–719c.
- 13 Leitz 2002d, 793c–794b.
- 14 Leitz 2002e, 229c.
- 15 Leitz 2002f, 140b–141a.
- 16 Leitz 2002f, 459c–460a.
- 17 Leitz 2002g, 78a–79c.
- 18 Leitz 2002g, 231a.
- 19 Leitz 2002g, 570a.
- 20 Gutbub 1973, 243; Blackman and Fairman 1943, 21, no. 6; Junker 1985, 13, no. 3.
- 21 Watterson 1979, 167–169.
- 22 On alliteration see also Firchow 1953, 217–220; Peust 2014; Wilson 1997, xxvi; Guglielmi 1996.
- 23 That interchangeable phonetic values of *h*, *h*, *h*, and *h* in the Ptolemaic period may be a factor that should be considered when identifying alliterative sequences.
- 24 For example, Cauville 2000, 322–323; Cauville 1997 has alternatively identified the value of the ideograms  and  in *Dendara* III, 191, 16–17 (Chassinat 1935a) and *Dendara* X, 124, 13 (Cauville 1997) as the *h³b.yw*;  in *Dendara* X, 357, 3 as the *wpw.tyw*; and  in *Dendara* X, 357, 16 13 (Cauville 1997) as the *šm³.yw*. Penelope Wilson (1997, 603; 661) read the ideogram  in *E. IV*, 76, 2 (Kurth 2014) as *h³b.yw* instead of *h³.tyw*. In *Edfu* I, 464, 9–17 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987), she assigns the same ideogram the value of *hnt.tyw*, whereas Adolphe Gutbub’s (1973, 242) translation of this particular text cites the *wpw.tyw*.
- 25 Papyrus Jumilhac, XVIII, 7, in Vandier 1961.
- 26 Hornung 1975, 46.
- 27 *Dendera* VIII, 66, 7 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978). The two lower signs underneath the knife are largely destroyed and their reading is uncertain.
- 28 *Edfu* VI, 159, 4 (Chassinat 2009d).
- 29 *Dendera* VII, 196, 6 (Chassinat and Daumas 1972); *Dendera* VIII, 93, 9; 111, 4 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
- 30 Kurth 2014, 274.
- 31 See Ikram 1995, 63–70; Szpakowska 2016, 319–320; Wilson 1997, 1207–1208.

NOTES

- ¹ This paper is based on research completed for the author’s master’s thesis (Sass 2015).
- ² Ahn 1997.
- ³ The terms “Grenzgänger” and “Zaungäger” were proposed by Gregor Ahn in an attempt to produce a more differentiated approach to the religious-historical concept of angel and demon like figures. The beings which these terms encompass can be considered as “boundary-walkers” who are perceived as being able to cross the borders between the divine and secular worlds (Ahn 1997, 40–41).
- ⁴ Ockinga 2001, 44; Baines 1985, 277–305.
- ⁵ Hannig 2006, 263–264; Eschweiler 1994, 213.
- ⁶ Breasted 1930, 415; Edwards 1960, vol. I, 56, no. 36.
- ⁷ Faulkner 1938b, 49.
- ⁸ Ockinga 2005, 63.
- ⁹ Leitz 2002a–g.
- ¹⁰ Leitz 2002b, 364b–366c.

- 32 On the ideological significance of flint, see Graves-Brown 2009, 37–60; Graves-Brown 2011.
- 33 *Dendera* XIII, 47, 14 (Cauville 2007b).
- 34 *Dendera* VIII, 41, 16, (Chassinat and Daumas 1978); *Edfu* V, 11, 4; 104, 6 (Chassinat 2009c); *Edfu* VII, 284, 2 (Chassinat 2009e).
- 35 *Dendera* XV, 37, 6, (Cauville, 2008); Papyrus Cairo JE 86667, XXIV, 4 (Leitz 1994, 238).
- 36 *Edfu* V, 11, 4; 104, 6 (Chassinat 2009c).
- 37 Papyrus Leiden I, 346, I, 5–6 (Borghouts 1978, 12–14). In a similar context, *Edfu* VIII, 109, 1–2 (Chassinat 2009f), the great *h³.tyw* are described as “those who go around in her cities, who roam about the nomes, who slaughter or make live when her majesty says.” The eyesight of the *h³.tyw* also appears to be mentioned in Papyrus Hannover 1976.60a2, where the term *nw* “to look at” is used; however, the reading of the full line of text is uncertain (Fischer-Elfert 2015, 195).
- 38 Vernus 1982–1983, 124.
- 39 Vernus 1982–1983, 125.
- 40 Parallel versions contain the variant “the great gods in the sky” (Leitz 1994, 134, 213).
- 41 Papyrus Edwin Smith XIX 19–XX 1 (Breasted 1930, 484).
- 42 Fischer-Elfert 2015, 191.
- 43 *ind-hr=tn p³ sfl h³.tyw ipw n.w Shm.t*.
- 44 Fischer-Elfert 2015, 183.
- 45 Fischer-Elfert 2015, pl. 16
- 46 To current knowledge, this epithet has previously only been attested in the singular (Leitz 2002b, 621c). It occurs in conjunction with the designation *km³ mwt.w* “the one who creates death” in Papyrus Louvre E 3233B, which Fischer-Elfert (2015, 196) cites as a parallel to this text.
- 47 *Edfu* VI, 303, 12 (Chassinat 2009d).
- 48 Piankoff 1946, pl. X.
- 49 Guilmant 1907, pls. LVII, LVIII.
- 50 Leitz 2002e, 636a; Piankoff 1946, 25, pl. 25.
- 51 Piankoff 1946, 25, pl. 25
- 52 *Edfu* III, 32, 5 (Chassinat 2009a).
- 53 *Edfu* III, pl. L, (Chassinat 2009a).
- 54 Leitz 2002b, 42c–43a.
- 55 Goyon, 1985, 80.
- 56 Goyon 1985, 80.
- 57 *Edfu* IX, pl. XVI (Chassinat 2009g).
- 58 Goyon 1985, 80; Leitz 2002c, 444c.
- 59 Ritner 2012, 398.
- 60 Meeks 2001, 375–378; Ritner 2012, 395.
- 61 Eschweiler 1994, 213; Bryan 2012, 311.
- 62 Ritner 2012, 396.
- 63 *Dendera* IX, 167, 13 (Daumas 1987); *Dendera* XI, 31, 12 (Cauville 2001); *Edfu* I, 301, 11–12; 309, 1; 464, 12 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
- 64 *Dendera* II, 166, 3 (Chassinat 1934).
- 65 *Edfu* VI, 61, 1 (Chassinat 2009d); *Esna* IV, 436; 441, 3; 442, 3 (Ménessa and Sauneron 1975).
- 66 Meeks 1971, 45.
- 67 von Lieven 2000, 53.
- 68 *Deir el Medina*, 192, 10 (Du Bourguet and Gabolde 2008, 182).
- 69 *Dendera* IX, 218, 17 (Daumas 1987).
- 70 *Edfu* III, 297, 28 (Chassinat 2009a).
- 71 *Edfu* V, 146, 9 (Chassinat, 2009c).
- 72 *Edfu* I, 575, 6 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat, 1987); *Edfu* IV, 273, 16 (Chassinat 2009b).
- 73 Negm 1997, pl. 50.
- 74 *Esna* II, 14, 10 (Sauneron 1963).
- 75 Valbelle 1981) 135.
- 76 *Dendera* XV, 20, 12–13 (Cauville 2008).
- 77 *Philae* I, 68, 13 (Junker 1985).
- 78 *Dendera* III, 165, 3 (Chassinat 1935a).
- 79 Relief no. 3211, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum (Kaper 2003, 260–262).
- 80 *Deir el Medina*, 98, 5 (Du Bourguet and Gabolde 2008, 86).
- 81 *Edfu* VI, 233, 9 (Chassinat, 2009d).
- 82 *Edfu* IV, 308, 7 (Chassinat 2009b).
- 83 Gate of Mut, Karnak (Sauneron 1983, pl. 12, Nr. 14, 10; 14).
- 84 *Edfu* VI, 300, 15 (Chassinat 2009d).
- 85 *Edfu* I, 510, 7 (de Rochemonteix and Chassinat 1987).
- 86 *Urkunden* VIII, 76c (Firchow 1957, 63).
- 87 Lucarelli 2010, 86.

- ⁸⁸ A graffito records a wish to be saved from the *ḥ3.tyw* “who are in this place” (Frankfort et al. 1933, pl. LXXXVIII).
- ⁸⁹ *Kom Ombo*, 630 E (de Morgan 1909).
- ⁹⁰ Papyrus Sallier, XVII, 6 (Leitz 1994, 243).
- ⁹¹ Faulkner 1969, 255, no.5.
- ⁹² Faulkner 1969, 254, 308.
- ⁹³ Faulkner 1973, vol. 1, 65.
- ⁹⁴ Davis 1911, 172.
- ⁹⁵ Faulkner 1973, vol. 2, 148.
- ⁹⁶ *Esna* IV, 436; 441, 3 (Ménassa and Sauneron 1969).
- ⁹⁷ *Dendera* XIII, 48 (Chassinat and Daumas 1978).
- ⁹⁸ Leitz 1995, 6.
- ⁹⁹ Leitz 1995, 6.
- ¹⁰⁰ Papyrus Jumilhac XVII, 11–12 (Neugebauer and Parker 1960, 190–191); Vandier 1961, 108, 129.
- ¹⁰¹ Thissen 1989, 30–31.
- ¹⁰² *Dendera* IV, 212, 9 (Chassinat, 1935b).
- ¹⁰³ *Dendera* XIV, 206, 8–9 (Cauville 2007c).