# **Coptic Names in the Golden Dawn**

## Spencer M. Graves

## Introduction

The Coptic language serves both a relatively minor role in the magical rituals of the Golden Dawn, and at the same time a vitally important one. Its ceremonies draw heavily upon Egyptian godforms, whose personae the temple officers invoke and ritually assume for the duration of the ritual. Because a great deal of emphasis is placed on the method of invoking these godforms by "vibrating" or intoning their names, it is important that these names be pronounceable. This posed a significant problem to the founders of the Golden Dawn, given that the pronunciation of ancient Egyptian can only be partially reconstructed. Coptic, as the latest manifestation of Egyptian language and the one for which we have the greatest phonetic knowledge, stepped in to bridge the gap.

Unfortunately, Coptic is also an obscure language and one in which the Golden Dawn founders were not well versed. This is borne out in the spellings and pronunciations of Coptic names that have come down to us (chiefly via Israel Regardie and Aleister Crowley) from the original Order teachings. In many cases, these names are hopelessly corrupt. In others they are apocryphal, and in any case dubious. Adam P. Forrest has done much to correct these errors in the modern day, but he does so only for a portion of the Coptic names that Regardie presents. Additionally, a few of the spellings he offers are variants which are either not widely attested (e.g. θωογθ for Thoth) or are not attested at all in the literature I have found (e.g. θΜΗ for Maat). I have attempted therefore to provide as definitive a reference as possible for the Coptic names used in the Golden Dawn, based solely upon scholarly sources. When these have been unavailable, I have refrained from conjecture.

The first section of this essay briefly discusses the methodology I used in researching this topic and selecting the names I present, and points the way to some additional resources. The second section comprises a list of Coptic names corresponding to those which Israel Regardie provides in *The Golden Dawn*. I have maintained Regardie's ordering of the names by station within the temple. For each station I provide the Egyptian name of the godform, and the Coptic spelling and transliteration according to Regardie. Because his transliterations are often inconsistent and do not match up with the Coptic spelling, I give my own corrected transliteration of Regardie's Coptic spelling as well, along with a phonetic pronunciation. Where Adam P. Forrest has

provided an updated Coptic name for the godform, I present his spelling and transliteration next. Finally, for each station I provide my own suggestion for Coptic spelling, transliteration, and pronunciation based upon the academic literature. I have additionally separated these suggestions into a table at the end of this paper for convenient reference.

In the third section, I break out some of the more idiosyncratic aspects of the Coptic names used in the Golden Dawn for further discussion and commentary. Where possible, I have tried to identify the particular sources of confusion that caused the Golden Dawn founders to go astray in their interpretation of the Coptic material and shed some additional light. I also identify the areas where the Coptic appears to have been wholly unavailable to the Order founders, rendering it necessary for them to use artistic license in creating names to fill the gaps.

Before proceeding, I feel a word is in order regarding the motivation for this paper. I am not suggesting that the existing Coptic spellings and pronunciations used in the Golden Dawn be scrapped in favor of those which I present here. More than a century of powerfully transformative magical work has been built upon these foundations, on which basis I believe that the fanciful Coptic spellings we have inherited from the Golden Dawn's founders have done no real harm. But we also need not blindly sacrifice factual accuracy on the altar of mythos. I offer this research in order to provide the historical perspective. If we depart from historical accuracy in favor of established mythos, this is a valid choice—and indeed, this is why I have provided pronunciations of the original forms of the Coptic names used in the Golden Dawn. Only let it be a choice, one that we make consciously and intentionally, rather than because we are not aware of any other alternative. My hope is that this research will serve to lend clarity to one of the murkier waters within the Golden Dawn tradition, and thereby better enable us to make this choice in an informed fashion.

## Methodology

For all transliteration I have followed the conventions laid out in Thomas O. Lambdin's *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic*. I have used William H. Worrell's *Coptic Sounds* as my primary resource for pronunciation, save for the pronunciation of Coptic B as /v/ per Lambdin<sup>1</sup>, and have attempted in my pronunciation guide to transcribe the Coptic names in the manner that will provide the greatest possible clarity to the native speaker of American English. I have thus to some extent necessarily sacrificed accuracy for convenience of understanding. Students wishing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is some disagreement among scholars as to whether the Sahidic Coptic B more closely resembled a bilabial stop, as in English /b/, or whether it represented a labiodental fricative, as in English /v/. Some scholars maintain that it had the former pronunciation at the beginning of a word and the latter in the middle. Worrell holds that it represented a voiced bilabial fricative, which is not used in English; q.v. William H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series XXVI (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934), 40. My choice was ultimately an aesthetic one.

to possess a more technically accurate guide to pronunciation are encouraged to consult one of the aforementioned sources. I have provided pronunciations and transliterations both for Regardie's original renderings and for my emended ones. When alternate Coptic spellings exist for the names (as they invariably do), I have selected the Sahidic variant. While Bohairic became the dialect that ultimately prevailed in the Coptic Orthodox Church, Sahidic was the form predominant throughout the Hellenistic period. When both Sahidic and Old Coptic forms exist, I have chosen the one most widely attested; if no basis exists for such comparison, I have favored the Sahidic. I have given other dialectical spellings, where attested in the sources I have consulted, in the footnotes for the sake of completeness.

It is worth noting that Coptic pronunciation and orthography differed widely due to dialectical variation as well as the fact that the language would not become orthographically standardized until Shenoute's writings in the fourth century C.E. attained such popularity that they served as a literary model for subsequent generations. While there are thus many authentic Coptic spellings and pronunciations—only some of which are likely known to us in the present day—it is equally true that there are many inauthentic ones. I have not attempted therefore to put forward the "one true reading," but rather I have endeavored to proffer *a* true reading which is based upon a solid linguistic foundation and can be relied upon with confidence.

## The Stations of the Neophyte Hall

*The Visible Stations – The Dais Officers* 

### **Imperator**

Godform: Nephthys (nbt-hwt)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Νεγφογοε-52	Neoph-tho-osest	/ne-ooph-thoo-sest/3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> All of Regardie's Coptic names and transliterations are from Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn: The Original Account of the Teachings, Rites and Ceremonies of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn*, 6th ed., Llewellyn's Golden Dawn Series (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 2002), 352-353. Mathers also gives Coptic spellings of the godforms on page 663; these largely agree with Regardie's on 352-353, but differ in a few places. I suspect this variance is due to "scribal error," but it would be necessary to consult additional manuscripts to determine which is the original spelling. A further examination of the textual tradition in this respect would be worthwhile, but for the purposes of this paper I have elected simply to elaborate on Regardie's own presentation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The NEY (i.e. ne-oo) in the name should be pronounced as one syllable, but I have chosen to break it into two components for the sake of clarity. I've kept Regardie's transliteration and pronunciation of  $\varsigma$  as "st" since it has no phonetic value in Coptic, but was assigned this pronunciation within the Golden Dawn (see comments to Nephthys below). Note also that the Coptic letters  $\Theta$  and  $\Phi$  are monograms used to represent the combination of two consonants, viz. T+ $\Theta$  and  $\Pi$ + $\Theta$ . The letters possess identical phonetic value to that of the same characters in

		(orig.) Neuphthuse-st (corr.)	
Forrest	NEBOW <sup>4</sup>	Nebethô	
Graves	иевоф2	Nebthō	/nev-thō/

#### **Praemonstrator**

Godform: Isis (3s.t)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Hice-5	Ae-isest (orig.)	/ey-sest/
		Ēise-st (corr.)	
Forrest	нсе	Êse	
Graves	HC€ <sup>6</sup>	Ēse	/ey-seh/

#### Cancellarius

Godform: Thoth (dhwty)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	θωογθ	Tho-ooth (orig.)	$/t^{\mathrm{h}}\bar{\mathrm{o}}\mathrm{w}t^{\mathrm{h}}/$
	·	Thōouth (corr.)	
Forrest	θωογθ	Thôouth	
Graves	θ00ΥΤ <sup>7</sup>	Thoout	/thowt/

ancient Greek, i.e. as aspirated stops, as opposed to the unaspirated stops represented by Coptic (and Greek)  $\tau$  and  $\pi$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> All of Forrest's Coptic names and transliterations are from Adam P. Forrest, "The Godforms of the Visible Stations," in Self-Initiation Into the Golden Dawn Tradition: A Complete Curriculum of Study for Both the Solitary Magician and the Magical Working Group, Llewellyn's Golden Dawn Series, by Chic Cicero and Sandra Tabatha Cicero, 6-16 (St. Paul, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westerdorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), s.v. "Nephthys." The variant NeΦθω is also attested as an Old Coptic form in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1921), 76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 34. Also HCI (Old Bohairic).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. "Thoth." ΘΟΟΥΤ is the common Old Sahidic form of dħwty; Bohairic ΘωΟΥΤ and Subakhmimic (or Sahidic per Koptisches Handwörterbuch) ΘλΥΤ spellings are also given. Crum, in A Coptic Dictionary (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 462a, states that ΘΟΟΥΤ is the most common rendering, but also gives ΘωΘ, ΘΟΘ, ΘΟΟΤ, and ΘλΟΥΘ in addition to the Bohairic ΘωΟΥΤ. Werner Vycichl, in Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte (Leuven: Peeters, 1983), 58, also provides ΘωΘ and ΘΟΟΤ. Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 162, states that Regardie's and Forrest's ΘωΟΥΘ is Old Coptic.

## **Past Hierophant**

Godform: Haroeris (hr-wr)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	λρωγερι-ς	Aroo-ouerist (orig.)	/ah-rōw-eh-reest/
		Arōueri-st (corr.)	
Forrest	дашр оүнр	Hôôr Ouer	
Graves	2∞р оүнр <sup>8</sup>	Hōr Ouēr	/hōr weyr/

## The Visible Stations – The Major Officers

## Hierophant

Godform: Osiris (ws.ir)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Hajarapi-5	Ae-shoo-rist (orig.)	/ey-shō-ō-reest/
		Ēšōōri-st (corr.)	
Forrest	ογειρι	Ousiri	
Graves	ογειρι9	Ousiri	/oo-see-ree/

#### Hiereus

Godform: Horus (hr or hrw)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Samb	Hoor (orig.)	/hō-ōr/
		Hōōr (corr.)	
Forrest	Samb	Hôôr	
Graves	2wp10	Hōr	/hōr/

## Hegemon

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  Crum, Coptic Dictionary, 697b, 488b. OYHP = "great." The spelling  $2\omega\omega P$  is unattested in the literature I have consulted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. "Osiris." Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 171, also gives Old Coptic Ογειρε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 697b.

Godform: Maat (*m3<sup>e</sup>t*)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	$\theta$ mah- $\varsigma$ , $\theta$ mah- $\omega$ ,	Thmae-st, Thmae-sh,	/thəm-ah-eyst/, /thəm-
	Өман-†	Thmae-tt (orig.)	ah-eysh/, /thəm-ah-
	•	Thmaē-st, Thmaē-š,	ey-tee/
		Thmaē-ti (corr.)	
Forrest	өмн	Thmê	
Graves	ME <sup>11</sup>	Me	/meh/

## The Visible Stations – The Minor Officers

#### Kerux

Godform: Anubis (*jnpw*) of the East

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	λνωγει-ς μ-πειετ	Ano-oobist-em-Pe-	/ah-nō-veest əm-
		eeb-tte (orig.)	peevt/
		Anōubi-st m-Peibt	
		(corr.)	
Forrest	хиоүп мпеіевт	Anoup empelebet	
Graves	$λ$ ΝΟΥΠ $\overline{M}$ -Π- $\varepsilon$ I $\varepsilon$ BT $^{12}$	Anoup m-p-eiebt	/ah-noop əm-pee-evt/

#### **Stolistes**

Godform: Mut (*mwt*)

Author Coptic Name Transliteration Pronunciation
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 158a. M6 is the Sahidic spelling; Bohairic MHI and ΘΜΗΙ are also given in 158a and 68b respectively. *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 56, also gives M66I (Fayyumic), M6I (Akhmimic), MH6 (Akhmimic?), M66 (Old Sahidic). Vycichl, 105, additionally gives MI6. Forrest's ΘΜΗ is unattested in the literature I have encountered. <sup>12</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 76b, provides ΘΙΘΒΤ, "the east;" *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, 7, gives  $\lambda$ NOγΠ as Old Coptic. I have placed a dash between the masculine definite article  $\Pi$  and the word it modifies, and have done the same for the preposition  $\overline{M}$ . This is a modern grammatical aid, and was not a feature of the original Coptic. It is included for the sake of clarity. Articles and prepositions can be separated from the word they precede, as I have done here, or they can be compounded therewith as Forrest has done. The Coptic supralinear stroke, as found in  $\overline{M}$ , indicates a vowelless syllable in which the consonant serves in place of a vowel. I have indicated this in the pronunciation guide with a schwa (a) character for greater intelligibility, but in actuality it is the consonant itself which is voiced, and there is no intervening vowel sound.

Regardie	λΥΡ $λ$ -Μ $ω$ Υ $θ$	Aur-a-mo-ooth (orig.)	/ow-ra-mōwth/
		Aura-mouth (corr.)	
Forrest	аүрамооүө	Auramoouth	
Graves	<b>ΜΟΥΤ</b> <sup>13</sup>	Mout	/moot/

#### **Dadouchos**

Godform: Neith (nt)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Өаүм-нау-мінө	Thaum-aesch-niaeth	/thowm-eysh-nee-
		(orig.)	eyth/
		Thaum-ēš-niēth	
		(corr.)	
Forrest	өхүм на) иніө	Thaum-Êsh-Nêith	
Graves	<b>N€10</b> <sup>14</sup>	Neith	/neeth/

#### Sentinel

Godform: Anubis (*jnpw*) of the West

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	λνωγει-μ-πειετ	Ano-oobi em-	/ah-nō-vee əm-peh-
	[sic]	Pementte (orig.)	mənt/
		Anōubi m-pemnt	
		(corr.)	
Forrest	$λ$ ΝΟΥΠ ΜΠ $ϵ$ ΜΝΤ $^{15}$	Anoup emp Emenet	
Graves	<b>λΝΟΥΠ Μ̄-Π-€ΜΝ̄Τ</b> <sup>16</sup>	Anoup m-p-emnt	/ah-noop əm-peh-
	-		mənt/

## The Invisible Stations – Children of Horus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 165, s.v. Π€Τ€ΜΟΥΤ.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Paul Ernst Jablonski, *Pauli Ernesti Iablonski, Doctoris Theologi in Academia Francofurtana senioris et Societas Scientiarum Regiae Berolinensis membri, Pantheon Aegyptiorum: sive De diis eorum commentarius, cum prolegomenis de religione et theologia Aegyptiorum* (Francofurti ad Viadrum: Sumptibus Ioan. Christ. Kleyb., 1750), lib. I, 76-78. Possibly also ΝΔΗΤ, ΝΔΗΘ, or ΝΘΙΤ. I question the reliability of this source, but it is the only mention I have been able to uncover of the name of Neith as rendered in Coptic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Forrest also gives Opowet, οφοογι (Ophooui) as an alternate godform for this station. I have been unable to find the Coptic form of this name in the literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary,* 56a, provides εμντ, "the west;" *Koptisches Handwörterbuch,* 7, gives ανογπ as Old Coptic.

## **Imsety/Amset (Northeast)**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	λμεωε† or	Ameshett or	/ah-mesh-eh-tee/ or
	<b>х</b> мефеө	Amesheth <sup>17</sup> (orig.)	/ah-mesh-eth/
		Amešeti or Amešeth	
		(corr.)	
Graves			

## **Duamutef (Southeast)**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Тшүмдөф or	Tto-oumathph or	/tōw-ma-thəph/ or
	Τωγμλθη	Tmo-oumathv <sup>18</sup>	/tōw-ma-thəf/
		(orig.)	
		Tōumathph or	
		Tōumathf (corr.)	
Graves			

## **Kebehsenuef (Northwest)**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Каве́знүч ог Каве́знүємоүч	Kabexnuv or Dabexnjemouv <sup>19</sup> (orig.) Kabeksnuf or Kabeksnuemouf (corr.)	/ka-veks-noof/ or /ka-veks-noo-eh-moof/
Graves			

## Hapi (Southwest)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Ameshet is sometimes written Mesti" (Regardie, *Golden Dawn*, 358). Regardie also states on p. 343 that "The spelling is Coptic and differs according to the force intended to be invoked by the letters." He gives no further detail on this point.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Tmoomathaph is sometimes written Duamutef." Regardie, Golden Dawn, 358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Kabexnuv is sometimes written Qebhsenef." Regardie, *Golden Dawn*, 358.

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	λ2εφι or $λ$ 2 $λ$ Π $2$ 1 $z$	Ahephi or Ahaphix <sup>20</sup>	/ah-he-phee/ or /ah-
		(orig.)	ha-pheeks/
		Ahephi or Ahaphiks	
		(corr.)	
Graves			

## The Invisible Stations – Kerubim

#### East/Air

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	<b>λ?</b> λθωωρ	Ahathoor (orig.)	/ah-ha-thō-ōr/
		Ahathōōr (corr.)	
Graves	გა <del>მ</del> თხ <sub>21</sub>	Hathōr	/ha-thōr/

### South/Fire

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	$\theta$ αρφε-ω	Tharpesh (orig.)	/thar-phesh/
		Tharphe-š (corr.)	_
Graves			

#### West/Water

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	θωογη-μωογ	Tho-oom Mo-oo	/thōwm mōw/
		(orig.)	
		Thōum-Mōou (corr.)	
Graves	COOIC <sup>22</sup>	Sothis	/so-thees/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Ahepi is sometimes written Hapi." Regardie, Golden Dawn, 358.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 10. Also  $\&\Theta$ CDP (Bohairic). Vicychl, 291, notes that &POCDP is a plural form, used e.g. in the Heptad of Hathors; he additionally gives &POCDA as a variation in the Fayyumic dialect (317).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Jablonski, *Pantheon Aegyptiorum*, lib iii., 46. As mentioned above in note 23, I find this source questionable, but as in the case of Neith I have been unable to find this name attested elsewhere. Jablonski presents the name as  $\Pi ICOOIC$ , but I am certain that the  $\Pi I$  represents the masculine definite article—possibly from Bohairic, given the form thereof (viz. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, 18).

#### North/Earth

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	<b>λ</b> 2λπα)ι	Ahapshi (orig.)	/ah-hahp-shee/
		Ahapši (corr.)	
Graves	<b>2</b> λΠ <b>€</b> <sup>23</sup>	Hape	/ha-peh/

#### The Invisible Stations – Evil Persona

### **Stooping Dragon**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	$λ$ ποφρ $λ$ c $6^{24}$	Apophra-i Ssz (orig.)	/ah-po-pʰras-k <sup>y</sup> ə
		Apophrasč (corr.)	
Graves	<b>λ</b> φωφ <sup>25</sup>	Aphōph	/a-phōph/

#### Slayer of Osiris

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	банан-Тоүфин	Szathan-Toophon	/kya-thahn too-phōn/
		(orig.)	
		Čathan-Touphōn	
		(corr.)	
Graves	<b>Τιφων</b> <sup>26</sup> π <b>-</b>	Tiphon p-Satanas	/tee-phōn əp-sah-tah-
	CATANAC <sup>27</sup>		nas/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Koptisches Handwörterbuch, 240. Also Bohairic 2λΠι. Not related to Hapi of the Sons of Horus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Coptic G, or G,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. "Apophis"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Athanasius Kircher, Athanasii Kircheri Fuldensis Buchonii E Soc. Iesu Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta: opus tripartitum. Quo linguæ Coptæ sive idiomatis illius primæui Ægyptiorum pharaonici, vetustate temporum pæne collapsi, ex abstrusis Arabum monumentis, plena Instauratio continetur. Cui adnectitur Supplementum Earum rerum, quæ in Prodromo Copto, & Opere hoc Tripartito, vel omissa, vel obscurius tradita sunt, noua, & peregrina eruditione contextum, ad instauratæ Linguæ usum, speciminis loco declarandum (Romae: Sumptibus Hermanni Scheus, apud Ludovicum Grignanum, 1644), 527

#### **Brutal Power of Demonic Force**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Beco	Bessz (orig.)	/ves-k <sup>y</sup> ə/
		Besč (corr.)	
Graves	внс <sup>28</sup>	Bēs	/veys/

#### **Mouth of the Power of Destruction**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Оммү-баван	Ommoo Szathan	/om-moo k <sup>y</sup> a-t <sup>h</sup> ahn/
	•	(orig.)	
		Ommu-Čathan (corr.)	
Graves			

## The Invisible Stations – Miscellaneous

## Harpocrates (hr-p3-hrd)

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	2000р-110-кра 1-5	Ho-or Po-Kratt-I St	/hō-ōr po-kra-tee-
		(orig.)	eest/
		Hōōr-po-kratii-st	
		(corr.)	
Graves	карпократіос <sup>29</sup>	Karpokratios	/kar-po-kra-tee-os/

## The Invisible Stations – Zodiacal Signs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The name of Satan is given as ΠCATANAC in both Sahidic and Bohairic versions of the New Testament, and I have followed this rendering in my own emendation of the Coptic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> E. A. Wallis Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (London: John Murray, 1920), 223a.

## Aquarius

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Φριτιθι	Phritithi (orig.)	/phree-tee-ee-thee/
		Phritiithi (corr.)	
Graves	<b>π-PιΤιΘι</b> <sup>30</sup>	p-Ritithi	/pree-tee-thee/

### Leo

Author	<b>Coptic Name</b>	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	<b>Х</b> АВШ-Н	Labo-ae (orig.)	/lah-bō-ey/
		Labō-ē (corr.)	
Graves	<b>π-λεω</b> ν <sup>31</sup>	p-Leōn	/əp-leh-ōn/

## Scorpio

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Схні	Szlae-ee <sup>32</sup> (orig.)	/sley-ee/
		Slēi (corr.)	
Graves	п-скорпюс <sup>33</sup>	p-Skorpios	/əp-skor-pee-os/

#### **Taurus**

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	Ταλγρ	Ta-aur (orig.)	/ta-awr/
		Taaur (corr.)	
Graves	п-таүрос <sup>34</sup>	p-Tauros	/əp-tau-ros/

## The Invisible Stations – Cardinal Points

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Crum, Coptic Dictionary, 306a. Kircher gives φριτιθι in Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, 50.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  Here Regardie transliterates the Coptic C as "sz," whereas elsewhere he transliterates  $^{6}$  using the same characters. This is a bit perplexing, but the Coptic characters here are indeed those given by Regardie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Kircher, *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, 50.

### North

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	NMe21+	Anmehitt (orig.)	/ən-meh-hee-tee/
		Nmehiti <sup>35</sup> (corr.)	
Graves	<b>ก-พี2เ</b> т <sup>36</sup>	p-mhit	/əp-əm-heet/

#### South

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	фрист	Phraestt (orig.)	/phreys-tee/
_		Phrēsti (corr.)	
Graves	п-рнс <sup>37</sup>	p-rēs	/əp-reys/

## East

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	€1B†	E-eebtt (orig.)	/eev-tee/
	•	Eibti (corr.)	
Graves	п-єієвт <sup>38</sup>	p-eiebt	/pee-evt/

#### West

Author	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Regardie	<b>Ем</b> и†	Emantt (orig.)	/em-ən-tee/
	•	Emnti (corr.)	
Graves	п <b>-</b> єм <b>ग</b> т <sup>39</sup>	p-emnt	/peh-mənt/

## **Commentary on the Coptic Names**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> I've chosen to give transliteration and pronunciation for Regardie's original in this section for the sake of completeness, but his renderings are demonstrably corrupt and should be discarded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 212a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 299b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 76b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 56a.

#### The Coptic Letter That Wasn't

For the stations of Nephthys, Isis, Haroeris, Osiris, Anubis, and one variant of Maat, Regardie appends the Coptic character  $\varsigma$  to the name of the godform. He explains this parenthetically in *The Golden Dawn* by saying, "St [i.e.  $\varsigma$ ] added as a suffix to a name indicates the influence from Kether." This terse explanation is unfortunately less than satisfactory. Thankfully, Crowley is more helpful in providing additional detail, as revealed by Hymenaeus Beta in a note within *Liber ABA*:

In his unpublished marginalia to "Liber D, Sepher Sephiroth," §31, Crowley writes that "ShT is  $\mathfrak{F}$  ...the Kether letter in Coptic." Werner Vychichl, in *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue Copte* (1983), notes that the Sahidic Coptic equivalent to *stigma* is  $\mathfrak{F}$ , "an additional letter of the alphabet traditionally pronounced ...  $\operatorname{COOY}[sou] = 6$ ." This letter *sou* was used as a numeral with no phonetic value in some forms of Coptic... The corresponding Greek numeral *stigma* is a digraph of *sigma* and *tau* (*ST*), which probably explains the use of the Coptic *sou* with the "power" or phonetic value "*st*" in the G.D., where *sou*, when "added to a Coptic deity name, represents a more spiritual force since  $\mathfrak{F}$  is attributed to Kether."

The same note in *Liber ABA* continues, providing much useful information and giving a full Tree of Life diagram with the Coptic letters mapped to the Sephiroth and Paths. Of particular note is that the letter  $\mathfrak{Q}$  (*shai*) corresponds to the  $31^{st}$  path of Shin, and the letter  $\mathfrak{T}(ti)$  corresponds to the Sephirah of Binah. This will be addressed further below with respect to the godform of Maat. The fact that Crowley attests the use of the  $\mathfrak{T}$  in the Coptic names indicates that this was a part of the original Order teaching rather than a later addition within the Stella Matutina.

While the preceding excerpt helps us to understand the intent behind the use of the numeral, and sheds a bit of light on the origin of this misunderstanding, it does not tell the full story—and indeed adds some confusion of its own to the mix. The *sou* is an evolution of the archaic Greek digamma, which survived as a numeral in the Milesian scheme which was developed around the third century BCE; by this point the character had evolved from the archaic Greek letter that was later to become the Latin F to something resembling the Greek lowercase final sigma. It was later conflated with the stigma ligature, that is, the conjoined written representation of sigma and tau. (The definition of stigma as "the mark" has no bearing on its use in this context.) Because the stigma ligature was not in common use until the ninth century CE, we can say with

<sup>40</sup> Regardie, Golden Dawn, 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Aleister Crowley, *Magick: Book 4, Liber ABA*, second one-volume edition, revised and enlarged (1997; reprint, Boston: Samuel Weiser, 2004), 768.

utmost certainty that the character was never pronounced as /st/ in ancient Coptic. <sup>42</sup> All available research I have been able to uncover indicates that the character was used only as a numeral in Coptic, and pronounced /soo/—which is the Coptic word for the number six.

#### **Supernal Suffixes**

The use of Coptic letters as suffixes to indicate an affinity with the supernal Sephiroth of the Qabalistic Tree of Life is most evident in the names Regardie gives for the Coptic form of Maat. As noted previously, the numeral sou is used in the name  $\Theta HAH-\varsigma$  to indicate the influence from Kether. It was also noted that the letter  $\mathfrak{Q}$  (shai) corresponds to the  $31^{st}$  path of Shin, and the letter  $\dagger$  (ti) corresponds to the Sephirah of Binah. In this instance, however, the attributions of the letters are undoubtedly different. In the Enterer of the Threshold document, Regardie gives a further elaboration on the three forms of the name. He states that "Thma-Ae-St...regards the Middle Pillar and the influence from Kether. Thma-aesh [is] more Fiery as regards her influence with respect to the Pillar of Severity. Thmaa-ett [is] more Fluidic with regard to her influence with respect to the Pillar of Mercy." Thus the  $\mathfrak{Q}$  corresponds to Fire,  $\dagger$  to Water, and  $\varsigma$  presumably to Air, mirroring the three Hebrew "mother" letters and the three supernal Sephiroth.

#### Making a Name for Yourself

In a number of cases the Coptic for certain names was unavailable to the Golden Dawn founders, and they had to use artistic license to create them—often giving highly creative transliterations into Coptic of their common Egyptian names. Those of Auramooth and Thaum Esh Neith are particularly interesting examples of this phenomenon.

Frater T.S., the transcriber of the electronic edition of *Liber* 777 for the Nu Isis Working Group, states in his notes to Crowley's tables of correspondences that "Auramoth and Thoum-aesh-neith were never Egyptian deities but were names constructed on Qabalistic principles by the Golden Dawn to refer to water and fire." <sup>44</sup> Based on my researches I am inclined to agree at least partially with this assessment. Whether or not the godforms of Thaum Esh Neith and Auramooth were originally intended to correspond to the Egyptian deities Neith and Mut, however, they have obtained this association in modern practice (q.v. Forrest). Nick Farrell asserts that both godforms were invented by Mathers as active and passive extensions of Maat and did not have an origin in ancient Egypt. <sup>45</sup> He further states that "Thoum-aesh-neith and Auramooth mean"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "Stigma (letter)." Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stigma (letter) (accessed May 19, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Regardie, Golden Dawn, 339.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Aleister Crowley, *777 Revised*, transcribed by Frater T.S. (Leeds: Celephaïs Press, 2004), accessed November 4, 2012, http://www.golden-dawn-canada.com/pdf/liber 777 revised.pdf, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Nick Farrell, "Gods of the Golden Dawn," accessed November 2, 2012, http://nick-farrell.blogspot.com/2012/04/gods-of-golden-dawn.html.

'torch bearer' and water of light.'"<sup>46</sup> These meanings must be solely Qabalistic in origin, as there is no resemblance to any of these words in Coptic save Moouth, which if not originally intended to refer to Mut, the goddess of the primal waters, is possibly related to μοογ ("water").

Regardless of intent, there is certainly a happy synchronicity between the two possible meanings. There is no such word as λγρλ in Coptic, and it is instead the word ογοειν which is consistently used for "light" (in both mundane and spiritual contexts) within the Coptic literature. There is similarly nothing resembling θλγνι. "Aesh," if genuinely Coptic, is certainly not μα), as Regardie and Forrest relate—a word which does not exist in the language—but may dubiously be associated with λα), a word meaning "oven" or "furnace."

#### **The Orphaned Sons**

The founders were also forced to get creative with the names of the sons of Horus. I have been unable to find Coptic names for them, and would be surprised if any exist within the available literature. The sons of Horus are funerary deities found within the Book of the Dead, but the custom of burial with such texts went out of practice a century prior to the emergence of the Coptic language. The texts themselves are found in hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic script, but not in Coptic. Neither the writings I have been able to find nor Crum's catalogue of the Coptic materials in the British Museum have given me any reason to believe that there are any materials available from the Coptic period which preserve these names. I suspect that they were transcribed from the Egyptian of Budge's rendering of the *Papyrus of Ani* by the founders of the Golden Dawn, likely informed by Qabalistic principles as was the case with Auramooth and Thaum Esh Neith.

For similar reasons, we run into further difficulty with the name of the "Mouth of the Power of Destruction," which Regardie renders as "Ommoo Szathan." This name undoubtedly refers to "Ammit (em mwt), the hybrid monster composed of crocodile, lion and hippopotamus that devours the condemned at the judgment of the dead." As with the Sons of Horus, Ammit seems primarily to have been associated with the Book of the Dead, and the name likely does not survive in Coptic form.

As a side note, I am of the opinion that the directional correspondences of Amset and Hapi as given in Regardie are likely incorrect. Whether this is an error originating in Regardie's source

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Crum, Coptic Dictionary, 22a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Manfred Lurker, *The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt: An Illustrated Dictionary*, trans. Barbara Cumming (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Walter Ewing Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, Ltd., 1905), entire.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. "Dämonen." em = "to devour" in translation.

material or whether it derives from the original Golden Dawn teachings, assuming my assessment is accurate, I cannot say. The sons of Horus were traditionally assigned to the four quarters in Egyptian myth, and the Egyptian directional correspondences are widely attested. Duamutef is assigned to the east, Kebehsenuef to the west, Amset to the south, and Hapi to the north. <sup>51</sup> Because the Kerubim are assigned to the quarters in the Golden Dawn Hall of the Neophytes, it was necessary to relegate the Sons of Horus to the ordinal directions (NE, SE, NW, SW). <sup>52</sup> Kebehsenuef and Duamutef are both shifted 45 degrees clockwise, the former to the northwest and the latter to the southeast. Their traditional east-west orientation is thus preserved in their new locations. Amset and Hapi, on the other hand, are rotated 225 degrees clockwise, to the northeast and southwest respectively. This reverses the traditional north-south orientation of the two canopic deities, and clashes with the reorientation of Kebehsenuef and Duamutef. I posit that in keeping with the clockwise 45 degree rotation of Kebehsenuef and Duamutef, Amset should be located in the southwest and Hapi in the northeast.

#### **Clarifying the Kerubim**

Mathers, in his paper "The Pyramid Gods and Their Attribution," gives the name of the Kerub of the East as "Athor." He similarly gives alternate names for the rest of the Kerubs, as noted in comments to follow. Given that Athor is the spelling used for the nature goddess Hathor in the Golden Dawn's Zelator ceremony, and that the remainder of Mathers's attributions (save that of Sothis) correspond to Egyptian deities, I believe that Ahathoor is a corrupted spelling of the name of the goddess Hathor. I have elected to follow the attributions of Mathers rather than those presented by Regardie himself in my emended Coptic because Mathers represents the original Golden Dawn teaching; because I cannot find anything similar to the names Regardie gives in the Egyptological literature save Ahathoor/Hathor and Ahapshi/Apis, which corroborate Mathers's own renderings; and because the Mathers attributions largely make sense with their respective elemental correspondences. Hathor was, among other roles, seen as a sky-goddess, hence her station in the quarter of elemental Air. She corresponds to the Hebrew Kerub Adam.

Mathers identifies the Kerub of the South as "Pasht or Sekhet."<sup>54</sup> Pasht is another name for Pekhet, a minor cat or lioness deity. <sup>55</sup> Sekhet is an alternate form of the name Sekhmet, the lioness. This is fitting given that the South is the station of Leo, the Lion. Sekhmet corresponds to the Hebrew Aryeh, the leonine Kerub of Fire. Despite Mathers's alternate attribution,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Lexikon der Ägyptologie, s.v. Horuskinder; also cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, Gods of the Egyptians (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), vol. 1, 158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Frater T.S., in Crowley, *777 Revised*, **147**, states that "their G.D. attributions to the cross-quarters probably derive from a single find of an Egyptian tomb which had the four jars with the images of the gods disposed thus." I have been unable to identify the find to which he refers.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Israel Regardie, *The Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic* (1984; reprint, Tempe, AZ: New Falcon Publications, 1994), vol. 10, 95; also cf. Regardie, *Golden Dawn*, 663.
 <sup>54</sup> *Ihid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Budge, Gods of the Egyptians, vol. 1, 517.

Tharpesh was apparently also used within the original Order teachings. Frater T.S. states that "the name Tarpesheth (Tharpesht) is unknown prior to G.D. material, although she appears to be a hybrid of Bast and Sekhet."<sup>56</sup> I have been unable to find the Coptic name of Sekhmet in the literature.

The name of the Kerub of the West is given as "Sothis."<sup>57</sup> Sothis is the Egyptian name of a star, generally held to be the dog-star Sirius. Sirius is associated with the annual flooding of the Nile. The word μωογ in Regardie is probably related to Coptic μοογ, which translates to "water" in English. Sothis corresponds to the Hebrew Kerub Nesher.

The Kerub of the North is named "Apis" according to Mathers.<sup>58</sup> Apis is a bull deity, and is thus assigned to the quarter of Taurus the Bull. He is associated with the Hebrew Shor, the bull Kerub of Earth.

#### Born Under a Bad Sign

While there is plenty of confusion to go around in the Coptic names of the Golden Dawn, this phenomenon is ironically both the most profound and perhaps the most easily avoidable when it comes to the names of the zodiacal signs. Coptic names for all of the signs exist within Kircher's *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, yet even when the Golden Dawn founders relied upon that source they appear to have missed the mark. Regarding Kircher's glossary entries for these signs, Herbert Chatley expresses the sentiment that "[Athanasius] Kircher was a most imaginative man and that little reliance can be placed on many of his statements," and asserts that the names of the zodiacal signs "are in corrupt Greek." Although Kircher's conclusions with regard to the hieroglyphs may have widely missed the mark, I believe Chatley has here confused "corrupt" with "cognate." The zodiac as we know it today originated in Babylonia, and was only introduced to Egypt during the Hellenistic fusion by way of Greece. It therefore makes sense that Coptic, which took a vast number of cognates from the Greek language, would do so with the names for the zodiacal signs as well.

The word Regardie gives for Leo is a corruption of the Coptic אא Bo1, which means either "lioness" or "she-bear" and derives from the Hebrew לביא having the same meaning. <sup>60</sup> I believe this choice is mistaken, partly on the evidence of Kircher and partly because the Hebrew name for the astrological sign Leo is not in fact לביא but rather אריה. <sup>61</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Crowley, *777 Revised*, 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Regardie, Complete Golden Dawn System of Magic, vol. 10, 95; also cf. Regardie, Golden Dawn, 663.

<sup>58</sup> Ihid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Herbert Chatley, "The Lunar Mansions in Egypt," *Isis* 31, No. 2 (Apr. 1940), 395.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 136b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Crum (*Coptic Dictionary*, 160b, s.v. μογι) additionally states that XPWM refers to the astrological sign Leo in the Bohairic dialect, but that this attribution is an uncertain one.

Pat Zalewski states that the Coptic name for Scorpio is "Isidis," meaning "attack of the enemy" or "oppression." Richard Hinckley Allen states that the name Isidis as connected to Scorpio derives from Kircher, who called the constellation "Iouac, Statio Isidis" due to the fact that Scorpio's star Antares was at one point associated with Isis. 63 Needless to say, it seems unlikely in the extreme that the Coptic name for Scorpio would derive from a Latin genitive. Zalewski (or his source material) appears to have gotten this impression, as well as the "attack of the enemy" and "oppression" definitions, from Frances Rolleston's 1862 work Mazzaroth; or, The Constellations. Under the heading of Scorpio, Rolleston states that the Coptic name is "Isidis, attack of the enemy."64 Further of note is the fact that Rolleston interprets the base meaning of Scorpio itself as both "the scorpion" and "the conflict," and provides Hebrew roots that correspond to both definitions: he lists the Hebrew root 7W as the source of the word translated "oppression" in Psalm 17:9, which attribution lies on the same line as Rolleston's spurious Coptic name but is not actually connected thereto. 65 The confusion which results in connecting "oppression" to "attack of the enemy" therefore appears to be due to a less than intuitive textual layout on Rolleston's part. The profound confusion which is responsible for associating "Isidis" with the Coptic language, or providing "attack of the enemy" as a meaning of the same, however, is Rolleston's own.

As for Regardie's rendering of CλHI, this appears to come from Kircher. In *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta*, he translates *scorpio* as OYCλH. 66 This occurs in his Arabic-Coptic lexicon rather than the Latin-Coptic, and appears to refer simply to a scorpion (Latin *scorpio*) rather than the astrological sign, which is treated earlier on page 50 in the section pertaining to the planets and zodiac—whence my emendation. The OY was possibly dropped in Regardie's source material because OY is the Coptic singular indefinite article, though whether it is intended as such in Kircher's lexicon entry is uncertain. The iota at the end of Regardie's CλHI probably derives from the fact that there is a character appended to every Coptic entry in Kircher's lexicon which appears to be either an iota flanked by two dots or a Maltese cross that is faded in the type. I strongly suspect that whoever assigned CλHI to the translation of Scorpio used *Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta* as the source for this term, and misinterpreted this character as a Coptic iota.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Pat Zalewski, *Inner Order Teachings of the Golden Dawn* (Loughborough: Thoth Publications, 2006), 88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Richard Hinckley Allen, *Star-Names and Their Meanings* (New York: G. E. Stechert, 1899), 362. Allen does not cite the particular work in which Kircher makes this statement, and I have been unable to locate the source.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Frances Rolleston, *Mazzaroth*; *or, The Constellations* (London: Rivingtons, Waterloo Place, 1862), Part 2, 19. <sup>65</sup> *Ihid*.

<sup>66</sup> Kircher, Lingua Aegyptiaca Restituta, 306.

# **Appendix: Coptic Names of the Stations**

## **The Visible Stations**

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Imperator	иєвою	Nebthō	/nev-thō/
Praemonstrator	нсе	Ēse	/ey-seh/
Cancellarius	θοογτ	Thoout	/thōwt/
Past Hierophant	2wp оүнр	Hōr Ouēr	/hōr weyr/
Hierophant	ογειρι	Ousiri	/oo-see-ree/
Hiereus	Sab	Hōr	/hōr/
Hegemon	ме	Me	/meh/
Kerux	λΝΟΥΠ <del>Μ</del> -Π-616ΒΤ	Anoup m-p-eiebt	/ah-noop əm-pee-evt/
Stolistes	моүт	Mout	/moot/
Dadouchos	иелө	Neith	/neeth/
Sentinel	аноүп й-п-емйт	Anoup m-p-emnt	/ah-noop əm-peh- mənt/

## The Invisible Stations – Kerubim

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
East/Air	Syemb	Hathōr	/ha-thōr/
South/Fire			
West/Water	соөтс	Sothis	/so-thees/
North/Earth	2AП6	Наре	/ha-peh/

## The Invisible Stations – Evil Persona

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Stooping Dragon	λφωφ	Aphōph	/a-phōph/
Slayer of Osiris	тіфши п-сатанас	Tiphon p-Satanas	/tee-phōn əp-sah-tah-
	-		nas/
Brutal Power of	внс	Bēs	/veys/
Demonic Force			
Power of the Mouth			

of the Power of		
Destruction		

## The Invisible Stations – Miscellaneous

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Harpocrates	карпократіос	Karpokratios	/kar-po-kra-tee-os/

## The Invisible Stations – Zodiacal Signs

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
Aquarius	π-ριτιθι	p-Ritithi	/pree-tee-thee/
Leo	п-уєфи	p-Leōn	/əp-leh-ōn/
Scorpio	п-скорпіос	p-Skorpios	/əp-skor-pee-os/
Taurus	п-таүрос	p-Tauros	/əp-tau-ros/

## **The Invisible Stations – Cardinal Points**

Station	Coptic Name	Transliteration	Pronunciation
North	п-ผี2ูเт	p-mhit	/əp-əm-heet/
South	п-рнс	p-rēs	/əp-reys/
East	п-елевт	p-eiebt	/pee-evt/
West	п-єміт	p-emnt	/peh-mənt/

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